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THE CLEMENTS LIBRARY ASSOCIATES

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AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY AT THE CLEMENTS



A pair of ninth-plate daguerreotypes of Rose Denard and her husband Charles, 1854. These striking photographs are from the Crittenden Family Papers. The Denards' relationship to the Southern-sympathizing Crittendens remains unclear, but they dressed in their finest to have portraits made by a photographic artist.

s most readers of The Quarto know, the University of Michigan recently launched a major Diversity, Equity, & Inclusion initiative. This effort, which will engage all units and levels at U-M, represents a serious commitment "to advancing the vision of a more diverse, equitable, and inclusive University of Michigan community." The Clements Library is proud to be part of U-M's DEI planning, and my colleagues and I look forward with enthusiasm to participating through the Library's own DEI ideas, programs, collecting, and activities.

This issue of The Quarto looks

at the Library's collections for the study of pre-1900 African American history. As Professor Martha S. Jones outlines in her excellent essay, the Clements took a slow path to recognizing and emphasizing African American sources as an important collecting area. The Library did make that journey, however, and I'm proud that for the past half-century or more the Clements has been quite active in acquiring African American materials and making them available to students and scholars alike. I regret the missed opportunities of the past-if only we had jumped at the chance to buy the remarkable black history collections that Charles F. Heartman offered for sale in

the 1940s and '50s!—but our curators and I celebrate the collecting accomplishments of recent decades and the strong foundation they've created for research into the significant roles that African Americans have played in the history of the Americas.

The curatorial essays in this issue offer interesting insights on aspects of African American history and the Library's collections. Manuscripts curator Cheney Schopieray's review of Alpheus W. Tucker's 1863 struggle for acceptance at the U-M medical school is a valuable reminder in this bicentennial year that our university's heritage includes instances of prejudice, bigotry,





and bias that offer instructive lessons for using the past to build a better future. Emi Hastings writes about the Book Division's holdings of titles by African American women and our strong interest in strengthening that part of the WLCL collections. Graphics curator Clayton Lewis provides valuable context for the Library's growing archive of African American portrait photography, which has served as the focus for exciting research in recent years by Professor Jones and her students. As always with Quarto articles, these are microscopic looks at a wide panorama: our readers should think of them as first glimpses into the rich and varied resources the Clements holds for African American history, glimpses we hope will induce you to come to 909 South University Avenue to see more, much more for yourself.

In recent months I've spent some time investigating the history of collecting African Americana to help me write the introduction for the Library's forthcoming book on the great pre-1900 Americanists, the collectors, curators, dealers, and bibliographers who preceded Mr. Clements in our field. In the process I've learned a lot about the outstanding African American collectors-David Ruggles, Robert M. Adger, William Carl Bolivar, Jesse E. Moorland, Arturo A. Schomburg, and others-who did so much to preserve the primary sources on black history that most of their white contemporaries and counterparts ignored. That research and my vivid memories of childhood experiences as the son of a single mother who was quite active in the civil-rights movement in the 1960s have heightened

my appreciation of and my commitment to this essential part of the American story. I'm pleased that the members of the WLCL staff stand with me on this front, and that we have a strong consensus for enhancing the African American collections under our care. Doing so as part of the University's DEI initiative and as part of the Library's push to expand our resources in pre-1900 American social, ethnic, gender, and class history will significantly strengthen the WLCL holdings for documenting the full range of the early American experience. The Clements, the University, and the world of American scholarship will be better for it, and that's a result all of us here are eager to achieve.

> J. Kevin Graffagnino Director



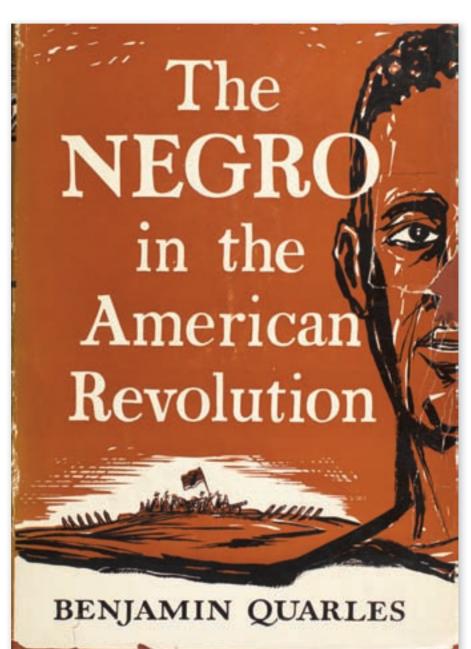
This circa 1864 portrait print of Major Martin Delany (1812-1885) pictures a tireless advocate for and recruiter of black troops to fight the Confederacy. In recognition of his efforts the army awarded Delany a major's commission, the first time field officer rank was conferred on an African American.

FALSE STARTS, MISSED OPPORTUNITIES, AND A PIONEERING HISTORIAN

oday, when students and scholars working in African American history arrive at the Clements Library, their biggest challenge is choosing from among a vast array of primary source materials. Held in each of the Library's divisions-Books, Graphics, Manuscripts, and Maps-are important keys to early black American life and culture. A note of caution is in order, however. The richness of the Library's present-day collection might (mis-)lead patrons into thinking that things were always this way. The story of African American history at the Clements is one of how the Library has changed, rather than how it has remained the same.

At the Library's founding, African American history was absent from the collection's focus. In *The William L. Clements Library of Americana at the University of Michigan*, published in 1923. Mr. Clements outlined the subject matters of the original holdings. They stretched from the "Spirit of Discovery" to the North American colonies and the American Revolution. But for one mention of the slave trade, the Library's namesake and benefactor set forth an ambitious realm of topics that notably omitted African American history from the founding mission.

Mr. Clements passed on what was a growing trend. The Library was established alongside the work of other collectors, librarians, and archivists dedicated to preserving and explaining the African American past. At the Library of Congress, collector and librarian Daniel Murray had long been at work assembling a personal library of nearly 1,500 black-authored volumes. Murray retired in 1923, donating his "Colored Author Collection" to the Library of Congress, which today constitutes the Daniel Murray Pamphlet Collection. In 1925 the New York Public Library established its Division of Negro Literature, History, and Prints. At its core was the collection of Arturo Schomburg, who became the division's curator in 1932 and for whom the African American-related research divi-



sion of the NYPL is named today. At Howard University, in 1930, Dorothy Porter Wesley took charge of the Moorland Foundation collection, laying the cornerstone for what is today the Moorland-Spingarn Collection. These developments, alongside Carter G. Woodson's 1915 establishment of the *Journal of Negro History*, suggest how collectors, librarians, and scholars alike were setting in place new foundations for African American history just as the The Negro in the American Revolution was a breakthrough study of African American participation in the struggle for independence. Historian Benjamin Quarles (1904–1996) relied heavily on the primary source material preserved at the Clements Library.

Clements Library opened its doors. How then should we understand the development of the African American history collection at the Clements Library if it was not part of

Date: Quarles, Benjamin 1955 I hereby apply for permission material designated on the back of this card, I have already for the purpose indicated. made use of the facilities of a general library in this field and I will follow the regulations imposed by the Clements Library LAK Signed amin Address Policies and Practices Con-Subject of research: cerning ase of negroes Specific materials desired: Clinton MS. GAGE MS irecon Papers Countersigned Director WSE Benjamin Quarles's Clements Library reader registration card identifies the critical col-

Benjamin Quarles's Clements Library reader registration card identifies the critical col lections—Clinton, Gage, and Greene—needed for his research. Manuscripts Curator William S. Ewing ("WSE") signed for Director Howard Peckham to approve Professor Quarles's request for access to them.

this early movement? Three episodes from the Library's past suggest that this evolution is best understood by a series of events that include missed opportunities, the influence of collectors and dealers, and the initiative of African American historians who looked beyond the Library's stated mission to discover in the Clements's holdings the raw materials by which they would retell the American past.

The first such episode involved the fate of historian U.B. Phillips's library, sold in the wake of the one-time University of Michigan faculty member's death in 1934. This is a story about the Library's early (dis-)interest in African American-related materials. After nearly twenty years at Michigan, Phillips had moved to Yale in 1929 already having set the terms of the early-twentieth-century debates about slavery. Phillips's ideas would be challenged and even discredited by subsequent generations. Still, his book collection reflected keen insight into the building blocks of African American history. As his widow, Lucie, began to part with Phillips's books and periodicals, she reached out to Clements Library Director Randolph Adams who, with a tone of familiarity and concern, offered to assist by determining which of Phillips's materials were of interest to the University of Michigan's libraries.

Adams and his staff gave Phillips's collection careful attention, but the Clements director ultimately passed on acquiring some rare and valuable items. Of the ten books Adams selected for the Clements, only one volume, the 1743 Memoirs of an Unfortunate Young Nobleman, hinted at slavery, though only through the story of a white man's captivity. Most interesting are the titles that Adams declined to purchase, including first-hand accounts authored by black Americans. He passed on The Memoirs of Elleanor *Eldridge* (1838), a book that the Library would purchase only later in 1951. Similarly, the 1859 A Narrative of the Life of Rev. Noah Davis, a Colored Man. Written by Himself, at the Age of Fifty-Four was not acquired from among Phillips's books. In 1978, more than forty years later. Director John Dann would give Davis's memoir to the Clements. For the time being, the Library would leave African American history to other collections.

Collector and dealer Charles Heartman was among the first to encourage the Clements to follow a new direction when it came to African American history. Heartman is remembered as a singular figure in the history of midtwentieth-century book and manuscript collecting. With a discerning, forwardlooking eye, an appetite for acquisitions that sometimes defied good fiscal sense, and a dogged commitment to marketing, Heartman shaped many collections including that of the Clements. The Library's dealings with Heartman began in 1924 during its earliest months. Heartman came to know Director Randolph Adams's tastes and the two traded news and even gossip about others in their shared orbit. Heartman enjoyed liberties at the Clements, encouraging changes to its mission in 1938 when he urged Adams to consider expanding the holdings to include the Civil War era: "I found out that the Civil War was not only a much more tragic chapter [than the Revolutionary era]. I also found, that this period needed more re-writing than any other." The suggestion took, and by 1943 Adams was writing to Heartman, seeking to supplement the Library's "little collection" of Civil War wallpaper newspapers.

Heartman's special interests included African American history, and

he aimed to steer the Clements in that direction. As early as 1915, Heartman was singled out by Arturo Schomburg, writing for W.E.B. DuBois's The Crisis, for his influence in the field. Heartman had republished a rare volume-the letters and poems of Phillis Wheatley-and Schomburg praised the dealer for his big heart, noble mind, generous impulses, and democratic spirit. It was many years before Heartman pressed his enthusiasm on the Clements. In 1951 he offered for acquisition the "Negro and Slavery" collection, materials that shed light on what he termed African American "inferiority." Black institutions had rejected the materials and Heartman quoted Arturo Schomburg as stating in print that, "it would become a duty (in time) to eliminate from all libraries, books dealing with the inferiority of the Negro." Heartman's pitch reflected the dealer's own paternalism: "I have always worked for the betterment of the Negro race, and contended that, given an opportunity, the Negro could and would make a valuable vontribution [sic] towards our cultural life." Whether it was Heartman's attitudes or the Library's assessment of the materials, Assistant Director Colton Storm rejected the collection without comment in September 1951.

Historian Benjamin Quarles would change the Library's direction, publishing the first major work on African American history out of the Clements and forging a relationship with Director Howard Peckham that signaled an important turn. Quarles's 1961 The Negro in the American Revolution was among the early, path-breaking histories published in the modern Civil Rights era. Trained at the University of Wisconsin and on faculty at Morgan State University in Maryland, Quarles reflected an important approach to African American subjects: collections assembled with other early American questions in mind often included African American-related materials, but they were not cataloged as such.

It was Quarles who thus expanded the Library's understanding of its own holdings in African American history. He worked in Ann Arbor in 1955, 1956, and 1957, developing his study of the role played by black Americans in the Revolution. He had not, it seemed, encountered the scrutiny and outright



Dr. Benjamin A. Quarles (1904-1996), courtesy photograph from the Benjamin A. Quarles Papers of the Beulah M. Davis Research Room, Morgan State University, Baltimore, MD.

restrictions that black historians faced in many southern repositories. It seems instead that no one especially noticed Quarles and his purpose. It was only later, in early 1959 when Quarles was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship, that Director Peckham reached out, inviting the African American scholar to visit the Clements. Quarles declined, explaining that he'd already done just that. Still, it was the start of a mutually rewarding relationship. Peckham read chapters of Quarles's draft manuscript. In exchange, the author especially thanked Peckham for his engagement with the work, noting in the final paragraph of its acknowledgments: "My deepest gratitude goes to Mr. Howard H. Peckham, historian of the Revolutionary War and Director of the William L. Clements Library. Mr. Peckham read seven chapters, making penciled comments and calling attention to points to be checked.

This study is much freer of flaws for his preliminary reading."

The contours of this story of the encounter between Quarles and Peckham perhaps best captures what today still characterizes the most efficient approach to researching African American history at the Clements Library: the collaboration of staff and researchers. Through exchanges that bring the field's scholars and cuttingedge subject matter together with curators and Library acquisitions, new and old, African American history has become an important facet of the Clements's mission.

> Martha S. Jones Presidential Bicentennial Professor, Professor of History and Afroamerican and African Studies, University of Michigan

"COL[ORE]D MEN ARE NOT ADMITTED HERE"

n the morning hours of October 20, 1863, a young man in his late teens named Alpheus W. Tucker presented himself at the University of Michigan (U-M) Medical Department seeking to matriculate. He submitted his enrollment fee, and secretary Corydon L. Ford entered his name into the student register. Students had begun arriving for the semester on October 1st, and by the 20th of the month Tucker was already the 296th medical student to join the class of 1863-1864. By December, the student body would swell to 343 young men. For entrance into the program Tucker and his fellow enrollees were required to have "good moral and intellectual character," a "good" English education, a "fair" knowledge of the natural sciences (including algebra and geometry), and a working knowledge of Latin. Tucker brought these skills with him from Oberlin (Ohio) College's preparatory school, where from 1861 to 1863 he pursued his studies. The prep school's program did not have rigidly defined duration requirements and Tucker felt confident enough in his abilities to leave without formally graduating in order to pursue an opportunity at the U-M medical school.

A dean, a secretary, a professor emeritus, and nine professors managed the course of study in the Medical Department. Students were required to attend four didactic lectures per day from October until March, engage in practical studies in chemistry and pharmacology, and successfully complete regular testing and examinations. Alpheus Tucker arrived in time for the second lecture of the day, but on entering the lecture hall was greeted by jeers from students already seated for the lecture. As a dark-skinned, mixed-race man. Tucker suffered shouts of "take him out!" and mocking cries of "Caw," the latter taunt being "a manner of expressing disapproval peculiar to the Mich. University" according to a classmate. Tucker was visibly alarmed. After all, a motivating factor that led him to U-M was the knowledge that another mixed-race student—John H. Rapier, Jr.-had already been admitted to the medical school. Shortly, the professor arrived and, in order to quell the disorder in his classroom, he asked Tucker to leave. Although Tucker left the lecture, he continued to attend classes until about a week later when Professor Ford informed him that objections of the students compelled him to ask Tucker to leave the University entirely. Sometime between October 20 and November 1, 1863, the secretary scrubbed Tucker's name from the stu-

This passage in a November 1, 1863, letter from William Byrns to his wife set off a search for further details of the Alpheus Tucker incident. Byrns wrote, "The negro was informed by one of the Faculty that for the peace & harmony of the institution he had better leave." Duane Norman Diedrich Collection.





The buildings of the University of Michigan's Department of Medicine & Surgery faced East University Avenue. They are shown here circa 1875 in a detail from a colored lithograph of A. Ruger's drawing titled University of Michigan Ann Arbor.

dent register with an abrasive object. This young man's presence in the records of the University was thus completely expunged.

William Byrns, a veteran of the 1st Michigan Sharpshooters, began his efforts toward a U-M medical degree the same semester as Alpheus Tucker. The Clements Library holds five letters from Byrns to his wife in the Duane Norman Diedrich Collection. Byrns's letter of November 1, 1863, offers information about the student response to Tucker's expulsion: "[S]ome members of the class from Oberlin Ohio & others who were more than Abolitionists drew up a call for an indignation meeting to be held immediately after the lecture yesterday P.M. & to be held in the lecture room. The faculty saw the call & told the gentlemen that such things could not be allowed & the meeting was squelched. Whether the matter will die quietly or be agitated still more remains to be seen, I am out of the affair & will remain so."

Alpheus W. Tucker explained his departure in a letter to the editor of the Republican, antislavery-leaning *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune* in early November. "Not expecting to receive such a reception, at an institution where men repaired to receive an education treatment more suited to an uneducated than an educated community—and being inexperienced in such matters, I was guided wholly by Prof. Ford's advice, accepted the fee I had paid, and left, thinking it harsh treatment that I, a native of the State, a supporter of the University through my taxes, am denied an attendance because, from accident of birth, I am a shade or two darker than my fellow students, many of them from other States, receiving an education at my expense, whilst I am denied an attendance." Rather than even mention his harsh treatment in the lecture hall, Tucker instead focused on the larger issue of African American access to tax-supported public education. According to the Michigan Constitutions (of 1835 and 1850), the taxes paid by Michiganians included an allotment for public education, though many individual public schools continued to refuse entry to black taxpayers. African Americans and their allies struggled to establish, municipalize, and desegregate public primary and secondary schools for black children in the decades prior to the Civil War. Alpheus Tucker addressed the issue as it applied to higher education and also the conflicting message of the government's call for medically-educated black men. "It has often been said by our enemies that the colored man is only fit to be a barber, or a waiter, and that he has no aspiration above that. Is this the way to attest it, by shutting the door of your public institutions in his face? When Government sees fit to appoint colored men educated abroad to the army, surely our Professors at home ought to be equally competent to fit them for such positions here." In an accompanying letter, George DeBaptiste, a militant abolitionist and Underground Railroad agent, furthered Tucker's discussion. "Why is it that while we pay taxes to support public education, and at a moment when colored men are responding to the call of the Government and enrolling themselves in the Union army, and offering their lives in support of the county, that they receive such treatment as this? Even now the Government is in special want of colored surgeons, but how are they to be educated?"

The experiences of Drs. Tucker and Rapier in Ann Arbor add complexity to our understanding of race relations on campus during the Civil War. Ann Arbor citizens had contributed to Underground Railroad activity and supported Union war efforts with volunteer enlistments and other aid. Wartime U-M was largely liberal, with a faculty predominantly sympathetic to anti-slavery causes and a student body mostly comprised of patriotic supporters of the Union, with a comparatively small number of nonconforming Copperheads (a biting political epithet for Confederatesupporting Northerners). And yet, over the course of the war the voices of the University's southern sympathizers grew louder, reflecting Washtenaw County's political shift toward the Democratic Party. Prior to 1861, the county leaned toward the Republican Party, but in the 1862 and 1864 elections the county favored Democratic candidates, even preferring George McClellan over Lincoln in the Presidential election of 1864.

Entry 296 of the University of Michigan Medical College student register for 1863 originally displayed the name of Alpheus Tucker. University officials saw to its removal and replacement with the name of James F. McCarrell. The abraded paper and darker ink of McCarrell's name provide evidence of the erasure. Courtesy, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan. Medical School Records. Photo by Austin Thomason.

The 1863 issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation (January 1) and the Military Draft Act (March 3) laid groundwork for a race riot in nearby Detroit (March 6). In the same month, a group of almost three dozen U-M students made a trip to Windsor, Ontario, to visit and show solidarity with Clement L. Vallandigham, an anti-abolitionist leader of Copperheads in the Midwest, whose strong verbal opposition to the war resulted in his banishment from the Union. Alpheus Tucker arrived at U-M during this tumultuous time, but so too did John Rapier, Jr. Mr. Rapier was an Alabama-born, mixedrace man who enrolled in the Medical Department as a Jamaican. While both young men were treated with hostility by Copperheads, only one-the one with darker skin, the one not considered to be a foreigner-was expelled from the school on account of his race. In his eloquent letter to the editor. Alpheus Tucker accused one unspecified member of the U-M faculty for giving legitimacy to the small number of bigoted students in the medical department. He wrote: "A negro-hating faculty will soon make negro-hating students. One large Copperhead can soon breed a nest of smaller ones. I do not doubt but some of the students did object to my being there....But I question very much whether a dozen students out of the 300 in attendance ever said a word to the Professors in regard to my being there, and I have good reasons for believing that the objection originated with one of the Professors and not the students. But supposing that some of the students did object, have they a right to control the University in such matters? If they

have, perhaps they may object to one of the Professors teaching them from accident of birth having red hair, or to another who is nearly as dark as myself."

Alpheus Tucker was born in Detroit around 1844. He was one of at least three children of Kentuckyborn barber and abolitionist George Washington Tucker. At age six, Alpheus lived with Edward and Emily Hubbard (whose relationship to the Tuckers is currently unknown) in Detroit, and there he attended school. By 1860, Tucker and his siblings, Cassius and Georgetta "Georgie" A. Tucker, again lived with their father, now in Toledo, Ohio, where Alpheus and his brother continued their education. Oberlin Collegiate Institute (later Oberlin College) was established in 1833. Its foundation in strong Christian principles and its early dedication to a multiracial student body quickly made the school a prominent destination for African American students. Alpheus Tucker transitioned from Toledo to Oberlin's prep school in 1861. There, in 1862, Tucker likely met John H. Rapier, Jr.

John H. Rapier, Jr., was born in Florence, Alabama, the son of John [Thomas] Rapier, a mixed-race barber from Virginia and Nashville, Tennessee. Whereas Alpheus Tucker spent his youth within relatively confined geographical bounds, John Rapier, Jr., traveled extensively, seeking the most suitable position, occupation, and social standing he could muster. He went to Nicaragua with his uncle James P. Thomas in 1855 to join Tennessean William Walker in his efforts to establish an English-speaking colony in Latin America. Rapier later became personal secretary to Walker's one-armed associate Parker H. French at Havana, Cuba, before embarking with him on a fundraising tour that ended (for Rapier) in Minnesota Territory in 1856. He then considered migrating to West Africa, but ultimately decided to travel to the Caribbean in December 1860. In Kingston, Jamaica, he began an assistantship with a Canadian dentist named Dr. William Beckett. Armed with dental training, Rapier returned to the United States in 1862 and began further education at Oberlin College. Neither Rapier nor Tucker could realize doctorial ambitions at Oberlin, however, as the school did not have a medical program.

In 1860 the University of Michigan was not recognized as an institution that admitted black students. Rapier's desire to attend the U-M was based in part on the knowledge that it was one of thirteen U.S. medical schools recognized by the British Medical Council. U-M also happened to be the closest non-homeopathic medical school to Oberlin. Rapier arrived in Ann Arbor on October 1st and became the 62nd student to matriculate in the 1863–1864 academic year.

John Rapier, Jr., was an astute observer, and he carefully crafted his societal interactions to leverage the greatest advantage. While in the Caribbean in the late 1850s, he sent correspondence to his family in which he ruminated at length on gradations of social status based on race and the opportunities available to persons of differing racial constitution and nativity. In Ann Arbor he was able to put his observations to practical use by deliber-

ately presenting himself as a mixed-race man from Kingston, Jamaica, when he registered in the U-M Medical Department. He correctly anticipated that his status as a foreigner and his relatively light complexion would result in different—more favorable—treatment than if he were recognized as a black U.S. citizen. In a letter to his cousin on November 12, 1863, Rapier assured her that he had "some funny stories to tell [her], of a West Indian's adventures among live Yankees and Copperheads."

When writing to her of Tucker's arrival on campus, he remarked with sarcastic and characteristically grim humor that "an 'American of African descent' dared to present himself as a candidate for Admission to the medical class[.] Who ever heard of such impudence." Rapier continued, noting that Tucker's entrance into the lecture hall "was the signal for com-

motion among the Copperhead Students, and many unprincipled republicans-The Faculty willing to pander to this prejudice invited Mr Tucker to leave the University[.] He did so after receiving his fees back-So you see Colloreld Men are not admitted here. This I am afraid will blast James' hopes of studying Law in this University." As Rapier was not asked to leave-either on admission or in the first few weeks of class—he received harsh criticism from the black community of Tucker's hometown of Detroit. In Rapier's words, "They say I pretend to be white when I am nothing but a 'Nigger'." (All quotes in this paragraph are from John H. Rapier ALS to Sarah Thomas; November 12, 1863. Rapier Family Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University).

Although John H. Rapier, Jr., retained his seat in class following Tucker's removal, he ultimately decided to abandon U-M in February 1864. He suffered from stressrelated illness, dealt with abuses from Copperheads, and felt that his existing training and education had prepared him sufficiently for work as a physician. Rapier left Ann Arbor for Keokuk, where he enrolled (again, identifying himself as a man from Jamaica) at the Iowa College of Physicians and Surgeons, which had recently added inclusive admissions clauses to their bylaws. He completed his medical degree in the winter/summer session of 1864. Before graduation, Rapier applied to Surgeon General of the Army William Hammond for a position as a medical officer. Adroitly emphasizing his ties to the United States, he assured Hammond that he was born in Alabama and of African descent. He gained his commission and began work at the U.S. Army

Contraband Hospital in Washington, D.C. The hospital and camp had been established to accommodate indigent free persons of color following President Lincoln's Compensated Emancipation Act of April 1862, which ended slavery in the District of Columbia. Dr. Alexander T. Augusta was surgeon-incharge at the hospital, and with the rank of major he was the U.S. Army's highest-ranking African American medicalofficer. Dr. Rapier joined Dr. Augusta's staff in the summer of 1864, and remained in Washington until his death circa 1865.

Alpheus Tucker had moved to Washington, D.C., in 1863 or 1864 and once again followed Rapier's lead—this time by enrolling at the Iowa College of Physicians and Surgeons. Tucker completed his degree at Keokuk in the winter/summer semester of 1865, with a

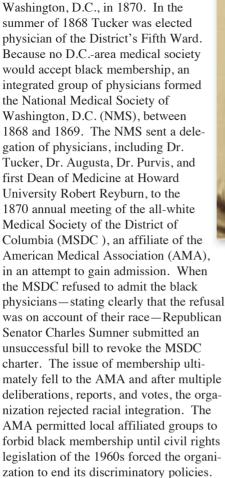


thesis on yellow fever. Dr. Tucker returned to Washington and set to work at the Contraband Hospital beside Drs. Alexander Augusta. Charles B. Purvis, John Rapier, Anderson R. Abbott, William P. Powell, Jr., and William B. Ellis. Following the war, administration of the Contraband Hospital shifted from the U.S. Army to the Freedman's Bureau and the hospital acquired significantly improved facilities by relocating to the U.S. Army's former Campbell Hospital.

Information about Dr. Tucker's postwar life is sparse. He married Martha E. Wood, a mixed-race woman from Virginia, on January 24, 1867. He lived with his wife, daughter Sarah Estella, and in-laws in

John H. Rapier, Jr., photographed in uniform, 1864– 1865. Courtesy, Annie Straith Jamieson Fonds, J. J. Talman Regional Collection, Western University Archives and Research Collection Centre, London, Ontario.

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Dr. Alpheus W. Tucker established his own medical practice in the "Colonization Building" (where the



Carte de visite portrait of Charles B. Purvis from the Theodore Weld Family Photograph Album, Weld-Grimké Family Papers.

American Colonization Society held its meetings) at 450 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., where he spent his career as a general practitioner. In 1878, Dr. Tucker traveled to Ontario and Detroit to visit family; but he contracted a cold in Canada and died in Detroit during January 1880.

As part of the University of Michigan's 2017 bicentennial, we have already begun to celebrate moments in U-M history when we advanced scholarship, shaped and improved lives, secured notable victories, and otherwise contrib-



Campbell U. S. General Hospital, Washington, D.C., seen in a colored lithograph published in New York by Charles V. Magnus. The complex was transferred to the Freedman's Bureau at the end of the Civil War.

uted to the betterment of humanity. One reason we celebrate our "first" female, African American, foreign, or minority students is because they represent milestones in overcoming color, gender, and national barriers. Equally or more important, these persons remind us that prior to their admission others of their background were not present or were denied entry to the academic community in Ann Arbor.

Alpheus Tucker's short time at U-M reminds us that these "firsts" do not imply acceptance, tolerance, or the conclusion of inequality.

Samuel Codes Watson, a mixed-race man from South Carolina, joined the medical program in 1853. He is now recognized as U-M's first African American student, although his physical appearance likely allowed him to pass as white. Alpheus Tucker, a decade after Watson, met with rejection. Had Tucker graduated from U-M, we would now be celebrating his presence here. He rose to achievement from modest beginnings. He was a successful doctor who contributed to medical care in the nation's capital during and after wartime. He was part of a delegation that sought racial equality in our national medical society. And he did these things with an institutional and societal deck stacked against him. But the University cannot celebrate the memory of his time here. We cannot claim him as a notable alumnus. Nor can we include the remarkable John H. Rapier, Jr., or Rapier's associate, James, who might have become a U-M Law student. While we observe two hundred years of the achievements of students, professors, staff, and administrators, our future improvements will depend in part on the recognition and review of our failures, missteps, and shortcomings.

The author drafted this article with an almost complete lack of writings by Dr. Alpheus W. Tucker. If readers of *The Quarto* are aware of letters, diaries, documents, business records, or other materials pertinent to the life and career of Dr. Tucker or his family, please contact the William L. Clements Library.

> Cheney J. Schopieray Curator of Manuscripts

AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN WRITERS

hile the Library's collection of works by African American women is relatively small, it contains representative examples of at least thirteen different authors. Their works include poetry, fiction, and memoir and span the years 1773 to 1894. High points include the first book of poems by an African American woman and the first novel by an African American woman, both of which are housed with the Library's greatest treasures.

The African American literary tradition dates back to 1773, when Phillis Wheatley's first book of verse, Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral, was printed in London. Wheatley had been enslaved and transported to North America as a young girl. When the Wheatley family of Boston purchased her, they taught her to read and write. At the age of twenty, she accompanied the

Wheatleys' son Nathaniel to London, where she published her first book. Wheatley, the first black woman author, remained the only black American to have published a work of literature for the next fifty-six years until George Moses Horton produced *The Hope of Liberty* in 1829.

Beginning in the nineteenth century, African American women wrote in a variety of genres, including religious conversion narratives, travel memoirs, and narratives of life in slavery. Jarena Lee, the first African American woman to publish an autobiography, wrote *The Life and Religious Experiences of Jarena Lee, a Colored Lady, Giving an Account of the Call to Preach the Gospel.* This work describes her life of faith and career as an itinerant preacher.



Bookfeller Nº8 near the Saraceas Head Aldgate.

Phillis Wheatley, Negro Servant to Mr. John Wheatley, of Boston. *Frontispiece portrait from Phillis Wheatley*, Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral (*London: Printed for A. Bell, 1773*).

> Lee was the first woman authorized to preach by the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1819. In 1827, she travelled over two thousand miles and delivered almost two hundred sermons. The Clements holds the second edition of this work, printed in Cincinnati in 1839.

Several African American women wrote narratives of their lives in slavery, including the famous abolitionist Sojourner Truth. Her biography, dictated to Olive Gilbert and written in the third person, was published as *Narrative* of Sojourner Truth, a Northern Slave, Emancipated from Bodily Servitude by the State of New York, in 1828 (Boston, 1850). It includes an appendix by Theodore D. Weld, "Slavery a System of Inherent Cruelty."

In 1861, Harriet A. Jacobs published her autobiographical novel Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl under the pseudonym Linda Brent. Prior to scholar Jean Fagan Yellin's work on this subject in the 1980s, it was generally believed that this book was a work of fiction written by Lydia Maria Child, a white abolitionist. Yellin established Jacobs's authorship and confirmed that the incidents described were in fact autobiographical. It is now regarded as one of the most in-depth pre-Civil War slave narratives.

Another noteworthy narrative of enslavement is Elizabeth Keckley's Behind the Scenes, or, Thirty Years a Slave, and Four Years in the White House, published in New York in 1868. Keckley, trained as a seamstress, purchased freedom for herself and her son and settled in Washington, D.C. She opened a successful dressmaking shop, whose customers included the wives of Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, and

Abraham Lincoln. Keckley ultimately became Mary Todd Lincoln's personal dresser, an intimate witness to the private lives of the Lincolns during the Civil War.

Nancy Prince, born free in Newburysport, Massachusetts in 1799, had a most unusual life. In 1824, she married Nero Prince, an African American man who had recently returned from a stay of over a decade in St. Petersburg, Russia. She accompanied him back to Russia, where he served as an attendant to the czar. While she lived in St. Petersburg, she started a clothing business and founded an orphanage. However, the winters proved too difficult for her health, and she returned to America in 1833. Her husband intended to follow, but died



Frontispiece portrait of the author from Anna J. Cooper, A Voice from the South (Xenia, Ohio: Aldine Printing House, 1892).

soon after. Settling in Boston, Prince became involved in abolitionist efforts and started another orphanage for black children. *A Narrative of the Life and Travels of Mrs. Nancy Prince* was first published in Boston in 1850. Prince had visited Copenhagen as well as Russia and Jamaica, and her eyewitness observations of historical events included many fascinating details. She noted the often favorable treatment she and her husband received abroad, compared with racism at home. The Clements Library holds the second edition of the book, published in 1853.

A prolific author of poems and novels, Frances E.W. Harper was born to free parents in Baltimore, Maryland in 1825. She published her first book of poetry, *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects*, in 1854 to great success. The Clements holds the 1857 printing. Harper's works addressed issues of slavery and feminism.

Another important moment for the history of black women's authorship

is Harriet E. Wilson's Our Nig, or, Sketches from the Life of a Free Black, in a Two-Story White House, North. Showing that Slavery's Shadows Fall Even There. This book is the first novel by a black person to be published in the United States. Wilson's novel, introduced in 1859, describes the life of Frado, a young black girl working as a servant in the North, abandoned and then widowed by her husband. It mirrors many incidents in Wilson's own life, and also serves the purpose of educating a white Northern audience about the hardships of black lives outside of slavery. The privately printed novel was not commercially successful at the time and fell into obscurity until rediscovered by Henry Louis Gates, Jr., in 1982.

The Clements Library also holds a copy of Eliza Potter's autobiography, *A Hairdresser's Experience in High Life* (Cincinnati, 1859). Potter, a free black woman, became one of the earliest "beauticians" in America. Her book describes her career path and extensive travel experiences and provides insights into the lives of her wealthy white customers.

As part of the Library's ongoing efforts to acquire materials relating to diverse perspectives on American history, we continue to collect works by African American women. Four titles have been added within the last two years, all post-Civil War. On the subject of religious narratives, we have acquired the autobiography of itinerant preacher Julia A. J. Foote, A Brand Plucked from the Fire (Cleveland, 1879) and An Autobiography: The Story of the Lord's Dealings with Mrs. Amanda Smith the Colored Evangelist (1893), which describes Amanda Smith's experiences as a female preacher traveling in Great Britain, Europe, and India. The last two titles are both collected works. In 1892, Anna J. Cooper, a prominent African American author and educator, published A Voice from the South, a collection of her essays on feminist and racial topics. Mrs. N. F. Mossell's The Work of the Afro-American Woman (1894) is a collection of essays and poems to recognize the achievements of African American women in many fields. These recent acquisitions strengthen our nineteenth-century holdings of African American women's literature and have already proved useful for class visits to the Clements Library. We hope to add many more such works in the future.

Emiko Hastings
 Curator of Books

Gertrude Mossell and her daughters, Mary Campbell and Florence Alma Mossell. Frontispiece from Mrs. N. F. Mossell, The Work of the Afro-American Woman (Philadelphia: Geo. S. Ferguson Company, 1894).



PHOTOGRAPHY AND AFRICAN AMERICAN PORTRAITURE

he invention of photography brought forth a revolution that changed our perception of the world around us and how we see ourselves. As the economics of photography opened wide opportunities, elements of society that were previously passive subjects of visual culture became active participants in visual culture. African Americans found an expression of empowerment and self-determination by creating photographic images that countered established stereotypes.

Before practical photography's public appearance in 1839, self-representation existed through various portrait media. Full length oil paintings, delicate locket-sized portrait miniatures, cut paper silhouettes, and drawn caricatures each catered to different segments of society and signaled a different meaning in terms of class and status. Not everyone in the early nineteenth century could have their portrait painted by the Peales or Sully, but most of the middle class could obtain a cut paper silhouette likeness. There were of course those to whom even this modest level of self-representation in pictures was unobtainable, but the vivid realism of the daguerreotype enthralled all classes. Their relatively cheap price made quality portraiture available to broad constituencies.

The first decade of photography saw a commercial boom in portraits, largely in the form of the daguerreotype. This was followed by rapid development of less expensive processes such as the tintype. By 1860 inexpensive portrait photographers were competing in almost every reasonably sized American city. Almost all walks of life, including those traditionally near the margins, were suddenly able to visit a portrait photographer's gallery and walk out with a credible likeness. Furthermore, the



Frederick Douglass (1818–1895) was well aware of the power of photography to create an impression and build an image. He was dissatisfied by many of the images made of him and frequently visited photographic artists seeking portraits displaying the optimum amount of gravitas.

active relationship in the studio between sitter and photographer allowed the subjects to steer the resulting image to their liking—to at least some degree. For a person of color living in a society replete with derogatory racial caricatures and void of accurate depictions, a simple photographic portrait became an opportunity to reclaim dignity and redefine social status.

Representations of people of color and other marginalized Americans certainly existed prior to photography. Images of poverty had for centuries been painted as picturesque genre scenes. Engravings of street vendors and rag-pickers, considered charming elements of the urban landscape. were published in sets and widely collected. Orientalist art exoticized unfamiliar looking Asian and Middle Eastern cultures. Enslaved Africans were depicted too, often as decorative embellishments to maps or book title pages, or as the victims of cruelty in anti-slavery publications. Free blacks did occasionally appear in formal portraits but were more often caricatured as socially inept and unsuitable for fine portraiture. While these derogatory images were common in American visual culture, straightforward representative portraits of black individuals were rare prior to the advent of inexpensive photography.

Although early photographic images were celebrated as extraordinary technological achievements, the skills necessary to produce these images could be learned by anyone with a reasonable understanding of chemistry and optical science. The first generation of photographers either learned by apprenticeship or were self-taught from published instructions. Included were a few African Americans. Those notable for commercial success include French-born Jules Lion (1809-1866) of New Orleans, who opened a daguerre-

otype gallery in 1840, the first year of American photography. Augustus Washington (1820-1875) of Connecticut earned a reputation as a skillful portrait daguerreotypist before leaving the United States for Liberia in 1853. Brothers James P. (ca.1805-1905), Thomas C. (ca.1829-?), and Robert G. Ball (ca.1815-?) of Cincinnati served fashionable clients of all races in what was considered one of the premier photographic businesses in the nation. "Ball's Daguerrean Gallery of the West" was described and illustrated in *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing-Room*



American Missionary Association. Jubilee Singers. Carte de visite circa 1870s. The Fisk University Jubilee Singers distributed photographs at their concerts where their performances of sacred music pushed back against the black-face minstrelsy that dominated American popular music in the nineteenth century.

Companion in 1854 as "replete with elegance and beauty."

Not all found success easily. Glenalvin J. Goodridge (1829-1867) drew attention as an accomplished daguerrean artist in York, Pennsylvania. In a negotiated settlement to end his imprisonment under dubious criminal charges Goodridge was forced to leave Pennsylvania. In frail health, he moved to Michigan, where he joined his younger brothers Wallace L. (1840-1922) and William O. (1846-1890) who had established the Goodridge Brothers studio in East Saginaw in 1863. Glenalvin died in 1867, likely from tuberculosis contracted while in prison. With a determination and focus that may have been driven by a desire to achieve where their older brother had been denied, the partnership of Wallace and William Goodridge carried on. They capitalized on the Michigan lumbering and railroad boom of the 1860s-'70s to eventually become recognized leaders in portrait and landscape photography. The Goodridge Brothers didn't count on participation in visual culture to establish their social position and security. They set their sights on commercial success, which they achieved, with an almost exclusively white clientele.

Through the mid-nineteenth century, growing populations of educated, literate citizens consumed printed goods and photographic images in synchronicity with advancing technologies that made these materials less expensive, faster to produce, and more relevant to their immediate lives. The entrenched culture of derogatory racial caricatures remained but was eroded by the influx of vividly real photographs.

From the beginning, photography, as a mechanical and chemical process, was believed to be inherently truthful and free of manipulation. Although early photographs could be edited and somewhat manipulated, the relative objectivity of the medium was embraced by those seeking an unbiased representation. Commenting on the proliferation of racist images, Frederick Douglass (ca.1818-1895) famously stated that "Negroes can never have

impartial portraits at the hands of white artists." Well aware of the persuasive effect of images and their role in developing a public persona, Douglass visited photographers' studios repeatedly throughout his post-slavery life. He rejected the engraved portrait in his first autobiography as inadequate, steering his later portraits to depict a sharply defiant strength of character based on photography. Photos of Douglass overwhelmed attempts at caricature. Even when appearing in political cartoons, the images, often based on photographs, were distinctly authentic.

In his article, "Frederick Douglass's Camera Obscura: Representing the Antislave Clothed and in Their Own Form'" (*Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 42, No. 1, 2015) historian Henry Louis Gates connects Douglass's writings on photography and views on the potential for black achievement. Gates points out that Douglass's statement, "self-criticism, out of which comes the highest attainments of human excellence, arises out of the power we possess of making ourselves objective to ourselves," parallels the objective nature



The World War II combat record of graduates of the U.S. Army Air Corps flight school at Tuskegee, Alabama, made a strong argument for integration of the Armed Forces. The uniform of this unidentified "Tuskegee Airman" sets off the wearer as a man of ability and valor. From the John Ellis Air Force and Family Photograph Albums.



of portrait photography embraced by Douglass. Portrait photography was recognized by Douglass as both a means for creating objective representations of African Americans, and as a catalyst for the objective view of self that was necessary for critical thinking and high achievement.

Sojourner Truth enhanced her abolitionist career by circulating and selling her photographic likenesses to support her abolitionist activities. Often produced on pre-printed mounts carrying the slogan "I sell the shadow to support the substance," Truth leveraged visual culture with direct openness. The mass-produced commercial photographs of Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth pushed them into the pantheon of most recognizable American leaders. Visibility for its own sake was never their goal, rather serving as a means to an end. It is the regular appearance of their portrait photos in nineteenth-century family albums, side by side with closest loved ones and friends, that is a tangible measure of how deeply woven into the fabric of America their values and ideas became

Clayton Lewis
 Curator of Graphic Materials

DEVELOPMENTS

et me begin with a big "thank you" to all members of the Clements Library Associates. You have inspired me with your passion for history, education, preservation, and research. I look forward to working with all of you, now and long into the future, to continue our success in supporting acquisitions and programs at the Clements.

In the eight months since we reopened we have welcomed researchers and visitors and hosted events that provide unique experiences and expand the public's perception of the study of history. Dr. Martha Seger sponsored programs by a museum educator from Plimoth Plantation Living History Museum in Massachusetts. Her portrayal of a woman who had traveled to America on the Mayflower charmed a large audience at Rackham and later entertained donors at a fundraising dinner that generated nearly \$7,000 for the Randolph Adams Lectureship Fund. If you missed the presentation, a recording is available on our website. We were thrilled to provide such an engaging event based on primary source research. Many thanks to Martha for her wonderful idea and for funding these programs.

We kicked off our winter lecture series

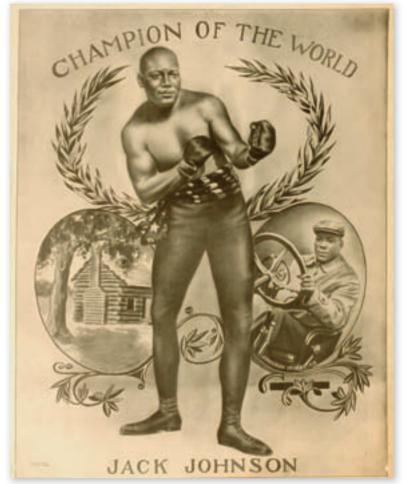
on January 17 when Curator of Manuscripts Cheney J. Schopieray and U-M School of Information graduate student intern Tessa Wakefield discussed a recent and very large addition to our Weld-Grimké Family Papers. Tessa has concentrated on preparing the new items for research by incorporating them into the current collection and writing finding aids. Internships provide life-changing experiences for students to learn about curatorial or conservation work. Many of the internships at the Clements are funded through gifts. The University is currently involved in a campaign to increase student support, and we are seeking a donor or donors to match a gift to set up an endowment for ongoing support of student internships.

The inaugural Michigan Map Society

Lecture, on April 18, will feature Jean-François Palomino, discussing early French mapping of the Great Lakes. The Library has created the Michigan Map Society Endowment Fund to support an annual lecture on cartographic subjects and to enhance the collection of the Map Division. If you are a fan of maps, please consider a pledge to the Michigan Map Society Endowment Fund. It was established with an initial gift of \$10,000, which will generate about \$430 next year. We are seeking ten pledges of \$5,000 or more to build the fund and provide more substantial support.

We will celebrate the University of Michigan's Bicentennial with a lecture titled, "At the Cutting Edge: Michigan in 1817." Brian Dunnigan, Curator of Maps, will transport you to the Michigan of 200 years ago using maps, art, architecture, and letters from our amazing collections. Brian will present this lecture at the Florida Seminars in February and then again for our Founder's Day lecture on April 4. You can find out more about U-M's Bicentennial events during 2017 at www.bicentennial.umich.edu.

Two recently published Clements



Jack Johnson, the "Galveston Giant" (1878-1946) portrayed as a successful and iconic sports figure. He was the first African American to win the world heavyweight boxing title, which he held from 1908 to 1915. The log cabin is a reference to his youth in Texas.

researchers will round out our lecture series. Join us on Thursday, April 20, for "Thundersticks: Firearms and the Violent Transformation of Native America" presented by Professor David Silverman of George Washington University and on May 16 for "Scars of Independence" by Professor Holger Hoock of the University of Pittsburgh.

Fellowships provide important assistance for some of our researchers, allowing them to pursue their studies at the Library-these too are donor-supported. Long-time Clements Library Associates Governor Bill Earle created one of our fellowships-the Howard H. Peckham Fund-for three reasons: 1) To honor Howard H. Peckham, the second Director of the Clements Library; 2) To memorialize his parents, George and Ruth Earle, who knew and supported Peckham; and 3) To provide funding for research projects that study early America from the Revolution to the War of 1812. Bill encourages other donors to contribute to the fund to allow us to grant more Peckham Fellowships-or you might even consider establishing your own named fellowship to support students or scholars

exploring your favorite period or subject of American history.

Those of you who feel competitive might be interested to note that, while the Clements is certainly one of the top libraries for the study of American history, we lag behind our peers in endowed funds. As you see from the examples above, our current fundraising initiatives focus on building the Clements's endowment. If you have considered leaving a legacy gift for the Library, I encourage you to document how you would like Byour gift to be used and to consider an endowed fund for lasting impact.

We continue to build our collections through gifts-in-kind. Many collectors and families have entrusted us with their precious pieces of Americana. While appraisers and auction houses can suggest a price on the open market for these items, they are invaluable to scholarship. If donated to the Clements, they will be used for that purpose. The information that many of our collector-donors have provided adds much to the research value of these items. The Clements can serve as a lasting home for a beloved legacy.

Your involvement and generosity is appreciated. Your gifts affect people in many ways—making historical records available for research, attracting scholars, exposing the public to historical research, and changing students' lives through internships.

Angela J. Oonk
 Director of Development

ANNOUNCEMENTS

AL (ALBERT T.) KLYBERG

It is with much regret that we note the passing of Al (Albert T.) Klyberg, a member of the Manuscripts Division staff from 1963 to 1968 and author of "Working at the Clements," an essay in the Library's book of reminiscences published last spring. Klyberg went from the Clements to a long and highly distinguished career in public history in Rhode Island. He was former longtime director of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

ROBERT DARRIEL PTOLEMY

Congratulations to library assistant Jayne Ptolemy and husband Joe on the birth of their son on September 16, 2016. Robert weighed in at a hefty eight pounds, three ounces. Jayne has since returned to the Library from maternity leave.

STAFF

Following our return to 909 South University Avenue we have been fortunate to welcome additional staff to help make operations more efficient. Amanda Schwarzberg joined us last spring as a receptionist. Emma Haldy also started in the spring as a library assistant and remained until the beginning of December. We welcome Jakob Dopp, recent School of Information graduate, as Emma's successor.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

November 1, 2016 – April 21, 2017: Exhibit, "Out of the Ordinary: Gems & Oddities in the Clements Library." Fridays, 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.

May 2, 2017: Clements Library Associates Board of Governors meeting.

April 28, 2017 – October 27, 2017: Exhibit, "Mapping in the Age of Enlightenment."



Clements Library Director J. Kevin Graffagnino

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Clements Library Associates share an interest in American history and a desire to ensure the continued growth of the Library's collections.
Funds received from Associate memberships are used to purchase historical materials. Annual Membership Contributions:
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Contributions are tax deductible in accordance with current federal and state law and may be made by check or credit card.

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