

Gayle M. Schulman, an avocational local historian, conducted this research during the early months of 2003 and presented it to the African American Genealogy Group of Charlottesville/ Albemarle in May of that year. Her interest in this topic grew from her research on Isabella Gibbons (a teacher who spent part of her life as a slave on the grounds of the University of Virginia) and the community in which she lived. This essay is an overview of the information collected from vital statistics, census data, church records, University of Virginia Archives, and faculty manuscripts. A more extensive research project on the same topic is currently being conducted by Catherine Neale, a student at the University of Virginia. [2005]

Slaves at the University of Virginia

Gayle M. Schulman¹

There is no sign of the vegetable garden, hen house, well, or the outbuildings once on the land. The rear of the three-storied house, glimpsed through the trees, is partially masked by boxwoods. On the lower level of the garden one passes an English Gothic pinnacle to find steps up to a gate through a serpentine wall into an upper garden; there one can see the home's second story door with a handsome transom window like half of a daisy, or perhaps a fine piece of oriental embroidery. Tucked beneath the steep stairways to this grand back entry is a solid door leading into the cellar. The oldest part of this cellar is divided by a central chimney that is flanked by two rooms on one side and a larger room, the original kitchen, on the other.² The house is Pavilion VI, designed by Thomas Jefferson for the University of Virginia. Isabella Gibbons worked here as a slave.

Isabella Gibbons was owned by Professor Francis H. Smith from 1853 until 1863, cooking for his family in the kitchens of Pavilion VI and Pavilion V.³ Her husband, William Gibbons, belonged to Professor Henry Howard in 1850.⁴ Once freedom came Isabella became a teacher in the Charlottesville Freedman's School and William became the first man of color to minister to the Charlottesville congregation now known as the First Baptist Church, West Main Street. Soon afterwards he became a religious leader in Washington D.C., and his death in 1886 was reported in a front-page obituary in the *Washington Post*.

Slaves who, like the Gibbons, provided for the domestic comfort of the University faculty and students as well as for the maintenance of its handsome buildings and grounds

have rarely been acknowledged. Yet they were an essential and inescapable presence at the University from its founding in 1819 until the end of the Civil War. This paper is an attempt to shed some light on the slaves' life at the University during this period. Records from the slaves themselves are, of course, meager: a few dictated letters, and some family oral histories. But unlike some other educational institutions,⁵ the University of Virginia retains extensive archives—Board of Visitors and Faculty minutes, the Proctor's papers, personal papers of the faculty—that along with censuses, records of taxes, and birth and death records allow part of their experience to emerge.⁶ We can learn something about their work, their relations with professors and students, and about their daily life. Slavery confined and abused them, but did not stop the creation of a "community" of people living, working and caring for each other. Nor did slavery eliminate a sense of dignity in the enslaved. They knew they were fortunate to live surrounded by education.

This essay describes some of the events and issues that arose during the forty years that the University of Virginia was the home of a slave community. These topics are presented in a more or less chronological order from the early years of the University until the slaves were free. The information within a section may cover an extended time period. A determined effort has been made to include the names of slaves. Extracts of documents included in this paper help show the complexity of the relationships between slave and slave owner.⁷

Slave workers from the beginning

"Jefferson himself, though past his 74th birthday, surveyed the area [intended for the University] and laid off the squares with the aid of two servants."⁸ The "servants" were, of course, slaves, as legal, tax and census records show. Unofficially — as in the personal papers and archives that serve as the primary documents used for this review — enslaved people were referred to as "servant"; by name (e.g. "Flora"), by job (e.g. "nurse"), or by other expressions as "my Boy," "the coloured people," "the hands," "valuable negroes," "domestics," "the black children," or as "belonging to" a named white person.

From the start slaves helped Jefferson lay out his dream of a unique educational institution, just as they had helped him construct his home, Monticello. Slaves hired from local slaveholding residents leveled the earth on the chosen ridge site, made bricks, quarried stone, and served as carpenters, blacksmiths, bricklayers and stonemasons. They cut logs and hauled items by boat up the river.⁹

Together the enslaved and free laborers, along with hired craftsmen, built structures according to Jefferson's plan. Pavilions were built to house the professors. Students were to live in rooms that linked the Pavilions. Each student was to be assigned to a "Hotel" that would provide him with dining facilities and personal services. (Unlike other ante-bellum schools such as the College of William and Mary and Hampden-Sydney College, students at the University were not permitted to bring their personal slaves with them.)¹⁰

Hotel keepers, to be selected from "good families," would operate the Hotels built in a second range of buildings. Their slaves fed the students, did their laundry, cleaned their rooms and waited on them at mealtime.

When the newly built University of Virginia opened in 1825, enslaved people—owned or hired—worked for the hotel keepers, as well as for professors and their families. The University Proctor also hired slaves and other workers to maintain the buildings and land within the University precinct.¹¹ Slaves lived near where they worked — on the land and in the buildings that are now called "the Grounds," "the Lawn," or "the Historical Precinct."

It soon became clear that Jefferson's original plan for an "Academical Village" required modifications. University families and their personal slaves needed more rooms. More space was needed for vegetable gardens, for stables, and for smoke houses to cure meat from animals bought or maintained on the land.¹² Professors required special instructional facilities, such as an Anatomical Hall for cadaver dissections. Construction problems such as leaking roofs plagued everyone. In addition, the students did not fit the ideal of self-disciplined, well-behaved young scholars envisioned by Jefferson. They created extra work for the maintenance crew made up of the slaves hired annually by the University.

The extent of the presence of the enslaved population within the historic precinct of the University can be determined in part from federal population censuses, which counted both the number of family members and number of slaves owned. These figures underestimate the slave presence at the University since they do not include the slaves of others who were hired to work at the University.¹³ Of the 107 people associated with eight professors in the listing of the 1830 Federal census for Albemarle, 66 or 61.7% were enslaved. In 1840 these numbers for eight professors were 52 out of 95 listed (54.7%); and in 1850 41 out of 89 (46.1%), recorded for ten professors. Just as was the case for households in the surrounding county of Albemarle about half of the members of the professors' households were slaves.¹⁴

Overall the number of males and females in the professors' families and their slaves' families were fairly evenly divided during these years. The University had many children in residence. In the 1830 census, the professors reported twenty of their own children and thirty-one enslaved children under the age of 10. In 1840 these numbers were twelve and sixteen, respectively; and in 1850 they were nine and six. The decrease in numbers of white children reflects the maturation of the children of the long-time professors of the University of Virginia. Perhaps the same stability occurred among the enslaved families or perhaps long-time faculty members without young children did not wish to have slaves with young children, or perhaps they sold teenaged children.

Early years at the new university

Five of the first professors arrived from England: George Long, Thomas H. Key, Robley Dunglison, Charles Bonnycastle and George Blaetterman. George Tucker from Bermuda and John Patton Emmet from Ireland already lived in Virginia.¹⁵ A year later John Tayloe Lomax, a Virginian jurist, joined the faculty. All of them owned or hired household slaves. Soon after he arrived from England George Long acquired a slave, Jacob. John Emmet, after trouble with his hired slave, bought one with the help of John Hartwell Cocke, a member of the first Board of Visitors who had provided workers for the building of the University.¹⁶

Cocke hired out slaves to professors; one of these, Nelson, after proving unsatisfactory as a house slave, served Professor Dunglison in his garden and stable.¹⁷

University professors owned at least a dozen people who had been the property of Thomas Jefferson or his relatives. Thomas Key hired, and then purchased, Sally Cottrell, a slave belonging to Jefferson's granddaughter Ellen Randolph Coolidge. At the dispersal sales of Jefferson's slaves in January 1827 and 1829, Professors Blaetterman, Bonnycastle, and Dunglison made purchases. George Blaetterman purchased Marshall, Ben and Lilly Hern, and Ursula Hughes with four of her children. Ursula and her children were immediately exchanged with Thomas Jefferson Randolph for Doll and her children.¹⁸ Charles Bonnycastle bought Patsy Fossett, who ran away within a few months. Robley Dunglison acquired Fanny Gillette Hern and her youngest child, and later her husband David Hern. Fanny had earlier lived with the Dunglison's. Arthur Brockenbrough, the University proctor, paid \$600 for Thrimston Hern.¹⁹ Both Dunglison and John P. Emmet are known to have hired other slaves from Jefferson's family.

Professors did more than teach. They enforced University regulations on academic and communal matters, which frequently led them to review actions of students and slaves. They also tried to improve their own teaching conditions such as requesting the building of the Anatomical Hall for the School of Medicine. In 1829 the Board of Visitors arranged for a "servant" to spend up to four hours a day three days a week to clean and oil the metallic parts of the chemical apparatus.²⁰ Two professors and the University's proctor in December 1831 personally paid \$580, later reimbursed, to buy the slave Lewis Commodore for the use of the University.²¹ This man, the only slave the University ever owned, was sometimes referred to as "Anatomical Lewis."²² He probably handled the cadavers, maintained the medical equipment, and cleaned the Anatomical Hall building.²³

The 1994 Historic Structure Report of Pavilion V states that although the use of the largest basement room as a kitchen was clear from its large fireplace, "the original functions of the other rooms remain unknown," but it seems clear that they were slave quarters.²⁴

Enslaved people at the University were primarily “house servants” who did the cooking, served the food, tended the children and the livestock, and did the bidding of their owner. From the beginning the slaves lived near where they worked— in the Pavilion and Hotel cellars.²⁵ Soon more rooms for them were needed:

“Resolved, That as soon as the funds of the University will permit, it shall be the duty of the Proctor . . . to cause to be erected additional offices for the accommodation of servants, in connection with the Pavilions and hotels of the University, where they may be desired; not exceeding two apartments to each hotel or pavilion; provided that in no case shall the expense exceed \$100.”²⁶

On 22 July 1828 Professor Dr. Robley Dunglison was allotted \$150 to build additional accommodation for “servants” in the “tenement” (Pavilion X) occupied by him.²⁷ By 1832, when Professor Emmet applied for an *addition* to his Pavilion’s basement for the “accommodation of domestics,” similar additions had already been made to the Pavilions occupied by Professors George Tucker (IX), Charles Bonnycastle (VIII) and Gessner Harrison (VI).²⁸

In the early days of small student enrollment, the professors were given the right to use the two student rooms immediately adjacent to their Pavilions. When Professor Bonnycastle sought more space for his “domestics,” the proctor had the cellar under the Dormitory that he used as a study to be fitted up for his slaves.²⁹ In later years, additional housing for slaves are known to have existed behind Pavilion III³⁰ and Pavilion VII³¹ as well as in conjunction with Hotel A³² and Hotel E.³³ Bohn’s 1856 engraving of the “*View of the University of Virginia, Charlottesville and Monticello, Taken from Lewis Mountain*” shows many structures built behind the pavilions.

Students and Slaves

In 1842 the Board of Visitors decreed that a Hotel slave was to look after no more than twenty students. A slave was to bring to his assigned students water and clean towels by six a.m. By nine a.m. each day he was to make all beds and clean the rooms and candlesticks.

Student's shoes were to be blacked each afternoon. Each week the slave washed the fireplaces with potter's clay and blackened the andirons. An enslaved servant from each Hotel was assigned to wait each day at a specified location just before three in the afternoon to do whatever errands students requested.³⁴

Slaves helped the students in other ways. One student described a study session in which "as soon as I reached my room again commenced the Etymology, and in a little time should have studied myself to sleep, had not Albert, our servant, brought me, per order, a pot of strong coffee. . ." ³⁵ Sometimes slaves were given tips for such things as preparing broiled chicken suppers for students or for extra blacking of their boots.

Conflicts sometimes arose between students and slaves. The students, homogeneous in geographic origins, social class, and age, were the sons of wealthy planters, merchants and professionals, most of whom owned slaves. Essential to the students was their own self-worth, importance and good name. Actions or accusations, which infringed upon their conception of their honor, were opposed. A student could not be compelled to testify against himself or a fellow student. Professors could issue a firm and authoritative reprimand to a student, but could not be personally insulting or degrading. "Reprove he may, but never scold, nor above all denounce." In one instance a student complained of a Professor that, "he was imposed upon, and spoken to in an authoritarian manner—as an overseer speaks to a Negro slave."³⁶

Student outbursts were sometimes directed at the slaves who served them breakfast. A student was called before the Faculty for chastising a slave who failed to bring him some decent butter. He hit the slave on the head and threatened the Hotel keeper with a whipping. Another time a student lashed out at a slave for tending to someone else's needs before his own. Slaves were cursed, kicked, and threatened with whippings. University historian Philip Bruce writing in 1920 asked, "Was it very heinous that young men, kept up late at night by their studies, should have been inclined to be sulky and irascible when they have found themselves, after dragging themselves out of bed by five o'clock, eating the first meal of the day by murky candlelight, and quite probably too in a chilly apartment?"³⁷

A serious incident of student abuse of a slave occurred when students assaulted Professor Bonnycastle's slave Fielding. When accused the students replied that Fielding was very insolent to two students who were trying to disperse a large group of free "Negroes in the street." Fielding had told them not to interfere. They hit Fielding several times with a switch and later with a stick, and when he displayed "an insolent manner" as he moved away, they pursued, overtook and beat him until he "humbled himself." After urging Fielding to run, Professor Bonnycastle had been held back by one of the students who later declared "that any man who would protect a negro as much in the wrong as Fielding is no better than a negro himself." The case was left to the courts to resolve.³⁸

In 1856 a hired slave girl about ten years old angered a student boarding at Miss Terrell's house (located on the present site of St. Paul's Episcopal Church) by chasing a pigeon onto the grounds of the University. When the student asked her who had sent her there she replied, "What?" Then he threatened to whip her. Knowing that only her owner could punish her if she misbehaved, she was reported to have answered, "No you won't!" The student announced to Miss Terrell his intent to "chastise" her. Miss Terrell assured him she would handle it, as the child's owner was at that time staying with her. While the Terrell family was at dinner, the student called the girl to the back door, seized her, knocked her down, kicked and beat her until she was unconscious. A doctor was called. The screams of the girl and the ensuing confusion disturbed the peace of Miss Terrell's family, but she declined to make any complaint. When the student appeared before the Faculty, he apologized for the disturbance, but declared that he did not regret punishing the young slave, asserting "that whenever a servant is insolent to him, he will take upon himself the right of punishing him without the consent of his master." The Faculty resolved that he be required to withdraw from the University. At its meeting the following day, the Faculty received a written statement from the student acknowledging his discourtesy to Miss Terrell's household and his error in yielding to his temper. He went on to justify his "correction of a servant for impertinence" on the spot as "not only tolerated by society, but with proper qualifications may be defended on the ground

of the necessity of maintaining due subordination in this class of persons." He could not "promise that I will never chastise a servant for impertinence any more than I can promise never to resent by a blow an indignity offered to me by an equal." At the student's request the Faculty reconsidered their resolution that the student withdraw. It was rescinded.³⁹

The Peculiar Institution in the Established University

Living in a slave-based society must have caused discussion among the foreign born professors about how the question of slavery could be resolved. In 1828 a Presbyterian minister spoke on the topic of colonization of slaves.⁴⁰ The American Colonization Society, organized at Richmond in the winter of 1816-17, proposed to implement St. George Tucker's idea, published in 1796, of emancipation followed by colonization.⁴¹ Land was bought in Liberia to which former slaves could be transported. The concept generated enough local interest for the ladies of the University and the vicinity to sponsor a fair "for the benefit of the Colonization Society" which raised about \$600 from the sale of items made by the women. Professors Tucker, Emmet, Patterson, Dungleison, Harrison and Bonnycastle attended, as did many students.⁴² Three of these professors later manumitted one or more slaves. The first to do so was Patterson.

In 1834 Harriet Martineau described herself as the first British traveler to visit Jefferson's University. She visited Professor Patterson⁴³ in Pavilion V and met other professors and their wives. She noted during her visit that the Patterson's coachman could read and observed that, "These ladies, seeing apparently only domestic slaves kindly treated like their own, spoke lightly on the great subject, asking me if I did not think the slaves were happy; but their husbands used a very different tone, observing, with gloom, that it was a dark question every way."⁴⁴ On 6 December 1836 Patterson wrote from his new home in Philadelphia to free "for motives of benevolence towards my negro man named Benjamin Watson aged about

forty six years.”⁴⁵ This man might have been the literate family coachman noted by Martineau.

While Jefferson planned and opened the University of Virginia, the “Second Middle Passage” was gathering force. In this internal slave trade nearly one million people were sold away from Virginia and the Upper South to the states of the Deep South to satisfy the labor demands of cotton and sugar growing.⁴⁶ Any plans for colonization of freed slaves became increasingly unrealistic against this huge economic opportunity.

Family and work disruptions in slave communities became so great and so painful that the slaves sought a new source of strength to save themselves from despondency. Slaves, who had long resisted the faith of their owners, began to accept it. For slaveholders, a paternalistic outlook together with a desire to keep their slaves under control made many of them conscious of their Christian responsibilities. Emotional religious exhortations at revivals during “the Second Great Awakening” occurring at the same time changed the way Americans, free and enslaved, worshipped. The enslaved found solace and hope in the promise of salvation and in the Old Testament story of the Exodus from Egypt. Whether attending church with owners or with fellow slaves in “bush arbor” congregations, religious gatherings also became a place for the enslaved to formulate aspirations and exercise their talents as “exhorters.”⁴⁷

This growing interest in Christianity is reflected in the increasing membership in local congregations of both enslaved people and free blacks. At least 38 people of color belonging to people at one time associated with the University became ante-bellum members of the Charlottesville Baptist Church, the congregation with the largest slave and free black membership.⁴⁸ Among the earliest were Jack, Isaac and Rachael, belonging to Professor George Tucker, who were baptized in November 1832.⁴⁹

Religious instruction was directed at slaves by visiting preachers and by University residents. Mr. Cobbs came Sunday nights “to meet all the coloured people of the University with a view of giving them religious instruction . . . he possesses a happy talent for imparting knowledge to them in a plain simple style suited to their comprehension they attend very

regularly and behave themselves in a decent orderly manner."⁵⁰ This orderliness included an expectation of abstinence from readily available alcohol.⁵¹ Temperance was required of the slaves of professors who were active in the local temperance movement.⁵² In one instance after a recently purchased slave, Peyton, got drunk he was returned to his former master.⁵³

Slaves often remained within a university household for years, so complex relationships between slaves and owners were bound to develop. Glimpses of these relationships can be read in the letters that faculty members, such as Gessner Harrison and John Barbee Minor and their families, saved and later contributed to the University of Virginia archives.

As a young bachelor, Professor Harrison⁵⁴ first "made do" in Pavilion VI with the help of "an active sprightly boy," hired at \$2 a month and occasional hiring of "a servant for a day at small wages:"

"My domestic affairs are now pretty <satisfacting> arranged. Mrs Brockenbrough furnishes me with stale Bread as I want it, and I have procured a keg of crackers for Tea. A woman who is the wife of a man who occupies my cellar, does my washing, and all the cooking necessary for my servant. I shall pay her at the rate of \$2 per month so that my whole Bill for my laundress, and cooking . . . probably cost me \$4 or 5 per month."⁵⁵

Within a year he bought a slave, Charles (later known as Charles Perry), who worked for him and his family for more than twenty years. Charles' talents and tasks were varied. He made breakfasts of cornbread and batter cakes, cooked peach, pear and quince preserves, and converted 361 pounds of pork into bacon."⁵⁶ Before long young Professor Harrison had found a wife, Eliza Tucker, a daughter of George Tucker, the University's first Professor of Moral Philosophy.⁵⁷ He sent Charles to his parent's home in Harrisonburg to bring back a bed, a cow and other things.⁵⁸ In the years that followed Charles continued making trips "over the mountains" carrying gifts and "commands" from the family and students. He regularly worked the gardens industriously and spent time in the countryside finding provisions for the family.⁵⁹

After Gessner and Eliza Harrison had children the family needed more slaves. When their first child Maria Carter Harrison was about two years old she said "a few words very

distinctly this morning she ran up to China [her slave nurse] and said 'kiss kiss.'" Flora became the family cook. She and Cassandra worked on the washing to get "the boys' clothes ready in time for them to go to school"⁶⁰

When slaves were hurt, sick, or giving birth, their suffering and inability to do their work concerned both the ill and their owners. Over the years Charles suffered a variety of accidents such as falling out of the stable loft at Mrs. Gilmer's,⁶¹ and having his horse stumble and fall on his leg.⁶² In another instance a slave named Thornton cut off the top of his thumb on his left hand, "and is consequently unfitting for work, which is so much needed at this time— He had just commenced putting the ground in order for gardening—."⁶³

Flora, mother of the Henry mentioned above, worked for Professor Harrison's family for more than twenty-five years. Family letters noted she was "confined" in 1840, kept to her room after the loss of a child in 1849, and suffered a violent life-threatening epileptic convulsion resulting in a premature stillborn birth. Mrs. Harrison wrote "I hope she will now get well. Though it may be some time before she can do anything if she ever is of any service again, in the mean time we find it quite difficult to obtain anyone to take her place."⁶⁴

Occasional brief absences of slaves from their owners were allowed for personal reasons as when Cassandra, hired to the Harrison family, had frequent opportunities to visit her master during his final illness and to attend his funeral.⁶⁵ James was given permission by Professor Minor to visit his mother.⁶⁶ Lucy, hired from Mr. Magruder, was allowed to go to Richmond to see a niece who was extremely ill.⁶⁷ The master of Moses granted him permission to visit Professor Minor to tell him about the treatment of his wife, Dolly, and request him to intervene on her behalf.⁶⁸ Maria, hired by Professor Smith's family, was granted leave to see her Mistress married.⁶⁹ When Lucy, a recently freed young woman hired as a nurse to the Smith family, got sick, her father insisted she return to her home on the "Redlands" estate.⁷⁰

Punishment, Family Disruption, and the Rules of 'Freedom'

Despite efforts of some slave owners to keep husbands and wives near each other and to honor family relationships, slaves were property to be punished, hired away, or sold as their owners wished. A young wife at the University wrote her husband about her daily life, "The children are all well. I had to have Reuben whipped—he has done remarkably well since."⁷¹ At the end of each year families reviewed their "domestic arrangements" and hired some new slaves or hired out others. Harriet was "very bad and troublesome" so was hired to a family in the country which was considered a far better place for her. One might infer that Harriet's misbehavior involved University students.⁷²

A slave who walked off without permission or papers was not tolerated. When he was away on holiday, law Professor John Barbee Minor had to solve through his letters the problem of his slave, Jim Friday, who continued to run away. His young son, John Davis Minor, wanted his father to sell the slave locally rather than to a slave trader.⁷³ His father's reply addressed to "My dearest boy" opened with a fatherly notation of punctuation and capitalization errors in his son's previous letter then continued,

"He [Jim] has behaved very badly as to make it necessary to dispose of him. As to his being sold to a trader, the only reason why that need be regretted is that it would occasion his being parted from his mother, who loves him & is loved by him too little to care for the separation . . . If his grand-mother were still alive it would pain her . . . in truth will be better off under the strict government of a Southern master, than in Virginia where I really fear he would come to the Gallows."⁷⁴

Slaves who were husband and wife were usually owned by different families and rarely lived under the same roof. Isabella and William Gibbons were fortunate to live near each other on the University grounds during the 1850s. Owners sometimes expressed concern about the separation of husbands and wives. Professor John B. Minor advised his brother in Louisa County that he was sending a slave, Lucy, to Louisa with the higher priority being to sell her to someone convenient to her husband, Mike, rather than obtain a high price for her. As a lawyer, Professor Minor corresponded with Mrs. Edwin Conway, widow of a former Hotel

keeper at the University, living in Louisville, Kentucky. She had debts but could not sell her slaves Lawrence and his mother, Betty Vines, her dower property still living in Virginia. She wanted to hire out Lawrence “as his wife cant be bought.” In another example Uncle Dick was not allowed to hire himself out, as someone else had agreed to find a job for him at the rate of \$50 a year, hopefully “in this neighborhood on account of Sophy, but they say there is not chance of that.”

Disruption occurred when slave owners within the University community moved away. After Professor Charles Bonnycastle died, his widow planned to move to Georgetown with her slaves. But ultimately the slaves were left behind to work at or near the University. Her daughter asked one of her young friends at the University to “give my love to Fielding and all our servants.”⁷⁵ Mrs. Bonnycastle wrote her lawyer in regard to an enslaved women mentioned in her husband’s will. “I am quite at a loss to know what to do with Tulip, as I cannot afford to pay a high board for her— if I could get her into a Hospital without going to much expense or a poor house I should certainly do so—”⁷⁶

Professor George Tucker and his wife Louisa moved to Philadelphia in 1845. His wife wrote to her step-granddaughter of her sadness at leaving not only family but also her slaves.

“I cannot express to you how sad & distressed we felt at parting with you all, not omitting the poor servants Peggy & her situation & my poor little Pet Mary & faithful Rachel all contributed to my distress . . . don’t fail to tell me how Mary Peggy & Rachel are & where Isaac and Jack have gotten homes — wherever you are poor little Mary give my love to her & tell her to be a good child & never to forget to say her prayers as I taught her to do-”⁷⁷

Later correspondence shows that Peggy was hired to Dr Cabell (Pavilion I) then went to a Mrs. Morris, Rachel stayed with Dr Schele (Pavilion IV), and Jack was hired to Professor William Barton Rogers (Pavilion VI). Isaac revisited the University in 1849 from some unknown place.⁷⁸

People who had moved away tried to stay in touch with their University friends. For instance, several women formerly of the University moved to Louisville, KY.⁷⁹ Among them

was Nannie Conway (Mrs. Edwin Conway) a former Hotel keeper who had taken some of her slaves with her to Kentucky. She wrote, "All the family send their love to you and all of yours; give our respects to Uncle Charles [Charles Perry] tell him all the servants send their love to him and say that he must give their love to Aunt Betty Vines and the rest of our servants who are left."⁸⁰

Fractured slave families joined together to create new family-like units. People living, working, worshipping or celebrating together became "kin." Titles like "Uncle" used by both the slaves and their owners, denoted a role within this family-like community.⁸¹ Holidays were times for slaves to be together. "As yesterday was Easter, the coloured ladies took holiday by turns, Margaret went to town in the morning and Aunt Miranda and Sherwood Margaret went visiting in the afternoon."⁸²

"If any slave hereafter emancipated shall remain within this Commonwealth more than twelve months after his freedom, he shall forfeit such right, and may be sold by the overseers for the benefit of the poor."⁸³

This 1806 ruling of the Virginia General Assembly discouraged the freeing of Virginia slaves, but a freed person could apply to the General Assembly (in later years, to the local court) for permission to stay in the state. This restriction together with the 1793 fugitive slave law and abolitionist sentiments led to the start of the collaborative effort known as the "Underground Railroad."

After the war with Mexico the Wilmot Proviso of 1846 proposed to the Federal government that the territory acquired from Mexico and the area of Texas would not be open to slavery. Any proposal that threatened the balance between the number of slave and free states achieved in 1820 through the Missouri Compromise, was bound to cause a furor. A series of five measures, the "Compromise of 1850," was passed to settle the disputes between pro-slavery and anti-slavery factions, but these only deferred the dissolution of the Union. The most controversial of these was the Fugitive Slave Act that restated the earlier one and added

strong provisions for enforcement of the law by federal officers and fines against anyone assisting fugitive slaves. Anyone suspected of being a runaway slave was denied a chance to testify on his own behalf or to be tried by a jury. In Virginia, state legislators rewrote the state constitution in 1850-51 including a restatement of the "Deportation Act of 1806" quoted above. With the political climate of the time being as it was, a greater effort was made to enforce this Act.

In this mid-century political climate some University Professors re-examined the status of their enslaved people. Just before Thomas Hewitt Key, the first Professor of Mathematics, returned to England in 1827, he wrote a document freeing his slave Sally Cottrell.⁸⁴ Despite the 1806 law she did not leave Virginia. Described as "Free" she was baptized into the Charlottesville Baptist Church 24 December 1841 and married a free black man, Reuben Cole. In November 1850, more than twenty years after she had been "freed," Eugene Davis drafted a letter to send to Key in London. He explained that his father, Professor John A.G. Davis, had never executed the legal papers to free Sally Cottrell that Key had left with him. Davis wrote that she had remained unmolested until a recent re-examination of free Negroes remaining in the state. He proposed several alternatives including selling her to her husband or to the Southall family, which had employed her for many years as a nurse. It is unclear which of these actions was taken.⁸⁵

As noted above when Professor George Tucker left the University for Philadelphia in 1845 he at first hired his slaves to other professors and local residents. On 31 March 1850, Tucker manumitted his slave Jack Sellers, who was then living with Professor Rogers at the University of Virginia.⁸⁶ Despite the risks of being re-enslaved, Jack remained at the University to stay near his wife and children. When Professor Rogers moved to Boston, "Uncle Jack" stayed on in Pavilion VI with the next Professor of Natural Philosophy, Francis H. Smith and his bride Mary Stuart Harrison, a granddaughter of Professor Tucker.⁸⁷

In his autobiography Tucker states he freed all of his five slaves, probably at this same time. Isaac with his wife, Liddy, and Rachel with her daughter, Mary, moved to Philadelphia to

work for the Tuckers. Shortly after being freed Rachel and Mary caused great concern when they ran away from them taking a trunk full of clothes.⁸⁸ Isaac died in 1857 and “Old Liddy must now rely altogether on such aid as we occasionally afford her, and on the public charity which is very active & liberal in this city.”⁸⁹

The first Professor of Modern Languages, George Blaetterman, left the University in 1840, but continued to live at his estate near Keswick until his death in 1850. When his widow moved to Kentucky to live with their adopted son, she took some of the family slaves with her. In 1855 she freed all of them including Dolly Cottrell and her daughter, Lucy Cottrell. They remained with her until Lucy’s husband, Peter, could finish paying off the debt he owed the Blaetterman family for having purchased him rather than let his former owner sell him away from his family.⁹⁰

On 7 October 1851 Gessner Harrison manumitted “a female mulatto child, named Becky or Becca, the daughter of my servant man Charles, for which a title was made to me by Mr John Gilmer Dated May 7, 1849.” Three months later, on 1 January 1852, he manumitted “my man slave named Charles commonly called Charles Perry.” No mention of these two manumissions was found in the family correspondence. Charles was first baptized into the Baptist Church in 1842, and given a letter of “dismission” in October 1855 which allowed him to join another congregation elsewhere. It was nearly four years after his manumission that Charles Perry moved away to some unknown place.⁹¹

No record has been found in the Albemarle County Law Order books that Sally Cottrell Coles, Jack Sellers or Charles Perry ever applied for permission to remain in the Commonwealth.⁹² We do not know how many other manumitted slaves ignored the requirements of the Deportation Act to remain in Virginia for more than a year.

Literacy and Education

Professors Harrison, a Methodist, and John B. Minor, an Episcopalian, both operated Sunday Schools that included a school for slaves. Professor William Holmes McGuffey, a

Presbyterian, who was himself opposed to the institution of slavery, attracted many people of color to his sermons whenever he preached.⁹³ Professor Minor continued to devote time to give religious instruction to the slaves in his home. In a farewell letter dictated by Scott Wood, a hired man who was returning to his owner Benjamin Wood of Ivy Depot, he said he was “under great obligation to you for the many religious lessons I received at your hands” and appreciated his “assistance in my ‘wooing stage’ for which I feel especially grateful.”⁹⁴ University students founded the Young Men’s Christian Association in 1858. Within a few months John Johnson, its first president, had begun a “Colored Sunday School here at the University.”⁹⁵

Although it was illegal to teach the slaves of others to read, there was no Virginia law preventing owners from teaching their own slaves to do so. Such a law would have codified the relationship between the owner and his enslaved property, something slaveholders wanted to avoid. A few owners did teach their slaves to read despite the strong social disapproval of instruction in anything other than religious topics.⁹⁶ Some evidence has been found of the help given the Gibbons family in their efforts toward literacy.

In 1853 Mary Stuart Harrison, Gessner and Eliza Harrison’s second daughter, married Francis H. Smith who succeeded Professor William Barton Rogers both as Professor of Natural Philosophy and as resident of Pavilion VI. The enslaved cook they found to help them in their new home was Isabella Gibbons. The former Professor Rogers wrote from his new residence in Boston to his successor, “Mrs Rogers sends enclosed a little present for Isabella & by the same mail a picture-book each for Charley & Johnny.”⁹⁷ This note, the earliest record of Isabella Gibbons at the University, confirms some intimacy between Professor Rogers’ Massachusetts born wife and the Virginia slave. The gift of “picture books” suggests that the value of reading was included in this relationship. Isabella taught her children to read during slavery.⁹⁸ Years later, as a nine-year old attending the Freedman’s school, her daughter Bella wrote, “Though very little of my life was spent in slavery, yet I knew enough of it to know, unless my mother taught me secretly, I could never learn to read and write . . . I used to go

into the house to play with the little girl I belonged to and she would show me the books with pictures in them, but I was dare to touch one.”⁹⁹

Isabella’s husband, William worked hard to learn to read. Their daughter Bella said that he educated himself by being around his young master’s books and by listening in on conversations of the University students. Mary McGuffey Stewart, a daughter of William Holmes McGuffey, told her descendants that she decided to educate the family’s hired butler, “a bright young colored man about her own age, named William Givens [Gibbons].”¹⁰⁰

No evidence was found indicating that any other professor’s children assisted slaves to read, but young children developed their own special relationships with family slaves. Children asked adults to “give their love” or their instructions to them. “Give love to all the servants particularly Mammy and Aunt Motley.” “Give my love to sis and tell her that I never will forget how kind she was to me, and all the servants and you must be sure and give my love to Aunt Becky & Mammy Judy and everyone of them.”¹⁰¹ “PS Please tell Matilda not to forget to feed Pussy and take care of kittins.” “Tell Matilda I am going to see when I come back if she has fed Pussy well and taken good care of the kittens.” Mary L. Minor wrote after learning of the death of her pet bird. “I was very much inclined to blame Mary or Ellen or whomever left the middle door open—Even Rachel & Henry did not escape for they ought not to have allowed a cat to come on the lot.”¹⁰²

Health Problems as the University Grows

Health worries at the University of Virginia were both humanitarian and economic. If the University became known as an unhealthy place, then students would not attend. Seriously ill adult slaves might not be able to perform their duties. Illness was a concern from the opening of the University. For instance, in 1825 there was an outbreak of “bilious” and typhoid fever at the University during which two slaves of George Washington Spotswood, operator of Hotel D, died. It was believed that the drains and pumps had stopped up.¹⁰³ Other

outbreaks of typhoid occurred in 1829 and in 1857 despite efforts directed at better sanitation, cleaning, and whitewashing.¹⁰⁴

Over the years the Medical Professors treated both the free and the enslaved. The University Enactments of 1827 announced that at advertised times the Professor of Medicine would open a dispensary at the Anatomical Theater to give medical advice. “All *poor*, free persons, disordered in body . . . shall receive it *gratis*; all others, bond or free shall receive it on payment of half a dollar. All persons shall be vaccinated gratis; and the students particularly shall be encouraged to be so.” This provision for local health care helped the general population that did not have a local hospital, and also gave the students of Medicine some clinical experience.¹⁰⁵ Sometimes Professors paid their own family doctor to care for family slaves.

Increasing sectionalism was one reason that the size of the University student body rose from 128 students in 1842-43 to an ante-bellum high of 645 students in 1856-57.¹⁰⁶ Another was that starting in 1850 Charlottesville became accessible by railroad to students from other southern states. Because of growth in enrollment larger amounts of refuse came from the kitchens, laundries, and the many animals on the grounds raising health concerns.

Living conditions of the enslaved contributed to illness. Allen B. Magruder wrote to Professor Smith in Pavilion VI expressing concern about the well being of his slave, Lucy, whom he had hired to the professor. “Lucy’s mistress is under the impression from what she has heard from other servants, that Lucy’s rheumatism is perhaps aggravated by her sleeping apartment being always liable to dampness.”¹⁰⁷ He went on to suggest putting a plank floor over the brick floor. It is not clear whether Lucy lived under the main house or in a separate building, but it is clear that a slave communication network worked to improve her environment.

In some cases slaves did not take proper care of themselves as when Tom became sick with Pneumonia following a neglected cold.¹⁰⁸ In other instances it was clear that they were more than capable of doing so. Professor John B. Minor, who had hired Scott Wood from his

owner Benjamin Wood of Ivy, wrote him that, "Scott thinks his health could be benefitted by going to the springs this summer." Minor did not object provided he was not charged for his hire during his absence or had to pay for his journey. Scott expected to earn enough while at the springs to pay for both.¹⁰⁹

The approaching death of a family slave caused concern in the Minor family who were "much occupied with anxiety about poor Matilda who has grown steadily worse & is now extremely ill . . . We are at our wif's end about a nurse for Matilda." Professor Minor worried whether she was prepared to die or if he may have failed in his duty of religious instruction.¹¹⁰

Vital statistics reported to the state between 1853 and 1865 include the deaths of fourteen slaves between the ages of nine and eighty, owned or hired by people at the University. Two of them died in the 1857 outbreak of typhoid fever that struck down fourteen students. During that time period there were twenty-three recorded births (one stillborn) to the enslaved women at the University, and the death of ten enslaved children less than a year old. One mother died with her child.

Conflict and War

The mood of the community just prior to the Civil War was reflected in University classrooms and in personal letters. Professors interspersed their lectures on calculus or the law with arguments that a Southern confederacy would protect the South's economic interests and preserve its social systems.¹¹¹ The increased strain between slaves and their owners can be seen when the slave Isabella Gibbons, supporting a free-black woman's higher salary claim, led her owner to write that "I do not know how . . . Isabella could consent to making such a false statement. . . ." ¹¹²

As tension between North and South turned into war, everyday life changed. Many students and some faculty went into active service, but the University remained open. For a time, the University grounds became a hospital. "We all sent our servants to assist in cleaning out the public hall for their reception . . . arrived 200 poor wounded soldiers instead of 70."¹¹³

Before the start of the war Professor Gessner Harrison had left the University to create his own schools for boys. One of his sons came home from the front with a camp fever. His father helped nurse him back to health, but in the process Harrison himself succumbed to the disease. His son-in-law, Professor Smith, dealt with the large debts and financial disorder left behind. The Smith family debated whether it was cheaper to live back on the University grounds or to stay in the country with family members. In August 1862 Isabella Gibbons took time off from wherever she was working to help Mary Stuart Smith open up, air and clean out Pavilion V.¹¹⁴ Finally in November 1863 Isabella Gibbons and her children left the Smith family. It is not clear if Isabella was sold or hired out, but she stayed nearby.¹¹⁵

With the onset of war there was a substantial increase in the slave membership of the Charlottesville Baptist Church. This may reflect the slaves' greater inclination towards religion during such hard times or their owners' desire to have them under control of a second social institution, or perhaps both of these reasons. In 1863 the large black membership separated from the Charlottesville Baptist Church to form a new independent church, but, as prescribed by law, had a white minister.

Professor John B. Minor was outspoken in his desire to save the Union but once the war began he supported the Confederate cause. He served with guards on Monticello Mountain, as an attendant at the Hospital in Louisa Court House, and paid his taxes to the Confederacy. His daughter Mary L. Minor organized other women and joined them in work for the kitchens of the General Hospital in Charlottesville.

The Minor family with the help of their slaves took precautions against invasion. Nannie C. Minor wrote "I feel much more, as if the enemy were coming to-day or to-night than I did last night— Charles & Simon removed half the Bac [tobacco?] & I have my silver in my room."¹¹⁶ Hay was brought in from their cousin William Minor's farm and an attempt was made to purchase corn from Franklin Minor, at Ridgway, who objected to Professor Minor's pre-war efforts to save the Union.¹¹⁷ "They [the Confederacy] sent for the Mule yesterday so

we are thrown again upon only one. Simon said he had finished planting the corn & was yesterday getting the ragweed up in the grass lot.”¹¹⁸

Minor’s slave Phil was among the local people hired to work for the Confederacy. In March 1863 R. Tuck, the Superintendent and Administrator of the Quarter Masters Office in Staunton, wrote to Professor Minor that “your boy Phil left me on the 1st Instant, and I suppose he has gone to Charlottesville, why he left I do not know he was getting along very well — and I know of no reason for his leaving — please keep a look out for him.” Phil finally turned up but Professor Minor decided, “to sell the boy — fearing the difficulty of eradication of the habit of running off.”¹¹⁹ Professor Minor provided Henry as another hire to Mr. Tuck.

The Confederate government requisitioned slaves from Albemarle owners three times during the war. In November 1862 540 Albemarle slaves were sent to Richmond to work on defenses, in September 1863 another 200 went to work on “fortifications of the state” and in March 1864, 192 more slaves left for Richmond. None of the people associated with the University owned these slaves, but certainly many families felt the loss.¹²⁰ Free black people and slaves were put to work at the Charlottesville General Hospital.¹²¹

War changed the previous relations between the still enslaved people and their owners. In July 1864 Eliza Harrison wrote advice to her sister-in-law.

“I was truly concerned to hear of the trouble you had had with your servants. I am much in hopes that Bob has returned by this time. They are certainly most troublesome property & I think you would do well to dispose of them this winter, if the war should continue there is so much risk and uncertainty in you being able to retain them . . . it would be greatly to your advantage to dispose of them & if it should cease it seems to me that it would suit you better to be rid of them. You will be constantly annoyed as you have been this year by complaints, running away &c. If they command good prices I dare say all of your friends here advise the sale of them.”¹²²

She did decide to sell them, but it was not clear that they remained nearby.

“I was pleased to learn . . . you had decided to sell your servants . . . By selling them you will be sure of something . . . It matters not how excellent our servants may be in the hour of strong temptation they give way to what appears to them the superior advantages of freedom & if Clarissa and her family remain with the Yankees they will have such very strong inducements to join them that it would require more than human courage to resist these natural impulses & then you will have the satisfaction of knowing that they have a home and some one to take care of them . . . I cannot help

indulging a hope the you may get back some of your servants if not all. It seems very strange that if Bob was seen in the streets some person should not have arrested him immediately.”¹²³

Professor Minor’s daughter, Mary, wrote to her Aunt about the surrender of the University to invading Yankees. She wrote that, “stragglers appeared whose purpose was evidently to plunder.” The Federal troops asked Rachel, the family cook, whether the family owned any watches to which she replied that she “didn’t know nothin I stays in the kitchen . . . Simon carried the mule to the mountains, but he was discovered & the mule examined and pronounced unfit for service, however he brought it here to be safer under the protection of the guard & they actually left it! Dr Maupin¹²⁴ lost one of his horses & Berkeley was discovered in the act of riding off the other. He of course went taking his family along. Two other men of the Drs went also.” “You think Ellen has not come back <on> us again! She was hired to Collier who beat her cruelly & she has come home. I suppose permanently. I trust the Yankees will take her I could not wish them a greater plague.”¹²⁵

Freedom: a conclusion and a beginning

With the war over Mary L. Minor again wrote her aunt to tell her how her family and their former slaves were doing.

“The servants are behaving very well as far as I can see. Cousin George McIntire’s have all gone off & established themselves near the Monticello House. I wish ours would do likewise.” “We have not yet suffered the inconveniences of most persons in having no servants. A plenty remain though Nancy & her family are supporting themselves, that is they are living off the meat Father provided for her in the house he rented & supporting her by washing &c. Ellen has hired herself to Mrs Schele [wife of Professor Schele de Vere] no cook is doing quite well! John has left us & in his stead we have a younger & not so efficient a man. Mary informed us this morning that she could not stand the washing so I hope notice will be served on her to give place to a stranger less encumbered person. Her husband is making quantities of money & could support her easily.”¹²⁶

Although the University had kept operating at a reduced level and had been largely protected from military actions during the Civil War, its quality as an educational institution

and as a property was deteriorating. Confederate forces had used the Public Hall and grounds as a hospital and Federal forces had set up camp on them on their way towards Richmond. Renovations and improvements began in the fall of 1865. Freedmen were hired to whitewash and clean rooms, cut wood, work in the brickyard, repair the pumps, haul coal and during winter to work at the Ice Pond.¹²⁷

At the time of the 1870 census some of these workers still lived in the Charlottesville area and most of the freed slaves from the University had moved out of their former accommodations at the University.¹²⁸ The absorption of the freed people into specific neighborhoods nearby is a topic for further study.¹²⁹

In October 1865 the New England Freedmen's Aid Society sent Anna Gardner to Charlottesville to start a school for the freedmen. William Barton Rogers, former University Professor and founder of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was a Vice-President of this Boston organization. It seems likely that he and his wife, Emma, encouraged the location of a school in Charlottesville. Gardner, an abolitionist from Nantucket, Massachusetts stayed in Charlottesville for five years. Shortly after her arrival Isabella Gibbons presented herself to the northern teacher and asked to help.¹³⁰ The former slave was well spoken, had a sense of personal dignity that earned respect, and had already started to teach others in the community. She was hired immediately as an aide and after some additional instruction from Gardner became a teacher. Another Massachusetts teacher, Philena Carkin, arrived in the spring of 1866.

A set of graded schools evolved with Gardner teaching the most advanced (called the "Jefferson" school), Carkin the grammar school, and two formerly enslaved people, Isabella Gibbons and Paul Lewis, teaching the two primary schools. At first they taught from a wooden building formerly part of the Confederate General Hospital, but later on from a schoolhouse that was built just south of the railroad near 7th Street SW.

Their goal was to take those most ready to learn, regardless of age, and prepare them as quickly as possible to become teachers of others. Professor William Holmes McGuffey,

famed for his series of Eclectic Readers and Spellers, and Professor John Barbee Minor, an ante-bellum advocate of public education, as well as Emma Rogers (Professor William Barton Rogers' wife from Boston) were among those who visited the school. Monthly reports, and occasional photos were sent to their supporters in Boston.¹³¹

The New England Freedmen's Aid Society and its branches paid the salaries of all the teachers until the local public school system hired Isabella Gibbons and Paul Lewis in 1871. With her salary paid from the Massachusetts organization, Philena Carkin continued teaching in Charlottesville until the Spring of 1875.¹³²

William Gibbons became the leader of a thriving Washington D.C. congregation. Philena Carkin described him as a person of rare eloquence, exceptional character and kindly disposition. What she wrote of William Gibbons in her 1901 recollections applies not only to him, but also to many others confined by slavery.

"When I think of what an influence this man exerted in the narrow sphere in which his destiny had placed him I try to figure what his <power> would have been, if Fortune had bestowed upon him the advantages she so lavished upon many who discredit their opportunities. According to all standards he was an ignorant man. He had picked up such meager bits of book-learning as he could with his meager opportunities, but he made the most of what he had gathered in this way, and with this slight aid to his natural abilities he became a power among his people. His manner was that of a cultivated gentleman, courteous and dignified, but never pompous, gentle but never servile."¹³³

On his visits back to Charlottesville to be with his wife, Isabella, and their children, William brought gifts of fruit, game and Potomac shad to Professor McGuffey, whose hired servant he had been and whose daughter had helped him to learn to read.¹³⁴ In Washington Pastor Gibbons visited prisons to minister to inmates and took classes in Theology at Howard University. At his Washington funeral in 1886 thousands mourned him. Hundreds attended his subsequent local service and burial in the part of Charlottesville's Oakwood Cemetery then designated for people of color. His Washington congregation later erected an imposing, tall marker that distinguishes his grave from its surroundings and can be viewed from a distance.

¹ The author would like to express her indebtedness to the late Robert A. Cross for his early encouragement of my interest in this topic and to William A. Abbot, Arthur Schulman, and David N. Schulman for their expert editorial comments.

² D. Jeffrey Kidder and Steven E. Williams, *Pavilion VI, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia* (Charlottesville, 1990), 3.

³ Gayle M. Schulman, "The Gibbons Family: Freedmen," *Magazine of Albemarle County History*, 55 (1997), 60-93. Her residence before and after these years cannot be confirmed, but she likely was the woman belonging to Jane West named Isabella baptized into the Charlottesville Baptist Church 5 Oct. 1851. Isabella's son, John (born to an unknown father before her children by William Gibbons), was owned by Jane West and took "West" as his surname. Jane West left her estate to John West whom she referred to as her "adopted son."

⁴ Philena Carkin Papers, "Reminiscences of my Life and Work among the Freedmen of Charlottesville, Virginia from March 1st 1866 to July 1st 1875," University of Virginia Archives, Alderman Library, Charlottesville, vol. 2, 51. Hereafter cited as Carkin "Reminiscences." In Orra Langhorne, "Southern Sketches," *Southern Workman and Hampton School Record* (Oct. 1889), 102 the Gibbons' daughter Bella stated that her father came to the University as a body servant to his young master. It is unclear if Professor Howard from Maryland purchased William upon his arrival in Virginia to serve his son Hamilton Howard a student from 1840-41 or at a later date. Professor Smith was Professor of Natural Philosophy from 1853-1908, Professor Howard of Medicine from 1838-1867.

⁵ There are fifteen existing four-year educational institutions in Virginia with origins in ante-bellum times; College of William and Mary(1693), Washington and Lee University (1749), Hampden-Sydney College (1776), University of Virginia (1819), Randolph-Macon College (1830), University of Richmond (1830), Emory and Henry College (1836). Virginia Commonwealth University (1838), Longwood University (1839), Virginia Military Institute (1839), Hollins University (1842), Mary Baldwin College (1842), Roanoke College (1842), Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (1851), Averett College (1859).

⁶ Catherine Neale, a University of Virginia student leader, began in 2004 to research the slaves at the University. Under the direction of Professor Edward Ayers, she is preparing a more extensive paper for the future use of the University and the community. The University Guide Service has incorporated an overview of African-Americans at the University of Virginia into their guide training and tours. Catherine has expanded the instruction of the guides to include what she has learned of the slave community. (Personal communication 2004)

⁷ Among professors' personal papers in the University archives the most extensively used are those of the families of Professors George Tucker, Gessner Harrison, Francis H. Smith and John Barbee Minor.

⁸ Frank E. Grizzard, Jr., "Documentary History of the Construction of the Buildings at the University of Virginia, 1817-1828" (electronic Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1996), Chapter 1.

⁹ Grizzard, Appendix X. Names of workers included Carpenter Sam, Elijah a boatman, William Green a blacksmith, Jim Henderson, Tom, Fleming, Phil, Robert, Peyton and Harry and Jefferson's former slave, Burwell.

¹⁰ The earliest rules, called "Enactments," governing student behavior include this prohibition. At other ante-bellum colleges such as the College of William and Mary and Hollins College some students brought their slaves to college. *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* Vol.6 (series1), 1897, p. 187. Of seventy-five students living at William and Mary in 1754 "Eight of the more wealth students had Negro boys to wait on them" Board for them was two pounds ten shillings. Herbert Clarence Bradshaw, *History of Hampden-Sydney College:Volume I From the Beginnings to the year 1856*, (Durham, North Carolina, 1976), 94. The earliest mention of Hampden-Sydney students' slaves was 9 April 1793.

¹¹ Enactments by the rector and visitors of the University of Virginia 1827, University of Virginia Archives, Alderman Library, Charlottesville, 11. They specify that the Proctor “shall employ the laborers of the University in preserving the cleanliness of all the grounds and tenements not in the occupation of the Professors and hotel keepers, in keeping the drains and gutters clean and in repair, in causing suitable depositories to be prepared for the sweepings and offal from the tenements of the Professors and Hotel-keepers, and in daily removing such sweepings and offal.” For example, the University hired Dorcas, Aaron, Isaiah (also known as Jack), and Harry from John S. May for the years 1826 to 1830. Patron’s Ledger 1833-34, University of Virginia Archives, Alderman Library. Charlottesville, 25 June 1832 John S. May, Louisa County to John A. Carr, Proctor, University.

¹² Marie Frank, “It Took An Academical Village: Jefferson’s Hotels at the University of Virginia,” *Magazine of Albemarle County History*, 59 (2001), 30-68.

¹³ Compendia for the national census taken on the decades between 1830 through 1860 show that during these years about 54% of the Albemarle residents were enslaved or free people of color. From the internet page of the African American Genealogy Group of Charlottesville/Albemarle under “Projects.”

¹⁴ U.S. Census of Population, 1830, 1840, 1850 from U.S. Archives and Records Service. Reports from Hotel keepers were uneven and sometimes included students. They have not been included here. It is acknowledged that some of the slaves owned by professors did not live within the confines of the University but on their farms. For instance the summary for 1830 likely includes farm hands for John A. G. Davis at “The Farm” and for George C. Blattermann at “Limestone Farm.” Ann Tyree, the only free woman of color noted as living with a professor (John S. Davis in the 1850 census), is not counted in this summary. Slaves for 1850 were listed in a separate Slave Census.

¹⁵ Dungleison and Key brought their brides with them. Blaetterman’s wife was a teacher who opened her own school in Charlottesville. During his brief stay in Virginia, Long married a relative of the wife of the University Proctor, Arthur Spicer Brockenbrough. Bonnycastle married a descendent of George Mason. Emmet married a relative of Professor George Tucker.

¹⁶ Phillip A. Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia, 1819-1919*, vol. 2 (New York, 1920), 7, 16.

¹⁷ Grizzard, Chapter 10 note 714; 25 Dec. 1826 Dungleison to John Hartwell Cocke.

¹⁸ “Doll” was Dorothea Cotterell who joined the Baptist Church 22 Nov. 1834 and was called “Dolly” in Mrs. Blaetterman’s letters.

¹⁹ Lucia Stanton of Monticello’s “Getting Word” project generously provided this information. Also see Lucia Stanton, *Free Some Day: the African-American Families of Monticello* (Thomas Jefferson Foundation, 2000). Although the fate of some of Jefferson’s slaves is known many questions remain. For instance, it is not known what happened to Fanny and David Hern and their child when Professor Robley Dungleison left the University in 1833.

²⁰ Board of Visitors Minutes, 20 July 1829. Hereafter cited as BOV Minutes.

²¹ BOV Minutes, 18 July 1832. These were Dr. Robert M. Patterson, Professor of Natural History, John A.G. Davis, Professor of Law, and Arthur S. Brockenbrough, University Proctor.

²² Catherine Neale has found sources that suggests that “Lewis Commodore” and “Anatomical Lewis” were two different men (Personal communication). Hampton-Sydney College owned a slave William “Billy” Brown who managed to buy his freedom but failed in several attempts between 1824-26 to get permission from the Virginia legislature to stay in Virginia. Herbert Clarence Bradshaw, *History of Hampden-Sydney College: Volume I From the beginnings to the year 1856* (Durham, 1976), 360-61. Randolph-Macon College purchased John for \$500 in 1835 and Lewis for \$750 in 1837. Lewis was sold in 1847. John was described as “too diligent” and when the college ended up owing him money they were forced to give him his freedom on 20 September 1851. James Edward Scanlon *Randolph-Macon College: A Southern History, 1825-1967* (Charlottesville, 1983), 109.

²³ It may have been hard to find an owner willing to hire someone to do this work. In later years note was made of Lewis’ alcohol consumption, but he continued to work and be fed, clothed, and sheltered at University expense. William Pratt’s Map of the University Grounds, c. 1858, in the University of Virginia Archives shows the Anatomical Hall with a separate dissecting room and a privy nearby

²⁴ Mesick, Cohen, Waite Architects, *Pavilion V: University of Virginia Historic Structure Report* (Albany, N.Y., 1994), 77. In 1982 Sullivan claimed that Jefferson’s original designs for the professors’ Pavilions “consisted of five rooms: stair hall, kitchen, servants’ quarters, pantry and store room, with fireplaces in the kitchen and servant’s quarters.” Michael D. Sullivan, *Pavilion II, University of Virginia: Charlottesville, Albemarle County, Virginia* (Charlottesville, 1982), 27.

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- ²⁵ Faculty Minutes, RG 19/1/1. University of Virginia Archives, Alderman Library, Charlottesville. Hereafter cited as "FM." 6 Nov. 1835. Repairs were made to the cellar room of Hotel F used for the accommodation of the servants attached to the Hotel.
- ²⁶ BOV Minutes, 1 Oct. 1828.
- ²⁷ BOV Minutes, 22 July 1828.
- ²⁸ BOV Minutes, 17 July 1832.
- ²⁹ BOV Minutes, 7 July 1840. During construction of the University some of the basements were used to house artisans. Personal communication K. Edward Lay 2003.
- ³⁰ Agnes Rothery, *A Fitting Habitation* (New York, 1946), 49-57. These pages describe the brick building, referred to as "Minor's Cottage" when Agnes Rothery Pratt and Harry Rogers Pratt, Assistant Professor of Music, moved into it in 1923. They renamed it "The Mews" and made many additions which have since been removed. In a paper by students of the School of Architecture, University of Virginia, it was described as built around 1830 "as a carriage house below with servants' quarters above." Brooke Hodge, Ellen Doble, *Pavilion III* (Charlottesville, 1985), Stage 2, 2.
- ³¹ L. Minor Blackford, *Mine Eyes have seen the Glory* (Cambridge, 1954), 121, 126. When Lewis and Lanty Blackford entered the University as students in Sept. 1855 they stayed in a small brick building behind Pavilion VII, the home of their relative, Dr. John Staige Davis. It was built "originally for slave quarters, evidently on the assumption that no professor could ever afford to have more than one or two slaves."
- ³² BOV Minutes, 30 June 1853. "Resolved that the dormitories attached to the Hotel occupied by Mr Maupin [Hotel A] be in future permitted to be occupied by his family and that additional accommodation for his servants be erected under the supervision of the Executive Committee."
- ³³ Frank, 62.
- ³⁴ FM, 14 May 1835 Lists duties of Hotel keepers' slaves.
- ³⁵ Ronald B. Head, ed., "The Student Diary of Charles Ellis, Jr., 10 March—25 June 1835," *Magazine of Albemarle County History*, 35-36 (1977-78), 82.
- ³⁶ Charles Coleman Wall, Jr., "Students and Student Life at the University of Virginia, 1825 to 1861," Ph.D. thesis, University of Virginia (Charlottesville, 1978), pp. 2, 26, 44, 66, 83, 85, 86, 90, 100.
- ³⁷ Bruce, vol. 2, 215.
- ³⁸ FM, 2 March 1839. No evidence of action taken was found in the Albemarle County Law Order book 1837-41.
- ³⁹ FM, 2 May 1856, 3 May 1856.
- ⁴⁰ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 21 Dec. 1828 Gessner Harrison to his mother, Mary Stewart Harrison.
- ⁴¹ Two of St. George Tucker's relatives became University Professors. George Tucker, a nephew, was the first Professor of Moral Philosophy (1825-45) and his son, Henry St. George Tucker, was Professor of Law (1841-45).
- ⁴² Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 13 May 1830 Gessner Harrison to his father, Dr. Peachy Harrison.
- ⁴³ Robert M. Patterson was a member of the medical faculty 1828-35.
- ⁴⁴ Harriet Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel* (Saunders and Otley, London, 1838 edition reprint, 1942), 206-207.
- ⁴⁵ Albemarle County Deed Book 34, 253. Emancipation recorded in Albemarle 2 Jan. 1837.
- ⁴⁶ Ira Berlin connects this forced exodus with "the sudden willingness of men and women whose ancestors resisted Christianity for more than two centuries to embrace it and make it their own" Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity*, (Cambridge, 2003), 15-16.
- ⁴⁷ Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity*, (Cambridge, 2003), 206-7.
- ⁴⁸ Records of the First Baptist Church, Charlottesville, Va. University of Virginia Archives, Alderman Library, Charlottesville. Annual reports on page 105 gives membership of whites and blacks for 1841-44. Between these years the total church membership expanded from 185 to 396 with blacks members in the majority.
- ⁴⁹ Records of the First Baptist Church, Charlottesville, Va. University of Virginia Archives, Alderman Library, Charlottesville, Roll Book, 1831-1869.
- ⁵⁰ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 13 Dec. 1834 Eliza and Gessner Harrison to Mary Jane Harrison.
- ⁵¹ Coy Barefoot, *The Corner*, (Charlottesville, 2001) describes student outbursts, riots and the temperance movement as well as comments about outbreaks of disease.

⁵² Papers of John Hartwell Cocke, University of Virginia Archives, Alderman Library, Charlottesville, 26 May 1842 Henry St George Tucker to John Hartwell Cocke. By June 1842 the temperance society at the University numbered more than 100 members. Not all professors joined. Tucker wrote he was abstemious for some months, but “You over estimate the influence of *my joining*. . . not enough at least to compensate me for surrendering into the hands of others that untrammelled freedom of directing my own conduct, which I have always considered it a duty as well as a right to preserve.”

⁵³ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 29 Dec. 1854 Eliza Tucker Harrison to sister-in-law, Mary Jane Harrison.

⁵⁴ Gessner Harrison, the fifth man to matriculate at the University, graduated from the schools of Medicine and Ancient Languages in 1828. When Professor George Long returned to England that same year, the twenty-one year old Harrison replaced him in the school of Ancient Languages where he remained until 1859.

⁵⁵ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers; 14 Sept. 1828 Gessner Harrison to Dr. Peachy Harrison.

⁵⁶ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers; 21 Sept. 1829 Gessner Harrison to Mary Stewart Harrison; and 15 Dec. 1829 Gessner Harrison to ____.

⁵⁷ Eliza Carter Tucker Harrison resided at the University as a daughter, wife, mother, and grandmother to faculty families. Her correspondence is a rich source for description of the life of the women of the University.

⁵⁸ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers; 23 July 1830, 1 Nov. 1830.

⁵⁹ Correspondence of Gessner Harrison, University of Virginia Archives, Alderman Library, Charlottesville, 1 March 1837 Eliza Tucker Harrison, University to Gessner Harrison, Washington D.C.

⁶⁰ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers; 8 Feb. 1833 Eliza Harrison to Mary Jane Harrison; 11 Sept. 1857 Maria H. Broadus, University to her mother, Eliza T. Harrison, Harrisonburg.

⁶¹ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers; 12 Aug. 1840 Eliza T. Harrison, University to her daughter Maria Carter Harrison.

⁶² Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers; 14 May 1845 Eliza T. Harrison, University to Mary Stewart Harrison, Harrisonburg.

⁶³ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers; 27 Jan. 1858 Eliza T. Harrison to Mary Jane Harrison.

⁶⁴ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers; 4 May 1853 Eliza T. Harrison to Mary Jane Harrison.

⁶⁵ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 14 Sept. 1857 Maria C. Broadus, University to Eliza T. Harrison.

⁶⁶ Papers of the Minor and Wilson family, University of Virginia Archives, Alderman Library, Charlottesville. Hereafter cited as “Minor, Wilson papers.” 14 July 1847 John B Minor near Louisa Court House to wife at University.

⁶⁷ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 11 Sept. 1857 Maria C. Broadus, University to Eliza T. Harrison.

⁶⁸ Minor, Wilson papers, 7 June 1860 F.V. Winston, Louisa Court House to John B. Minor.

⁶⁹ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 25 Oct. 1860 Mary Stuart Smith, Belmont in Nelson Co. to Francis H. Smith, University.

⁷⁰ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 10 March 1860 Eliza T. Harrison, Locust Grove to Mary Jane Harrison.

⁷¹ Broadus Letters, Microfilm M 543-544, University of Virginia Archives, Alderman Library, Charlottesville, 6 Dec. 1856 Maria Broadus, University to John A. Broadus.

⁷² Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 15 Jan. 1847 Eliza Tucker Harrison to Mary Jane Harrison.

⁷³ Minor, Wilson papers, 18 Aug. 1846 John Davis Minor to father, John B. Minor, Sweet Springs.

⁷⁴ Minor, Wilson papers, 22 Aug. 1846 John B. Minor, Sweet Springs to son, John Davis Minor.

⁷⁵ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 19 Jan. 1842 Ann M. Bonnycastle from girls boarding school in Georgetown to her friend, Maria Carter Harrison.

⁷⁶ Minor, Wilson papers, 29 Sept. 1845 Mrs. A.M. Bonnycastle, Washington DC to John B. Minor.

⁷⁷ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 10 Oct. 1845 Louisa Tucker [George Tucker’s 3rd wife] to step-granddaughter, Maria Carter Harrison.

⁷⁸ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 29 April 1846 George Tucker, Philadelphia to grand-daughter, Maria Carter Harrison; 12 Feb. 1847 Eliza T. Harrison, University to Mary Lelia Tucker, Philadelphia; 31 March 1850 Manumission paper; 11 April 1849 Maria Carter Harrison University to sister, Mary Stuart Harrison, Philadelphia.

⁷⁹ Mrs. Edwin Conway resided in Louisville and by 1853 so did the widowed Mrs. Charles Bonnycastle. A neighborhood named “Bonnycastle” after her son still exists in the city. Mrs. Blaetterman briefly lived in Louisville before settling in Maysville, KY.

⁸⁰ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 9 April 1846 Nannie Conway, Louisville to Maria Carter Harrison.

⁸¹ Dr. Dianne Swann-Wright helped the author to understand that during slavery when family members were often sold away, African-Americans' concepts of "family," "kinship," and "culture" were broadened to include the people with whom one lived and worked.

⁸² Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 11 April 1849 Maria Carter Harrison, University to sister, Mary Stuart Harrison, Philadelphia. Note that to identify the two women named Margaret, one is called "Sherwood Margaret" from the Sherwood estate of their Aunt, Maria Tucker Rives, and her husband, George C. Rives. The Gessner Harrison family members often used enslaved people from this estate for special help.

⁸³ June Purcell Guild, *Black Laws of Virginia* (Fauquier County, Virginia, 1996), 72.

⁸⁴ Lucia Stanton informed the author that Sally Cottrell had belonged to Jefferson's Granddaughter, Ellen Randolph Coolidge, as her personal servant until 1825. The Keys first hired her as a nurse for their child during 1826 and purchased her in 1827 from Joseph Coolidge.

⁸⁵ Papers of Eugene Davis, University of Virginia Archives, Alderman Library, Charlottesville, draft of letter Nov. 1850 Eugene Davis to Thomas H. Key, London

⁸⁶ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, manumission papers 31 March 1850. George Tucker, introduction by Tipton R. Snavelly, "Autobiography of George Tucker," *Bermuda Historical Quarterly*, (Hamilton, Bermuda, c. 1961) 156.

⁸⁷ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 6 May 1853 Francis H. Smith to Mary Stuart Harrison. Two years earlier they had formed an attachment but as she was just 17 they were told to wait. With their wedding approaching he wrote her a love-note about birds singing to their mates, "What care the little fellow on the bush then about Dr Worsham or a Professorship? . . . What care they about getting Uncle Jack?"

⁸⁸ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 25 Feb. 1850 Jane Emmet, NY to Maria H. Broadus.

⁸⁹ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 9 Dec. 1857 George Tucker to Eliza Tucker Harrison.

⁹⁰ Papers of Francis Lee Thurman, University of Virginia Archives, Alderman Library, Charlottesville, 30 June 1860 Elizabeth C. Blaetterman to Victoria.

⁹¹ Albemarle County Deed Book 50 p. 81; Albemarle County Deed Book 51, 129. First Baptist Church Records, University of Virginia Archives, Alderman Library, Charlottesville, 66.

⁹² Sam Towler, "Albemarle County Court Orders Concerning Slavery Issues 1800-1865," *Central Virginia Heritage*, 21 (no. 3, Fall-Winter 2004).

⁹³ Wall, 21; Blackford, 103 "Cousin John [B. Minor]...every Sunday evening he is to be seen in the Church in Charlottesville, the guiding spirit in teaching some 50 or 60 of the race whom Mrs. Stowe has so terribly injured. Every Sunday morning in his office he reads, prays and sings with his own servants, and night and morning he summons them all to family prayers and explains such passages as they cannot understand."; "For many years he [John Barbee Minor] was superintendent of a Sunday school of slaves." Paul B. Barringer *University of Virginia: Its History, Influence, Equipment and Characteristics*, vol.1 (New York, 1904), 358.

⁹⁴ Minor, Wilson papers, n.d. in Jan-July 1854 folder Scott Wood to John B. Minor.

⁹⁵ Blackford, 126 Lanty Blackford wrote his mother "I have resumed my place as Teacher in the Colored Sunday School in town."

⁹⁶ Martha Hill from part of her research conducted for the Thomas Jefferson Foundation (Personal communication, 2004). She also said that when John Hartwell Cocke taught his slaves to read his neighbors were very upset.

⁹⁷ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 20 Dec. 1853 W. B. Rogers, Boston to Prof F. A. Smith.

⁹⁸ An idea about of the adult literacy rate of former slaves may be considered from the transcribed 1870 census of Albemarle's Fredericksville Parish, Charlottesville Post Office available on the Carter G. Woodson Institute website "Race and Place." This census data does not cover the St. Anne's Parish, University or Charlottesville Post Office. (St Anne's parish began on the south side of what is now West Main Street where the Gibbons family and many others lived after the Civil War.) Of the people 21 or older who did not attend school in the previous year 5% of the "black" and 14% of the "mulatto" residents were literate in 1870. Many of the "mulattoes" were free in earlier years, but most were former slaves. Some may have attended school as freedmen, but some slave literacy is implied.

⁹⁹*The Freedmen's Record*, vol. 4, No. 3 (March 1868), 41-42.

¹⁰⁰ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 20 Dec. 1853 William B. Rogers, Boston to Prof. F.H. Smith, University. Isabella Gibbons (c.1833 - 1889) named one of her children Emma, the same as Mrs. Rogers' first

name. Orra Langhorne, "Southern Sketches," *Southern Workman and Hampton School Record* (Oct. 1889), 102. Alice McGuffey Ruggles, *The Story of the McGuffeys*, (New York, 1950) 107.

¹⁰¹ Miscellaneous papers from the attic of Pavilion X, University of Virginia Archives, Alderman Library, Charlottesville, 18 Feb. 1842 F.B.T. Magill, Richmond to Mrs A.E.T. Magill, University. Mrs. Magill was the widow of Professor Alfred Magill and the daughter of Professor Henry St. George Tucker; 22 Nov. 1842 "from your devoted sister Liny" in Richmond to Virginia Louisa Magill, University.

¹⁰² Minor, Wilson papers, 31 June 1851 Mary L. Minor, Mt Airy to Mother, University; 18 July 1851 Mary L. Minor, Mt Airy to Mother, University [misfiled with letters of July 1855].
Jan. 1861 Mary L. Minor, Richmond.

¹⁰³ Frank, 63; Papers of the Harrison, Smith and Tucker families, University of Virginia Archives, Alderman Library, Charlottesville 12 Nov. 1825 Gessner Harrison, University to father, Dr. Peachy Harrison, Harrisonburg. Hereafter cited as "Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers."

¹⁰⁴ Frank, 48; FM 16 June 1849. The Faculty ordered that the apartments occupied by "servants" and the basement rooms of "out houses" (i.e., out buildings) be whitewashed and be well ventilated daily.

¹⁰⁵ *Enactments by the Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia 1827*, University of Virginia Archives, Alderman Library, Charlottesville 56.

¹⁰⁶ Bruce, vol. 3, 3.

¹⁰⁷ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 30 Nov. 1855 Allen B. Magruder, Charlottesville to Francis H. Smith.

¹⁰⁸ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 9 Feb. 1854 Eliza T. Harrison, University to Mary Jane Harrison.

¹⁰⁹ Minor, Wilson papers, 3 July 1853 John B. Minor, University to Benjamin Wood.

¹¹⁰ Minor, Wilson papers, 5 Dec. 1856 John B. Minor to Mary L. Minor, Whitehall.

¹¹¹ Bledsoe was reported to have interspersed his Calculus lectures with discussion of states' rights as did Holcombe in his law lectures. Henry T. Shanks, *The Secession Movement in Virginia: 1847-1861* (Richmond, 1934), 78, 234.

¹¹² Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 22 Feb. 1860 Eliza T Harrison, Philadelphia to Mary Stuart Smith.

¹¹³ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 5 Aug. 1861 Mary Stuart Smith to her brother, Edward Tiffin Harrison.

¹¹⁴ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 28 Aug. 1862 Mary Stuart Smith, Morven to Francis H. Smith, Belmont.

¹¹⁵ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 30 Nov. 1863 Eliza T. Harrison, Sherwood to Mary Jane Harrison.

¹¹⁶ Minor, Wilson papers, 4 May 1863 Nannie Minor, University to John B. Minor, Monticello Mountain by Charles.

¹¹⁷ Minor, Wilson papers, Oct. 1863 Franklin Minor, Ridgway to John B. Minor. "But for your & Baldwin's most damnable heresies such times would not have come upon the land— I pray God to forgive you & others your sad folly . . . for you & Baldwin & the like we would never have had this awful war."

¹¹⁸ Minor, Wilson papers, 17 May 1864 Nannie C. Minor, University to John B. Minor working as attendant at Hospital in Louisa Court House.

¹¹⁹ Minor, Wilson papers, 4 March 1863 R. Tuck <Supt & Adm> Quarter Masters Office Stn Va to Professor Minor; 22 Aug. 1863 R. Tuck QM office Stn Va to Prof. J.B. Minor.

¹²⁰ Albemarle County Minute Book 1859-62, 439; Albemarle County Minute Book 1863-66, 113-115, 180-182.

¹²¹ Ervin I. Jordan, Jr., *Charlottesville and the University of Virginia in the Civil War* (Lynchburg, 1988), 117-118.

¹²² Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 24 July 1864 Eliza T. Harrison, Sherwood to Mary Jane Harrison.

¹²³ Harrison, Smith, Tucker papers, 12 Nov. 1864 Eliza T. Harrison, Sherwood to Mary Jane Harrison.

¹²⁴ Socrates Maupin M.D. Professor of Chemistry, 1853-1871.

¹²⁵ Minor, Wilson papers, 8 March 1865 Mary L Minor writing to her "dearest" Aunt; 7 April 1865 Mary L Minor to Aunt.

¹²⁶ Minor, Wilson papers, 15 May 1865 Mary L. Minor to Aunt; 14 June 1865 Mary L. Minor to Aunt.

¹²⁷ Proctor's Ledgers 1861-65/66, University of Virginia Archives, Alderman Library, Charlottesville, pp. 308, 405-406, 414. Hired workers included Chapman Michie, Cuffy, Lewis Commodore, Ryland Rives, William Tankins, John James, R.E. Kirby, Charles Barrett, Aaron Marshall, Pleasant Jarman,

Tom Brooks, William Preston, Winston Harris, George Braxton, William Scott, Thomas Farrar, James Farrar, Fontaine Gregory and Henry Martin.

¹²⁸ The Professors in their Pavilions are obvious in the 1870 census enumeration, but interspersed between Pavilions are reports of other heads of households in separate structures. These probably indicate the buildings previously occupied by the enslaved people of the University.

¹²⁹ Ethel Morgan Smith, *From Whence Cometh My Help: The African American Community at Hollins College*, (Columbia Missouri, 2000) describes "Oldfield" the community that served Hollins College for generations.

¹³⁰ Isabella Gibbons taught from 1865 until some time between 1886 and her death in 1889. The Gibbons' daughter Bella taught briefly before she and her sister, Georgianna, became professional Jubilee Singers. A number of the Gibbons' granddaughters became educators.

¹³¹ Dr. Lauranett Lee located a photo album of Miss Edna Cheney, head of the Teachers Committee of the New England Freedman's Aid Society, in the Boston, Massachusetts Public Library that includes several from Charlottesville.

¹³² Carkin, "Reminiscences," vol. 2, 68. Philena Carkin incorporated in her Reminiscences news that two of her former students had sent. Tilly Sellers, a son of shoemaker John Sellers (perhaps the man previously known as Jack Sellers or "Uncle Jack") was teaching near Keswick, his brother, Joseph, was teaching nearby as were Harry Cash, Jesse Sammons, Rives Minor, David Jenkins, Robert Scott, Jr., and Egbert Terry. James Anderson was Principal of a Staunton Graded School. Several former students operated local businesses, while others had moved to Boston or Denver. Dabney Minor was attending Oberlin College in Ohio.

¹³³ Carkin, "Reminiscences," vol. 2, 51.

¹³⁴ Alice McGuffey Ruggles, *The Story of the McGuffeys* (New York, 1950), 107.