



TO

essays from the

STAND

wake forest university

WITH AND

slavery, race and

FOR

memory project

HUMANITY

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Foreward

COREY D. B. WALKER

COMPLETED while he was a Rogers Memorial Fellow at Harvard University, W.E.B. Du Bois's 1896 classic, *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America 1638-1870*, examines the "national, State, and colonial statutes, Congressional documents, reports of societies, personal narratives, etc." in a comprehensive effort to engage critically "the question of the suppression of the slave-trade" from 1638-1870. For Du Bois, the question of the suppression of the slave trade "is so intimately connected with the questions as to its rise, the system of American slavery, and the whole colonial policy of the eighteenth century. . . ." ¹ Du Bois recognizes that in order to comprehend fully the suppression of the slave trade necessarily involves a critical exploration of the cultural, ideological, legal, and political formations of society.

Du Bois exposes the fallacy of the myth of the nation. In Du Bois's words, "There is always a certain glamour about the idea of a nation rising up to crush an evil simply because it is wrong. Unfortunately, this can seldom be realized in real life; for the very existence of the evil usually argues a moral weakness in the very place where extraordinary moral strength is called for." ² Dispensing with myth, Du Bois posits a more probing question: "The most obvious question which this study suggests is: How far in a State can a recognized moral wrong safely be compromised?" ³ For Du Bois, the issue which lies at the very heart of the nation is profound – the manifold ways in which a nation legitimates, substantiates, and maintains the trade in human beings across centuries through formal and informal social, political, juridical, and ideological registers. It is this question that resists narrative closure of the suppression of the African slave trade to the prevailing *mythos* of the nation. More importantly, it is the stubbornness of this question in its resistance to the allure of tradition that commands our attention.

The exemplary achievement of Du Bois's 1896 text is how it demonstrates a style of critical engagement that is acutely instructive for our moment. The study of the multiple discourses of the suppression of the African slave trade reveals not so much its suppression, but rather its continuation by other means. It is the ways in which its continuation is manifested across formations in society that engages Du Bois and propels his innovative study. What at first glance would appear to be a straightforward investigation turns out to involve a deeper, more wide ranging analysis of how and in what ways African slavery and its afterlives fundamentally transform the discursive and material relations of American society across space and time. "This trade," Du Bois writes, "no moral suasion, not even the strong 'liberty' cry of the Revolution, was able wholly to suppress." In other words, the historical discourse of suppression is a history of the failure of suppression due to the very impossibility of eliminating the African slave trade. The inability to suppress the slave trade reveals not so much an inability rather than an unwillingness that unfolds the manifold ways in which slavery is constitutive of the very idea and institutions of the nation.

The Slavery, Race and Memory Project at Wake Forest University moves within the wake of Du Bois. That is, the project and the university confront the question, "What are the costs of compromise?" Despite the wounded words used to formulate the question, we must extend Du Bois's project of thinking the aporia of the myth of Wake Forest during the time as well as after slavery, after Reconstruction, after Civil Rights, and after Barack Obama. Such an *afterthinking* – which necessarily carries the trace of the theological – marks a moment not of transition as such, but rather the continuation of the same by an/other means. ⁴ The challenge remains to attain a style of thinking and a practice of living that consciously registers the in/ability to confront the past in all of its complexity and density. Such a challenge cannot be met by mere affirmations of acknowledgment, declarations of recognition, or politics of apology. Indeed, it requires a fresh thinking and an active practice that "consists precisely of those discomforting forms of belonging to a context of injustice that cannot be grasped immediately or directly because they seem to involve spatial, temporal, or social distances or complex casual mechanisms." ⁵

1. W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America 1638-1870* (1896; Louisiana State University Press, 1969), xii.

2. W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade*, 195.

3. W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade*, 199.

4. As inspired by the work of Robert P. Scharlemann, who formulates afterthinking as a style of theological thinking in the "overturning of the ontological so as to think the thinking of being not as our thinking of being but as the being of God when God is not being God." Robert P. Scharlemann, *Inscriptions and Reflections: Essays in Philosophical Theology* (University of Virginia Press, 1989), 10.

5. Michael Rothberg, *The Implicated Subject: Beyond Victims and Perpetrators* (Stanford University Press, 2019), 8.

The Slavery, Race and Memory Project occurs in a moment when the question of slavery, race, justice, and memory preoccupies the broad public and many university campuses. In the introduction to their recent collection of essays exploring this subject, *Slavery and the University: Histories and Legacies*, Leslie M. Harris, James T. Campbell, and Alfred L. Brophy believe this moment forces the questions:

“WHAT ARE WE TO MAKE OF ALL THIS? WHAT HAVE RECENT REVELATIONS ABOUT UNIVERSITIES AND SLAVERY TAUGHT US ABOUT OUR NATION’S HISTORY AND ABOUT THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION IN PARTICULAR? EQUALLY IMPORTANT, WHAT DO THEY TELL US ABOUT OUR OWN TIME? WHY HAS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SLAVERY AND UNIVERSITIES – A RELATIONSHIP HIDING IN PLAIN SIGHT FOR THE BETTER PART OF TWO CENTURIES – BECOME SUCH A PRESSING CONCERN TODAY?”⁶

These questions gesture toward a particular inability to rightly frame the issue. Despite the subtitle of the text, it is not an issue that can be disciplined by the disciplinary dictates of history.⁷ Nor does its historical framing provide the ultimate horizon for adjudicating the complex claims invoked and advanced in this contested discourse. The development and evolution of this discourse in our contemporary moment forces the question, “What is this slavery, race, and memory in the discourse on American political life and public culture?”

The response of the Slavery, Race and Memory Project at Wake Forest University cannot rest on a mere cataloging of “the relationship between slavery and universities – a relationship hiding in plain sight for the better part of two centuries.” Nor should it merely consist of a formulaic maneuver of disclosure, commission, report, and memorial. Given the scale, scope, and significance of slavery – what Du Bois termed the “imperial width of the thing, the heaven-defying audacity” of this system – we are necessarily “implicated subjects” in a project that must resist “forms of psychic

and social denial” and the safety of tradition.⁸ The Slavery, Race, and Memory Project at Wake Forest University inaugurates a foundational challenge to the protocols of society and the university as well as the dictates of disciplinary knowledge. Indeed, what it announces is that what is at stake is nothing less than “the integrity of knowledge’s organization according to a profound commitment to the History of Thought and to culture” which brings into the open the “mostly latent and only occasionally exposed differences in the university between the attitude that holds ‘politics’ and ‘learning’ to be wholly separate, and that which knows them to be in an uneasy symbiosis.”

The Slavery, Race and Memory Project at Wake Forest University reminds us that the task of the university and the challenge of thinking must

contend with the afterlife of an inaugural scene captured in Du Bois’s *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade*. That is, the task of the university is wrestling with a history that is all to present while inaugurating new practices of critical intellectual work and institutional transformation. This opportunity may escape our moment of slavery, race, justice, and memory if we are insistent on erasing these critical moments as the opportunity to begin again.

An afterthinking inspired by Du Bois and responsive to the demands that mark this moment of potential for Wake Forest University can mean a continuation of the same or creating a space to host critical practices that are ethically responsive to the moment. In this manner, the Slavery, Race and Memory Project at Wake Forest University possesses the potential to awaken the critical consciousness of the university in fulfilling its ethical responsibility. To avoid this task is to continue the evasion of the history and reality of slavery and to leave unfulfilled the mission of the university. ∞

“The inability to suppress the slave trade reveals not so much an inability rather than an unwillingness...”

6 Leslie M. Harris, James T. Campbell, and Alfred L. Brophy, eds., *Slavery and the University: Histories and Legacies* (University of Georgia Press, 2019), 4.

7 See Lewis R. Gordon, *Disciplinary Decadence: Living Thought in Trying Times* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

8 W.E.B. Du Bois, “The Souls of White Folk” in *Darkwater: The Twentieth Century Completion of Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (Harcourt, Brace, and Howe: 1920), 43 and Michael Rothberg, *The Implicated Subject: Beyond Victims and Perpetrators* (Stanford University Press, 2019), 8.



Beyond Nostalgia

ANTHONY S. PARENT JR.

ON A SNOWY February afternoon in 2020, hundreds of students, faculty, staff, and friends gathered in Wait Chapel on the campus of Wake Forest University in quiet anticipation of a major announcement from President Nathan O. Hatch. Hatch opened his remarks by introducing the Founders' Day Convocation program. Then he acknowledged the harm inflicted on enslaved people in the founding of the university. The college was established at the "Forest of Wake" plantation and presidents, trustees, faculty, and students were themselves slaveholders. The college also benefited from the bequest of 16 enslaved people sold to fund the first major endowment. The audience stood in unison in recognizing the solemnity of the moment.

As part of that transformation, President Hatch highlighted the recent work of the Slavery, Race and Memory Project (SRMP), chaired by Kami Chavis, Associate Provost for Academic Initiatives; and Tim Pyatt, Dean of the Z. Smith Reynolds Library, to reclaim the histories silenced through the years. The university also joined the Universities Studying Slavery national consortium, commissioned Andrew Canady to write a peer-reviewed monograph history of Wake Forest University and slavery, and hired Sarah Soleim as Manager of Community and Academic Learning at Wake Forest Historical Museum. On September 4, 2019, Corey D.B. Walker delivered the inaugural Slavery, Race and Memory Project lecture to a standing-room-only audience in Kulynych Auditorium in the Porter Byrum Welcome Center.

Towards An Inclusive *Pro* *Humanitate*



WAKE FOREST COLLEGE, FORESTVILLE, N. C.

In his essay “From the Forest of Wake to Wake Forest College,” Andrew McNeill Canady of Averett University in Danville, Virginia, traces the early years of the development of Wake Forest University on the “Forest of Wake” plantation in Wake Forest, North Carolina. Massachusetts native Dr. Calvin Jones, who had married into a North Carolina slaveholding family, purchased 615 acres for \$4,000, which he named the plantation at Wake Forest. Jones, a physician and former mayor of Raleigh, owned 20 enslaved people in 1821. Catching western fever from the expanding cotton market, he sold his plantation to Baptists for half of his original purchase price. When he moved his plantation lock, stock, and barrel to Tennessee, his enslaved work force had doubled to about 40.

Founded as Wake Forest Institute, as it was known from 1834-38, the campus grounds included Jones’s home, seven slave cabins, and “various outbuildings.” Despite its plantation provenance, the college never owned slaves. Transforming the plantation into a campus, the institute contracted Hillsborough architect John Berry, who tasked his enslaved builders with construction of “the large multi-storied brick complex.” Two of the workers fell, died, and were buried on the grounds, their graves bounded by a brick wall. Unfortunately, the brick wall was razed during the Jim Crow era, leaving the original site unmarked, a pattern of erasure that has marked the landscape.

Although the Institute established a “steward’s department” requiring manual labor from students on the farm, Wake Forest still hired enslaved cooks, washerwomen, and domestics. Although the college never owned enslaved people, enslaved workers were integral to the building and maintenance of the college. Founding president Samuel Wait and members of the faculty were slaveholders. (Indeed, all four Wake Forest presidents of the antebellum era were slaveholders.) They hired out their enslaved workers to the college to do domestic chores. Enslaved workers had to deal with the isolation of working away from family and with the difficulty of answering to several masters, including students who carried this sense of authority to college with them.

In 1836, John Blount made the first major gift to the college. He bequeathed an estate that, at the time of his wife’s death in 1859, included 16 enslaved people. When finalized in 1860, the estate endowed the college with over \$10,000 for “poor and indigent young men destined for the ministry.”

Bill Leonard, Founding Dean of the School of Divinity and Professor Emeritus, argues that by the time of Wake Forest’s founding in 1834, southern white Baptists were solidly pro-slavery. Accordingly, Wake Forest, Baylor, and Furman colleges were founded by slaveholding ministers. The rise of white southern Baptist proslavery theology, which Leonard concludes was “Defending the Indefensible,” spanned events of Denmark Vesey’s slave conspiracy and the civil war in Kansas following the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

The southern Baptist’s strident defense of slavery began when Richard Furman, pastor of First Baptist Church of Charleston, wrote “EXPOSITION,” a reactionary diatribe to Denmark Vesey’s conspiracy, in 1822. Vesey, a member of Emmanuel, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, had organized a rebellion to seize the city of Charleston. Furman blamed abolitionist “faulty biblical hermeneutics” for stirring up the enslaved to revolt. He responded with a pro-slavery “literalistic hermeneutic,” which he claimed proved slavery’s efficacy. If cruelty existed in slavery, he argued, both the Old and New Testaments presented best practices for humane treatment. The Furman doctrine explicitly stated that what is biblically sanctioned cannot be sin.

Southern white Baptists were non-apologetic about their relationship to slavery, which they felt biblically sanctioned and socially sound. Earlier apologists uneasy in their defense of the institution had supported the American Colonization Society, a movement to repatriate free Blacks to Liberia. Institutionalizing the proslavery trend in 1845, advocates founded the Southern Baptist Convention, splitting with northern Baptists over the issue of slavery. Richard Fuller later published *Domestic Slavery Considered as a Scriptural Institution* (1852),

which reiterated the Furman doctrine: What is biblically sanctioned cannot be sin.

A critic and correspondent of Fuller, president Francis Wayland of Brown University, published *The Elements of Moral Science* (1835), which questioned both the humanness and the viability of chattel slavery. He also opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which allowed the expansion of slavery into former Louisiana Purchase territory. The Biblical Recorder reacted briskly, condemning his alleged characterization of slavery as morally wrong. Curiously, Wake Forest College trustees urged the distillation of *Moral Science* on campus seemingly without consequence.

In “The Waits, Women, and Slavery,” Mary Tribble, Senior Advisor for Engagement Strategies in the Office of Alumni Engagement, examines the intertwined history of her family, the university and the culture of slavery at Wake Forest and in the South. Sally Wait went South from abolitionist New England, where the prevailing attitude was expressed by her sister-in-law: “Our strong and prevailing objection to the south is, slavery.” Sally experienced her conversion in the burnt-over district of decidedly abolitionist Brandon, Vermont. Marrying Samuel Wait meant Sally would live in places diametrically opposed to her beliefs. Their first home in 1821 at Columbian College (now George Washington University) in the District of Columbia introduced Sally to the southern institutions of the auction block, the cartwhip, and the plantation on the outskirts of town. Yet Sally in her correspondence does not divulge any expression of disgust or even disapproval.

On a fund-raising excursion for Columbian College, Samuel stopped in New Bern, North Carolina, where he was invited to pastor New Bern Baptist Church in 1827. The mixed racial congregation consisted of 22 whites and eight blacks. Sally was hesitant to join him in a region of “much ignorance and bigotry.” She did not say a place of slavery; perhaps living in the District had inured her to the Peculiar Institution. She did eventually join her husband, bringing a white servant girl, Doratha, from Vermont to assist them. This was perhaps an effort to stave off owning or hiring enslaved people.

The Waits adjusted to slave culture, Tribble argues, the longer they stayed in the South, eventually becoming slaveholders themselves. At the same time, Samuel’s ministry meant preaching at revivals, often with black ministers on the platform, to mixed racial audiences. Neither Sally nor Samuel wrote anything about slavery, an omission that speaks to a consciousness of guilt.

Consistent with Leonard's interpretation on Vesey's Conspiracy, Turner's Insurrection turned attention to religion. Nat Turner, a Baptist minister, once again drew southern wrath to abolitionists. Sally's mother feared for her daughter's safety as a "liberal" transplant, suggesting she was unaware of the Waits' complicity with the institution.

Mary Tribble, a descendant of Samuel and Sally Wait, set out to research a story of a pious helpmate and a struggling Baptist minister who would be constitutionally against slavery and who could not have afforded them regardless of moral conviction. What she found in her archival research was more than just a family romance. Indeed, she poignantly concludes, "As it turns out, both our family's narrative and the university's narrative were wrong."

Addressing a theme drawn on by Canady and Leonard about the early enslaved builders and grave sites, Derek Hicks, Associate Professor of Religion and Culture in the School of Divinity, reflects on the African burial grounds on the original campus.

Hicks acted on a revelation of a recent archeological excavation of an African American graveyard relayed to him by Sarah Soleim, Manager of Community and Academic Learning at Wake Forest Historical Museum. Drawing on Winston-Salem poet Jacinta White's *Resurrecting the Bones: Born from a Journey through African American Churches and Cemeteries in the Rural South*, Hicks designed a class around the "African Cemetery." The class explored the sacred grounds of Old Cemetery, which Hicks terms "a place of solace and sanctuary." He writes how they were "struck," an experience strongly reminiscent of the term enslaved converts used when recalling their conversion experiences. Hicks writes, "How cold it was under this canopy of trees, with hauntingly swirling and singing winds, and yet heat seemed to rise up from the ground." Here, Hicks calls for a reclamation of the lost souls who have been historically silenced in both the historic landscape and in the history of Wake Forest University.

Resonating with this theme, Jonathan L. Walton, Dean of the School of Divinity, concludes this collection with his 2020 Founder's Day Convocation address, "Lest We Forget." After giving several examples of what people purported to be biblical sanction, Dean Walton responds to each with the resounding refrain: "No, it does not." If derivation and omission in familiar quotations have undoubtedly had rhetorical effect, their consequences cannot only be misleading, but even damning to the scriptural principle purported. This self-righteous pandering does not merely silence ancestral voices; it even erases evidence of past

experiences in a twisted version of the truth. For example, a generation ago (1984) the Southern Baptist Convention evoked scripture to exclude women from the ordained ministry. ("No, it does not.")

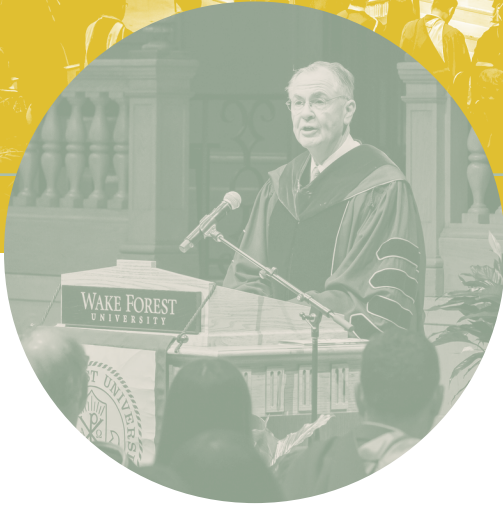
Yet this was hardly the first instance of reactionary behavior of white Southern Baptists to evoke scripture. They founded Wake Forest College on a theology grounded in a biblical interpretation that sanctioned slavery supported by the labor of enslaved workers and funded by a bequest which sold men, women, and children.

"We owe our very existence, in part, to the exploited lives and enslaved labor of people of African descent," writes Dean Walton. "Men and women like Isaac, Pompie, Caroline, and Lucy sold from the John Blount estate in 1860, precious people whose humanity was sacrificed to prepare young, white Baptist men for the ministry. Baptist young men whose conception of Christ supported America's serpentine system of slavery." Only the call for an acknowledgment and reckoning of this past and an equitable reparation for it will provide us with "a firm foundation to stand with and for humanity."

On that snowy February afternoon, President Hatch reminded the assembled audience that "we acquiesced to the times and lacked the moral imagination to envision better for all. Like those who went before us, we can be blinded by our own privilege." For this reason, Hatch stated:

“ I apologize for the exploitation and use of enslaved people – both those known and unknown – who helped create and build this University through no choice of their own. I apologize that our founders did not recognize and support the humanity and intrinsic value of those they enslaved. And I profoundly regret that subsequent generations of this University did not affirm the humanity of the enslaved individuals who made our existence possible Acknowledging past wrongs and taking responsibility are only the start of repairing damage and pursuing healing. A true apology requires taking action and incorporating meaningful change.

President Hatch's apology punctuates this phase of the Slavery, Race and Memory Project. The project's response to W.E.B. Du Bois's call, as prefaced by Corey D.B. Walker, is to strip away the nostalgia of the college's founding and revisit the trauma of the institution's relationship to slavery. Confronting and engaging this troubling history and its legacies affirms our university's intellectual and ethical commitment to realize our motto, *Pro Humanitate*. 🌱



WAKE FOREST UNIVERSITY
2020 FOUNDERS' DAY
CONVOCATION

HISTORIAN Jill Lepore once wrote that our history is a gift and a burden. In all of our pasts, we find a mixture of glory and shame, occasions to celebrate and times to mourn. History is the story of real people – flawed and fallible. Because of that, there are parts of our stories – as a nation, as a University and as individuals – that we revere; and there are parts of our stories that are reprehensible. How we address the good and the bad of our past is the foundation upon which we can build our future.

To acknowledge our history, accept responsibility and hold our institution accountable allows us to repair the harm and move toward a better Wake Forest.

An Apology

NATHAN O. HATCH

As you may know, Wake Forest was founded in eastern North Carolina on the former “Forest of Wake” plantation in 1834. Our founder and all of the antebellum presidents owned enslaved people; many of our trustees were slaveholders; and some of our students perpetuated slavery. Enslaved people helped build and maintain the College. We know that as many as 16 enslaved individuals, given to the College, were sold to benefit the institution financially. Wake Forest University was a full participant in the slave economy.

Our involvement in the institution of slavery is harsh evidence that our realities fell far short of our aspiration. We acquiesced to the times and lacked the moral imagination to envision better for all. Like those who went before us, we can be blinded by our own privilege. We must challenge the logic and end the systems that caused, and continue to cause, significant harm to individuals, our institution and society.

Therefore, it is important and overdue that, on behalf of Wake Forest University, I unequivocally apologize for participating in and benefiting from the institution of slavery. I apologize for the exploitation and use of enslaved people – both those known and unknown – who helped create and build this University through no choice of their own. I apologize that our founders did not recognize and support the humanity and intrinsic value of those they enslaved. And I profoundly regret that subsequent generations of this University did not affirm the humanity of the enslaved individuals who made our existence possible.

As the years pass, each generation has come to comprehend more clearly the injustices that accompanied our founding. With that increased

vision and understanding, they have attempted to right that which was wrong. My apology today is not about what you or I did, or did not do, in the past; it is a matter of whether we, as members of this community, are going to take responsibility for the lasting effects of past choices.

There is no perfect moment to acknowledge the past failures of our institution. For some, this apology comes too late; for others, it seems unnecessary. It is necessary. Addressing this part of our story allows us to begin reckoning with the community we were and shape the community we want to be.

There is also no complete solution for how we reconcile with this egregious element of our past. Words alone cannot undo the injustices that were done and the pain that was inflicted, but they can offer a commitment to greater understanding and genuine compassion for those whose experience falls short of our ideals.

Acknowledging past wrongs and taking responsibility are only the start of repairing damage and pursuing healing. A true apology requires taking action and incorporating meaningful change. Many among our campus community have been working to seek and understand a more complete truth of our story. Their findings and forthcoming recommendations will help address past and present inequities and guide future action.

This is a journey we are on together. Today, we acknowledge where our path began. And today, we pledge to one another that we will not forget our history – nor will we let the humanity of any be forgotten – as we move forward. We are committed, together, to live up to our highest ideals, lifting everyone to that standard, as one Wake Forest. ~

Ellick, Harry and —
 wife, Charlotte,
 Johnson, Anderson,
 James, Lender,
 Mary, Sarah, Phillis,
 Mary, Lucey, Venus,
 Patience, Mary,
 George, Murphy,
 Ted and wife Amy —
 Jones' two children,

EXPENSES.

ENGLISH DEPARTMENT.

London per year, - - - - -	\$25 00
Room-rent, - - - - -	2 00
Food and bedding, - - - - -	4 00
Wood, - - - - -	2 00
Servant's hire, - - - - -	2 00
Deposit for repairs, - - - - -	2 00
	<u>7 00</u>
Board and washing \$8 per month 10 months	80 00
	\$117 00

CLASSICAL DEPARTMENT.

The same as above, except tuition, which will be, - - - - -	35 00
Making whole amount, - - - - -	\$127 00

COLLEGIATE DEPARTMENT.

As above, except tuition, which will be - - - - -	45 00
Making whole amount, - - - - -	\$137 00

LD5721 .2521859

Rose, Martha, Lexy,
Mary Sherwood,
Aggy and children,
Maranda, Mary —
Harris, David, Virtn,
Betty, Inez, Harvey,
Tom, Venus and —
child, Mary,
Emma,
Lettice,...

OPPOSITE:

A list of expenses from the first
college catalog, including the
“Servant’s hire” fee

OVERSET, RIGHT:

The known names of
enslaved people hired by or
bequeathed to the school

Isaac, Jim, Lucy,
 Caroline, Pompie,
 Nancy, Harriet —
 and child, Joseph,
 Harry, Ann and —
 two children,
 & Thomas.

1835	Wake Forest Institute Dr	Cr	
Noo 20 th	To Amount brought forward	\$3055.76	2065 55
23 ^d	Interest on Donaldsons acct	2 "	
	paid Ann Little for 3 months work	13 50	
	" Mary Ann Cotton 5 months	10 "	
	for painting floor board	50 "	
	150 lbs of Coal of H. & Martin	4 50	
	13 1/2 lbs of Butter	2 65	
	4 quires of paper	1 "	
	Balance of English Society for 8 1/2 of candles	" "	1. 44
	By Cash for 3 lbs of candles	" "	88
	10 1/2 Doz of Eggs	10 5	
25	for Mastering Hall room	13 50	
	for painting house	11 25	
	Due to the English Society as rendered	29 6 8 1/2	
	to J. Lovelock as rendered	26 4 5 3	
	to J. Newsoms as rendered	46 5 2	
	to Wm. Johnston as rendered	41 1 9	
	for the use of the beds for wages	100 "	
	To the hire of a Servant Rogers	75 00	
	paid do. Andersen. from Leeds	35 00	
	paid do. Jones. do. Mr. Ellis	50 00	
	paid do. Serde. do. Mr. Ellis	36 00	
	paid do. May. from Haywood	28 00	
	paid do. Sarah. from Haywood	30 00	
	paid do. Sarah. from Haywood	15 00	
	paid do. Mary. from Haywood	30 00	
	paid do. Emily. from Edale B. Co.	25 00	
	paid do. Venus. do do	22 00	
	paid do. Palmer. R. Jones	15 00	
	paid do. Mary. Mr. Greenshaw	10 00	
	Wm. Greenshaw as rendered	136 0 1 2	
	By Cash for 1 barrel of flour sold to		6 75
Dec 12 th	J. Miners hire of Negro clothing	14 19	
	10 lbs of Butter at 4p	2 00	
	Amount carried to page 13 th	5362 87 1	2074 62

From the Forest of Wake to Wake Forest College

ANDREW MCNEILL CANADY

WAKE Forest University has its roots in Wake County, North Carolina. The school, known first as Wake Forest Institute, began in 1834 on the former plantation of Calvin Jones. Originally from Massachusetts, Jones was a medical doctor who had made his way to Smithfield, North Carolina, in 1795 and later moved to Raleigh in 1803.¹ Over a decade later, Jones married Temperance Williams Jones, a woman from a wealthy farming and slaveholding family. This union brought Calvin Jones more than 20 slaves and made him a member of the planter ranks of the antebellum South.²

Looking for a place to put his enslaved workers to use, he purchased “Wake Forest,” a property of approximately 615 acres, for \$4,000 in 1821 from Davis Battle.³ In the coming years, this farm produced corn, wheat, cotton, hay, vegetables, fruit, and brandy was distilled. Jones also began to invest in land in western Tennessee with hopes of relocating there.⁴ Throughout the 1820s, he tried to sell his “Wake Forest Plantation” on several occasions but with no success.⁵ In 1832, the recently established Baptist State Convention of North Carolina was looking for a site for a proposed school, and several representatives of this group purchased Wake Forest for \$2,000 from Jones.⁶ Soon he and his family relocated to his Tennessee estate, taking along with them approximately 40 enslaved men, women, and children.⁷ The plantation he left behind, which included his home, seven slave cabins, and various outbuildings, became the site of the new Baptist school.

OPPOSITE:

A college account book entry from 1835 showing payments for rented enslaved workers

OVERSET:

The known names of enslaved people hired by or bequeathed to the school

1 Thomas B. Jones, “Calvin Jones, M.D.: A Case Study in the Practice of Early American Medicine,” *North Carolina Historical Review* 49 (January 1972), 56; and Jameson Jones, “Calvin Jones: 1775–1846” (2000), folder 107, Calvin Jones Papers #921, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

2 Scholars typically use the term “planter” to denote the ownership of twenty or more slaves.

3 Davis Battle deed to Calvin Jones, in “Archives—Wills and Gifts” folder, Wake Forest University Financial Services, Winston-Salem, North Carolina; and Marshall DeLancey Haywood, *Calvin Jones: Physician, Soldier and Free Mason: 1775–1846* (Bolivar, Tennessee: Press of Oxford Orphanage, 1919), 22.

4 Jones, “Calvin Jones,” Jones Papers.

5 See “Also for Sale,” December 5, 1823, *Raleigh Register*; and “My Wake Forest Plantation FOR SALE,” September 14, 1827, *Raleigh Register*.

6 George Washington Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College, Volume 1: 1834–1865* (Raleigh: Edward & Broughton Company, 1935), 46. For deed see Purefoy, John and others to Calvin Jones, in “Archives—Wills and Gifts” folder.

7 Jones, “Calvin Jones,” Jones Papers.

During Wake Forest's period as an Institute (1834–1838), the school operated a farm on the property, requiring the young men and boys who attended to complete several hours of manual labor each day.⁸ Wake Forest also ran a steward's department that provided meals and washing for students and faculty. From the start, the school hired enslaved blacks for agricultural work, cooking, washing and other domestic tasks.

The practice of hiring slaves from slaveowners was common in the South in this period.⁹ Hirers paid the slaveowner for the slaves' time. The contracts, often made for one year, normally required the hirer to pay taxes on the slaves and to provide clothing for them. Wake Forest was not alone in its practice of hiring slaves; other southern schools, including the University of North Carolina, Salem, Hampden-Sydney, William and Mary, the University of Virginia, Furman, and Mercer, did the same.¹⁰

A Wake Forest account book from 1834 shows that four enslaved African Americans were hired that year. The names listed were Ellick; "Harry & wife;" and Charlotte.¹¹ As student numbers grew, more enslaved blacks were hired in the coming years. Thirteen – Johnson, Anderson, James, Lender, Mary, Sarah, Phillis, Mary, Lucey, Venus, Patience, Mary, and George – were hired in 1835 and approximately 16 were hired in 1836. Records indicate they were known as Murphy; "Ted & wife Amy Jones' 2 children;" Rose; Martha; Lexy; Mary Sherwood; "Aggy, her children & Maranda;" Mary Harris; David; and Anderson.¹² Account records from Wake Forest for 1837 and 1838 do not exist, but undoubtedly this practice continued in those years as well. During the Institute years, the trustees also employed a white farmer or "overseer." Three men held this position.

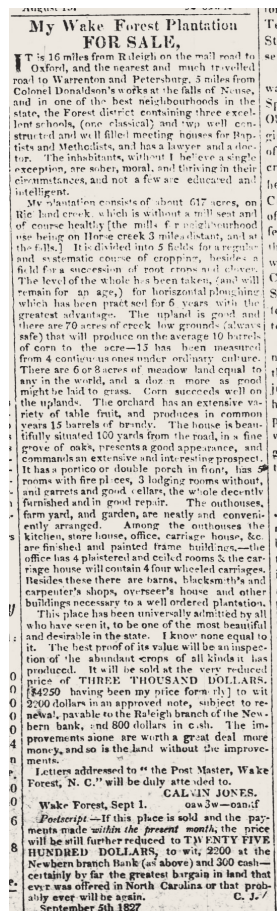
One of them was Henry Wall, a previous overseer of Calvin Jones' Wake Forest plantation.¹³

As the school grew during the period of the Institute, the Board of Trustees decided to erect a "College Building."¹⁴ In 1835, John Berry, a local architect from Hillsborough, was contracted to build this large, multi-storied brick complex. Berry's workforce was made up of enslaved laborers, and they moved with him to Wake Forest during the construction process.¹⁵ As the College Building was being completed, two of these enslaved African American men were killed in a fall.¹⁶ They were buried together in a grave on Wake Forest's property, and a brick wall was built around it. No tombstone with their names, however, was placed there. In the late 1800s, for some unspecified reason, this site was cleared, and its exact location remains unknown at this time.¹⁷

In 1839, Wake Forest transitioned from Institute to College.¹⁸ Among the powers of the new school was its ability to grant degrees. As the College commenced its operations, it did away with the manual labor requirement and its steward's department.¹⁹

The Board of Trustees also began a town. In late 1838, the Trustees had the plantation surveyed, and a plat with streets and lots was created.²⁰ This property began to be sold the following year. Some of the faculty

came to buy land and to build homes there in the coming years. Meals and washing responsibilities soon went into the private hands of the town's white residents who operated boarding houses. Many of these establishments were run by Wake Forest faculty, including the school's first president, Samuel



CENTER:
1827 newspaper article
where Calvin Jones
advertises that
"My Wake Forest
Plantation" is for sale

8 Paschal, *History of Wake Forest* 1: 65–91 and 449–452.

9 Jonathan D. Martin, *Divided Mastery: Slave Hiring in the American South* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2004).

10 See Jennifer Oast, *Institutional Slavery: Slaveholding Churches, Schools, Colleges, and Businesses in Virginia, 1680–1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 159–202; *Seeking Abraham: A Report of Furman University's Office of the Provost and Task Force on Slavery and Justice* (Furman University, 2018), 33–34; B. M. Sanders to Samuel Wait, October 15, 1833, box 4, folder 1, Samuel and Sarah Wait Papers, Special Collections and Archives, Wake Forest University; Grant P. McAllister, "Report for Salem Academy and College: A Study of the School's Education of Female Slaves and its Involvement with Slavery," and online exhibition: "The College Servants" in "Slavery and the Making of the University," https://exhibits.lib.unc.edu/exhibits/show/slavery/college_servants.

11 "Enrollment Book," Wake Forest Historical Museum archives, Wake Forest, North Carolina.

12 See "Account Book, 1835–1850," box 1, RG: 25.01, Treasurer's Office, Special Collections and Archives, Wake Forest University.

13 Jones, "Calvin Jones," Jones Papers; promissory note to Henry Wall and receipt, box 8, folder 7, Wait Papers; and E. W. Sikes, "The Genesis of Wake Forest College," in *Literary and Historical Activities in North Carolina: 1900–1905, Vol. 1* (Raleigh: Publications of the Historical Commission, 1907), 548.

14 Paschal, *History of Wake Forest* 1: 104–117.

15 Henry S. Stroupe, "John Berry—Builder of the First College Building," *The Wake Forest Magazine* (February 1965), 13.

16 Paschal, *History of Wake Forest* 1: 112.

17 F. M. Jordan, *Life and Labors of Elder F. M. Jordan: For Fifty Years a Preacher of the Gospel Among North Carolina Baptists* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1899), 40.

18 *The Charter and the Laws of the Wake Forest College, Enacted by the Corporation, December, 1838* (Raleigh: Recorder Office, 1839).

19 Thomas Meredith, Samuel Wait, and Alfred Dockery, "Circular," January 5, 1839, *Biblical Recorder*.

20 Wake Forest Board of Trustee Proceedings, 40, 41, 46, 50, and 51.

Wait, and early professors John Brown White and William Tell Brooks.²¹

All of these men were slaveowners who used their enslaved workers to do the cooking and washing for Wake Forest students. Wake Forest's farm ran on a limited basis through the early 1840s, and enslaved blacks were again hired to do agricultural work there.²² The farm, however, went out of operation as more land was sold.

Without it and the steward's department, Wake Forest College came to hire fewer enslaved blacks than it had during the Institute years. The school, nevertheless, continued to use hired enslaved workers for tasks on its campus, such as sweeping and cleaning the College Building. Account ledgers and board of trustee minutes refer to this person as the "college servant" and numerous enslaved blacks were hired for this role during the remaining antebellum period.²³ One of the men known at this time was Virtn.²⁴

Many of the college trustees and financial supporters of the institution were slaveowners, as were all the presidents – Samuel Wait, William Hooper, John Brown White, and Washington Manly Wingate – prior to Emancipation.²⁵

In 1835, Wake Forest started a campus church, Wake Forest Baptist. Membership there included students, faculty and their families, local residents, and some of the slaves owned by each of these groups.²⁶ This congregation remained biracial until the end of the Civil War.²⁷

Wake Forest struggled financially for most of the antebellum period. As a result, Wake Forest never owned the slaves that were forced to work on the campus, but it always relied on hired ones. Wake Forest's leaders' choice to hire enslaved workers, rather than own them, did not reflect any moral objections to slave ownership. Rather, hiring was less expensive and more flexible to meet their needs in this period. Ownership would have also entailed taking care of elderly slaves too old to work and children born into slavery too young to work. The enslaved laborers Wake Forest hired came from local slaveholders and even from some of the faculty, such as Samuel Wait.²⁸

These enslaved workers experienced a difficult position since working at a school brought about complications that other hiring settings did not. Since many Wake Forest students came from slaveholding families, these young men and boys likely found themselves entitled to command these enslaved workers to do their bidding. In effect, the hired slaves at Wake Forest had multiple "masters" with whom to contend.²⁹ The practice of hiring also separated families during the period of the hiring contract.

Wake Forest received several bequests from North Carolina slaveowners.³⁰ In the 1840s, Celia Wilder, a woman from Hertford County, dictated that two of her slaves, Betty and Inez, be sold after her death and that the proceeds of this sale (\$600) be given to the College.

In 1836, John Blount, a Baptist from Edenton, died and left a major bequest to Wake Forest that included land, homes, and the following slaves: Harvey; Tom; Venus and child; Mary; Emma; and Lettice. His wife, Rebecca Blount, was given lifetime rights, and she remained in possession of this property and these enslaved people until her death in November 1859.

The Wake Forest Board of Trustees checked into this estate numerous times between 1836 and 1859. As soon as Rebecca Blount died, the Trustees dispatched James Simpson Purefoy, board treasurer, Baptist minister, and slaveowner, to take possession of the property and the slaves. Between 1836 and 1859, due to births, the number of slaves had increased to 16 – Isaac; Jim; Lucy; Caroline; Pompie; Emma; Nancy; Harriet and child; Joseph; Harry; Ann and two children; Thomas; and Mary. In the coming months, Harriet and Nancy were hired out for profit. A slave auction was held on May 7, 1860. The sale of these people brought \$10,718. One woman, Mary, escaped her enslavement before the sale but was later captured in Norfolk, Virginia and sold there at the end of that month.

FROM ITS BEGINNING, WAKE
FOREST COLLEGE WAS DEEPLY
ENMESHED IN THE SOUTHERN
CULTURE OF SLAVERY. ㄿ

21. Paschal, *History of Wake Forest* 1: 453–454; and John Brown White to Samuel Wait, December 24, 1841, box 5, folder 5, Wait Papers.

22. Wake Forest Board of Trustee Proceedings, 49; and "Book A," Treasurer's account book, 1839–1852, unprocessed collection, Special Collections and Archives, Wake Forest University.

23. Wake Forest Board of Trustee Proceedings, 53; and "Book A," Treasurer's account book, 1839–1852.

24. See Ann Eliza Wait to Samuel Wait, March 31, 1839, box 4, folder 8, Wait Papers; and "Book A," Treasurer's account book, 1839–1852.

25. See 1830 and 1840 U.S. Federal Census; and 1850 and 1860 U.S. Federal Census – Slave Schedules.

26. Minutes and Roll Book, Wake Forest Baptist Church, 1835–1939, North Carolina Baptist Historical Collection, Special Collections and Archives, Wake Forest University.

27. For more on biracial churches see John B. Boles, ed., *Masters & Slaves in the House of the Lord: Race and Religion in the American South, 1740–1870* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1988).

28. See "Account Book, 1835–1850;" and "Book A," Treasurer's account book, 1839–1852.

29. Oast, *Institutional Slavery*, 170.

30. Paschal, *History of Wake Forest* 1: 213–222.

EXPOSITION

THE VIEWS OF THE BAPTISTS,

Coloured Population

Defending the Indefensible

Wake Forest, Baptists,
and the Bible

BILL J. LEONARD

THE VIEWS OF THE BAPTISTS,

Coloured Population

OF THE UNITED STATES.

IN 1834, the year Wake Forest was founded, a growing majority of white Baptists in the American South assumed chattel slavery to be both socially and biblically justified. Their defense of slavery was not always so solid.

Writing in 1849, looking back on his antislavery sentiments when graduating from the University of North Carolina in 1819, Baptist clergyman Iveson Brookes wrote to a friend: “You perhaps remember what an Antislavery fellow I was at Chapel Hill. I wrote several speeches & compositions against slavery, being about as ignorant on the subject as most of the Northern abolitionists now are.”¹ Brookes published his own work, *A Defense of Slavery*, in 1850.

OPPOSITE:
Frontpiece of Richard Furman’s 1822 address, one of the earliest documents offering a “biblical defense” of chattel slavery

OPPOSITE CENTER:
First Baptist Church, Charleston, SC—Built in 1820

Brookes’ early opposition to slavery mirrored the views of some Baptists in the South who acknowledged that slavery was problematic for the region and should ultimately be eliminated, perhaps by sending blacks to Africa through the American Colonization Society. By the 1830s, however, as abolitionist demands for immediate manumission gained momentum in the North, pro-slavery arguments among southern Baptists increased significantly, many with biblical justification.

Richard Furman’s 1822 “biblical defense” of slavery became an important guide for Baptist responses to abolitionism. Furman, pastor of First Baptist Church, Charleston, South Carolina, and namesake of Furman University, declared:

“HAD THE HOLDING OF SLAVES BEEN A MORAL EVIL, IT CANNOT BE SUPPOSED, THAT THE INSPIRED APOSTLES, WHO FEARED NOT THE FACES OF MEN, AND WERE READY TO LAY DOWN THEIR LIVES IN THE CAUSE OF THEIR GOD, WOULD HAVE TOLERATED IT, FOR A MOMENT, IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. IF THEY HAD DONE SO ON A PRINCIPLE OF ACCOMMODATION, IN CASES WHERE THE MASTERS REMAINED HEATHEN, TO AVOID OFFENCES AND CIVIL COMMOTION; YET, SURELY, WHERE BOTH MASTER AND SERVANT WERE CHRISTIAN, AS IN THE CASE BEFORE US, THEY WOULD HAVE ENFORCED THE LAW OF CHRIST, AND REQUIRED, THAT THE MASTER SHOULD LIBERATE HIS SLAVE IN THE FIRST INSTANCE. BUT, INSTEAD OF THIS, THEY LET THE RELATIONSHIP REMAIN UNTOUCHED, AS BEING LAWFUL AND RIGHT, AND INSIST ON THE RELATIVE DUTIES. IN PROVING THIS SUBJECT JUSTIFIABLE BY SCRIPTURAL AUTHORITY, ITS MORALITY IS ALSO PROVED; FOR THE DIVINE LAW NEVER SANCTIONS IMMORAL ACTIONS.”²

¹ Larry E. Tise, *Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery In America, 1701-1840* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 302.

² Richard Furman, “EXPOSITION of the Views of the Baptists, Relative to the Coloured Population in the United States in a Communication to the Governor of South-Carolina,” in Bill J. Leonard, *Early American Christianity* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1983), 382-383.

Furman's "EXPOSITION" appeared at the end of a year that sent shock waves throughout the South with the discovery of Denmark Vesey's plans for a slave revolt. Vesey, a freed slave assisted by persons related to Charleston's African Methodist Episcopal Church, allegedly plotted an armed revolt against slaveholders that would ultimately secure slaves' freedom in Haiti. The plot was discovered; 131 blacks were arrested; and 35, including Vesey, were hanged.³ Furman, representing white South Carolina Baptists, implored the state's governor to declare a "Day of Devotion and Gratitude," thanking God that the plot was foiled, and the masters saved. He wrote:

*But with the knowledge of the conspiracy is united the knowledge of its frustration; and of that, which Devotion and Gratitude should set in a strong light, the merciful interposition of Providence, which produced that frustration.*⁴

Furman insisted that slave rebellions were inspired in part by abolitionists' faulty methods of interpreting scripture. He warned that "certain writers," many "highly respected," advocated positions "very unfriendly to the principle and practice of holding slaves," opinions advanced "directly to disturb the domestic peace" of South Carolina. Their anti-slavery views produced "insubordination and rebellion among the slaves," particularly their insistence that opposition to slavery was born of "the Holy Scriptures," and "the genius of Christianity." By contrast, Furman and the Baptist Convention he represented asserted that anti-slavery was not "just, or well founded: for the right of holding slaves is clearly established in the Holy Scriptures, both by precept and example."⁵

Furman and other pro-slavery Baptists made support for slavery essential to biblical orthodoxy, implying that if the Bible was wrong in sanctioning slavery, it might be untrustworthy on the nature of salvation itself. Their literal method of interpreting the Bible aided Baptists in claiming biblical authority to support of the institution of chattel slavery. Richard Furman was not the only slaveholding minister to be associated with a Baptist-oriented 19th century college. Others included Samuel Wait of Wake Forest, William Tryon of Baylor, and the four founding faculty members of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, the Southern Baptist Convention's first theological school, which originated on the Furman campus in 1859.

Slavery had its cruelties, Furman admitted, noting,

THAT CHRISTIAN NATIONS HAVE NOT DONE ALL THEY MIGHT, OR SHOULD HAVE DONE, ON A PRINCIPLE OF CHRISTIAN BENEVOLENCE, FOR THE CIVILIZATION AND CONVERSION OF THE AFRICANS: THAT MUCH CRUELTY HAS BEEN PRACTISED IN THE SLAVE TRADE, AS THE BENEVOLENT WILBERFORCE, AND OTHERS HAVE SHOWN; THAT MUCH TYRANNY HAS BEEN EXERCISED BY INDIVIDUALS, AS MASTERS OVER THEIR SLAVES, AND THAT THE RELIGIOUS INTERESTS OF THE LATTER HAVE BEEN TOO MUCH NEGLECTED BY MANY CANNOT, WILL NOT BE DENIED. BUT THE FULLEST PROOF OF THESE FACTS, WILL NOT ALSO PROVE, THAT HOLDING MEN IN SUBJECTION, AS SLAVES, IS A MORAL EVIL, AND INCONSISTENT WITH CHRISTIANITY.⁶

The Bible set forth a "Christian" treatment of slaves, practices often undermined by slave owners. That fact, however, did not negate the scriptural and moral validity of slavery as viable social practice. Furman concluded, "In proving this subject justifiable by Scriptural authority, its morality is also proved; for the Divine Law never sanctions immoral actions."⁷ For Furman, Christian opposition to slavery reflected a "perversion" of scripture, undermined proper Christian instruction for civilizing of slaves, and exacerbated their desire to revolt.

³ H. Shelton Smith, *In His Image, But . . . Racism in Southern Religion, 1780-1910* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1972), 54.

⁴ Furman, "EXPOSITION," 379.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 381.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 385.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 383.

Richard Furman's "EXPOSITION" was among the earliest of what became a broad collection of antebellum "Bible defenses of slavery," works that conjured up marks on Cain and curses on Ham as evidence from Genesis that the darker races were deemed inferior by divine act, a biblical foundation for white supremacy. Abolitionist opposition to this biblical hermeneutic set the scene for a Baptist schism.

The Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) began in Augusta, Georgia, in 1845 after the nationally organized Baptist missionary society (Triennial Convention) rejected appointment of known slaveholder James Reeve as a missionary. Reeve's name was put forward by Georgia Baptists as a test case. When it was rejected, the SBC was founded "for eliciting, combining, and directing the energies of the whole denomination in one sacred effort, for the propagation of the gospel." The original charter made no mention of the real reason for SBC origins: support for chattel slavery.⁸

The Baptist Convention of North Carolina did not act as hastily as Baptists in Virginia and the Deep South in calling for a new denomination. When reconciliation with the Triennial Convention seemed impossible, North Carolinians voted to give the SBC their "cordial" affirmation and unite with it. Nonetheless, controversy over slavery continued.

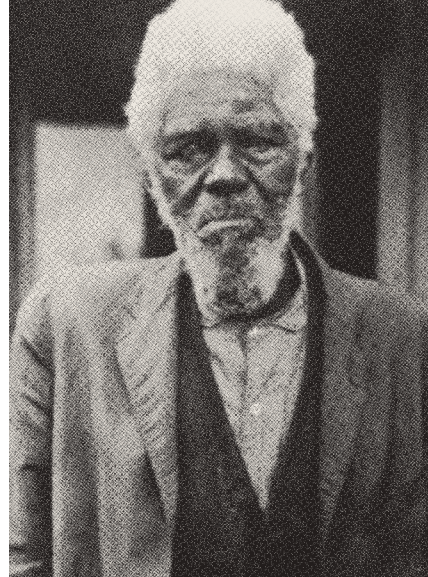
An 1852 publication titled *Domestic Slavery Considered as a Scriptural Institution* contained extensive correspondence on slavery between South Carolina pastor Richard Fuller and Brown University president Francis Wayland. Fuller reasserted Richard Furman's arguments, contending that "both testaments constitute one entire canon, and that they furnish a complete rule of faith and practice." He concluded: "WHAT GOD SANCTIONED IN THE OLD TESTAMENT, AND PERMITTED IN THE NEW, CANNOT BE A SIN."⁹

Francis Wayland was no abolitionist; rather he supported gradual emancipation, fearing that slaves were not yet ready for freedom. He opposed the militancy of the abolitionists but supported their contention that Jesus' Golden Rule negated slavery as a viable practice, especially for Christians.¹⁰

Wayland's later opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska compromise bill on slavery (1854) elicited angry responses from North Carolina Baptists. The state's Baptist Biblical Recorder declared that Wayland had "misrepresented" the views of Southerners by suggesting that they acknowledged slavery to be "wrong, utterly indefensible in itself and the great curse that rests upon the Southern States." Those remarks, along with his opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska bill, pushed Wake Forest trustees to rule that "Wayland's *Moral Science*, be dispensed with, in the Instruction given at Wake Forest College."¹¹ *Moral Science* apparently had limited impact on the campus, since, as George Paschal wrote in his history of Wake Forest:

THE LABOR OF MAKING BRICK AND OF BUILDING WAS DONE BY THE SLAVES OF CAPTAIN BERRY, TWO OF WHOM LOST THEIR LIVES BY A FALL FROM THE BUILDING. THEY WERE BURIED IN THE WAKE FOREST CEMETERY BOTH IN ONE PIT GRAVE WITH WALLS OF BRICK EXTENDING TWO FEET ABOVE GROUND.¹²

The legacy of slavery was set, for school and denomination alike. ²



ABOVE:

Nelson Ligon, former slave member of the Forestville Baptist Church on the old campus of Wake Forest College, and founding member of the Friendship Chapel Missionary Baptist Church, an African American congregation

⁸ "The Original Constitution of the Southern Baptist Convention, <http://baptiststudiesonline.com/wp-content/uploads/2007/02/constitution-of-the-sbc.pdf>.

⁹ Domestic Slavery Considered as a Scriptural Institution: In a Correspondence Between the Rev. Richard Fuller, of Beaufort, S.C., and the Rev. Francis Wayland, of Providence, R.I., (New York, 1845), 170. Capital letters used in the original text.

¹⁰ Douglas Weaver, "Review: Domestic Slavery Considered As a Scriptural Institution," *Journal of Southern Religion* 15 (2013): <http://jsr.fsu.edu/issues/vol15/weaver.html>.

¹¹ Willie Grier Todd, "North Carolina Baptists and Slavery," *North Carolina Historical Review*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (April 1947), 153, citing Minutes Board of Trustees, Wake Forest College, Tuesday, June 10, 1856.

¹² George W. Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College* (Wake Forest, NC: Wake Forest College, 1935), I (1834-2865), 112.

The Waits, Women, and Slavery

MARY TRIBBLE

“ *Our strong and prevailing objection to the south is, slavery.* ”¹

Achsah Merriam to Sally Merriam Wait. Passumpsic, Vermont. April 7, 1834

WHEN Achsah Merriam wrote the words noted above to her sister-in-law, the Wake Forest Institute that Samuel and Sarah Merriam Wait helped build was barely three months old. Since her marriage to Samuel Wait in 1818, Sally, as she was known, agonized over the couple's calling as they considered missions to Burma, India, and the American West before settling on North Carolina as their mission field. The Waits had lived intermittently apart nearly half of their first 16 years of marriage. Samuel moved around to study, teach, preach, raise money, and look for a reliable ministerial position while Sally remained in the preferred surroundings of her New England birth. When Samuel's work ultimately brought them to a former plantation in North Carolina to start a school to train Baptist ministers, Sally found herself in a place with values different from those of her anti-slavery family and friends back in Vermont. How she assimilated into a culture and economy based in slavery is part of the story of a Baptist couple and the founding of a university in the early 19th century.

Sally believed that she was called to do the Lord's work. This had been clear to her since that pivotal day in 1813 when she emerged from what she described as the “dark clouds” of despair to the “bright and resplendent” sun of religious conversion.² Sally grew up in a time of widespread religious fervor and constant religious revivals. For many young people, conversion represented a coming of age. For Sally, it elicited a lifelong commitment to spread the gospel.

Sally's pious ambition was inspired by Ann Hasseltine Judson, a missionary to Burma whose story was reported in the religious tracts that helped fuel the Second Great Awakening. Like thousands of evangelical women, Sally latched onto Judson's story, imagining herself in an exotic location serving as a pious helpmate to her missionary husband. After the Waits married, Samuel's ambitions led him to Washington, D.C., in 1821 to study and then teach at Columbian College, which would evolve into George Washington University.

¹ Jonathan Merriam, Jr. and Achsah Merriam to Samuel Wait and Sarah Merriam Wait, Samuel and Sarah Wait Papers, April 7, 1834, Samuel and Sarah Wait Papers, Z. Smith Reynolds Library Special Collections and Archives, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, NC.

² Sally Merriam, “Sally Merriam Journal” (1817), 55, “Samuel and Sarah Wait Papers.”

Once Sally joined Samuel in Washington in late 1822, she settled into Columbian College's southern lifestyle and its culture of slavery. She and others from the college occasionally visited a family on a neighboring estate where she first experienced the southern plantation system of slavery.

Enslaved people also worked for Columbian College families where the Waits boarded. In their letters, Sally and her friends referred to "Uncle Richard, Aunt Betsey" and a man known as "Goodfellow."³ In the nearby capital city, shackled and enslaved people being transported for trade was a common sight. On trips into the city, Sally would have seen the workings of the domestic slave trade. Despite the ubiquity of slavery and the few mentions of enslaved workers who served College Hill, Sally recorded little of her impressions of slavery during their time at Columbian College.

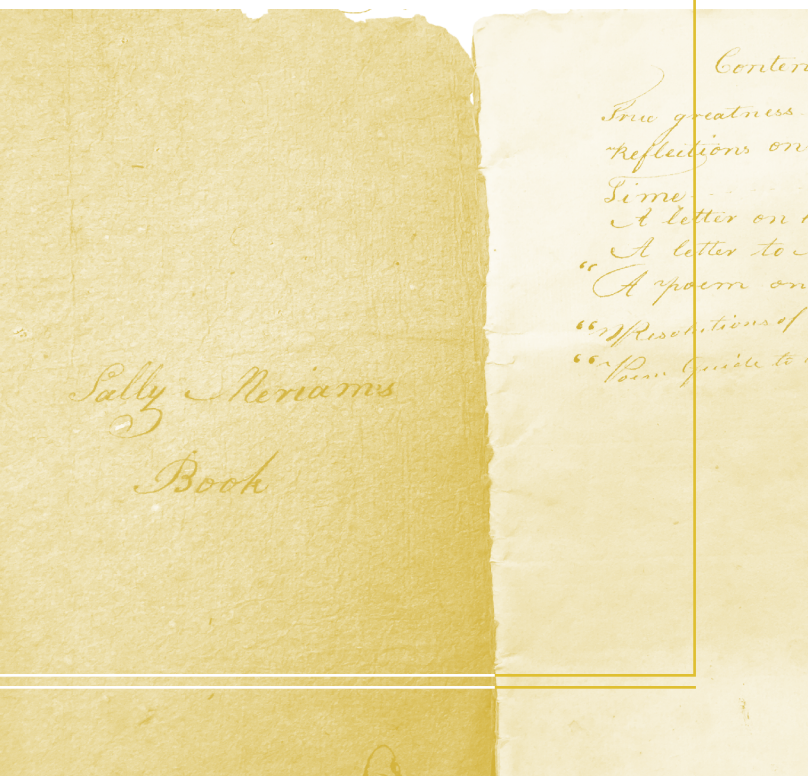
Samuel Wait's time at Columbian College ended after the institution's finances spiraled into a dismal state of affairs. On a last-ditch fundraising trip, a carriage accident temporarily sidelined him in New Bern, North Carolina. During this delay, the city's preacher-less Baptists began a concerted campaign

BELOW:
Section of a
manuscript bearing
Sally Merriam's inscription

to recruit him to stay. Unlike the District of Columbia, which was a sparsely constructed government center surrounded by swampy plantations, New Bern was a thriving port city of 5,000 residents. Approximately 60% of the population was black, with enslaved and free African-American men and women working as domestic workers, draymen, port workers, mariners, artisans, businessmen, and farmers. When Samuel was invited to become the minister at New Bern Baptist Church in 1827, the membership consisted of 22 white people and eight black people, two of whom were likely free. At the time, New Bern was a cosmopolitan town, described as a place of fashionable extravagance and fine living.

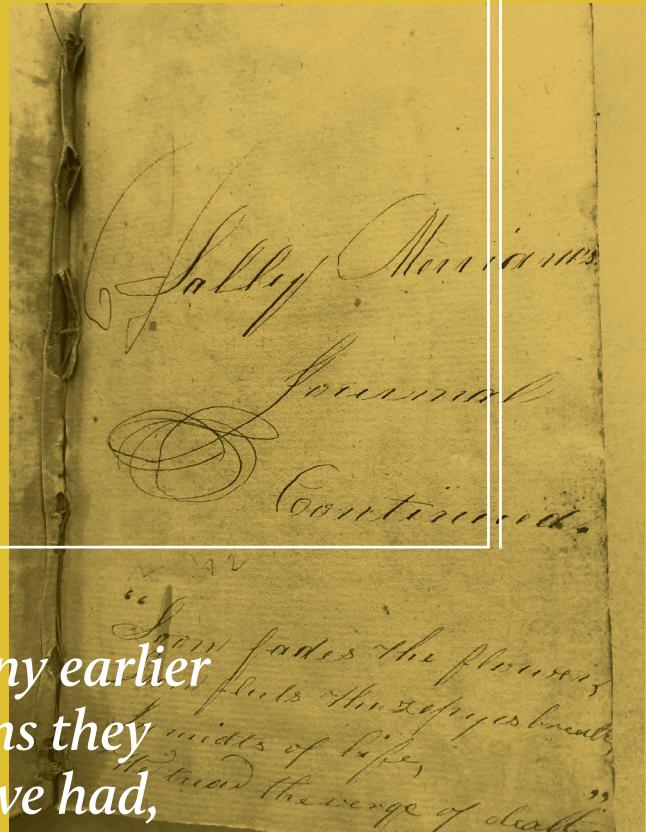
Sally responded ambiguously to Samuel's initial letters recruiting her to join him in New Bern. She was concerned about raising their daughter, Ann Eliza, in North Carolina, a place she described as filled with "much ignorance and bigotry," referring to the anti-education and anti-mission movement pervasive throughout the state. Sally did not explicitly name slavery when she wrote to a friend that their "objections to bringing up our children here, still remain with all their force."⁴

While Sally did not record specific concerns about slavery in her surviving letters, her family expressed their horror at the idea of the Waits settling in a slave state. Sally's brother Isaac wrote he was unable to "believe you can always endure slavery before your eyes."⁵ In the end, Samuel prevailed and Sally agreed to move to North Carolina, a place far removed from the family and society that were familiar to her.



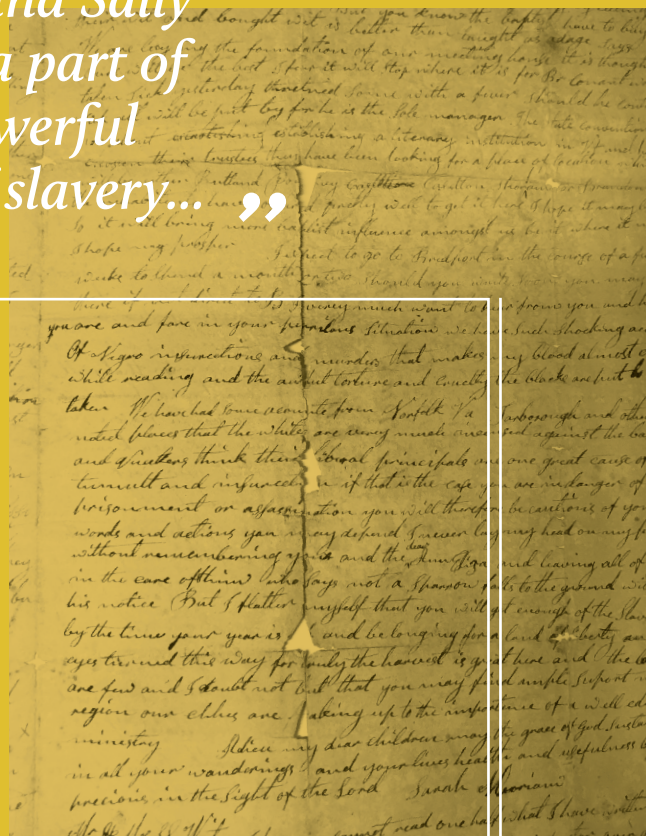
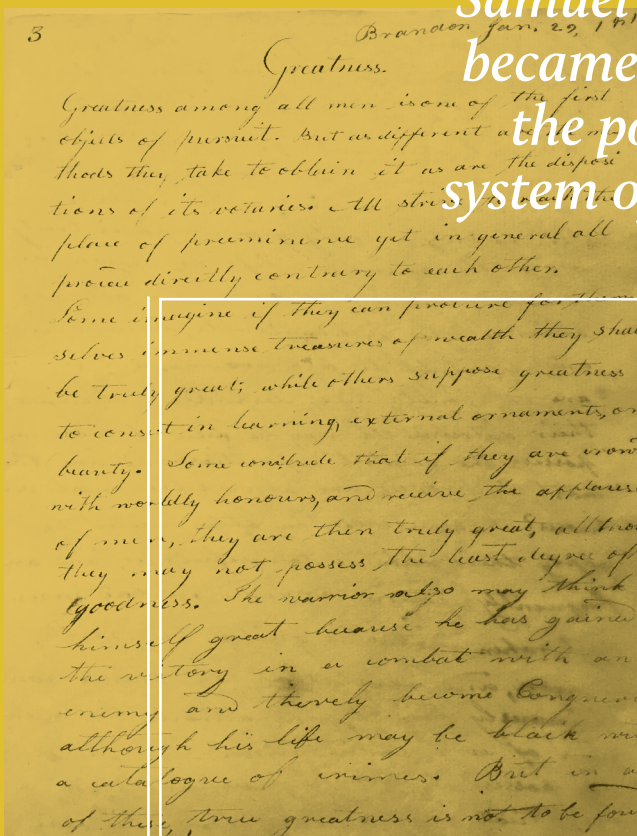
³ Harriett Chase to Sarah Merriam Wait, "Samuel and Sarah Wait Papers," n.d.; Sarah Merriam Wait to Samuel Wait, "Samuel and Sarah Wait Papers," August 9, 1824.

⁴ Wait, "Letter from Sally Wait to Leavill Hewins, March 30, 1830."



“Despite any earlier concerns they may have had,

Samuel and Sally became a part of the powerful system of slavery...”



ABOVE: Samples of Samuel and Sarah Wait's writings

The Waits brought a white servant girl from Vermont with them to New Bern. Doratha probably lived in the Waits' rented home for approximately two years, tending to household chores and the children, Ann Eliza and newborn William Carey. But by the summer of 1830, just a few months before Samuel resigned from the church, Doratha was no longer there. Her unexplained disappearance corresponds with evidence that the longer the Waits stayed in the South, the more they became active participants in the culture of slavery. On the 1830 Federal census, two enslaved women appeared in the Waits' household: a woman between 24 and 35 and a girl under the age of 10.⁶ The Waits had made a choice to have slaves in their household.

Sally's mother, Sarah Conant Merriam, reiterated her admonition that Sally had "two lovely children whose morals you have got to cultivate" and pleaded with her that

*"can you not . . . weigh the consequences of endangering the Souls of your children . . . before you settle again in a land of slavery?"*⁷

Her mother's concerns would escalate the following year. Two months after the couple's final return to North Carolina in late 1831, Nat Turner was captured after leading a bloody rebellion in nearby Southampton County, Virginia. Just days after Turner was executed, Sally's mother wrote to her about reports "that the whites are very much incensed against the Baptist and Quakers [and] think their liberal principles are one great cause of the tumult and insurrection." While many Southern whites were threatening and enacting vengeance on the enslaved population after the Turner rebellion, Sally's mother feared retaliation on Sally and Samuel for their religious views. She wrote, "If that is the case you are in danger of imprisonment or assassination. You will therefore be cautious of your words and action."⁸

As tensions escalated, Baptist publications cautioned ministers about publicly speaking out against slavery or taking political stands of any kind, writing that it was "not their business to manage the world."⁹ Indeed, Samuel left little indication of his stance on slavery in his writings, choosing to focus on the salvation of souls rather than address what he would consider more temporal matters.

When he accepted a position with the North Carolina Baptist Convention, he continued to address biracial audiences at backwoods revivals, sometimes alongside black preachers. By the time the convention established Wake Forest College, the Waits were firmly enmeshed in the culture of slavery. In 1839, Samuel purchased two enslaved women who provided domestic work for the family and a boarding house they ran. They also hired enslaved men to assist with a small farm the Waits purchased near the school. Despite any earlier concerns they may have had, Samuel and Sally became a part of the powerful system of slavery, becoming slaveholders themselves.

When I started researching Sally's story several years ago, I imagined learning about the grandmotherly ancestor and pious helpmate that Sally envisioned herself to be. Instead, the person I met in the archives was a fiery and resourceful woman whose aspirations pushed against the limits of her early 19th century woman's sphere. Even so, she did not challenge the prevailing system of slavery.

I grew up as a descendant of the Waits. Our family lore held that as a Baptist minister constantly scraping to make ends meet, Samuel Wait would not have owned enslaved workers. Embracing the idealism of the Wake Forest University narrative, we wanted to believe in a certain exceptionalism in which the Waits would reject the dominant social and economic system that surrounded them.

**AS IT TURNS OUT, BOTH OUR FAMILY'S
NARRATIVE AND THE UNIVERSITY'S
NARRATIVE WERE WRONG. 2**

⁵ Isaac Merriam and Mary Powers Merriam to Samuel Wait and Sarah Merriam Wait, "Samuel and Sarah Wait Papers," April 20, 1828.

⁶ 1830 U.S. Census, "New Bern, Craven, North Carolina Population Schedule," Film 0018085, Series M19, Roll 119, page 120, image 00108.

⁷ Merriam to Wait, "Samuel and Sarah Wait Papers," April 25, 1830.

⁸ Merriam to Wait and Wait, "Samuel and Sarah Wait Papers," November 26, 1831.

⁹ Sharp, "Review: Counsels and Cautions The Substance of an Address Read before the Conference of Baptist Ministers in Massachusetts, at Their Annual Meeting in Boston, May 27, 1835."

Reflections on the Original Wake Forest College Campus and Cemetery

DEREK HICKS

IN MY African American Religious Experience class, I try to take students on a historical journey through the vibrant tapestry of the Black faith tradition. Through readings, lectures, films, and discussions, students are introduced to the diverse ways black people have found hope in faith while facing absurd odds. Beginning with West African cultural expressions, continuing through the Middle Passage experience, chattel slavery, and the development of the “Black Church,” students learn the ways African Americans contributed to our larger understanding of American religious history in general. Our trip to Wake Forest University’s original campus gave the students an even deeper level of engagement with challenging course material. The true gift of the trip was that it gave physical presence to the printed words in books merely describing religious experiences. We were ushered into physical spaces of African American religious faith while attentively listening for the voices of hopeful souls who once dwelled there.

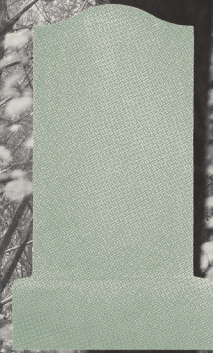
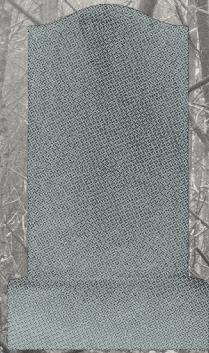
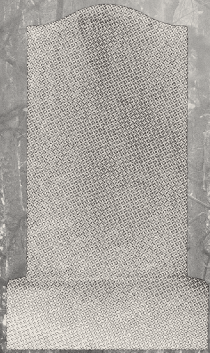
Our sojourn to the original campus began with two pivotal yet unrelated conversations.

The first occurred 10 years ago in a hotel lobby in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. In a space filled with unassuming strangers, I had the honor of meeting Dr. Katie Geneva Cannon. Dr. Cannon was visiting my institution to deliver a distinguished lecture and generously agreed to meet and speak with me about my experience as a new professor.

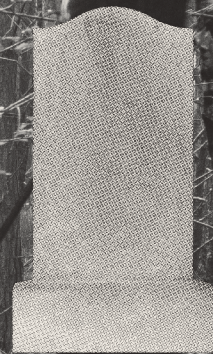
I was nervous. Dr. Cannon was the mother of Womanist ethics and I was a newly minted Ph.D. She approached me with the grace and humility of one whose experience granted her authority in all things and yet was warm and welcoming. That day we discussed black religious life, race, and gender. I also shared a recent incident that occurred during a lecture I delivered at another institution.

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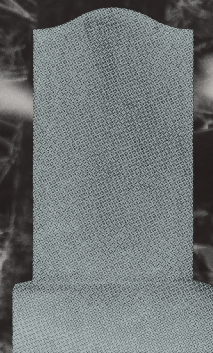
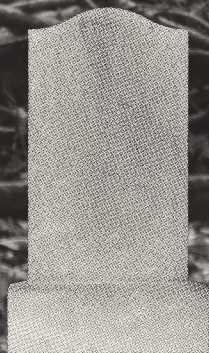
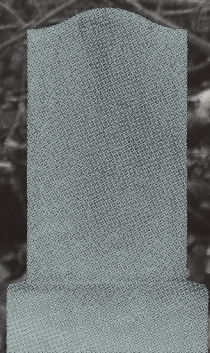
It was as though the



buried ancestors felt my presence



and knew I longed to



commune with them.

”

The lecture was on a chapter from my first book. During the question-and-answer period, I was challenged by a historian about why I had chosen to make a central argument about the function and nature of black religious leaders using the fictional character Baby Suggs Holy from Toni Morrison's *Beloved*. The historian argued that one must always use real historical figures to make historical claims. Even though I had used an abundance of historical evidence in that chapter, centralizing Baby Suggs Holy to advance a historically informed interpretive claim was troubling to this historian.

I told this to Dr. Cannon, who gave me the look that a mother gives a child when being sympathetic. It is the look often followed by the sentiment expressed by so many black mothers, "Bless your heart." Dr. Cannon proceeded to say something to me that would forever change my academic thinking and help me to better understand why so many Womanist scholars work to strategically expand the theological canon. She told me to maintain my use of fiction and literature because, as she put it, fiction "brings people into the holy of holies in ways history never can." Dr. Cannon's words and encouragement allowed me to pivot from conventional notions of what was "valuable" scholarship to an expanded idea of the possibilities that could be drawn from alternative sources.

My encounter with Dr. Cannon pushed me to consider what it means to *find out things that I did not know I needed to know*. This idea leads me to the second conversation, which birthed the idea for this interactive experience to be incorporated into the class.

Sarah Soleim, Manager of Community and Academic Learning at the Wake Forest Historical Museum, invited me to meet to discuss my teaching and research. After telling her about my African American Religious Experience course, she excitedly told me about an archeological discovery that revealed the existence of what was called an "African Chapel" on Wake Forest University's original campus. We discussed the evidence still being gathered about the chapel and how it was utilized by the unsung builders of our institution—enslaved people who constructed the university's early buildings. These individuals toiled, bled, and died to create what would eventually become a top university in the United States. This African Chapel would be a place of solace and sanctuary for a people forced to come to grips with life under the regime of chattel slavery.

These two conversations informed my decision to include a trip to the original campus as a part of my students' learning experience. I realized, however, that merely seeing and walking the campus grounds was not enough. I wanted the students to reflect on the complexities of race, faith, slavery, labor, and death. Indeed, Dr. Cannon's notion of the "holy of holies" provided a way to value the reflective work of my students. I wanted them to interact with the souls of those unsung builders of Wake Forest University as they walked the spaces that the forgotten had once inhabited.

To do this, I enlisted the support of brilliant local poet Jacinta White. Jacinta's recently published book of poetry and short stories, *Resurrecting the Bones: Born from a Journey through African American Churches and Cemeteries in the Rural South*, chronicles her journey to over 35 historic black churches and cemeteries in the South.¹ She offers deep reflections on what it means to walk the sacred

¹ Jacinta V. White, *Resurrecting the Bones: Born from a Journey through African American Churches & Cemeteries in the Rural South* (Winston-Salem, NC: Press 53, 2019).

grounds of unsettled souls. I wanted my class to experience something similar on the original campus and at the Old Cemetery belonging to nearby Friendship Chapel Baptist Church. What resulted was a meaningful class trip that was only matched by the insightful poems the students wrote under Jacinta's instruction.

The most moving moment of the visit took place at the Old Cemetery. This sacred burial ground is likely the final resting place to some of those unsung builders of Wake Forest University's original campus. To know that we were entering the space where these particular ancestors rested may have been enough. But what I personally experienced in that cemetery stirred something even more profound. As we stepped off the bus, we saw a mass of trees in front of us. Strikingly, this section of trees was nestled between two developments of new single-family homes on both sides. We walked toward this nondescript group of trees and were greeted by a "No Trespassing" sign. No other signs were posted informing us of the existence of the cemetery or detailing the sacredness of the space.



ABOVE:
Various grave markers at
the Old Cemetery

We pressed forward and were led into an opening that seemingly came out of nowhere. We stepped through the threshold, banked right on uneven soil and then turned slightly left. We then came upon grave stones. Only then did I realize the expanse of this sacred space. The beautifully hand-carved tombstones, some with names and dates, others with only simple designs, announced the majesty of the souls resting there. I was struck by how cold it was under the canopy of trees. The wind was swirling and singing. Yet, despite the cold and wind, heat seemed to rise up from the ground and warm my feet. It was as though the buried ancestors felt my presence and knew I longed to commune with them. They welcomed me by warming my every step.

The feeling I had under the tree canopy would be repeated at the site of the African Chapel on the original campus. The souls of the ancestors would welcome me by warming the soles of my feet. On that day, they were calling upon us to tell their stories. I believe they were saying that to us as a university. They require us to be what Edith Wyschogrod calls "heterological historians" and abide by an ethics of remembering in telling the stories of those systematically silenced.² We are therefore called to give voice to often nameless souls. We do this with a spirit of hope. This work calls for us to acknowledge these souls, their lives and their stories as a part of the full history of Wake Forest University. It is a history that requires verbal and written apologies and more. It is a story that must stir in us new efforts to understand our connection to slavery in ways that fundamentally change us at our core. Only then can we become the university that our students deserve. ~

² Edith Wyschogrod, *An Ethics of Remembering: History, Heterology, and the Nameless Others* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998).



Examining Our Past, Enriching Our Future

The Slavery, Race and Memory Project at Wake Forest University

KAMI CHAVIS AND TIM PYATT

REFLECTING on her experience as president of Brown University and Brown's complex relationship to slavery, Ruth J. Simmons writes, "In the midst of the political turmoil around us, there is no greater mission for a university than to disclose facts, confront untruths, and uphold traditions of democracy, openness, and inclusion."¹ It is in recognition of this continuing mission of the university that the Wake Forest University Slavery, Race, and Memory Project ("SRMP") was created. The SRMP is a scholarly endeavor designed to help the campus community understand and acknowledge the role enslaved peoples had in building and growing our University. The Project guides research, preservation, and communication of a full and accurate depiction of the University's relationship to slavery and its legacies and lessons for Wake Forest University.

THE PROJECT IS AN ACADEMICALLY-CENTERED, BROAD BASED INSTITUTIONAL INITIATIVE WITH THREE STRATEGIC FOCI:

Broadening Awareness

The Slavery, Race, and Memory Project broadens awareness among our campus, local and national communities regarding the role that enslaved labor played in constructing not only our country's physical structures, but in shaping our cultural landscape as well.

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The SRMP hosts a lecture series throughout the academic year that brings nationally recognized academics to campus to discuss their research, as well as public conversations that examine slavery and its implications. These lectures and discussions are free and open to the public.

The SRMP administers Campus-Wide Engagement Grants to spur collaborative, interdisciplinary projects related to slavery and race, as well as support relevant programming and cultural events.

The SRMP hosts faculty and student colloquia to discuss ongoing research projects and new ideas for collaborative and interdisciplinary programs.

¹ Ruth J. Simmons, "Slavery and Justice at Brown" in Leslie M. Harris, James T. Campbell, and Alfred L. Brophy, eds., *Slavery and the University: Histories and Legacies* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2019), 222.



Enriching the Academic Experience

2

The Slavery, Race, and Memory Project enhances the academic experience at the university by strategically initiating, supporting, and sustaining signature academic initiatives that broadens learning in the classroom, across the campus, and in our community.

The SRMP explores and makes recommendations about the development and implementation of new academic programs consistent with the university's mission and strategic plan, SRMP's vision statement, and ongoing efforts to diversify the university's faculty.

The SRMP awards course development grants to support university faculty to redesign existing courses and to develop new courses that explore, among other things, the institution of slavery and its legacies, race, memory, and society, and cultures, systems, and practices of racial injustice and discrimination.

The SRMP supports research grants for students and faculty studying slavery and its implications.

Enhancing University Traditions

3

The Slavery, Race, and Memory Project examines the traditions of the university in developing a full and inclusive history of these traditions while also examining opportunities to enhance the role and function of these traditions in cultivating and sustaining a university community that fully represents our motto *Pro Humanitate*.

The SRMP explores and makes recommendations to enhance existing university traditions by including previously underrepresented voices.

The SRMP makes recommendations to appropriately commemorate the enslaved individuals whose labor helped to build this university.

The work of the Slavery, Race, and Memory Project at Wake Forest University will not be finished until we have a complete history of the University and its relationship to the institution of slavery and the lives of enslaved people and this history becomes a living part of our learning community. Wake Forest University will have a better future as we fully confront and acknowledge our past. In so doing, the University will continue and extend “a legacy that affirms and confirms the human capacity to learn, change, and grow.”² *~*

² Ibid, 223.

*I rushed home from school, to the
church, to the altar, to be alone
there, to commune with Jesus, my
dearest Friend, who would never fail me, who knew all
the secrets of my heart. Perhaps He did, but I didn't,
and the bargain we struck, actually, down there at*

James Baldwin,
"Down at the Cross:
Letter from a Region
in My Mind"

*the foot of the cross, was that He
would never let me find out. He
failed His bargain. He was a much
better Man than I took him for.*

Lest We Forget

JONATHAN L. WALTON

TIME can prove a productive pedagogical lens. History can be a great teacher. The past is prologue. To live honestly in the present and responsibly for the future is to wrestle with one's past. This is why, in the sentiment of James Baldwin, any attempt to erase the past as if it is some form of salvation is folly. Forgetting the past is not emancipation. It is amnesia. It is not deliverance. It is a form of dementia.

This is how the ancient Greeks viewed the erasure of history. In Greek mythology, the River Lethe flowed through Hades, the underworld. Lethe means concealment, and anyone who drank its waters had their memory erased as an eternal punishment.

Socrates cites this river in Book X of Plato's Republic. Socrates teaches Glaucon that each soul in the afterlife has an opportunity to reincarnate into a new body. One would think these souls would learn from their previous experiences to become a more righteous being, particularly for those who were unapologetically brutal and blameworthy in an earlier life. Passing through the torturous underworld of Hades should have set them straight. However, before returning to life, self-indulgent souls drank too much from the River Lethe. The waters concealed their past. The waters erased the potential lessons of the afterlife. Unrighteous souls were doomed to repeat history rather than learn from it.



WALTON AT THE WAKE FOREST
UNIVERSITY 2020 FOUNDERS' DAY
CONVOCATION

I understand that we live in a society that interprets progress as relinquishing the past. We are a forward-thinking, futuristic oriented nation—mainly when it serves our purposes. “What’s done is done. Let’s close that book and move on,” some say. “We are autonomous moral subjects—free to make our own choices and decisions,” others believe. If only this were true.

All of us are actors on the stages of history—our scenes and settings were established well before our entrance. Each of us is informed by the legacies, logic, and language of those who lived before us. We are all shaped by the people, practices, and precedents established prior to our birth.

Over three decades ago, when our Baptist brethren elected to drop their anchors in the harbors of gender exclusion and anti-intellectualism, some on this campus had a vision of a different kind of divinity school. We envisioned a divinity school that welcomed those that the Southern Baptist denomination rejected, a divinity school that would develop those who the Southern Baptist faith demonized. We are the beneficiaries of that vision. We aim to extend this legacy of inclusion and acceptance. This is our history. It is a beautiful history. It beckons brilliant minds to come to Wake Forest.

“ This moment in the life of our University calls for neither denial nor defensiveness.

Nevertheless, we must also acknowledge that our history at Wake Forest is both beautiful and terrible. Noble and tragic. Honorable and despicable. We owe our very existence, in part, to the exploited lives and enslaved labor of people of African descent. Men and women like Isaac, Pompie, Caroline, and Lucy sold from the John Blount estate in 1860, precious people whose humanity was sacrificed to prepare young, white Baptist men for the ministry. Baptist young men whose conception of Christ supported America’s serpentine system of slavery. Men whose theology was a religion of white supremacy. Campus officials who sold off human beings like metal tools or farm animals.

Such narratives are a part of our institutional DNA. Profits from the sale of human beings constitute the institutional soil in which our existence is rooted. And the fact that we were not present in the mid-19th century does not separate us from the social, political, and economic legacies of our Founders’ decisions. The fact that our particular families may not have enslaved others does not place us outside of the historical frame of inequality and opportunity that continues to shape our society.

Each one of us stands on the sun-baked, bruised shoulders of those who built this school against their will. We can delude ourselves into believing that we all deserve what history has bequeathed us. To do so, however, would be to drink from the River Lethe, conceal central aspects of our past, and collude in a conspiracy of silence concerning past transgressions.

Hence, this moment in the life of our University calls for neither denial nor defensiveness. The question of whether you are “guilty” of past indiscretions is a luxury we can no longer afford. We must subsume that question under our willingness to take responsibility for our current state of affairs.

Similarly, as members of this community, none of us has the privilege to claim innocence regarding the past—not even me, a product of ancestors enslaved in this state of North Carolina. If we do, our pleas of innocence will only constitute a further crime. We owe this institution and ourselves more. You and I must muster the moral courage and intellectual candor to craft a more inclusive and thus more productive future. In the words of Maya Angelou, “History, despite its wrenching pain, cannot be unlived, but if faced with courage, need not be lived again.”

*The question
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Unconcealing Truth is the only way for us to progress. The Greeks had a lesson here, too. If Lethe was the river of or Goddess of concealment, Aletheia was the Goddess of Truth or unconcealment. There is an instructive story about her origins. Legend states that the great artisan Prometheus crafted Aletheia. He used all of his skills so that Aletheia might guide and shape human behavior. When Prometheus had to leave his workshop, his apprentice Dolus decided to forge his own Goddess—a goddess that would look just like the Goddess of Truth. But Dolus ran out of clay right when he got to her feet. Upon Prometheus's return, he was amazed at Dolus's creation. Prometheus could not even distinguish between his real creation and Dolus's forgery. So he infused them both with life and summoned them. Aletheia, the Goddess of Truth, took measured steps forward. Her deceptive twin, a twin that Prometheus named Mendacium, remained stuck in the same place.

A reality built on a lie may appear successful, but mendacity has a deficient foundation. Only Truth will move us productively forward. Only Truth will liberate us from the demons of our past. Only Truth will provide us a firm foundation to stand with and for humanity. Only the Truth will ultimately set us free. ~

Special Collections & Archives

Wake Forest Institutional Records

- Board of Trustees Records, starting 1834 (RG2.2):
<https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/27776>
- Bursar's Office. Worth Hart Copeland Records (RG17.4)
<https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/27960>
- Charles Elisha Taylor Papers (MS111)
<https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/96048>
- Wake Forest University Euzelian and Philomathesian Society Debate Topics
<https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/95990>
- "History of Wake Forest" timeline
<https://zsr.wfu.edu/special/collections/archives/wfu-timeline/>
- John Brown White Papers (MS164)
<https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/96033>
- Literary Societies. Euzelian Society Records (RG6.2)
<https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/27731>
- Literary Societies. Philomathesian Society Records (RG6.1)
<https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/27805>
- Registrar's Office Records (RG20)
<https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/57337>
- Treasurer's Office. William Crenshaw Account Books (RG25.1)
<https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/28133>
- Wake Forest College Treasurer. First treasurer's book.
Wake Forest College. Wake Forest, N.C.: Wake Forest Institute,
1833-1838. (LD5721 W493 W36)
- Wake Forest Original Campus Collection
<https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/89141>
- Wake Forest Student Magazine
<https://lib.digitalnc.org/?ln=en>
- Washington Manly Wingate Papers (MS123)
<https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/93470>
- William Hooper Papers (MS56)
<https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/28132>

Manuscript Collections

- Calvin Jones Papers (MS60)
<https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/27889>
- James Simpson Purefoy Papers (MS93)
<https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/28152>
- John Blount Estate Documents
<https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/93888>
- Oscar Fitz Allen Baxter Autobiography (MS440)
<https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/95718>
- Samuel and Sarah Wait Papers (MS117)
<https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/28121>
- University and N.C. Baptist Biographical Files Collection (MS615) <https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/58225>
- William Boling Dunn, Senior, Papers (MS34)
<https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/28086>
- William Crenshaw Papers (MS25)
<https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/37374>
- William Tell Brooks Papers (MS12)
<https://wakespace.lib.wfu.edu/handle/10339/47442>



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