



**SLAVES, FREEDPEOPLE,
AND THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA**

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INTRODUCTION

As Thomas Jefferson drifted off into his final sleep on July 4, 1826, at Monticello, new life was born on his property.¹ The birth of a slave named Henry Martin blessed the plantation. His parents took pride in their new son, and his owners were pleased with a new financial asset, an offset to the severe indebtedness in which Jefferson left his estate. As Henry turned four months old, executors held a sale of Jefferson's personal property to help pay off his debts. Of his 230 to 260 slaves, they sold about 150. The affluent Carr family of Albemarle purchased Henry and his mother.² Henry, after working at Carrsbrook and at Carr's Hill, was hired by the University of Virginia in 1847 to serve as its bell-ringer and janitor. He rose at four-thirty every morning, rung the bell, and cleaned the Rotunda and pavilion classrooms.

Henry Martin never learned to read or write, but he attended lectures, especially those of William Holmes McGuffey and John B. Minor. Despite his obvious interest in the intellectual life of the university, professors used Martin as an example of black contentment. Martin, as Professor D.M.R. Culbreth III explained, "knew his part in life . . . and played it well. He knew that he was neither professor nor student, nor white man. He strictly attended to his own business. I never recall the bell to ring out of times."³ For his dedicated service, the students and faculty showered Henry with gifts, such as a new hat in 1890, a gold watch in 1904, and a pension in 1909. Just before his death on October 5, 1915, Martin supposedly told Professor C. Alphonso Smith that "it wouldn't ease my mind to vote for a colored man and I ain't never done it."⁴

¹ The specific facts surrounding Henry Martin's death remain unknown. Many sources support Henry Martin's claim to be born at Monticello on the day of Jefferson's death, such as: David M. R. Culbreth, *the University of Virginia: Memories of Her Student-Life and Professors* (New York: the Neale Publishing Company, 1908); the October 6, 1915 Daily Progress article "Uncle Henry' Martin Expired Last Night,"; and the October 9, 1915 *College Topics* article "Uncle Henry Martin Answers Last Call." *Corks and Curls* Volume 3, 1890, however, said that Martin was born on July 4, 1828.

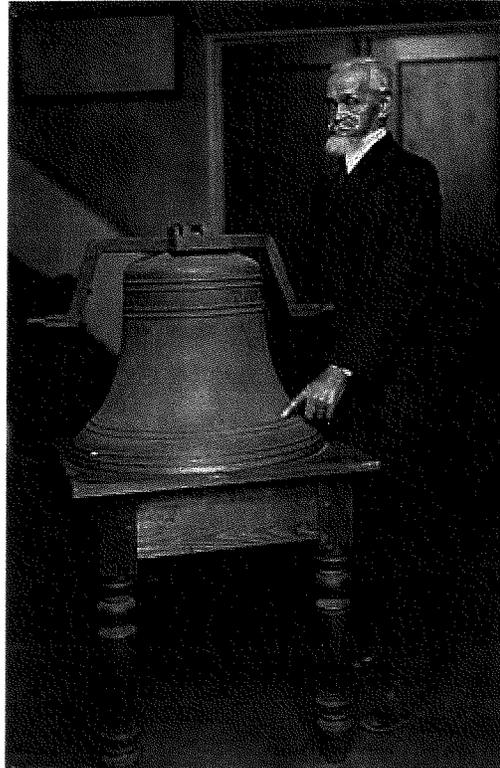
² Dumas Malone, *Jefferson and His Time, Volume 1, the Sage of Monticello* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company 1977, 1981, first edition), p. 512 and "Uncle Henry' Martin Answers Last Call."

³ Philip Alexander Bruce, *The History of the University of Virginia, 1819-1919, Volume IV* (New York: The MacMillan Company 1921), p. 189.

⁴ C. Alphonso Smith, "Uncle Henry, Bellringer: A Dramatic Monologue," *Corks and Curls*, 1914, p. 149-151.

Professors and leaders at the university needed to see Henry Martin and other African Americans in such terms. The combination of Southern ideals and Enlightenment ideals formed an unstable foundation for the university. The passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments provided the university, and the entire United States, with the opportunity to better align that relationship, but the university found ways to contain the implications of freedom.

The framework for the university came straight from Thomas Jefferson. After retiring from public life in 1809, Jefferson put his energies and ideals into the creation of a public university for Virginia. Beginning plans for an institution of higher education in the 1790s, Jefferson completely devoted himself to every detail of the university. Jefferson created the University of Virginia so that his political beliefs, including those regarding slavery, could be instilled in the minds of future generations, an experiment to see what the world would be like if all his ideals continued to be taught. Jefferson reflected his dread regarding the institution of slavery in his letter to John Holmes in 1820: “But as it is, we have the wolf by the ear, and we can neither hold him, nor safely let him go. Justice is in one scale, and self-preservation in the other.”⁵ A prolific writer, Jefferson referred to slavery in countless letters and, more importantly, discussed the topic in his only book, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, in which he both supported and denounced the institution of slavery. Jefferson judged blacks as “much inferior” to white “in reason,” and claimed that “never yet could I find that



Henry Martin, February 5, 1914

⁵ Thomas Jefferson to John Holmes 22 April 1820 in Paul Leicester Ford, ed. *The Works of Thomas Jefferson, Volume 12* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1905), p. 159.

a black had uttered a thought above the level of a plain narration.”⁶ At the same time, Jefferson recognized that “there must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people produced by the existence of slavery.”⁷ In all his writings on both the institution of slavery and on individual slaves, Jefferson was not consistent in his thoughts. At times, Jefferson outwardly rejected the institution of slavery, as in the cases of the Declaration of Independence and the Northwest Ordinance. His novel notions of freedom and equality created the basis for the Jeffersonian school. Jefferson did not, however, act in accordance with his ideals, seeing as he was the second-largest slaveholder in Albemarle County and only freed a handful of his slaves upon his death, leaving over one hundred to be sold.⁸ Like many of his Virginia planter peers, Jefferson felt caught between his economic motives and racism and his ideals of freedom and equality.

Historians have considered slavery in Virginia and in Albemarle County at length. The issue of slavery at the University of Virginia, however, has never been explored. The study of slavery at UVa adds to the discussion an exploration of the coexistence of Jeffersonian ideals and Southern ideals in one place. Robert McColley began this discussion in his 1964 book *Slavery and Jeffersonian Virginia*. McColley explains that the coexistence of Jefferson’s “racist fears and profit-motives” and his noble ideas of freedom formed an unstable relationship.⁹ McColley ends his book in 1820, the end of the Jeffersonian era. Jefferson, however, lived for six more years and the institution of slavery existed for forty-five more. My work shows the incompatibility and yet coexistence of Jeffersonian ideals of freedom and liberty and the Southern ideals of slavery and racism. Jefferson’s self-proclaimed hobby of his old age, UVa, inherited the struggle between liberty and slavery from its father.

⁶ Thomas Jefferson’s *Notes on the State of Virginia*, as transcribed in *Jefferson Writings* edited by Merrill D. Peterson, (New York: Library of America, 1984), p. 266.

⁷ Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, p. 288.

⁸ Malone, *Jefferson and His Time, Volume VI, the Sage of Monticello*, p. 488-489.

⁹ Robert McColley’s *Slavery and Jeffersonian Virginia*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964), p. 6.

The rest of the country looked to University of Virginia as blacks sat on the cusp of opportunity and oppression. The county of Albemarle and the University of Virginia maintained an important position in Virginia. African-Americans settled Albemarle, the home of the university. Wealthy men from Tidewater Virginia claimed the first land rights to Albemarle County by 1734, and in order to retain those rights, Virginia law required that a small number of persons reside on the land. Instead of moving their families to the frontier, these wealthy men sent tenants and slaves to comply with the settlement numbers.¹⁰ Although African-Americans always lived in Albemarle County, they did not form a majority of the population until 1810.¹¹ The black majority in Albemarle held strong through Reconstruction. In this setting Jefferson built a university that would teach future leaders and keep the sons of the South in their home region. Those educated men would then return to their home states with the teachings of Jefferson and his faculty. Unlike most American universities and colleges, Virginia stayed open during the Civil War, providing more insight into the transition from slave to free. The proximity of the Freedman's Bureau in Charlottesville to the headquarters in Washington, D.C. set precedents for Reconstruction across the South.

This work explores the role of enslaved persons in the antebellum and Civil War years of the University of Virginia and their relationship to the university after emancipation. It also reveals the contrasts between the rhetoric and practices that helped allow Southerners maintain their authority for so long. Furthermore, the university's unwillingness to empower their former slaves shows the outcome of the struggle of Virginians and Southerners to reconcile Enlightenment ideals and Southern traditions during Reconstruction.

This thesis first examines the ways in which the infrastructure of the university relied upon the labor of university and faculty slaves. Although Thomas Jefferson and the other members of the

¹⁰ Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia*, Volume I, p. 105-106.

¹¹ 1810 United States Census, Albemarle County.

first Board of Visitors, including James Madison and James Monroe, denied students the right to hold slaves on the grounds, enslaved persons played an important role. Slaves performed the vast majority of the hard labor and some of the master craftsmanship involved in building the Academical Village. The university hired most of these slaves, but the institution owned some of them. In addition to university-related slaves, some faculty members brought slaves with them, and others purchased slaves when they came to Charlottesville. They housed these slaves in pavilions, gardens, or sheds, but in all cases, in the Academical Village.

Students interacted with hotelkeepers' slaves and other slaves from the Charlottesville community in their daily lives. During this time, the range hotels served as boarding houses for the students. Some hotelkeepers owned upwards of thirty-five slaves, all of whom lived in the Academical Village. Each student associated with a hotel, where they took meals, sent laundry, and received cleaning services, all provided by slave labor. During their daily routines, students sometimes enjoyed the opportunity to go into Charlottesville, usually to visit a tavern, where they might interact with other slaves.

Freedom afforded blacks with some new opportunities, such as attending school, voting, and maintaining a family. Other blacks started their own churches and appointed black ministers. When the university could not ignore blacks and their new rights, the university steadfastly relegated black people into subservient roles. Instances of violence upon blacks did not stop, and whites only approved of deferential blacks. A freedman, for instance, accused Professor McGuffey, whose lectures Henry Martin had enjoyed, of hitting him "without provocation."¹²

Although the university kept copious records from 1817 until 1876 of such encounters, officials deemed the common practice of slavery unworthy of special comment. When the proctor mentioned a slave, for instance, he might refer to a "servant," "hand," or simply a first name. The

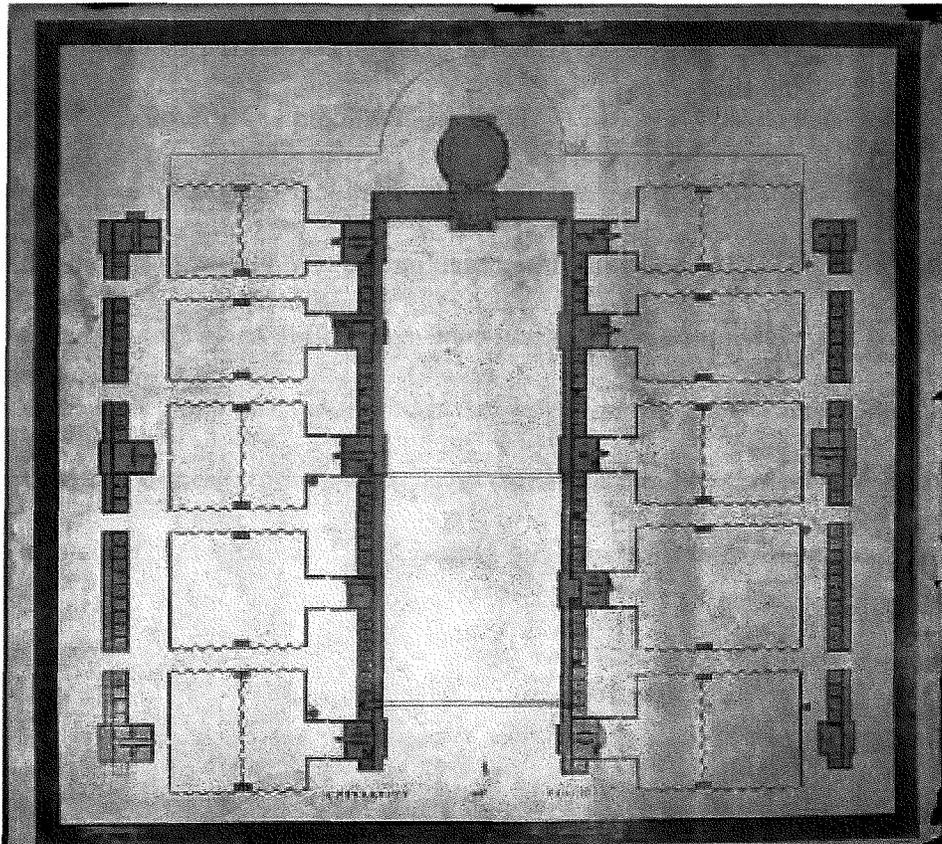
¹² Freedmen's Bureau Records, Volume 1, Number 28, p. 271, 1866.

federal census records appear to be incomplete and vary from year to year. The 1830 federal census, for example, neglects to list John P. Emmet, but we know from other sources that he lived in Pavilion I with his slaves at the time. While the 1830 and 1860 censuses list the “University of Virginia” as a “head of family” with slaves, the 1820, 1840, and 1850 censuses fail to list the institution, even though according to the Proctor’s Papers, Board of Visitors Minutes, and Minutes of the Faculty the university owned slaves during these years. Furthermore, neither the Board of Visitors nor the Faculty Committee discussed exactly how the institution’s relationship to blacks would change after slavery. Sometimes we can learn more from what the records fail to say.

Shreds of information survive: a mention of a slave in a professor’s letter, a receipt for bacon purchased to feed slaves, a ruling by the Board of Visitors regarding the purchase of a slave, a complaint by a student of poor attention from the hotelkeeper’s slave, an order by the Faculty to move a slave from the Rotunda, the complaint of a freedman against a professor. Thousands of these fragments survive. Combined, the pieces and their missing counterparts compose a picture of slavery and freedom at the University of Virginia.

CHAPTER ONE
SLAVES AND THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF THE UNIVERSITY

Jefferson went through countless drafts of plans for the University of Virginia until he finally settled on the one portrayed in Peter Maverick's 1822 engraving. At the head of the Lawn sits the Rotunda, originally a multi-purpose building used for classes, religious services, lectures, dances, dinners, and a library in the Dome Room. Pavilions (five on either side) and a total of fifty-four student rooms flank the Rotunda. The pavilions consist of two stories; the top story served as a professor's home and they taught classes on the ground floor. Behind each distinctive pavilion rests a unique garden encircled by serpentine walls. On the other side of the gardens, facing outward, Jefferson built the Ranges with more student rooms and larger buildings called hotels, which originally served as boarding houses.



Maverick Engraving, 1822

Jefferson designed the Academical Village in response to his experiences as a student at William and Mary, where the Wren Building served as living quarters for students, the president, and professors, containing classrooms, the library, a faculty room, a kitchen, and servants' quarters. Everything happened in this one building, which meant when it burned, the entire school burned with it (this actually happened in 1705, 1859, and 1862). Jefferson designed his Academical Village so that if one part burned down, as the Rotunda did in 1895, the school could continue to function. The decentralization also prevented the spread of disease. In addition, his time at William and Mary showed Jefferson the value of student-faculty interaction, so he created an Academical Village for them all to inhabit.

Before Jefferson even cemented his final plans, construction on the university had already begun; in fact, building had been going on for five years by the time the Maverick Engraving was completed. When workers partially completed Pavilion VII, construction began on another pavilion and some student dormitories. As buildings remained "in progress," workers laid foundations for other structures. Partially finished buildings dominated the skyline even after the first students arrived in 1825; the Rotunda did not see completion until the end of 1826. In order to realize the completion of his beautiful plans, Jefferson needed workers to clear and level the land, mold and bake the bricks, haul the materials, quarry the stone, work with the timber, and complete the master craftsmanship. Many of these workers were slaves owned or hired by the university for this purpose.¹³ Once construction finished, Jefferson also required slaves to help sustain his Academical Village.

¹³ For a great account of the construction of the university, see Frank Grizzard, "Documentary History of the Construction of the Buildings at the University of Virginia, 1817-1828," Ph.D. dissertation online, University of Virginia, 1996 (<http://etext.virginia.edu/jefferson/grizzard/>).

SLAVES AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE UNIVERSITY

Slaves in the antebellum South served multifarious functions and a diverse group of people owned and hired them. In fact, companies such as railroads and government institutions often participated in the slave trade.¹⁴ The University of Virginia and other institutions of higher education also participated in the institution.¹⁵

Enslaved persons hired and owned by the University of Virginia began work at the outset of construction. In July 1817, before the laying of the cornerstone, Jefferson set the parameters for Central College with “two servants.”¹⁶ James Madison’s fallow cornfield, upon which Jefferson constructed the university, needed terracing before the construction of actual buildings could commence. During its first meeting, therefore, the Board of Visitors authorized the Proctor “to hire laborers for leveling the grounds and performing necessary services for the works or other purposes.”¹⁷ Those laborers included slaves, free blacks, and whites. The university slaves terraced the naturally sloping topography to provide a solid foundation upon which the buildings could be constructed, so that the Rotunda would sit at the apex of the Lawn. When slaves finished leveling the ground, the university used them for other purposes, involving every aspect of construction. Slaves hauled goods, such as timber, to the construction site, helped refine the goods for use, and aided in using the goods for construction.¹⁸ The university employed many of the slaves in brick making, which involved molding the red Virginia clay, placing bricks in the kiln, pulling them out of the fire, and arranging them to cool.¹⁹ Once the bricks cooled, the university permitted slaves to lay

¹⁴ The Staunton Deaf, Dumb, and Blind Institute owned and hired slaves, according to Edward L. Ayers, *In the Presence of Mine Enemies: War in the Heart of America 1859-1863* (New York: Norton, 2003), p. 22.

¹⁵ The University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa is currently researching its relationship to slavery, as are a number of other Southern institutions, such as Emory, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and Duke. Yale University released a report on its relation to slavery, though the institution did not own any slaves; that can be found at www.yaleslavery.org.

¹⁶ Grizzard, “Documentary History,” Appendix X, Chronology of Slaves’ Involvement, 1817-1846.

¹⁷ Board of Visitors Minutes, October 7, 1817.

¹⁸ Proctor’s Papers, Box 1, Folder ALS J[ames] Oldham to A.S.B. June 20, 1819.

¹⁹ Proctor’s Papers, Box 5 “1825,” Folder “An Estimate of the Expences of the University for one year 1825.”

bricks in the “filling up between the faces of outside walls or partition walls & in these cases only under the direction & guidance of a master workman.”²⁰ From the ground to the pavilions to the top of the Rotunda, slaves owned and rented by the university helped build Mr. Jefferson’s Academical Village.

The first indication that the University of Virginia purchased slaves to help with the construction of the Academical Village appears in the Proctor’s Papers from 1818. According to a receipt from the Sheriff of Albemarle County, “Nelson Barksdale proctor to central college” paid revenue “on 9 Negroes of 16.”²¹ It is unclear whether the school owned or rented these slaves. Since none of the slave hiring contracts indicates that the university must pay the taxes on those slaves for that year, the university probably owned these slaves.²² Another indication that the university actually owned these slaves is that the institution rented more than nine slaves in 1818. A tax receipt from three years later shows the university paying revenue on “17 Slaves above Twelve years old” and “County and Parish Levy on 16 slaves above 16 years old.”²³ Hired or owned, more than a dozen enslaved people worked on the grounds at the outset of the university. In January 1819 the university was officially founded; in April, Thomas Jefferson, in his role as a member of the Board of Visitors, made a verbal agreement for the university to purchase a slave from Lewis Lashor for \$125.²⁴

The University of Virginia did not own enough slaves to complete all the construction in a timely manner, so the institution participated in the common practice of renting slave labor. According to historian Jonathan Martin, “slaves were routinely bought and sold, but they were even

²⁰ Proctor’s Papers, Box 1, Folder “Extract of J. H. Cocke’s Contract with T. Whitlow, [1821].”

²¹ Proctor’s Papers, Box 1, Folder “Receipts and Accounts 1818.”

²² For the latest investigation into slave hiring, see Jonathan D. Martin, *Divided Mastery: Slave Hiring in the American South*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).

²³ Proctor’s Papers, Box 2, Folder “Receipts 1821.”

²⁴ Proctor’s Papers, Box 1, Folder “List of items in Nelson Barksdale’s Account with the University in which there were no vouchers, 1819, April 9.”

more frequently rented out.”²⁵ Usually, owners hired their slaves out with an oftentimes renewable yearly contract, but in some cases slaves could be hired for a month, week, day, or simply for the time it would take to complete a particular task. In accordance with his duties, the proctor of the university hired all the slaves for the institution.

In order to procure the large number of slaves that the university needed to complete the construction, the proctor placed advertisements in newspapers. The Proctor’s Papers hold receipts for such advertisements placed in “a Staunton paper,” the *Richmond Enquirer*, and the *Republican Constellation*, based in Winchester, Virginia. All of these solicitations requested “workmen,” not necessarily slave labor.²⁶ These advertisements could have been targeted at the many whites and free blacks who also worked on the construction of the Academical Village, but slaveholders could have also responded to the requests with offers of renting their slaves. The university more likely procured hired slaves through correspondence with friends and family members. For instance, John Hartwell Cocke, a member of the Board of Visitors, rented two slaves to the university in 1825 to aid in brick-making.²⁷ Another offer for a slave came in 1821 from Charles Bankhead, the husband of Jefferson’s granddaughter, Anne Cary, who wrote to Brockenbrough, “I have a strong young fellow whom with my Smith I wish to hire for the ensuing year.”²⁸

A sizable labor force eventually gathered on the university grounds during construction. Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe laid the cornerstone in October of 1817, but no receipts for the hire or purchase of any slaves in that year survive. According to Proctor Arthur Brockenbrough’s

²⁵ Martin, *Divided Mastery*, p. 1.

²⁶ Proctor’s Papers, Box 1, 1819. The Staunton receipt is in Folder “Bill for Advertising in Staunton 1819, March 18.” The Richmond receipt is in “Folder Accounts 1819 and No Month.” The Constellation receipt is in Folder “Receipts.”

²⁷ John Hartwell Cocke Papers, Arthur Spicer Brockenbrough to John Hartwell Cocke, 13 April 1825.

²⁸ No evidence exists proving whether or not Proctor Arthur Brockenbrough accepted this particular offer from Bankhead, but he certainly accepted a number of offers to hire slaves. Proctor’s Papers, Box 2, Folder Bankhead, Charles L. to A. S. Brockenbrough 1821, December 2.

balance sheet for expenditures in 1818, the university hired eight laborers for eight hundred dollars.²⁹ One of these slaves belonged to Hooe, one to Young, one to Cole, one to Jones, and one woman to Nelson Barksdale. The balance sheet for the next year 1819 indicated that sixteen laborers were hired for fourteen hundred dollars.³⁰ Seven of those slaves came from Pallison Boxley, who hired “4 men 2 boys & a woman” to the university for six hundred and seventy dollars.³¹ Joseph Sandridge rented his slave Sandy to the university that year for one hundred and nineteen dollars, and Samuel Cary rented a slave to the university for the year.³² The university also rented three slaves, named Sam, Nelson, and Squire, from John Nunn for three hundred and ten dollars.³³ While Brockenbrough stopped making balance sheets for the university in 1821, historian Phillip Alexander Bruce estimated that the university hired thirty-two slaves in 1821, “some of whom were still under age.”³⁴ Bruce probably included in that total John Nunn’s slaves, who seemed “anxious to return” and would cost two hundred and fifty dollars for the year. Nunn did not mention the number of slaves he intended to rent; if it was three, he rented them for one hundred dollars less than the year before.³⁵ Unlike John Nunn, Samuel Cary felt “disinclined to hire him [Cary’s slave] to work at the University this year [1821] he having a wife here & is very unwilling to be hired so far off.”³⁶ Even the local men of Albemarle County felt influenced by paternalistic notions. In 1822, the university rented four slaves from Edmund Bacon, Monticello’s overseer, or as Jefferson called him, “farm manager.” These slaves probably belonged to Jefferson. According to Frank Grizzard,

²⁹ Thomas Jefferson Papers, University of Virginia Special Collections, “Balance Sheet for the University of Virginia 1818-1819.”

³⁰ *Central Gazette*, Charlottesville, 26 February 1820, page 4.

³¹ Proctor’s Papers, Box 1, Folder “Receipts and Accounts 1818.”

³² For Sandridge, see Proctor’s Papers, Box 1, Folder “Receipts 1819.” For Cary, see Proctor’s Papers, Box 2, Folder “Cary, Sam[ue]l to A. S. Brockenbrough,” 1821 January 1.

³³ Proctor’s Papers, Box 1, Folder “Accounts 1819 and No Month.”

³⁴ Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia*, Volume I, Page 259.

³⁵ Proctor’s Papers, Box 2, Folder “A.L.S. Nunn, John to A. S. Brockenbrough, 2 January 1821.”

³⁶ Proctor’s Papers, Box 2, Folder Cary, Sam[ue]l to A. S. Brockenbrough, 1 January 1821.”

the university had a slave labor force of fifteen in 1822.³⁷ The next year, Jefferson wrote to Arthur Brockenbrough that “I think we should hire as many hands for the next as we did for the current year. There is a great deal of work to be done yet on the grounds.”³⁸ On Jefferson’s birthday in 1825, Brockenbrough complained to John Hartwell Cocke that the two slaves from Brems “are so small—I fear they will not be able to stand the work of the season I shall keep the boys for a few days on trial . . . I wish very much tho’ that you will send me 2 larger boys say Frank and another of the largest size we had of you before.” Disappointed by the two small slaves, Proctor Arthur Brockenbrough offered to rent them to John Perry, who would then send Brockenbrough two other slaves.³⁹ During construction the university owned or hired between sixteen and thirty-two slaves.

With so many owned and rented slaves on the grounds, the proctor hired an overseer to tend to them. The first mention of the overseer appears in a letter from Alexander Garrett to Brockenbrough in 1819, but the overseer’s name is not revealed. James Harrison, who signed a contract with the proctor in 1820, could be the overseer to whom Garrett referred. His contract required that Harrison “not to absent himself unnecessarily from the negroes when at work, to attend to the feeding of the laborers, the horse, or other stock to the care of the provisions layed in for laborers, horses &c to suffer no waste of them . . . and assist in the lighter part of the work.” The university also charged Harrison with caring for and fixing the tools and wagons owned by the university. As his payment, Harrison received an annual salary of one hundred dollars, housing, a milk cow, food, and the services of the cook hired for the laborers.⁴⁰ James Harrison only worked for one year, after which John Herron took over as overseer in 1821 and remained in that position after the completion of construction.

³⁷ Proctor’s Papers, Brockenbrough to Jefferson, 28 November 1823.

³⁸ Proctor’s Papers, Thomas Jefferson to Arthur Spicer Brockenbrough, 28 December 1823.

³⁹ John Hartwell Cocke Papers, Arthur Spicer Brockenbrough to John Hartwell Cocke, 4 July 1825.

⁴⁰ Proctor’s Papers, Box 1, Folder “James Harrison – Contract, 1820.”

When the university rented a slave, the agreement with the owner usually stipulated that the slaves be “clothed in common way and fed well.”⁴¹ In compliance with rental agreements and in order to sustain university property, the proctor, by way of the overseer, provided the slaves with food. While the university specifically hired a cook to feed the laborers and the overseer, the overseer had to procure food.⁴² A small laborers’ garden provided some vegetables, but, more often, the overseer would buy food, such as bacon, from locals and traveling salesmen.⁴³ During John Herron’s tenure as overseer, university slaves enjoyed more than typical fare. Herron often bought the workers whiskey, purchasing a half-barrel of it for “Eight dollars twenty five cents” in August 1820, and another “one dollar twelve & half cents” a week later.⁴⁴

As commonly practiced in the South, the university gave slaves clothing, albeit ragged clothing, both during and at the end of their service to the university. The Proctor would pay whites or free blacks to sew items such as “4 shirts & 2 p[ai]r pantaloons for labourers at the U[niversity of] V[irginia].”⁴⁵ The articles of clothing of generally of poor quality cost only “75c for making shirts & p[ai]r pantaloons for Henry a labourer at the U[niversity of] V[irginia],” in comparison to the uniforms that students wore made of six-dollar material.⁴⁶ In some cases, the university granted slaves more independence by accepting payment instead of receiving articles of clothing; in 1820, Proctor Arthur Brockenbrough paid “two dollars twenty five cents to pay to 3 labourers instead of socks for the winter.”⁴⁷

The university, in addition, had to provide housing for their slaves. While some workers, whether slaves, free black workers, or white laborers, resided in the unfinished student rooms and

⁴¹ Proctor’s Papers, Box 2, Folder “E[dmund] Bacon to A.S. Brockenbrough December 16, 1821.”

⁴² Proctor’s Papers, Box 1, Folder “James Harrison – Contract, 1820.”

⁴³ Proctor’s Papers, Box 1, Folder “Receipts, 1820, July 30, 1820.”

⁴⁴ Proctor’s Papers, Box 1, Folder “Receipts, 1820, August 26, 1820 and September 2, 1820.”

⁴⁵ Proctor’s Papers, Box 5, Folder “Receipts 1825, June 3, 1824.”

⁴⁶ Proctor’s Papers, Box 7, Folder “Receipts 1828.”

⁴⁷ Proctor’s Papers, Box 1, Folder “Receipts 1820,” 16 August 1820.

pavilions of the Lawn, most resided in a laborers' house just northeast of Hotel B on the East Range. This structure probably stood near the gates of the university by the original hospital.⁴⁸

The harsh conditions in which the slaves of the university lived made them vulnerable to illness and injury. When illness struck, administrators feared the spread of contagious diseases, along with the hefty price tag that accompanied them. In 1820, the Proctor paid Dr. J. C. Ragland the sum of "thirty six dollars 75 cents for medical services to laborers at the U. Va."⁴⁹ The following year Proctor Arthur Brockenbrough paid another twelve dollars and seventy-five cents to Dr. Ragland.⁵⁰

While many university slaves experienced harsh conditions regarding food, work, housing, clothing, or health, those hired by the university did enjoy some privileges. Edmund Bacon rented his slaves to the university with the condition that "the men can make arrangements with [Proctor Brockenbrough] about coming to see their wives."⁵¹ The university only awarded privileges like this one to slaves rented and not owned by the university, indicating the power slaves sometimes gained when they had two masters.

One other group of slaves worked on university grounds during the original construction: those owned by the master craftsmen whom the university hired. James Oldham, the chief builder for Pavilion I, Hotels A and D, and student dormitories, owned many slaves throughout his career. Upon his death, in 1843, Oldham owned nineteen slaves, two of whom his will denoted as "carpenters"; one of the carpenters, Halley, born around 1783, probably helped Oldham with the construction of university buildings.⁵² Even though the university did not entrust owned- or hired-

⁴⁸ Marie Frank, "It Took an Academical Village: Jefferson's Hotels at the University of Virginia" in *The Magazine of Albemarle County History*, Volume 59, 2001, Albemarle County Historical Society, Edited by Frank Grizzard, Jr., provides a map of possible outbuildings in the Academical Village that were not included in the 1822 Maverick Engraving, p.33.

⁴⁹ Proctor's Papers, Box 1, Folder "Receipts 1820," 15 July 1820.

⁵⁰ Proctor's Papers, Box 2, Folder "Receipts 1821," 14 May 1821.

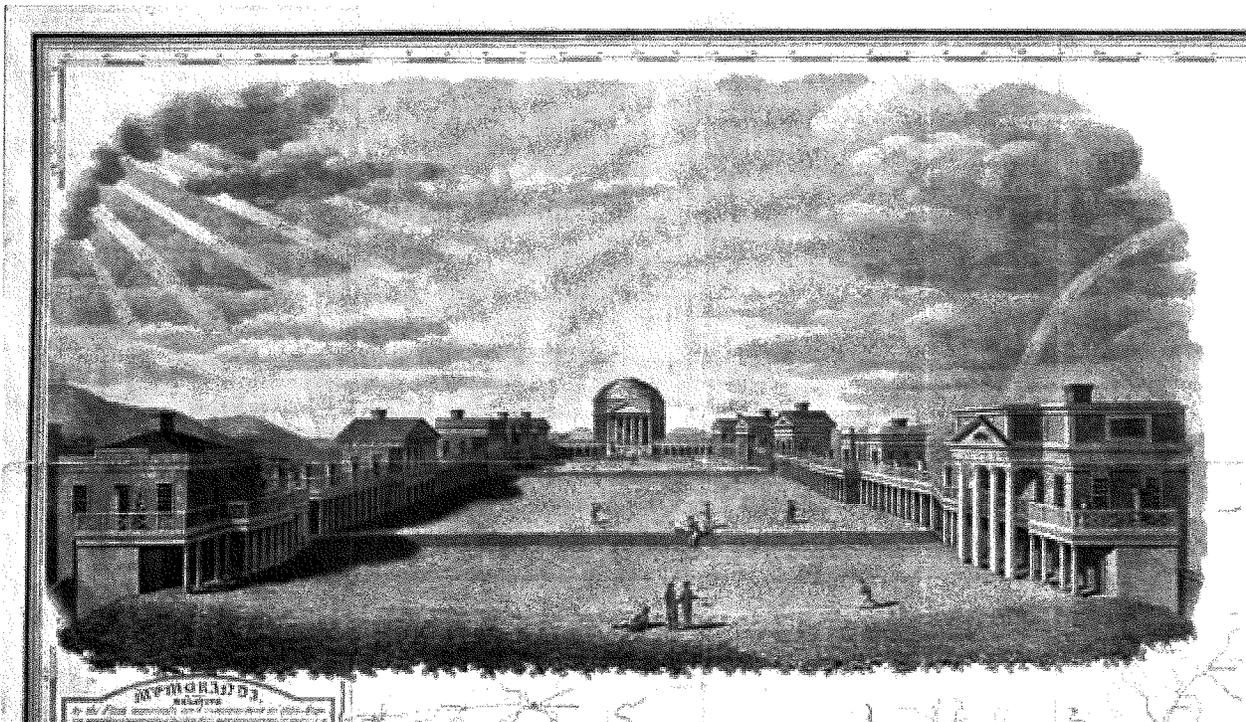
⁵¹ Proctor's Papers, Box 2, Folder "E[dmund] Bacon to A. S. Brockenbrough," 16 December 1821.

⁵² Will of James Oldham, Charlottesville City Courthouse, Will Books, Volume 15, Page 461.

slaves with detailed masterwork for the construction, the master craftsmen used slave labor to complete their projects.

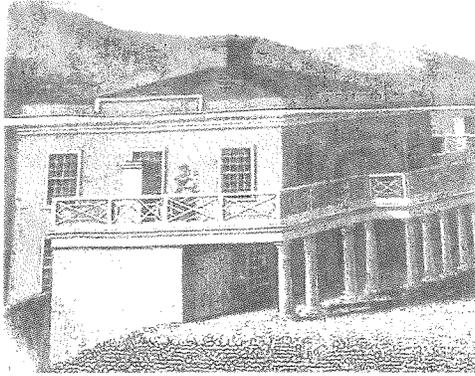
SLAVES AND THE OPENING OF THE UNIVERSITY

Construction finished in 1826, a year after the arrival of the first students. The Tanner-Böye Map, completed in 1826, is one of the first representations of the Academical Village in its entirety.⁵³ Herman Böye drew a map of Virginia divided into three sections; at the top of each section Henry Schenk Tanner created an engraving that represents an aspect of Jefferson. The engraving on the first panel depicts the Jefferson-designed Virginia Capitol Building in Richmond, which represents “Jefferson the Statesman.” The second panel engraving of the Natural Bridge, purchased by Jefferson in 1774, represents “Jefferson the Naturalist.” The final panel exhibits an engraving of the Lawn at the University of Virginia, representing “Jefferson the Intellectual.” Tanner’s depiction of



Henry Schenk Tanner Engraving of the University, 1826

⁵³ The Tanner- Böye Map currently sits in the North Oval Room on the second floor of the Rotunda.



Close-up of Pavilion IX in Henry Schenk
Tanner's Engraving

the University has all ten pavilions, fifty-four Lawn rooms, the completed Rotunda, people enjoying the Academical Village, and a rainbow bending by the grounds—a rather romantic view of the Lawn. Part of the romance included a black woman, a mammy figure, standing on the balcony of Pavilion IX (at the time, the home of the professor of Moral Philosophy, George Tucker). Since Thomas Jefferson's

time, then enslaved people were part of the life at the University of Virginia.

The duties of slaves drastically changed after the matriculation of the first class of students in March 1825. In addition to continuing to build structures and to tend to the grounds, enslaved persons now had nine professors and forty students to care for as well. As the pace of construction slowed in 1826 with the completion of the Rotunda, the administration struggled with what to do with the fifteen slaves they had hired for the year for \$975. Proctor Brockenbrough did “not think it necessary to keep up so large a force as this estimation embraces unless we go into the brick making business again the next year.”⁵⁴ The university ultimately decided against becoming a brick-making operation, but the proctor continued to fulfill his duty of “hiring laborers . . . and superintending & directing the employment of their labor.”⁵⁵ After the end of the construction, the university owned between one and four slaves. The university bought and hired new slaves, with new duties, new rules, and new living quarters.

Regardless of the decrease in the number of slaves owned and hired by the university, the proctor still required the help of an overseer after students and faculty entered the community. The university deemed it prudent to continue the tenure of an overseer until 1846, when the university passed his duties along to the machinist, who also took on the duties of the janitor and paid

⁵⁴ Proctor's Papers, Box 5 “1825,” Folder “An Estimate of the Expences of the University for one year 1825.”

⁵⁵ BOV Minutes, 16 December 1826.

attention to the ice house.⁵⁶ In 1855 an overseer by the name of Mr. Marr appeared in the Minutes of the Board of Visitors moving to a “house recently erected.”⁵⁷ The overseer continued to fulfill his duties of presiding over the slaves and providing their food and clothing.

Less than a year after students and faculty arrived at the university, they struggled with trespassers, unwelcome blacks who resided just south of the Academical Village in the Canada community.⁵⁸ In order to keep slaves owned by the students and free blacks out of the university, in February 1826 Professor John Emmet, on behalf of the faculty, instructed the Proctor “to License the Servants waiting upon the Students; and that he permit no person to act in that capacity who has obtained such a license.”⁵⁹ Both university slaves and hotelkeepers’ slaves waited upon students, so they wore licenses to ensure that no other blacks were permitted on the grounds. To further guarantee safety against unwanted blacks, in 1829 Professor Patterson, after “he was disturbed . . . by a noise made by negroes passing thro the University,” proposed that the Proctor keep “a regular patrol for the University.”⁶⁰ With the hiring of new slaves and the turnover of hotelkeepers and their slaves, university officials deemed it necessary to maintain a list of licensed slaves.

The university continued to hire slaves on a smaller scale after the first students matriculated. In 1825, the Proctor hired slaves to sustain all aspects of university life. From his brother, Thomas, Proctor Arthur Brockenbrough hired John for \$60,⁶¹ from John Douglass, the university hired John Edwards for \$60, as well,⁶² and for \$34.40, the Proctor rented Bob from C. Downing.⁶³ These four men probably continued the construction efforts, especially on the Rotunda. From John S. May, the

⁵⁶ BOV Minutes, 27 June 1846.

⁵⁷ Faculty Minutes, Volume VI-VIII, Page 235b, 10 October 1855.

⁵⁸ “The Foster Family Venable Lane Site Report of Archaeological Investigations,” prepared by Rivanna Archaeological Consulting, November 2003, Private Collection of Jeffrey Hantman.

⁵⁹ Proctor’s Papers, Box 6, Folder “J. P. Emmet to A. S. Brockenbrough,” 5 February 1826.

⁶⁰ Faculty Minutes, 2 June 1829.

⁶¹ Proctor’s Papers, Box 6, Folder “Receipts 1826,” 14 March 1826.

⁶² Proctor’s Papers, Box 5 Folder “Receipts 1825,” 8 February 1825.

⁶³ Proctor’s Papers, Box 5, “Receipts 1825,” 2 March 1825.

Proctor rented, for the year, Sarah, “who is a good house woman and washes.”⁶⁴ In 1826, the university continued to hire slaves, like Violate for \$21.40, from Edmond Brown.⁶⁵ Female slaves, such as Sarah and Violate, probably served as cooks for the other laborers. During 1826, the university also hired Burwell Hemmings, a man Jefferson freed upon his death, to help construct the marble steps of the Rotunda.⁶⁶ Even though the university felt compelled to hire fewer slaves upon completion of the Rotunda in 1826, the following year the university continued to conduct business with John S. May, hiring Aaron for \$50.⁶⁷ From Samuel Campbell, the university hired a slave named Humphrey.⁶⁸ At this juncture, the university found it worthwhile to rent slaves for only part of the year, as was the case when the Proctor agreed to hire James for only two months.⁶⁹ The university continued to hire slaves after the matriculation of the first students, but by 1830 the practice almost disappeared.

According to the 1830 United States Census, the University of Virginia owned four male slaves between twenty-four and thirty-six years of age. One of these slaves was probably Anatomical Lewis, named because he “waited the Professor of Anatomy and his Demonstrator,” and cleaned the Anatomical Theater. He lived in a room in the wood yard located behind Pavilion VII and was “regarded by the children very much as an ogre.”⁷⁰ Not only did Anatomical Lewis endure a sordid job and poor living conditions, he lived as an outcast of the community. Records do not show when Anatomical Lewis left the university, but by 1860, only one slave appeared under the University of Virginia in the Albemarle County census.⁷¹

⁶⁴ Proctor’s Papers, Box 5, Folder “ALS John S. May to James Brockman,” 25 February 1825.

⁶⁵ Proctor’s Papers, Box 6, Folder “Receipts 1826”.

⁶⁶ Proctor’s Papers, Box 6, Folder “John Hartwell Cocke to A. S. Brockenbrough,” 17 July 1826.

⁶⁷ Proctor’s Papers, Box 7, Folder “Jan-June 1827 ALS J[ohn] S. M[ay] to ASB,” 18 March 1827.

⁶⁸ Proctor’s Papers, Box 7, Folder “Receipts 1827,” 4 April 1827.

⁶⁹ Proctor’s Papers, Box 7, Folder “Receipts 1828,” 18 January 1828.

⁷⁰ Dabney C. T. Davis, “Old Time at the University” (p. 115) and Charles Christian Wertenbaker, “Early Days of the University,” (p. 24), both in the *University of Virginia Alumni Bulletin*, Volume IV, May 1897, No. 1.

⁷¹ Faculty Minutes, 2 November 1857.

The university purchased another slave named Lewis Commodore, who they “held hereafter as the property of the University,” on July 18, 1832, for the price of \$580. The university rented Lewis Commodore for a number of years and upon learning that he was to be sold, Professors Patterson and Davis and the Proctor, “believing that to lose his services would be a real misfortune to the University,” purchased him with the intention of selling him to the university.⁷² Lewis Commodore rang the bell until 1847, when Henry Martin took the post.⁷³ In 1834, the Board of Visitors gave Lewis Commodore “a general order to open the Library at the appointed hour, without waiting for [the Librarian’s] arrival.”⁷⁴

Since the Board of Visitors viewed Lewis Commodore as a “faithful and valuable servant,” they did not require him “to work out in the grounds with the other laborers,” during vacations.⁷⁵ Despite this privilege, Lewis probably continued to ring the university’s bell, referred to as the Medway Bell, and keep “the lecture-rooms in order,” on vacation days.⁷⁶ Lewis earned these privileges only when he abstained from his “fondness of whiskey” and



Medway Bell

⁷² BOV Minutes, 18 July 1832 and Journal of the Chairman of the Faculty, 30 March 1831. Some people have conflated Anatomical Lewis and Lewis Commodore. My research, however, shows that they were two separate men. An alumnus described Anatomical Lewis as an “ogre,” while the administration and students praised Lewis Commodore. In my opinion, they cannot be the same man.

⁷³ While Henry Martin was born a slave, by the time the university hired him, Henry’s owner, George Carr had freed him. Henry Martin served the university for over fifty years, becoming a friend to many students. For an interview with Henry Martin, some more information, and a photograph, see the University of Virginia’s *Corks and Curly*, Volume I, 1890.

⁷⁴ BOV Minutes, 11 November 1834.

⁷⁵ BOV Minutes, June 1846.

⁷⁶Dabney C. T. Davis, “Old Time at the University,” p. 115.

stopped “beg[ging] cologne from the boys.”⁷⁷

Although Lewis apparently held a preferred status among slaves, he became subject to the violence of slavery. On November 13, 1837, a group of students raised a ruckus, “shouting and firing pistols” on the Lawn. Probably in protest of the strict time schedule prescribed by Jefferson, the students decided to ring the bell late in the evening. Lewis Commodore, fulfilling his role as bell-ringer, stood guard at the belfry. The students beat Lewis, so they could ring the bell and disturb the Academical Village. That evening and the following day, the Chairman of the Faculty led an investigation into the event. In a rare move, the Chairman of the Faculty asked Lewis, a black man, for his testimony regarding the incident, indicating the respect Lewis had earned. Lewis identified W. P. Harris as one of the students “who broke open the belfry door, & the person who had beaten him.”⁷⁸

In 1840, the Board of Visitors asked the Proctor to sell or hire Lewis, because of his drinking habits. Lewis, however, stayed with the university. He remained the property of the university until the end of 1851, when Professor Courtenay offered a resolution to the Faculty Committee for his removal, because “the duty of attending to the police of the public lecture rooms and keeping them properly warmed has been repeatedly and grossly neglected.”⁷⁹

When the university purchased Lewis Commodore in 1832, they probably housed him in the “room upon the ground floor of the Rotunda, near the Chemical Laboratory,” considering its proximity to the bell and the Library, for which he held responsibility. Two years later, however, the Board of Visitors ruled that, “those rooms after being properly cleansed, [need] to be locked up, or put to other desirable uses.”⁸⁰ This action seems unnecessary, seeing as the Board of Visitors had

⁷⁷ Charles Christian Wertenbaker, “Early Days of the University,” *The University of Virginia Alumni Bulletin*, Volume IV, May 1897, No. 1, p. 24.

⁷⁸ Journal of the Chairman of the Faculty, 13 November 1837 and 14 November 1837.

⁷⁹ Faculty Minutes, 30 December 1851.

⁸⁰ BOV Minutes, 8 July 1834.

planned no other use for the rooms; the administration simply did not want slaves living in the Rotunda. When the Board provided that the slaves be evicted from the laborers' house, however, they planned to use the space. The laborers' house that existed near the gates of the university continued to serve that purpose until 1838, when R. E. Griffith, the Professor of Medicine, and James L. Cabell, the Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, requested the use of the building for an infirmary. The Board of Visitors then "resolved that the Professors of the Medical School be authorized to appropriate the Brick building now occupied by the Laborers of the University to the purpose of an infirmary."⁸¹ After these dislodgments, the university struggled to find convenient space for their slaves, but the reduced number of slaves on the grounds made it easier. Some, like Anatomical Lewis, lived in structures located in the university gardens. In 1857, the university struggled to find space that "can be warmed, convenient to the Public Buildings," in which their only slave, Billy, could be housed.⁸² In all the beautiful Jeffersonian buildings at the University of Virginia, neither ample nor suitable space existed for slaves.

The construction of buildings and the creation of the botanical gardens occupied the time of most of the university slaves until the completion of the Rotunda, after which the slaves received assignments regarding the upkeep and cleaning of the structures they had helped build. As the Board of Visitors resolved on December 16, 1826, the official responsibilities of the university slaves were now to preserve:

the cleanliness of all the grounds and tenements not in the occupation of the professors & hotel-keepers, [keep] the drains & gutters clean & in repair, [cause] suitable depositories to be prepared for the reception of the sweeping & offal from the tenements of the depositories to be prepared for the reception of the sweeping & offal from the tenements of the professors & hotel-keepers, and . . . daily [remove] such sweeping and offal, when so deposited.⁸³

⁸¹ BOV Minutes, 5 July 1838.

⁸² Faculty Minutes, 2 November 1857.

⁸³ BOV Minutes, 16 December 1826.

The Board of Visitors reaffirmed this use of slaves every decade, especially in the 1850s, when they addressed the issue four times because “the lecture rooms were generally found in a dirty & filthy condition,” and an outbreak of typhoid in 1858 required that every building be completely cleaned.⁸⁴ Sometimes the slaves could not complete these cleaning duties, because “so many duties were assigned to the servants.”⁸⁵

The administration of the university assigned some slaves to other duties, such as serving as messengers for various members of the university community. The Proctor often sent slaves with messages to professors, other administrators, and even students. In 1832, the Proctor dispatched a “servant” to John C. Singleton, a student, with a message concerning a sign for the student’s door. The slave hurried between the two men with multiple messages, ultimately resulting in an altercation between the Proctor and the student. Even though the slave witnessed the entire event and both the Proctor and the student testified to the Faculty Committee, they never asked the slave to give an account of the incident, a common exclusion at the time. (Professor John Davis’ slave, thirteen-year-old Charles witnessed his owner’s shooting, the impetus for the creation of the Honor System, but investigators never asked for his account.⁸⁶) Students, without their personal slaves on the grounds, also used university slaves to run errands. Mr. Crighton, when caught in his dormitory with alcohol, testified that he sent a “University servant” for the spirits.⁸⁷

The university also provided slaves with inferior food. Typically, they ate corn and bacon but would occasionally receive beef, as they did on New Year’s Day 1827.⁸⁸ In 1825, the Proctor estimated that the university would spend \$550 on bacon and corn for the sixteen laborers and one overseer. Since bacon cost ten cents per pound, the slaves would not receive more than half a

⁸⁴ For references to slaves cleaning duties, see BOV Minutes: 20 July 1829; 21 July 1830; 19 July 1833; 7 July 1840; 4 February 1851; 3 December 1853; 27 June 1854; and 12 March 1858.

⁸⁵ BOV Minutes, 27 June 1854.

⁸⁶ Martin, Lewis Ashby, III. “John A. G. Davis, Professor of Law, and the Faculty of the University of Virginia, 1830-1840.” M. A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1974, p. 64-76.

⁸⁷ Faculty Minutes, 23 October 1827.

⁸⁸ Proctor’s Papers, Box 6, Folder “Receipts 1826,” 31 December 1826.

pound per day.⁸⁹ After the end of construction, slaves lost the privilege of being provided with whiskey paid for by the university.

Since after construction the university did not furnish their slaves with alcohol, they acquired it by personal means. In 1825, a “negro, named ‘Ben,’ [sold] fermented liquor in the cellar of Pavilion No. 1,” from whom some university slaves obtained alcohol, but administrators promptly put an end to Ben’s business.⁹⁰ In 1846, the Board of Visitors accused Lewis Commodore “of Drunkenness, which had well nigh ruined him.”⁹¹ University officials limited themselves in 1853 to simply “endeavour[ing] to suppress all trafficking on the Sabbath on the part of negroes.”⁹²

The university also provided their slaves with health care. The university Medical School vaccinated “all persons . . . gratis.” When the slaves visited the doctor for medical advice or “aid in surgical cases of ordinary occurrence,” the university paid fifty cents per visit.⁹³ The university’s willingly paid this price, for health care cost less than a new slave.

In cases when the Medical School could not save the life of a university slave, the community would express concern. When “Old Billy” died in 1858, student Charles O. Young notified his friend and former student Larkin Willis and expressed his “great regard for the old fellow.”⁹⁴ University slaves who died during their service to the university could be “buried on the north side of the cemetery, just outside of the wall.” Most of the slaves chose to bury their dead secretly somewhere else, since medical students often dug up the bodies for use in class.⁹⁵ Because those in the medical class were responsible for obtaining their own cadavers, “those they picked up

⁸⁹ For an estimation of costs for the year, see Proctor’s Papers, Box 5, Folder “An Estimate of the Expenses of the University for one year 1825.” The Proctor paid Thomas Draffin ten cents per pound of bacon, according to Proctor’s Papers, Box 6, Folder “Receipts 1826,” 28 May 1826.

⁹⁰ Proctor’s Papers, Box 5, Folder “Prof. Robley Dunglison to A.S.B.,” 17 May 1825.

⁹¹ BOV Minutes, 27 June 1846.

⁹² Faculty Minutes, 2 November 1853.

⁹³ BOV Minutes, 3 April 1826.

⁹⁴ Larkin Willis Papers, Duke University Special Collections, Charles O. Young to Larkin Willis, 8 January 1858.

⁹⁵ Charles Christian Wertenbaker to Professor J. A. Harrison, “the University Cemetery,” *The University of Virginia Alumni Bulletin*, Volume IV, May 1897, No. 1, p. 112. The University Cemetery, located near the corner of McCormick Road and Alderman Road, has been expanded three times, in 1882, 1915 and 1934.

were generally the corpses of negro slaves.” This practice caused concern amongst students and faculty, because they believed that black cadavers were anatomically different from white ones, leaving the students unprepared for medical practice.⁹⁶

FACULTY AND ADMINISTRATOR SLAVES

In addition to crafting so much of the physical University, Jefferson instilled many of his values and ideals into the institution. In his 1818 *Report of the Commissioners for the University of Virginia*, Jefferson declared the object of his university “to instruct the mass of our citizens in these their rights interests and duties as men and citizens.” More specifically, Jefferson expected the University of Virginia “to form the statesmen legislators and judges,” and “to expound the principles and structure of government.” He wanted these future statesmen “to harmonize and promote the interests of agriculture manufactures and commerce.”⁹⁷ Jefferson envisioned his students as not just learning a curriculum such as law or medicine from their professors; he envisioned his students learning the responsibilities of a citizen in a community. Students would then take that experience and knowledge with them upon departing from the university; they would know how to be active citizens in their communities across the United States.

Of the original nine professors, seven hailed from Europe, but when it came to the law professor, Jefferson mandated that he be not just an American but also a Virginian. Jefferson so strongly believed that a suitable candidate must teach law that he left the first class of students without a law professor; in 1826, a year after opening, the university finally appointed John Tayloe Lomax, who had practiced law in Virginia since 1797 and would, therefore, teach students the Jeffersonian tradition of government. The university continued to take such care in hiring the professor of law after Jefferson’s death. When the university required a new law professor in 1845,

⁹⁶ Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia*, Volume II, p 116.

⁹⁷ An accessible copy of the Report is published in the Peterson’s *Jefferson Writings*, p. 457-476.

Board member Thomas Jefferson Randolph, Jefferson's grandson, "most insist[ed] upon the propriety of having a law professor in Mr. Jefferson's pet institution conforming to Mr. Jefferson's opinions about government."⁹⁸ Both the law and moral philosophy (a combination of economics and government) professors, according to Jefferson, had to be Virginians, so they could teach his students Jeffersonian ideals.

When Thomas Jefferson designed the University of Virginia, he created an Academical Village so students could live in a community with their professors. Most faculty members took the opportunity to live on the Lawn, residing in the top floor of their prescribed pavilion. Some administrators, such as the Proctor and the Librarian, also lived in the Academical Village. With these professors and administrators came their slaves. The majority of slaves living on the grounds of the university belonged to members of the faculty, almost all of whom owned or rented slaves during their time at the university.

In fact, the faculty became well-known around the state and the South for their rhetoric concerning slavery. When asked about the institution of slavery in 1834 Professor Robert M. Patterson remarked "that it was a dark question every way."⁹⁹ Like the founder of the university, the faculty recognized the horrors of slavery. In an effort to alleviate their guilt in owning slaves, many faculty, including Professors Bonnycastle, Duglison, Emmet, Harrison, Patterson, and Tucker, attended a fair sponsored by the ladies of the university to raise money for the Colonization Society in 1830. The event raised approximately \$600 for the purpose of colonizing freed slaves in Liberia.¹⁰⁰ Among themselves and in their own minds, faculty members, like Jefferson, struggled with the differences between Jeffersonian ideals and southern ideals.

⁹⁸ Minor Papers, Lucian to John B. Minor, 20 July 1845.

⁹⁹ Harriet Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel*, Volume II, 1969 (New York: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1838), p.32.

¹⁰⁰ Harrison, Smith, Tucker Papers, Gessner Harrison to Peachy Harrison, May 13, 1830.

Several faculty members bought slaves at Jefferson's estate sales. Some of the sales, such as that of Sally Cottrell to mathematics professor Thomas Hewett Key, saw professors buy slaves they had rented from Jefferson prior to his death. Other professors bought new slaves, as they continued to settle into Charlottesville. Fanny Gillette Fern and her youngest child and eventually her husband David Fern became the property of Professor Robley Dunglison. Professor Charles Bonnycastle purchased Patsy Fossett, and George Blaetterman bought Ursula Hughes and her four children and Marshall, Ben, and Lilly Fern. Transactions continued, as Blaetterman traded Ursula and her children for Doll and her children with Thomas Jefferson Randolph.

Even though seven of the first nine professors hailed from Europe, they participated in the ownership of slaves. Some professors came with ideals of equality and abolitionism, but upon spending time in Charlottesville, they bent to the convenience of slave labor. Professor George Long of England purchased a slave named Jacob soon after his arrival in Charlottesville.¹⁰¹ Professor John Page Emmet, born in Ireland and raised in New York, condemned the institution of slavery, but soon after arriving at the university, he wrote John Hartwell Cocke requesting assistance in purchasing a slave because he had "experienced nothing but disappointment from the hired ones."¹⁰² Emmet grew used to the idea of slavery, owning nine slaves, including six children, by the time of his death.¹⁰³ Living in the university community, among professors and students steeped in the tradition of slavery, Emmet became convinced that one could hold Jeffersonian ideals and own slaves.

Professor Edward Courtenay, on the other hand, always participated in the institution of slavery during his tenure at the university but wanted to stop. Teaching mathematics from 1842 until 1853, Professor Courtenay and his family resided on the Lawn. After the death of his slave

¹⁰¹ Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia*, Volume II, p. 7.

¹⁰² Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia*, Volume II, p. 16-17.

¹⁰³ Will of John P. Emmet, Charlottesville City Courthouse, Will Books, Volume 15, Page 115.

David in 1852, Courtenay wrote to his brother in Baltimore for help in finding a replacement. Since Courtenay considered getting rid of David's "poor wife," as well, he requested a "white man & his wife."¹⁰⁴ Professor Courtenay became frustrated by the system of labor in Virginia, "a system which seems almost designed to compel every individual to own those employed by him."¹⁰⁵ He refused to resort to that alternative "until all others are exhausted however great may be the inconvenience experienced."¹⁰⁶ Even if Courtenay did sell David's wife and procure a white family, according to the 1850 census Courtenay owned another middle-aged male slave, maintaining his participation in the institution he despised.

Some professors manumitted their slaves. When Professor Patterson moved to Philadelphia, he obviously could not take his slaves with him. Instead of selling all his slaves for a profit, Patterson "for motives of benevolence" freed his slave Benjamin Watson.¹⁰⁷ According to his autobiography, Professor Tucker freed his five slaves when he also moved to Philadelphia. Even after their 1850 emancipation, three of Tucker's slaves, Isaac, his wife Liddy, Rachel, and her daughter Mary, moved with the Tuckers to Philadelphia to work as house servants.¹⁰⁸ Another of Tucker's slaves, Jack Sellers, remained in Charlottesville, so he could live near his wife and children.¹⁰⁹ Professor Gessner Harrison manumitted one of his slaves, a little molatto girl named "Becky or Becca." Soon after, he also freed the girl's father, Charles Perry.¹¹⁰ Professor George Blaetterman, on the other hand, left it to his widow to free their slaves in 1855, including Dolly Cottrell and her daughter Lucy, after moving to Kentucky.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁴ Purviance Family Papers, Duke University Special Collections, Edward H. Courtenay to "brother," 2 July 1852.

¹⁰⁵ Purviance Family Papers, Edward H. Courtenay to "brother," 10 May 1852.

¹⁰⁶ Purviance Family Papers, Edward H. Courtenay to "brother," 10 May 1852.

¹⁰⁷ Albemarle County Deed Book 34, p. 253. Emancipation recorded in Albemarle on January 2, 1837.

¹⁰⁸ Harrison, Smith, Tucker Papers, Jane Emmet to Maria H. Broadus, February 25, 1850.

¹⁰⁹ Harrison, Smith, Tucker Papers, Francis H. Smith to Mary Stuart Harrison, May 6, 1853.

¹¹⁰ Albemarle County Deed Book 50, p. 81 and Albemarle County Deed Book 51, p. 129.

¹¹¹ Papers of Francis Lee Thurman, Elizabeth C. Blaetterman to Victoria, June 30, 1860.

Two notable exceptions became too overwhelmed by feelings of equality to remain at the university. Mathematics professor Thomas Hewett Key came from England. Soon after arriving in Charlottesville, Mr. and Mrs. Key found themselves in want of a nurse and maid. Jefferson, ever-accommodating to his university, began renting his slave Sally Cottrell to them in the summer of 1825. After Jefferson's death, Key purchased her from the estate. Key made this purchase with the stipulation that she be free when he left the university. One account claims that the thought of owning another human being weighed too heavily on the mind of Professor Key for him to stay in Charlottesville long.¹¹² The impetus for Key's resignation, however, came from two nights of rowdy incidents during which students rebelled against the faculty and the strict code of conduct they enforced.¹¹³ Whatever the reason, by the time he returned to England in 1827, Key freed his one slave.

A similar uncertainty surrounds Professor James Joseph Sylvester's departure from the university. Born to a Jewish family in London on September 3, 1814, Sylvester studied in England. He replaced the late Charles Bonnycastle as the mathematics professor in 1841. Like Key, Sylvester expressed outrage at the behavior of students. His call for the expulsion of one student went unanswered by the Faculty Committee. Some of Sylvester's colleagues said he expressed anti-slavery beliefs, leading some historians to surmise that Sylvester left the university due to its expansive use of slavery.¹¹⁴

Due to the layout of the Academical Village and the abundance of slavery, the institution and the university intertwined at a most basic level. When Professor Thomas W. Maury announced the commencement of his school of languages for the January session in 1829, like many professors, he purchased an advertisement in the Charlottesville newspaper the *Virginia Advocate*. Living on a

¹¹² Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia*, Volume II, p. 205.

¹¹³ Malone, *Jefferson and His Time: The Sage at Monticello*, Volume VI, p. 465-466.

¹¹⁴ Lewis S. Feuer, *America's First Professor: James Joseph Sylvester at the University of Virginia* (Reprinted from American Jewish Archives, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2, Nov. 1984) 152-201.

measly professor's salary, Maury purchased the smallest advertisement: seven lines. To save even more money, Maury used the same advertisement to announce that he had "for hire THREE SERVANT GIRLS."¹¹⁵ The curriculum based around Jeffersonian ideals appeared in the same advertisement as the hiring out of slaves.

While the university recognized that the professors' slaves existed as their property, the institution also knew that the professors resided within the confines of the university. In 1849, the Faculty Committee, disgusted by the state of the grounds, sent orders to "the head of each family residing within the precincts of the University," requiring:

1. That the Yards and grounds be well swept and sprinkled with lime twice a week.
2. That the apartments occupied by servants and the basement rooms of outhouses generally be whitewashed and subsequently be well ventilated daily –
3. That the slops, soap suds and other refuse matter from the kitchens, wash houses and dining rooms be kept in watertight barrels on the respective premises until they shall be removed (which should be at least once a day except Sundays) by some person employed by the Proctor who shall cast them off to some distant part of the University lands – In no case whatever should such matters be thrown out into the Alleys or into the drains which should be exclusively used for carrying off the rain.¹¹⁶

Because the university did not have enough slaves to care for all the university grounds, they charged slaves owned by professors and administrators with keeping some of the university property.

Despite the requirements from the university, slaves' status as private property gave their owners control over their duties. In some cases, new professors sent slaves ahead to Charlottesville to set up house, as George Tucker did with John in 1825.¹¹⁷ Once at the university, professors gave slaves a range of orders to make life for the professors comfortable. Cooking, cleaning, and caring for children comprised their list of their daily duties. Mrs. Davis sent letters to her husband, John, with orders for "Jack to put down the parlor carpet," and "Sally to put up clean curtains at the windows." Mrs. Davis would also take some of their family slaves on trips to her mother's house in

¹¹⁵ *Virginia Advocate*, 20 December 1828, page 3, column 3.

¹¹⁶ Faculty Minutes, 16 June 1849.

¹¹⁷ Proctor's Papers, Box 5, Folder "ALS George Tucker to [A. S. B.]," 18 March 1825.

Lynchburg to care for their children and assist in carrying luggage.¹¹⁸ The Davis family's relationship to their slaves mirrored that of other university families.¹¹⁹

The professors, restricted to the second floor of the pavilions, sometimes felt cramped, especially if they had large families; Jefferson designed the pavilions to house bachelors, thinking they would make better professors. Often accompanied by their families and numerous slaves, the professors scrambled to find space in which their help could live, many of them living in the basements of pavilions. The dark, cold, unventilated, windowless basements caused Professor Emmet's slaves to fall ill.¹²⁰ Emmet, along with Robley Dunglison, after receiving permission from



The Mews, located behind Pavilion III, originally served as a kitchen and slave quarters.

¹¹⁸ John Staige Davis Papers, University of Virginia Special Collections, Collection 3247, Box 1. See both Folder "Correspondence of John Staige Davis, Sr., 1851-1858," 12 September 1852 and Folder "Correspondence of John Staige Davis, Sr., 1840-1850," 13 October 1848.

¹¹⁹ Some stories of individual families and their slaves can be found in; see Gayle Schulman, "the Gibbons Family: Freedmen," in *the Albemarle County Historical Magazine*, Volume 55, 1997, p. 61-94 for an account of Henry Howard's slaves.

¹²⁰ Proctor's Papers, Box 7, Folder "Correspondence 1828 AUG-OCT,," 9 August 1828.

the Board of Visitors, constructed buildings in the garden behind his pavilion in 1828.¹²¹ Four years later, still considering the housing for his slaves inadequate, Emmet added an “addition to the basement story for the accommodation of Domestic slaves similar to those already annexed to the Pavilions of Professors Tucker, Bonnycastle, and Harrison.”¹²² In 1850, the Board of Visitors approved the construction of more buildings in the rear of Professor Courtenay’s and Professor Harrison’s pavilions.¹²³ Behind Pavilion III still stands a brick structure that originally served as a kitchen and slave quarters for the pavilion residents; in time, the structure came to be known as “the Mews.”¹²⁴ Professors and administrators added extra buildings and extensions to every pavilion. Some professors, still unhappy with their slaves’ housing, sought more space from the Board of Visitors. During the early years of the university, the Lawn and Range rooms, usually occupied by two students, did not reach full capacity, so faculty members rented the rooms for family members, study space, and slave quarters. By the 1850s, however, the Board of Visitors, pressured by increased enrollment numbers, limited each professor to occupy only one dormitory.¹²⁵ In 1840, professor of mathematics Charles Bonnycastle melded the two ideas of using dormitories and pavilion basements for slave quarters, by convincing the Board of Visitors to grant him the cellars underneath Lawn Rooms 34 and 36 East for slave housing.¹²⁶ The mathematics professor of 1851, Edward Courtenay added onto his pavilion a basement containing “a dining room, pantry, & two servants’ rooms.”¹²⁷

¹²¹ BOV Minutes, 22 July 1828.

¹²² BOV Minutes, 17 July 1832.

¹²³ BOV Minutes, 25 June 1850.

¹²⁴ In her memoir, *a Fitting Habitation*, Agnes Rothery recounts the time she and her husband, Harry, a professor in the Music Department, spent at the University of Virginia. Upon arrival in Charlottesville, they took up occupancy in the brick structure behind Pavilion III that they were told served as a kitchen and slave quarters. After renovating and refurbishing the space and naming it “the Mews,” the space became a gathering place for all those at the university (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1944).

¹²⁵ For references to this practice, see BOV Minutes from: 18 August 1837; 29 June 1847; 27 June 1854; and 29 June 1854.

¹²⁶ BOV Minutes, 7 July 1840.

¹²⁷ Purviance Family Papers, Edward H. Courtenay to “brother,” May 17, 1851.

Many of the university professors and administrators went beyond the typical housing, clothing, and food to accommodate their slaves. During her tour of the United States in 1834 Harriet Martineau stopped at the university, where she was welcomed as the first British traveler “who had ever visited.” She attended church and dined with the professors and their families during her stay. While the professors taught classes, Martineau visited with the professors’ wives and they spoke of slave conditions. Martineau found that Mrs. Patterson taught her coachman, a slave, to read and thought that “the slaves were happy.”¹²⁸ The other professors’ wives, probably including Mrs. Tucker, Mrs. Emmett, Mrs. Bonnycastle, and Mrs. Harrison, agreed. Isabella Gibbons, a slave of Professor Francis H. Smith, knew how to read and taught her children to do the same. Isabella’s husband William Gibbons, a slave owned by medical professor Henry Howard also knew how to read.¹²⁹ By teaching their slaves to read, a practice illegal in Virginia at the time, university residents displayed unusually paternalistic practices towards their slaves.

The influence of Jeffersonian ideals caused some professors to give certain slaves, particularly rented ones, other special treatments. Some hired slaves received permission to leave the university to visit masters and family members. Professor Minor allowed his slave James to visit his mother in 1847.¹³⁰ Cassandra, a slave hired by Professor Harrison, received permission to visit her master as he neared death.¹³¹ When law professor John B. Minor rented slave Scott Wood became ill, the slave requested that he be given leave to go to the springs in the summer. Minor told Scott’s owner, Benjamin Wood, that he had no objections as long as he did not have to pay for Scott during his absence or for the trip.¹³²

¹²⁸ Harriet Martineau’s *Retrospect of Western Travel*, Volume II, 1969, p. 32 (New York: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1838).

¹²⁹ *The Freedmen’s Record*, volume 4, number 3, March 1868, p. 41-42.

¹³⁰ Minor, Wilson Papers, John B. Minor to wife, 14 July 1847.

¹³¹ Harrison, Smith, Tucker Papers, Maria C. Broadus to Eliza T. Harrison, September 14, 1857.

¹³² Minor Papers, John B. Minor to Benjamin Wood, July 3, 1853.

Like Scott Wood, some slaves at the university fell ill or became injured. When a typhoid outbreak hit the university in 1857, two slaves, as well as fourteen students, died.¹³³ Given their sometimes arduous work, some slaves became injured while completing their duties. Professor Tucker's slave Charles, for instance, had a horse fall on his leg in 1845.¹³⁴ In an accident thirteen years later, a slave named Thornton severed the top of his left thumb.¹³⁵

Sometimes injuries resulted from beatings or whippings. When her husband Professor John A. Broadus took a trip away from the university, Maria took it upon herself "to have Reuben whipped."¹³⁶ Although beatings do not often appear in university records, Maria made only a small mention of the whipping, indicating that she did not view the act as out of the ordinary or too severe.

Despite the rules of their owners and their long list of duties, slaves at the university managed to form their own community. The relatively even number of male and female slaves on the grounds and the lengthy stay of most slaves at the university created an environment conducive to such a community. Slaves, such as Isabella and William Gibbons, owned by different professors managed to marry and have children. The family structures that arose among university slaves probably pleased the professors. With spouses and children in the area, slaves were less inclined to run away. Furthermore, professors were pleased when slaves had children, for they served as another source of labor and revenue.

The presence of religion strengthened the slave community at the University of Virginia. Some slaves received baptism from their owners, such as Isaac, Jack, and Rachel from Professor George Tucker in November 1832. Professor Harrison also baptized his slave Charles Perry in

¹³³ Gayle Schulman, *Slaves at the University of Virginia*, University of Virginia Special Collections, p. 26.

¹³⁴ Harrison, Smith, Tucker Papers, Eliza T. Harrison to Mary Stewart Harrison, May 14, 1845.

¹³⁵ Harrison, Smith, Tucker Papers, Eliza T. Harrison to Marry Jane Harrison, January 27, 1858.

¹³⁶ Broadus Letters, University of Virginia Special Collections, Maria Broadus to John A. Broadus, December 6, 1856.

1842.¹³⁷ Although professors did not baptize most of their slaves, many did send them to church and Sunday school. Professors Harrison and Minor conducted Sunday schools that taught slaves.¹³⁸ Other professors sent their slaves to sermons, including those delivered by Professor William Holmes McGuffey and visiting preachers, such as a Mr. Cobbs in 1834.¹³⁹ The incorporation of religion into the lives of their slaves helped many professors cope with their participation in slavery through paternalistic notions.

Slaves also interacted with students. Professor John A. G. Davis gained popularity among the students, because he had his wife and slaves care for students who took ill at the university.¹⁴⁰ Most documented interactions between students and faculty slaves, however, involved violence. Franklin English and Madison McAfee, two students, severely beat Professor Bonnycastle's male slave, Fielding.¹⁴¹ On February 24, 1838, English and McAfee began to assault the man a few hundred yards northeast of the Rotunda. Fielding had angered the students when he told them to stop trying to disband a large group of free blacks that had gathered. In an effort to rescue his slave, Bonnycastle interfered with the altercation, which only incited more violence from the students. McAfee and English assaulted Bonnycastle and further beat Fielding after Bonnycastle's intervention. Both Bonnycastle and Fielding managed to escape with their lives, but Bonnycastle lost his pride and authority in the process. Professor Bonnycastle sought justice from the Faculty Committee, which endured ten pages of testimonies from Professor Bonnycastle, the two assailants, and other students who witnessed the incident. They never asked Fielding for her testimony

¹³⁷ Records of the First Baptist Church, Charlottesville, Virginia, Charlottesville Roll Book, 1831-1869.

¹³⁸ Paul B. Barringer, *University of Virginia: Its History, Influence, Equipment and Characteristics*, volume 1, p. 358. Harrison, Smith, Tucker Papers, Eliza and Gessner Harrison to Mary Jane Harrison, 13 December 1834.

¹³⁹ Charles Coleman Wall, Jr., "Students and Student Life at the University of Virginia, 1825 to 1861," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1978, p. 21.

¹⁴⁰ Lewis Ashby Martin, III. "John A. G. Davis, Professor of Law, and the Faculty of the University of Virginia, 1830-1840." M. A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1974, p. 13.

¹⁴¹ Although the testimonies refer to Fielding as a man, Charles Bonnycastle's will states that Fielding was a woman.

because of her position as a slave.¹⁴² The Faculty Committee ultimately decided to refer the episode to the local authorities, but Bonnycastle passed away a few months later, without ever receiving legal justice. Before his death Bonnycastle wrote a letter to the Faculty Committee expressing his disgust regarding their inability to provide justice.¹⁴³

On another occasion, a student interacted with Mr. Harrison's slave outside the scope of the slave's conceivable duties. On the night of June 24, 1829, a number of students, including William G. Carr, John H. Carr, Robert W. Walton, and William Morgan, hosted "a drunken and riotous party" that aroused Mr. Harrison. In his report to the Faculty Committee, Harrison mentioned that "there was a knocking at his cellar door & [he] hear[d] indecent propositions made to a female servant." The Faculty Committee, after hearing all the evidence from a number of students, both perpetrators and witnesses, dismissed William Carr from the university, for being, in addition to a number of other counts, "guilty of indecent conduct in endeavoring to get access to a female servant in a Pavilion of one of the professors." The university readmitted William Carr in September 1829 for the 1830 term, but again dismissed him in June 1830 for intoxication. The Faculty Committee, upon application from Carr, admitted him for a third time to the university in 1831, when he finally finished his education.¹⁴⁴

Like William Carr, other university students made such sexual advances towards slaves associated with the university. In 1830, the Faculty Committee received a letter from Professor Patterson "stating the Mr. G. Tucker had broken into his house the night before after a female servant." In response, the Chairman of the Faculty ordered Tucker to apologize to Patterson and his family. Tucker only apologized for outraging the Patterson family, not for his behavior. The faculty, committed to instilling Jeffersonian values in their students, called upon Tucker again and

¹⁴² Faculty Minutes, 2 March 1839.

¹⁴³ Faculty Minutes, 8 March 1839. The full transcripts of these testimonies are located in Appendix VII.

¹⁴⁴ William Carr appears in the Faculty Minutes on: 25 June 1829; 7 September 1829; 23 June 1830; and 10 September 1831.

“read him a severe moral lecture and reprimanded him in the strongest terms.” The Chairman, however, also valued the reputation of the university and its students. Society saw relationships between blacks and whites as unacceptable, so the Chairman decided not to punish Tucker more severely, “to save him [Tucker] from exposure.”¹⁴⁵

Another encounter occurred just before the end of slavery. R. T. W. Duke, who served as Secretary to the Board of Visitors from 1853 to 1865, owned six slaves, one of whom, Maria, served as his housemaid.¹⁴⁶ In his memoir, Duke asserted that John Yates Beal, a student at the university, fathered Maria’s son, Caesar. While Maria always claimed that Beal fathered Caesar, Duke furthered her claim based on the physical likeness of Caesar and Beal.¹⁴⁷

Students, such as Carr, Tucker, and Beal, attended Thomas Jefferson’s University of Virginia. He wanted his students to learn his ideals of freedom and equality, so they could use them as they led the nation. The students also learned about the antithesis of Jeffersonian ideals: slavery. Jefferson used slave labor to construct and sustain his university, a practice that the administration perpetuated after Jefferson’s death. The faculty members that Jefferson chose and their successors also professed egalitarian notions but participated in and supported the institution of slavery. Jefferson and his university set an example of the seemingly incompatible coexistence of slavery and freedom for the thousands of students enroll at the University of Virginia.

¹⁴⁵ Journal of the Chairman of the Faculty, Volume I, 1 February 1830.

¹⁴⁶ 1860 United States Census, Albemarle County.

¹⁴⁷ R.T.W. Duke “Recollections of My Early Life,” Volume I, University of Virginia Special Collections 20 November 1899, p. 21.

CHAPTER TWO SLAVES IN THE DAILY LIFE OF STUDENTS

Many University of Virginia students came from plantations worked by slaves. In 1830, “thirteen of the thirty families of students” owned at least twenty slaves over the age of twelve and another twelve families owned between ten and nineteen slaves. In 1850, twenty-five of the thirty-one families of matriculating students owned at least one slave, in comparison to the 35 percent of Virginians and 54 percent of Albemarle whites who owned one or more slaves at the time. Furthermore, fifteen of those thirty-one families owned at least ten slaves.¹⁴⁸ The students, moreover, usually left body servants at their homes upon matriculation at the university.

Although most students went to the university without their personal slaves, all students interacted with enslaved persons on a daily basis during their time at the university. Between 1825 and 1861 over 100 slaves lived and worked at the university at any given point.¹⁴⁹ Slaves owned and hired by the university cared for the classrooms in which the students learned, professors and administrators provided students with an example of life with domestic slaves, and hotelkeepers’ slaves provided students with daily services to sustain their accustomed comforts. In addition to these interactions, students at the University of Virginia encountered other enslaved persons in Charlottesville.

UNIVERSITY POLICIES

The university made its most apparent attempt to profess Jeffersonian ideals through policies affecting students. Before students first arrived on the grounds, Thomas Jefferson and the other members of the first Board of Visitors resolved that “no student shall, within in the precincts of the University, introduce, keep or use any spirituous or vinous liquors, keep or use weapons or

¹⁴⁸ Wall, “Students and Student Life,” p. 45-48.

¹⁴⁹ For more exact totals, see Appendix II.

arms of any kind, or gunpowder, keep a servant, horse or dog.”¹⁵⁰ Jefferson famously observed that when a parent chastises a slave, “the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to his worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny.” Jefferson feared that students, if granted their own slaves, would grow to be tyrannical adults.¹⁵¹ This guideline differed from the policies at other universities in Virginia. William and Mary allowed its students with the financial means to keep slaves on the campus.¹⁵² Hampden-Sydney College allowed students to own slaves, the first mentions of such acts appearing in 1793.¹⁵³

When students managed to circumvent Jefferson’s policy outlawing slaves on grounds by living off-campus in the Charlottesville community, the Board of Visitors stopped the practice in 1840, proclaiming that “no Student residing out of the University shall, without leave of the Faculty, keep a servant, horse or dog, upon pain of any of the major or minor punishments.”¹⁵⁴ Many students would continue to interact with their slaves, despite these stipulations. John Fox, for instance, wrote home to his father with suggestions on how to deal with their slaves. After a series of letters discussing the behavior of their slaves, Fox told his father that “I wish I was there, I think I could settle them, or at least I would try it.”¹⁵⁵ In spite of the Board of Visitors’ proclamations regarding students owning slaves, many pupils managed to attain additional slave labor. One student, attached to his body servant, lived with his slave in his dormitory, but upon discovery, the Faculty quickly halted the habit. A number of Edwin Conway’s boarders, unsatisfied with the services from the hotel, “employed a servant to attend upon them.” While Conway owned the slave, the students paid extra money for his services. Upon discovery of this practice, the Faculty

¹⁵⁰ BOV Minutes 4 October 1824.

¹⁵¹ Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, p. 288.

¹⁵² *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, Volume 6, Number 3, January 1898, p. 187.

¹⁵³ Clarence Bradshaw, *History of Hampden-Sydney College: Volume I from the Beginning to the Year 1856*. Durham, North Carolina, 1976, p. 94.

¹⁵⁴ BOV Minutes, 7 July 1840.

¹⁵⁵ Fox Papers, Duke University Special Collections, John Fox to father, 16 October 1855.

Committee determined that the slave “be compelled to leave the University, or discontinue his attendance upon the students who have employed him.”¹⁵⁶

Only when a student became sick did the university allow him to have a personal servant, mainly for the convenience of the hotelkeeper. In February 1828, when a student named Wallace took ill, his hotelkeeper, Major Spotswood, complained to the Faculty Committee that the student monopolized his slave’s time, making it difficult for the slave to complete his other assigned duties. In response, the Faculty granted Wallace “permission to hire a nurse” until he fully recovered.¹⁵⁷ Practicality trumped the principle of students not owning slaves.

Some students even circumvented the policy without repercussions. When William Gibson matriculated at the university in 1857, he brought his “smart” seventeen-year-old slave Martin with him. Gibson only thought the practice natural, since he had attended Hampden-Sydney earlier in the year, where students regularly kept their personal slaves with them. Boarding off-grounds, Gibson found it easier to hide his slave from the university administration. In addition, Martin spent most of his time away from Gibson, being hired out to people in Charlottesville. This compromise allowed Gibson to comply with university policy and keep Martin in Charlottesville, providing Gibson with the opportunity to monitor Martin and tap a source of income. Gibson could earn about one-hundred dollars for renting Martin for three months. That money, however, failed to pay for Gibson’s lavish lifestyle. Among other expenditures, Gibson built and decorated a house in 1858 that he occupied for only three months before selling it to Mrs. Carr for a net lost of twenty-six dollars. Due to his financial situation, Gibson sold Martin in 1860 for \$1090.¹⁵⁸

HOTELKEEPERS’ SLAVES

¹⁵⁶ Faculty Minutes, 4 February 1834.

¹⁵⁷ Faculty Minutes, 29 February 1828.

¹⁵⁸ William Gibson Field Journal, 1856-1860, University of Virginia Special Collections, p. 65-116.

When the Board of Visitors denied students the right to own slaves on the grounds, they granted compensation in the form of hotelkeepers.¹⁵⁹ The university hired men and, eventually women, to live in the hotels on the East and West Ranges, which would serve as boarding houses to the students. From the hotels, students received three meals daily, furniture, linens, fuel and candles, ice (upon payment of an extra charge), water, laundry services, and cleaning services, all of which slave labor helped to provide. The cost of these services remained relatively constant between 1825 and 1865, costing \$150 in 1826, \$165 in 1838, and \$108 plus the cost of fuel and candles (about \$40) in 1865.¹⁶⁰ Upon arriving at the university, students would give this money to the Proctor who, according to hotel-rental fees and the number of boarders of each hotel, would then pay each hotelkeeper.

University students interacted with the slaves at the hotels on a daily basis. The hotelkeepers' slaves practically had three levels of masters: their official owners, the hotelkeepers; the university administrators, who provided the hotelkeepers with a list of duties for the slaves; and the students, who often requested further duties from the slaves. Despite the range of duties their slaves performed for the university, hotelkeepers retained full authority over their slaves. Edwin Conway, for example, exerted his power in 1834, when he ordered his slaves to "burn the fence running from the Anatomical Hall to [his] stable, thereby exposing the meadow belonging to the University to the depredations of cattle, hogs etc." The Faculty Committee, aghast, ordered Mr. Conway "immediately to put up a substantial post and rail fence in place of that removed by him," or to pay the Proctor to construct one.¹⁶¹ Conway's slaves ultimately acted under their master's authority, not the university's authority.

¹⁵⁹ BOV Minutes, 4 October 1824.

¹⁶⁰ BOV Minutes, 7 October 1826, 27 October 1838, and 16 August 1865.

¹⁶¹ Faculty Minutes, 5 March 1834.

Even though the hotelkeepers owned the slaves, the slaves served the university. In 1835 the Faculty Committee required hotelkeepers to provide at least one servant per ten dormitories.¹⁶² Mr. Conway and Mrs. Gray protested this mandate, but the Faculty Committee denied them leniency on the issue.¹⁶³ Two years later, the Faculty Committee also cited Mrs. Gray for not complying with the regulation.¹⁶⁴ The Board of Visitors enforced these regulations by implementing fines, such as one upon hotelkeepers who kept slaves “deemed by the Faculty unfit to remain at the University,” for “bad habits or misconduct.”¹⁶⁵

In 1835 the Faculty Committee first prescribed each slave a series of duties to complete every morning in each of their ten dormitories. The slaves started their days before sunrise, bringing water and clean towels to all the boarders by 6 a. m. In the winter, the slaves also had to deliver wood to the rooms and start a fire “by the same hour,” and in the summer, they had to deliver ice to the rooms in the morning. As the students begrudgingly rose and dressed themselves for the day, a hotelkeepers’ slave hurried to put the rooms “in order.” By the time students left their rooms for breakfast every day, the slaves had swept the floors, made the beds with clean sheets, cleaned the candlesticks, and rinsed the washbasins in ten rooms. Before leaving the clean rooms, the slave would remove the ashes in a “covered bucket,” provided by the hotelkeepers. With the completion of these duties, the students left their rooms to eat breakfast in the hotels—prepared and served by slaves—and then proceeded to classes. The slaves then might attend to a number of duties assigned to them on an intermittent basis. Twice every week, the Faculty Committee ordered the hotelkeepers’ slaves to clean the fireplaces, using whitewash in the summer and potter’s clay in the winter; in 1842, the Faculty Committee amended this enactment so that slaves had to wash the fireplaces only once a week. Year-round, the hotelkeepers’ slaves “neatly blacked” the fender and

¹⁶² Faculty Minutes, 12 September 1835.

¹⁶³ Faculty Minutes, 21 September 1835 and 3 October 1835.

¹⁶⁴ Faculty Minutes, 12 April 1837.

¹⁶⁵ BOV Minutes, 16 July 1832.

the andirons in every room once a week. Once during every two weeks, the slaves also wiped down all the paint work in the rooms, including the mantles and molding. Finally, every four weeks, the slaves would wash all the windows in the student rooms. The duties of the hotelkeepers' slaves extended beyond the confines of the dormitories and into the public space of the university, for the Faculty Committee required hotel slaves to clean the arcades and colonnades outside of the Lawn and Range rooms. The completion of all these duties often occupied the slaves until at least noon, at which point some students finished classes. At this time, slaves would begin their duty of blacking all the students' shoes by the end of the day. During the afternoons, the slaves would return to all the students' rooms with fresh water.

After completing these duties, most of the hotelkeepers' slaves returned to the hotels, where they would probably help prepare dinner and supper or attend to the students' laundry. One slave from each hotel, however, would wait under the colonnades between 2:45 and 3 o'clock every day. The agreement between hotelkeepers and the Faculty Committee to prescribe a certain time for the errands only came in 1831, after Mr. Conway "complained of the great inconvenience that arose from sending the dormitory servants to town."¹⁶⁶ During the designated time, any student served by the hotel of the slave could approach the slave with requests for errands to be run that afternoon. These requests, ranging from fetching new uniforms to getting paper and ink for writing, would send the slaves, with permission from the hotelkeepers, into Charlottesville. When these slaves returned to the grounds, all of the hotelkeepers' slaves would help in preparing for the students' meals by cleaning the hotel, setting up the hotel for a meal, helping cook, or washing the students' clothing.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ Journal of the Chairman of the Faculty Committee, Volume II, p. 75, 28 January 1831.

¹⁶⁷ These duties are first outlined by the Faculty in the Faculty Minutes, 12 September 1835. They reappear, with a few amendments in the Faculty Minutes, 1 October 1842. During the meeting of the Faculty, 27 September 1851, however, the regulation for slave labor was changed from ten dormitories to twenty students, which would have served the same

When the hotelkeepers' slaves neglected their duties, students, faculty, and administrators voiced their concerns to the Faculty Committee. These complaints revealed a general disregard for cleaning duties in the dormitories and morning attendance to the students. Edwin Conway cited holidays, specifically "Easterweek" in 1834 and "holyweek" in 1838, as excuses for his slaves' negligence of cleaning. Another hotelkeeper, Captain John A. Rose, claimed that his slaves had taken ill, making them incapable of fulfilling their duties, when students complained of their incompetence. A month earlier, however, students lamented the poor service of Captain Rose's slaves, and unless they had been unwell for over a month, the reason for their inadequacy probably resulted from Captain Rose giving them unreasonable tasks to complete, not illness. Colonel Ward also cited the health of his slaves as justification for their lack of work. Mrs. Gray owed the inability of her slaves to complete tasks to the fact that five or six of her boarders, not her slaves, had been ill, monopolizing her slaves' time. When Professor Johnson reported one of Edwin Conway's slaves to the Faculty Committee for throwing firewood through a dorm window, the owner defended his slave's attempts to complete his work quickly.¹⁶⁸ The Faculty Committee, in response to these allegations, called in the hotelkeepers and told them to better command their slaves.¹⁶⁹

Students, critical of the quality of slaves' service, more often concerned themselves with the timeliness of the services. Thomas Jefferson, always conscious of time, kept university students to a strict schedule, waking them before sunrise daily. This schedule extended to the hotelkeepers' slaves; they had to deliver water and clean towels and build a fire before six o'clock every morning. By eight o'clock, the slaves had to finish all their other cleaning duties in all the rooms, but one hotelkeeper complained that "it is not possible to have them all cleaned up in time." The Faculty

number of rooms, seeing as they were double-occupancy at this time. For reference to the slaves cleaning the colonnades, see Faculty Minutes, 8 January 1838.

¹⁶⁸ Journal of the Chairman of the Faculty, Volume II, p. 82, 9 February 1831.

¹⁶⁹ The first complaint of this nature was launched on February 29, 1828 (Faculty Minutes). For "Easterweek," see Faculty Minutes 28 April 1834, and for "holyweek," see Faculty Minutes, 10 January 1838. For Captain Rose, see Faculty Minutes, 28 November 1834 and 30 December 1834. Colonel Ward's and Mrs. Gray's information can be found in Faculty Minutes, 2 February 1837.

Committee, in response, extended the cleaning time until nine o'clock but no later, as to "not delay the preparation of the study, or the time of the students' rising."¹⁷⁰ The problem continued, and the hotelkeepers complained about having to wake up at four or five o'clock in the morning to organize their slaves for their daily duties. The Faculty Committee, unwilling to bend on the issue, ultimately fined Edwin Conway one dollar for continually shirking his duties of cleaning the students' rooms.¹⁷¹

Students, with only a few changes of clothing, relied upon quick laundry services. Slaves would pick up the garments from students and take them to the hotel, where they would be washed; the slaves would then return clean items to the students. Many students went to the Faculty Committee with complaints of lost and damaged items; Mrs. Gray's hotel seemed to be particularly apt to lose articles of clothing, misplacing four of the student Cocke's shirts.¹⁷² In addition to late and lost items, students complained about damaged articles of clothing. The student Waller Nangle blamed his failure to wear his uniform in 1837 on the "carelessness of the servant," who burnt his "uniform coat, pantaloons, and other clothing."¹⁷³ The poor quality of laundry services at the hotels and the incessant student lamentations instigated the Board of Visitors to pass a resolution exempting hotelkeepers from providing laundry services in 1845.¹⁷⁴ Even after this resolution the hotels continued to be charged with providing clean towels and sheets to students, a responsibility they often evaded; the Faculty Committee, however, never failed to chastise them.¹⁷⁵

In addition to criticizing the hotelkeepers for insufficient services, students sometimes condemned certain slaves for their impropriety. Several students expressed dissatisfaction with Daniel Perrow's "small boys, [who were] badly clothed, dirty & unqualified to perform the required

¹⁷⁰ Faculty Minutes, 31 December 1828 and 21 July 1829.

¹⁷¹ Faculty Minutes, 26 October 1829 and 5 March 1838.

¹⁷² Faculty Minutes, February 4, 1834.

¹⁷³ Faculty Minutes, February 9, 1837.

¹⁷⁴ BOV Minutes, 4 July 1845.

¹⁷⁵ For a lengthy criticism of Edwin Conway's laundry services, see Faculty Minutes, 24 January 1831 and 2 February 1831.

offices.”¹⁷⁶ One particular slave, Mrs. Gray’s William, caused quite a stir amongst the students. Seven of Mrs. Gray’s boarders complained to the Faculty Committee of William’s impertinence in 1834. The Faculty Committee responded with a resolution ordering Mrs. Gray to remove William from attendance at the dormitories and service to the students, but two years later, Mrs. Gray reinstated William to his post at the dormitories, when another one of her slaves became ill. In response, the Faculty Committee resolved that “the employment of her servant William in attending on the dormitories or on the students in any way cannot be permitted for any reason whatever.”¹⁷⁷

The students took all three meals at their hotel. The hotelkeepers required their slaves to cook and serve the meals and clean the hotel after each meal. On occasion, students would compliment the service in the dining rooms by simply calling it “sufficient.”¹⁷⁸ The students, however, more often complained about the inadequate service of the hotelkeepers’ slaves in the dining rooms. Hotelkeepers used many slave children, considered by the students to be “too young to be of much service,” to serve at the dinner table.¹⁷⁹ Even when the slaves became old enough to serve, the students would often complain about their impudence, impertinence, and inability to attend properly. This poor service by the slaves became rather expensive, costing Captain Perrow a twenty-dollar fine in 1835.¹⁸⁰

The most common complaint about the hotelkeepers’ slaves, however, regarded their cleanliness, or lack thereof. Students Goode and Shelton complained that Edwin Conway’s slaves appeared “filthy in their dress,” costing Conway three dollars.¹⁸¹ Five years later, in 1841, Conway, in a testimony to the Faculty Committee, admitted that “the old woman in the kitchen is very dirty,” but he excused the filth by saying that she did not cook and, therefore, did not pose a threat to the

¹⁷⁶ Faculty Minutes, 7 March 1835.

¹⁷⁷ Faculty Minutes, 3 February 1834 and 8 January 1836.

¹⁷⁸ Faculty Minutes, 4 February 1834.

¹⁷⁹ Faculty Minutes, 2 May 1835.

¹⁸⁰ Faculty Minutes, 14 May 1835, 1 February 1836, and 8 December 1855.

¹⁸¹ Faculty Minutes, 8 February 1836.

students' food. The justification seemed to satisfy the Faculty Committee, for they only suggested that Conway increase attention to cleanliness.¹⁸² The unkemptness of the hotelkeepers' slaves' resulted in violence in 1828. The Faculty Committee learned that the state of the hotels began to have an effect on the matriculation of students: "some 8 or 9 who intended to become students and have refused to matriculate themselves because they . . . object to board at Mr. Minor's Hotels." The slaves at Minor's hotel had a reputation among potential students for being unclean, but the students could not join the university under the watch of any other hotelkeeper. Some students, such as Mr. Vaiden, testified that Mr. Minor's hotel did not actually appear dirty, but the Faculty ordered the Proctor to keep a close watch on Mr. Minor's hotel and the students matriculated.¹⁸³ The hotelkeepers did not provide their slaves with ample clothing or opportunities to clean themselves, costing the hotelkeepers their reputation amongst the students, scolding from the Faculty Committee, and money to the university.

The students did not act alone in filing complaints about the situations in the dining rooms; hotelkeepers raised many concerns about the conduct of students at the dining table. These complaints sometimes simply addressed rude behavior at the dining table. Major Spotswood, for example, objected to John A. Gretter's "cursing the servants at table, and cursing the Major himself." For his disrespectful behavior, the Faculty Committee suspended Gretter for two weeks.¹⁸⁴ Captain Rose apparently ran a rather strict table in 1834, citing students J. C. Goodwin and Wallace for their disorderly conduct. Colonel Ward referred another student, named Grigsby, to the Faculty Committee for "chastis[ing] one of his servants."¹⁸⁵

Students' rude behavior sometimes escalated to physical force. A student named Burton threw "a piece of bread" at one of Mrs. Gray's slaves, for which he received a reprimand from "the

¹⁸² Faculty Minutes, 4 May 1841.

¹⁸³ Faculty Minutes, 15 September 1828.

¹⁸⁴ Faculty Minutes, 7 October 1828.

¹⁸⁵ Faculty Minutes, 8 May 1834, 28 November 1834, and 5 October 1836.

Chairman [of the Faculty] and his guardian [was] written to.”¹⁸⁶ When Richard R. Carter threw a “tumbler glass” at one of Colonel Ward’s attendants, the Faculty Committee suspended him for one week. In this instance, while the Faculty did not request the testimony of the slave, Colonel Ward incorporated the slave’s story into his testimony for the Faculty Committee.¹⁸⁷ When the incidents intensified to physical contact between the student and the slave, consequences also intensified. W. W. Harris, a boarder at Mrs. Gray’s hotel, took it upon himself to strike William, whom the Faculty required Mrs. Gray not to employ in attendance on students; regardless, the Faculty Committee suspended Harris for two weeks for his actions.¹⁸⁸ For hitting one of Edwin Conway’s slaves, the Faculty Committee suspended T. A. Wilson for the remainder of the session, from June until December.¹⁸⁹ Neither the slave’s age nor gender affected the way in which students treated them, for N. B. Noland chastised, “knocked down & kicked & beat” a slave girl of only ten or eleven. Noland, in his testimony to the Faculty, expressed regret for disturbing Mrs. Woodson but did not express remorse for beating the girl and asserted that, “whenever a servant is insolent to him, he will take upon himself the right of punishing him without the consent of his master.”¹⁹⁰ In a few instances, students used weapons to beat slaves: John S. Moon received a suspension for a month after he threw a knife, probably a butter knife, at one of the slaves in Colonel Ward’s hotel. In the most violent act towards a hotelkeeper’s slave, Frederick Hall, while intoxicated, “fired a pistol in the upper room” of the hotel. He then attempted to use a bowie knife on one of Colonel Ward’s slaves. Although Hall seriously injured no one, after brief consideration, the Faculty dismissed him from the university.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁶ Faculty Minutes, 18 February 1845.

¹⁸⁷ Faculty Minutes, 1 October 1836.

¹⁸⁸ Faculty Minutes, 10 December 1835.

¹⁸⁹ Faculty Minutes, 21 June 1836.

¹⁹⁰ Faculty Minutes, 2 May 1856.

¹⁹¹ Faculty Minutes, 30 September 1839.

Students who attacked hotelkeepers' slaves concerned the hotelkeepers not just because of the injuries inflicted upon their slaves, but because the hotelkeepers took offense when students challenged their authority. An argument between Thomas J. Boyd and hotelkeeper Warner W. Minor erupted because Boyd thought that Minor did not properly punish an insolent slave. Boyd took the matter into his own hands, severely beating the slave with a stick to the point that "blood was running freely from the servant's head." Boyd proved more indignant after learning that Minor had referred the case to the Faculty Committee, to whom Boyd furiously complained. The Faculty did not suspend Boyd; instead, they passed a resolution stating "that a student who insults a Hotel Keeper or other Officer for preferring a complaint to the Faculty – will be visited with the severest punishment permitted by the Enactments." The Faculty Committee shared the hotelkeepers' fear that the arrogant students, like Boyd and Noland, did not respect authority.¹⁹²

In the midst of hotelkeepers' slaves completing university-assigned tasks and services to their owners, students often asked them for further assistance. The tasks sometimes extended from the slaves' regular duties, like waking the students up in the morning so they would not miss breakfast, as Peter and Towles requested.¹⁹³ Some students asked hotelkeepers slaves to make special suppers or lay out blankets for students to relax on the Lawn.¹⁹⁴ Three of Captain Rose's boarders, Forbes, Braxton, and Tomlin, instead of rising early, asked their attendant to bring their breakfasts to their respective rooms. For disregarding university policy, the Faculty Committee threatened the three students with a fortnight's suspension, but due to upcoming examinations, they simply notified the students' parents of the infractions.¹⁹⁵ Charles Ellis, Jr., a student in 1835, remembered in his dairy

¹⁹² Faculty Minutes, 26 June 1828 and 28 June 1828.

¹⁹³ Faculty Minutes, 6 June 1836 and 7 April 1840.

¹⁹⁴ Wall, *Students and Student Life*, p. 69.

¹⁹⁵ Faculty Minutes, 27 January 1834.

that he “should have studied myself to sleep, had not Albert, our servant, brought me, per order, a pot of strong coffee.”¹⁹⁶

Students also used the hotelkeepers’ slaves to deliver alcohol. In 1828, when administrators caught John Preston with spirits, a strictly forbidden substance, in his room, he testified to the Faculty Committee that “a regular servant of a Hotel Keeper” brought the alcohol to his room. After another instance in February 1837 of this common practice, the Faculty Committee resolved that “the Hotel Keepers be informed that the Faculty will require them immediately to dismiss from their service and the University any of their servants who shall introduce or keep spirituous liquors within the precincts; except in cases of their introduction where such servant shall be sent for them by his master or mistress for his or her own use.”¹⁹⁷

In addition to helping students break the university rules, hotelkeepers’ slaves also often broke the rules. Drinking and gambling seemed popular among slaves. In 1837, after catching slaves bringing alcohol onto university grounds, the Faculty Committee required hotelkeepers to dismiss or sell any slave who brought “within the precincts any vinous or spirituous liquors.”¹⁹⁸ Hotelkeeper Gray’s slave Albert displayed particularly apt gambling skills, winning “nearly two dollars” from one of the slaves in Charlottesville. Eventually, the Faculty Committee thought “that there could be no doubt that Mr. Gray’s servants gambled.”¹⁹⁹

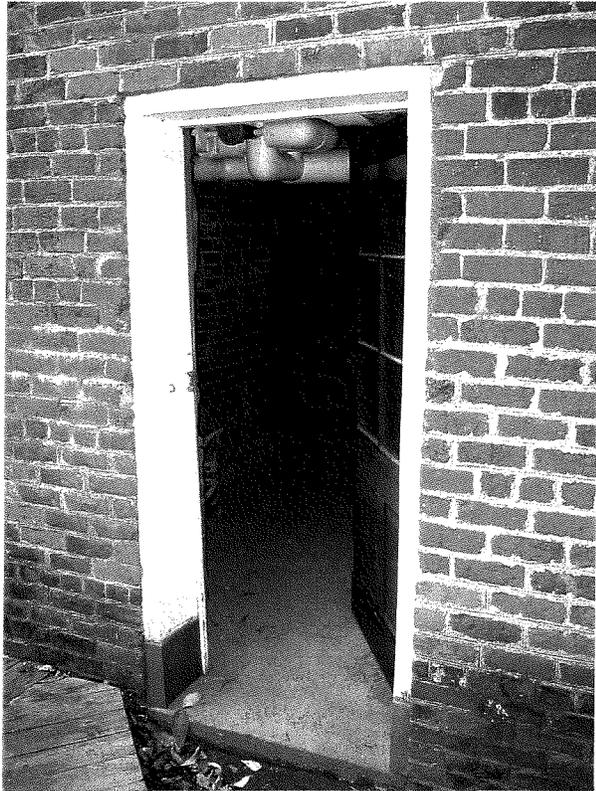
Hotelkeepers, each owning between ten and thirty-two slaves, required copious amounts of space in which to house their slaves. To remedy the shortage of space, Mrs. Gray constructed an apartment behind her hotel, Hotel E, in 1844 and Addison Maupin, keeper for Hotel A, erected

¹⁹⁶ Ronald B. Head, ed., “The Student Diary of Charles Ellis, Jr., 10 March-25 June 1835,” *Magazine of Albemarle County History*, Volumes 35-36, 1977-1978, p. 23.

¹⁹⁷ Faculty Minutes, 18 February 1837.

¹⁹⁸ Journal of the Chairman of the Faculty Committee, Volume VI, p. 29, 17 January 1837.

¹⁹⁹ Journal of the Chairman of the Faculty Committee, Volume II, p. 83, 11 February 1831 and p. 86, 17 February 1831.



Basement of Hotel A

additional accommodations for his slaves, both of which the university funded.²⁰⁰ Before hotelkeeper Addison Maupin could construct a new building, however, he received permission to house slaves in the dormitories beside his hotel, as did many other hotelkeepers.²⁰¹ Like many other university administrators and faculty members, hotelkeepers made use of their basements, for the most common place hotelkeepers housed their slaves became the cellars of their individual hotels.²⁰²

STUDENTS AND SLAVES

During one notable incident, Jefferson's attempt to teach his students about the dangers of slavery succeeded. Though many students grew up surrounded by and participating in the institution of slavery, the Jefferson Literary and Debating Society, the first student group at the university, caused quite a stir in 1832. For the first time in the six-year existence of the Jefferson Society, the university had authorized them to give a public speech. Merritt Robinson, elected by the Jefferson Society, delivered the public address on April 13, 1832, Thomas Jefferson's birthday. The speech, given in the Rotunda, called for the immediate emancipation of slaves and declared the immorality of slavery, as deduced from the words of Southern leaders during the American Revolution and echoing similar arguments in Richmond during the debate over the future of slavery

²⁰⁰ BOV Minutes, 4 July 1844 and Faculty Minutes 27 October 1853.

²⁰¹ BOV Minutes, 30 June 1853.

²⁰² Faculty Minutes, 6 November 1835.

in Virginia. Robinson went so far as to urge the Virginia legislature to put an end to slavery immediately. The faculty, enraged by the speech, met the next day and resolved that, “no distracting question of state or national policy, or theological dispute should be touched in any address,” as to prevent the students from acting in a similar manner. To ensure that students abided by the Faculty Committee’s resolution, they further decreed that any future “speech had to be delivered in writing and unanimously approved by the faculty before it could be given publicly.”²⁰³ Although the students took up the ideal of freedom, their own university prevented them from furthering their cause.

At other points in the university’s antebellum history, the students did not heed Jefferson’s ideals. During their limited free-time, students at the University of Virginia sometimes went into the Charlottesville community, often in order to drink alcohol. While in town, students interacted with slaves owned and hired by those in the community. John Peyton, a student in 1842, during an outing to Charlottesville, saw Mr. Garth’s servant holding his master’s horse. Peyton, too tired to walk back to the university, wanted to take Garth’s horse without permission. The slave, helpless to deny the white student’s demand, relinquished his master’s horse. For this illegal seizure, the Faculty Committee suspended Peyton for two weeks.²⁰⁴

During a visit to Charlottesville between eleven o’clock and midnight, on April 23, 1850, three students, George H. Hardy, Armistead C. Eliason, and James E. Montandon went into town. The three students found “a small negro girl a slave about 17 years old,” who they took to a field between the properties of Colonel Johnson and Mr. Leake, two Charlottesville residents. The three students proceeded to violently rape the young girl, when three other students from the university came across the incident. Outraged, the three other students, Conrad, Eastman, and Gaines,

²⁰³ Journal of the Chairman of the Faculty, 27 June 1832 and James M. Goode, “A Rowdy Beginning, an Unusual History: the Jefferson Society From 1825 to 1865.” <http://www.jeffersonsociety.org/history/goode.html>.

²⁰⁴ Faculty Minutes, 25 October 1842.

interfered to stop the rape. In their testimony, the three witnesses recognized that two of the perpetrators, Hardy and Eliason, exhibited a state of intoxication, a fact that did not effect their punishment. Upon being informed of the rape, the chairman of the Faculty Committee immediately reported the three perpetrators to the Charlottesville "Civil Authority" for justice and expelled the students from the university. Eastman, Gaines, and Montandon, fully aware of the heinousness of their crime and of the associated punishments immediately fled from Charlottesville. The university community, outraged by the rape of a slave, unanimously and immediately punished and outcast the three students from the university community. Since the students fled Charlottesville, the city could never try them for their crime or bring them to justice.

Hope for the future of the nation and the South burned in the students at the University of Virginia. They learned a liberal education from some of the best professors in America. Students from the north, and some from the south, also learned about the institution of slavery during their time in Charlottesville. Most students, however, came from homes that owned slaves, but their experience with slaves at the university differed from their experience at home. Regardless of their previous experiences with slaves, students learned that Jeffersonian ideals and southern ideals could coexist.

CHAPTER THREE SLAVES BECOME FREEDPEOPLE AND THE UNIVERSITY'S RESPONSE

The election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 prompted South Carolina to leave the Union on December 20, 1860. Like the debate over slavery, the debate over secession became the subject of many discussions at the University of Virginia. Once Virginia found the language to justify its secession on April 17, 1861, the university and its citizens very much viewed themselves as Confederates and defenders of slavery. The university and its alumni, faculty, students, and slaves played an important role in the bloodiest war in America's history. After the Civil War had claimed the lives of many associated with the university and drained its resources, Charlottesville and its institution of higher education tried to figure out where and how newly emancipated blacks would fit into the hierarchical society. How would the university reinforce the marginality of blacks after the Civil War had enforced the superiority of the Jeffersonian ideals of equality and freedom?

SECESSION

The fiery secession debate in Virginia found its way to those at the University of Virginia. After South Carolina's secession at the end of 1860, several other states began to follow. On February 4, 1861, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas joined forces to create the Confederate States of America. Virginians, however, remained uncertain. Members of the university community found themselves on both sides of the debate. Some university officials staunchly opposed secession. Ironically, considering Jefferson's desire for the law professor to teach Jeffersonian ideals, John B. Minor often expressed his anti-secessionist views.²⁰⁵

Other members of the community, however, took the lead in calling for Virginia's secession from the Union. A number of university professors led the pro-slavery cause in Virginia and the

²⁰⁵ Holly Best Fitzsimmons, "The Law and the Reason Thereof: John B. Minor and Legal Education at the University of Virginia 1845-1895," Masters of Arts Thesis, University of Virginia, 1976, p. 41.

South as tensions heightened in the 1850s. By 1857 at least one faculty member had given up on trying to practice their Jeffersonian ideals; instead he chose to try to justify owning slaves. Professor Albert Bledsoe published his “Essay on Liberty and Slavery,” promoting the “positive good” theory of slavery and refuting seventeen claims of the abolitionists.²⁰⁶ In that same year, the first professor of history and general literature, George Frederick Holmes, joined the faculty. During his time at the university, Holmes drafted articles entitled “Views of Aristotle on Slavery” and “Slavery: Necessary and Conversant with the Laws of Nature.” After studying the Ancient Greeks, Holmes concluded in these articles that nature “has clearly designed some [people] for freedom and other for slavery, to the latter of whom slavery is both just and beneficial.”²⁰⁷ Assistant law professor and owner of twenty slaves, James P. Holcombe espoused secessionist views, and in April 1861, the Faculty Committee granted him leave to attend the Virginia Secession Convention in Richmond.²⁰⁸ Meanwhile, students, ready for war, formed military regiments in the name of protecting the south and its institution of slavery. On March 15, 1861, a group of students crawled to the top of the Rotunda and planted “the first secessionist flag ever raised in Virginia” over the Academical Village.²⁰⁹ Manipulating Jefferson’s call for states’ rights, many faculty members and students professed the right of Virginia to maintain slavery.

Despite the differences of opinion, the University of Virginia felt that it had to remain loyal to its home, Virginia. In President Lincoln’s calling up of federal troops to defend Fort Sumter, Virginians found justification for their secession and defense of slavery. With this attack, even

²⁰⁶ Albert T. Bledsoe, “Essay on Liberty and Slavery.” Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & co. 1857.

²⁰⁷ Charles W. Wilson, “Ralph Waldo Emerson at the University of Virginia, 1876,” in *Virginia Cavalcade*, Volume 47.2, Spring 1998, p. 89-90.

²⁰⁸ Journal of the Chairman of the Faculty, 1861.

²⁰⁹ *Corks and Curls*, Volume 8 (1895), p. 22

Professor John B. Minor supported secession for Virginia.²¹⁰ On April 17, 1861, Virginia seceded from the Union, and its flagship state university went with it.

CIVIL WAR

The university wasted no time in sending troops and support to the Confederate States of America, justification for which came from Jeffersonian calls for states' rights to protect slavery. In 1861 the university boasted about 8,000 living alumni, not all, of course, of military age. About 2,200 of them fought for the South during the Civil War. Of the current students, 515 out of 600 enlisted in southern regiments, and many faculty members joined the Confederate cause. Despite the mass exodus from the university, some students and faculty remained at the university during the Civil War; enrollment hovered around fifty during the war.²¹¹ Classes continued, and a few graduations even occurred. Depending on the presence of professors, students took classes in all subjects, but the highest number of students enrolled in the medical school.

In addition to its role in teaching the southern youth, the university became an important Confederate hospital. The university valued its students both for their tuition and for their help at the hospital, especially those studying medicine. After the First Battle of Manassas, 1,200 sick and wounded soldiers arrived in Charlottesville on July 22, 1861. The general hospital in Charlottesville consisted of an amalgam of buildings in the area, including many university structures. The ranges, Rotunda, and Dawson's Row, among other university buildings, served as housing for the injured and operating rooms. Professor James Lawrence Cabell presided over the hospital for its entire existence, except in the summer of 1862 when Professor John Staige Davis substituted. The

²¹⁰ Jordan, *Charlottesville and the University*, p. 23.

²¹¹ Professor James P. Holcombe, after serving at the Virginia Secession Convention, became a member of the Confederate Congress (Journal of the Chairman of the Faculty, 1861). Professor Albert T. Bledsoe became Assistant Secretary of War for the Confederacy, and Professors Gildersleeve and Coleman fought for the Confederacy (Jordan, *Charlottesville and the University*, 23; Bruce, *History of the University*, Volume III, p. 344; Virginius Dabney, *Mr. Jefferson's University* [Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981], p. 26).

hospital services placed great strain on the university. When 1400 soldiers arrived after the Battle of Port Republic, Professor Cabell wanted to remove them from the university to other buildings in the area.²¹² Because of the large number of sick and wounded, however, the university continued to serve as a hospital. By January 3, 1863, the service of medical students became so necessary that the university appealed to Secretary of War James A. Seddon for exemption, or at least deferment, from conscription for the medical students. The Confederacy desperately needed troops, so Seddon only agreed to allow medical students to defer enlistment until the close of the session on July 4.

Prior to the Civil War, the university could not have functioned without slave labor. During the Civil War, as the university served both as an institution for higher education and as a hospital, slavery may have been even more important. The work at the hospital and the work to sustain the academic institution proved too intense for the professors and administrators to handle. The university continued to own and rent slaves until the end of the Civil War; advertisements for the sale of slaves continued to appear in the *Charlottesville Chronicle* until March 1865.²¹³ Slaves continued to care for the university grounds and clean the buildings. They also acquired new chores for the patients and doctors. At the university hospital “blacks prepared meals for and fed patients, cleaned floors, changed linen, bathed the wounded, and buried the dead.”²¹⁴ Professor Francis Smith’s slave Isabella Gibbons, for instance, served as a nurse to the wounded soldiers as early as July 1862.²¹⁵ Services such as Isabella’s became so important to the functioning of the hospital that Professor Cabell asked permission to impress Charlottesville slaves to work at the hospital.²¹⁶ Even with the Civil War in their midst, the university continued the use of slave labor.

²¹² Jordan, *Charlottesville and the University*, p. 46-51.

²¹³ *Charlottesville Chronicle*, 6 March 1865.

²¹⁴ Jordan, *Charlottesville and the University*, p. 55.

²¹⁵ Philena Carlin, *Reminiscences of My Life and Work among the Freedmen of Charlottesville, Virginia, from March 1st 1866 to July 1st 1875*, transcribed in Loranett Lorraine Lee, “Crucible in the Classroom: The Freedpeople and Their Teachers, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1861-1876,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 2002, p. 179.

²¹⁶ Jordan, *Charlottesville and the University*, p. 55.

Although the hospital at the university required the work of many enslaved persons, the Confederate government also needed slave labor. At three different instances during the Civil War, the Confederacy called up Charlottesville slaves: November 1862, September 1863, and March 1864. While no faculty members or administrators lost slaves to the conscription, the hiring of slaves by the Confederacy did affect the university. Professor John Minor's slave Phil became a hired slave of the Confederacy in 1863. Phil, in protest, ran away from his renter, R. Tuck, Superintendent and Administrator of the Quarter Masters Office in Staunton on March 1, 1863.²¹⁷ Minor, fearful that Phil would run away again, decided "to sell the boy."²¹⁸ The hard economic times of the Civil War caused both the Confederacy and its citizens to use their slaves for the southern cause.

When the war broke out 13,916 slaves resided in Albemarle County. With such a large black population and such a large percentage of white males away at war, local whites feared black insurrection. In order to protect their families and defend their property, the people of Charlottesville instituted a Home Guard.²¹⁹ The town also established a number of regulations for the Home Guard to enforce. Slaves, for instance, could not leave their master's property without a written pass from their master.²²⁰

Until 1864, the university operated on a contingent basis. After three years of continuous fighting, however, the faculty thought it best to determine the future of the university. A committee headed by law professor John B. Minor declared in March 1864 that "the institution may be successfully kept alive during the war, and be prepared at its close to commence a new career of Virginian usefulness." The faculty committee determined one of the main reasons for keeping the university open to be the dispensation of "her conservative influences to the whole Confederacy,"

²¹⁷ Schulman, *Slaves*, p. 29-30.

²¹⁸ Minor, Wilson Papers, Nannie C. Minor to John B. Minor, 17 May 1864.

²¹⁹ Jordan, *Charlottesville and the University*, p. 28.

²²⁰ Jordan, *Charlottesville and the University*, p. 40.

conservative influences that probably included slavery.²²¹ In order to maintain slavery on grounds, the committee proposed that the individual faculty members would, among other things, “furnish the ten servants required for the Rotunda and anatomical Hall.”²²²

As the Union’s victory became apparent in the spring of 1865, General Philip H. Sheridan began his campaign of burning the Shenandoah Valley. On the morning of Friday, March 3, 1865, General Sheridan’s soldiers marched into Charlottesville and to the university. Professors Maupin and Minor, assigned to protect the university, surrendered the institution to the Union troops for assurance that neither the grounds nor its buildings would be damaged.²²³ The troops stayed in town for a few days, and interacted with the locals. Professor Minor claimed that on the evening of March 4, one of the troops “attempted a rape on [his] servant Nancy, a woman of 45 probably.” Nancy could have been a free black, for she lived in her own house, near the cemetery.²²⁴ General Sheridan searched the university on March 5, 1865, and shortly thereafter the troops left Charlottesville.

The troops did not leave Charlottesville by themselves; “multitudes” of the slaves owned or rented by the university and its faculty also left. Professor John Minor’s boy Henry, who had been hired in Staunton, ran off with the troops. According to the “little girl,” probably a slave, who gave a note to Professor Minor, “several” of Rector Preston’s “servant boys” had run away with the Union troops. Professor Minor claimed to have felt sorrier for the slaves, the “poor misguided creatures,” than for his material loss, because they would have to endure the hardships of life under the Union Army.²²⁵ Just over a month prior to the South’s surrender, those at the University of

²²¹ Papers of John B. Minor, *Commonplace Book*, 14 March 1864, p. 340-342.

²²² Papers of John B. Minor, *Commonplace Book*, 14 March 1864, p. 347.

²²³ Jordan, *Charlottesville and the University*, p. 83.

²²⁴ Papers of John B. Minor, *Commonplace Book*, 14 March 1864, p. 383.

²²⁵ Papers of John B. Minor, *Commonplace Book*, 14 March 1864, p. 381-383.

Virginia continued to defend their ownership of slaves with paternalistic justifications, even though their slaves escaped with the enemy.

RECONSTRUCTION

With the close of the Civil War, the North had to figure out how to reincorporate the South into the nation. In order to confirm the death of the Confederacy and slavery and ensure the inability of either of them to return, the Republicans instituted a military occupation of the South. The North also concerned itself with the well-being of blacks, so they established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, commonly known as the Freedmen's Bureau in branches across the South, including one in Charlottesville.

The end of the Civil War freed 15,000 blacks in Albemarle County.²²⁶ Although some blacks ran off with the cavalry on May 9, 1865, a large black population still resided in Charlottesville.²²⁷ On Carr's Hill, alone, 200 uprooted blacks lived.²²⁸ Many newly freed blacks probably moved to the integrated Canada community located just south of the university.²²⁹ Major W. L. Stratton from the Eleventh Pennsylvania Cavalry reported that the large black population in Charlottesville would "require for some time the interposition of military authority."²³⁰ Blacks, uncertain about their new status, wanted to gain knowledge about their rights and abilities. In the summer of 1865 they

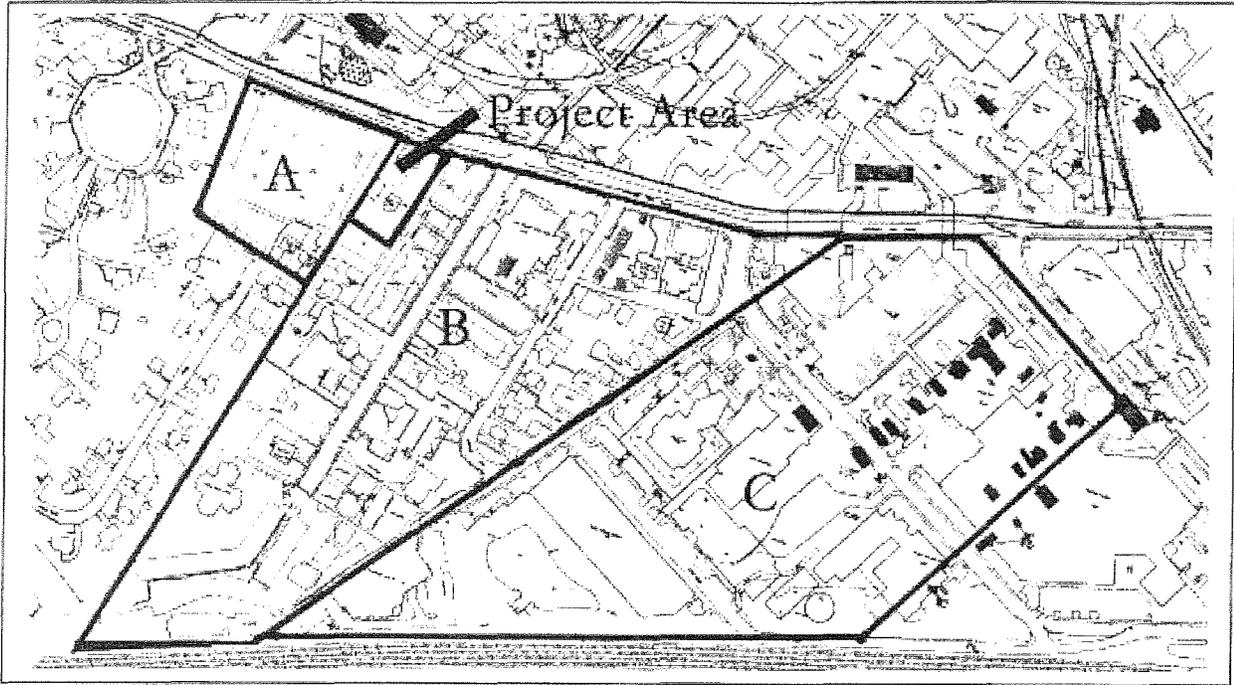
²²⁶ Jordan, *Charlottesville and the University*, p. 92.

²²⁷ Minor, 9 May 1865, p. 68.

²²⁸ Jordan, *Charlottesville and the University*, p. 91.

²²⁹ The Canada community developed around the same time that the university saw construction. It included working class whites and free blacks, many of whom worked at the university as handymen, laundresses, and seamstresses, including its most famous resident Catherine "Kitty" Foster. For more details, see "The Foster Family Venable Lane Site Report of Archaeological Investigations," prepared by Rivanna Archaeological Consulting, November 2003, Private Collection of Jeffrey Hantman. The Project Area in the picture refers to an archaeological excavation of the Kitty Foster gravesite. Kitty Foster, a free black who provided laundry services to members of the university in the 1850s, and eleven of her family members are buried in the Project Area.

²³⁰ Joseph Carroll Vance, "The Negro in the Reconstruction of Albemarle County, Virginia," M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1953, p. 4.



The Canada community, including sections A, B, C, and the Project Area, on a current map of the area.

gathered in Charlottesville's Court Square to learn about their freedom. Freedpeople, for the first time, had the opportunity to define their lives, rather than have whites define their lives for them.

As an immediate result of emancipation, the faculty and administrators of the University of Virginia had to determine their relationship to blacks and how to operate their university under the dire circumstances of post-war depression. If they paid attention to the newly passed Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, blacks would have immediately been seen and treated as equals. Instead, the university, like many other white southerners, feared the blacks' freedom of movement and freedom from closely supervised labor. After not meeting for ten months, the Board of Visitors finally met on July 4, 1865, to discuss the future of the university. They praised the dedication of the professors who kept the university open during the war. During the Board's absence, the Faculty Committee coordinated the workings of the university, and they continued to hold most of this authority during Reconstruction. Because the war had taken such a financial toll on the university, in 1872, the university launched its first capital campaign that sought to raise

\$500,000 from its alumni.²³¹ The university required some of this money for the new form of labor it had to hire. For the first time in the university's history, it had to hire all workers; the slave labor that had sustained the university since its founding was no longer an option. Although the administrators did not explicitly delineate new rules for hiring, they worked through the new processes in meetings. When the university decided to hire a carpenter in November 1865, the Faculty Committee prescribed all the amenities the new hire would receive. Although the new hire was not necessarily black, he would fill the role previously filled by slave. In the past, the university used slaves, hired or owned, to complete much of the carpentry. In forming a contract with the carpenter after the Civil War, the university still provided housing that a slave would have received. The two real differences in these contracts pertained to the other party, often a freedman, and wage he earned. By forming these contracts, the university empowered blacks to be individuals and earn their livings. At no time, however, did the university administration publicly discuss its plans for the future of their former slaves.

Individual faculty members and administrators struggled with the question of freedpeople. Since almost all of them owned their own slaves, faculty members had to determine how they would treat their former property. On May 8, 1865, the faculty met at Professor Maupin's home to discuss what should be done in respect to slaves. An almost universal sentiment filled the room that called for whites to "abandon them to their fate." Many members of the faculty showed that they believed more in the southern ideals of racism than in Jeffersonian ones of equality and liberty. Like the university, most faculty and administrators washed their hands of responsibility for blacks. If the faculty members were so willing to cast aside blacks after emancipation, can we really believe that they upheld paternalistic notions of slavery before the Civil War?

²³¹ Ellen Marie Litwicky, "The Development of the American University: The University of Virginia, 1825-1890" M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1985, p. 39.

A few faculty members and administrators, however, did carry on blending ideals of liberty and racism. In his commonplace book Professor John B. Minor expressed his desire to care for his slaves, “the poor hapless creatures.”²³² Out of a paternalistic sense, Minor thought that “the best that can befall them [the poor negroes] is domestic bondage to a community softened by the influence of a Christian humanity.” In Minor’s opinion, without such care from whites, “extinction probably awaits” the black race. Disease, famine, insanity, poverty, and crime, in Minor’s opinion, threatened black lives.²³³ Minor gained support for his sentiments at the close of the 1866 spring session. Alexander H. H. Stuart of Staunton, during his address at graduation, told the University of Virginia audience that they had a duty to help blacks.²³⁴

Some locals opted to care for blacks out of economic motives, not paternalistic ones. A group of Charlottesville whites met in June 1865 and decided that they would persuade freedpeople to remain at home for the ensuing year in order to protect the labor force. Blacks would earn the same wages as whites and, when financially possible, would be supported by whites.²³⁵ With their labor force now free to act as independent individuals, the whites needed to ensure that their work would be completed.

Many former slaves in Albemarle County returned to the farms and plantations they worked as slaves, according to government records.²³⁶ Some former slaves of the university, including Henry Martin, stayed at the university as hired laborers after emancipation. Many of the hotels operated with the use of hired labor from former slaves. Professors also kept many of their former slaves as hired laborers after the Civil War. John B. Minor, for instance, kept in contact with all of his former slaves. Nancy and her family continued to do the Minors’ washing, and Ellen hired

²³² Minor Papers, 8 May 1865.

²³³ Fitzsimmons, *the Law and Reason*, p. 34.

²³⁴ Vance, *the Negro in Reconstruction*, p. 49-50.

²³⁵ Jordan, *Charlottesville and the University*, p. 93.

²³⁶ Vance, *the Negro in Reconstruction*, p. 5.

herself to Professor Schele de Vere.²³⁷ Humphrey Shelton remained at the university to continue serving the Proctor M. Green Peyton.²³⁸ Charlottesville resident R. G. H. Kean claimed that freedpeople “seem to desire to return at least to the neighborhood and their old associations.”²³⁹ The 1870 Census shows that a number of blacks, probably former slaves, lived on or around university property. Serving as waiters, gardeners, domestic servants, and carpenters, these black men and women most likely worked at the university.²⁴⁰ The majority of blacks remained both in Charlottesville and in the same economic position, despite their ability to earn wages.

On the university grounds, many blacks, including some of the former slaves, remained in their subservient positions for the benefit of students. Although the university still denied students the right to keep a servant on grounds, with the advent of freedom students easily formed contracts with local blacks. The local freedmen’s school teacher Philena Carkin complained that “there was nothing else in the locality that had so demoralizing an effect upon the colored youth of both sexes as our vicinity to the University of Virginia.” The university, Carkin claimed, provided “an education of a most undesirable & vicious nature.”²⁴¹ The recipients of that education, the white students, would employ many of the black boys that Carkin taught. If a “neatly dressed” black man or boy encountered a student in Charlottesville, the black would usually be knocked “from the sidewalk if nothing worse.”²⁴² The black girls Carkin taught had a status “the same as that of domestic animals.”²⁴³ The students, acclimated to black service, maintained the antebellum social hierarchy by hiring blacks to be their servants. Sometimes whites hired the same blacks who had served them as slaves a few months earlier.

²³⁷ Minor, Wilson Papers, Mary L. Minor to Aunt, 15 May 1865 and Mary L. Minor to Aunt, 14 June 1865.

²³⁸ Homer Richey, editor, *Memorial History of the John Bowie Strange Camp, United Confederate Veterans* (Charlottesville: The Michie Company, 1920), p. 51.

²³⁹ Vance, *the Negro in Reconstruction*, p. 8.

²⁴⁰ 1870 United States Census, Albemarle County.

²⁴¹ Carkin, *Reminiscences*, p. 190.

²⁴² Carkin, *Reminiscences*, p. 190.

²⁴³ Laurantt Lorraine Lee, “Crucible in the Classroom: The Freedpeople and Their Teachers, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1861-1876,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 2002, p. 61.

Even though white power kept blacks in the same place in society, blacks still tried to gain more rights. A large assembly of blacks, overseen by whites, in Albemarle County convened on April 24, 1867. Three black men communicated the three main views of blacks at the time. The first speaker, Ossian Johnson, supported by whites, proposed the conservative viewpoint that kept the old order. In the middle ground stood Reverend Nicholas Rickmond, who thought that blacks had the ability to bring themselves up in society and should employ it. The third speaker, Fairfax Taylor, spoke from a radical viewpoint. Skeptical of white southerners, Taylor demanded more rights for blacks. Among those demands, Taylor called for blacks to be able to attend the University of Virginia. The university found Taylor's request so ridiculous that they refused to even entertain the notion. The debate resulted in the passage of the Petersburg Resolution that "called for equal school facilities and equal political legal rights for both races."²⁴⁴ These "equal school facilities" were also separate.

Education became a priority of freedpeople. Blacks capitalized on every opportunity to learn, quickly filling the Freedmen's schools that opened in Charlottesville. Philena Carkin, a white woman from the North, operated a grammar school in the city. Anna Gardner came down from Boston to open a school for blacks in Charlottesville that she called the Jefferson School. She taught sixty pupils, with an average attendance of about 85 percent. In addition to teaching her students reading, writing, and arithmetic, Gardner taught them politics and sociology, encouraging them to move up in society. Holding these beliefs gave Gardner reason to hate and fear the University of Virginia and its students. The "baleful shadow" that the university cast over Charlottesville kept former slaves in subservient position. A black man at a meeting in April, 1867

²⁴⁴ Vance, *the Negro in Reconstruction*, p. 18-20.

supported Gardner's fears, claiming that he thought whites, symbolized by the university, opposed the existence of black schools.²⁴⁵

Miss Carkin and her school also fell victim to the violence of university students who "paid [the school] the compliment of threats, or broke our windows or showed us some other delicate attention of a similar nature." The students had a habit of riding the railroad cars past Carkin's school and throwing rocks at the windows of the Freedmen's School, even when black students sat inside learning. Carkin felt that the students exhibited such behavior of ill will to her, because of her Yankee roots and "work educating the freed people."²⁴⁶

Even though Gardner and Carkin complained about the behavior of university students, they sometimes surprised the women with their service to blacks. In 1868 E. Calvin Williams, a university student, operated a school for 200 blacks that he would have expanded to 500 if he had had enough books.²⁴⁷ Other students paid visits to Miss Carkin's school, including two students of moral philosophy who "spoke in the highest terms of the school, and the proficiency of the colored pupils."²⁴⁸ Some professors, including McGuffey and Minor and Rogers' wife, spent time visiting freedpeople's schools.²⁴⁹

University faculty probably would have recognized one of the teachers at one of the freedpeople's schools. Under slavery, Isabella Gibbons, owned by Professor Francis H. Smith, learned how to read. After emancipation, Isabella attended Anna Gardner's school so she could master as much education as possible. Soon, Gardner hired Gibbons as an assistant teacher, paying

²⁴⁵ Vance, *the Negro in Reconstruction*, p. 79-82.

²⁴⁶ Carkin, *Reminiscences*, p. 186-7.

²⁴⁷ Vance, *the Negro in Reconstruction*, p. 88.

²⁴⁸ Carkin, *Reminiscences*, p. 190.

²⁴⁹ Carkin, *Reminiscences*, p. 188 and Schulman, *Slaves*, p. 33.

her ten dollars every month. Her husband William, formerly owned by Professor Henry Howard, became the reverend of the First Baptist Church of Charlottesville.²⁵⁰

Despite the end of slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction, they remained a part of everyday life at the University of Virginia. Ralph Waldo Emerson noticed the residue when he accepted an invitation in 1876 from three law students—Walter S. Perry, William Robertson McKenney, and Alfred P. Thom—to speak during graduation weekend. Since his early days, Emerson saw the evils in slavery and, by 1837, expressed his beliefs in writing: “no man can hold property in man.”²⁵¹ Despite his early calls for abolition, Emerson’s famous writings, such as “the American Scholar” and “Nature,” earned him popularity in the South after the Civil War. The invitation to Emerson, however, held weight for both Emerson and the university. In his seventy-three years, Emerson had never visited Virginia, and he had never accepted an invitation to speak at a southern institution. The former abolitionist took an enormous step in agreeing to visit the south as Reconstruction ended. He feared that the southern institution would show hostility for a man so dedicated to abolition. That fear held some truth, for upon Emerson’s arrival, Professor George Frederick Holmes took him on a tour of the university. While in his home, Pavilion VI, Holmes proudly pointed out a portrait of General Robert E. Lee and a Confederate flag. When the men sat down for dinner with Emerson’s daughter Ellen and Holmes’ wife Lavalette, Holmes, according to Ellen, praised “the chivalrous character and exploits of the Confederate Generals, and the brutal conduct of the Union Army.”²⁵² Emerson ignored the comments and changed the subject to Jefferson’s influence on the university and educational philosophy, the topic of Emerson’s speech. As Emerson said in his speech at the public hall in the Annex, he expected the scholar to bind the

²⁵⁰ Scott Nesbit, “The Education of William Gibbons,” in *the Magazine of Albemarle County History*, Volume 62, 2004, p.95-126.

²⁵¹ Charles W. Wilson, “Ralph Waldo Emerson at the University of Virginia, 1876,” in *Virginia Cavalcade*, Volume 47.2, Spring 1998, p. 88.

²⁵² Wilson, “Ralph Waldo Emerson,” p. 86-95.

nation, for “the love of letters makes us friends.”²⁵³ In closing, Emerson urged that “the scholar must be much more than a scholar, that his ends give value to every means.”²⁵⁴ In the intellectual Emerson saw an opportunity to heal the nation. He could think of no better place to deliver that message than the University of Virginia, where slaves built and sustained the institution founded upon Jeffersonian ideals.²⁵⁵

²⁵³ Ralph Waldo Emerson, “The Scholar” in *the Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson in Six Volumes*, Volumes IX-X, New York: William H. Wise & Company, 1923, p. 264.

²⁵⁴ Emerson, “The Scholar,” 288.

²⁵⁵ Ralph Waldo Emerson also once said “sometimes a scream is better than a thesis.”

CONCLUSION

Thomas Jefferson embedded his theories about slavery into the fabric of his university, particularly the uncertainty he expressed in terms of “a wolf by the ear.” In a sense, the University of Virginia dealt with its own version of Jefferson’s wolf: to hold onto slavery meant to surround students with slaves, but to let go of the institution would result in the demise of the university. Jefferson knew that his university could not function without the use of slave labor, so he bought the university’s first slave in 1818. Faculty members, including the original nine selected by Jefferson, naturally struggled between Jeffersonian ideals and southern ideals. Although many had European and northern roots, the culture of Albemarle County and the University of Virginia quickly acclimated them to the idea of owning slaves. From the drawing of the university boundaries in 1817 to the end of the Civil War, enslaved persons sustained the infrastructure of the University of Virginia.

Although he used slave labor to build and operate the university, Jefferson wanted his students to live up to his ideals of freedom and equality, to live without complete reliance upon slavery. Like Jefferson, even though they may have believed in equality and freedom, the students desired slave labor because of their southern upbringing. The first Board of Visitors, including Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and James Monroe, outlawed students from owning slaves. The Board of Visitors, however, appeased students’ desire for slave labor by providing it through the hotels. Furthermore, the students managed to interact with their slaves and slaves from Charlottesville, in spite of the restrictions the Board of Visitors instituted. Sometimes, the students embodied Jefferson’s ideals, such as when Merritt Robinson called for emancipation in 1832. More often, however, students fulfilled the slaveholder role supported by the southern elite, an easy task at an institution with over 100 slaves.

When the tension between Jeffersonian and southern ideals caused the Civil War, the university fell on the side of the south. Even after the North won the Civil War and enforced emancipation, the university maintained that slavery created a comfortable living environment for blacks. Although most faculty members decided to leave their former slaves to fend for themselves, the university and its personnel venerated freedpeople who stayed with the university. The liberty granted to blacks by the end of the Civil War provided them with education and the ability to participate in society. Despite blacks' new freedoms and mobility, the university continued to desire to justify slavery over forty years after the defeat of the Confederacy.

In June 1893, the Ladies Confederate Memorial Association of Charlottesville, with help from the university's Washington and Jefferson Literary Debating Societies, erected a monument to the 1,091 Confederate soldiers buried in the cemetery next to the University Cemetery. In the program for the dedication ceremony, the Memorial Association announced that "the colored men, who served faithfully as cooks and body servants during the war are invited to join in the procession and participate in the exercises, and they will report at 10 o'clock to Humphrey Shelton, in front of Midway School Building, and a place will be assigned to them."²⁵⁶ Humphrey Shelton, a former slave, served Major M. Green Peyton, the proctor at the university just prior to, during, and after the Civil War. After emancipation, Shelton stayed at the university to work as a janitor. Former Confederate soldier Homer Richey praised Shelton, because he "cared for [Peyton's] wants as earnestly after emancipation as he had while a slave in his master's possession."²⁵⁷ According to the 1870 Census, the thirty-eight-year-old Shelton worked as a day laborer who could neither read nor

²⁵⁶ *Program of Order of Procession-Confederate Monument Unveiling: Wednesday, May 5, 1909*, Pamphlet, Charlottesville-Albemarle Historical Collection, Jefferson-Madison Regional Library.

²⁵⁷ Homer Richey, editor, *Memorial History of the John Bowie Strange Camp, United Confederate Veterans* (Charlottesville: The Michie Company, 1920), p. 51.

write.²⁵⁸ In Humphrey Shelton, like in Henry Martin, the University of Virginia found a black man who could justify the blending of Jeffersonian and southern ideals well after the end of slavery.

²⁵⁸ 1870 Albemarle County Census p. 65.

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Finally, I thank my family. My mother and father have provided me with every educational opportunity, a gift for which I will forever be grateful. Their love and support have made everything seem easy to accomplish. I also thank my siblings—Matt, Bonny, Ben, Zoë, Meghann, and William—my best friends, biggest cheerleaders, and greatest challengers.

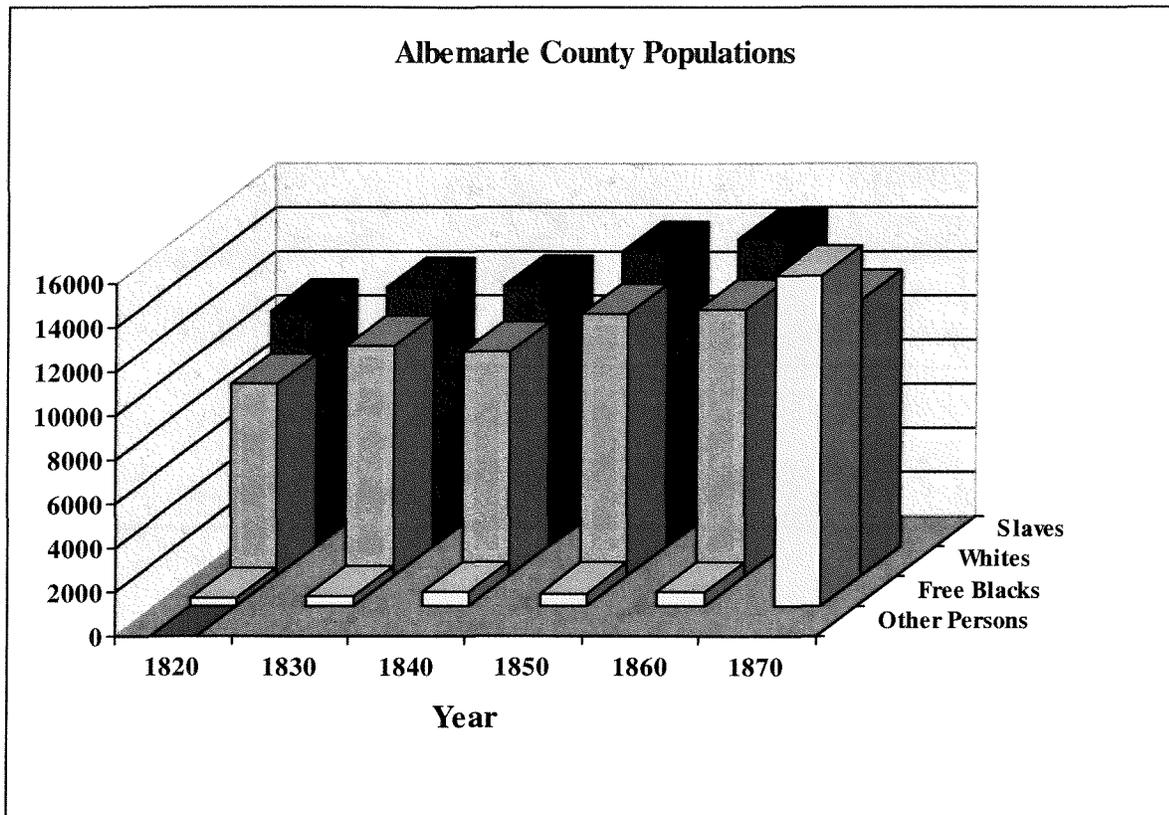
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APPENDIX I
ALBEMARLE COUNTY POPULATION 1820-1870

Albemarle County Population²⁵⁹

	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870
Whites	8,715	10,455	10,212	11,875	12,103	12,550
Slaves	10,661	11,679	11,809	13,338	13,916	n/a
Free Blacks	373	484	603	587	606	14,994
Other Persons	3	0	0	0	0	0
Total Population	19,752	22,618	22,624	25,800	26,625	27,544

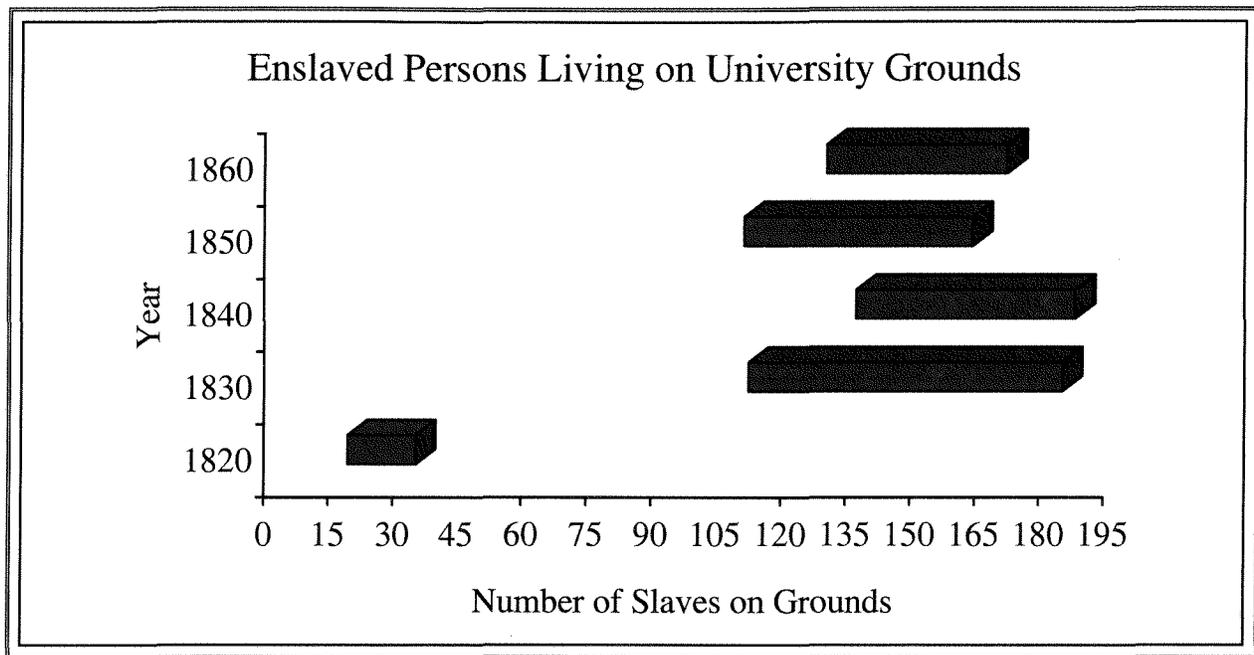


²⁵⁹ Chart depicting population totals for Albemarle County in 1820, 1830, 1840, 1850, and 1860. Data is compiled from the University of Virginia Library's Geostat Historical Census Browser.

APPENDIX II
NUMBER OF SLAVES AT THE UNIVERSITY 1820-1860

Number of Slaves at the University²⁶⁰

	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
Minimum Number of Slaves on the Grounds	16	109	134	108	127
Maximum Number of Slaves on the Grounds	32	182	185	161	169



²⁶⁰ Data was compiled from examinations of the United States Census Records for Albemarle County from the corresponding years.

APPENDIX III

TYPES OF SLAVES AT THE UNIVERSITY²⁶¹

Slaves Owned by the University²⁶²

	1830	1840	1850	1860
University Slaves	4	2	2	1
Total Slaves on the Grounds	146	160	135	148

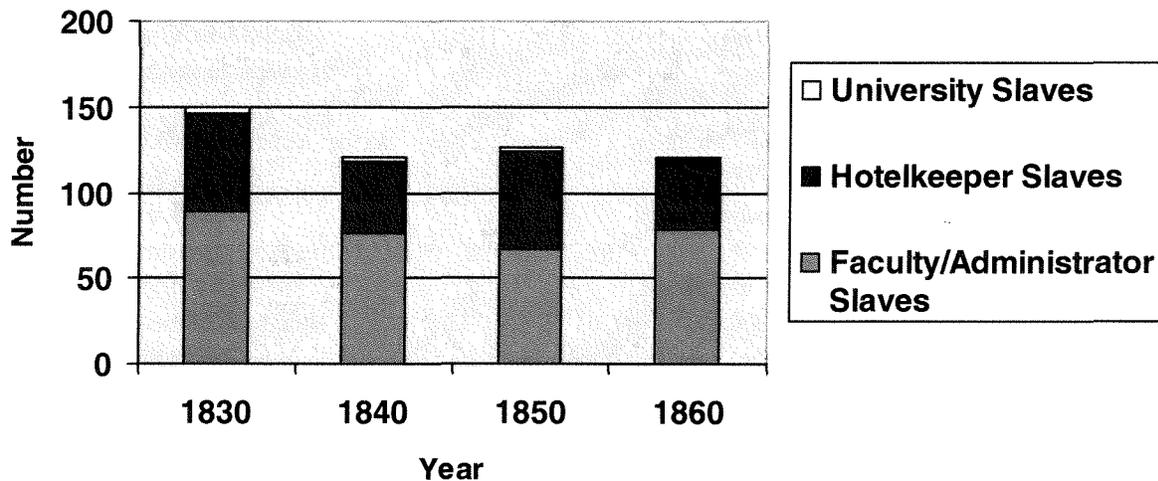
Slaves Owned by Faculty or Administrators²⁶³

	1830	1840	1850	1860
Faculty/Administrator Slaves	89	76	67	78
Total Slaves on the Grounds	146	160	135	148

Slaves Owned by Hotelkeepers²⁶⁴

	1830	1840	1850	1860
Hotelkeeper Slaves	57	42	57	42
Total	146	160	135	148

Types of Slaves on Grounds



²⁶¹ I found these figures by averaging the maximum and minimum number of each type of slaves at the university.

²⁶² The total number of slaves on the grounds for these four years comes from the average of the maximum and minimum number of slaves living on the grounds, according to figures 3 and 4. The number of "other slaves" comes from subtracting the number of university slaves from the average total number of slaves at the university.

²⁶³ The total number of slaves on the grounds for these four years comes from the average of the maximum and minimum number of slaves living on the grounds, according to figures 3 and 4. The number of Faculty/Administrator slaves on the grounds comes from the average of the maximum and minimum number of these slaves living on the grounds. The number of "other slaves" on the grounds comes from subtracting the number of university slaves from the average total number of slaves at the university.

²⁶⁴ The total number of slaves for these four years was found by averaging the maximum and minimum number of slaves at the university, according to figures 3 and 4. The number of Hotelkeepers slaves on the grounds was found by averaging the maximum and minimum number of these slaves at the university. The number of "other slaves" was found by subtracting the number of university slaves from the average total number of slaves at the university.

APPENDIX IV
ADMINISTRATORS AND FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY

Rectors

Thomas Jefferson 1819-1826
James Madison 1826-1834
Joseph C. Cabell 1834-1836, 1845-1856
Chapman Johnson 1836-1845
Andrew Stevenson 1856-1857
Thomas Jefferson Randolph 1857-1864
Thomas L. Preston 1864-1865
Alexander Rives 1865-1866
B. Johnson Barbour 1866-1872
R.G.H. Kean 1872-1876

Secretaries of the Board of Visitors

Peter Minor 1819-1826
Nicholas P. Trist 1826-1829
John A. G. Davis 1829-1830
Frank Carr 1830-1851
St. George Tucker 1851-1853
R. T. W. Duke 1853-1865
William Wertenbaker 1865-1870

Secretaries of the Faculty

Robley Dunglison 1825
John P. Emmet 1826
William Wertenbaker 1826-1831, 1836-76
Gessner Harrison 1831-1832
Thomas Johnson 1832-1834
Alfred T. Magill 1834-1836

Professors

Ancient Languages

George Long 1825-1828
Gessner Harrison 1828-1856

Latin

Gessner Harrison 1856-1959
Lewis M. Coleman 1859-1861
Basil L. Gildersleeve 1861-1865

Greek

Basil L. Gildersleeve 1856-1876

Modern Languages

George Blaettermann 1825-1840
Charles Kraitsir 1841-1844
M. Schele de Vere 1844-1895

Mathematics

Thomas Hewitt Key 1825-1827
Charles Bonnycastle 1827-1840
J. J. Sylvester 1840-1841
Edward H. Courtenay 1842-1853
Albert T. Bledsoe 1854-1863
Pike Powers (temporary) 1840-1842
Alexander L. Nelson 1853-1854
Robert T. Massie 1861-1862
Francis H. Smith 1863-1865

Natural Philosophy

Charles Bonnycastle 1825-1828
Robert M. Patterson 1828-1835
William B. Rogers 1835-1853
Francis H. Smith 1853-1908

Chemistry

John P. Emmet 1825-1842
Robert E. Rogers 1842-1852
J. Lawrence Smith 1852-1853
Socrates Maupin 1853-1871

Moral Philosophy

George Tucker 1825-1845
William H. McGuffey 1845-1873

History and General Literature

George F. Holmes 1857-1890s

Medicine

Robley Dunglison 1825-1833
Alfred T. Magill 1833-1837
R. E. Griffith 1837-1839
Henry Howard 1839-1867

Anatomy and Surgery

Thomas Johnson: 1827-1834
Augustus L. Walker 1834-1837
James L. Cabell 1837-1849
John Staige Davis: 1845-1885
B. W. Allen: demonstrator 1853-1865

Law

John Tayloe Lomax 1826-1830
John A. G. Davis 1830-1840
Nat. P. Howard 1840-1841
Henry St. George Tucker 1841-1845
John B. Minor 1845-1895
James P. Holcombe: 1851-1861

Chairmen of the Faculty

George Tucker 1825, 1828, 1832-1833
Robley Dunlison 1826, 1828-1830
John Tayloe Lomax 1827
Robert M. Patterson 1830-1832
Charles Bonnycastle 1833-1835
John A. G. Davis 1835-1837, 1839-1840
Gessner Harrison 1837-1839, 1840-1842,
1847-1854
Henry St. George Tucker 1842-1844
William B. Rogers 1844-1845
Edward H. Courtenay 1845-1846
James L. Cabell 1846-1847
Socrates Maupin 1854-1868

Proctors

Alexander Garrett 1816-1817
Nelson Barksdale 1817-1819
Arthur P. Brackenbrough 1819-1831
John A. Carr 1831-1832
William G. Pendleton 1832-1836
Willis H. Woodley 1836-1845
George a Spooner 1845-1846
William J. Kemper 1846-1853
Robert R. Prentis 1853-1865
M. Green Peyton 1859-1875

Bursars

Alexander Garnett 1849-1851
William A. Bibb 1851-1861

APPENDIX IV
HOTELKEEPERS OF THE UNIVERSITY

This list of hotelkeepers appeared in its original form in Marie Frank's "It Took an Academical Village: Jefferson's Hotels at the University of Virginia," provides a map of possible outbuildings in the Academical Village that were not included in the 1822 Maverick Engraving, p.33 (*The Magazine of Albemarle County History*, Volume 59, 2001, Albemarle County Historical Society, Edited by Frank Grizzard, Jr.).

Hotel A

Edwin Conway 1825-1843
Addison Maupin 1843-1856
A. Brock 1857
Daniel Ward 1858-1860

Hotel B

S. B. Chapman March-December 1825
Richardson/Richeson 1826-1827
Mr. Matthews or Wertenbaker 1828
Mrs. Brokenbrough 1832
Daniel Perrow 1832?-1835?
Miss Terrell 1835?-1840?

Hotel C

W.W. Minor 1825-1828
Daniel Ward 1856-1857

Hotel D

A Workman Pre-1825
G. W. Spotswood 1825-1828
Wertenbaker 1828-1833
Captain Rose 1833-1834
William Ward 1835-1840

Margaret Ward 1840-1841
Thomas Swann 1841
J. Bigelow 1845-1848
George Briggs 1848-1854
William Wertenbaker 1854-1855
Daniel Ward 1855-1859

Hotel E

John Gray 1825-1827
Mrs. Gray 1828-1845
Colonel James Watson 1845-1856
Mrs. Ross 1856-1860

Hotel F

James Byers 1825
Chapman 1826-1828
Major Spotswood 1828-1829
John A. Rose 1829-1833
Mr. Penci 1834-1839
William L. Kemper 1846-1853
W. W. Hamner 1858-1860

Monroe Hill

Mrs. William McCoy 1850s

APPENDIX IV
FIRST PAVILION RESIDENTS

This list appears in Garry Wills' *Mr. Jefferson's University*, National Geographic Society, 2002, p. 149.

Pavilion I: John Patton Emmet, Natural History (chemistry, geology, mineralology, zoology, and botany)

Pavilion II: Thomas Johnson, Demonstrator (not Professor) of Anatomy and Surgery, subordinate to the Professor of Medicine

Pavilion III: John Tayloe Lomax, Law (comprising of government, political economy, and law of nations)

Pavilion IV: George Blaettermann, Modern Languages

Pavilion V: George Long, Ancient Languages

Pavilion VI: Charles Bonnycastle, Natural Philosophy (comprising logic and scientific principles)

Pavilion VII: At first a library and meeting room, then a chapel from 1832 to 1855, now the Colonnade Club

Pavilion VIII: Thomas Key, Mathematics

Pavilion IX: George Tucker, Moral Philosophy (comprising ethics and aesthetics)

Pavilion X: Robley Dunglison, Medicine

APPENDIX VII

TESTIMONIES CONCERNING THE BONNYCASTLE INCIDENT

Testimonies regarding the incident with Charles Bonnycastle's slave, Fielding, as transcribed in the Minutes of the Faculty:

March 2, 1838: "The Chairman laid before the Faculty a written communication from Professor Bonnycastle (Marked A) Charging Messrs. Franklin English and Madison McAfee students in connection with other persons not students, with having on sunday the 24th ult., assaulted his servant Fielding, and having inflicted on said servant a severe and inhuman beating,—that in reaching the Scene of Outrage between Wertenbaker's and M'Kennie's, whither he repaired for the purpose of preventing his servant from being murdered — he was treated with great disrespect by Mr. M. McAfee — that he (prof: Bonnycastle) was seized by the collar by said McAfee — who used towards him threatening — Profane and abusive language — he charges farther that, both English and McAfee, notwithstanding his presence, and the previously severe and cruel beating which his servant had received, continued to beat him in such a manner as to endanger his life — and that whilst McAfee and others were beating the servant, he was held by English to prevent his interference in rescuing his slave — He further charges on evidence which he had received — that the servant was headed by [end page] Mr. John H. Harrison who drew a dirk and threatened to stab him —

The Chairman then laid before the Faculty a written communication from Messrs. Franklin English and Madison McAfee (marked B) requesting for reasons therein stated to be excused from personal attendance before the Faculty — expressing extreme regret for what had happened — alledging that their conduct towards Professor Bonnycastle under the excitement of the moment was influenced by the Circumstances of the case — and by the consideration; that he had thrown off the garb of a Professor and assumed (as they supposed) that of a man recklessly interposing to screen his servant from merited chastisement and to protect him in a course of extravagant impudence and abuse.—

The Chairman laid before the Faculty the deposition of Garrison (marked C) who was present at the commencement of the affray — The witness proves that Fielding was very insolent to Benjamin Johnson — and English who were endeavoring to disperse a large and disorderly assemblage of negroes in the Street near Littleford's.—for his insolence Fielding received from English several stripes with a switch — that for continued insolence the latter struck Fielding sever blows with a stick.—Fielding then moved off, but using such insolence as induced English and Johnson to follow him — He was overtaken near McKinnie's and when witness reached them, they had Fielding down near Miss Terrell's — but he did not see what they were doing with him — they let him go — that in going off, his insolence induced them to pursue him again — He was overtaken and beaten — Witness then left for home — No serious injury was inflicted on Fielding while he remaine.—

The Chairman laid before the Faculty the deposition of [end page] Mr. Hezekiah Perry (marked D) — who sates that on sunday evening a large crowd of negroes were collected near Littleford's—that whilst two of them were engaged in a fight, witness ran up and requested the other negroes to separate them, that when two of them were about to do so — Fielding took a stick from one of the combatants and told the bye standers to stand off — that they were free and should not be parted — about his time English & B. Johnson came up to separate the combatants and disperse the crowd — Johnson was heard to say "Damn you, do you dare to push me." witness does not know to whom this was applied, but he saw Fielding backing up to the fence, when Johnson caught up a stick and gave him several blows; English gave him several stripes with a switch and ordered him off — He went off — and at a distance of 15 or 20 yards muttered something which

caused E English to follow, in doing so he called to B. Johnson to come on that Fielding had picked up a stone – He was overtaken and whiped again by English – Witness saw them engaged at McKennie’s and again at Miss Terrell’s but was at too great a distance to see or hear what passed – Fielding received no serious injury in his presence, and was very insolent –

The Chairman laid before the Faculty the deposition of Mr. Jesse L. Heeshill (marked E) – The witness did not see the commencement of the affray – Saw English holding Fielding around the arms passing from McKennie’s towards Wertenbaker’s – Fielding had a stone in his hand motioning and threatening to strike English with it and was very insolent in manner and language – Fielding continued to hold the stone contrary to the advice of witness – English stopped Fielding nearly opposite Wertenbaker’s when B. Johnson came up and struck him (Fielding) several times [end page] with a hickory cane – did not knock him down – Calvin Jones struck him also several times with his fist – Fielding was then gotten down – and was beaten by B. Johnson – Fielding begged – was then suffered to get up and depart – in doing so he picked up a stone, motioned to strike with it, and was again insolent.—He was pursued by Johnson and English overtaken and again beaten—On again begging was suffered to depart – and on again picking up a stone and motioning to strike, was again pursued – Mr. McAfee, now, at the request of English joining in the pursuit—these gentlemen assisted by Mr. John H. Harrison succeeded in stopping him at the University gate – He was tied carried back towards Heirkell’s – He clung to the fence saying he would go no further – was again beaten, but by whom owing to the crowd now gathered, witness knew not – English & McAfee were endeavoring to get Fielding from the fence when Professor Bonnycastle interposed and caught McAfee by the collar of the coat – and said something which witness did not distinctly hear – to which McAfee replied in a loud voice – “Madison McAfee from Mississippi” – and “that any man who would protect a negro as much in the wrong as Fielding is no better than a negro himself”—At this moment the excitement was great – and a personal rencontre between Messrs. Bonnycastle and McAfee would probably have been the consequence, had not English prevented it by taking Mr. Bonnycastle by the arm – Fielding being now released was urged by his master to run and make his escape – but his, he seemed unable to do effectually in consequence of exhaustion and the beating which he had received.—He was pursued, overtaken and beaten by B. Johnson with a stick – he was knocked down by a student whom witness did not know – Fielding on being caught hold of by [end page] McAfee, seized the guard chain of the latter and threw his watch on the ground – the last blow inflicted on Fielding which felled him to the ground, was by English – Fielding now humbled himself and English Expressed himself satisfied.—

Mr. George Houchens at the request of the Faculty appeared, and said that he saw the latter part of the affray – English and McAfee were carrying Fielding towards Hieskell’s – when he stopped and swore that he would go no further, that they might kill him—they struck him several blows, not severely, in order to force him on – Mr. Bonnycastle then came and seized McAfee very roughly by the Collar – and asked in a peremptory manner “what he was beating his negro for”—McAfee replied with an oath, “that if he came there to protect his negro, he would whip him Mr. Bonnycastle”—the latter asked Mr. McAfee his name – who replied with oaths “Madison McAfee”—Johnson & McAfee then followed Fielding who had got loose and struck him several times – Witness saw Fielding on his knees, how he came there he does not know – Fielding kept muttering, but he heard not what he said – it seemed that he was unwilling to be subdued – regarded his conduct as extremely impudent before Mr. Bonnycastle came – and it continued so after wards – is acquainted with Fielding and thinks him an impudent Servant.—

The Faculty being desirous of examining Messrs. English and McAfee on some points not embraced in their communication, On motion made and seconded, Resolved, that they be requested to attend before them.—

Mr. McAfee appeared and said that he was collared by Mr. Bonnycastle and asked in a most violent manner "what he was about"—he was not then beating Fielding but merely holding [end page] him — He let the negro go and laid hold of Mr. Bonnycastle — the negro showed his insolence to him by laying hold of his watch guard — breaking it, and throwing his watch on the ground — when Mr. Bonnycastle first asked his name he gave it — when asked the second time for his name, he did not give it — some one requesting him not to do so — He cursed Mr. Bonnycastle in consequence of being collared by him — In interfering in the Affray he had no other object than that of assisting Mr. English in securing the negro — that being accomplished he intended to leave him in the hands of English to do with, as he pleased.—

Mr. English appeared and said that he endeavored to offer an explanation to Mr. Bonnycastle — who was unwilling to listen to one — the servant was insolent after Mr. Bonnycastle came — and the latter did not try to stop his insolence — during the affray he used several sticks — one was a pretty large one — did not at first know to whom the servant belonged — Saw Fielding lift a stone once — other persons saw him lift several — His object in taking hold of Mr. Bonnycastle was to make an explanation to him and also to prevent collision between him and McAfee — Mr. Bonnycastle did not allow him to explain — hence it was, that he struck the negro again — does not recollect saying that Fielding should not go.—

The Chairman stated to the Faculty that Mr. Geo. W. Randolph witnessed the latter part of the affray — He desired not be examined before the Faculty — but made a statement of he Chairman of what he had witnessed — the substance of which the Chairman immediately after, committed to writing .—this he read to the Faculty, and is as follows.—

Mr. Randolph stated that he did not witness the beginning [end page] of the affray on Sunday afternoon.—What he saw occurred nearly opposite Miss Terrell's as the parties were going towards the University.—That when seen by him the servant was very insolent in his language and manner — daring the young gentlemen to come on.—He thought he saw him strike at Mr. English, but does not know if he struck him.—The servant provoked the renewed attacks upon him by his insolent conduct; but he saw the attack once renewed when the servant was not provoking it — He had broken away, or been released, and was removed a few steps, when the young men pursued and struck him — He was of opinion that the boy was not restrained by Mr. Bonnycastle's presence, and that the blows which he received after Mr. Bonnycastle came were as severe if not more so, than any before inflicted. He had little doubt, that if Mr. Bonnycastle's manner of interference had been different the matter might have been easily put a stop to.—that it was calculated to irritate.—He saw the stick with which the blows were chiefly inflicted — it was a hickory walking cane, without the bark — such as he himself sometimes carried — (This he showed to the Chairman, it was about an inch in diameter at the larger end, or something less — and tapered gently to the other extremity --)

The following resolution was then proposed seconded and passed unanimously.—

The Faculty having deliberately considered the evidence in this case are unanimously of the opinion, that the alledged outrage against Mr. Bonnycastle's servant ought to be left of the cognizance of the Courts.—And they are further unanimously of opinion, that under the peculiar circumstances of this case, no action can be taken by them against Messrs. English and McAfee [end page] for disrespect to Mr. Bonnycastle.—“

March 8, 1838: "Professor Bonnycastle requested, and obtained leave to place upon the minutes the following statement.—

"Acquiescing in the decision of the Faculty — I desire to make remarks which my position renders necessary — they are grounded on these opinions—“

1. That it is due to a Professor who absents himself from a court where he will be called to act in his own case – that great care should be taken to understand the evidence he may desire – or which he might have called.—

2. That in regard to the mere character of an Offence other evidence failing – the Opinions of the officer charging contumacy – is of more weight than the opinion of the student charged

3. That restraint by an Officer to prevent violence on a third party does not necessarily remove a charge of contumacy—

4 That all assertion by the party charged of such impedi-[end page]ment of the law – should be most fully and carefully examined – and when possible, on the testimony and cross examination of impartial bystanders.—

Holding these opinions, I regret, that in a case where some thirty or forty whites were spectators, including an Officer of the Institution, no one was examined before the Faculty, but the persons offending, and one other who besides his not having been present, is placed by station almost under control of the Students.—

That a Student of highest character, whose examination before the Faculty and in presence of the party charged, was strongly requested of the Chairman (a request still more urgently pressed on one of the Professors – was not called before that body.—but in place of such examination a verbal report of a conversation with the Chairman was substituted—

I regret that circumstances presenting considerable difficulty caused all action to be delayed for a week – And that the failure of the evidence once before the Chairman in the case of Mr. J. H. Harrison, notoriously known to have violated both the laws of the land and of the College by the use of a dirk – should not have been communicated to me.—

These remarks I desire to make, with the view of showing that I may have had stronger provocation to bring this matter before them, than appeared on their evidence – and without desire of blaming nay of the Authorities of the Institution.—“

C. B.”

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