The University of Virginia: an Antebellum Plantation

Why do we prefer the term "enslaved laborer" over "slave"?

- Enslaved laborer is a phrase that retains these people's humanity; slavery was thrust upon them.
- Students, professors, and faculty called enslaved laborers a variety of other names, however: Aunt/Auntie, black, boy, butler, coloured, cook, darky, hands, janitor, Mammy, mulatto, negro, nigger, nurse, servant, slave, Uncle, "belonging to…" by their first name or some derivative of their first name

Why we shouldn't relegate slavery to one tour stop in a garden: This does a disservice to enslaved laborers at the University and paints an inaccurate picture from what actually occurred. While gardens might have been used as living, working, and social quarters for enslaved laborers, they were by no means relegated to these spaces. In a symbolic way they were shut off from the rest of the Lawn, but they labored on the Lawn and in the Pavilions and played an active role in the daily lives of students and professors. We, therefore, should not be relegating their history to the outside of the Academical village.

Slavery in Context: Virginia and Monticello

In 1806, the Virginia General Assembly instituted the Removal Law (aka Deportation Act) making it unlawful for a free person of color to remain in the Commonwealth for more than 12 months. This act discouraged slave owners from freeing their slaves: "If any slave hereafter emancipated shall remain within this Commonwealth more than twelve months after freedom, he shall forfeit such right, and may be sold by the overseers for the benefit of the poor."

Jefferson's views:

> "Jefferson was the greatest abolitionist who never freed his slaves." -Brandon Dillard, Monticello

Jefferson's views of slavery were incredibly complex. This will be the part of the probie packet I sparknotes since I would prefer not to make a slavery tour focused on Jefferson himself. The facts are important though so check out the packet!

Jefferson believed a failure to end slavery would lead to "convulsions which will probably never end but in the extermination of one or the other race." He was deeply racist and believed there were biological differences between Black and White people; to Jefferson, both were human-- though different species of human. This mentality helped him rationalize slavery.

However, he also believed slavery was a gross violation of the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Blacks and Whites couldn't live under the same government. He believed in emancipation and *deportation* (like UVa profs who supported a Back to Africa movement) but because this was logistically infeasible, thought ending slavery was impossible **at present**. Early in his political career he pushed for emancipation legislation, but this ended as it was unpopular with constituents.

Additionally, the "Fear of Rebellion" argument persisted after the Revolution; people were afraid slaves would violently revolt "...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 is in the other." Jefferson to John Holmes, 1820

He also at one point wrote “Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free.”

Jefferson and Monticello:

Thomas Jefferson owned, on average, 200 slaves at any time and ~600 slaves over the course of his life. Though he wrote 19,000 letters in his lifetime but mentioned enslaved laborers a mere handful of times. At the age of 10, enslaved laborers became adults. Slaves worked sun up to sun down, 6 days a week, with no holidays. They had very meager rations, but their skill with agriculture allowed the to sell the surplus back to the Jefferson family. With his excess money, families would buy tea sets, toys, utensils, and musical instruments. They made their own clothes and received a new blanket once every three years.

Martha Jefferson came with a dowry, namely enslaved people, and the Hemings family was the largest. Because the Hemings had lighter skin, they were more favorably viewed and “ranked” higher than other enslaved people at Monticello. (For information on Sally Hemings see the narratives section.)

Jefferson constructed a paternalistic self-image as a benevolent father caring for what he called “my family.” However, he was actually very “average.” He put Gabriel Lilly, a violent white overseer, in charge of certain projects in which he wanted to generate high turnout. For example, Jefferson deemed Lilly very successful at eliciting hard labor from 10-16 year old boys working in the nailery. Jefferson also employed psychological manipulation: fear of separation and threats against beating “your kid” or “your wife” to get enslaved laborers to do their jobs. The lash was always used, even at Monticello.

Jefferson led a life of luxury; wealth, indulgence, and comfort were all greater than his morals. He died in great debt so everything at Monticello was sold including “130 valuable negroes.” Peter Fossett, an enslaved person at Monticello, called it an “earthly paradise” because it was where his family was located. However, Jefferson’s death tore families apart. Over ⅓ of the people auctioned off after he passed were Hemings family members; Professor Bonnycastle even bought some of Jefferson’s enslaved laborers.“The Gathering,” which included descendents of Jefferson, Hemings’, and others, took place at Monticello in 1997. The Monticello Graveyard Foundation will only allow descendants of Thomas and Martha Jefferson to be buried in the graveyard, not descendants of the Hemings family; this was a source of contention.

Fountain Hughes (personal narrative): An enslaved laborer born in Charlottesville, Virginia. Hughes’ grandfather was owned by Thomas Jefferson and died at 115. Hughes was 101 when he interviewed and offered this statement on slavery: *“If I thought… had any idea that I'd ever be a slave again, I'd take a gun and just end it all right away! Because you're nothing but a dog. You're not a thing but a dog!”*

Slavery at the University of Virginia:

Many slaves were hired in building the school. In 1821, the University employed 32, some still underage, for various forms of work. Their terms didn’t run for over 1 year, but contracts with their owners were often renewed upon expiration. Faculty slaves as well as those of the master craftsmen were also employed to help with construction.

James Harrison was the first overseer (1820-1821) responsible for keeping supply of horses, men, carts, tools and the sowing, planting, and tending of a vegetable garden for the laborers. He also worked with

the proctor to purchase food items like barrels of corn ($2/barrel) and bacon (10 cents/lb. to feed the enslaved. John Herron followed Harrison him and was overseer until construction was completed in 1826. The prices for hire of laborers are listed below: “The charge for each negro was gauged by his age and physical condition. $60 was the average amount.”

1820	1821	1822	1825
$1099.08	$1133.73	$868.64	$681.00

When a slave was returned at the end of his time, he had to be fitted with outer and underclothing, and double-soled shoes.

Duties Expected of Enslaved Laborers:

Before the University opened, enslaved laborers were hired from local slaveholding residents (cheaper than the University buying their own). The first indication of purchase was in proctor’s papers from 1818: “9 negroes of 16.”

Slaves leveled the naturally sloping topography-- carving the terraces into the Lawn we know today-- and made bricks: molding red Virginia clay, placing bricks on the kiln, pulling them out of the fire, and arranging them to cool. They also quarried stone, cut logs, hauled items such as timber by boat up river, and served as carpenters, blacksmiths, bricklayers, and stonemasons. Most bricks used in the buildings were molded and burnt in the neighborhood as it was too expensive to transport them from a distance. Accounts reveal the University was able to manufacture 180,000 bricks within the space of a month; the expense of doing this was estimated at $539.68 (wage of molder + hire of laborers +cost of their food + 15 cords of firewood consumed in the making). They also hauled coal and timber used for construction sites on Grounds-- where they cut and nailed it. Though slaves were responsible for some of the physical construction and craftsmanship, most of it was left to companies with more professional training and experience.

Slaves were hired on annual contracts and lived near their work. It was the proctor who employed laborers-- both enslaved and free-- to maintain the buildings and land within the University precinct. By 1825, blacks were employed as servants, owned and hired by Professors and Hotel workers. Enslaved laborers:

- Fixed leaky roofs, construction problems
- Students would make extra work
- Tended to vegetable gardens, horses, and smoke houses for curing meat
- Picked up milk and ice; hauled water from nearby sources
- Scoured and dry-rubbed stair steps, passages, and dining room porches
- Helped professors in special instructional facilities: helped with chemical apparatus; the Anatomical Hall was used for cadaver dissections; John Staige Davis (Professor of Medicine) got a University slave named John to fetch 300 leaches from the nearby pond for medical purposes
- In Professor residences, slaves cooked, cleaned, cared for children, the ill, visitors, and pets

Hotels:

Each student was assigned a hotel and the respective slaves fed students, cleaned their dormitory rooms, and waited on them at mealtime. While the hotels were supposed to provide linens and laundry services--and some did-- many students opted to have their laundry done off Grounds: they were "not willing to subject their clothes to the inspection of the ladies belonging to the families of the Hotel keepers." Once a fortnight, dormitories were thoroughly scoured. Once a week, the room was inspected by the keeper or hotel agent to tend to the needs of the young men that may have been neglected by the servant. Students would complain about the food and services they would get from hotels. Each hotel slave tended to no more than 20 students. Maupin calculated the annual servant hire for Hotels was around $450.

Breakfast could consist of cornbread, crackers, tea, batter cakes, toast, spare ribs, coffee, cured pork, bacon, and preserves such as peaches, pears, grapes, tomatoes, and some quinces.

Duties of a Hotel Slave in 1835:

- 6am: entered room with water pitcher and clean towels. In the summer they would bring ice; in the winter they would bring firewood
- By 9am: When the student left for the hotel for breakfast (eaten by candlelight), the servant swept the floor, made the beds, cleaned candlesticks, carried away the ashes
- Dorm fireplaces were washed with potter's clay and once per week, slaves would blacken the fireplace andirons and polish the fenders
- Students' shoes were blacked each afternoon
- 2:45 an enslaved person would be assigned to wait in a location convenient to his line of dormitories to receive instructions to run errands (fetch new uniforms, get pen and ink for writing). He could not loiter past 3pm though.

Students were often slovenly and had bad habits: they splattered walls with tobacco juice, dragged sheets and blankets from the beds and onto the floor to sleep by the fire, and would knock about furniture. This would be up to enslaved laborers to clean up. Occasionally, slaves were tipped for tasks such as broiling chicken or blackening boots.

In 1824, the BOV prohibited prohibited University students from keeping slaves within the precincts of the University. Jefferson may have feared granting students the ability to own slaves would turn them into tyrannical adults. Nevertheless, students may have skirted the rules. A "John Taylor" was hired by 22 students to have special attendance on their needs. In his student diary, Charles Ellis, described Albert, "our servant," bringing him a pot of coffee.

Total slaves on Grounds:

	1830	1840	1850	1860
University Slaves	4	2	2	1
Hotelkeeper Slaves	57	42	57	42
Faculty/Admin Slaves	89	76	67	78
Total on Grounds	**146**	**160**	**135**	**148**

(We know these numbers because immediately after the University opened, there were trespassers: unwelcomed Black people who resided just outside the Academical Village, so the BOV kept records of those who were "supposed" to be on Grounds)

From the beginning, the University had been best by epidemics (such as the cholera episode in 1832, typhoid in 1829 -- UVa closed for 2 months-- and in 1850 and 1875). The laying out of the University Cemetery in 1828 was directly attributable to the resulting deaths. Enslaved laborers were responsible thoroughly cleaning the precincts during and after outbreaks:

- Dormitories and cellar walls were all whitewashed
- Woodwork was washed
- Cleaning of all the outside of the closets
- Removal of all kitchen slops to a distance
- All stagnant water about the buildings and under arcades were drawn off
- As proposed by Dunglison, a barn was repurposed as a place to house "15-20 negro patients"

Local doctors in the slave community served as nurses; slaves were also doctor's aides. Until 1857, there was no infirmary, so students had to tough out illnesses in their rooms with, at best, a visit from a physician and as much care as a black servant could give. Varsity Hall, the first infirmary, opened in 1957/58 following a Typhoid epidemic. It was set apart from Pavilions and dorms got hygienic purposes. Enslaved laborers helped with cleanliness and ventilation measures for student rooms-- as well as with the new water system installation in 1854.

Early UVa students:

During UVa's early days, students were homogenous in geographic origins, social class, and age; they were the sons of wealthy planters and merchants, most of whom owned slaves. Between 1825-1874, around ⅔ of students were dropped at the end of their first year for failure to meet scholastic requirements or for flagrant violation of the regulations. Honor and the conduct of Southern gentlemen kept them from brawling, but when they fought, it was premeditated, righteous, and involved weapons. Many aggressive outbursts were directed at infrastructure (windows, doors) as well as slaves-- for real or supposed impertinence. Stories of students cursing, kicking, threatening, and attacking slaves:

- In 1828, a student struck a servant taking his order in Minor's dining room. Minor was indignant and complained to the faculty. The student, as a result, threatened to flog him with a friend's help
- On June 6, 1828, a student berated a slave for failing to bring him decent butter. He hit the slave on the head and threatened to whip the Hotel keeper.
- On June 24, 1829, students banged on the cellar door of Dr. Harrison and made "indecent propositions" to his female slave. Though William Carr, one of the students, was expelled he was readmitted.
- A student lashed at a slave for tending to the needs of another student before his own.
- On February 24, 1838, two students severely beat Prof. Bonnycastle's 10 year old slave, Fielding. Bonnycastle unsuccessfully tried to intervene and get retribution; the boys were never punished.
- On September 30, 1839, a student threw a knife at the legs of the enslaved waiter attending the dinners at Colonel Ward's Hotel.
- In 1850, three students raped a 17 year old slave. Three other students came across the incident and reported it. The rapists were expelled and, fully aware of the heinousness of their crime and of the associated punishments, fled Charlottesville.
- In 1856, a student assaulted a 10 year old female slave, knocking her down and beating her unconscious. The student required the student to withdraw but this was ultimately rescinded. The student acknowledged his "discourtesy" but went on to justify his "correction of a servant for

impertinence" as "not only tolerated by society, but with proper qualifications as may be defended on the ground of the necessity of maintaining due subordination in this class of persons"

Alcohol on Grounds: A great quantity of liquor was smuggled into the University in harmless looking baskets; much of it was sold in the dark cellars of pavilions. Slaves likely sold fermented spirits to students: a "servant of Mr. Conway's," another of "Mrs. Gray's," and "a lame free negro named Ben did in PAV I as early as 1825 in collusion with the cook of the Professor's family." Records indicate that "dark cellars could turn into bars frequented by students" and most of the alcohol was supplied from Charlottesville taverns such as Mosby's.

After getting back from champagne parties at Keller's or a friend's dorm, noisy, uncontrollable students sang indecent corn-songs as they passed under the arcades. Corn songs were "rag time" melodies brought on in the autumn by the festivity known as corn-shucking. Corn was heaped in a pile, a late supper—always a good one with lots of whiskey—was provided late, and all night or until the corn was shucked, the enslaved people stripped the husk from the ears and sang plantation melodies.

For obvious reasons, alcohol abuse contributed to the craziness on Grounds. The University had a Temperance society; temperance was expected of slaves whose masters avidly supported the movement such as Gessner, Harrison, John B. Minor.

Records indicate the number of their children as well as enslaved children on Grounds (under 10):

	1830	**1840**	**1850**
Professor's kids	20	12	9
Enslaved people's kids	31	16	6

Lives of the enslaved:

During construction, some slaves lived in Pavilions and unfinished student rooms. Most lived in a laborer's house that existed just northeast of Hotel B on the East Range. After 1825, many slaves resided in many of the pavilion cellars-- adjacent to where they worked. It soon became apparent, however, that more living accommodations would be needed. Sheds were built and there were additions to the basement levels on the East range where the land falls off sharply; this allowed for cellars of normal room height-- not possible on the West range. Additionally, space was needed as slaves' families grew. In 1844, Mrs. Gray, Hotel E Operator, applied for reimbursement with the BOV for an extra structure for slaves behind her hotel. Hotel A operator, Addison Maupin, did something similar.

"There were many more structures in the historic precinct of the University than what the visitor sees today..." There were kitchens, servants' quarters, chicken coops, stables etc., but only a couple survive such as the **Mews** and **McGuffey cottage**. The Mews behind PAV III was a "derelict kitchen dependency which had mostly been used as a kitchen coop until a 1924 renovation." McGuffey cottage was built around 1860, it was a kitchen and cook's quarters and used at one point as a study for McGuffey.

"House servants" and were thought as privileged and would tend the kitchen, dining room, children, livestock, owners.

Life in the cellars was tough-- they were exceptionally damp, particularly in summer; those in PAV V needed to be made dry by draining. The basement of PAV V was also likely a kitchen, based on the large and deep fireplace. While Lawn rooms were cut off from air because of the structure of the academical village, the Ranges were susceptible to bitter cold and torrid heat dependent on the season. In 1825, there was an outbreak of bilious and typhoid fever; two of Major Spotswood's female slaves died. He also lost three servants to Typhoid fever. Medical professors took care of both the free and enslaved.

Early Professors:

Five of the first nine professors were English (slavery was prohibited there) and initially opposed to the institution of slavery. Quickly after getting to the University, however, many realized the way of life they were accustomed to leading necessitated slavery at the University. It wasn't long after they arrived that they, too, were eager to acquire their own slaves

Professors did more than teach at the early University. They governed much of the day to day running of the University and concerned themselves with the adherence of students and Hotel keepers to rules or "enactments."

Some professors supported the back to Liberia movement including Tucker, Emmet, Patterson, Dunglison, Harrison and Bonnycastle. John B. Minor contributed to funding efforts later and many students attended a fair benefiting recolonization.

Locations of Significance:

Normally in the North Oval Room of the Rotunda, the **Tanner Boye-Map** features a black woman, a mammy figure, standing on the balcony of Pavilion IX, holding a child. Ironically, the Professor of Moral Philosophy, George Tucker, lived there at the time.

Outbuildings (Crackerbox, Mews, McGuffey Cottage) *The Crackerbox: University of Virginia* (Lord)

The Crackerbox is a two-story cottage in the yard of Hotel F and is one of the few surviving outbuildings of the Academical Village. It may have been built as early as 1826, though it was not included in any of Jefferson's original drawings. It was likely constructed as a detached summer kitchen; most cooking was done in subterranean kitchens in Hotels, but in the summer these would be rather damp. The Cracker Box had an original brick floor, barn-type door, large and deep fireplace (the largest on the Lawn) on the ground level, and a single room from above-- likely a cook's living quarters.

John Neale, a free black man, was given permission to reside in the structure for an unknown period of time in 1828. A one room addition was added to the north facade of the Cracker Box in mid-1829, and a second addition prior to the 1890s. The functional space surrounding the Cracker Box and between it and Hotel F would have been paved with brick. The Cracker Box continued to serve as a kitchen up through the last decade of the nineteenth century.

In 1960, the Cracker Box was renovated and converted into a student dormitory. A former resident, David Peyton, collected stories about the Cracker Box since its history is unconfirmed. A popular theory was that it was a brothel: one story "asserts that Mr. Jefferson, wishing to keep the students away from the lower class establishments in town, established a University 'bordello' in the building." (Cav Daily, Feb.

13, 1974). Another file mentions the Crackerbox as "having a reputation." Another popular story is that the Crackerbox was a social gathering space for students from Georgia. The popular name for Georgia natives at the time was "cracker"-- likely the source of this rumor. Ultimately, though, it likely got its name for its shape-- reminiscent of an old cracker box.

The Black Cellar Door by under Lawn Room 36 was slave quarters back in the day and measures less than 5 feet tall. There are many such doors underneath the East Lawn rooms.

Pavilion VI Garden: Between 2006 and 2007, Rivanna Archaeological services reported the architectural remains of four 19th century outbuildings in the PAV VI and Hotel D garden. At least two of these buildings probably served as living and/or working spaces for slaves; this was the first extensive evidence of outbuildings for slaves. Items such as personal adornment and hygiene were discovered: fragments of toothbrushes, fragments of a soap dish, part of a comb, and several buttons. Though modern gardens are beautiful and are used for entertainment and reflection, they had utilitarian, more sinister beginnings.

Chemical Labs in the Rotunda: The 10 pavilions were designed as learning centers where professors both lived and taught their students. But this model didn't work well for science classes needing a lab; chemistry teaching occurred on the first floor of Jefferson's Rotunda. Lab experiments and demonstrations were done in Lower East Oval room and lectures were in the Lower West Oval room. In the class, students worked at five workstations cut into stone countertops. A chemical hearth was built as a semicircular niche in the north end of the Lower East Oval Room. Two fireboxes provided heat (one burning wood, the other burning coal), underground brick tunnels fed fresh air to fireboxes and workstations, and flues carried away fumes and smoke.

In 1829, the BOV authorized a "servant" for Professor John Emmet, the first professor of natural history who taught in the classes, to work around the laboratory for four hours a day, three days a week. Lewis Commodore labored in these chemical labs as well as Sally Cottrell Cole. These ovens once produced

saltpepper, used in making gunpowder for the Confederacy as UVa was one of two colleges to stay open during the Civil War.

The hearth and fireboxes had been sealed in one of the lower-floor walls of the Rotunda in the 1850s (when chemistry operations moved to the annex), and thus was protected from the 1895 fire. It was the two small fireboxes of the hearth that were uncovered in the 1970s renovation. However, **the hearth itself** wasn't uncovered until the 2014 renovations. With the renovation, workers' signatures and initials have been found in the hydraulic cement that lines a cistern in the east courtyard garden; on the McKim, Mead and White-designed capitals currently on the building; and on the bases of the original Jeffersonian columns: "This is a link to the past, to the people who worked on creating the University...We have a historic record of who worked on the University, finding their signatures helps show their contribution to the physical fabric of the University." Though most of these signatures were from hired University laborers, there is speculation that some belonged to enslaved laborers.

Old Cabell Hall, designed by Architect Stanford White following the 1895 Rotunda fire, was constructed in part to visually block off the Venable Lane free Black and mixed race Community. This ran counter to Jefferson's vision of an open-ended Lawn with a beautiful vista of the Blue Ridge Mountains--representing the "illimitable freedom of the human mind." The community of "unsightly houses" at the bottom of the hill was dubbed "Canada," a derogatory term signifying a place that is geographically close but culturally foreign. Old Cabell's pediment sculpture was created around 1989 by Hungarian artist George Julian Zolnay. The figures of women featured on the pediment (not fully clothed) were modeled after free black prostitutes because Zolnay didn't want to shame white women. The faces may have been modeled after white women, however.

While the Latin inscription on the pediment means "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free," the sculpture is an allegory based on John 8:23- *And he said to them, You are from beneath; I am from above: you are of this world; I am not of this world.* Bearing in mind the White of Whites of Black "otherness" during this period, there is a subtle irony to this quote.

Some additional irony: Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. spoke about Civil Rights to a crowd of 900, (almost entirely students), in Old Cabell in 1963.

Jeff Hall:

The Jefferson Literary and Debating Society, an oratorical and debating club, was the first student group on Grounds in 1825. Merritt Robinson was elected by the Society to give the first public address in the Rotunda on Jefferson's birthday, April 13, 1832, criticized the institution of slavery. He deemed it immoral and called for emancipation. The speech was not well received and enraged some faculty.

The Society's views changed with time and membership; it became especially racist and pro-slavery nearing the Civil War. One illustration is when Jeff Soc supported Preston Smith Brooks, a Democratic Representative from SC and fervent advocate of slavery and states' rights. In 1856, he physically beat Senator Charles Sumner, an abolitionist, with a cane on the floor to the US Senate. Brooks was widely cheered across the South; UVa's Jeff Soc sent a new gold-headed cane to replace his broken one. Another cane was inscribed "Hit him again." Also, on the eve of the 1860 election, both the Washington and Jefferson Societies voted overwhelmingly that the Southern states should secede if Lincoln were elected.

#3 Dawson's Row (located next to OAAA):

In 1859, 6 brick houses were erected as dormitories for students ("A-F" and G, a 7th, was added soon after). This was "Dawson's Row" though these buildings were leveled in the mid 1900s… the buildings remaining were detailed in historical records of remaining numbers such as and Dawson's #3 and #4.

#4 Dawson's Row, aka Luther Porter Jackson House as of 1977, was built in 1855 as a parsonage for the University. It was the first building built for religious purposes at the University and was maintained by the YMCA until the early 20th century-- which started a colored Sunday school. There is historical mention from Ann Barringer of a kitchen building or a "cottage" next to the parsonage a "two-room house, the oldest building on Grounds." Evidence suggests Dawson's #3 was one of the adjacent buildings to the parsonage: "we found no direct evidence that a separate adjacent building was erected when the parsonage was constructed, although.... an adjacent building did house a slave" (established in an 1856 letter).

Oral tradition and *The Virginia House Tour* claim Dawson's Row #3 was originally James Monroe's slave quarter for his home on Monroe Hill (he lived there until the 1790s). His house was used as a proctor's residence in the early days. Since Monroe Hill was an historical site, it was included in publications about prominent Virginia homes; *Virginia House Tour* contains a striking picture of Dawon's #3 and labeled it Monroe's slave quarters.

Additionally, since the building is located next to the former parsonage, it is possible it housed slaves. Maria Broadus and her husband John A. Broadus, the first chaplain of the University, were the first residences of the University. She wrote her husband complaining of a slave named Reuben and it sems apparent that Reuben lived in the parsonage or adjacent building.

OAAA was opened in 1976 (with a peer-advising program) after 275 students stormed Carr's Hill demanding it.

The **Thomas Jefferson statue on the North side of the Rotunda** was designed by Sir Moses Ezekial. Jefferson stands atop a replication of the Liberty Bell; the bell is flanked by four angels representing Liberty, Justice, Religious Freedom, and Human Freedom.

UVA Cemetery:
As noted previously, the UVa cemetery was put in place in 1828 following a typhoid epidemic. When slaves died, they were sometimes "buried on the north side of the cemetery" (off McCormick) "just outside of the wall." Most slaves chose to secretly bury their dead somewhere else. The site of 67 unmarked graves, believed to be those of enslaved laborers, wasn't discovered until 2012 when the University started removing topsoil for a planned expansion of the cemetery. Archaeologists spotted a subtle change in the soil's color and texture, forming what became, after more digging, the unmistakeable pattern of grave shafts.

In 1893, this statue was erected to commemorate the fallen Confederate soldiers at the school. There are two Confederate generals buried in the cemetery. The statue's inscription reads: "Fate denied them victory but crowned them with glorious immortality." Another example of a Confederate monument on Grounds is the Whispering Wall-- dedicated to Confederate soldier and spy Frank Hume.

The Maury Cemetery is named after the family that owned the nearby Piedmont Plantation. Today, this is the Gooch/Dillard dorm area and off-campus housing. The cemetery contains over 70 unmarked graves. The University added a commemorative sign in 1984 reading "Graveyard Site: This area contains unmarked graves believed to be those of slaves owned by the Maury family, owners of Piedmont in the 19th Century." If you drive to the Piedmont Housing Area off JPA, you will see some of the original houses from the plantation era, including a farmhouse and part of a chapel. Old topographic maps indicate a white cemetery-- likely that of the Maury Family-- across JPA near the modern-day Fontaine research park. In contrast, the slave cemetery was located about three-quarters of a mile from the plantation house. The University's acknowledgement of this site technically predated its official commemoration of enslaved labor in 2007.

<u>Culture:</u>

Religion played an important role in the lives of many enslaved laborers. The Second Great Awakening in the early 1800s changed the way many worshiped; they found solace in the promise of salvation in the story of the Exodus from Egypt in the Old Testament. Many of the enslaved or formerly enslaved at the University were members of the Charlottesville First Baptist Church. Several of the enslaved laborers were baptised-- such as Jack, Isaac, and Rachel in 1832 (slaves of Professor George Tucker).

The University pastor, Broadus, preached to a colored Baptist congregation while Professors Minor and Harrison conducted a Sunday school for the enslaved. Students also taught Sunday schools and visited the population of the Ragged Mountains weekly. During the Civil War, there was a substantial increase in membership at the Charlottesville Baptist church, indicating a greater inclination towards religion during hard times or their owners' desire to have them under control of a second insititution.

Literacy: Though 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. A few owners did, despite the strong social disapproval of instruction outside of religious topics.

Family was also extremely important for the enslaved laborers working at the University. Husbands and wives were typically owned by different families so they rarely lived under the same roof. Isabella and William Gibbons were lucky to live in the same vicinity. (It should be noted that slave marriages were not recognized under the law, though the Gibbons' preserved their union and raised their children. There were some pushes for legality during the Civil War)

When slave-owning families moved away, slaves would sometimes stay behind. Some efforts were also made to keep enslaved families together, however, they were still property and families could easily be fractured. People that lived, worked, and/or worshipped together became kin-- a family like community. Holidays, around the University, were a time for slaves to be together. Enslaved women had children while laboring at UVa; between 1853 and 1865, there were 23 babies born and one stillborn. During that time, 10 enslaved children less than a year old died as well as one mother with her child.

Professor's and faculty's families would develop affectionate relationships with their slaves-- especially children. Slaves were given gifts, often by the wives of professors.

Music, though there isn't much written on the social lives of the enslaved, is noted in historical documents as an important way for enslaved people to pass the time. We know young enslaved people played violins because records describe the music as "distracting to the boys' studying." Note, it's only described in the context of being a nuisance to UVa students.

<u>Enslaved Person Narratives:</u>

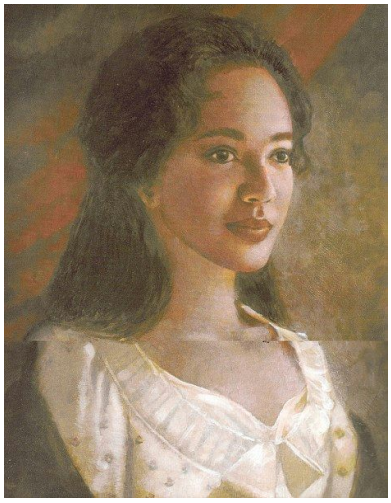
Jupiter Evans was Thomas Jefferson's childhood friend. For all of their adolescence, they rode horses together, played together, fished together until Jefferson turned 21 and he *owned* his best friend. Evans was the coachman running stables and taking care of horses. When Evans died suddenly, Jefferson's only response to the news was "I am sorry for Jupiter." No personal condolences would be offered; nothing outside Evans' administrative abilities would be misses. Evans had a wife named Susan (or "Suck") and 3 children-- though only one of them, Philip, survived to adulthood.

Not much is known about **Sally Hemings**, despite her prominence in Jefferson's life. Jefferson referred to her perhaps 5 times in 19,000 letters. She was mixed race, "mighty near white," and was the daughter of

John Wayles and his slave, Betty Hemings. John Wayles, ironically, is Martha Jefferson's father-- making the two women half-sisters. A domestic slave at Monticello, Hemings bore six children-- by Jefferson-- though only four lived to adulthood: Beverly, Harriet, Madison, and Eston. Hemings and her children were *the only five slaves Jefferson freed*. Following manumission, Hemings was listed as living in Charlottesville as a free person in an 1833 census.

Though Hemings should *not* only be described in the context of Jefferson, their relationship is important. Hemings was 14 and Jefferson was 44 when they began their sexual relationship-- allegedly during Jefferson's trip to France. Every academic scholar agrees that Jefferson fathered Sally Hemings' children. There is more evidence that TJ fathered Hemings' children than Martha's children. According to records, Jefferson was meticulous, recording the temperature every day and the direction of the wind four times per day. He had documentation of where he was and every birth on the mountain-- and would have been at Monticello during each of Hemings' conceptions. While there is debate over whether or not Jefferson and Hemings' relations were coercive or consensual, ultimately, this was rape. When Hemings, 30 years Jefferson's junior, could not deny or concede consent because she was owned, it was a gross imbalance of power.

Sally Hemings (artistic interpretation)



William M. Trotter

William Monroe Trotter is the great grandson of Joseph Fossett on his mother's side and the great-great grandson of Elizabeth Hemings-- the mother of Elizabeth Hemings. Trotter earned his undergraduate and graduate degrees from Harvard University, and was the first man of color to earn a Phi Beta Kappa key there. He joined W.E.B DuBois in founding the Niagara Movement in 1905, a forerunner of the NAACP.

Thrimston Hern was a second generation enslaved laborer from Monticello. He was trained as a carpenter and stonecutter and was sold to UVa's proctor Arthur Brokenbrough for $600. Hern was one of the enslaved laborers believed to have laid UVa's cornerstone in 1817. During construction there was a tug-of-war for his talents: he helped complete the stonework of Jefferson's Rotunda and also helped lay the steps that lead from the Lawn to the 2nd floor of the Rotunda. Hern saved the University 25 cents a foot over a Philadelphia stonecutter, and Brokenbrough was able to receive the payment for Hern's work.

Henry Martin or "Old Henry" as he came to be called, was born enslaved at Monticello the day Thomas Jefferson died, July 4, 1826. He lived in the Charlottesville community his entire life-- most of the time

on 10th street. He is described as “light mulatto, somewhat freckled, with flaxon eyebrows, and hair only a shade darker in tint, high cheekbones and blue eyes…” and as having a mustache and goatee.

In his youth, he worked on Carr’s Hill and in 1845 was sent to be a janitor at UVa. Research suggests that he was freed around 1850 at which time he was employed as the University bell ringer, succeeding Martin Tracy. Henry Martin rang the Rotunda bell for 53 years; marking each hour 4am-10pm. During the Civil War, he also served as a nurse and doctor’s aide as part of the Charlottesville General Hospital--comforting both Union and confederate soldiers. Martin was described as “never idle and never forgot the face of a former student and always succeeded in his duties.” He is said to have remembered students 20 years after they left the University.

Martin had four daughters with his second wife, Patsy Washington Martin. He was a member of Charlottesville’s historic First Baptist Church. He carried the key to the original pre-fire Rotunda for thirty years until he gave it as a graduation present to a Mr. Greene. Special Collections library has a letter to President Darden from Mr. Greene’s son, Julian Greene, UVa 28’, returning the key. Henry Martin died October 6, 1915 and is buried at Oakwood Cemetery. His funeral was among the largest in Charlottesville since Jefferson’s passing; it was reported that at the time of his death, Martin “was known more personally to more [University of Virginia] alumni than any other living man.”

Some racist remarks from *The University of Virginia: Memoirs of her student life and professors Culbreth, David Marvel Reynolds*

- “He knew his part in life and played it well… He also fully recognized that he was neither a professor, a student, nor a white man; that he did not own the University and that she could get along satisfactorily with someone else in his stead… to serve was his delight.”
- “He was a dark mulatto with yellowish-brown skin, about six feet two inches high and weighed one hundred and ninety pounds”
- “As I look back upon the record of that colored man, recalling the various phases of his character, his character, his uniform courtesy, his diplomatic and inoffensive nature-- never irritating even the youthful southern blood-- his manly, truthful and straightforward manner under all times and conditions, it seems to me he was worth a tenement of whiter clay.”

James Munroe (*Freedom Has a Face* by Kirt Von Daacke)

James Munroe was born enslaved in the household of Captain John Rose in Amherst, 40 miles SW of Charlottesville. Captain Rose also owned his parents. When he grew older, he was passed as property between masters, laboring as a dining room servant for UVa’s hotel keepers and for professors. This meant Munroe lived beyond the direct control of a master and when his owners, Erasmus and Maria Rose, moved to Tennessee, he agreed to send them most of the money he earned laboring in Charlottesville. There are records from September 28, 1847 showing money that he sent his masters.

A large reason Munroe did not travel with the Rose family was because he wanted to stay with Evelina, his wife, and their four children. In his free time, he “moonlighted” at taverns around the University and in town so he could save money to buy his own freedom. After he did, he continued to live in Charlottesville, breaking the 1806 Removal Law. He then worked with Randolph Jones, another formerly enslaved man, to fight his charges. Because Munroe’s wife and children were still enslaved in Charlottesville, he fiercely petitioned the VA General Assembly, asserting if he “were compelled to leave he would be separated from them forever.”

Working in UVa's dining halls and in taverns around town allowed Munroe to foster many personal relationships from local whites. He made connections with many prominent individuals including Professors William McGuffey, George Tucker, Addison Maupin and John B. Minor (whom he worked as a house servant for). Hotel Owner John Carr wrote a note on Munroe's behalf attesting to how faithful of a servant he had been. More than 50 people came forward as character witnesses for Munroe, signing petitions of praise: "a free man of color [whom we know] to be a person of good character, peaceable, orderly, and industrious, and not addicted to drunkenness, gambling or any other vice." Eventually he got an addition 150 signatures on his petition and Amherst residents to speak on his behalf. This attention caught the attention of James Alexander, editor of pro-slavery news publication *Jeffersonian Republican*, to circulate a dissenting petition. Though it garnered only around 40 signatures-- 1/5th of Munroe's-- it drew enough attention that the General Assembly declined to make a decision on the case.

Munroe didn't end up leaving-- though he wasn't supposed to-- an led a quiet and peaceful life. He purchased his wife and two of his kids, Mary Ann and Thomas Jefferson, on July 7, 1959 for $650. He couldn't afford the other two at the time. Ultimately he had to leave Virginia for Ohio because of an altercation with an enslaved laborer, but returned in January of 1860 to purchase another son, James Jr, for $1,200. It is unknown what became of his last son. Munroe's story indicates there was latitude with the 1806 Removal Law; a gap between law and practice.

Isabella Gibbons was enslaved, working in PAV VI for Professor Francis H. Smith from 1853 to 1863. Her family cooked for the Smiths from both PAV VI and PAV kitchens. Records indicate that Isabella used discarded books and listened in on lectures to learn to read and write. She taught her children to read; one named Bella could write. Records also show she had daughters named Georgianna, Alice and Maria.

In October of 1865 the New England Freedmen's Aid Society helped with the creation of the Charlottesville's Freedman's School, "The Jefferson School". Isabella Gibbons offered herself up as a teacher-- she was the first person of color to teach there-- and she and Paul Lewis taught the two primary schools. Professors McGuffey and Minor visited the schools to observe successes. Gibbons taught at the school from 1865 to sometime between 1886 and her death in 1889. Bella taught at the school before she and Georgianna became professional jubilee singers. A number of the Gibbons' granddaughters later became educators.

William Gibbons belonged to professor Henry Howard. He was the "body servant" to the professor's son while he attended the University in the 1840s. Later, Howard hired him out to Professor McGuffey as a butler. Gibbons educated himself by being around his young master's books and listening in on conversations of University students. He was also heavily influenced by McGuffey's sermons, which attracted many colored people.

Ultimately, he became the first man of color to minister the Charlottesville Congregation, now known as the First Baptist Church, West Main Street. He was an inspiring local preacher that, soon after, he became a religious leader for a large congregation in DC. In Washington, Pastor Gibbons visited prisons to minister inmates and took classes in Theology at Howard. On visits back to Charlottesville to be with Isabella and children, he would bring fruit, game, and Potomac shad to Professor McGuffey. By the time of his death in 1886-- which earned him a front page obituary in the Washington Post-- thousands mourned him at his DC funeral and hundreds came out to his local service and burial in Charlottesville Oakwood Cemetery.

Peter Briggs, or "Uncle Peter," was born into slavery in 1828, He was a janitor and gardener for many years at the University. He was known for clownish behavior, a cheerful laugh, a Rebel yell, and a buzzard dance. He died in 1912; students raised money for him to have a proper funeral: "all the expenses of interment."

Sally Cottrell Cole was born enslaved around 1800 and worked at Monticello as a maid to Thomas Jefferson's granddaughter Ellen Randolph. In 1825, the Jefferson family hired Cottrell out to U.Va.'s first professor of mathematics, an Englishman named Thomas H. Key, whose wife required a nurse and maid. Professor Key abruptly resigned in July 1827 and returned to England. Before leaving, he purchased Cottrell for $400 on the condition that she be immediately freed. Virginia law at the time required freed slaves to leave the state within 12 months. Rather than leave, she worked for U.Va. chemistry professor John P. Emmet, then on her own as a seamstress. Cottrell was baptized at First Baptist Church in 1841 and, five years later, married Reuben Cole, a free black man.

Eugene Davis drafted a letter to Key in London in London in 1850 to tell him that his father, John AG Davis, never executed the legal papers to free Sally so when the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 made people closer examine the status of free blacks in Virginia, she was bothered. Davis proposed a few alternatives: selling Cole to her husband or the Southall family, which had employed her for many years as a nurse. It is unclear what happened to Cole, but she is included in one of the more recent Southall family pictures.

Anatomical Lewis: Following a complaint from the professor of medicine who first lived in Pavilion X that his front room was an "unacceptable venue" for dissecting cadavers, Jefferson designed a new building in 1824 (featuring a tiered amphitheater for observing dissections) that stood for a period of time in front of where Alderman Library is today. The Anatomical Theater was a dissection lab, and in 1829, the BOV arranged for a servant to handle cadavers and to clean and oil the parts of the chemical apparatus as well as the Hall. A slave named Lewis worked in the building, cleaning up after students' cadaver experiments, cleaning surgical instruments, collecting bones, and boiling remains. Because of these duties, the University community referred to this slave as "Anatomical Lewis." He was "regarded by the

children very much as an ogre" and was, unfortunately, ostracized by both black and white communities. During his time at U.Va., Lewis lived in several locations including in a room in a wood yard behind Pavilion VII. Ultimately, Lewis died in the 1857 typhoid epidemic. The theater itself served many purposes over the years, from a patient clinic to the School of Rural Social Economics. The building was ultimately demolished in 1939.

The cadavers used for expository dissection were often the corpses of slaves. Medical students would be granted permission to go as far as Prince George's County on "anatomical expeditions"-- though most believed the anatomy of a Black person was different than that of a white person, causing anguish amongst Medical professors. Students would also go to cemeteries near the University and raise bodies from graves-- an extremely dangerous endeavor; some were shot by groundskeepers.

Lewis Commodore was put up for sale in 1832 and was purchased by the University for $580. He was employed as a bell ringer and janitor and rang the Medway bell before Henry Martin. He was also in charge of opening the library. Upon taking a pledge to avoid alcohol, Commodore was allotted special privileges by the University with reduced duties. He was probably housed in the room upon the ground floor of the Rotunda near the Chemical laboratory, in the 1830s and 1840s-- around the same time as Anatomical Lewis worked with medical science apparatus (likely the source of their name confusion). The BOV viewed Lewis Commodore as a "faithful and valuable servant." However, in 1846 he was accused of "drunkenness, which had well nigh ruined him." Commodore was removed in 1851, namely for neglecting his duties in lecture rooms.

The janitor was sometimes enslaved and sometimes not. He was also the person most directly involved in students' lives. On March 4, 1824, the BOV authorized the faculty to appoint someone who would always be near at hand during meetings to perform manual offices. He was also expected to be close during classes, especially in the schools of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry when apparatus was to be handled, and the laboratory to help with experiments. He ran the lithographic press, kept philosophical and chemical instruments in order, wound the clock, and would visit dorms to report violations to the early rising ordinance. The janitor would receive $200/year in wages and was granted a house and firewood at the extent of the University.

William Spinner was the first janitor in 1825; he was succeeded by William Brockman. Doctor Smith, a janitor at one point, would walk down the arcades to ensure early rising rules were followed. He did so irregularly "to catch sleepers unaware…" He had a sense of humor and was personally popular, joking

and playing pranks with the students. Students would set up sentinels among the pillars to alert them in the half-darkness of the mornings. Smith would sit in on the rooms, catching half-dressed students and naked roommates. Sometimes a basin of water was placed above the door and dumped on him when he entered the room.

Lewis Commodore was also a janitor, and from 1864 onwards, the janitor was Martin Tracy-- who also rang the bell and was succeeded by Henry Martin. After the war he said he worked in three other capacities: tinsmith, locksmith, and at intervals, superintendent. Examples of Janitorial duties:

- Be up every morning before 5am to give out ice
- Close the ice house at 6am, which he had to reopen between 7 and 8pm
- Help with chemical apparatus
- Keep the Rotunda and Chapel clocks functioning and in order
- Sharpen surgical instruments
- Plumbing: stopping leaks in pipes and hydrants and changing hydrants and pumps
- Mend all locks and keys for each room
- Show visitors through the public rooms
- Help put glass in the windows
- Help fix the diplomas

Stories (we tell!) **that wouldn't be the same without enslaved laborers & former enslaved laborers:**

Laying of the Cornerstone: On October 6, 1817, the Cornerstone of the University was laid in the presence of James Madison, James Monroe, Thomas Jefferson and other dignitaries. Thrimston Hern is one of four enslaved laborers believed, by way of oral history, to have actually physically laid the cornerstone. None of the individuals who actually laid the plaque are noted on the Pavilion VII plaque

Confederate flag on the Rotunda: In 1861, two students decided to hoist a cheap secession flag before the fellows from Dawson's row could put up their silk version. They bought cheap cambric cloth, had it sewn together, (likely) went to Massie's hardware to buy a gimlet and key-hole saw to break into the Rotunda. They "called on a negro"-- Isaac Sampson-- at the nearby carpenter's shop to make a flagstaff that was 12 ft. long. Sampson was directed to bring the staff to Carr's Hill by 11pm that night to them and 7 other boys. Sampson did so and they secured the flag to the Rotunda's lightning rod on February 26 in the wind and bitter cold. In haste to get down before daylight, one of the boys was struck in the cheek by the saw: "The first flag had been raised and the first blood shed!"

When the students made their descent back into the Rotunda, one reported seeing "a negro-servant extinguishing gas jets along the arcades" meaning dawn was approaching. Apparently, the "stars were shining brightly and lit up the folds as they whipped by the strong wind which was blowing, so they were clearly visible from below." According to one of the students, "the lamplighter was so much astonished by the sight of the flag that he exclaimed, 'Hi, whatr dat thing come from? I ain't nuver see dat befo'. Dese certan'y is cu'yous times.'"-- reflecting students' sentiments regarding servants' intelligence. As soon as he left, the flag-raisers crept back to their dormitories.

The Rotunda fire: In 1895 when two students saw the smoke coming from the Rotunda annex, they hurried to inform Henry Martin who, not far from his bell-rope, alarmed the University.

The Civil War: In Albemarle in 1840, there were 602 free Blacks in Charlottesville. This was up 50% from the 1830s which resulted in a lot of anti-Black rhetoric.

Most Charlottesville residents enthusiastically supported the Confederacy's secession on April 17, 1861. Professors interspersed their teachings with economic lessons on how slavery was necessary for the South. Professors George F. Holmes, Albert T. Bledsoe, and James P. Holcombe tried to persuade people, especially students, that a Southern confederacy would protect their economic interests and preserve the social system. 515 out of 601 UVa students ended up leaving to fight, though the school remained open. In preparation for the war, slaves (particularly those working for families) took precautions against invasions by moving silver and tobacco, planting corn, and weeding.

The University became part of the Charlottesville General Hospital which included buildings across town including hotels, churches, and UVa facilities. Though it was only around for about a year, 22,000 were treated. The Lawn and range rooms-- as well as those in the Rotunda, Public Hall in the Annex, and on Dawson's Row-- were filled with the wounded. Though Public Hall was only equipped to treat 70, it received over 200. Slaves served as doctor's aides and nurses and some were even leased to work for the Confederate army.

During the war, Black individuals had to endure being the subject of the white population's hostility and fear, wanting to maintain the antebellum social order. Black individuals couldn't smoke in public-- slaves would be lashed for doing so; curfews prohibited slaves from being out past nine o'clock without written permission; authorities cracked down on the mixing of race etc.

Many of the dead were buried in unmarked graves in the field adjacent to the cemetery. After the war, former slaves were hired to whitewash and clean rooms. War upset relations between the still enslaved people and their owners. The prevailing sentiment was that former slaves deserved no assistance from their former masters; the University's enslaved likely relocated to free black communities like the one at Venable Lane. Many retained their jobs and poor working conditions, though with contracts.

Commemorating Enslaved Laborers at the University of Virginia:

In 2007, Virginia became the *very first state* to offer "regret" for slavery. This was *not* an apology, however, because a the authors of the resolution decided an apology could prompt descendents of enslaved people to seek monetary compensation. The Board of Visitors followed suit on behalf of the University. The **plaque outside PAV I** was installed that same year recognizing UVa's enslaved laborers.

The **Catherine "Kitty" Foster Memorial** is a shadow catcher memorial that was completed in 2010. Kitty Foster was a free Black seamstress, likely born enslaved, who did laundry for UVa's professors and all-male student body. She purchased land in the Venable Lane Community from John Winn, a local merchant, in 1833. Her descendants lived on the land until selling it to white developers in 1906. Foster had been renting the Winn property prior to purchasing it. Census records indicate she had two daughters (who helped her with laundering) and two sons (who were indentured to local craftsmen or skilled workers). Foster may have had more children but we aren't sure. After she died in 1863, her land was subdivided amongst her children and additional houses were built. The location of Foster's home was found when graduate archaeological students located Foster's cellar-- containing thousands of artifacts like glass and pottery shards. Some of the original cobblestones are at the site!

In 1993, a gravesite was found near the location of where the Foster home once stood. The deed the

Foster family sold to white developers included a provision reserving the right to relocate the family cemetery (which was apparently never done). Thus, as the cemetery remains, we believe a number of the Fosters are buried there. The site is marked by a low stone wall around its periphery.

The University dedicates a new tree every year as part of the Founders Day celebration on April 13th. This year's tree, a white ash, was planted near the Rotunda and is the first dedicated to a group of people rather than an individual. The tree commemorates the enslaved people who built and worked to maintain UVa from 1817 to the end of the Civil War. This is the 45th year UVa has dedicated a new tree.

The **Gibbons dormitory** was constructed off of Alderman Road and completed in Summer 2015 off. It is so named to commemorate Isabella and William Gibbons.

In 2013, President Teresa Sullivan established the PCSU-- President's Commission on Slavery and the University to commemorate, do research on, and pay homage to the enslaved individuals who labored at the early University. PCSU is currently working with MEL-- Memorialization for Enslaved Laborers-- to try and put a Memorial where the Berlin Wall currently resides. To learn more about UCARE, the IDEA fund, and MEL, check out the probie packet.

"True history is a prickly gift; embrace the fact that there is no comfort without fear" -Brandon Dillard