1991

African-Americans at the Yale University School of Medicine: 1810-1960

Daryl Keith Daniels

Yale University

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January 22, 199[2]
Date
African-Americans at the Yale University School of Medicine: 1810-1960

A Thesis Submitted to the Yale University School of Medicine in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Medicine

by

Daryl Keith Daniels

1991
ABSTRACT

AFRICAN-AMERICANS AT THE YALE UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF MEDICINE: 1810-1960. Daryl K. Daniels (Sponsored by Curtis L. Patton). Department of Epidemiology and Public Health, Yale University, School of Medicine, New Haven, CT.

African-Americans have had a long and interesting history at the Yale School of Medicine. Through extensive researching of primary and secondary sources this history is documented for the first time. The first African-American known to have graduated from the School was Dr. Courtlandt Van Rensselaer Creed. Because of strong abolitionist sentiment at Yale and in New Haven during the 1850s and his family's prominence in New Haven, Dr. Creed was able to matriculate into the School of Medicine in 1854. He graduated in 1857 and practiced in New Haven. He also served as a surgeon in the Civil War.

Two more African-Americans graduated from the Yale School of Medicine in 1875 and 1876. These students, Dr. Bayard T. Smith and Dr. George R. Henderson, transferred to Yale from Lincoln University.

In 1888 the School of Medicine became a leader in African-American medical education, graduating eight African-Americans in 12 years. Many of these people made significant contributions to medicine and their community. This lead was lost when a rise in intolerance caused Yale's
Schools of Medicine and Nursing to adopt an "unwritten policy" of racial exclusion. The policy was disclosed in 1941 when an African-American applicant applying to the School of Nursing was turned away due to her race. In the controversy that followed, the policy was rescinded and African-Americans were again allowed to attend the Medical and Nursing Schools. In 1948 Dr. Beatrix A. McCleary became the first African-American woman to graduate from the School of Medicine. African-Americans continued to graduate from the School at a rate of approximately one every other year until 1960.

By using this history as a guide, it is thought that the Yale School of Medicine can better recognize the contributions made by its African-American students and take steps to regain its leadership role in African-American medical education.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project has its roots in a History of Medicine course given in the spring of my first year of medical school. As I spent each Wednesday morning sitting in class I was awed by a professor named Arthur L. Viseltear. He covered topics as diverse as the History of Surgery and health care policy under President Reagan with such insight and clarity that I became fascinated by the subject. One day I timidly entered his office and said that I would like to do my medical school thesis on the history of African-Americans in medicine. He replied that the topic was very broad, and perhaps I should consider narrowing it down. Before I could answer he suggested studying the History of African-Americans at Yale Medical School; he did not think anybody had ever done a thesis quite like that before. That was all I needed to hear.

The next day Dr. Viseltear called me into his office and presented me with a stack of books and articles at least three feet high. Background reading he called it. He also gave me a list of ideas he came up with the night before that might be fruitful places to start my research. He told me that after I finished reading I could start with these ideas and just follow the trail that they led me on. Daunted but determined I started reading.

This trail led me through old books and letters hidden away in wonderful crypts up and down the eastern seaboard.
As I followed it I became indebted to innumerable people who helped me take each step. Though space prevents me from thanking all of them, a few deserve special mention.

First and foremost is my thesis advisor, Dr. Curtis L. Patton, Professor of Epidemiology and Public Health, who has served in exemplary fashion in that regard. In addition he has shown me what it means to be a member of the "Community of Scholars" and set a standard that I can only hope to approach.

I must also thank Judith A. Schiff, William R. Massa, Jr., and the Manuscripts and Archives staff of the Yale University Library for providing invaluable assistance and direction as I researched the various collections, and for permission to publish my findings in this thesis. Without them, this work would not have been possible.

Special thanks go to Dean Judith B. Krauss of the School of Nursing for giving me special permission to view the letters of Dean Effie J. Taylor.

Additional thanks to the Yale University School of Medicine Office of Student Research for their generous funding of this project.

A special appreciation goes out to the men and women whose memories I tried to preserve. These people not only opened barriers but they also stand as examples for all of us today. And as the months went by they became like friends. The discovery of each new document strengthened the bonds between us. This project evolved from a simple
academic exercise into a very personal charge and allowed me to see myself, the school, the city and the nation in a different light.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, John and Etta (Hayes) Daniels, my sister, Shaughnessy, and the rest of my family. In a very real sense this thesis is the culmination of generations of effort.

Dr. Viseltear, unfortunately, passed away in January 1990, and never saw the completed document. I hope he would be pleased to learn, however, that although this thesis is completed, the trail he started me on still stretches before me, and I am still following it wherever it leads. For this, I will always indebted to him.

D.D.

New Haven, CT

February, 1990
A people without history is like the wind upon the buffalo grass.

Sioux Saying

In the early 1980's, a brochure was published by the Yale University School of Medicine Office of Admissions for minority students applying to the school. Inside, it contains this passage:

Yale University School of Medicine was established in 1810. One hundred and forty years later the first black student graduated.¹

This brochure typifies a pervasive problem concerning African-Americans at this University and others across the nation—an inadequate and flawed history. The first African-American to graduate from this School did not graduate in 1950, as the brochure suggested, but nearly one hundred years earlier, in 1857. Thus, Yale became one of the first medical schools in the United States to admit and graduate
African-Americans, a fact not mentioned in the history books. Rather than serving as a sorely needed foundation and a rallying point for the students and faculty of today's Yale, the history of African-Americans at Yale is a chapter of the University's history in danger of being lost. Inspiring tales of struggle and success remain untold. Through "benign neglect", lack of foresight, sheer indifference and a host of other reasons, nearly a century of the African-American experience at the Yale University School of Medicine has been almost totally forgotten.

There is a need for an African-American history at Yale. The lack of one has continuing effects on the life and work of African-American students and the School as a whole. As the ancient Sioux saying above suggests, African-Americans at the school today sometimes feel adrift while walking down corridors lined with portraits of stern-faced white men. It is rumored that college guidance counselors steer their brightest minority students away from Yale because they don't think the School of Medicine will seriously consider them. Minority citizens of New Haven look at the School with jaded eyes, unmindful of the intertwined history of the two and the contributions each has made and continues to make to the other. The need for a history of African-Americans at Yale is clearly evident.

To help fill the need, this is the story of African-Americans at the Yale University School of Medicine. It is a
story that is important not only to African-Americans and Yale University, but also to the nation as a whole. The national Civil Rights movement has not had a large effect on the number of African-Americans in medicine. In 1980 approximately 2% of all the nation's physicians were African-Americans, the same as it was in 1920.\textsuperscript{3} Yet African-American and other minority physicians have been shown to be more likely than their majority counterparts to go into underdeveloped neighborhoods to deliver health care to those in greatest need.\textsuperscript{4,5} With the double burden of an aging population and an increasing percentage of minorities in the population, the United States cannot hope to live up to its democratic ideals and continue to provide health care to its people without training more minority physicians. By understanding the historical connections between medicine and minorities, one may begin to understand the current issues more clearly.

If the need to document the presence of African-Americans in medicine is obvious, why at Yale? Once again, the reasons are more than simply parochial. The study of African-Americans at one particular school is an ideal way to view this history. By observing the chronological unfolding of events we develop some interesting and important insight into the beliefs and values of the institution and the society in which it rests. Although this
may seem an obvious way to approach history at first, very few works concerning American medicine are devoted entirely to the history of African-Americans within one institution; most give only a few pages buried in the accolades of the institution at large, 6 contributing to the impression that African-Americans have no significant history there.

The Yale University School of Medicine is an ideal topic to study. The School of Medicine stands as one of the great centers of medical education in the country. The very mention of the Yale name commands a respect and an expectation of excellence that is sometimes overwhelming to those outside the University. Leaders in science and medicine are prominent among its faculty. Its students are well above the national average in terms of medical entrance examination scores. The School of Medicine commands visibility and provides leadership that few other medical schools can challenge.

Given Yale’s preeminence in medical education, it is important to understand how the School has contributed to the training of African-Americans and how they have contributed to it. As one of the first medical schools to admit African-Americans, and one whose experience with them spans several generations and several periods in American history, Yale is historically a leader in minority medical education. But as the brochure in the opening paragraph suggests, that lead has been lost and largely forgotten. The
long story of the progress of African-Americans at Yale is the reason a history of African-Americans at Yale is so worthwhile. By examining itself, Yale can become a better place for African-Americans and all others to learn and practice medicine and become a resource for other schools to draw upon. In taking this retrospective look at Yale, we take a step forward in returning Yale to its traditional role as a leader in minority medical education.
CHAPTER ONE

Historical Background

Before we begin to examine the story of African-Americans at the Yale University School of Medicine (Yale Medical School) it would be helpful to review the origins of African-Americans in American medicine, for there were African-American physicians on this continent before the United States, before Yale, and before the Mayflower.

This is not to suggest, of course, that the history of African-Americans in medicine begins in 1619 with their arrival in the new world. Medicine, of necessity, had been practiced in Africa for centuries, sometimes in highly advanced forms. They had an extensive arsenal of knowledge concerning the therapeutic properties of the local flora. They delivered infants by Caesarian section and practiced inoculation as a means of preventing smallpox. They and their knowledge survived the Middle Passage. In fact the Rev. Cotton Mather, the famous Boston minister and educator who introduced the practice of inoculation to the new world, learned of the technique from Onesimus, his African-born slave, more than seventy years before Jenner published his work in 1798. Far from the popular conception of witch doctor, Africans were aware of and practiced the healing arts when they were brought to American shores.
EARLY AFRICAN-AMERICANS IN MEDICINE

The first recorded physician of African descent in what would become the United States was a man named Lucas Santomee, who practiced in the New York area in the mid-1600's. He came to this country via Holland, where he received some form of training, and practiced under the authority of the Dutch and British governments. In 1667 the colonial government granted him a plot of land in recognition for his services to the crown.

Unlike Dr. Santomee, most of the other recorded African-American practitioners of the colonial era appear to have been former slaves who had received some notice for the medical talents they professed. One such person, known only as Simon, was mentioned in an advertisement in the Pennsylvania Gazette of September 11, 1740. The paper describes him as able to "bleed and draw teeth." About the same time Primus, a slave trained and freed by Dr. Alexander Wolcott of Connecticut, was building quite a practice for himself in that colony. Another slave, Cesar, was freed by the General Assembly of South Carolina around 1750 for his discovery of a cure for snakebite. Cesar was granted an annual stipend of one hundred pounds sterling and published the cure in the South Carolina Gazette of February 25, 1751. It was later reprinted in Philadelphia in 1789 and the Massachusetts Magazine in 1792. The article appeared in the classic medical
format of the time, presenting the symptoms and then describing the preparation and administration of the cure. It is the first medical article documented to have been published by an African-American in what would become the United States. 19

Probably the most famous African-American physician of the colonial era was a man named James Derham. 20,21,22 Born a slave in Philadelphia in 1762, Derham was taught to read and write at a young age. He was sold to a Dr. John Kearsley Jr., one of the leading physicians in the city, who taught the lad to mix medicines and assist during medical procedures. Dr. Kearsley was an active Tory during the Revolutionary War, for which he was executed. After Kearsley’s death, Derham became the property of Dr. George West, a surgeon in the British army, who employed him for a time. After the war Dr. West sold him to Dr. Robert Dove, a physician from New Orleans. Dr. Dove also made use of Derham’s skills and eventually allowed Derham to purchase his freedom. Derham went on to become a highly respected physician, and has been called “the father of Negro doctors in this country.” 23 Dr. Derham’s professional knowledge and abilities were said to have been excellent, and his large practice brought him an estimated income of $3,000 a year. 24 In 1789 Dr. Benjamin Rush, the secretary of the nation’s first abolition society and himself a noted physician, interviewed this nationally recognized African-
American doctor. He was very impressed with the expertise of Dr. Derham and commented on the occasion as follows:

I have conversed with him upon most of the acute and epidemic diseases of the country where he lives and was pleased to find him perfectly acquainted with the modern, simple mode of practice on these diseases. I expected to have suggested some new medicines to him, but he suggested many more to me. 25

Although these early African-American physicians did not have the formal credentials that we are accustomed to expect today, we must consider that medicine at that time was a very different field than it is now. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were roughly 3,500 physicians, approximately 90% of whom had no formal university medical education. 26 The predominant forms of medical education were self-teaching or an apprenticeship with a practicing physician, much like the training for a carpenter or a blacksmith. 27 The physician of those days depended as much upon the faith and trust of his patients and the community as he did on knowledge and skill. That a few African-Americans could make such distinguished names for themselves and build practices that rivaled those of the best white physicians in spite of the barriers they had to
overcome is remarkable.

In the first few decades of the nineteenth century the number of self-taught African-American physicians slowly increased. Although many were accorded great respect by their peers, because of racial discrimination it would be well into the nineteenth century before an African-American would earn a medical degree. That first occurred in 1837. The man was Dr. James McCune Smith (1813-1865) of New York City, son of an African-American merchant who was freed by New York law in 1827 and his self-emancipated wife. His early education was at the New York African Free School. Dr. Smith was a brilliant child, and is reported to have delivered the welcome address to Marquis De LaFayette during his last visit to this country in 1824. Even with this honor, the young Smith was not able to matriculate into any U.S. university, and was forced to go abroad for his education. His family sent him to the University of Glasgow, where he received his A.B., M.A. and M.D. degrees in 1835, 1836 and 1837, respectively. Dr. Smith returned to the U.S. and generated a busy practice in his home city of New York.

Dr. Smith was also known as a civic leader and an ardent abolitionist. He was a vigorous antagonist of Senator John C. Calhoun, who at the time was trying to provide a scientific basis to the argument supporting slavery. In the 1840’s Dr. Smith published a series of articles directed at
the South Carolina Senator that systematically destroyed the bulwarks of Calhoun's argument. 33

Although Dr. Smith did much to support the position of African-Americans in general, he could not alone effectively help the cause of African-American physicians. The impetus to get African-Americans into U.S. medical schools would have to come from the white citizens. It came in the form of the colonization movement.

The American Colonization Society was founded in December, 1816 in Washington, D.C. by some of the most enlightened and influential men of the day. 34 With the help of President Monroe, the Society founded the Republic of Liberia in West Africa in 1821 for the purpose of relocating freed American slaves. Popular liberal opinion in both the North and the South at the time was sympathetic to the cause of emancipation, but felt that large populations of free African-Americans would be undesirable. 35 Despair over the prospects of true equality and fear of the possibility of a revolt drove these people to support the wholesale relocation of African-Americans back to their "native" Africa as the only solution to this dilemma. Most African-Americans were staunchly opposed to the movement. At first the Society only transported free African-Americans but in 1827 it started purchasing slaves for the purpose of colonization. 36 The Society tried to supply its colony with support personnel including African-American
physicians.\textsuperscript{37} but volunteers among such trained people of color were few in number. It soon became clear that the Society would have to arrange for the training of African-American professionals and send them to Liberia in order for the colony to survive.

National sentiment was polarized in 1831 after Nat Turner's Rebellion and the rise of William Lloyd Garrison, and the Colonization Society was weakened greatly because of it.\textsuperscript{38} Still the Society pressed on with its agenda and used its influence to have several African-Americans, who planned to go to Liberia, attend lectures at a few medical schools in the North. Through the work of the Society, albeit for its own motives, African-Americans entered where they once were prohibited.

Under the auspices of the society, the first African-American to graduate from a U.S. medical school was Dr. David John Peck.\textsuperscript{39} He studied medicine at Rush Medical College in Chicago, and graduated in 1847. Interestingly enough, Dr. Peck did not go to Liberia, but participated in the founding of a settlement of African-Americans in Nicaragua. The venture failed, but Dr. Peck remained in Central America and practiced there.\textsuperscript{40}

On the east coast, the Boston chapter of the Colonization Society had arranged for two men, Thomas J. White of Brooklyn and John Van Suriy De Grasse of New York City (then separate cities), to study medicine at Bowdoin
College, which at the time had a medical department. They studied two years and received their M.D. degrees in 1849, Dr. De Grasse with honors.\textsuperscript{41,42}

Like Dr. Peck, and probably to the frustration of the Colonization Society, neither of those physicians went to Africa.\textsuperscript{43} Dr. De Grasse, who had studied for two years at Aubuk College in Paris before entering Bowdoin, went back to France after graduation and became an assistant wound dresser in Paris. He then became an itinerant, making his way through Italy, Switzerland and England. There, he signed as the ship’s surgeon aboard the "H.M.S. Samuel Fox". He sailed with this ship until it reached port in America, whereupon he jumped ship and set up practice in Boston in 1852.\textsuperscript{44} His professional competency was widely recognized and in 1854 he was admitted to the Boston Medical Society, making him the first African-American to ever be admitted to any U.S. medical society.\textsuperscript{45}

Through the efforts of the American Colonization Society, African-Americans matriculated at several other medical schools over the next few years. Most of these schools, such as Castleton in Vermont, Berkshire in Massachusetts, Eclectic in Pennsylvania and Homeopathic in Ohio, are no longer in existence. African-Americans were making a headway in American medical education. They were barred from the medical schools in the South, and even in the more prestigious Northern medical schools there was
pressure to keep African-Americans out. In 1850, Isaac H. Snowden, Daniel Lang and Martin R. Delany attended a course of lectures at Harvard, but were forced to leave due to the protests from white students. Nevertheless, each man went on to have an illustrious career in medicine, though they never actually received a doctorate in medicine. At Columbia, David K. McDonough was also allowed to attend classes, but again did not graduate. He eventually graduated from New York University circa 1852.
CHAPTER TWO

New Haven and Yale

1850, the year Snowden, Lang and Delany entered Harvard, was a landmark year for the United States. Zachary Taylor, hero of the war with Mexico, was President. California was admitted to the Union. Henry Clay presented a series of proposals that came to be known as the "Great Compromise". Abraham Lincoln was a little known congressman from Illinois when the notorious Fugitive Slave Law was passed.

New Haven in 1850 was a small city of just over 20,000 people with a decidedly urban character. Its population was growing rapidly. With many factories producing items such as clocks, shirts and most importantly, horse-drawn carriages, New Haven was emerging as a manufacturing center. New Haven was also a transportation center. There was a railroad connecting the city with Meriden and Hartford to the north, a steamboat with regular service to New York, a canal to Farmington and a system of turnpikes that connected New Haven with the Connecticut countryside. The city also benefitted from a brisk sea trade with the West Indies.

The social structure of New Haven was essentially the same as it was in the colonial era. A strong caste system
predominated. The city was ruled by a few aristocratic families with close ties to the clergy. They set the political, economic, social and even fashionable tone for the city. Next came a growing population of artisans, followed by an even larger group of laborers. At the lowest level of New Haven society were the African-Americans.

African-Americans had been held as slaves in Connecticut since colonial times, but they were eventually freed by the provisions of the state's Gradual Emancipation Act of 1784. Over time their population increased, due to the slow migration of African-Americans to the city. By 1850 there were almost 1,000 African-Americans in New Haven.

For African-Americans in New Haven during the early nineteenth century, life was very difficult. Though the first half of the century had brought them some economic benefits, jobs were still scarce; almost half of the African-American population worked as servants to the wealthy white aristocracy. The remainder of them worked in a wide variety of jobs. Some were fortunate enough to have a skill and worked as artisans in shoemaking, woodworking and other trades. Several African-Americans worked aboard ocean going vessels. Many more were day laborers doing menial jobs. A precious few African-Americans worked in the service sector as barbers and waiters. These jobs were held by members of the "best" African-American
families. If the economic life of African-Americans in New Haven was hard, their home life was even worse. "They find it difficult... to obtain houses, of any description," wrote one New Havener. "When all the white people are accommodated, down to the poorest and lowest, they can take the remainder." African-Americans were generally segregated into three of four isolated and undesirable parts of the city. Most of them lived in "New Liberia", a run down area on lower Chapel street between the old waterfront and the factories. The living conditions in "New Liberia" were severe. The following description provides an idea of how some of these people lived:

One family, the first in which inquiry was made, occupied an under-ground room of a very old building. It had a huge fireplace, a coarse floor, and was poorly lighted; one of its walls was a rude stonework built against the bank, upon which the woman said, drops of water stood in damp weather--and sometimes, after heavy rains, the water soaked through and partially inundated the floor; the other sides of the room were of plank and unplaistered --there was no ceiling over head, but a floor so open that it was easy to converse with the family above, and whenever the
upper family had occasion to use the broom, the
dust fell through so freely that the same
operation became necessary below,—their clothes,
bed, and especially their dishes, when the table
was set for meals, each receiving a portion of the
descending particles. 59

"New Liberia" was well known as a center of vice to the
God-fearing people of the city; whiskey flowed cheaply and
fights were common. 60

Some of the better off African-American families fled
"New Liberia" and moved into other parts of the city. A few
lived on "Negro Lane" which was that part of State Street
east of the original nine squares. Many more moved to an
area on Congress and Washington streets known as "The Hill",
a name the area retains. Later, African-Americans settled in
an area around what was known as "Poverty Square". New
Haveners of today would recognize the square as the area
around Dixwell Avenue. 61

Although African-Americans occupied the lowest caste
level of New Haven society, they were not passive observers
of the world around them. There were among them men and
women of pride and purpose, dedicated to improving the lot
of African-Americans in the city. These people, with the
help of some dedicated whites, constructed for themselves as
progressive a society as the white population would allow.
There had long been a concern in New Haven about the lot of African-Americans in the city. New Haven shared New England's fundamental protestant Puritan background and as such slavery was seen as a sin by many, including such notables as Theodore Dwight, Jonathan Edwards and Noah Webster. From this abolitionist background there developed an interest in the improvement of African-Americans in New Haven. Much of this interest centered on one man--Simeon Smith Jocelyn.

Simeon Jocelyn was an artisan by trade and a member of the Center Congregationalist Church of New Haven, located on the Green. He was also a "lovable, young idealist" and around 1820 was concerned about the religious education of the African-Americans in New Haven. A few African-Americans were members of the city's churches, where they were "tolerated rather than welcomed." The rest, "...were absolutely without moral and religious instruction and nobody seemed to care." In Jocelyn's own words, "The colored population was then nearly Seven Hundred souls; many of them living in neglect of public worship, and a large number were ignorant and vicious. There were, however, a goodly number who longed for the moral and religious improvement of their brethren."

To bring about this religious improvement, Jocelyn began, with some prominent African-Americans, holding private religious services in his own home. In 1824 this
group became known as the African Ecclesiastical Society. The first clerk of the new group was Prince Duplex, a well-known African-American and Revolutionary War veteran who lived in a house "Fronting Easterly on the New Green"—probably Wooster Square. That same year Jocelyn was able to purchase a small run down building on Temple Street between Crown and George streets to serve as a church, with Jocelyn, though not ordained, serving as its minister.

The group saw tremendous expansion in its first year. Starting with only twenty-five members, over one hundred people soon crowded each Sunday into the little church. On August 25, 1829 the congregation was officially recognized by the Western Association of New Haven County and became the Temple Street Congregational Church, the first African-American Congregational Church in the country. Simeon Jocelyn was ordained as an evangelist and became the church's first pastor. (In 1885 the Temple Street church moved and became the Dixwell Avenue Congregational Church, which is still in operation today.)

Although in the beginning they suffered much abuse by some white New Haveners, the African Ecclesiastical Society did have some friends in powerful places. One of these people was the Reverend Leonard Bacon, a member of the Yale College class of 1820. Rev. Bacon was the new pastor of the influential Center Congregational Church, of which
Jocelyn was a member. A bold and determined man, Rev. Bacon was the conscience of New Haven for many years. Strongly antislavery and a member of the Underground Railroad, he held a great interest in the plight of African-Americans in the United States. On July 4, 1826 Rev. Bacon gave an impassioned sermon entitled "Plea for Africa", the same sermon he had delivered in Boston a few years earlier.

Rev. Bacon held a meeting later that same month in his office with four other prominent New Haven men to see what could be done to aid Jocelyn. One of the people he called upon was his friend and classmate, Theodore Dwight Woolsey, a tutor at Yale College and an abolitionist. Woolsey was from a strongly antislavery family and a relative of the same Jonathan Edwards and Theodore Dwight noted earlier for speaking out against slavery. Woolsey had a great interest in the education of African-Americans, an interest he would hold throughout his life.

The results of that meeting would have a powerful impact on the life of African-Americans in New Haven. Rev. Bacon, Woolsey and the other men founded two organizations, the Antislavery Association and the African Improvement Society. The goals of the African Improvement Society, as stated in its constitution, were to, "...improve the intellectual, moral and religious condition of the African population of this city, and especially of the United
African Congregation.\textsuperscript{78} (United African Congregation was another name for the African Ecclesiastical Society.)

The African Improvement Society concentrated their efforts on Jocelyn's congregation.\textsuperscript{79} With Bacon, Woolsey and the African Improvement Society behind them ensuring the financial security of their ventures, the Temple Street Church was able to make remarkable strides. Sunday school and bible classes were started. An African-American Temperance Society was formed as an outgrowth of the church and became a major force in the city for the next few decades.\textsuperscript{80} They even founded a small day school for African-American children, the first such in the city. The school was supported by public funds for six months of the year and for the remainder by private donations. Vashti Elizabeth Duplex, originally from Wolcott, CT\textsuperscript{81} and daughter of the first clerk of the church, served as the school's teacher and as such was the first African-American teacher in New Haven.\textsuperscript{82}

The Temple Street Church made great accomplishments in the 1820's but times soon changed. In May of 1831 Simeon Jocelyn became intrigued by the idea of starting an African-American college in New Haven.\textsuperscript{83} The idea was to educate African-Americans in agricultural and technical skills. Jocelyn quickly got widespread support from New Haven community leaders as well as a few national figures. All was looking well for the project when the unforeseeable
happened. That summer, in August 1831, Nat Turner led a slave rebellion in Virginia. The repercussions of the event were felt across the country and New Haven was no exception. The general public, which had been wary of the betterment of African-Americans before Nat Turner, became violently opposed for years to any African-American agenda. The plans for the college were squelched by a hostile press.\footnote{Mob violence racked the city. Several African-Americans were attacked in the streets. In 1834, Simeon Jocelyn was forced to leave his pulpit at Temple Street and in 1837 fled to New York to escape personal harm.} The plans for the college were squelched by a hostile press.\footnote{Mob violence racked the city. Several African-Americans were attacked in the streets. In 1834, Simeon Jocelyn was forced to leave his pulpit at Temple Street and in 1837 fled to New York to escape personal harm.}

This anti-African-American sentiment prevailed in the city until another unusual turn of events brought public opinion swinging back in favor of African-Americans. In 1839 the schooner Amistad was found in Long Island Sound. The ship had recently sailed from Africa with a shipload of 54 Africans to be sold as slaves. The Africans, lead by a man named Cinque, seized control of the ship and forced the remaining crew to return them to their native land. The crew, realizing that their captors only knew the direction of their home from the sun, tricked the Africans by steering the ship towards Africa by day but pointing it back to America at night and under overcast skies. In this way they had managed a zig-zag course into U.S. waters where they were spotted and boarded by local authorities.\footnote{The Amistad's Africans and crew were taken ashore to}
New Haven. Because the Africans did not speak English, at first only the crew's side of the story was told. The Africans were charged with piracy and ordered to stand trial. Unable to defend themselves, the Africans were sure to be convicted. But thanks to an intrepid Yale professor, Josiah Willard Gibbs, an interpreter was found. When the details of the mutiny, as told by the defendants, came to light, an outpouring of public support erupted, spurred on by the New England abolitionists, who saw this as a great opportunity. People in New Haven and all over New England rose to their defense. Even England's Queen Victoria pleaded for the Africans. A New Haven lawyer, Roger S. Baldwin, was selected to represent the Africans. The case went to the U.S. Supreme Court, where former President John Quincy Adams, himself an abolitionist, spoke on their behalf. Thanks to the efforts of the abolitionists and the people of New Haven the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Africans. They were freed and returned home.

The public outcry over the event was tremendous. Because of the Amistad incident, the people of New Haven were now more amenable to the idea of social improvements for African-Americans. Roger S. Baldwin was elected Governor of Connecticut by the antislavery vote in 1844. In 1846 the Connecticut Assembly removed references to race in the state's constitution.

For African-Americans, the post-Amistad period was a
time of material progress. They built new houses, bought new property and saved money. Some had the foresight to help provide for their poor and youth. The African-American church was strong. Indeed, for the first time, a fledgling upper class developed among the African-American population of New Haven.

As the City of New Haven enjoyed a resurgence in African-American sympathy brought on by the Amistad affair, so did Yale. On August 19, 1846 Theodore Dwight Woolsey, once a founder with Rev. Leonard Bacon of the New Haven's African Improvement Society, was chosen by the Yale Corporation to become the ninth president of Yale College. Yale at that time was the largest college in America. Long recognized as a seat of power and influence, Yale had a hand in training many of the period's most prominent people, both Northern and Southern. Events at Yale were eagerly watched and discussed throughout the country. With Woolsey at the helm, Yale became a center for abolitionist thought. An 1853 article published in the New Haven Register by a southern student named James Hamilton discussed the prevailing sentiment of Yale College. He wrote:

But, within the last few months, Yale has caught the infection, and now raises her official hue and cry against Slavery, as an "unjust
institution," and does reverence to the supremacy of the "higher law"—not, indeed, through public channels, but through the professional chair, she seeks to instil into the mind of the youth entrusted to her care, a detestation for the institution of Slavery, a contempt for those who sustain it, and a hostility to the Constitution which sanctions it. 94

Clearly Mr. Hamilton blamed President Woolsey as the source of the "infection". He continues:

...in a series of lectures,..., by the President...he has taken great pains to dwell upon the "injustice of Slavery," and our obligations to a "higher law." In order to bring the subject before the great body of students, he has within the last week,...given us a question for a prize debate before one of the Societies: "Ought the Fugitive Slave Law to be Obeyed?" He has taken occasion to congratulate himself upon the inefficiency of this law...95

and, later:

Men retire from the lecture room--some,
indignant and enraged--some, with painful surprise ask:--"What can the President mean by the course he is pursuing?"--others, elated with the sanction of such high authority, unscrupulously re-echo the doctrines there promulgated. 96

Although this is one person's view, it does seem to indicate the attitudes at Yale College at the time. The Register article was subsequently reprinted in the South and caused some controversy among Yale's Southern alumni. 97

As Yale College became a seat of abolitionist sentiment, the other divisions of the institution also began to show abolitionist leanings. The Divinity school had already allowed an African-American to attend its classes as far back as 1834. 98 That person, James W. C. Pennington of New York, the first African-American pastor of the Temple Street Church, was not allowed to participate in any way at the school because of a law passed by the Connecticut Assembly preventing out of state African-Americans from attending any Connecticut schools without permission from the town. Pennington's arrival was after Simeon Jocelyn's College debacle and there was no way that such permission would have been given by the City of New Haven. To get around the law the Divinity School quietly allowed Pennington to audit classes, but he was not allowed to even take a book out of the library. 99 Pennington prevailed and
later earned worldwide praise as a divine and a scholar and received an honorary doctorate from Heidelberg University in Germany. 100

Yale Medical School, founded in 1810 as the Medical Institution of Yale College, also seemed to have some abolitionist tendencies. On June 21, 1834 Dr. Ezekiel Skinner, a physician from Ashford, Connecticut, set sail for Liberia under the auspices of the American Colonization Society. 101 While there he served for a time as the Governor of the Colony. 102 Upon his return to America in 1849, Yale Medical School bestowed upon him an honorary M.D. for his accomplishments. 103 Although Dr. Skinner was reputed by one author to be of African descent, 104 no documentation was provided and no other sources were found that support this claim. Because of his service as a private and a surgeon in the American military during the War of 1812 and his work as Governor of Liberia, it is unlikely that he was an African-American. Still, the fact that Yale awarded Dr. Skinner the degree attests to the sentiment at the Medical School. In addition, Charles Hooker, then the Dean of the Medical School, was also a member of the Yale College class of 1820 and a classmate and good friend of Theodore Dwight Woolsey and Rev. Leonard Bacon. 105 Though Dr. Hooker was a life-long Connecticut resident and a member of that fateful class, his views on slavery and abolition are not documented. If he enjoyed the company of Woolsey and
 Rev. Bacon, it is likely he agreed with their views and activities. And even if he did not share his friends’ abolitionist sentiments outright, he most certainly would have at least been amenable to their suggestions.

Thus the first half of the nineteenth century had brought great changes to New Haven’s social and political landscape. African-Americans were making strides for improvement, aided by a small core of determined and influential men. The African-Americans in New Haven had begun to develop well-to-do families. The city and state as a whole were experiencing a strong resurgence of pro-African-American sentiment after a period of violent opposition. Moderate abolitionists controlled the state government. Yale College, with President Theodore Dwight Woolsey at the helm, was in the forefront of abolitionism, and the professional divisions followed suit. By the mid-1850’s all these various elements had come together to produce an interesting climate. And this was the climate that existed when the first African-American medical student entered Yale.
CHAPTER THREE

Courtlandt Van Rensselaer Creed

In 1854 Courtlandt Van Rensselaer Creed became the first African-American on record to attend Yale Medical School. As a lifelong New Haven resident, he was not subject to the "Black Law" that prevented James Pennington from enrolling at the Divinity School. His family was wealthy by African-American standards and very prominent in New Haven society, with connections in high places at Yale and in the community.

Courtlandt's father was a man by the name of John William Creed. Born in 1801, in Santa Cruz, West Indies, he is first mentioned in New Haven records when he was admitted to the Center Church of New Haven in 1820. John Creed was able to get a job at Yale College, where he worked as a waiter and janitor. He also provided the commencement dinner for the alumni from about 1822 to 1864.

While at Yale, John Creed became acquainted with Courtlandt Van Rensselaer, a student at the College in the class of 1827. Courtlandt Van Rensselaer came from a very rich and powerful family; his grandfather, Stephanus Van Rensselaer, class of 1763, was the last patroon of Rensselaerwyck, NY, and his father, Stephen, was the
Lieutenant Governor of New York from 1795-1801. After Yale College, Courtlandt Van Rensselaer entered Yale Law School but did not graduate; he completed his law studies in his home town of Albany, NY. Immediately upon passing the bar Courtlandt enrolled at Princeton to study theology, and never practiced law. He devoted most of his adult life to service in the Presbyterian Church.

Courtlandt Van Rensselaer was very dedicated to helping African-Americans, and after earning his divinity degree he ministered to the free and slave African-Americans of Virginia until, "...the excitement on the subject of Slavery had so much increased, that he was forced to abandon what had become to him a most exciting field of undertaking." Though not an abolitionist, Courtlandt Van Rensselaer was a member of the American Colonization Society, a group he supported very strongly. When the society fell out of favor among the African-American people, whom he counted among his friends, Courtlandt was very discouraged. In a letter to his friend and fellow colonizationist, Rev. Leonard Bacon, he wrote:

I delivered an address on 4th July. I have, in so doing, been the means of arranging [!] against me, for a time, I fear, my old friends, the free people of color. I am very sorry for it, but I am not quite in despair yet about the free blacks. I
think they must see, in time, that their true friends are the Colonizationist after all.\textsuperscript{113}

There are reasons to suspect that John Creed was tutored by Courtlandt Van Rensselaer. From an inauspicious beginning, John Creed rose to become one of New Haven's most successful African-American businesspersons. As demonstrated below, John Creed was well versed in business affairs and demonstrated unusual administrative skills. The education required for such a climb was very hard to attain by African-Americans as there were no schools that would accept them. Such an education was often given in the form of private tutelage by some white benefactor. Courtlandt Van Rensselaer was a likely person to accept that role for John Creed.

Whatever the nature of the relationship between the two men, John Creed was very grateful to him. On November 14, 1830 he married Vashti Duplex, the teacher at the Temple Street Church School and daughter of the church's first clerk, at the Center Church by its Pastor, Rev. Leonard Bacon.\textsuperscript{114} Five years later, in April 1835, their first child was born.\textsuperscript{115,116} He was named after his father's friend, Courtlandt Van Rensselaer.

Courtlandt Creed was well educated as a child. He attended the Lancasterian School,\textsuperscript{117} which was a public school located on Orange and Wall streets. The Lancasterian
School, eventually evolved into Hillhouse High School. It is remarkable that Courtlandt was allowed to study at Lancasterian, for it is said to have not admitted African-Americans. Courtlandt worked for a short time as a book agent before starting medical school.

Meanwhile, Courtlandt's father was doing very well for himself. In 1828, in addition to his other duties at Yale, John Creed was employed as a steward for the Calliopean Society. The Calliopean Society was formed as an offshoot of the Linonian Society, a social and debating club at the College. During their 1810 term elections, partisan politics caused the members of the Linonian Society to elect a president from a Northern state. The Southerners in the society, in a move that foreshadowed national events, immediately withdrew from the society and formed their own.

John Creed worked for this exclusive Southern society at Yale from 1828 until 1850 when the society folded. He was responsible for the upkeep of the hall and often performed various odd jobs. Every term he would present a bill to the society's treasurer for payment. The fact that he presented a "bill" speaks for Creed's education and his business savvy. It also annoyed some members of the Southern society.

Of the remaining debts I have paid 50
dollars..., besides a number of small bills amounting in all to $35.42 cts. Among those that which holds no inconspicuous station & which I feel myself in duty bound to mention to you because it ought not to be passed over unnoticed is Creed's bill, the servant who attends to the hall. This fellow charges in my opinion entirely too exorbitant for the little work he has to do, especially when we consider that Charles Harris receives only $2. a term for daily making fires in the library, a much more troublesome duty. I would therefore recommend to you to request your next secretary to whom this power has been delegated to engage him or some one else to do it for less. I think it a waste of money when we can get it at a less price & our treasury is so poor. 121

Somehow, on the meager salaries African-Americans were paid at the time, John Creed managed to save quite a bit of money. In 1848 he moved his family to a house at 45 West Chapel street (that part of Chapel street west of York) in a traditionally white section of the city. 122 By the time Courtlandt entered medical school the family lived very comfortably. At the time of his death in 1864, John Creed's estate was worth $13,468 and included such amenities as a library, mahogany furniture, gold tableware, an ice cream
At the time of Courtlandt's matriculation, Yale Medical School was going through tough times. In 1850 it was forced to move from Grove and Prospect Streets to a new building at 150 York to make way for the Sheffield Scientific School. Its endowment was small and unable to meet its needs. The death of its most well-known professor, Nathan Smith, in 1829, and the rise of less expensive, less rigorous medical schools across the nation had caused student enrollment at Yale to plummet; the school was now essentially a local one. The Yale Corporation neglected it. New Haven Hospital could not hope to equal the clinical facilities of New York or Boston.

Yale Medical School continued to offer a strong medical education. Its professors took a great interest in teaching the students, even to the point of offering extra classes purely for the students' benefit. It was then, and still is, one of the few medical schools to require a thesis. And being such a small school meant that there was exceptional contact with the faculty.

Courtlandt Creed entered Yale Medical School in the fall of 1854. He took the two courses of lectures and one year of clinical training required for the M.D. degree. Unlike Harvard, there is no record of any protests over Courtlandt's presence at Yale. His thesis, "On the Blood", concerns the chemistry and physiology of blood in health and
disease. His oral examinations took place on January 15-16, 1857 before President Woolsey, representatives of the Connecticut Medical Society, and the faculty of the medical school. On Thursday evening, January 16, 1857, Courtlandt Van Rensselaer Creed and the ten other members of the graduating class received their M.D. degrees from President Woolsey in the college chapel.¹²⁸

Immediately after graduation Dr. Creed opened an office in his father’s house on Chapel Street. He did extremely well and soon built up a large practice which included some of the best known New Haveners among his patients.¹²⁹ He married Druella Wright, of Wilmington, North Carolina and fathered four sons,¹³⁰ three of whom, George, Edward and Courtlandt Jr, survived.¹³¹ These apparently happy times were not to last; on April 12, 1861 Confederate troops in South Carolina opened fire on Fort Sumter, and the Civil War began.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Dr. Creed wrote a letter to the Governor of Connecticut asking for a commission to serve as a surgeon in the army.¹³² Dr. Creed was refused because of his race. At the time the war was seen as a "White Man’s Conflict" and armed African-American troops were not desired. Since he could not serve, Dr. Creed did what he could at home, among which was volunteering as secretary for a local Colored Freedmen’s Aid Society.¹³³
As the war dragged on it became clear to President Lincoln that African-Americans, who realized that this war would decide the issue of union and slavery and had early on expressed a desire to fight in the Union Army and Navy for their freedom, could no longer be refused. In addition, much pressure was put on the President by many people, including Dr. James McCune Smith and Dr. Martin R. Delany, the African-American physicians discussed in chapter one of the present study, to accept African-American enlistments.\textsuperscript{134}

In the fall of 1863, the year of the Emancipation Proclamation, Governor Buckingham issued a call to arms to the African-American men of Connecticut. The response was tremendous, and men of African descent flocked into the military in droves. On December 1, 1863 Dr. Creed wrote the following letter to Governor Buckingham, reproduced as written:

Dear Sir:

I embrace the present opportunity of communicating with you, in reference to the appointment on the "Medical Staff" of the new colored regiment forming in this state. You will no doubt recollect that when the war first broke out, I applied to you by letter, for a position as Surgeon or Assistant, in some of the other regiments then leaving for the seat of War. in
reply you stated that the appointments were all made, and you regretted that you could not meet my views, and find a position for me, and that you thought, ere the close of the present war, Colored Men would be employed to assist in putting it down, and if you then could be of any service to me, You cheerfully would. Thank heavens! The hour has come, and "Old Connecticut" God bless Her has spoken, and on every side we behold her colored sons rallying to the sounds of "Liberty and the Union," and I say from personal knowledge, when I say that the New Colored Regiment forming will surpass all others of the class, in material, character, and standing of the men. As a Colored Man; I take a just pride, in the work now going forward it is just what My friend, Mr. E. D. Bassett Principal of the "Colored High School," in Philadelphia, and myself, have long been trying to bring about. Now that it is Consummated, I beg the privilege of going out with the regiment, as Surgeon. I was examined last summer, before the "Massachusetts Medical Commission," for the U.S. Army, and passed my examination with credit, and should have long since been in the field, had it not of been for the alarming illness of my wife, who is now slowly convalescing. As I am a graduate
of Yale; and have been engaged in the practice of my profession; in this my native city seven years, and can furnish the very best testimonials, from our first citizens, who are anxious, as well as the Men of the regiment, that I should go out with them. Trusting that I may not be disappointed, I anxiously await your reply,

Your Friend,

Courtlandt V. R. Creed, M.D.

Although Dr. Creed awaited a reply from Governor Buckingham, none was forthcoming. On December 8, 1863 Governor Buckingham received a letter from Dr. P. A. Jewett, once Dr. Creed's instructor at Yale Medical School and now surgeon in charge at the U. S. Army's Knight General Hospital in New Haven.

Dear Sir
C.V.R. Creed M.D. is a graduate of the Medical Institution of Yale College. He is a young man of good ability & first rate education. I know of nothing against his moral character. I have no doubt he would perform the duties of Asst. Surgeon satisfactorily
Again the appointment was not forthcoming. Ten days after Dr. Jewett's letter, Dr. Creed wrote Governor Buckingham a third time. This letter is again transcribed as written.

Dear Sir:
Thinking that—with the vast amount of business which you are constantly burdened with, you possibly might forget my claim for the position of "Assist. Surgeon," in the 29th Reg't. Conn. Vol's (col'd) as you stated in your interview with me, last week at the New Haven Hotel, that you wished me not to engage my services in any other direction, until I heard from you, which would be in a few days. I have therefore resorted to this medium, hoping that I may hear from you, by return mail, as I feel very anxious to receive a position in a regiment from my own state, where I have done all in my power in the way of corresponding with friends out of the city, urging them to enlist in this regiment, as a "Physician and Surgeon"; my friends in the "Medical Profession," and out of
it, can vouch for me. I have had seven years of varied and excellent practice in my own native city, prior to my graduation I availed myself of the advantages to be derived from "Hospital Practice," and I think no one could desire any better credentials than I can show, from such prominent gentlemen as the following. 137

The letter goes on to list 24 prominent physicians and other dignitaries, including President Woolsey, Rev. Leonard Bacon, the late Admiral Foote as references.

Dr. Creed's wife's health declined rapidly and Dr. Creed again delayed his entry into the army. She died on January 26, 1864, at the age of 28, of consumption (tuberculosis). 138 Dr. Creed enlisted in the army immediately after his wife's death, on January 29, 1864. 139

So great had been the rush of enlistments by the African-American men of Connecticut that by the time Dr. Creed enlisted the entire regiment of the 29th Connecticut Volunteers had been filled. On January 12, 1864 Governor Buckingham authorized a second African-American regiment, the 30th Connecticut Volunteers. 140 Governor Buckingham appointed Dr. Creed Acting Surgeon of this regiment. 141

The fact that Dr. Creed was appointed Acting Surgeon of the 30th Connecticut is a very important point historically.
Although the need for physicians in the Union Army was great, popular prejudice prevented most African-American physicians from serving their country officially as surgeons, even though they were qualified for the position. For example, Dr. Theodore J. Baker, an African-American physician in the 54th Massachusetts Colored Infantry, was forced to serve as a hospital steward, even though the assistant surgeon position was vacant, because as an African-American he was not awarded an officer’s commission. Because Dr. Creed’s original appointment was Acting Surgeon of the 30th Connecticut, he should be considered with the eight other African-American physicians known to have served the Union cause. Some may note that Dr. Creed was appointed by a State Governor rather than commissioned by the President, and thus technically a regimental "contract" surgeon rather than a surgeon of the U.S. Colored Troops. But Prof. George W. Adams, in his history of physicians in the Union Army, points out that the largest number of Union surgeons of all races served with just such an appointment. Thus the claim that Dr. Creed is among the African-American physicians who served as a surgeon in the Union Army is legitimate.

The Thirtieth Regiment trained at Grapevine Point in New Haven (Fair Haven) during the winter of 1864. In February of that year that regiment was addressed by the
great abolitionist and orator Frederick Douglass, who had been instrumental in organizing the African-American war effort. 148

Recruiting went along more slowly for the Thirtieth Connecticut Volunteers. By late spring they were only at half strength. The need for Union troops was great. Thus, on June 4, 1864, with only four companies, the Thirtieth was sent to Cold Spring, Virginia where they joined other companies and became the Thirty-First Regiment of the U.S. Colored Infantry. 149 The 31st U.S.C.I. went on to have a distinguished record in the War and was present at the Petersburg Mine and at Lee's Surrender at Appomattox Courthouse on April 9, 1865. 150

Dr. Creed, however, was not with his regiment. Immediately after consolidation, Dr. Creed was detached to the Department of the East. Although the reasons for his detachment are unclear, it was not an unusual occurrence. African-Americans may have worn the Union blue, but they were not fully accepted in the Union army. Many white surgeons refused to serve under, or even alongside African-American surgeons. In cases of conflict, African-Americans were often sent on detached duty, even if they were the senior officer. Of the eight African-American physicians mentioned above only two served with their regiments. 151 In February, 1864, white assistant surgeons wrote to President Lincoln to protest their being assigned to Camp
Stanton under Dr. Alexander T. Augusta, an African-American physician and the camp's senior surgeon, saying that the assignment was "unexpected, unusual, and most unpleasant." Dr. Augusta was detached from his regiment and was reassigned detached duty for most of the war. Without a Presidential commission to use as defense, Dr. Creed was detached from his regiment for the remaining period of the war. At this time neither the state nor the federal government has recovered any documentation concerning where Dr. Creed was assigned after he left his regiment. Most likely, following the precedent set by other African-American physicians in the Union Army, he served in a Union hospital, as did Dr. Baker, or aided in recruiting African-American soldiers, as did Dr. Martin Delany. Dr. Creed is thought by one researcher to have worked in the Knight U. S. Army General Hospital in New Haven under his former instructor supporter, P. A. Jewett, but available military records and Knight Hospital records neither confirm nor deny this. Dr. Creed is also thought to have served with the Thirteenth Regiment Connecticut Volunteers and the 55th Massachusetts Colored Infantry, but again military records do not confirm or deny this. The fact that Dr. Creed never actually saw combat would become a point of contention, as he was later expelled from the Admiral Foote Post of the Grand Army of the Republic because of it. He was mustered out of the Union Army November 7, 1865.
The Civil War brought another personal tragedy to Dr. Creed. His father died of "inflammation of the bladder" on May 18, 1864. Dr. Creed's younger brother, John W. Creed Jr., took over his father's small ice cream manufacturing business and supplemented this with a small card delivering service. Later he became a caterer, the first African-American caterer in the city. The family lived then at 559 Chapel Street, and the income from his father's estate paid for the taxes and other expenses.

After the war Dr. Creed moved to New York City. In New York, Dr. Creed married Mary A. Paul, with whom he had six children, of whom three daughters survived.

Life did not go well for Dr. Creed in New York, and in 1873 he moved back to New Haven. His wife, and daughters, however, remained in New York. Two of his sons, Courtlandt Jr. and George, are listed in the New Haven Directory of 1876. It is not clear if these two traveled to New York with their father or stayed in New Haven.

After Dr. Creed returned to New Haven the family fortunes deteriorated. His mother, Vashti, died on January 15, 1879. The resulting legal and funeral expenses used up the remaining funds in John Creed's estate and the family was forced to sell the land they owned to meet costs. Dr. Creed and his son Edward, who was working as a waiter and a janitor, moved to a room at 107
Two years later, in 1882, Dr. Creed's brother John Creed Jr. died. During this time, Dr. Creed was active in the Connecticut National Guard. On December 20, 1879 he received a commission as a 1st Lieutenant and Assistant Surgeon in the newly created Fifth Battalion of the Guard. He served in this capacity until his commission was revoked in 1883. Dr. Creed was also admitted to the Connecticut Medical Society in 1885.

Although Dr. Creed continued to practice for the remainder of his life, he never seemed to generate the kind of practice that he enjoyed before the war. In the last decade of his life Dr. Creed was forced to move from room to room seeking "cover in the cheapest colored lodging homes." A sufferer of eczema, Dr. Creed was also ill much of the time. The condition of his skin became quite unsightly, and in 1898 Dr. Creed was sent to the Springside Home to recover. His sons did not follow their father into a profession and were forced to perform menial jobs around the city.

Dr. Creed died on the morning of August 8, 1900 of Bright's Disease (glomerulonephritis), while seeing a patient. He was buried in his family's plot in the Grove Street Cemetery, on Magnolia Avenue near the main gate.

Though this is the sad end of the remarkable career of the first African-American to graduate from Yale Medical
School, it is not the end of the tale of African-Americans at the school. Courtlandt Van Rensselaer Creed was an example and a pioneer. In 1857 he was Yale's first African-American graduate. By the time of his death in 1900, nine more African-Americans had obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine from Yale.
The period immediately following the Civil War was one of great triumph and hardship for the nation’s African-Americans. Armed with the power to vote, they made great strides in politics and education. African-Americans served in the U.S. legislature. Howard University was founded in 1866 to provide for the education of African-Americans\textsuperscript{175}, and other schools soon followed. Still African-Americans suffered from extreme poverty and rampant disease. In Washington D.C. alone there were almost 23,000 medically needy African-Americans.\textsuperscript{176} Clearly, improvements in the delivery of medical care to these people were urgently needed. To fill this need, African-American colleges founded medical schools to train sorely-needed African-American physicians. The Lincoln University Medical Department was the product of an unsuccessful yet noble attempt.

THE LINCOLN UNIVERSITY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

Lincoln University, in Oxford, Pennsylvania, is the nation’s oldest traditionally African-American college.\textsuperscript{177} It was founded in 1856 as Ashmun Institute by John Dickey, a local white presbyterian minister.\textsuperscript{178}
Dickey was concerned with the education of African-Americans, and supported this new institution in its early years. At the time of its founding, popular opinion kept the institution small.

The years immediately following the Civil War were ones of tremendous growth for the small school. In 1866 the trustees renamed the school Lincoln University and set about a plan for its expansion. Theological, law and medical programs were planned.\(^{179}\) The actual sequence of events leading up to the establishment of the department is unclear, but in 1869, one year after Howard University opened the first African-American medical school,\(^ {180}\) the catalogue of Lincoln announced the formation of a Medical Department, which was to commence classes the following year. Four professors and a list of courses were also given.\(^ {181}\)

The trustees at Lincoln wanted to offer a top notch education, since any physicians it graduated would have to face the most demanding of social conditions in which to practice.\(^ {182}\) The admission requirements were very strict, requiring a bachelor's degree, rare for most people at the time, and especially rare for African-Americans. And for those students who did meet these requirements, the program set up for them was extremely demanding. It concentrated on medicine as a science,\(^ {183}\) as do its modern day counterparts. It was a three year program, with courses in
anatomy, physiology, chemistry, pathology, materia medica (pharmacology) and the clinical subjects of medicine, surgery and obstetrics. Each class built upon the previous one, and each had written examinations. A thesis was also required, a rarity at most medical schools, even today. In short, Lincoln constructed a program that was very innovative for the era; only two other medical schools, Harvard and Chicago Medical College, had similar programs. Although this demanding curriculum would ultimately doom the new school at Lincoln, it would ultimately become the standard for medical education nationwide.

In September of 1870 three students enrolled in the Medical Department at Lincoln. Classes were given, but the Department experienced extreme difficulties from the start. The trustees of Lincoln overextended their financial resources in setting up graduate and professional schools and ran huge deficits each year. Lincoln could not afford to offer its medical faculty sufficient salary to make trips to Oxford worthwhile. Consequently, most of the faculty of the school never gave a single lecture and the responsibility of teaching fell upon a few people.

By 1872 the situation at Lincoln became more critical. Efforts to raise funds had failed; the School was too far away from the wealthy Philadelphia benefactors. Clinical facilities in the local community were inadequate,
and clinical instruction difficult to come by. Members of
the faculty were being paid in IOUs. A motion was
entertained to move the Medical Department to Philadelphia,
and though the trustees saw the benefits of such a move,
they could not finance it.\textsuperscript{188}

Lincoln’s Medical Department limped along for two more
years, until the trustees finally decided they had done
enough. Over the objections of the medical faculty,\textsuperscript{189}
the Medical Department suspended instruction in 1874.\textsuperscript{190}
Final arrangements were made, and the last three faculty
members resigned their positions on June 5, 1876.\textsuperscript{191}
The next day the trustees thanked those faculty members for
their time, promised to pay them their back salaries, and
closed the book on the Medical Department.

THE LINK TO YALE

Lincoln University’s Medical Department lasted just
four short years and did not graduate any students. There
had been six men enrolled in the school. Their medical
education had been long and arduous, no doubt made more so
by the unstable nature of their school. The closing of the
Department though surely predictable was still a shock; some
of the students needed only a few more months to graduate.
Their choices may have been severely limited. Two apparently
did not pursue further medical studies. One stayed at
Lincoln and received his A.M., then went into teaching and
eventually the ministry. The other went to Maryland to teach.

The remaining four medical students at Lincoln continued their studies by transferring to other medical schools. Two went to the new medical school at Howard University, an obvious choice since it was fairly close and did not exclude African-Americans as did most medical schools at the time. They completed their formal studies there and finally obtained their M.D. degrees in 1876. The remaining two students, Bayard Thomas Smith of Wilmington, DE and George Robertson Henderson of New York, NY travelled to New Haven and entered Yale Medical School.

Two questions stand out. Why did these men choose Yale, and why were they accepted? Howard would have been less expensive, closer and certainly more accepting of African-Americans. Although Dr. Courtlandt Van Rensselaer Creed had already broken the color barrier at Yale Medical School and Edward Alexander Bouchet had recently become the first African-American to receive an undergraduate degree from Yale College, graduating in the spring 1874 with highest honors and election to Phi Beta Kappa, it is curious that Smith and Henderson chose Yale to continue their medical educations.

The answer to these puzzling and important questions may lie in the Dean of Lincoln University's progressive but ill fated Medical Department. That man, Dr. Elmore C. Hine,
was a graduate of the Yale Medical School class of 1861.
Since Yale at the time was a three year medical school, Dr
Hine and Dr. Creed did not spend time together at the
school. However, Dr. Creed lived and practiced in New Haven
when Dr. Hine was a student. Given his interest in African-
American education, it is very likely that Dr. Hine at least
had heard of this African-American physician who had
graduated from Yale. Another possible link between these two
men is the fact that Dr. Creed and Dr. Hine both served as
assistant surgeons in the Connecticut militia in the Civil
War, Dr. Hine in the Seventh Connecticut Infantry. 194

There is no record at Lincoln 195 or at Yale of any
communication from Dean Hine to Dr. Lindsley, Dean of
Medicine at Yale. Yet there is reason to believe that Dean
Hine may have arranged for the two African-American students
to continue their medical education at his alma mater.

In the fall of 1874 Smith and Henderson matriculated at
Yale Medical School. They did not spend much time at the
School since both men had already passed most of a medical
curriculum. Instead, they were entered into the short
program usually reserved for college graduates. Henderson
had actually received an A.B. from Lincoln University while
in the Medical Department, but Smith was somehow permitted
to study at Lincoln without an undergraduate degree. 196
Both men did well at Yale; the faculty had voted for
required final examinations beginning with their class and
both passed on their first sitting. Their examination books are part of the archives at the University.

Smith, though he started Lincoln later than Henderson, completed his studies at Yale after one year and graduated in 1875. He returned to his home state of Delaware and set up a practice there. Beyond that, his life appears to be poorly documented.

Henderson sat for two more courses of lectures during the 1875-1876 academic year and graduated that spring. He too went home to New York City and opened his practice. He moved to Brooklyn in 1888 where he died eight years later of an accidental overdose of morphine. His obituary in the Journal of the American Medical Association reads as follows:

George R. Henderson, M.D., of Brooklyn, N. Y., who died July 28, was a colored practitioner of good position. He was 45 years of age and a graduate from Yale University in the class of 1876. He had been eight years a resident of Brooklyn. His death took place at St. Catharine's Hospital, whither he was taken for treatment on account of an overdose of morphin accidentally taken, for the relief of pain.

Dr. Smith's and Dr. Henderson's transfer was an event
of major importance to the African-American experience at Yale. Yale College at the time practiced a form of admission whereby it would primarily draw from a few selected feeder schools, such as the Hopkins Grammar School in New Haven. The Medical School, too, followed this practice. By forging a link between Yale Medical School and Lincoln University, Smith and Henderson would blaze a trail that would lead other African-Americans to Yale. In a series of unpredictable quirks of fate, Dr. Hine and the Medical Department of Lincoln University, without completely producing one physician, were indirectly responsible for the training of some of the nation's finest and most well known African-American physicians.
CHAPTER FIVE

Into The Twentieth Century

After Dr. Henderson graduated in 1876, there was a twelve year period during which no African-Americans attended Yale Medical School. There are several possible explanations for this hiatus, and each probably contributed to the overall picture. Since there was no written policy whatsoever concerning African-Americans at either the Medical School or the rest of the University, the faculty of the School was under no pressure to continue admitting African-Americans. Arguments for minority representation based on demography were almost a century away. The requirements of the School must have also contributed to the absence of African-American students. In 1879 the Medical School underwent a general restructuring. The course of study was lengthened and admission examinations were required of all students. These changes caused a drop in total enrollment. Applicants, not only African-Americans, found it difficult to meet Yale’s requirements. In addition, there were less costly and less strenuous ways to obtain an M.D.

Yale’s location in New Haven no doubt was a factor in the lack of African-Americans at the School. Since the vast majority of African-Americans in the late nineteenth century
lived in the South, attendance at Yale meant separation from family and a difficult trip north when many other schools, especially the historically African-American institutions in the South, were much closer. In addition, relatively few African-Americans were available locally from which the school could draw. Although the African-American population of New Haven doubled between 1850 and 1890, the total population of the city more than quadrupled, causing a demographic change that did not favor the African-American population compared to the city at large. 201

Another explanation to consider is racial discrimination. At the time discrimination based on race seems to have been at a minimum. Yale was still very much a New England school, and abolitionist thought still influenced many people. Yet, even without documentation conveying the importance of racial prejudice, it, along with class prejudice, can be assumed to have a played a role in the composition of the student body at Yale. Still, it is notable that Yale University President Angell, when questioned in 1931 by the great African-American leader W.E.B. Dubois, privately asked his friend Robert N. Corwin, director of the Yale College admissions committee whether he knew of any discrimination at Yale. Corwin replied, ". . . there has never been any Negro question here. No discrimination has been shown." 202

Though no African-Americans attended Yale Medical
School between 1876 and 1888, their presence at Yale in the previous decades helped them to gain acceptance at other Northern medical schools. In 1869 Dr. Edward C.J.T. Howard graduated from Harvard Medical School. Another African-American, Dr. Henry Fitzbutler, graduated from the University of Michigan Medical School in 1872. Each advance built on the ones before. In 1879 Dr. James Tyson, dean of the medical school at the University of Pennsylvania, the oldest medical school in the United States, was prompted to say, "We have a greater medical school than Harvard or Yale and since they have admitted Negroes, we will." The first African-American graduated from there in 1882. In the South, in response to the color ban there, four more African-American medical schools were opened. The speed in which all these changes happened is remarkable. By 1890, just 43 years after Dr. Peck became the first African-American to earn an M.D. from Rush Medical College, there were 909 African-American physicians across the country.

This twelve year hiatus at Yale ended with the admission of another African-American in the fall of 1888. At that point, Yale entered a period where the presence of African-Americans at the Medical School was not so rare. In the fifteen years that followed, Yale would graduate eight African-American students, with at least one African-American present in the school for the entire time. This may
sound unremarkable and insufficient by today's standards, but at the time it was quite a display of racial integration during a period when only a few of the white medical schools admitted African-Americans and most did so only intermittently. Thus, for the period between 1888 and 1903 Yale Medical School was a leader in African-American medical education.

The period between 1888 and 1903 is also very significant for the caliber of students Yale attracted and the quality of the physicians produced. Of the eight African-American physicians mentioned, two became presidents of the National Medical Association, the medical association formed by African-American physicians in response to their exclusion from the AMA. Some became noted surgeons. Others produced scientific works. One remained in New Haven and became this city's foremost African-American physician. They were policy makers at many levels of government. They were praised for their skill and leadership. The Yale Medical School, under Dean Herbert E. Smith, was in the forefront of medical education for some of the Nation's finest African-American physicians.

HENRY FLOYD GAMBLE, M.D. 1891

The next African-American physician to attend Yale Medical School after Dr. George Henderson graduated in 1875 was Henry Floyd Gamble. Dr. Gamble was born in North Garden,
Virginia on January 16, 1862, of slave parents. The civil war freed the family. As a youth, Henry Gamble was employed as a houseboy on the estate of a Dr. John Davis, a professor of medicine at the University of Virginia. His employment proved crucial to the young lad. Henry Gamble had started the monumental task of educating himself with help from Dr. Davis' son, who secretly taught him to read and write. When the elder Davis found out about these lessons for Gamble, he forbade them. Gamble employed a night teacher. By the time he was twenty Gamble had saved $50, enough for college tuition. In the fall of 1882 he entered Lincoln University and graduated with honors six years later.

Gamble decided to continue his education and become a doctor himself. The Lincoln University Medical Department had closed by then, and so Gamble was forced to look elsewhere for medical studies. He followed in the footsteps of Drs. Smith and Henderson and applied to Yale Medical School. He was accepted and in the fall of 1888 became the fourth African-American at the School.

Henry Gamble spent three years at Yale. He was an exceptional student and seems to have been well liked by his peers. He worked nights as a janitor and as a waiter in order to pay his tuition, room and board. In spite of the serious distraction of having to earn a living while completing his medical studies, he graduated in 1891 with
honors. His thesis was entitled *The Control of Epidemics.*

After Yale, Dr Gamble practiced briefly in his native Virginia, but the next year he moved to Charleston, West Virginia. He began as a general practitioner, then later confined his practice to surgery. He was a very skillful surgeon, and he quickly gained a reputation for his exceptional ability. He authored several scientific papers on topics such as thoracic aneurysms and caesarean section. One article, Report of a Case of Peuperal Eclampsia; Placenta Previa, Caesarean Section, was published in the Yale Medical Journal in 1908.

Dr. Gamble was active in medical politics. Since African-Americans were not allowed in the state medical society, Dr. Gamble helped organize the West Virginia State Medical Association, an African-American organization. He also joined the National Medical Association, served as Chairman of the Executive Board between 1905-1909, and helped write that organization's constitution. He served as Chairman of the Committee on Medical Education during the difficult Flexner era, producing several reports on the state of African-American medical education at the time. In 1912 Dr. Gamble was elected President of the National Medical Association.

Dr. Gamble was also interested in local charities, devoting time and energy in support of minorities and miners in Charleston, WV. He used his influence to help hundreds of
the city's poor find affordable housing. In 1902 he pioneered, financed and administered a program that built affordable, adequate houses for those in need. He also lectured widely on health-related topics. A friend of Booker T. Washington, Dr. Gamble was active at Tuskegee Institute, where his cousin, Dr. John A. Kenney Sr., another famous African-American physician, practiced. He was a member of the executive board of the Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Co., a member of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity and the First Baptist Church of Charleston. He was a devout man who often quoted the Bible in his lectures.

Dr. Gamble married three times and had four children. He was remembered by his son as "an authoritative and stubborn man" and was admired by his friends and patients. He spent the remainder of his career in Charleston. His death came in September, 1932 at age 70, when his car was struck by a train. Because of his accomplishments both in and outside the field of medicine and his national reputation as a physician and surgeon, Dr. Gamble, cited in many histories of African-Americans in medicine, is perhaps Yale Medical School's most famous African-American alumni.

GEORGE HENRY JACKSON, M.D. 1892

The fifth African-American to graduate from Yale was the Rev. Dr. George Henry Jackson in the class of 1892. Dr.
Jackson was described as a kind of "all-round genius", and had a truly astonishing life. He was born to James Henry and Mary Avilda (Roberts) Jackson on February 28, 1863 in Natick, Massachusetts, and attended the local public schools, graduating in 1880 from Natick High School, the first African-American to do so. That fall he took a job as a French interpreter in a large Boston grocery store. The grocery store went out of business and Jackson sought employment at a shoe factory. He worked his way up to chief of the "bottom finishing department" but was soon laid off. After that occasion, Jackson "...one evening strolled into the First Baptist Church, was convicted [sic] and converted by the Holy Spirit...Mar. 2, 1884."

With this new interest in religion, Jackson managed to accumulate enough money to go to college. He attended Hamilton Theological Seminary of Madison University in New York, now Colgate, and graduated from there in 1887. He was ordained on June 29, 1887 and that same year became the pastor of the Immanuel Baptist Church in New Haven, one of the historically African-American churches in the city. On April 24, 1888 Rev. Jackson married Grace Lillie, of New York, and in the fall of that year he entered Yale Divinity School graduating with a Bachelor of Sacred Theology (now Bachelor of Divinity) in 1889. He entered Yale Medical School immediately afterwards and
obtained his M.D. in 1892. He also earned his M.A. from Shaw University, an African-American school in Raleigh, NC.

Dr. Jackson preached in New Haven for six years while in school. During that time he successfully built a strong financial base for his church and increased its membership.

Jackson also helped organize Baptist churches in Ansonia, Bridgeport, Hartford, Milford, New London, Norwalk, Putnam and Stamford. He was active in the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society and on May 13, 1893, one year after graduating from Yale, he and his family sailed from Boston on the Pavonia to England where they joined a missionary group bound for the Congo Free State.

Dr. Jackson and his party left England in August, 1893 and arrived at the mouth of the Congo River on August 30. From there they traveled 110 miles upriver and then 120 miles on foot to the village of Lukunga. Appointed as a government surgeon, Dr. Jackson worked in this village for eighteen months. He also tended their souls by preaching the Gospel. Early in 1895 he became quite ill and was forced to return to England to recuperate.

In May of 1895 he returned to New Haven. He did not stay long in New Haven, for in 1897 he again traveled to Europe, this time as the United States Consul at Cognac and La Rochelle, France, a post he got through political
connections in New Haven. He worked in this capacity for two years and afterwards started an import and export business in Paris, living and working there for seventeen years. In 1920 he married Alice Brouillard.

In 1928 Dr. Jackson published *The Medicinal Value of French Brandy*, a subject in which he had become interested in the Congo Free State. The book is a combination travelogue and serious historical and scientific consideration of all aspects of cognac production.

In 1935 Dr. Jackson retired to Los Angeles. He was still active in missionary societies and helped organize the Pan-African Congress. He died on November 13, 1943, due to a stroke. He had six children.

**ISAAC NAPOLEON PORTER, M.D. 1893**

Dr. Isaac Napoleon Porter obtained his M.D. from Yale in 1893, one year after Dr. Jackson. He was born October 15, 1865 in Summit Bridge, Delaware. He went to high school in West Chester, Pennsylvania, where, though the only African-American among 50 students, Porter was unanimously appointed orator for graduation exercises by his classmates.

In 1886, Porter entered Lincoln University, like Drs. Smith, Henderson and Gamble before him. His academic record was outstanding, and he graduated valedictorian in 1890. He was awarded two gold medals for his work, one in science, the other in philosophy, causing one student to complain,
"Porter carried all the gold away from Lincoln." 253

Porter came to Yale in the fall of 1890, Dr. Gamble's final year at the School. Like Dr. Gamble, Porter had to work to earn money for his medical education, "carving meat in the kitchen of the New Haven House." 254 His thesis was entitled, "Etiology, Pathology and Treatment of Rheumatism."

Dr. Porter must have enjoyed his stay in New Haven, for he decided to settle in the city after graduation. He moved into a large house at 198 Dixwell Avenue and started his practice. Though slow at first, it soon grew into one of the largest in the city. 255 He accumulated a medical library of over 160 volumes and a large collection of medical and surgical equipment, 256 attesting to his competence and success as a physician.

Dr. Porter was regarded as an "outstanding" physician, for both his skill and his compassion. 257 "He is a natural-born doctor," wrote the Rev. A.C. Powell, pastor of the Immanuel Baptist Church where Dr. Porter (and Dr. Jackson) belonged, in 1895, "practicing medicine because he delights in it...." 258 Rev. Powell later added, "He is a consistent christian, a profound scholar, a fine specimen of noble manhood, and with all a model physician." 259 According to Rev. Powell, one of Dr. Porter's patients once said of him, "Dr. Porter's presence in [my] room inspired life." 260 There are still some elderly citizens of New
Haven who remember and praise Dr. Porter.\textsuperscript{261} In 1894 he earned a master's degree from Lincoln University.\textsuperscript{262}

Dr. Porter, a republican, was also very active in civic affairs. In 1896 he ran for and was elected to the New Haven City Council, representing the 9th ward.\textsuperscript{263} He was a 32nd degree Mason and a member of many similar social organizations.\textsuperscript{264} He was also a member of the New Haven Chamber of Commerce and the New Haven Historical Society. He was a member of the Connecticut Medical Society and the AMA. This was an uncommon privilege for an African-American.\textsuperscript{265}

Dr. Porter died April 10, 1926 due to pneumonia and was buried in the Evergreen Cemetery in New Haven. His estate was worth over $60,000, mostly in stocks and real estate.\textsuperscript{266} Although he married his wife Gertrude some years before, the couple had no children.\textsuperscript{267}

As a highly acclaimed physician, Dr. Porter left a legacy that survived for many years. His great fame was demonstrated when a memorial consultation room was donated in his name to Grace-New Haven Hospital by a local civic organization twenty years after his death. The room was dedicated to Dr. Porter and the spirit of cooperation which was felt to exist there, and to which he contributed.\textsuperscript{268} In the announcement of the room the following was said about Dr. Porter:
"Dr. Porter was a physician highly regarded in this city both for his professional skill and because of his humanity. I consider the creation of this memorial in his honor...a fitting and generous recognition of a man who did much to dignify both his race and his profession." 269

ARTHUR L. HOWARD, M.D. 1897 AND WILLIAM F. PENN, M.D. 1897

The fall after Dr. Porter graduated from Yale, two more African-Americans entered the school to begin their medical education. The first was Arthur Leslie Howard, a native of St. Thomas, West Indies. Howard was born on February 17, 1876 of English and Cuban ancestry. His father was a merchant and was wealthy enough to send his son to Cooke College in Antigua. 270 Later the family moved to New York, and from there the young Howard entered Yale.

The other African-American in Howard's class was William Fletcher Penn. Penn was born at Glasgow, VA on January 16, 1871. 271 His father, Isham Penn, worked on the railroad, and thus Penn's family moved around quite a bit in his youth. He prepared for college at the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute and later studied for a time at the Leonard Medical College of Shaw University. 272

Penn, by his own words, was a descendent of William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania, and brother to Professor I. Garland Penn. 273 Prof. Penn was an author, the commissioner of
the Negro Division of the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta (1895-6), and in October 1895 a founder of the National Medical Association.274

Howard and Penn came to Yale in 1893 and joined in the lively social scene. They were colorful characters. Called Art by his classmates, Howard was a quiet man with a thick Caribbean accent. "I'm heah Doctah!" was his usual response to morning role call.275 He was well known on campus for his political leanings and outspoken ideas about Cuba. "Despite the death of her hero," he wrote in his medical school yearbook, "Cuba is apparently destined to be free!"276 When asked about his hobbies outside of school, Howard answered, "Studying the fairer sex."277

Penn, or "Pennsyltucky" as he was commonly called, was a favorite at the Medical School. His 196 pound, six foot two inch frame made him the largest man in his class. He was also considered one of its grouchiest and meanest men. Several humorous stories told by his classmates show how he earned his reputation. When asked to comment on his personal appearance for the yearbook Penn snapped, "Shut up, you are too personal."278 He was also voted the windiest man, hence his other nickname, "Windy Willie". This is a title that is supported by his synopsis of the political life at Yale, which ends, "The sea upon which we are about to embark is one fraught with sufficient danger to demand our fullest and complete attention that our bark may advance
as the age advances and by our zeal and energy we may further solve those problems which shall lay claim to a grateful humanity and redound to the honor and glory of the profession and to the grand old flag of the blue."

Penn and Howard shared an apartment at 1016 Chapel Street. Penn worked as a waiter to earn money for school. Howard's thesis was titled *Tetanus, Its Complete Symptomatology and Recent Treatment*, while Penn's was on *The Influence of Carbohydrates upon Metabolism in Fever*.

Dr. Howard went to England after graduation to continue his medical studies and worked at a dispensary in Liverpool. He took ill and went to Vroncysylite, Wales for rest. He died on May 3, 1904 at the age of 28.

Dr. Penn left Yale and began a distinguished medical career. Two years after graduation, he married Lulu Tompkins Wright. They moved to Atlanta. He quickly became known throughout the region for his skill as a physician. He gained a great deal of respect from his peers but was denied entrance to the Georgia branch of the AMA; Dr. Penn became part of and later vice-president of the Georgia State NMA. Around 1926 Dr. Penn decided to dedicate his practice to surgery. Around the same time he moved to Tuskegee, AL, and became regarded as the chief of surgery of the Veterans Administration Hospital there. He died on May 31, 1934, of chronic myocarditis. He had one
stepson, Louis T Wright, who became a famous African-American physician in his own right. 287

CHARLES W. SNYDER, M.D. 1900 AND WILLIAM H. WRIGHT, M.D. 1900

The turn of the century brought great changes to the nation and to Yale. Attitudes of democracy in education were no longer being taken for granted. The manifestations were neither subtle nor benign. In the yearbook of the Medical School Class of 1898 each person was listed along with their ethnic background. For example, a Jewish student was called a "son of Abraham". 288 There were no African-American students in this class. Although this practice may not have been questioned at the time, ethnic consciousness was patent and growing at Yale. It was a virulence that would eventually impede but not destroy Yale's progress and leadership in the education of African-Americans.

The autumn of 1896 brought two more African-Americans to the Medical School. They were Charles William Snyder and William Houston Wright.

Charles Snyder was born January 16, 1870 in Hartford Connecticut. He attended Hartford Public High School and then Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, where he earned a B.A. in 1896. 289 He graduated from Yale Medical School in 1900 and his medical thesis was titled Orthoform and Nervanin. In 1903 he married Birdie Wills and in 1912
settled in New Albany, Indiana, where he practiced medicine until 1922. He then moved to Louisville, Kentucky, where he practiced until his retirement in 1940. His professional associations included the Falls City Medical Society, the Medical Society of Negro Physicians, Pharmacists, and Dentists Association of Kentucky, and the AMA. After retiring from practice he continued to work as the medical director of the Domestic Life & Accident Insurance Co. until 1944. He was also active in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He died from complications of hypertension on October 11, 1944, in Louisville.

Dr. Wright was born September 28, 1874 in Wheeling WV. His father, John Kelso Wright, was a tanner by trade. The family moved to Connecticut and William attended Bridgeport High School. There is no documentation on his earning an undergraduate degree. He did his medical thesis on Uric Acid and Xanthan Bases in Diabetes Mellitus Urine. After graduating in the class of 1900 he headed for Freedmen's Hospital in Washington D.C., a part of Howard Medical School, for his internship. Freedman's Hospital was one of three hospitals in the country at that time that was open to African-American interns. For Dr. Wright to receive this internship is a testament to his ability and promise as a young physician. After completing the program, there were no residencies for African-Americans in 1900, Dr. Wright
went to the Baltimore area and practiced. Active in medical politics, Dr. Wright joined the NMA. In 1908, four years before Dr. Gamble, he was elected President of the organization. After retiring as the NMA President, Dr. Wright served as President of the Maryland Medical, Dental and Pharmaceutical Association, the state affiliate of the NMA. He was also President of the Board of Trustees for the Maryland School for Girls, a member of the Grand Jurors Association, the local and national YMCA, the local and national Urban League, Sigma Pi Phi fraternity and a chief umpire in the National Tennis Association.295

On June 28, 1905 Dr. Wright married Annie Elizabeth Clay.296 They had one daughter. Dr. Wright died on July 13, 1946, in Baltimore, due to a cerebral thrombosis.297

CLEVELAND FERRIS, M.D. 1903

1903 marked the graduation of Cleveland Ferris, the last African-American at the Medical School for nearly half a century. He was born December 27, 1877 in Philadelphia, the son of Frederick Jay Ferris, a banker and his wife, Mary Elizabeth Cleveland Ferris. Cleveland attended Peekskill Military Academy as a boy.298 A brilliant student, he also attended the prestigious Phillips Andover Academy. He entered Yale in 1898. His medical thesis was entitled A Case of Manic-Depressive Insanity, Showing the Close Relationship the Normal and Abnormal Mental States.
After Yale, Dr. Ferris' career is presented as follows:

After graduation from the Medical School he served in Lincoln Hospital and the Lying-In Hospital in New York City, was assistant in genito-urinary surgery in the New York Polyclinic, and in the out-patient department of St. Luke's Hospital. He restricted his practice to diseases of the genital and urinary organs. He was a fellow of the American Medical Association and the New York Academy of Medicine. 299

Dr. Ferris died suddenly of blood poisoning at his home on 326 Lexington Ave. on August 21, 1913 at the age of 36. 300 He was survived by his wife, Clarissa, two daughters and a son. 301

END OF AN ERA

After Dr. Ferris, it would be forty-one years before the next African-Americans would enter Yale Medical School. Dean Smith retired in 1910 and Dean George Blumer began a ten year term as the School's leader. During his tenure three more African-Americans entered the School, two in 1911 and one in 1912, as determined from the class pictures for those years. 302 These men never graduated. None of them appear in the pictures of the same classes taken during
their second year. The questions surrounding these men are nagging. Who were they? Why did they leave? Other than their presence in those two photographs, there is no other documentation concerning these three men. They represent a turning point in the history of African-Americans at Yale.

After fifty years of success and leadership in African-American medical education, Yale Medical School shut its doors again. The explanation for this is not difficult considering the political climate around this time. In the wake of Reconstruction, the seeds of racism were planted across the country. According to one historian, "The decades between the fall of Reconstruction and the dawn of the Twentieth Century were marked by an abandonment of Southern blacks by the Republican Party, the legalization of segregation, and a national swing from the idealism that had forged Radical Reconstruction to a selfish nativism and bigoted intolerance."³⁰³ By the first quarter of the twentieth century, America was immersed in a sea of extreme bigotry and prejudice. The Ku Klux Klan, which had resurfaced in 1915 after the release of the film, "The Birth of a Nation", quickly grew to become a powerful force.³⁰⁴ Although the Klan's stronghold was in states like Indiana, Ohio, Texas and Pennsylvania, it boasted 20,000 members in Connecticut.³⁰⁵ New Haven, with 2,000 members alone,³⁰⁶ was the home of the largest klavern in Connecticut.³⁰⁷ By 1924 the Klan was interfering in state
and local politics, especially the Republican party. Even though the New Haven klavern voluntarily disbanded temporarily in 1926, its effect had already been felt by Yale and the city.

The effect this new wave of racism and intolerance had on Yale was dramatic. Yale College in the 1920's made a deliberate and concerted effort to limit by ethnic group the people who could matriculate. Yale was not alone in this regard. In 1920 Dean Randall of Brown University submitted the topic, the "limitation of Jews and Negroes" for discussion at a meeting of Dean of New England Colleges.

The Medical School followed the lead of Yale College. The difference was that while the College tended to be clandestine in its discrimination and not change existing written policy, the Medical School acted unabashedly. By 1935 the official admission policy of the Medical School was, "the number of women is restricted,...as are some racial groups including Europeans, South Americans, Hebrews, and Orientals." This policy is as interesting as it is unfortunate; women were new to the school and constituted only a small percentage of the class, and members of other groups, such as Orientals, were welcomed at the Medical School just twenty-five years before. Fu-Chun Yen graduated in the Class of 1909, along with several Jews and an Armenian, and was voted the handsomest man in his
The Dean of the Medical School between 1920 and 1935 was Milton C. Winternitz, a Jew who had suffered prejudice at the hands of his own institution when he was initially barred entrance into the Yale Faculty Club. He tried to explain the situation. He wrote that since Jewish-Americans had the greatest number of applicants and thus the greatest rate of exclusion, "...the result seems like discrimination when in fact this is not the case." The Dean's arguments seem inadequate and fundamentally flawed. If indeed Jewish-Americans were the greatest number of applicants then it might be more reasonable to expect that their representation among successful applicants would reflect their representation in the applicant pool. The policy regarding African-Americans, though not specifically mentioned, was even stricter in practice. The end result of this policy on admission was that African-Americans ceased to matriculate at Yale Medical School. It did not, however, stop the cause of African-American physicians nationally. By 1920, the number of African-American physicians was 3,885, or 2.68% of all U. S. physicians, encompassing all specialties. The NMA was as strong as ever. Across the country African-American physicians founded hospitals that did not discriminate. They fought the racially discriminatory policies of the AMA and tackled those diseases that ravaged the African-American people. African-American physicians, though few in
numbers, were made significant contributions both to their people and the nation.
CHAPTER SIX

The "Unwritten Policy"

The Yale University School of Nursing was founded in 1923 as an alternative to traditional nursing education. Rather than imitate the hospital-based apprenticeship system used at other nursing schools throughout the country, the Yale School of Nursing espoused a university-based education that stressed clinical scholarship and judgement. Applicants who successfully met the School's strict academic and physical requirements were rewarded with an intense, well coordinated education, culminating in a bachelor's degree in nursing. Because of its presence in a university setting and emphasis on clinical scholarship, the Yale School of Nursing was catapulted into a leadership role in nursing education.

Most of the clinical training for nursing students took place on the wards of New Haven Hospital. Since New Haven Hospital was not segregated, Yale's nursing students learned from, cared for and practiced on patients of all racial and ethnic groups. The School of Nursing, however, was not integrated; the first class of students at Yale Nursing School was all white.

In December, 1924, Mr. R. G. Brodrick, the Director of Hospitals for Alameda County Hospital, CA, asked Dean Anne
W. Goodrich of the Yale School of Nursing whether African-Americans applicants would be accepted there. On December 10, 1924 Dean Goodrich replied:

I realize that an application [by a colored nurse] may be made at any time, but I am not as yet prepared to state the way in which it would be handled. I should personally hope that some residential adjustment might be made which would enable a student meeting the qualification of this School...to be admitted.319

The "residential adjustment" that Dean Goodrich refers to alludes to the fact that the School of Nursing had only one dormitory for its students. To admit African-Americans under this arrangement would have forced white and African-American students to live together in the same building. Though Dean Goodrich hoped for a "residential adjustment," there is no documentation that one was sought; certainly none was made. Therefore, without this adjustment, African-American students were denied admission to the School of Nursing.

African-Americans were not documented to have been admitted to the School of Nursing until the School's second decade. In 1933 an application was made by an African-American student. She was admitted, but was forced to resign
soon thereafter. An account of the incident is given by Professor Effie J. Taylor, who was on the faculty of the School at the time.

You may recall that in 1933 we admitted a colored student resident in New Haven. Much pressure was brought to bear upon Miss Goodrich to admit the student, and after many conferences and presenting all the possible barriers to the student herself and to her family, she was admitted, but after a year in the School it was necessary to ask her to resign. The experience was an unhappy one and we felt in consequence that it would be undesirable to repeat the experiment. 320

One of the "conferences" to which Professor Taylor refers was the unusual move of polling the white students of the School before the African-American student was accepted. "With few exceptions," noted Professor Taylor, "they were in favor of admitting her."321 In fact, in a later letter she stated that, "the students received her [the African-American student] very well."322

The records of the student in question are currently unavailable for scholarly investigation due to legal constraints on student records. It is known, however, that
it was not the residential situation mentioned earlier that was the sole cause of the students' problems. "Perhaps I should mention that the young woman who entered the school in 1933 lived at home throughout the preclinical period, and the students had the opportunity to become accustomed to her before she came into residence," stated Professor Taylor in 1941. It is also known that it was during her clinical training at New Haven Hospital that some of the problems occurred which resulted in her being asked to resign. In a 1941 letter Yale University President Charles Seymour wrote that, "the difficulties that resulted from her contacts with the patients in the hospital and in the general life of the School were such that she was compelled to resign." 

The year after these events occurred in 1933, Professor Taylor was appointed Dean of the School of Nursing. From that position she made good her desire not to "repeat the experiment." For the next ten years no African-American nursing student was admitted to the School of Nursing. This lack of African-American students stands as one of the few cases of deliberate, documented discrimination against African-Americans during any part of Yale University's history. For most of this period, these actions went unnoticed by the rest of the University. But in 1941, an incident occurred between an African-American and the School of Nursing that would bring the matter to the
attention of others.

THE TOWNS AFFAIR

In the spring of 1941 Harriet Towns, an African-American student from Atlanta, graduated from Spellman College and sent her application to Dean Taylor at the School of Nursing. In return she received the following letter:

Office of the Dean March 27, 1941

Dear Miss Towns:

We have received your application for entrance into this School of Nursing. I have read your autobiographical sketch with some interest, and regret to tell you that we have no negro[ sic] students in the School nor negro[ sic] nurses on the Staff.

Have you thought of writing to Mrs. Hulda Lyttle, Director of the School of Nursing, Meharry College, Nashville, Tennessee for information about the school established there, or about other schools of nursing where negro[ sic] students are enrolled? Mrs. Lyttle is a very fine woman and well informed on questions of nursing. I know her and have great respect for her as a nurse educator.
Very sincerely yours,
(signed)
Effie J. Taylor 326

"We have no negro[sic] students in the School..." was Dean Taylor's standard response to any letter regarding African-American applicants and was her method of discouraging African-Americans who wanted to attend the Yale School of Nursing. Dean Taylor herself later stated, "In reply to similar inquiries, a statement that we have no Negro students has been sufficient, with one exception." 327 This was the exception. Harriet Towns sent a copy of Dean Taylor's letter to both the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses (NACGN).

The NAACP Director of Branches, William Pickens, Yale College '04, wrote to President Charles Seymour saying it was a pity that the School of Nursing was in the habit of not admitting African-Americans, and inquired what could be done about it. 328 President Seymour refused to intervene, stating that although he sympathized with African-American students, he must regard the judgement of the Dean of the School involved as final, since the Deans of the various Schools are more familiar with their day to day operation.
The NACGN tried a different tactic. That organization sent two letters. One of the heads of the NACGN was Ruth Logan Roberts, who, through her husband, knew a few luminaries in the Yale Administration. She wrote the Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes, an ex-Secretary of the University about the letter Dean Taylor sent. Reverend Stokes was very involved in promoting African-American aims through education, via a private fund. That, along with his well-known career at Yale, left him accountable in his peers' eyes to incidents such as these. He answered Mrs. Robert's letter, saying that although he was no longer a part of the University he would ask one of its officers to investigate the situation and see if anything could be done. Rev. Stokes then wrote President Seymour.

I know how difficult the problems of adjustment are. I also know that a case such as this involving race discrimination by a New England University is full of dynamite and consequently I hope very much that the matter may be adjusted in some way by which, if competent, Miss Towns may have the advantage which the School of Nursing affords.

In the same letter Rev. Stokes pointed out Dean
Taylor's failure to capitalize the word "Negro" in her letter to Miss Towns, which was sure to cause some comment.

The second letter from the NACGN was sent by Mrs. Mabel K. Staupers directly to Dean Taylor, saying that her letter to Miss Towns was contradictory to the statement in the Yale Catalogue. In a letter dated April 18, 1941, Dean Taylor replies:

In reply to your recent letter concerning Miss Towns' admission to the Yale School of Nursing, may I tell you that while we have not discriminated in our catalogue, as you say, about receiving negro [sic] nurses into this school of Nursing, we have in reality an unwritten policy. We believe it would be inadvisable for several reasons for us to admit colored nurses here.333

This is the first known documentation of the reason African-Americans were not being admitted to the School of Nursing. The School of Nursing had adopted an "unwritten policy" of racial exclusion. Further information on this "unwritten policy" is given in a letter written by Dean Taylor to President Seymour on May 5, 1941 explaining her position and asking advice on how to act:

An administrative question has arisen upon
which I am requesting your counsel.

We have had an application for admission to the school of Nursing from a Negro Student from Atlanta, Georgia. In reply to similar inquires, a statement that we have no Negro students in the School has been sufficient, with one exception. In the present case this statement has not sufficed the applicant, and it would seem evident, ..., that she is using some pressure to be admitted.

She continues:

I consulted with Dean Blake, as I wished to be sure of the policy observed in our own Medical School, and have had my former impression corroborated, which is that Negro students are not accepted in that School. Dean Blake and I discussed in some detail the problem and weighed the differences between the Medical and Nursing Schools and the Divinity School in accepting Negro students. The chief difference lies in the necessity in both the schools of Medicine and Nursing for assignment of students to a clinical field where the situation might readily become complicated, and where adjustments might be exceedingly difficult.
The discussion between Dr. Blake and myself was similar to that reported by Dean Howell [at Western Reserve School of Nursing] between those concerned in Cleveland. In no case have I any personal feelings on the differentiation of students on the basis of race. The difficulty is concerned with harmonious adjustment, and with situations we cannot control, which might arise on occasion distressing complications.

I have not yet presented the question as yet officially to the Board of Administrative Officers, but I have talked with several members of the faculty, and find that they have no personal objections to the admission of Negro Students, but dread the problems which they fear might arise.

and later:

... and to complicate the present situation we have this year accepted several students from southern universities. Two are also from Georgia.

I would be grateful for the opportunity to talk with you in order that I may know how you would advise me to act in this situation.334

This letter documents the cause of the "unwritten
policy" of racial exclusion. The administration of the School of Nursing claimed to be intimidated by the possibility that certain unfortunate situations or negative responses from white patients and southern students towards African-American nursing students might develop. If such incidents were to occur at New Haven Hospital the University would have little or no influence on the resolution of the conflict. The entire relationship between the University and the hospital might be strained, altered or, in a worse case scenario, even terminated. The administration of the School of Nursing appears to have decided to avoid these problems by denying African-Americans admission to the School. The racial prejudices, presumed or real, of white patients and southern students seemed valued above the advantages of offering African-Americans access to the kind of education so essential for personal, community, national and professional progress.

Further justification of this interpretation of the cause of the "unwritten policy" is provided by Dean Taylor in another letter. In a note to an administrator of a Philadelphia nursing school interested in desegregating and looking to Yale for advice, Dean Taylor wrote, "We have never announced that we admit colored students...." She added later, "If the student is superior, and meets all requirements, it would be difficult to refuse her, unless you have a policy which would prohibit. Public opinion, of
course, might make the policy." 336 This statement demonstrated clearly how such a policy may have begun. Dean Taylor cited "public opinion" as a valid reason to discriminate and a sufficient to support a prohibitory policy. Dean Taylor also admitted that without a policy that prohibited, it would be difficult to refuse a superior student, making such a policy necessary to construct an effective barrier. Thus, if "public opinion" came in the form of complaints from patients at the hospital, an "unwritten policy" such as the one in existence at Yale would be justified.

Dean Taylor's mention of her meeting with Dean Blake is significant; it provides the link between what was happening at the Nursing School and what was observed in the Medical School. From her account both the Medical and the Nursing Schools had adopted the "unwritten policy." Here is sufficient reason why the admission of African-Americans was halted for so long at the Medical School in spite of its progressive beginning. The "unwritten policy" appears to have precluded if not forbidden the admission of African-Americans to Yale Medical School.

There is no record of who initiated the "unwritten policy" nor when it began. Dr. Blake began his service as Dean of the School of Medicine in 1941. Since African-Americans had been absent from the School for nearly 30 years, it does seem likely that the policy was in force
before Dean Blake took office. It is apparent that one of 
three Deans, Blumer, Winternitz, Bayne-Jones and their 
administrations instigated a policy that successfully 
prevented any African-American students from entering the 
Medical School at Yale.

It bears repeating that the "unwritten policy" of the 
Medical and Nursing Schools was not the standing University 
policy. These two Schools had, in effect, preempted the 
institutional policy to which they should have been bound. 
This conflict in policies had continuing repercussions. The 
major recipient of the fallout would be President Seymour.

On May 7th, 1941, two days after Dean Taylor wrote to 
President Seymour, a petition came out in the national press 
signed by President Seymour and sixty other nationally 
recognized personalities who protested the policies of 
racial exclusion by the National Defense Program. The nation 
was about to enter World War II, and it was widely felt that 
if the United States were to stand up against the Nazi war 
machine, support from all citizens would be needed. Yet, the 
National Defense Program, which coordinated industrial 
efforts, refused to employ African-Americans. This petition 
condemned that refusal in unambiguous language. "If we 
oppose Axis doctrines we must, to be consistent, oppose all 
race prejudice at home," it read. "Race prejudice is 
destructive of those basic essentials of civilization-- 
political, economic, cultural, educational, religious--which
the ages have built upon the concept of the dignity and
destiny of the human person." \(^{337}\)

For President Seymour, the petition could not have been
published at a worse time. Now he had to face the problem of
racial prejudice in his University or risk being called a
hypocrite. He wrote his friend Rev. Stokes, confiding that
it was true that Yale didn’t discriminate, and that the
problem was actually in the hospital over which Yale had
little control. He also mentioned that he read the
application of Miss Towns, and that there was some question
as to whether she could meet the School’s strict weight
requirement. \(^{338}\) This would be an easy way to divert the
controversy.

Before anything further could be done, President
Seymour received a letter from Ruth Logan of the NACGN. She
had seen his petition and wanted him to protest Dean
Taylor’s letter to Mrs. Staupers on April 18, 1941, which
had first given word of the "unwritten policy." Seymour
responded by saying that the problem was not with Dean
Taylor but at New Haven Hospital, and that he had no control
over it. He was sure, however, that Yale’s ultimate handling
of the matter would be in everyone’s best interest. \(^{339}\)

Immediately after sending his letter to the NACGN, he
received another letter from Jane M. Bolin, a Domestic Court
Judge in New York City, and an African-American alumna of
the Yale Law School. Judge Bolin had also seen his petition
and had heard about Miss Towns' rejection. She asked Seymour if, "Yale, a citadel of progressive, liberal and democratic ideals" was willing to "uproot the very bases of our American Civilization and make way for the totalitarian scheme of life which condemns certain racial groups permanently to a subversive and inferior status." In response, President Seymour sent Ms. Bolin a copy of the letter he sent to Mrs. Roberts at the NACGN not less than a week before, with only the heading and addresses changed.

It was now mid-May, 1941 and another party was about to join in the controversy. A copy of the letter Dean Taylor sent to the NACGN was given to the National Intercollegiate Christian Council. They too had seen President Seymour's petition in the papers. They wrote to Sidney Lovett, chaplain of Yale College, expressing their dismay at President Seymour's seeming inaction. Lovett forwarded the letter to President Seymour, adding in a humorous note to the President, "I should like to say that it is my own personal judgement that "Effie" should be classed with our good friend, F. B. Johnson, as incapable of writing letters appropriate to the situation." By this time President Seymour was probably in agreement with the Chaplain. Although he had refused to do so earlier, President Seymour now decided to intervene in the Towns case and asked Dean Taylor to look at Ms. Towns'
file again. Dean Taylor reviewed the file and wrote Ms. Towns on May 27, 1941 asking her to come to New Haven for an interview.343

But President Seymour’s troubles did not end there. A sixth party, this time the National Youth Administration (NYA), had contacted Rev. Stokes about the now infamous letter of April 18th. The NYA threatened to take up the issue in the press. Rev. Stokes replied that he had already taken the matter up with an officer of the University, and to hold off going public with the story until that person could finish his investigation.344 Rev. Stokes then wrote to President Seymour.

It is quite evident that the copy of Dean Taylor’s letter to Mrs. Staupers is receiving more and more attention so that if some modus vivendi could be arranged in the not far distant future it would prevent further embarrassment. I would be sorry to see the University attacked in the public Press on the issue, especially as I feel that it would be difficult to explain satisfactorily the position of the School of Nursing as expressed by Dean Taylor.345

President Seymour agreed with him, and mentioned that the issue necessitated the University contacting the
Hospital, and it was that which was partly to blame for his lack of speed in acting. This lack of speed only caused him to come under further fire. Ten days after his letter to Rev. Stokes, President Seymour received a letter from the National Intercollegiate Christian Council on the issue of Harriet Towns' being rejected solely due to her race. To this President Seymour replied:

It appears that you have been misinformed with regard to the request of Miss Harriet Towns for admission to the School of Nursing at Yale University. She was advised because of certain conditions that it would be better for her to seek admission to another school. She has not, however, been refused admission. In fact she has been invited to send in credentials...as in the case of all others who seek admission.

The controversy continued for the next few weeks unabated. Finally, in mid June, Yale learned that Miss Towns had been accepted by another nursing school and had decided to matriculate there, thus ending the controversy. In a follow up letter to the NACGN Rev. Stokes, with Seymour's approval, issued this statement:

...the application of any Negro Student would
receive objective consideration and that if she qualified she would be admitted to the school. 349

This statement satisfied the NACGN and the Towns affair was put to rest. But in a final summary letter to President Seymour dated August 9th, 1941, Dean Taylor did not echo Rev. Stokes' statement.

Dear Charles:

Although our first letter to Miss Towns did state that it was not our policy to admit colored students to the School for the Basic course, we qualified it by explaining to both Miss Towns and Mrs. Staupers [of the NACGN] that the complications attendant upon her so doing here made us think otherwise....

I believe that I made an error in not going ahead with assembling Miss Towns' credentials. In this particular case I could have disqualified her without referring to race, as she was too large and a less than average student.

We did, however, early in the summer write Miss Towns that we were prepared to look into her credentials and submit them to the Committee on Admissions. I told her that it was our policy to see students in as far as possible, and requested
her to come to New Haven for an interview. This she said she could not do. We had another student from Georgia come for an interview.

I then asked Miss Towns if she would be willing to see Miss Spurgeon, who is the Inspector of Schools of Nursing for the State of Georgia, with her office in the same city in which Miss Towns resided. Miss Spurgeon was a former member of our faculty, and stated that she would be glad to see Miss Towns.

After several weeks Miss Spurgeon wrote me that Miss Towns had not made an appointment. I then wrote Miss Towns again and asked her if she wished to be considered, and she sent a reply intimating that she did not think it worthwhile to go further, as she had been accepted in another school. I must say I was not sorry to hear that she was not coming here, for I did not like her method of procedure, and I did not like the tone of her letters.

I found out from Mrs. Staupers herself, who wrote us so demandingly, that she had never seen Miss Towns and merely wrote, I judge, because the colored organizations were desirous of making an issue and getting a statement.

I do not believe that we should make any
statement that would compromise us or handicap us in making a selection....

I am sorry that we have had so much controversy, but am of the opinion that the question was bound to present itself sooner or later. To bring colored students into this school with our crowded living conditions would be a real problem, and I do not know what provision could be made for such students to be given affiliations.

The possibility also of complications in the hospital wards must be recognized.

In any case it is definitely understood that the credentials presented will be evaluated without discrimination as to race.

Very sincerely yours,

(signed)

Effie J. Taylor

It is important to note that Dean Taylor never directly states that African-Americans would be admitted to the School of Nursing, only that their "credentials will be evaluated without discrimination as to race." In fact, in later letters she attacks the notion of admitting African-Americans. In 1943, two years after the Towns Affair the National Nursing Council for War Service published a list of schools of Nursing that were integrated. Dean Taylor wrote
this council's executive secretary and protested Yale's inclusion:

I note in your listing of schools of nursing ... that Yale University School of Nursing admits Negro and White[sic] students. I believe this is saying much more than we are willing should be said, and I do not believe we have ever given anyone authority to make such a statement.

It is one thing to advertise in a nation wide campaign a statement of this kind, and it is quite another thing to say that we do not discriminate in evaluating credentials of applicants. I wish very much that when your new lists are out you would not make this announcement.

I am writing you because I feel this statement is much too definite. I think it is going considerably farther than we are willing to state in a public announcement. I am quite sure you will understand what we mean and how difficult the problem is.

I am also quite sure you will understand that there is some difference in our general policy ... and definitely stating that we admit colored students. ... if an applicant were unusually well prepared we would of course consider her on the
same basis as any other student.

I wish very much that when you have revised your list you would see that this statement is omitted from the list, and make it possible for us to deal with any applications which come in our own way."

From this letter it is obvious that there is a question as to whether African-American students would actually be admitted to the School of Nursing. Dean Taylor directly states that African-American applicants would have to be "unusually well prepared" to be considered. "Unusually well prepared" is never strictly defined. It seems that it is not enough that African-Americans be up to Yale's standards. Any African-American hopeful who wanted to attend the Yale School of Nursing had to be "unusually well prepared", which in the minds of some may translate to "even more prepared than the acceptable white candidate." Even after the Towns affair discrimination, it seems, continued at the Yale School of Nursing.

OPENING THE DOOR

This did not mean that there was no hope for African-American students applying to the Yale School of Nursing. President Seymour had not forgotten the sting of the Towns Affair and sought to rectify the situation at the School of
He discussed plans with Dean Taylor and requested information from her and other sources. Under his guidance two African-American students were accepted in the Nursing School in 1944. The students attended Yale without incident. The problems in the hospital wards so often referred to and so feared by the administration and the faculty for over twenty years did not appear.

The two students, Elouise Collier and Dorothy Porter graduated in 1946 and 1947, respectively. They were the first African-American graduates of the Yale School of Nursing.

The School of Nursing slowly began to become more aggressive in attracting African-Americans to the School. In 1945 Dean Elizabeth S. Bixler, who followed Dean Taylor, contacted Mrs. Staupers of the NACGN, the same woman who had written Dean Taylor on Harriet Towns' behalf, and requested the NACGN arrange for some African-American senior cadet nurses, bound for the army, to study for a semester at Yale. The cadets came, and Dean Bixler noted that "there seemed to be no difficulty professionally or socially." And in 1951 Dean Bixler established a program with Tuskegee Institute School of Nursing where African-American nurses at the Institute could come to New Haven Hospital and take advantage of the modern facilities and techniques.
Under Dean Bixler, the School of Nursing was also no longer against making policy statements about the presence of African-American students. In a letter to Mrs. Estelle Massey Riddle of the National Nursing Council dated June 29, 1946 Dean Bixler writes "...absolutely no difference is made between Negro and white students here; they have had the same clinical experience including the usual psychiatric and public health nursing affiliations. ... In other words, we take it [desegregation] for granted here, and I feel that this is sufficient proof of the tolerant democratic attitudes which should hold everywhere."
CHAPTER SEVEN

Return To Yale

The years of the "unwritten policy" had several lasting effects on the School of Medicine. Because the Yale School of Medicine had denied African-Americans entrance for so long, Yale lost its lead in minority medical education. That role was passed to the larger public universities, such as the University of Michigan, which began to admit African-Americans in significant numbers in the 1930's. And just as importantly, because of the "unwritten policy", Yale lost its ties with a part of its own past. The stories of the first group of African-American physicians that graduated from Yale were all but forgotten.

In the fall of 1944, the same year African-Americans were first admitted to the Nursing School after the Towns Affair, the first African-American in thirty-seven years entered Yale Medical School. Her name was Beatrix Anne McCleary. A quiet woman who did very well in medical school, she is fondly remembered still by some members of the faculty. She graduated from Yale Medical School in 1948; her thesis was titled A New Photoelectric Procedure for the Determination on Bromosulfalein. She is the first African-American woman documented to have graduated from the Medical School. She married one of her classmates, Dr.
Hamburg. She practices pediatrics in New York City.

After Dr. McCleary, African-Americans were admitted to the school at the rate of approximately one every other year. Dr. Thomas Forbes was the Director of Admissions at Yale from 1948 to 1968. The reason given for this low rate of admission and matriculation was the small number of qualified African-American applicants. The admissions committee, he said, "liked to have blacks but had problems with the quality of black applicants." A lot of the committee's concerns about the applicants centered around the Medical College Admissions Test, or MCAT, a standardized examination required by most medical schools. Dr. Forbes remembered that the admissions committee would receive applications from African-Americans with good grades but low MCAT scores. Rather than reevaluate the School's standards for admission, the admissions committee felt that it was better in the long run not to admit these applicants, for fear they would not be able to handle the School's rigorous curriculum. If a student he admitted had academic troubles, Dr. Forbes considered it a personal failure.

Dr. Forbes remembered specifically that the School would get a fair number of applicants from Lincoln University, which had historical links with Yale. These students had good preparation and good recommendations but their MCAT scores were so low that the committee rejected them. Because of this, noted Dr. Forbes, Lincoln stopped
sending applicants to Yale.\textsuperscript{363}

Dr. Forbes did not question the validity of the MCAT, though he did state that "motivation is the deciding factor in a good student."\textsuperscript{364} He conceded that his work on the committee may be viewed as racist, but did not consider it as such. He was always a champion of maintaining Yale's standards. He was against special academic support programs that would, "separate and demean" African-American students. Of the African-Americans accepted by the School while he served as Director of Admissions, Dr. Forbes stated, "My impression was that blacks were accepted as equals."\textsuperscript{365} He pointed out that only 1% of all the students accepted under his tenure failed to complete the requirements for graduation, a figure that he is very proud of.\textsuperscript{366}

Dr. Forbes also stressed that the application procedure at Yale for most of that period was "blind". Although a photograph was once required by the School, that practice was discontinued because of the implication of discrimination. Unless the student had attended a traditionally African-American school, or had a particular name linked to African-Americans or other ethnic groups, the admissions committee was not informed what the race of a particular applicant was except at interview.\textsuperscript{367}

After Dr. McCleary, Yvette Fay Francis and Edward Whitfield came to Yale Medical School in 1946. Whitfield took ill while at Yale and was forced to discontinue his
Dr. Francis, a resident of New York City, went to Hunter High School in New York and received her B.A. Magna Cum Laude from Hunter College in 1946. She came to Yale and is also spoken of highly by the faculty. Her thesis was Some preliminary investigations in the changes in tissue glutamine content. She graduated Yale Medical School in 1950, the same year she received a Master’s degree in chemistry from Columbia University.

Dr. Francis completed her internship at Michael Reese Hospital in Chicago and did a residency in pediatrics both at that hospital and at Bellevue Hospital in New York. After a fellowship in pediatric metabolism she went into private practice in New York, becoming an attending physician at Jamaica Hospital in Queens. She also taught at Downstate University Medical School in Brooklyn and Cornell Medical School.

Dr. Francis developed an interest in Sickle Cell Disease while at Jamaica Hospital. In 1967 she became the director of the Jamaica Hospital Sickle Cell Clinic and published several papers on various aspects of sickle cell disease. So great was her interest that in 1978 Dr. Francis did a second residency in Internal Medicine then a fellowship in Hematology at Bronx Lebanon Medical Center.

She currently continues to practice at Jamaica Hospital and is the Director of the Sickle Cell Center for Research.
She has worked as medical director of many institutions and served on several government advisory committees. In addition to all her professional duties, she raised a family of six children. Another African-American woman from New York, Dr. Doris Wethers, graduated from Yale Medical School in 1952. She says that a friend of her father had told her about Yale when she was in college. Encouraged by what he said she applied. She says that Yale, "was definitely making overtures" to African-American students at the time. On her interview she liked what she saw of the school and the area. She was also impressed by the Yale system and the fact that the school was relatively small. She decided that if she were accepted she would attend. Dr. Forbes remembered her quite clearly as an exceptional applicant. Yale was the first school that accepted her.

Dr. Wethers remembers her time here at Yale as very pleasant and except for one event did not have any conflicts with the administration, the students or in the hospital. She graduated in 1952. He thesis was Some histochemical studies of astrocytes in glioblastoma multiforme.

Dr. Wethers is currently a pediatrician in New York and, like Dr. Francis, has a great interest in Sickle Cell Disease. Because of their similar interests the two have remained friends and have occasionally collaborated on
Dr. Wethers has also served the community in many professional capacities.

Following these women several other African-American students graduated from Yale Medical School. In 1953 Dr. William A. Wilson graduated with an MD-PhD degree, the first African-American to do so at Yale. He is currently a biopsychologist at the University of Connecticut. Dr. Gloria Cochrane, a Pittsburgh psychiatrist, graduated in 1955 and Dr. Raymond Turner in 1958. In 1960 Dr. Festus O. Adebonojo, a native of Nigeria, received his MD from Yale. Called "a great kidder" by Dr. Forbes and "Okeefenokee" by Dr. Crelin, Dr. Adebonojo has many friends at Yale. He is now the Chairman of Pediatrics at Howard University School of Medicine. There were originally two African-Americans in the class of 1960. The second tragically died of an unknown disease while a medical student. Dr. Crelin remembers him as "...a wonderful person with a great future."
With the graduation of Dr. Adebonojo in the spring of 1960 this history comes to a conclusion. It is not, however, the end of the history of African-Americans at Yale University School of Medicine. As the Civil Rights movement rocked the country, demands for increased minority enrollments at the Medical School grew. Much of the support for increased minority admissions came from the School’s African-American faculty. Dr. James Comer and Dr. Augustus White, African-American faculty members, served on the admissions committee. Courtland Wilson, Coordinator of the Committee for the Recruitment of American Black and Spanish Speaking Students, staged one-man picket lines to support the cause of increased minority admissions. Finally in the fall of 1969 Yale Medical School admitted its first large group of minority students. There were ten African-Americans in the class of 1973, a figure that is greater than the total number of African-Americans attending the School in the entire nineteenth century.

Since then that figure has held relatively constant, except for a short period during the recession years of the late 1970’s. On September 8, 1988, in a major speech to the incoming graduate and professional students of Yale University entitled America’s Disadvantaged Minorities: Rekindling The Torch., Leon E. Rosenberg, Dean of the School
of Medicine, called for a renewed dedication to minority education and advancement. The following year only four African-American medical students matriculated at the Medical School he led, which had a devastating effect on minority student activities at the School. With the support of Dean Rosenberg, the minority students and the faculty of the School, an Office of Minority Affairs, long advocated by the students, was established in September 1989, and twenty-seven African-American students matriculated into the classes of 1993 and 1994. One of these students will be the 200th African-American to graduate from the Yale University School of Medicine.

The importance of any history is determined by the lessons one can learn from it. From the history of African-Americans at Yale Medical School one can draw several broad conclusions. The most important of these is that African-Americans can and continue to succeed at the School and in their professional careers. Concerns about the quality of African-American Yale Medical Students have no foundation. African-Americans from this school have achieved national prominence. During the more than 130 years that African-Americans have been a part of the Medical School they have excelled both here and in their later lives. This is a point that cannot be overstated and needs to be made clear to the School's students and faculty, to the citizens of New Haven, and to people across the nation. The recognition of the
success of African-Americans at this School is a source of pride, inspiration, respect and recognition that goes far beyond the confines of Cedar Street.

From this history we can get ideas as to how Yale Medical School can move to increase its minority enrollment. The story of Yale Medical School’s 116 year old link with Lincoln University and how it was broken is an important facet of this history. In these days of shrinking enrollments and increased competition for qualified applicants, Yale cannot afford to have premedical advisors at any undergraduate institution steering their qualified minority applicants away from Yale because they feel Yale won’t accept them. Yale needs to reach out to the nation’s colleges, particularly the historically African-American colleges, and show them that African-Americans and other minorities will receive full consideration. Lincoln University is a wonderfully appropriate place to start. Yale Medical School has a lot to offer its students, particularly minority ones. There is everything to be gained by telling minority applicants about the opportunities within their grasp.

A clear view of Yale’s historical role in minority medical education also serves as guide for Yale’s role in the future of minority medical education. One of the striking points about Yale’s history is how closely the relationship between the Medical School and African-
Americans mirrors the sentiments of the population at large. Doors were opened after the Amistad incident in 1839 caused a strong public outcry. They closed again at the turn of the century during a rise in racism and bigotry. Those doors opened again after World War II, when Americans sought to separate their ideology from that of Nazi Germany. Clearly the School's position in regards to minority admissions is a reflection of that of the world around it. This is a practice that must end. Yale University has never budged from its embracing of free speech and the free exchange of ideas, however controversial they may be. In similar form, the Medical School needs to make a commitment to the education of minorities and stand by that commitment. In these days of Anti-African-American backlash, so often and so dishearteningly demonstrated in our nation's colleges, Yale Medical School cannot afford to let the general Reagan-era complacency towards racial equality cause a corresponding complacency at the School--it cannot continue to be a "fair-weather friend" to African-Americans. It must stand by its students in the classroom, making sure that their opportunities are equal to those of the rest of the class. It must stand by its students on the wards of the hospital which bears the Yale name and not declare that it has no influence there. It must stand by its students in the bursar's office and ensure that all students, regardless of means, are able to afford the education for which they
worked so hard. It must stand by its students and move swiftly to settle racially motivated disputes. This does not mean that the Medical School should put minority students on a pedestal and favor them over their white counterparts. Clearly, it should not. Nor does it mean that minority students can do no wrong. Clearly, they can. But just as the University is unwavering to its commitment to the free exchange of ideas to serve as a beacon of guidance for the rest of the nation, so should the Medical School be unwavering in its commitment to the principles of minority medical education to serve as an equally important beacon of guidance. If Yale could make this commitment, it could once again one day be considered a leader in minority medical education, and could truly, in the words of Dean Leon Rosenberg, "rekindle the torch."
## APPENDIX A

**Known Graduates of African Descent of Yale Medical School**

- ¥ = deceased
- + = MD-PhD
- () = actual year of graduation
- * = current student or current class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>Courtland Van Renesear Creed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>Bayard Thomas Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>George Robinson Henderson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Henry Floyd Gamble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>George Henry Jackson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Isaac Napoleon Porter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Arthur Leslie Howard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>William Fletcher Penn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>William Houston Wright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Charles William Snyder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Cleveland Ferris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Beatrix Ann McCleary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Yvette Fay Francis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>Doris Louise Wethers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>William August Wilson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Gloria Cochrane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Festus O. Adebonojo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Carter L. Marshall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Erik Otobo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>John W. Blanton, Jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Louis S. Batch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Edward C. Cartwright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Frank L. Brown, Jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Ronald C. Brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Harold M. Davis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Cheryl F. Edmonds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Dahlia V. Kirkpactrick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Leon F. Kraft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Olusegun O. Lawolin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Kwaku Ohene-Frempong (‘75)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*Note: The table is meant to represent the known graduates of African descent from Yale Medical School. The information includes their names, years of graduation, and additional notes such as whether they are deceased, current students, or students of the current class.*
1975
John O. Gatson ('77)
Alfred C. Gaymon
Raymond C. Grier ('76)
Yvonne E. Lomax Burnett
Josephina V. Marin ('76)
Leonard G. Meggs
O'Dell M. Owens ('76)
Nii S. Quao ('76)
James E. Reed ('76)
Rose M. Sessoms
Saundra D. Shepard
Frank B. Watkins ('76)
Robert C. Wesley, Jr.

1976
Scott A. Beasley ('77)
William G. Bithoney
Gary G. Griffieth ('77)
Clarion E. Johnson
Wilmer J. Petite, Jr.
Alfred W. Sloan ('79)

1977
Wayne Barber
Diane M. Arnes
Alan D. Beckles
Joanne Godley
Martin A. Goins, III
Arnold M. Henson
Kay F. Johnson ('78)
Vincent E. Kerr ('83)
Don A. Marshall, Jr.
Micheal H. Owens ('78)
Theodore M. Pitts
Kenneth M. Stallings

1978
Booker T. Bush, Jr.
Howard M. Chase
Emilo L. Cruz, III
Edward S. Curry
Julius Dean
David P. Gowdy ('80)

1979
John B. Barnes
Norman L. Elliott
Joseph E. Imarah ('80)
Arthur C. Johnson, III

Forrester A. Lee, Jr.
Michael K. Lindsay
Heather L. Mitchell-Johnson
S. Kwame Ofori-Kwakye
Eddie Reed
Alston M. Porter ('80)
Pamela E. Smith
Duane C. Tucker

1980
Milton F. Austin
Gershwin T. Blyden ('79)
Craig L. Brooks
Beethoven Brown
Stephen R. Davenport
Deborah E. Dyett
Evangeline R. H. Franklin ('82)
George B. Holmes, Jr.
Donald E. Moore ('81)
Lindsay H. White ('81)
Walter H. Williams
David N. Wright ('82)

1981
Louis K. Essandoh
Aziz O. Lawain
Yvedt L. Matory
J. N. K. Odim
Joel A. Okoli

1982
Scyrrus Cartwright
Michael A. R. Carty
Lisa J. Crossley
Muriel P. Cyrus
Elaine M. Daniels ('83)

1983
George C. Daniel
Robert E. Johnson
Harlan A. Pinto
Tina I. Young

1984
S. Abdul-Rahman
D. Arrindell
K. A. Cooper
C. J. Duncan
H. Ford ('86)
S. Lee ('85)
J. L. Merchant+
L. Nelson ('85)
1984 con't.
T. Richardson
E. Simmons
V. Stone
D. Webber
T. Tillis ('85)

1985
T. L. Corneleson
G. Fish
A. Grant
A. R. Harrington
R. Higgins
D. L. Johnson
A. Lloyd ('86)
T. Love
B. Moore ('86)
R. Sanders
C. Smikle
M. Walker (deas.)

1986
M. Alexander
R. Bridgewater
S. Cole
C. Hall
J. Hodge
C. Lindo
Lynne V. Perry
J. Wardlow ('87)
R. Windom

1987
C. Barnswell ('88)
C. Bowen
G. Brown ('88)
S. Gaskin
J. Green
Kristine Lindo ('88)
A. Parker
Eva Simmons ('88)
M. Smith ('88)
O. Stanley-Brown ('88)

1988
Eddy Anglade ('89)
L. Hutchinsom
C. Jones
R. Kornegay
Leslie Simms ('89)
L. Washington
N. Davis

1989
Ann V. Arthur ('90)
Thelma Asare
Michael Brown ('90)
Roger Duncan ('91)*
C. Dayl
M. Hunter
J. Adrian Lunn**
Wendy Rivers
Marjorie Scaroum
Paul Skyers ('90)
P. Tinsley**
Chinwe Uknmadu**
Kim West ('90)

1990
Victoria Barber
Nancy Bracero*
Narisse Daye ('91)
B. Glover ('91)
Angelo Gousse
N. Harris ('91)
Dale Johnson ('91)
Melanie Moses ('91)
Tracy Nelson
N. Okezie ('91)
Beverly Stoute
Ronald Thibou ('93)

1991*
Cargill Alleyne
Stephen Bell
Jefferey D. Cater
Daryl K. Daniels
Leacroft Green
Helena Kwakwa ('92)
Lauren Rogers
Ellis Webster
Symphorosa M. Williams

1992*
John The Baptist Houston
Tobenna Okezie
Victor Perry ('93)
Dierdre Reynolds ('93)

1993*
Aba Barden
Felix Brown
George Cole, Jr.
Erol Grannum
Tina Harris
1993 con't.
Shaheed Kallo
William King, Jr.
Evelyn Kelly Levi
Lisa Nelson
Adetokunbo Oyelese+
Lanford Peck
H. Steven Simms
Herriot Tabuteau
Valerie Ward

1994*
Yamilee Bermingham
Anthony Burns
Heather Christian
Marie Eason
Victoria Holloway
Dina Strachan
Amanda Toole
Marsha Roberts
David Reavis
Norman Whitmire, Jr.
Johnnie Yates
Marvin Young
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