

*To, I am sorry to inform that it  
is out of our power to annul  
the first proposition viz. to build  
a college as we have a very large  
College ~~we~~ built in Baltimore  
many ago. But your as your  
doubt cannot from the present  
most disastrous year for the persons  
Maryland. The wheat crop in  
was also  
the other crop  
off. In consequence I have a  
under the necessity of borrowing  
the most current expenses a*



**LOYOLA**  
UNIVERSITY MARYLAND

**President's Task Force  
Examining Loyola's  
Connections to Slavery**

**FINAL REPORT • 2024**

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# INTRODUCTION

**O**n December 1, 2021, interim Loyola president Amanda M. Thomas, Ph.D. and incoming Loyola president Terrence M. Sawyer, J.D., announced the formation of a task force charged with initiating and guiding a university-wide examination of Loyola's connections to slavery and its ongoing legacies. These legacies include, but are not limited to, the broader experience of African American persons at Loyola and Loyola's contributions to efforts promoting racial justice on campus, in Baltimore, and across the country. In launching the task force, Thomas and Sawyer wrote, "History is an evolving understanding of our past, and we recognize the need to research this more deeply. As a university, we must investigate and identify how Loyola's history might have connected to the profits of slavery so we can address those issues and move forward together as a community."

The connections between slavery and Jesuit higher education came to national attention in 2016 when a *New York Times* story detailed the ways Georgetown University benefitted from the proceeds of the 1838 sale of 272 African American men, women, and children who were enslaved by the Maryland Province of the Jesuits (hereafter "the GU272 sale").<sup>1</sup> While attention at the time largely focused upon Georgetown, subsequent years have seen a growing recognition of the wider impact of this sale—and Jesuit slaveholding more generally—upon many other institutions founded or supported by the Maryland Province, from Gonzaga College High School to St. Louis University and the College of the Holy Cross. As the Maryland Province continued to receive payments from the GU272 sale into the 1860s, it is hard for any institution supported by the Province during this time or thereafter to claim no connection to Jesuit slaveholding or its proceeds.

This includes Loyola University Maryland. This report examines Loyola's place in this history. It presents the task force's findings regarding Loyola's connections to slavery

and its legacies. It reflects upon the significance of these findings for the Loyola community today, and outlines recommendations to guide Loyola's response going forward.

## Task Force Composition and Process

The task force consisted of twelve members, including Loyola faculty, administrators, students, and two members of the GU272 descendant community (see p. 5). It met on a bi-weekly basis from January 2022 to May 2023. Dr. David Carey Jr., the Doehler Chair in History, and Jenny Kinniff, Head of Archives and Special Collections at the Loyola/Notre Dame Library, led the archival research and regularly updated the task force on their findings. The task force also consulted relevant literature in the field, including a variety of sources on the history of Jesuit slaveholding in Maryland, as well as several reports of other universities investigating their ties to slavery. In addition, the task force reviewed various reparative actions employed at other institutions to inform its recommendations regarding Loyola's response going forward.

When Loyola launched the task force, it formally joined Universities Studying Slavery (USS), a consortium of over ninety institutions examining their ties to slavery. Several task force members participated in USS conferences at Guilford College/Wake Forest University, the University of Virginia, and the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Task force members shared findings at the University of Maryland's 1856 Project symposium in February 2023, participated in the Roberson Project's Locating Slavery's Legacies database launch event in April 2023, and met with other area institutions investigating their ties to slavery, including Gonzaga College High School.

Two aspects of our process are worth noting. The first was the participation of Mélisande Short-Colomb and Dr. Lynn Nehemiah, two members of the GU272 descendant

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<sup>1</sup> Rachel Swarns, "Georgetown Confronts Its Role in Nation's Slave Trade," *The New York Times*, April 16, 2016.

community. Descendant community representation on this task force was not something we presumed at the outset. But discussions with Richard Cellini of the Georgetown Memory Project and several members of the GU272 Descendants Association helped us appreciate how vital it would be to have descendant community voices informing our process at its early stages, helping to establish, in dialogical fashion, shared priorities on research and strategies for how Loyola should respond to this history and its legacies. It is difficult to imagine what our process would have been like had Short-Colomb and Dr. Nehemiah not agreed to participate. They shared a vast knowledge of the history under question and years of experience advocating on behalf of the GU272 descendant community. They suggested people to contact, served as guest speakers in courses, and mentored students in research. They conveyed the anguish this history and its legacies has caused them and their families, and the pride they have in the contributions their ancestors have made to Jesuit education. Having the opportunity to work with Short-Colomb and Dr. Nehemiah, and through them, come to know other members of the GU272 descendant community, has been one of the most significant aspects of this process. As we discuss in greater detail in this report, sustaining this relationship will be essential to Loyola's process going forward.

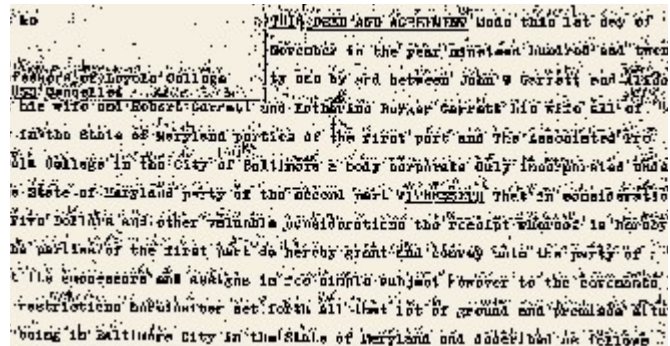
Second, our task force benefitted enormously from the contributions of students, including those who formally served on the task force as well as numerous others who conducted original archival research and oral histories as part of several recent courses focused upon Loyola's connections to slavery and its legacies. Here we particularly wish to acknowledge the students who participated in an innovative Center for Humanities-supported Aperio project that paired a summer of research with a choice of two Fall courses on these themes, one taught by task force member Dr. Carey through the disciplinary lens of history, and another by Dr. Lisa Zimmerelli through the lens of creative writing. Jenny Kinniff played a substantial role in supporting students in their research. Students in these courses focused upon a number of topics, from Loyola's ties to the Confederacy to the experience of African Americans on campus today. They presented their work to a full audience at Loyola's student center in November 2022. Two students, Alexis Faison and Israel White, then edited a volume of essays, which will be published by Loyola's Apprentice House Press. In a follow up course in Spring 2023, Dr. Carey and his students worked with Dr. Nehemiah and Short-Colomb to produce oral histories of a number of GU272 descendant community members. Our task force has not only benefitted

from the findings of this wide-ranging student research, but has also been able to witness in real time the emergence of a powerful form of student engagement with this history, one that enables students, in dialogue with faculty and descendant community members, to be co-authors in the re-telling of their institution's history. Such student research is exactly the kind of high-impact practice to which we aspire, and we believe it should continue to play a central role in Loyola's process going forward.

### Summary of Findings

To situate our findings, Part I of the report begins with a brief overview of slavery in the United States and Jesuit slaveholding. It then turns to Loyola's historic ties to slavery. The task force found evidence of a direct financial connection between Loyola's founding and the proceeds of the GU272 sale. From July 1855 through December 1860, Loyola Jesuits also rented "servants" who were likely enslaved, and Loyola likely benefited from the labor of an unidentified woman listed in an 1860 census as enslaved by the Order of the Jesuits in Baltimore.

The task force also documented examples of Loyola support for the Confederacy and the Lost Cause. At least 22 students, faculty, or staff joined the Confederacy, while 10 joined the Union forces. In the late nineteenth century, Loyola Jesuits hosted Lost Cause literary figures such as Father Abram J. Ryan and Richard Malcolm Johnston. Ryan donated funds to establish a prize for poetry, the Ryan Medal, which was awarded until at least the late 1960s. Jenkins Hall and the Jenkins Society are named for George Carrell Jenkins, a Confederate soldier and advocate of the Lost Cause. Into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, student writing valorized Lost Cause motifs and the Loyola Drama Department staged blackface minstrel shows. The 1921 land deed for Loyola's Evergreen campus replicated the restrictive covenants of the Roland Park Company and limited education on



Detail of the 1921 land deed for Loyola's Evergreen campus



Charles H. Dorsey, Jr., '57

campus to “white persons”.

The task force also documented the contributions of several individuals whose importance to Loyola’s founding and development has gone previously unacknowledged or uncelebrated. These include those whose forced labor supported the Maryland Province, and by extension, Loyola, from GU272 matriarch Ann Joice to her descendants

Charles and Patrick Mahoney, who eventually sued for and won their freedom. Louisa Mahoney Mason eluded transfer to Louisiana when the GU272 sale was completed, and after emancipation, worked for the Jesuits for another half century at St. Inigoes. Her great grandchildren, Daniel and Gabriel Bennett, worked as cooks at Woodstock College, where many Jesuits trained. Free Black laborers at Loyola such as Dominick Butler and Madison Fenwick performed the difficult work of sustaining Loyola during pivotal periods of growth. We also document the experience of pioneering Black students such as Charles Dorsey and Paul Smith, who helped to desegregate Loyola in the 1950s. Into the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century, we track numerous initiatives and programs that have promoted social and racial justice efforts on campus and beyond, including the Center for Community, Service, and Justice, ALANA Services, the Office of Equity and Inclusion, the Karson Institute for Race, Peace, and Social Justice, and student activist groups such as Loyola Rising and Addressing the System.

### Ongoing Legacies and the Work of Repair

Part II of the report reflects upon the legacies of this history at Loyola and the ongoing need for repair on campus and with the GU272 descendant and Baltimore communities. Relating these findings to the current campus climate, we review how the experience of African Americans on campus remains defined by disparities in faculty representation, student satisfaction, and graduation rates. We discuss evidence-backed strategies for promoting effective culture change, including regular education and training opportunities, alignment with overall vision and strategic planning, cross-group interactions, minority representation in student enrollment and hiring, and systemic monitoring of the effectiveness of DEIJ-centered practices.

Drawing upon the perspectives of GU272 descendant community members as well as the National Summit on Teaching Slavery’s rubric for engaging descendant communities, we discuss how Loyola can commit to fostering a collaborative, equitable relationship with descendants in research, storytelling, and decision-making over reparative measures. We review reparative strategies that have been implemented at other institutions and highlight specific measures that we believe can promote repair between Loyola and the GU272 descendant community, including further collaboration in research and its interpretation, honoring the contributions of GU272 ancestors to Loyola, and ensuring greater access to Loyola, including a Loyola education.

We then relate our findings to Loyola’s relationship to Baltimore and identify several existing initiatives that offer concrete avenues for redressing the legacies that we document, including the Charm City Pell Promise Program, the York Road Initiative, and the Karson Institute for Race, Peace, and Social Justice.

### Recommendations

Part III lays out our recommendations for how Loyola can respond to this history and its legacies going forward. We provide a rationale for each recommendation and actionable steps that Loyola can take to begin implementing them. The recommendations include the following:

- Establish a university-wide initiative that continues Loyola’s examination of its connections to slavery and its legacies
- Engage in a comprehensive re-telling of Loyola’s story
- Infuse the history of Loyola’s connections to slavery and its legacies into campus life and culture
- Sustain Loyola’s engagement with the GU272 descendant community
- Honor GU272 ancestors and other individuals whose contributions to Loyola have gone previously unacknowledged or uncelebrated
- Rename Jenkins Hall and the Jenkins Society
- Make Loyola (including a Loyola education) accessible to members of the GU272 descendant community
- Expand Loyola’s support for existing DEIJ-focused initiatives on campus
- Strengthen Loyola’s partnerships in the city of Baltimore that redress legacies identified in this report
- Develop an advancement strategy to endow these activities

### **Seeking Truth and Responding with Action**

Jesuit colleges and universities aspire to the very highest ideals of mission-driven education. Characteristics of Jesuit higher education include a vibrant academic life that seeks truth and cares for the whole person; a commitment to institutional integrity; and the pursuit of faith, justice, and reconciliation. The universal apostolic preferences of the Society of Jesus call us to walk with those who are excluded and whose dignity has been violated. This same Jesuit mission calls us to acknowledge when we have not lived up to these ideals, and, in the spirit of the *magis*, strive to be a more just, inclusive community.

We offer this report as part of advancing this mission. We do so knowing that we are at the beginning of this process, not at the end. Examining this history and responding to it is not something that can be completed by any single task force, course, or initiative. Examining and responding to these issues should be a regular practice of university life, woven into the fabric of campus culture, part of the ongoing

search for truth that is integral to any university and the self-examination that is fundamental to any Jesuit university. As task force member Mélanie Short-Colomb has put it, this work has to be “a part of the soul of your university.”

We believe that it can become this, in part because of the many inspiring ways our campus community is already engaging this history and its legacies through courses, research, and new forms of dialogue and collaboration. Thomas and Sawyer concluded their December 2021 announcement with the following apt words, “Although we cannot change the past, we must understand the full impact of past events and actions to be able to move forward. We must also name that the inhumane treatment of persons who were enslaved by the Society of Jesus stands in direct opposition to our belief that all people are created in the image of God. As a Jesuit, Catholic university, we must always seek truth, honestly engage with our past—as difficult as that can be—and respond with continued action as we work to create a more just future for all.”



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# TASK FORCE MEMBERS

**Diana Betz, Ph.D.**, Associate Professor of Psychology

**David Carey Jr., Ph.D.**, Doehler Chair in History

**Alexis Faison**, Loyola Class of 2024

**Stephen Fowl, Ph.D.**, Former Dean, Loyola College of Arts and Sciences (co-chair)

**Afra Hersi, Ph.D.**, Dean of the School of Education

**John Kiess, Ph.D.**, Associate Professor of Theology (co-chair)

**Jenny Kinniff**, Head of Archives and Special Collections, Loyola/Notre Dame Library

**Grace Murry**, Loyola Class of 2023

**Lynn Nehemiah, DDS**, GU272 Descendant Community

**Rodney L. Parker, Ph.D.**, Chief Equity and Inclusion Officer

**Mélisande Short-Colomb**, GU272 Descendant Community

**Karsonya “Kaye” Wise Whitehead, Ph.D.**, Professor of Communication and African and African American Studies; Executive Director of the Karson Institute for Race, Peace & Social Justice<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> We also gratefully acknowledge Rev. Scott Adams and Dr. Benjamin Parker, who served on the task force before leaving the university in 2022, and Jacqueline Rogers, who served on the task force during the spring 2022 semester. We also wish to thank Dr. Matthew Mulcahy, who contributed much of the historical overview of slavery and Jesuit slaveholding in Part I of the report.



# PART I

## Historical Findings

**T**he first part of this report presents the historical findings of our task force. To situate our discussion, we begin with an overview of slavery in the United States followed by a historical summary of Jesuit slaveholding in Maryland. We then turn to Loyola's ties to slavery and its legacies.

### i. Slavery in the United States: An Overview

The “20 and odd Negroes” sold to Virginia colonists in 1619 marked the beginning of slavery and the transatlantic slave trade to British North America. They were among the first of roughly 500,000 enslaved Africans forcibly transported to the territories that would become the United States between 1607 and 1865.<sup>3</sup> The development of slavery as an institution, however, took time. The number of enslaved Africans in the Chesapeake colonies of Maryland and Virginia remained small for much of the seventeenth century. Colonists instead relied on the steady stream of English indentured servants for labor. Some of the early Africans in the colonies were not yet slaves for life and some eventually were freed after years of labor (usually longer terms than those of English servants). Slowly, however, mainland colonists took steps to distinguish English and African laborers and began to erect new legal frameworks that discriminated against Africans. Most notably, in 1662 Virginia decreed that any child born from sexual relations between an Englishman and an enslaved woman would inherit the

mother's status, thereby establishing hereditary slavery in law. Maryland passed a similar law a few years later.<sup>4</sup>

The status of Africans in this period of transition is vividly embodied in the life of Ann Joice, the matriarch of the Mahoney family to whom many in the GU272 descendant community trace their lineage. Arriving in Maryland around 1676, she was indentured to Charles Calvert, a prominent Catholic who governed the colony until his departure in 1684.<sup>5</sup> Joice honored the terms of her contract, yet when Calvert returned to England, she was transferred to the plantation of Henry Darnall, who promptly burned her papers, leaving her without any proof of her promised freedom and subjecting her and future generations to enslavement. “She was enslaved,” Rachel Swarns writes, “but she would not stay silent.”<sup>6</sup> She told her story to her children, who told it to theirs, and some would eventually cite the terms of her indenture in freedom suits filed years later.<sup>7</sup>

By the latter part of the 1660s and 1670s, the market for indentured servants tightened, raising costs. At the same time, England became more involved in the slave trade. The result was a steady increase in the number of enslaved Africans arriving in British colonies, including Virginia and Maryland. Over the course of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the population of enslaved Africans rose significantly. In Maryland, the population grew from roughly 1,600 in 1680 to 3,200 in 1700 to more than 43,000 by 1750, by which date enslaved people formed 31% of the population. In neighboring Virginia

<sup>3</sup> [www.slavevoyages.org](http://www.slavevoyages.org), accessed March 8, 2023. The total number of enslaved individuals is based on the “estimates” for the Transatlantic trade and the “data” for the Intra-American trade. For context on early slaveholding in the Chesapeake, see Philip Morgan, “Virginia Slavery in Atlantic Context, 1550 to 1650,” Paul Musselwhite, Peter Mancall, and James Horn, eds., *Virginia 1619: Slavery and Freedom in the Making of English America* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2019), 85-107.

<sup>4</sup> The best overview of slavery in the United States remains Peter Kolchin, *American Slavery, 1619-1877* (New York, 1993, revised 2003). Kathleen Brown, *Goodwives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1996), 128-36.

<sup>5</sup> Rachel Swarns, *The 272: The Families Who Were Enslaved and Sold to Build the American Catholic Church* (New York: Random House, 2023), 5-7.

<sup>6</sup> Swarns, *The 272*, 12.

<sup>7</sup> Swarns, *The 272*, 12, 27. For more on the freedom suits, see William G. Thomas III, *A Question of Freedom: The Families Who Challenged Slavery from the Nation's Founding to the Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020).



enslaved Africans and African Americans numbered more than 107,000 in 1750 and comprised 46% of the population. Although the transatlantic trade continued, by this date a native-born, or creole, population of African Americans dominated in the Chesapeake region.<sup>8</sup>

Slavery took root in other parts of mainland British America as well across the seventeenth century. Enslaved Africans never formed a major proportion of the population in New England or the Middle Colonies of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania (these remained “societies with slaves” rather than “slave societies,” to use Ira Berlin’s formulation), but enslaved Africans nevertheless played an important role in the region’s labor force, especially in the urban areas.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, much of the wealth of these colonies came from trade with England’s Caribbean colonies, where huge numbers of enslaved Africans labored on massive sugar plantations. By the early eighteenth century, another distinctive slave society emerged along the southeastern mainland coast centered on the production of rice. Enslaved Africans dominated the region, forming roughly 66% of South Carolina’s total population by 1740. High mortality linked to the region’s disease environment and difficult work of rice planting meant planters continued to import tens of thousands of enslaved individuals from Africa, which in turn allowed a variety of West African cultures to remain vibrant in the lowcountry across time. In sum, enslaved Africans were present in all parts of British America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, from Boston to Barbados, and directly and indirectly, they played a central role in the economic development of all the colonies.<sup>10</sup>

Resistance to enslavement took many forms. Across the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, some self-emancipated, running away to seek freedom as individuals or in groups. Frederick Douglass was perhaps the most famous individual to escape slavery, but he was far from the only one. At times, including South Carolina in 1739, Louisiana in 1811, and Virginia in 1831, enslaved people rose up in armed revolt. Some turned to the legal system to fight for freedom, for themselves and for others. In 1781, Elizabeth (Mum Bett) Freeman, an enslaved woman in Massachusetts, sued for and won her freedom and 30 shillings in damages. This was the first of a few cases that led the Massachusetts

Superior Court to declare slavery incompatible with the state’s constitution in 1783. Enslaved men and women in the state of Maryland filed similar cases in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, including a successful suit brought by members of the Queen family against Father John Ashton, S.J., of the White Marsh plantation.<sup>11</sup> Two descendants of Ann Joice, Charles and Patrick Mahoney, sued the same Father Ashton for their freedom, citing the violated terms of Joice’s indenture. After a lengthy court process, Ashton relented. Other enslaved men and women mustered funds to purchase their freedom, while others ran, protected from slave hunters by the resilient and growing free Black community.<sup>12</sup>

The Revolutionary era witnessed contradictory developments regarding slavery. On the one hand, the American War for Independence highlighted the hypocrisy of revolutionaries claiming to fight for liberty and freedom while at the same time holding hundreds of thousands of people in slavery. The tension between rhetoric and reality pushed many of the new states north of the Mason-Dixon line to abolish slavery, although the process was often gradual and took decades in places like Pennsylvania and New York. On the other hand, Eli Whitney’s new cotton gin fueled a dramatic expansion of cotton production after 1793 and led to the entrenchment and expansion of slavery in the south. Cotton soon dominated large parts of the southeast, spreading across the backcountries of South Carolina and Georgia into territories that became the new states of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. By the same period, a small, but tremendously profitable sugar sector had developed in parts of Louisiana.<sup>13</sup>

Congress banned the transatlantic slave trade in 1807, so to meet the demand for labor on cotton plantations, an internal slave trade developed from the older states to newer territories. The size of the internal trade dwarfed the earlier transatlantic trade, as roughly one million individuals were sold to the southeast between roughly 1800 and 1860, about twice as many as had crossed the Atlantic in the previous two centuries. Maryland and Virginia in particular played a central role in this trade. Because the enslaved population had grown by natural reproduction since the early decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and because some planters shifted away from tobacco to wheat, a crop that demanded

8 Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in America* (Cambridge, MA: 1998), 369.

9 Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 8-9.

10 Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 370, 142-76.

11 Swarns, *The 272*, 27.

12 Swarns, *The 272*, 29.

13 Kolchin, *American Slavery*, 63-95.

less labor, many planters exploited the possibility for profits by selling enslaved people into the deep south, ripping apart families in the process. One recent estimate suggests that roughly 58,000 enslaved people were marched overland from Maryland to the deep south between 1820 and 1860. An additional estimated 20,000 were transported via ships from Baltimore harbor. Thus, when the Jesuits sought to raise money in 1838, the internal slave trade provided a well-established mechanism for doing so.<sup>14</sup>

While the enslaved population in Maryland declined over the first half of the nineteenth century from roughly 103,000 in 1790 to 87,000 in 1860, it rose dramatically elsewhere in the country so that on the eve of the American Civil War, roughly 4 million Americans were enslaved. Slavery ended only with Civil War.<sup>15</sup> Lincoln's 1863 Emancipation Proclamation freed enslaved people living in rebellious states, which meant it had no effect in Maryland, a border state that remained in the Union. It was only with the ratification of a new state constitution in 1864 that slavery ended in Maryland, and it was only with the passage of the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment in 1865 that slavery was abolished everywhere in the United States.<sup>16</sup>

## ii. Jesuit Slaveholding

The history of the Jesuit plantations in Maryland mirrors this larger history of slavery in the Chesapeake region and the United States more broadly. The first Jesuits led by Fr. Andrew White arrived in the colony in 1634, accompanied by twenty-six English indentured servants. More servants arrived in the next few years. English law prohibited land ownership by religious orders, but as individuals, Jesuit priests were entitled to land grants for the servants they had imported. As a result, Jesuits gained some 2,000 acres that became St. Inigoes plantation in St. Mary's County and 4,400 acres for what became St. Thomas Manor plantation in Charles County. Over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Jesuits gained

more land for plantations and farms across Maryland and southern Pennsylvania, either by direct purchase or through bequests from prominent Catholic colonists. In 1729, for example, James Carroll bequeathed several thousand acres of land in Anne Arundel and Prince George's County some of which eventually became the White Marsh plantation.<sup>17</sup>

As was the case elsewhere in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake, the Jesuits at first relied on indentured servants and tenant farmers to grow the tobacco, corn, and wheat on their plantations. The situation changed by the latter decades of the seventeenth century when, unable to secure enough servants or tenants, the Jesuits began to purchase enslaved Africans. The exact date of this transition is unknown, but by 1717, documents indicate that the Jesuits owned 15 enslaved individuals—four men, four women, four boys, and three girls. The enslaved population grew considerably in the following decades by purchases, bequests, and natural reproduction. Along with land, for example, Carroll bequeathed the Jesuits some thirty enslaved individuals in 1729. By 1765, the Jesuits held some 192 enslaved individuals on seven plantations totaling over 12,000 acres.<sup>18</sup>

Faced with the challenge of maintaining their estates following Pope Clement XIV's suppression of the Jesuit order in 1773, the priests in Maryland formed the Select Body of the Clergy in 1783 to oversee operations. Several years later, in 1792, the state of Maryland formally chartered the group as the Corporation of Roman Catholic Clergymen (CRCC). Revenues generated by those laborers on the plantations continued to support various activities, including funding for the newly established Georgetown College (1789). In addition, the former Jesuits ceded temporary control of Bohemia plantation to help support a new seminary, St. Mary's, launched by Sulpician priests on the outskirts of Baltimore Town. The Sulpicians remained in charge until 1799, when the (ex)Jesuits reclaimed management of the plantation. As part of the negotiations, however, the Sulpicians maintained control

14 Kolchin, *American Slavery*, 95-99; Jennie K. Williams, "Trouble with Water: The Baltimore to New Orleans Coastwise Trade, 1820-1860," *Slavery and Abolition* 41:2 (2020): 275-303 fn. 12.

15 See Frederick Douglass, "The Mission of the War," in Philip S. Foner, ed. *Frederick Douglass: Selected Speeches and Writings* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill, 1999), 554-567.

16 Jonathan White, "Achieving Emancipation in Maryland," in Charles W. Mitchell and Jean. H. Baker, eds., *The Civil War in Maryland Reconsidered* (Baton Rouge, LA, 2021), 236-59.

17 A good overview of Jesuit landholdings and the process of acquiring land is the Jesuit Plantation Project created by Sharon Leon. Life and Labor under Slavery: the Jesuit Plantation Project · Welcome · Jesuit Plantation Project, accessed March 7, 2023; see also Robert Emmett Curran, "'Splendid Poverty': Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland, 1805-1838," reprinted in Adam Rothman and Elsa Barraza Mendoza, eds., *Facing Georgetown's History: A Reader on Slavery, Memory, and Reconciliation* (Washington DC, 2021), 34-54.

18 Thomas Murphy, *Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland, 1717-1838* (New York, 2001), 15-17, 35, 45-46. The 1717 deed is reprinted in Rothman and Mendoza, eds., *Facing Georgetown's History*, 111-13.

of the two enslaved workers whom they had brought from Bohemia to Baltimore to support seminary operations.<sup>19</sup>

While the CRCC managed to secure the properties in the years between the suppression of the Order and its restoration in the United States in 1805, it struggled to make them profitable across the next several decades. One visitor to Maryland in 1820 reported that “bad management, unprofitable contracts, useless & expensive experiments & speculations” and debt had left many of the properties in what another observer called “wretched condition.” Enslaved individuals were housed in dwellings “almost universally unfit for human beings to live in.” In addition to bad management, the Jesuit plantations struggled with the same conditions facing other planters in Maryland, including declining soil fertility in tobacco fields. This in turn prompted debates among the priests about manumitting or selling their enslaved workers. In 1814, the Jesuits adopted a resolution calling for a gradual emancipation of enslaved workers over a period of years. The resolution, however, resulted in no immediate action and was formally rejected in 1820. Instead, as they had done at various times across the early nineteenth century, the Jesuits continued to sell or transfer enslaved peoples, both to generate revenue or to support expanding missionary activities, as with the removal of six enslaved individuals from their families and community at White Marsh to a new novitiate in Missouri in 1823.<sup>20</sup>

By the 1830s, continuing struggles on some plantations and growing debt for Georgetown prompted the Jesuits to again consider selling their enslaved workers, and they now took action. Fourteen enslaved individuals were sold from St. Thomas plantation and eleven from St. Inigoes in 1835. The next year, the Jesuit Superior General approved the sale of the remaining enslaved workers. Although the Panic of 1837 delayed plans, by June 1838, the Jesuits negotiated the sale of 272 enslaved men, women, and children to two buyers in Louisiana in exchange for \$115,000. As one scholar concluded, “Financial concerns rather than moral considerations brought an end to slavery in the Maryland province.”<sup>21</sup>

The Superior General insisted upon numerous conditions for the sale, few of which were honored. Families were not to be separated, but were; funds were not to be used to pay off debts, but this became one of their primary uses.<sup>22</sup> Not all of those whom the Jesuits enslaved were shipped to Louisiana. Indeed, when some of the slave traders arrived at St. Inigoes, Louisa Mahoney fled into the woods with her mother and returned to the plantation after the *Katharine Jackson* departed.<sup>23</sup> Louisa stayed on after emancipation, working for the Jesuits until her death in 1909. The Georgetown Memory Project estimates that as many as 99 individuals never traveled to Louisiana but instead remained in the region, where many of their descendants live today.<sup>24</sup>

The 1838 sale generated funds that helped establish Loyola in 1852, but Loyola had other indirect ties to the Jesuit plantations as well. The Sulpicians who established St. Mary’s Seminary with financial support generated from enslaved labor on Bohemia plantation opened St. Mary’s College in Baltimore in 1799 in hopes of educating future seminarians. St. Mary’s College, like Georgetown and other educational institutions, relied on slave labor to operate until at least 1840 or so. The school had also received financial support from major slaveowners such as Charles Carroll. There were discussions in the 1830s about the Jesuits taking control of the college and allowing the Sulpicians to concentrate on the seminary, but the Panic of 1837, among other factors, ended negotiations. The idea was taken up again in 1851 when newly installed Archbishop Francis Kenrick ordered the closure of St. Mary’s College and in its place, the opening of a new college in Baltimore operated by the Jesuits. When Loyola College opened its doors a year later, in September 1852, roughly half of the students were from St. Mary’s College.<sup>25</sup>

### iii. Loyola’s Historic Ties to Slavery

Although Loyola College was not founded until 1852, its founding is nevertheless linked to this history. Since the Louisiana buyers, Henry Johnson and Jesse Batey, could not afford to purchase the enslaved persons

19 Curran, “‘Splendid Poverty’: Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland, 1805-1838,” 34-54; Thomas R. Ulshafer, P.S.S., “Slavery and the Early Sulpician Community in Maryland,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 37:2 (Spring 2019): 1-21.

20 Curran, “‘Splendid Poverty’: Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland, 1805-1838,” 37-41; Kelly Schmidt, “A National Legacy of Enslavement: An Overview of the Work of the Slavery, History, Memory, and Reconciliation Project,” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 8 (2021): 81-107.

21 Curran, “‘Splendid Poverty’: Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland, 1805-1838,” 44; Craig Steven Wilder, “War and Priests: Catholic Colleges and Slavery in the Age of Revolution,” reprinted in Rothman and Mendoza, eds., *Facing Georgetown’s History*, 13-33.

22 Murphy, *Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland*, 199.

23 Paul Rochford, “Louisa Mahoney Mason Family Narrative” (2020), Georgetown Slavery Archive, 1-2.

24 Georgetown Memory Project, *The Lost Jesuit Slaves of Maryland* (19 June 2019), 8.

25 Ulshafer, “Slavery and the Early Sulpician Community in Maryland,” 1-21; Nicholas Varga, *Baltimore’s Loyola, Loyola’s Baltimore, 1851-1986* (Baltimore, MD, 1990), 3-14, 21, 27-28.

outright, the Jesuits effectively offered them a mortgage payable over more than twenty years. While Georgetown was the beneficiary of the initial payments, additional payments continued to be deposited long after, available for a variety of other purposes across the Maryland Province. The debt was not fully paid until 1862.

The specific evidence that links Loyola's founding to the GU272 sale is an 1859 letter from the Maryland Province to Mr. John Ryers Thompson, who purchased many of the enslaved persons from the original buyers and thus incurred outstanding debts. Thompson asked the Jesuits to extend their loan on the sale in 1859, but a representative of the province responded, "I am sorry to inform you that it is quite out of our power to accede to your first proposition viz: to lend you \$30,000. As we yet owe a very large amt [sic] for a college built in Baltimore a few years ago."<sup>26</sup> In short, funds from the 1838 sale provided the cornerstones for what is now Loyola University Maryland.

The impact of slavery in Loyola's early years extended beyond financing the institution. When the Jesuits opened Loyola College in 1852, both enslaved and free Blacks lived in the city. Although free Blacks far outnumbered those who were enslaved in Baltimore—in 1860, Baltimore's population of 212,418 people was comprised of 25,680 free and 2,218 enslaved Blacks—Loyola Jesuits depended on slave labor. Like their counterparts at Georgetown, they preferred to rent rather than to own the enslaved people who maintained the campus, residence, and college.<sup>27</sup> From July 1855 through December 1860, Loyola Jesuits (including its first president Father John Early) rented "servants" from Mrs. Henry S. Manning, whose family were slaveholders according to the 1850 and 1860 censuses.<sup>28</sup> Particularly in southern cities, the practice of hiring enslaved laborers was common.<sup>29</sup> The 1860 U.S. Census Slave Schedule for Baltimore City

also records a 60-year-old enslaved Black woman held by the "Order of the Jesuits."<sup>30</sup> In the early years of Loyola College, the forced labor of both rented enslaved servants and the enslaved woman in the 1860 census contributed to the college's stability and development. Further research is needed to uncover more information about these individuals. Their names, their life stories, and their descendants are as yet unknown, and their stories remain frustratingly opaque in historical records even as their impact on Loyola resonates into the twenty-first century.

During the Civil War, Loyola students fought for both the Union and the Confederacy, though far more joined the latter. At least one faculty member, James A. Noonan, a southern-sympathizing Jesuit, was drafted into and (begrudgingly) served in the Union army. Research to date confirms or strongly suggests that at least 22 students, faculty, or staff joined the Confederacy, while 10 joined the Union forces. Additional research is needed to create a more complete picture of the Loyola community's wartime service. Although they generally avoided military service, members of Loyola's Jesuit faculty expressed sympathy for the Confederacy in their correspondence and diaries. A faculty member from 1862-1867 (and later President of Loyola from 1891-1900), Father John Abell Morgan, S.J. detailed his strong support for the Confederacy in a diary he kept from 1862 to 1867.<sup>31</sup> Morgan's family were southern Maryland slaveowners, although he was not blind to efforts to serve Black Baltimoreans, as is evident in his positive assessment of his Jesuit colleague Father Peter Miller's ministry for Black Catholics in Baltimore. In summary, those of us at Loyola today are members of an institution whose founders financed its development through slavery, appear to have utilized the forced labor of enslaved workers, and who supported the Confederacy in its attempts to preserve the institution of slavery in the United States.

26 Archives of the Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus, MPA Box 40\_ Letter to JR Thompson\_ 01.27.1859.

27 From 1820 to 1860, Maryland's free Black population grew as the enslaved Black population decreased. By 1860, free Blacks outnumbered their enslaved counterparts everywhere except for Southern Maryland. See Elsa Mendoza, "Catholic Slaveowners and the Development of Georgetown University's Slave Hiring System, 1792-1862," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 8 (2021), 57, 59-; Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 62; Richard Bell, "Border State, Border War: Fighting for Freedom and Slavery in Antebellum Maryland," in *The Civil War in Maryland Reconsidered*, ed. Charles W. Mitchell and Jean H. Baker, 16-45 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 2021), 20, 31; Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003).

28 Archives of the Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus, Cash and Day Book, July 1855, March 1856, May 1857, and December 1860.

29 Mendoza, "Catholic Slaveowners and the Development of Georgetown University's Slave Hiring System," 59.

30 U.S. Slave Schedule (number 2) for Baltimore City, Ward 11, 1860. Since the 1860 census explicitly sought to count slave owners (in contrast to the 1850 census), the enumerator who listed an enslaved Black woman with the Order of the Jesuits was almost undoubtedly indicating that the Jesuits were her slaveowners. In light of the five to ten percent of enumerations that incorrectly listed individuals or corporations as slaveowners, we have decided to use the term slaveholders when referring to this evidence of Baltimore Jesuits' engagement with slavery in the 1860 census. See "1860 Census: Instructions to Marshals," at <https://usa.ipums.org/usa/voliii/inst1860.shtml> (last checked January 24, 2023) for instructions to census takers. Our gratitude to historian J. David Hacker for helping us and our students understand this nuance.

31 Loyola Notre Dame Library (LNDL) Archives, Loyola University Maryland Office of the President records (LUMD.003.001), Box 1, Diary of Reverend John Abell Morgan, 1862-1867; Charles W. Mitchell and Jean H. Baker, eds. *The Civil War in Maryland Reconsidered* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2021).

#### iv. Black Workers at Loyola in the Late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> Century

Census records, city directories, and Jesuit house diaries document the presence of Black employees at Loyola in the decades following the Civil War. In 1879, Woods' Baltimore City Directory segregated residents by race. In the "Colored Persons" section, Dominick Butler is listed as residing at Loyola College. The 1880 US Census confirms his Loyola residence and lists his profession as "Servant." In other late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century directories and census records, Black men are listed as servants, waiters, butlers, porters, and drivers at Loyola. Most of these workers who performed the difficult work that sustains a university are not mentioned by name in the Loyola archives. One exception, though, is Madison Fenwick. According to a Jesuit house diary, Fenwick worked as a refectorian at Loyola for



Madison Fenwick

40 years. Upon his death in 1924, Loyola priests visited his family at home to offer condolences and said a requiem Mass for Fenwick at St. Ignatius Church. We still have much to learn about Madison Fenwick, but our research has identified some of his residences in Baltimore as well as the names of descendants and ancestors (including a possible link to Port Tobacco, near the site of a Jesuit plantation). Further research is needed to expand our understanding of Butler,

Fenwick, and others in order to acknowledge and celebrate their previously overlooked contributions to the university.

We also wish to acknowledge the contributions of Black workers who may not have been employed at Loyola but whose contributions nevertheless benefitted Loyola. As mentioned above, Louisa Mahoney Mason eluded being shipped to Louisiana when she fled into the woods with her mother. As a free woman, she worked for the Jesuits at St. Inigoes for another half century. Her great-grandchildren, Gabriel and Daniel Bennett, worked as cooks at Woodstock College, a Jesuit seminary. They and other members of the Bennett family were involved at the St. Peter Claver Sodality and Sunday School, which provided crucial social services at

the height of Jim Crow segregation.<sup>32</sup> It is difficult to imagine the growth of Maryland-area Jesuit institutions, including Loyola, independent of the contributions of the Masons, Bennetts, and other descendants of Louisa Mahoney Mason.

#### v. The Lost Cause and Minstrel Shows: Examples of White Supremacist Thought and Entertainment on Campus

The decades after the Civil War brought forth moments that promised a more free and equal future for all Americans but also powerful movements that fought hard against that promise. The passage of what are commonly referred to as the Reconstruction amendments, appeared to herald a new world. The first, the Thirteenth Amendment, abolished slavery and involuntary servitude everywhere in the United States except in jails and prisons. The Fourteenth Amendment granted citizenship to all persons born in the United States and equal protection under the law, while the Fifteenth Amendment extended the right to vote to all men, irrespective of race. Already by 1870, after the passage of the last of these amendments, guarantees of freedom and equality for Black Americans would be undone by two factors, the impact of which extended for decades. The first was the passage of laws in southern states that undermined these new rights and that were validated by the federal government, including the Supreme Court's 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision that upheld segregation and other cases. The second was the widespread use of violence, intimidation, and murder by southern whites designed to terrorize and control Black Americans.

At roughly the same time, southern whites began to rewrite the history of the Civil War. Promoted by former Confederate General Jubal Early (in the 1870s-1880s) and the United Daughters of the Confederacy (in the 1890s) and popularized in a wave of public sculpture and art that filled municipal spaces in the early twentieth century, including several in Baltimore, what became known as the "Lost Cause" attempted to dissociate the Civil War from slavery.<sup>33</sup> The Lost Cause narrative asserted a romanticized notion of the Confederacy and the Old South as idyllic and uniquely American space in which enslaved people were contented with their place, that the Civil War was a just defense of states' rights, and that Confederate soldiers—and particularly Robert E. Lee—were saintly

32 Rochford, "Louisa Mahoney Mason Family Narrative," 7.

33 At the insistence of popular movements in recent years, that collection of statuary and public art that has been removed in many places. Some pro-Confederate art in statues and bas-reliefs remain in Baltimore, including the Sidney Lanier tribute that is visible from Charles Street near Johns Hopkins University's Homewood campus.

and heroic warriors who only succumbed because of the industrial and demographic might of northern society. Lingering to this day in some places is the rhetoric of the happy, devoted slave, loyal to their enslavers and uninterested and unprepared for independent living.

Such beliefs found a home on Loyola's campus. In December 1880, Loyola Jesuits hosted the "Poet Priest of the Lost Cause" Father Abram J. Ryan in their home as he lectured and wrote poetry in Baltimore for the month. Appreciative of their hospitality, Ryan donated proceeds from his public reading to establish a prize for poetry at Loyola.<sup>34</sup> University catalogs indicate that the Ryan medal was awarded until at least the late 1960s. Ryan was not the only such visitor. Loyola Jesuits also welcomed Richard Malcolm Johnston, another Lost Cause literary giant to campus. Indeed, Johnston developed an intimate friendship with Loyola College faculty member and later president Reverend John Abell Morgan.<sup>35</sup>

Loyola's embrace of racist poetry, literature, and entertainment continued into the twentieth century. For example, Loyola's Drama Department regularly put on blackface minstrel shows, thus participating in a popular form of entertainment in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century United States. Another student at Loyola, Leo A. Codd, penned an ode to the Ku Klux Klan entitled "Clansmen" in 1913.<sup>36</sup> So beloved was Codd as an alumnus that Loyola invited him to speak at the Parent's Day Celebration on May 9, 1943.<sup>37</sup>

In one of the most tangible legacies of slavery on campus, Jenkins Hall is named for a Confederate soldier and advocate of the Lost Cause. George Carrell Jenkins earned much of his wealth after he became the director of the Savings Bank of Baltimore and the Merchants-

Mechanics' National Bank in 1882.<sup>38</sup> When he died in 1930, *The Greyhound*, Loyola's school magazine, recognized him being "loyal to the 'lost cause.'" In addition to the centrally located building on campus that houses The Study, Jenkins is also memorialized at Loyola through the "Jenkins Society" which is "a giving society named for George Carrell Jenkins, one of Loyola's first benefactors." Recent research even suggests that the gray in the school's colors green and gray nodded to the Confederacy and the Lost Cause.<sup>39</sup>

## vi. Discrimination and Integration: Loyola's Crooked Path to a More Inclusive Campus Community

When Loyola College moved from downtown to northern Baltimore in 1922, its new location itself was connected to racial discrimination and the emerging practice of redlining. Informed by the Roland Park Company, who had developed the area around the campus with restrictive covenants in place that barred Black people from owning property, the 1921 land deed that the college signed replicated those covenants and restricted education on its campus to "white persons." The deed further stipulated that "any negro or person of negro extraction" was barred from living on the property unless they were employed by the college. Even after Loyola admitted its first Black undergraduate student, Charles Dorsey, in 1949, the restriction remained on record, and occasional blackface performances persisted.<sup>40</sup>

When Dorsey first applied to Loyola in 1947, he was rejected because he had taken courses at a Josephite seminary that had not been accredited by the Middle States Association. To facilitate Dorsey's enrollment in 1949, Loyola President Father Francis X. Talbot (1947-

34 *Baltimore Sun*, August 12, 1902; Nicolas Varga, *Loyola's Baltimore, Baltimore's Loyola, 1851-1986* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1990), 99; David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2001), 33; Frank Williams, "Abraham Lincoln, Civil Liberties, and Maryland," in *The Civil War in Maryland Reconsidered*, ed. Charles W. Mitchell and Jean H. Baker, 139-59 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 2021), 153; Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985). Established in 1880-1881 academic year to recognize poetry, the Ryan award was given to the freshmen with the highest academic standing beginning in the 1910-1911 and continued (with one exception) to be awarded through at least the 1967-1968 academic year. See Jenny Kinniff, Aperi Research Report, unpublished manuscript, 2023.

35 Enoch Pratt Library, MS6: Richard Malcolm Johnston Papers, 1841-1935; LNDL Archives, Loyola University Maryland Office of the President records, LUMD.003.001, Box 1, Diary of Reverend John Abell Morgan, 1862-1867.

36 Archives of the Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus, GTM-000119, Georgetown University Manuscripts, Baltimore (16 of 25), 1911 - 1915, 53\_16\_11, Box: 156, Folder: 9; LNDL Archives, LUMD.002.006 Scrapbook Collection Box 9, Loyola scrapbook, 1942-1946, Leo A. Codd, "Clansmen," *The Loyola: A Semimonthly Published by the Literary Societies of Loyola College*, 1, no. 2 (November 3, 1913), 6-7. Codd lauded the Reconstruction Klan valorized in Lost Cause mythology, rather than the revived movement founded in 1915 noted for its anti-Catholicism.

37 LNDL Archives, "Loyola College: Parents Day Celebration, May 9, 1943," 3.

38 "George C. Jenkins Rites Tomorrow," *Baltimore Sun*, June 6, 1930, 26.

39 Alexis Faison, "Building White Success and Preventing Black Prosperity," and Noah Hileman, "Stuck in the Grey," both in *Untold Truths: Slavery and Its Legacies at Loyola University Maryland*, ed. Alexis Faison, Israel White, Lisa Zimmerelli, and David Carey Jr. (Baltimore: Apprentice House Press, 2024), 132-43 and 198-203.

40 LNDL Archives, Loyola College Land Deed, November 30th, 1921; Paige Glotzer, *How the Suburbs Were Segregated: Developers and the Business of Exclusionary Housing, 1890-1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020), 12.

## PART I: HISTORICAL FINDINGS

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1950) consulted the Josephites about Dorsey's intellectual acumen and other attributes. When Talbot announced Dorsey's matriculation to alumni in April 1950, the reaction was mixed. Some parents asked their students if they wanted to transfer out of the newly desegregated college. This anticipated the kind of resistance to desegregation that would later become commonplace following the 1954 *Brown* decision. After leaving Loyola to serve in the Air Force during the Korean War, Dorsey returned and graduated in 1957. He subsequently earned a law degree and ultimately became the executive director of the Maryland Legal Aid Bureau, where he worked to alleviate the plight of Baltimore's marginalized populations.

Dorsey pioneered a path for other Black students, among them his future brother-in-law Paul Smith. Nonetheless, the presence of increasing numbers of Black students

did not significantly alter the campus climate, but rather sometimes fueled the fears of racists. For example, since the 1940s, Loyola's junior prom had been celebrated off campus in white-only establishments. One year, to accommodate Black students such as Dorsey and Smith, Loyola junior-class officers rented out the Friendship Airport terminal because, as a federal building, it was one of the only spaces in the Baltimore region that accommodated Black people.<sup>41</sup> That unequivocal welcoming of Black students at the prom was short lived, however. The following year, Loyola students backslid, renting a country club in neighboring Anne Arundel county that allowed Black people on the grounds but not in their pool.<sup>42</sup> Thereafter the college continued to fall short of full integration, at times making strides toward inclusivity but at other times failing to embody its core values of diversity and justice.<sup>43</sup>

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41 The federal government officially desegregated in 1948 with President Truman's Executive Orders 9980 and 9981 ("Regulations Governing Fair Employment Practices Within the Federal Establishment"; "Establishing the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services").

42 Nicholas Varga, *Loyola's Baltimore, Baltimore's Loyola, 1851-1986* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1990), 387-89.

43 Into the 1990s, Loyola College held its annual fall event honoring new faculty at the Baltimore Country Club, which did not desegregate its membership until 1995.



## PART II

# Ongoing Legacies and the Work of Repair

**T**he late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries at Loyola witnessed numerous initiatives that sought to make social and racial justice more central to the University's mission and identity. This included, in 1992, the launch of the Center for Community, Service, and Justice, and the following year, ALANA (African, Latinx, Asian, and Native American) Services. In 2006, Loyola launched the Year of the City, aimed at deepening the University's engagement in the city of Baltimore. Soon after, in 2008, Loyola launched the York Road Initiative, which focused on Loyola's relationship with its immediate neighboring communities in north Baltimore. In the wake of numerous police killings of unarmed Black men and women in the 2010s and 2020s, student-led organizations such as the Council on Inclusion, Change, and Equity; Loyola Rising; and Addressing the System demanded greater racial justice, inclusion, and equity on campus and beyond. Recent DEIJ-centered initiatives have included the Center for Intercultural Engagement, Loyola's Office of Equity and Inclusion, and the Karson Institute for Race, Peace, and Social Justice.

Still, even as social justice has become a more central emphasis at Loyola and across Jesuit higher education, the unresolved legacies of Jesuit slaveholding remain. In the second part of this report, we reflect upon the persistence of these legacies and discuss the need for further reparative efforts on campus and with the GU272 descendant and Baltimore communities.

### i. History is Not Past, but Present

Psychologist Jennifer Richeson has argued that Americans are committed to “a mythology of racial progress.”<sup>44</sup> That is, we hold steadfastly to a mistaken view of history, casting progress towards racial equity as linear, uninterrupted, and inevitable. In actuality, as documented by journalist Adam Harris in *The State Must Provide*, every step of Black Americans' struggle for educational rights has been met with state-sponsored resistance.<sup>45</sup> Post-emancipation, white faculty at the University of Mississippi vowed to resign rather than admit Black students. Post-*Plessy v. Ferguson*, when courts ruled on the inferior educational offerings of segregated Black colleges, states bent over backwards to keep Black students out of white universities: Missouri created a ramshackle law school in 90 days, and Oklahoma added metal bars to physically isolate Black students in its classrooms. Post-*Brown v. Board of Education*, James Meredith's hard-won attempts to register at the University of Mississippi were resisted so brazenly by Governor Ross Barnett that President Kennedy sent in the National Guard. Post-Civil Rights Act, a decade of advancement in Black medical student representation was halted with a 1978 Supreme-Court-levied restriction on the bounds of affirmative action programs. Now, with its *Students for Fair Admissions v. Harvard* decision, the Supreme Court has called affirmative action itself into question, and we see states across the country challenging the teaching of African American history and culture.

This history may be more likely to come as a surprise to white audiences than to Black.<sup>46</sup> Similarly, Loyola's own ties to slavery and to centuries of enduring racism

44 Jennifer Richeson, “Americans Are Determined to Believe in Black Progress,” *The Atlantic* (September 2020).

45 Adam Harris, *The State Must Provide: Why America's Colleges Have Always Been Unequal—And How to Set Them Right* (New York: Ecco, 2021).

46 C.M. Bonam et al., “Ignoring History, Denying Racism: Mounting Evidence for the Marley Hypothesis and Epistemologies of Ignorance,” *Social Psychological and Personality Science* 10:2 (2019), 257-265; J.C. Nelson et al., “The Marley Hypothesis: Denial of Racism Reflects Ignorance of History,” *Psychological Science* 24:2 (2013), 213-218. For an exception, see J. Strickhouser et al., “Ignorance of History and Perceptions of Racism: Another Look at the Marley Hypothesis,” *Social Psychological and Personality Science* 10:7 (2019), 977-985.



may be difficult to accept for some members of our community. However, not knowing our past makes it easier to ignore present-day structural racism.<sup>47</sup> As such, it is essential that our findings be understood not as part of a distant past, but as part of Loyola's present. We acknowledge our university's ties to slavery, and we also situate our story within a U.S. higher education system built on racist practices and ideologies. By increasing awareness of Loyola's historical engagement with slavery and racism, we hope that this report will help our community open our eyes to evidence of current inequities, and thus motivate necessary reparative action.

### ii. Climate at Loyola

Black faculty and students at Loyola University Maryland are underrepresented relative to the U.S. population. This representation is dwindling among faculty: Loyola's Office of Institutional Research reported that fewer than 5% of full-time faculty identified as Black in 2022, compared to 6.5% in 2017. An Ad Hoc Committee to Address Retention of ALANA [African, Latinx, Asian, and Native American] Faculty reported in 2022 that Black faculty, and especially Black men, were leaving the institution at higher than expected rates.<sup>48</sup> The trend is more promising among undergraduates: between 2013 and 2017, Black students comprised on average 5% of first-year cohorts. From 2018 to 2022, that percentage rose to 9% on average.

In addition, white students have been consistently more likely to re-enroll for their sophomore year than Black students (87.7% vs. 84.5% on average for classes entering between 2013 and 2021). An even larger gap is apparent in our graduation rates: among students who entered between 2013 and 2016, 81.5% of white students had graduated within six years, compared to 75.5% of Black students. While these gaps are smaller than those observed nationwide and at Maryland public universities (where the white-Black graduation gap is 20+ points), we have additional evidence that Black students are not receiving the same educational experience as white students on our campus.

At the end of their first year, students who arrived at our Evergreen campus in fall 2020 were asked if they were

satisfied with their decision to come to Loyola. Although 83% of Black students felt satisfaction, they were more than twice as likely as the overall cohort (11% vs. 5%) to report dissatisfaction with that decision. University-wide surveys reveal similar racial gaps in faculty's satisfaction with the campus environment. Several qualitative data points add context to these statistics. In June 2020, on an anonymous Instagram account called "Dear Loyola," a spare and stark text-based slideshow recounted students' first-person experiences of racism: their contributions were discounted in the classroom; their hair and bodies were physically violated; they faced slurs and online harassment from peers; they were disrespected and mistreated by public safety and student support staff. In August 2020, then-sophomore Savoy Adams penned an open letter, stating that while "students of color are wanted on campus to count for diversity and inclusion," the whole of the campus feels like a "space for white students."<sup>49</sup> These accounts are echoed in a series of 2022 interviews with six Black women students, conducted by Loyola undergraduate Maya du Plessis.<sup>50</sup> Faculty regularly mixed up Black classmates' names, a peer referred to a group of Black students with dehumanizing language, a professor told a racist joke in the classroom. And these examples were described as normative, not exceptional.

### iii. Evidence-backed Culture Change

These community members' experiences clearly convey a need for culture change at Loyola. How does the Task Force's work fit into that call? We believe that knowing our history can help explain current experiences for faculty, staff, and students of color. We also believe that making people aware of the extent of this history can motivate meaningful change. However, we fear that our findings will translate into action only if we can first (a) help privileged people overcome defensive or minimizing reactions, and (b) name actionable steps likely to yield culture change.

#### *Overcoming Defensiveness*

The task force is aware that some will resist or minimize the history of slavery and racism at Loyola.

47 B. Callaghan et al., "Testing the Efficacy of Three Informational Interventions for Reducing Misperceptions of the Black-White Wealth Gap," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 118:38 (2021), e2108875118; Nelson et al., "The Marley Hypothesis."

48 Final Report of the Ad Hoc Committee to Address Retention of ALANA Faculty (2022).

49 Savoy Adams, "Open Letter: To Be Black at My University," <https://medium.com/@savoyadams2031/open-letter-to-be-black-at-my-university-ee-42b16cf517> (August 26, 2020).

50 Maya du Plessis, "Two Different Campuses, Two Different Experiences," in *Untold Truths: Slavery and Its Legacies at Loyola University Maryland*, 221-34.

Reminders of racism threaten the comforting belief that our systems—legal, medical, financial, educational—are fair and meritocratic.<sup>51</sup> As such, evidence of racism can evoke defensiveness, and a desire—particularly by people who fare well in those systems—to justify or minimize the existence of racism. In the face of seeming injustice, privileged people may even double down in their support of flawed systems. For instance, white people who read about Black overrepresentation in U.S. prison systems went on to report more support for “tough-on-crime” policies.<sup>52</sup> The racial disparity was taken as evidence that incarceration is necessary for public safety, rather than evidence that incarceration policies are racist. Fear and perceived threat underlie opposition to many diversity and equity initiatives: it is tough to garner favor for a system change that seems to threaten the resources (e.g., access to promotions or college admissions slots), symbolic values (such as meritocracy), or moral reputation of people on top (e.g., by eliciting White guilt).<sup>53</sup>

Promisingly, culture change approaches can be tailored to mitigate defensive reactions. First, equity-focused policies should center the voices and experiences of people harmed by racist systems.<sup>54</sup> This frame is expected to motivate privileged people to take the perspective of people whose experiences differ from theirs, and to feel empathy.<sup>55</sup> This is a more fruitful reaction than guilt, or the defensiveness that arises when people are worried about their group’s moral reputation.<sup>56</sup> Second, equity-focused policies should emphasize their alignment with core community values, such as justice, self-improvement, and responsibility for making a better world. This, too, can shift privileged groups’ attention away from guilt or defensiveness and towards positive aspects of their identity that are consistent with reparative action.<sup>57</sup> Toward these ends, our report gives name and voice to the enslaved persons who built Loyola, our local descendant

community, and the Black employees and students who have sustained the university over generations. Further, we have suggested reparative actions that express Loyola’s core values, including justice, diversity, community, and a constant challenge to improve, to be the “*magis*.”

### **Effective Culture Change Strategies**

People tend to conceive of prejudice as individual and interpersonal. We attribute discrimination and prejudice to people’s hearts and minds, and so we aim our interventions at that same level. For instance, organizations’ diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) programming tends to focus on implicit bias awareness and microaggression reduction. However, many organizational and social psychologists take issue with this approach, arguing instead that meaningful change can only come from wholesale organizational culture change.<sup>58</sup> What follows are evidence-backed strategies for how to make this kind of culture change happen.

First, Loyola’s reparative action steps must not be siloed off; they must be integrated into the culture of the university. This means endorsement by leadership, a place in the university’s overall mission and strategic planning, and tangible support: money, time, space, and energy. A university interested in culture-wide progress on diversity and equity would (a) offer regular education and training opportunities, (b) choose opportunities that align with the university’s overall vision and action plan, and (c) preemptively identify likely points of resistance to those opportunities.<sup>59</sup> Cultural markers of equity and inclusion include not just educational offerings, but also procedures, such as systematically monitoring the effectiveness of diversity and equity-focused policies and decision-making practices that minimize space for individual biases to sneak in. Further, incentive systems must reward DEI-focused work (which is particularly likely to be taken for granted when

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51 For a review, see I.N. Onyeador et al., “Moving Beyond Implicit Bias Training: Policy Insights for Increasing Organizational Diversity,” *Policy Insights from the Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 8:1 (2021), 19–26.

52 R.C. Hetey and J.L. Eberhardt, “Racial Disparities in Incarceration Increase Acceptance of Punitive Policies,” *Psychological Science*, 25:10 (2014), 1949–1954.

53 A. Iyer, “Understanding Advantaged Groups’ Opposition to Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) Policies: The Role of Perceived Threat,” *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 16:5 (2022), e12666.

54 Iyer, “Understanding Advantaged Groups’ Opposition to Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) Policies.”

55 R.M. Greenwood, “Remembrance, Responsibility, and Reparations: The Use of Emotions to Talk about the 1921 Tulsa Race Riot,” *Journal of Social Issues* 71 (2015), 338–355.

56 A. Iyer et al., “White Guilt and Racial Compensation: The Benefits and Limits of Self-Focus,” *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 29 (2003), 117–129.

57 Iyer, “Understanding Advantaged Groups’ Opposition to Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) Policies.”

58 F.D. Golom, “Alternate Conversations for Creating Whole-System Change Around Diversity and Inclusion,” *Diversity and Democracy* 21:1 (2018), 16–19; Onyeador, et al., “Moving Beyond Implicit Bias Training: Policy Insights for Increasing Organizational Diversity.”

59 Golom, “Alternate Conversations for Creating Whole-System Change Around Diversity and Inclusion.”

it is done by women and people of color).<sup>60</sup> These markers are evident in the Ad Hoc Committee's recommendations for retaining ALANA faculty, such as transparent faculty evaluation processes and acknowledgement of the typically unheralded service performed by faculty of color.

Second, Loyola's culture would benefit from two types of peer-to-peer interactions. Evidenced by decades of research on the "contact hypothesis," non-hierarchical and mutually beneficial cross-group interactions improve intergroup attitudes.<sup>61</sup> Loyola should thus facilitate high-quality interactions between people of different races. Many colleges use programs built on this research, such as the University of Michigan's Intergroup Dialogue program, and our own CCSJ's Racial Justice Formation. Critically, supports are needed to prevent such interactions from burdening people of color, making them responsible for the education of their white peers.

This brings us to the second necessary type of interaction: those among fellow members of the same marginalized groups. A call has long been made by community members of color, including the Ad Hoc Committee for ALANA faculty retention and the student-run organization founded by Savoy Adams, known as Addressing the System, that minority representation should be increased, both in student enrollment and in hiring. More importantly, though, Loyola should acknowledge that even with efforts towards a more inclusive culture, faculty and students of color will likely spend much of their time in unwelcoming or even hostile social spaces. It is thus imperative to provide Black community members with affirming environments, including affinity spaces and well-funded Black-focused academic offerings.<sup>62</sup> Affirming this work, du Plessis called for better advertising for the support resources already on campus, and adding additional supports, such as counselors with expertise in navigating racism.<sup>63</sup> Such steps are essential for retaining the students who are increasingly joining our first-year cohorts.

Third, Loyola's reparative efforts must be authentic. Organizations signal inclusiveness in many ways: advertising minority representation, posting diversity philosophies, and displaying art and achievements of diverse groups.<sup>64</sup> Crucially, however, these signals backfire when actual living and working environments fall short of those inclusive mantras or advertised levels of diversity.<sup>65</sup> Professional psychology offers a cautionary tale regarding the risks of an inadequate apology. In 2021, the American Psychological Association issued an apology for its historical role in upholding white supremacy and scientific racism. Soon after, the Association for Black Psychologists rebuked the apology: in their view, apologizing for past complicity without acknowledging enduring disparities (e.g., low numbers of practicing Black psychologists; the APA's failure to pull accreditation from psychiatric hospitals with records of misdiagnosing Black patients), and without naming steps to address those disparities, meant that the apology was wholly insufficient, "pandering," or even "an obfuscation of the truth."

### *An Urgent Call*

We believe that the Loyola community is not immune to the American "mythology of racial progress."<sup>66</sup> Members of our community have underestimated our ties to slavery and to the centuries of racism that have ensued. With this report, Loyola recognizes its direct link to the sale of 272 enslaved individuals in 1838, to its historical engagement and complicity with racist practices and ideologies across much of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and to our current shortcoming in racial equality. Beyond glossing over the past, the other danger of this mythology is its assumption that racial equality is inevitable. As a result, costly, time-intensive, earth-moving interventions seem less necessary, and hopes are pinned on smaller-scale person-focused solutions, which are cheaper, easier, and—unfortunately—less likely to work.<sup>67</sup> In taking ownership of our past, we are

60 Onyeador et al., "Moving Beyond Implicit Bias Training: Policy Insights for Increasing Organizational Diversity."

61 L.R. Tropp and T.F. Pettigrew, "Differential Relationships Between Intergroup Contact and Affective and Cognitive Dimensions of Prejudice," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 31:8 (2005), 1145–1158.

62 Onyeador et al., "Moving Beyond Implicit Bias Training: Policy Insights for Increasing Organizational Diversity."

63 Du Plessis, "Two Different Campuses, Two Different Experiences."

64 M. Kruk and J.L. Matsick, "A Taxonomy of Identity Safety Cues Based on Gender and Race: From a Promising Past to an Intersectional and Translational Future," *Translational Issues in Psychological Science* 7:4 (2021), 487.

65 L.S. Wilton et al., "Show Don't Tell: Diversity Dishonesty Harms Racial/Ethnic Minorities At Work," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 46 (2020), 1171–1185.

66 Richeson, "Americans Are Determined to Believe in Black Progress."

67 M.W. Kraus et al., "How Narratives of Racial Progress Create Barriers to Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion in Organizations," *Current Opinion in Psychology* 43 (2022), 108–113; Neil A. Lewis, Jr., "On 'Light-Touches' and 'Heavy-Hands': 2 Strategies to Tackle Educational Inequities," *Brown Center Chalkboard, The Brookings Institution* (September 12, 2019).

asserting that there is no guarantee of a more just future. Instead, we are calling our community to work for it.<sup>68</sup>

At the time of the publication of this report, we are embarking on a new university strategic plan, outlining a vision for the kind of university we wish to be. The plan must reflect Loyola's core values, including justice, diversity, community, and a constant challenge to improve. We contend that the Task Force's work, and the work that must be done in its wake, is in full alignment with those values. We hope that this report conveys the sense of urgency that this mission deserves, and that meaningful repair can be undertaken on our Evergreen campus, and beyond.

### iv. Repair with the GU272 Descendant Community

The history that we have examined compels us to see the work of repair as one integrated whole. GU272 ancestors helped build Loyola. Loyola is part of Baltimore. Just as the histories of our communities are intertwined, so too is the work of repair.

Numerous task force discussions focused upon the question of repair with the GU272 descendant community. Above, we documented how Loyola was established in part with proceeds derived from the GU272 sale. As a task force, we reflected upon Loyola's moral responsibility for discerning and advancing the repair that is possible. We noted the reparative efforts that are already underway at other Jesuit universities, including Georgetown, which has renamed buildings, conferred legacy admissions status upon GU272 descendant community members, and annually awards \$400,000 to support GU272 descendant community initiatives, among other activities. Examples of additional reparative measures employed across the USS consortium include memorials, scholarships, research centers, and annual symposia, among others. We have also followed the work of the Descendants Truth and Reconciliation Foundation, a joint initiative between the Society of Jesus and the GU272 Descendants Association which has pledged to raise \$100 million to support a variety of descendant community programs ranging from education to health. To date, the

foundation has raised \$42 million towards this goal.<sup>69</sup>

The task force sought feedback from descendant community members on the kind of repair they want to see. In addition to the insights offered by individuals on the task force, we also received input from descendants interviewed by students in Dr. Carey's Spring 2023 oral histories course. Those who shared their perspectives made clear that while they spoke as GU272 descendants, they did not speak for the entire GU272 descendant community. They encouraged us, going forward, to explore ways to expand the circle and solicit other perspectives.

This focused our attention upon the underlying nature of the relationship between Loyola and the descendant community, and the process by which repair will be undertaken. At the prompting of descendant community members, we took special note of the Summit on Teaching Slavery's rubric for engaging descendant communities.<sup>70</sup> The rubric is primarily intended for museums and historic sites that interpret slavery, but much of it also applies to colleges and universities addressing their historical ties to slavery. The authors of the rubric draw attention to the fact that researchers who study slavery confront archives that are overwhelmingly skewed to the perspective of enslavers and/or those who have benefited from slavery. This inequity at the level of sources can lead to narrative inequities that marginalize or silence the voices of enslaved individuals, diminishing their agency, dignity, and humanity. The organizational structure of these same museums or historic sites traditionally have offered descendant communities few opportunities to make institutional decisions, shape the research agenda, and share in the benefits of engaging this history.

The rubric challenges such institutions to commit to descendant community engagement at all levels. At the level of research, it calls them to evaluate their engagement with descendants in terms of the degree of collaboration in research, the diversity of sources and methodologies, the extent to which they lift up the voices of the enslaved and other marginalized groups, the transparency and accountability of the institution, and the accessibility of research materials to the descendant community. At the level of interpretation, descendants

68 Golom, "Alternate Conversations for Creating Whole-System Change Around Diversity and Inclusion." Golom suggests that culture change work should begin by tilling the soil, creating a strong sense of urgency around diversity and equity-related goals, and ensuring that this urgency is aligned with the organization's mission.

69 See Rachel Swarns, "Catholic Order Struggles to Raise \$100 Million to Atone for Slave Labor," *The New York Times* (August 16, 2022); Susan Svrluga, "Jesuits, Georgetown Give \$27M to Fund for Descendants of Enslaved People," *The Washington Post* (September 14, 2023).

70 The National Summit on Teaching Slavery, *Engaging Descendant Communities in the Interpretation of Slavery at Museums and Historic Sites* (October 25, 2018), available at: <https://montpelierdescendants.org/rubric/>.

should be involved as active collaborators, the techniques and outcomes of interpretation should be diverse, and the institution's self-narrative should be equitable. This means that the institution's historical ties to slavery and its legacies should not be an aside, but presented in a way that accurately reflects its significance in the institution's life. The contributions of enslaved persons and other unacknowledged contributors should be given due weight, balanced with the attention given to other, more widely recognized figures. Institutions should also promote structural parity by ensuring tangible representation to descendants at different levels of the institution; they should sustain this commitment through partnerships with similarly focused organizations and donors who can fund the work; and they should engage in evaluation that continuously improves descendant engagement and corrects missteps.

While we are at the very early stages of our process, our experience as a task force has given us a glimpse of the possibilities to which this rubric points. Descendants on our task force have borne powerful witness to the voice, dignity, and agency of ancestors who resisted enslavement, filed freedom suits, and found ways to survive the rupture of their families. They have helped us better appreciate the longer story of the descendant presence in Maryland, and the foundational role of such individuals as Louisa Mahoney Mason and the Bennett family in building Maryland-area Jesuit and Catholic institutions such as Woodstock College. They have enabled us to include more diverse sources and methodologies, and encouraged collaborative research that involves descendants helping to shape the research agenda and facilitating advances in student and wider campus knowledge. Descendants also greatly enhanced our interpretation of findings, particularly stressing the centrality of Loyola's ties to slavery and its legacies as a thread that runs throughout the institution's entire history. They also reminded us of Loyola's mission to form citizens who can play a role in the building of a more just society. At every turn, they helped keep us focused on the ways in which Loyola's past and present remain linked and highlighted the ways in which the institution's rhetoric and practice have diverged.

We are encouraged by the opportunities for dialogue and collaboration that our work as a task force has afforded. We believe that an institutional commitment to an ongoing relationship, and a further spelling out of a shared ethos of dialogue, inclusion, and equity in research, story-telling,

and decision-making on reparative measures will be fundamental to any reparative process going forward. The rubric above identifies various forms such an institutional commitment can take. In our recommendations below, we lay out a series of activities that can form the basis of such a commitment. These include further opportunities for collaborative research, participation in the comprehensive re-telling of Loyola's story and its dissemination into campus life, honoring the contributions of GU272 ancestors, renaming campus markers that our findings suggest are inconsistent with our university's mission and values, and making Loyola—including a Loyola education—accessible to GU272 descendant community members.

### **v. Repair with the Baltimore Community**

The history we have examined has implications for Loyola's relationship to Baltimore, as well. First, we recognize that there are GU272 descendant community members who live in Baltimore, so to discuss Loyola's relationship to Baltimore is not necessarily to leave the discussion of the GU272 community behind. Once again, repair at these different levels is related. Second, we recognize that Loyola is already deeply engaged in Baltimore. Just as the history of Loyola's connections to slavery and its legacies can provide context for understanding and motivating current and future DEIJ-centered initiatives on campus, so too can it provide context for understanding and motivating Loyola's current and future initiatives in the city.

The work of repair need not entail entirely new initiatives separate from what Loyola is already doing in the city. Rather, it is something that can animate and inform many of Loyola's existing initiatives. We wish to hold up three specific initiatives that are worth deeper investment for the ways they directly redress the legacies we have described in this report.

The first is the Charm City Pell Promise Program, a scholarship that provides 100 percent of demonstrated need for high-achieving students from public, charter, or Catholic high schools in Baltimore City. The program began in Fall 2021 and Loyola has already seen a substantial increase in Baltimore students on campus. Seventy students who matriculated in Fall 2022 were from Baltimore, an 84% increase from the previous year.<sup>71</sup> This is helping to drive not only higher enrollment overall, but also Loyola's most diverse classes on record. As mentioned above, it

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71 Eric Nichols, Fall 22 Pre-Census Enrollment Update, Academic Senate (September 6, 2022). See also "Maryland Colleges Are Trying to Shake Tepid Enrollment," *The Washington Post* (February 7, 2023).

matters what kind of educational experience students find when they come to Loyola, and so the early success of the program underscores the need for institutional support for the hiring and retention of more faculty of color and the expansion of programs such as African and African American Studies. Still, in the way that it works to build a Loyola student body that reflects the diversity and richness of its home city, the Charm City Pell Promise Program is one obvious reparative avenue to strengthen going forward.

The second is the York Road Initiative (YRI). Loyola launched the York Road Initiative in 2008, following its Year of the City campaign in 2006. The initiative directly addresses how Loyola inhabits the space of North Baltimore, working to dismantle the literal and figural walls that have racially segregated the Evergreen campus from its surrounding neighborhoods. As a place-based community development initiative that promotes the agency and voices of local residents, the initiative reflects many of the same principles that characterize effective descendant community engagement, such as institutional buy-in and collaboration. Programs such as the Govans Farmer's Market and the York Road Partnership (a coalition of over twenty neighborhoods, businesses, and non-profits) help forge cross-community relationship-building that we named above as conducive to effective culture change. Loyola's provision of office space, access to technology, and leadership opportunities to local leaders from Strong City Baltimore promotes greater accessibility to Loyola resources. In addition to its existing strengths in addressing Healthy Food Priority Areas and promoting green space, our report deepens the mandate for expanding the initiative's potential in promoting affordable housing, small business development, and educational opportunity.<sup>72</sup> As Loyola learns more about the descendant community in Baltimore, this initiative may also provide an avenue for further partnering with descendant community members who live nearby.

The third initiative is the Karson Institute for Race, Peace, and Social Justice. Founded in 2020 by task force member Dr. Karsonya "Kaye" Wise Whitehead, Professor of Communication and African American Studies, the Karson Institute promotes research, teaching, learning, and public engagement around issues of racial and social justice. As part of its many programs, the Karson Institute works with City Neighbors High School in Baltimore, training teachers to be equity liaisons and equipping

students to carry out journalism projects on various aspects of life in the city. City Neighbors students then present their work on Loyola's campus during the annual Curtis Wilson Peace Symposium (named in honor of the late Loyola board member). Through Dr. Whitehead's leadership, the Karson Institute also forges relationships with several other Baltimore institutions, including Morgan State University, where Dr. Kaye records her radio show. A crucial bridge institution, the Karson Institute is deepening Loyola's ties to Baltimore on and off campus.

These are just some of the many existing avenues through which Loyola could further address the legacies presented in our report. We could mention many more: the Center for Community, Service, and Justice (CCSJ) promotes mutually beneficial and reciprocal relationships with dozens of community partners in addition to offering innovative models of service-learning and community-engaged scholarship; the School of Education is deeply rooted in Baltimore, and recently launched its Center for Equity, Leadership, and Social Justice in Education, another logical avenue for engagement; Loyola's historically strong relationships with Cristo Rey and other Jesuit-run schools offer still further avenues, as does Innovation Works, a community partner and Jesuit apostolate that builds sustainable neighborhood economies in Baltimore.

We reiterate that reparative action in Baltimore can happen as much on campus as it does off it. Our research has driven home the unacknowledged and uncelebrated contributions of those who perform the difficult work of sustaining Loyola's campus. Loyola's archival record contains few of the names and stories of these individuals; for every Dominick Butler or Madison Fenwick, there are hundreds more who have gone unrecognized. The work of repair also means connecting this history to the contributions of service workers today. Here we draw from the words of Loyola's 2019 Mission Priority Examen:

*Many of the service workers at Loyola are contract workers. Some contract workers do not receive the same benefits as University employees, such as Parkhurst Dining employees, and may not feel a strong sense of belonging to the community. While contract workers are welcome at University events, their attendance is not necessarily encouraged or incentivized through time. Facilities workers and hourly workers who are campus employees do not have the same flexibility as members of*

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72 For more on healthy food priority areas, see Caitlin Misiaszek et al, *Baltimore City's Food Environment: 2018 Report* (Johns Hopkins Center for a Livable Future).

## PART II: ONGOING LEGACIES AND THE WORK OF REPAIR

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*the faculty and administrators to participate in mission or community offerings. These issues of equity and inclusion are at the forefront of our considerations as we work for greater solidarity.<sup>73</sup>*

We wish to name this as a specific point of contact between the legacies we have examined in this report and priority areas for growth already identified by the University. Facilitating and incentivizing participation in University events and mission and community offerings

are tangible, modest ways to promote greater inclusion in this area. Loyola's tuition remission program and its McGuire Scholars program help to make a Loyola education more accessible to its employees. Expanding access to these benefits and ensuring that service work at Loyola is characterized by dignity, fair wages, and care for the whole person, is also part of what it means to repair the legacies of Loyola's past. It is part of the work of continuing to build a Loyola that is of, for, and with Baltimore.

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73 Mission Priority Examen for Loyola University Maryland (2019), 25.



## PART III

# Recommendations

**B**ased upon our findings and discussion above, we offer the following ten recommendations. The first recommendation provides a framework for enacting the other recommendations. With each recommendation, we identify actionable steps that Loyola can take to begin implementing them.

### ***1. Establish a university-wide initiative that continues Loyola's examination of its connections to slavery and its legacies***

In joining Universities Studying Slavery, Loyola committed to examine and address its historical connections to slavery and its legacies; this task force represents a first step. We have overseen an initial phase of research and presented our findings in this report. Loyola faculty have also offered several courses on this subject matter, and students have conducted original archival and oral history research in these areas. A student-edited collection of essays engaging this material is forthcoming. The work of the task force and these other campus initiatives have provided opportunities for dialogue and collaboration with members of the GU272 descendant community as well.

We are encouraged by this activity. Already this work is touching many areas of university life. At the same time, we are conscious that we are still at the beginning of this process. Above we indicated several areas where additional research is required, including the need to learn more about the identities, life stories, and contributions of enslaved persons, free Black laborers, and others who have helped to build Loyola. There is more to learn about Loyola's ties to the Confederacy and Lost Cause, as well as how individuals and groups on campus have resisted these ideas and promoted racial justice. There are intersecting histories which, while not part of our specific charge as a task force, need to be drawn into this work going forward, including Loyola's relationship to indigenous communities.

As we indicated in the introduction, we believe such work should continue as part of the ongoing self-examination that is fundamental to our Jesuit, Catholic identity and mission. One compelling model that many USS institutions have adopted is that of a university-wide project. USS projects are cross divisional, inter-disciplinary, and collaborative in nature. They are intentionally geared against the siloing of work that often happens when it is based in one center or office. These projects include key stakeholders in the university community, but also involve partners outside the university, including descendant and other local community members. Such projects encompass collaborative research, but also coordinate a variety of other activities, including reparative measures. Examples include the Lemon Project at William and Mary and the Roberson Project on Slavery, Race, and Reconciliation at the University of the South.

Building upon the task force and other efforts engaging slavery and its legacies at Loyola, we recommend that Loyola formally establish such a project to coordinate this work and expand it in new directions. The recommendations below spell out some of these directions. While the exact structure of the project can be determined, we envision it being led by a director and an advisory board consisting of Loyola stakeholders, descendant community members, and Baltimore community partners.

#### **ACTIONABLE NEXT STEPS**

- In AY2023-24, a task force implementation team develops a formal project plan, including a description of project activities and the responsibilities of the director and advisory board; it recruits participants and works with Faculty Affairs Committee to recruit faculty
- Loyola names a director and advisory board by the start of AY2024-25
- Loyola representatives continue to attend Universities Studying Slavery semi-annual conferences



## 2. Engage in a comprehensive re-telling of Loyola's story

Nicholas Varga's *Loyola's Baltimore, Baltimore's Loyola, 1851-1986*, published in 1990, remains the only major study of the University's history.<sup>74</sup> Yet it does not directly address Loyola's connections to slavery or its legacies. In light of our work, it is clear that Loyola needs to engage in a fuller, more comprehensive re-telling of its story. This is not to downplay or deny the strengths and achievements of Loyola. Rather, ours is a complicated past and we must tell and re-tell the fullness of that story.

Such a re-telling of Loyola's story could take a variety of forms. It could include a traditional monograph, but we imagine more engaging formats such as a regularly updated website that includes archival documents, timelines, videos, research papers, and other materials. It could also take the form of exhibits, podcasts, longer-form documentaries, interactive kiosks, or the other campus markers explored in greater detail below. Again, the USS consortium offers many examples of outputs that Loyola could draw upon.

The work of re-telling Loyola's story will require significant support for existing, and potentially new, faculty who have expertise in archival work for the relevant periods. It will involve additional support for the university archivist, who has helped direct much of Loyola's research to date. It will also require more support for student research, which has figured so centrally in our process. Re-telling Loyola's story will require support for descendant and Baltimore community members to ensure such work is equitable and collaborative in the ways mentioned above.

We discuss the funding of such work in our final recommendation below, but here we note that a team of Loyola faculty, administrators, and GU272 descendant community members has already applied for one grant to support the development of a website that will serve as a hub for much of Loyola's re-telling. Loyola has also recently agreed to serve as a pilot partner in the Roberson Center's *Locating Slavery's Legacy* database, which will offer another venue to re-tell our story. Thus, there is already a demonstrated commitment in this area to build upon.

### ACTIONABLE NEXT STEPS

- Between 2024-26, a team of Loyola faculty, administrators, students, and GU272 descendant community members will develop a website that

will house ongoing research, archival photos, links to reports and oral histories, video interviews, and other educational resources that re-tell Loyola's story

- In AY2023-24, Loyola's research team will contribute 20 entries to the Roberson Center's database, expanding knowledge of the ways Loyola both promoted and resisted Lost Cause ideology

## 3. Infuse the history of Loyola's connections to slavery and its legacies into campus life and culture

Loyola's story must not only be re-told, but also infused into campus life so that it becomes part of the Loyola experience, ensuring that faculty, students, staff, and community partners have opportunities to learn and engage with it.

This report, along with a forthcoming book of essays and the web and digital resources in development, will help disseminate some of this knowledge. But a wider dissemination is necessary if this fuller understanding of Loyola's story is to become *Loyola's* story, the story that Loyola tells about itself on campus tours, during orientation, in the curriculum, and at alumni and other events.

Courses are already one effective way that faculty, students, and GU272 descendant community members are engaging with and re-telling Loyola's history. Other avenues for spreading knowledge of this history could include Messina modules, the Teaching Enhancement Workshop, and Ignatian pedagogy workshops, among others. As mentioned in our discussion of campus climate above, learning and teaching this history must be incentivized, equitably distributed, and its value acknowledged in annual review and promotion procedures.

Infusing this history into the life of the university carries with it the responsibility of doing so in ways that are safe, supportive, and affirming. This means not only ensuring that faculty who teach it are properly trained, but also that the sharing of this material accounts for the range of emotions it may generate. We recommend that Loyola work with the Counseling Center and other campus partners to ensure this is reflected in the design of materials and that well-communicated, accessible support services accompany their distribution.

<sup>74</sup> An earlier work published in Loyola's 50th anniversary year, *Historical Sketch of Loyola College, Baltimore, 1852-1902*, includes students' reminiscences on their time at Loyola, the faculty they knew, and events both major and mundane. *Historical Sketch* focuses on Jesuit faculty, alumni, commencements, and ceremonies, but fails to provide any details on the presence of domestic workers at the college or the presence of enslaved laborers.

**ACTIONABLE NEXT STEPS:**

- During AY2023-24, members of the task force implementation team will meet with representatives from Admissions, Messina, the Teaching Enhancement Committee, and other campus offices or committees to discuss strategies for sharing this history with students, faculty, and campus visitors
- Members of the task force implementation team will meet with the Counseling Center and other campus partners to discuss ways to incorporate support services in the sharing of this history

**4. Sustain Loyola's engagement with the GU272 descendant community**

The participation of GU272 descendant community members on this task force has offered numerous opportunities for dialogue and collaboration, from research and its interpretation to courses and student mentorship. We regard the sustaining of Loyola's relationship with the GU272 descendant community as essential going forward. This includes deepening relationships that have already been established and finding opportunities for other descendant community members, including those in Baltimore City and County, to become involved in this process.

The rubric for engaging descendant communities discussed above offers several ways that institutions can formally express their commitment to sustain such engagement: memoranda of understanding, a revision of by-laws, and representation on boards and steering committees, among others. Further dialogue with descendant community members can inform the exact shape of this commitment, but we recommend that it clearly lay out an ethos of engagement that is characterized by collaboration, inclusion, and equity in research, reparative measures, and other shared activities. The recommendations below spell out measures that could further inform such a commitment, including honoring the contributions of descendant community members to Loyola, and making Loyola more accessible to descendant community members.

**ACTIONABLE NEXT STEPS**

- During AY2023-24, members of the task force implementation team will organize in-person and virtual opportunities to share this work with a broader circle of GU272 descendant community members
- By the beginning of AY2024-25, Loyola articulates a commitment to sustain its engagement with the GU272 descendant community

- Descendant community members are represented on the task force implementation team and the more permanent project laid out in these recommendations

**5. Honor GU272 ancestors and other individuals whose contributions to Loyola have gone previously unacknowledged or uncelebrated**

Descendant community members on our task force, as well as those who were interviewed by students in Dr. Carey's oral histories course, expressed pride in the contributions their ancestors made to Jesuit education broadly and Loyola specifically. They drew attention to the reparative and healing value that Loyola's formal acknowledgement and honoring of these contributions would bring them.

We recommend Loyola and the descendant community find suitable ways to honor these contributions. There are many examples across the USS consortium that may be appropriate, from physical plaques, statuary, or naming opportunities to an annual day of celebration. There is much to commend physical memorials, as these can provide a sense of permanence amidst the constant change that characterizes university life. But as one descendant community member reminded us, the most meaningful form of memorialization is the living memorial that is embodied in the culture of the university itself, underscoring that any physical or material forms of memorialization need to be accompanied by the culture change strategies identified above.

Here we draw special attention to the role that an annual day of celebration might play in the reparative process. The separation of families was one of the gravest and most enduring harms of Jesuit slaveholding and slave trading. As descendants learn more about their family ties through the Georgetown Memory Project and other organizations, they are finding one another again. Facilitating opportunities to gather, reunite, and celebrate family accomplishments is one modest way that Loyola can contribute to the healing of this harm. An annual day of celebration could provide one such opportunity. By introducing a new tradition to university life and fostering more of the cross-group contact that we identified as effective for culture change, such an annual event could also contribute to the building of the living memorial named above.

As we learn more about the identities and life stories of other enslaved laborers, free Black workers, and other uncelebrated contributors to the University, Loyola should identify suitable ways to honor their contributions as well.

### ACTIONABLE NEXT STEPS

- In-person and virtual consultations with GU272 descendant community members mentioned above will include discussions of ways to honor GU272 contributions to Loyola
- The university-wide project that launches in AY2024-25 will develop survey tools to solicit GU272 and Loyola community perspectives on ways to honor the GU272 community at Loyola
- By the end of AY2024-25, Loyola formally honors one or more GU272 contributors to the University, with more to follow, including a possible annual day of celebration

### 6. Rename Jenkins Hall and the Jenkins Society

A corollary of honoring individuals whose contributions have previously gone unacknowledged or uncelebrated is renaming buildings and other campus markers that honor individuals whose views are now understood to be inconsistent with the University’s mission and values.

Renaming buildings has been a common reparative practice at other USS institutions. For example, buildings named for Fr. Thomas Mulledy, S.J., the chief architect of the GU272 sale, have been renamed at Georgetown University and the College of the Holy Cross. In Georgetown’s case, Mulledy Hall was renamed in honor of GU272 ancestor Isaac Hawkins, illustrating how a renaming consideration and the honoring of an ancestor can go together. The renaming process can facilitate broad campus reflection on the mission and values of an institution and the particular role that individual buildings or cultural markers play in the life of that institution. Loyola has renamed buildings before, most recently in 2020, when it changed the name of Flannery O’Connor Hall to Thea Bowman Hall.

Above we documented that George Jenkins—the namesake of Jenkins Hall, where The Study and the offices of many of our senior academic leaders are located, and the Jenkins Society, a society that recognizes many of Loyola’s most significant donors—fought for the Confederacy and supported the Lost Cause. Loyola’s Advancement division currently oversees a policy for renaming considerations which identifies several criteria for removing an honorific name, including: the harm caused by retaining the name; whether the honoree’s behavior compromises the university’s mission, vision, and integrity,

including its commitment to diversity and inclusion of all members of the Loyola community; the centrality of the person’s offensive behavior to his or her life as a whole; the harmful impact of the honoree’s behavior; and strength and clarity of the historical evidence; among others.<sup>75</sup>

Jenkins’ commitments to the Confederacy and Lost Cause are clearly established in the historical record and were central to his life as a whole; those commitments had a harmful impact at the time and continue to have a harmful impact today, including through the harm caused by retaining his name on these campus makers; and those commitments stand in clear conflict with Loyola’s mission, vision, and integrity, especially its commitments to diversity and inclusion of all members of the Loyola community. For these reasons, we recommend Jenkins Hall and the Jenkins Society be renamed.

### ACTIONABLE NEXT STEPS:

- In AY2023-24, members of the task force implementation team submit a formal request to the President to rename Jenkins Hall and the Jenkins Society
- In AY2024-25, members of the university-wide project host listening sessions on campus and with the GU272 descendant community on possible individuals to honor in place of George Jenkins (see recommendations above about honoring GU272 ancestors)
- By the end of AY2024-25, Loyola renames Jenkins Hall and the Jenkins Society

### 7. Make Loyola (including a Loyola education) accessible to members of the GU272 descendant community

In our discussions of repair with the descendant community, access was a central theme. GU272 ancestors helped build Jesuit schools and universities, but they were denied access to the education and other benefits these institutions provided. This was formally the case at Loyola until it desegregated in 1949, but it has remained largely inaccessible to the GU272 descendant community since. While the benefits of GU272 contributions to Jesuit institutions have accrued over the decades, the harms caused by enslavement, family separation, and lack of educational and other opportunities have compounded.

Our discussions of access focused largely upon access to a Loyola education, recognizing that Loyola’s

75 Principles and Procedures for Removing an Honorific or Philanthropic Naming Opportunity at Loyola University Maryland, Named and Endowed Fund Policy, Appendix C (October 2020).

primary mission is to educate and that a college education remains one of the single most important determinants of opportunity, intergenerational wealth creation, and well-being in this country. At the same time, we recognized that an undergraduate or graduate education may not be what all descendant community members want or need, and that Loyola offers many other resources, from campus space to research materials, the greater accessibility of which could also contribute to the reparative process. So we approached access in broad terms, without wanting to lose sight of the specific importance of access to a Loyola education.

Other institutions have employed a variety of approaches in making a college education more accessible. As mentioned, Georgetown confers legacy status upon GU272 community members. This is significant, but no guarantee that accepted students can actually matriculate given the costs of tuition and fees. For this reason, other institutions with ties to slavery, notably Princeton Theological Seminary, have focused their efforts on providing scholarships for students who are descendants of persons who were enslaved.

Loyola may already have a model that it could adapt to make a Loyola education more accessible to GU272 descendant community members: the Charm City Pell Promise program discussed above. As mentioned, it currently meets 100% of the financial need of high-achieving Baltimore high school students. It does so through a package of services: assisting students to fill out FAFSA forms, apply for Pell grants, and seek out Maryland-specific funding sources, in addition to providing direct financial aid from Loyola. We note that descendants who live in Baltimore may already qualify for this program. The model could be expanded to those living outside the city. The Advancement strategy mentioned in our final recommendation should target scholarships for descendants as well.

Promoting accessibility may also mean investing in college readiness in earlier years. Here again we see opportunities for collaboration with area Jesuit and Catholic schools and extending the kind of mentorship and advising that the Karson Institute provides to young adults in City Neighbors High School to other schools where descendant community members study.

Access also includes the accessibility of graduate programs in addition to the traditional 4-year undergraduate experience. It includes the experience that students have once they matriculate: the diversity of faculty, course offerings, and extra-curricular options, as well as services that promotes student success, which brings us back to the campus climate issues identified above.

It also requires thinking beyond degree programs to consider the many different kinds of resources that Loyola offers, from the services of its Clinical Centers to research materials at the Loyola/Notre Dame Library.

The exact shape of Loyola's commitment to access, like the other areas we have discussed, should be the basis of further dialogue with an ever-widening circle of descendant community members. But an expressed commitment to making Loyola, including a Loyola education, accessible to the GU272 descendant community should be central to Loyola's process going forward. This would not only be in keeping with our mission, but also provide a tangible expression of how we are applying the apostolic preferences in our context and in response to our history, particularly as it relates to walking with those whose dignity has been violated, in a mission of reconciliation and justice.

### **ACTIONABLE NEXT STEPS**

- In AY2023-24, members of the task force implementation team meet with the Vice President for Enrollment Management to discuss strategies for greater accessibility, modeled upon, and potentially overlapping with, Loyola's Charm City Pell Promise program
- In-person and virtual admissions information sessions are held with GU272 descendant community members
- The Advancement strategy described below includes a specific fundraising goal for GU272 descendant community scholarships
- Members of the task force implementation team meet with representatives from the Loyola/Notre Dame Library to explore ways to make research materials accessible to descendant community members

### ***8. Expand Loyola's support for existing DEIJ-focused initiatives on campus***

The work of repairing the legacy of Loyola's historical ties to slavery and its legacies is deeply connected to Loyola's existing DEIJ-focused initiatives. As we have discussed, the history we have examined not only gives necessary historical context to such work, but also can provide motivation for further support of such work.

We have already outlined several ways that Loyola can promote education and training, mission alignment, and cross-group interactions in our previous recommendations. Here we wish to underscore the alignment between these strategies and the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee to Address Retention of ALANA Faculty.

These recommendations address several important areas, including training for deans and chairs, equitable workloads for faculty, increased mentoring for junior and mid-career ALANA faculty, increased leadership opportunities for faculty of color, eliminating bias in faculty evaluation, increased diversity in hiring, the development of tools for keeping track of faculty demographics and departures, and reviewing follow-up to bias reports. We strongly support these recommendations as concrete ways that Loyola can embed its response to its historical ties to slavery and its legacies within priority areas ALANA faculty have already identified as necessary for effective culture change.

### **ACTIONABLE NEXT STEPS**

- Implement the ALANA faculty retention recommendations according to the action plan outlined in its report
- During AY2023-24, members of the task force implementation team will meet with representatives from Academic Affairs and other divisions who were charged with implementing ALANA faculty retention recommendations to coordinate partnership on the more permanent project outlined in these recommendations

### ***9. Strengthen Loyola's partnerships in the city of Baltimore that redress legacies identified in this report***

Above we discussed how many of Loyola's existing partnerships in the city of Baltimore, including the Charm City Pell Promise Program, the York Road Initiative, and the Karson Institute for Race, Peace, and Social Justice, can provide avenues for addressing the legacies outlined in this report. Such initiatives will require additional support if they are to further advance these strategic directions, particularly as they involve increasing the number of students from Baltimore, expanding collaborative research opportunities, and deepening partnership on issues such as affordable housing, small business development, and educational opportunity.

These are, to reiterate, just three examples of how this work dovetails with Loyola's existing partnerships in the city. Every form of Loyola's engagement in the city presents a potential opportunity to further the work of repair, but this will not happen as a matter of course. It will require additional investments in training, personnel, and time.

### **ACTIONABLE NEXT STEPS**

- During AY2023-24, members of the task force implementation team share the report with York Road

Initiative and Karson Institute community partners

- Recruitment planning for the project outlined in these recommendations will include consultations with representatives from the York Road Initiative, Karson Institute, and other Loyola/Baltimore initiatives
- For fundraising goals, see actionable steps in next recommendation

### ***10. Develop an Advancement strategy to endow these activities***

We recognize that these recommendations will require significant resources. We anticipate that some of this work can be funded through grant opportunities, and as mentioned, a team of Loyola faculty members, administrators, and GU272 descendant community members has already applied for one grant to support some of the activities described above.

If Loyola is to remain committed to researching and re-telling its story over the long-term, to honoring individuals and communities who have contributed to this history, and to sustaining its engagement with the descendant and Baltimore communities, a more robust Advancement strategy targeting larger gifts to endow these activities will be necessary.

As we have discussed, Loyola's engagement with slavery and its legacies is deeply aligned with our Jesuit mission, our institutional commitment to DEIJ, and key priorities in the strategic plan, including racial healing and justice. We recommend that this project be incorporated into Advancement's next capital campaign as a practical way to implement key priorities in the strategic plan.

### **ACTIONABLE NEXT STEPS**

- In AY2023-24, members of the task force implementation team identify and apply for grants to support ongoing research (one grant application has already been submitted)
- Members of the task force implementation team work with an Advancement officer to identify ways the project described in these recommendations aligns with priorities of the strategic plan and the next capital campaign
- By the start of AY2024-25, fundraising for Loyola's engagement with slavery and its legacies is assigned to the portfolio of one Advancement officer