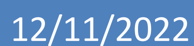

SLAVERY AND THE MEDICAL COLLEGE OF VIRGINIA:

A Report for Virginia Commonwealth University

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2 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Medical College of Virginia (MCV) remained thoroughly embedded within the institution of slavery from its founding in 1838. Tax lists and census data confirm that MCV routinely owned and/or rented at least between four and eight enslaved laborers each year. They cooked, cleaned, laundered, maintained buildings and grounds, nursed patients, and aided physicians. One enslaved person assisted in the anatomy department and helped to procure cadavers primarily from African-American burial grounds. MCV actively cultivated enslavers. The college offered them favorable terms to care for their enslaved laborers in the infirmary. Official institutional rhetoric took increasingly aggressive proslavery positions in the late antebellum period. During the Civil War, the college routinely hired out and sold enslaved people to generate income. MCV profited in both concrete and indirect ways from slavery.

This culture permeated both the institution and the individuals connected with it. The board of visitors overwhelmingly consisted of wealthy enslavers. Forced labor contributed to their substantial fortunes. The faculty grew up in privileged circumstances. Enslaved persons managed their households and supported their private medical practices. Professors often conducted clinical research and experimental procedures on African-Americans without their consent, writing up the results in medical journals. Students hailed overwhelmingly from rural Virginia households headed by enslavers. They relied on the institution to finance their medical educations.

MCV exhibited both differences and similarities with other Virginia educational institutions. The medical college proved unique in some respects. MCV did not possess the wealth and resources that characterized some other schools. It maintained a minimal administrative and physical infrastructure. The college required less maintenance than those institutions with a more extensive campus, though its medical facilities had special needs. As was the case at other schools, enslaved laborers lived in a culture

of perpetual insecurity. Personnel changes often affected their working conditions as their lives depended on the whims and decisions made by stewards, professors, and deans. Enslaved people performed critical institutional functions but appeared hidden in plain sight. Only war and emancipation ultimately ended the relationship. The story remains a sad and troubling chapter in the history of the medical college.

3 INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

Six distinguished and well-connected Richmond physicians placed an advertisement in the September 18, 1838 *Richmond Enquirer* to announce an exciting new endeavor. Their carefully crafted statement offered a revealing insight into their proposed project. These doctors constituted the entire faculty of a new educational institution that they called "the Medical College of Richmond,"[1] which included an infirmary that would "receive persons laboring from all diseases, *not contagious*" [emphasis in original]. The physicians envisioned their plan as a great urban philanthropy that might prove advantageous to the entire metropolis and bring superior medical treatment to poorer and less fortunate citizens. Their statement, however, also indicated a somewhat different and more troubling focus. Though they believed that their venture might benefit the entire community, they expressed their view that it should appeal "more especially to the *owners and hirers of slaves*" [emphasis in original].[2] They inextricably bound their medical college to urban slavery, articulating a tie that would endure throughout the antebellum period. But the relationship between the college and the institution of slavery operated in a unique and idiosyncratic manner. The medical college functioned within governance and administrative structures that clearly differentiated it from other institutions of higher education throughout the Commonwealth. Trustees, faculty, and staff depended on enslaved people to carry out many core institutional operations. In myriad ways MCV mirrored and reflected the broader social and racial relationships that permeated Richmond and its immediate environs. A nuanced

[1] The college formally was designated as the "Medical Department of Hampden-Sidney College" when it was established in 1838. It was, however, popularly known under a variety of other names during its early years as this newspaper article indicates, including the Medical College of Richmond and Richmond Medical College. When the department severed its ties with Hampden-Sydney in 1854 and received a new charter from the Commonwealth, it officially became the Medical College of Virginia.

[2] This report only uses the terms "slaves," "servants" and "slaveowners" when they appear in direct quotations from primary sources. It uses the terms "enslaved peoples" and "enslavers" throughout the general narrative to recognize and affirm acceptable contemporary language.

understanding of the interconnections between the medical college and enslaved peoples, however, requires a deeper engagement with the history of the institution.

Prominent medical professionals had been attempting to establish a college in Richmond at least since the mid-1820s. They floated a variety of schemes that included establishing a branch of College of William and Mary in the city and opening an independent institution free of any other academic affiliation. These attempts failed for a variety of reasons. In 1837, however, a group of physicians finally met with success when they approached the trustees of Hampden-Sydney College, a small and financially troubled Presbyterian institution located roughly seventy miles southwest of Richmond in a rural area near Farmville.[3] The medical men proposed to open their department under the privileges of Hampden-Sydney's collegiate charter, thereby providing themselves with a sound operational framework and administrative cover. Hampden-Sydney, it should be noted, had from its founding in 1775 been intricately involved in the business of slavery. Briery Presbyterian Church, which had been charged by the Hanover Presbytery with raising funds for Hampden-Sydney, had created a permanent fund to purchase enslaved individuals. Briery would then hire them out to secure a steady income that would be applied to support the college, among other ministries. A similar arrangement existed with Cumberland Presbyterian Church. Hampden-Sydney likely did not own any enslaved individuals until late in the antebellum period, but it profited handsomely from this financial arrangement. It frequently hired enslaved individuals from nearby plantation owners for performing such services as cleaning dormitory rooms, maintaining classrooms, and cooking for students and faculty. Further, the college trustees for the most part constituted major enslavers within the context of

[3] Hampden-Sydney had variant spellings. During the period under study here, it most frequently was referred to as "Hampden-Sidney," though the spelling "Hampden-Sydney" also became common during the nineteenth century. The college did not standardize the spelling as "Hampden-Sydney" until 1927. I have used "Hampden-Sydney" throughout the manuscript to reflect the modern spelling and also in order to recognize more common spelling of the college namesake, Algernon Sydney, the noted Whig political theorist who was beheaded in the Tower of London in 1683.

Virginia. Many matriculants also hailed from families that profited from the institution of slavery. Indeed, the Hampden-Sydney college historian has documented the fact that students regularly brought enslaved individuals with them to the college to attend to their personal needs. The Reverend Daniel Lynn Carroll, a Presbyterian minister who served as president of Hampden-Sydney at the time that the medical faculty submitted their 1837 petition to the trustees, perfectly reflected the institution's pro-slavery perspective. He exhibited anti-abolitionist views, regularly preached about the dangers of "amalgamation" between blacks and whites, and enthusiastically advocated African colonization as the only viable solution to the "race problem" in the United States. The president also involved himself in negotiations with the medical faculty that safeguarded their corporate interests to enslave African-Americans.

Specifically, Carroll made one key insertion in the 1837 rules and regulations for governing the new medical department that set an important institutional precedent. Article ten of the proposed agreement between the faculty and trustees stipulated that all property acquired by the medical department "shall belong exclusively to the Medical Professors as their private property and independent of all control of the President and Trustees of Hampden Sydney College." Further, if any donor designated gifts or bequests specifically to the college for the use of the medical department, those funds would statutorily be appropriated to the faculty, even when ownership logically would seem to remain in the hands of the trustees. The only way in which Hampden-Sydney could receive any property or money acquired by the medical faculty would be upon "the cessation of its [the medical department's] functions as a school of medicine." This clause clearly spelled out the independence of the faculty from the trustees and assured that the relationship between the broader college and the medical department would remain loose at best. Carroll, however, made article ten even more advantageous to the medical faculty. In their original petition to the trustees, the faculty defined property specifically as "lecture rooms, hospitals, stocks &c." Carroll informed the physicians that the

trustees "thought that you might require servants and therefore alter it to read 'all property of any kind whatever.'" Slavery thereby became built into the rules and regulations of the medical department, ensuring that the faculty retained maximum flexibility to own enslaved individuals in perpetuity.[4]

All available evidence indicates that the medical college operated almost completely independent of Hampden-Sydney from its opening in 1838 until the dissolution of the relationship in 1854. Hampden-Sydney provided no salary nor support for faculty members. Rather, the medical professors earned their income from lecture fees. Matriculation fees and graduation charges covered the operating budget of the medical department. Hampden-Sydney did not contribute to property purchases or facilities maintenance. The faculty remained responsible for procuring subjects for dissection, purchasing supplies, developing an anatomical museum, and paying fuel costs. The Hampden-Sydney board minutes document minimal connection with the medical department. Trustees routinely ratified faculty appointments and affirmed degree candidates. They rarely intervened in disputes among the medical faculty and took no role in institutional governance. The medical department set its own academic calendar, held its own faculty meetings independent of the parent institution, communicated irregularly and infrequently with the board, and made major administrative decisions without any apparent input from the trustees. Autonomy clearly contained both advantages and disadvantages.

Institutional independence offered the medical faculty one important asset that they sought to fully exploit. From the outset, the professors explicitly tied their fortunes to the City of Richmond. Their rhetoric, policies, and operational decisions all sought to cement their connections with the urban milieu. Both overtly and in occasionally coded language, those links involved affirming and supporting the institution of slavery. First and foremost, the faculty viewed Richmond as an ideal venue for linking

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[4] The term "servant" remained synonymous with "slave" throughout the antebellum period, so any quoted reference to a servant in this report refers to an enslaved person.

theory and practice in a way that differed from other medical schools in the state. The University of Virginia, for example, proudly promoted its system whereby full-time professors lived on campus, engaged in no clinical practice, and relied purely on the lecture system to communicate information to students. The Medical Department of Hampden-Sydney, which was led by Dean Augustus Lockman Warner who had resigned from the University of Virginia partly in frustration over this instructional system, advocated a different approach. The physicians' 1837 petition to the Hampden-Sydney trustees argued that Richmond offered a perfect place to establish the college owing in part to the fact that "the number of Negroes employed in the factories furnish materials for the support of an extensive hospital and afford students that great desideratum, clinical instruction." Furthermore, African-Americans, "from the peculiarity of our institution," also offered "materials for dissection in abundance." Indeed, tobacco factories, flour mills, iron and copper manufactories, and smaller craft shops in Richmond relied heavily on slavery. By the Civil War, approximately half of all adult male workers in the city were enslaved. Farmers in the surrounding region frequently hired enslaved individuals out to urban enterprises as they sought to solve their own cash flow problems with the well-documented decline in the profitability of tobacco farming. The Richmond faculty eagerly sought to capitalize on this market to support their educational enterprise.

They therefore needed to link classroom and clinical instruction in a way that benefitted students. Their first venture along these lines occurred in 1838 when the faculty began renting the Union Hotel, a somewhat antiquated structure at the southwest corner of 19th and Main Streets in Richmond, to house both their lecture halls and an infirmary. This step involved serious financial risks. Socrates Maupin, one of the original professors, noted in a letter to his brother that "we are going to heavy expenses and such as will prove pretty serious should our hands fail." Faculty members paid to have the building made suitable for classrooms and patient quarters, fronted the money for medical equipment and supplies, and procured nurses and housekeepers to staff the operation. The hotel most

recently had been managed by William Howlett who, according to the United States Census, enslaved seven individuals in 1830 and fourteen in 1840. No documentation exists to determine whether the medical college purchased or rented these individuals after assuming control of the facility but staffing clearly proved to be an issue. Evidence concerning the relationship between slavery and the medical faculty during the early period remains sketchy. One professor, however, did refer to the use of enslaved labor at the old Union Hotel in a letter to a colleague in New England. Jeffries Wyman, who regularly lamented the amount of money that he and his colleagues needed to spend to support the medical college, complained in 1843 about "the rent of this building used as a college, expenses for fuel, servants, also a part of the expenses of the infirmary, besides the expenses of individuals for illustrations [meaning cadavers], etc." Clearly, based on his account, enslaved individuals did continue to labor in some capacity at the medical department facility, though their numbers and functions remain undetermined.

The faculty also had a clearly defined and well-articulated marketing focus for the infirmary, attempting to appeal especially to enslavers. Professors assured these individuals that they could depend on "the fidelity with which the sick will be nursed – the regularity of the administration of medicines and judicious diet, at the smallest possible expense." An advertisement, directed specifically "to the Owners and Hirers of Negroes" on December 29, 1838, highlighted the fact that room rates at the infirmary offered them "a sum very considerably less than the ordinary charge for a physician's attendance … while in their own dwellings." The faculty appealed both to the desires of whites to protect their investments by keeping them healthy and to the fact that all care would be administered economically with minimal cost to the owners. Hirers made various contractual arrangements for the medical care of their charges, sometimes assuming this responsibility and at others delegating it to the actual owner. College authorities recognized these diverse practices and hoped to appeal to both instances. They also provided some special financial incentives for enslavers. White convalescents paid

a fee of six dollars per room per week throughout most of the antebellum period, with an additional surcharge if they preferred a private room. The enslaved "and other colored persons," however, were able to stay in a room for five dollars weekly, once again making the infirmary a more desirable option for enslavers. All in all, the professors hoped to create an environment in which students received theoretical instruction in the classroom while observing clinical practice in the infirmary. The largely African-American clientele willingly or unwillingly became part of the educational process as students "will be able to turn to the bed side of the patient and verify the principles taught by his professor." And the faculty also encouraged student experimentation: they expected each matriculant to dissect bodies and perform "the various surgical operations with his own hand, and thus familiarize him with the use of surgical instruments." The faculty chose not to inquire too deeply into the individual lives and thoughts of the patients of these experimental undertakings, noting only that "in no city of our Union are anatomical materials so abundant and easily procured as in Richmond."

No systematic data documents infirmary operations. Annual reports appear infrequent. Newspaper accounts, medical journals, and physicians' reports offer only episodic glimpses into conditions and practices at the hospital. These sources, however, suggest that enslaved people constituted a significant percentage of the clientele and offer insight into the ways in which these patients were perceived by caregivers. A few examples illustrate the point. On February 20, 1845, the *Richmond Enquirer* ran a letter from "An Eye-Witness" that described an incident at the infirmary. The correspondent claimed that a man named Ragland who hailed from Goochland County had brought one of his enslaved laborers to the facility for treatment of a malignant tumor of the whole arm upon which Dean Augustus Warner "with great skill and rapidity" amputated the limb. The letter-writer gave short shrift to the fate of the enslaved person, commenting only that he "is doing as well as could be anticipated." Rather, he focused on the enslaver, claiming that the entire incident illustrated the way in which the infirmary benefited the white community at large. Ragland, the article noted, "is a poor man

and his means so limited that himself and servant walked the distance of forty-five miles to ask surgical aid." The correspondent expressed sympathy for the hardship that this imposed upon Ragland, but only tangentially referred to the fact that his suffering laborer with a diseased arm that ultimately required amputation had to make the same laborious journey on foot. Warner agreed to treat him without charge, prompting the author to conclude that the medical college benefited those, like Ragland, whose means appeared modest.[5]

Another letter to the editor, this time to the *Alexandria Gazette*, appeared on April 20, 1841 under the title "Appalling Surgical Operation." This missive described another operation by Augustus Warner that involved removing the lower jaw of a twenty-three-year-old female enslaved North Carolinian who supposedly suffered from osteo-sarcoma. After describing this gruesome procedure in detail, the correspondent blamed the patient for her "constant struggles" that hindered the process but praised Warner for "his firmness and self-possession … his countenance was calm, exhibiting a proper union of confidence, determination, and benevolence." Such medical interventions highlighted the reputations and professionalism of the faculty, while paying scant attention to the actual patients. And the faculty themselves recognized the value of using infirmary clientele for advancing medical knowledge. They regularly contributed articles to medical journals during the late 1840s and 1850s that highlighted heroic medical procedures and discussed interesting cases, primarily with patients who were enslaved. They often presented research findings concerning these people in a dismissive and derogatory manner. Theodorick Mayo, for example, who served as a demonstrator of anatomy at the college and also secretary to the board of visitors, referred to a client named Roy in the *Virginia Medical and Surgical Journal* in these terms: "a great buck among the dark damsels, and so far as I can learn,

[5] John T. Ragland, however, appeared in the 1850 U.S. Census as owning a farm in Goochland worth $9000, along with a workforce that consisted of twenty-eight enslaved persons. Further, he hailed from a prominent family of wealthy farmers in the county, calling into question the entire premise of the piece, though admittedly he may have been "cash poor" and suffering from indebtedness in a manner that typified many Piedmont agriculturalists.

had some serious notions of matrimony; and the fact of his testicles 'drying up' as he expressed it, might have had such an effect upon his nervous system, as to produce these hysterical symptoms."[6] Patient consent to observation and public analysis appeared nonexistent. This contrasted dramatically with the situation in 1861, when the infirmary treated injured white Confederate troops. The dean treaded lightly in such cases, asking the surgeon general about "the propriety of employing sick and wounded soldiers in the wards of the Hospital as the subjects of clinical lectures." He also assured Confederate authorities that such practices could only occur "on condition of their consent being first obtained." These considerations never applied to African-Americans. The bodies of the enslaved clearly provided useful fodder for future physicians and ripe patients for experimental practices.

Richmond offered advantages beyond clinical training for prospective students as well. Promotional literature assured potential attendees that "good boarding, including fuel, lights, servant's attendance &c., can be obtained in this city for three dollars and a half to four dollars per week." The college, lacking its own dormitories, took advantage of Richmond's robust boardinghouse culture, which depended on enslaved laborers, to offer students reasonable and comfortable alternatives to on-campus housing. The college also hoped to attract matriculants by instilling a sense of local, state, and regional pride. The faculty contrasted their ethos and philosophy with that of their northern rivals, especially the University of Pennsylvania. For many years, that Philadelphia-based institution had served as the most popular destination for hopeful doctors from the south, Virginia most notably, and it remained the premiere medical training institution in the United States. Virginians regularly grumbled about the amount of money that students carried out of the state to support such northern institutions. They desperately longed for viable alternatives. During its earliest years, the medical faculty couched

[6] This quote is taken from Todd L. Savitt, *Medicine and Slavery: The Diseases and Health Care of Blacks in Antebellum Virginia* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), p. 303. There are examples of such descriptions in both *The Virginia Medical and Surgical Journal* and *The Stethoscope and Virginia Medical Gazette*, many of them authored by professors at MCV.

their regional appeals in relatively benign language. They argued that southern students might escape "the rigors of a northern winter" by staying closer to home. These prospective doctors also could work on cadavers throughout the term since Richmond offered a more hospitable climate for preserving corpses than that of cities further south. Since most aspiring southern physicians presumably planned to practice their profession close to home, the faculty also claimed that work in the infirmary would furnish them an "opportunity of studying the diseases incident to a Southern climate." Regional exceptionalism became justified most often in medical rather than sociopolitical terms.

As sectional tensions heightened during the antebellum period, however, this rhetoric changed significantly and assumed a new urgency. Perhaps the earliest articulation of a more confrontational style occurred in 1842 when Dean Warner addressed the incoming class. After maintaining that southerners needed to be educated in the South for more traditional reasons, he also warned that when Virginians ventured "among a people who have no common feeling and interest with her domestic institutions, she is forging the great lever which must ultimately prostrate and despoil her." Similar appeals became even more frequent, emotionally charged, and shrill as time progressed. They also emanated from a variety of quarters. The Richmond Common Council, for example, had refused to appropriate any money to the medical college for a potential building in 1838, arguing that its subservience to Hampden-Sydney meant that it would be subject to "a controlling power at a distance" making the institution "liable to be removed by them [the trustees] and subject to their caprice and whim." By 1844, however, the Council completely reversed its course, appropriating funds for the faculty to purchase a plot of ground for a new building and affirming that responsible citizens could discern that "it is disreputable to a Commonwealth such as ours to be dependent on neighbors or strangers for instruction and education in these branches of knowledge, such as the medical science, which are essential to the existence of civil society." An editorial addressed to medical students in the October 11, 1845 *Richmond Daily Whig* drew starker contrasts, warning that by venturing to

Philadelphia or New York students might fall prey to "those depraved and dissipated habits for which the Northern cities are so *preeminently distinguished* [emphasis in original]." Driving home the point, the *Whig* warned youthful readers that in the north they might "contract alliances and imbibe sentiments utterly uncongenial with, and prejudicial to, all institutions of the South, whether of a political, civil, or literary character." Only by patronizing such institutions as the Medical Department of Hampden-Sydney could these evils and dangers lessen. Even the college catalogue declared in 1858 that "our interests, no less, than our honor, demand that our dependence on the North in respect to education, whether general or professional, should cease; and *it will cease* [emphasis in original]." Indeed, when a group of students petitioned the Virginia state legislature to provide funding for the college in 1859, they pleaded for "the patriotic devotion of Southern gentlemen to Southern interests." They mocked southern students who attended northern schools as naïve dupes who proved susceptible to "many things which appeal to the senses, excite the imagination & flatter the vanity." Ultimately, they urged Virginians to avoid sending their prospective physicians to "Philadelphia, the most abolition city in America or New York, the hotbed of sedition & treason & the home of John Brown." As Southern institutions and culture became inextricably defensive about, and bound up with, the institution of slavery, such appeals generated widespread sympathy and support. They also bore tangible fruit. In 1859, following John Brown's hanging, the college received a significant influx of students from northern schools, particularly those located in the Philadelphia area. Two Alabama natives jointly wrote to the medical school dean in 1860 and summarized their motivations for transferring south as follows: we "entered the Medical School in Washington not knowing that any of the Professors belonged to the Republican Party. Since that time [we] have learned that three of the faculty are strong advocates of Abolitionism and one of the three has connected his name with a political association community known as the Wide Awakes – a Company of Republicans composed of Robbers, Pickpockets, and

Houseburners." As students fled south for political reasons and to support the institution of slavery, the medical college reaped significant short-term financial rewards.

Several substantive institutional changes beyond merely rhetorical flourishes also benefited the medical faculty during the 1840s and 1850s. The first involved facilities. The Second Bank of the United States had acquired the old Union Hotel and decided not to renew the medical faculty's lease in 1844. This prompted a search for a new site to house both the instructional classrooms and the infirmary. For the first time in its history, the medical department received substantial public funding to support its efforts. In 1844, the Virginia General Assembly authorized a loan of $15,000 to the faculty from the state Literary Fund to construct a new building in Richmond, supplementing this with an additional $10,000 loan the following year. Shortly following the initial state appropriation, the faculty successfully petitioned the Richmond Common Council to grant them $2,000 in order to purchase a suitable lot upon which to erect their building. Gustavus Adolphus Myers brokered the property purchase. An influential forty-three-year-old local lawyer, council member, civic activist, and personal attorney for many members of the medical faculty, he recently came into possession of a plot of land at Marshall and College Streets on Shockoe Hill upon the death of his mother. Myers, it should be noted, came from a wealthy family of enslavers. His father, whose personal physician was John Cullen of the medical faculty, bequeathed five enslaved people and "an interest in a negro man named Andrew" to his wife upon his 1838 death. Gustavus himself enslaved eight human beings according to the 1840 federal census. The building project afforded new opportunities for the faculty, but it also came at some cost. Although the president of Hampden-Sydney College formally executed the deed for the state loan, individual faculty members assumed the responsibility for guaranteeing the money and paying off the interest. Each professor had to post a $5,000 bond based on his personal assets for the Second Auditor, the department which oversaw the state appropriation, to approve the project. Faculty members also

had to manage the construction project, provide bridge funding for the architect, and cover a variety of incidental expenses.

Thomas S. Stewart, a Philadelphia-based architect who recently had received a commission to design the nearby St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Richmond, assumed responsibility for the project. His Egyptian Revival concept soon became an iconic addition to the local landscape. Stewart apparently oversaw the construction project, though neither his own personal papers nor the archival collection at Virginia Commonwealth University provide any details. On April 23, 1844 he placed an advertisement in the *Richmond Enquirer* requesting sealed proposals from builders and mechanics who would be interested in supplying the necessary carpentry, brickwork, plastering, stuccoing, painting, glazing, roofing, and blacksmithing. No names of the subcontractors who participated in the project have been uncovered. Historians have estimated, however, that over half of the small craft firms in Richmond relied on enslaved labor to support their enterprises. It appears highly likely that enslaved people helped construct the building. At any rate, the more expansive and sophisticated facility owned by the faculty placed new administrative and financial strains on the medical school. Once again, faculty members worried over the monetary implications. Socrates Maupin relied on his family for help. In 1844, he informed his brother that "I shall have to give Mr. Stewart the Architect security for the credit payments under contract for building the College" amounting to $1,500. He pleaded with his sibling and his father to provide that sum. Three years later, he requested another three hundred dollars "to meet demands on account of improvements about the college." Many faculty members grumbled about their financial obligation in similar manner though all appeared to be living in comfort.

A second major administrative shift with transformative implications occurred in 1854 when Hampden-Sydney and the medical department severed ties. The immediate cause involved a governance issue, though dissatisfaction and disillusionment with the relationship had been festering for several years. Matters came to a head in 1853 when the Hampden-Sydney trustees refused to ratify the

appointment of a new faculty member recommended by the medical department, instead proposing an alternative candidate with strong ties to the board. A protracted dispute ensued. In 1854, the state legislature ultimately decided to support the faculty, providing them with an independent charter and allowing them to end their relationship with Hampden-Sydney. The newly reconfigured Medical College of Virginia (MCV) thus came into existence. Although the faculty had operated largely independent of its parent institution for many years, the new arrangement prefigured administrative changes and an altered relationship with the state. Six years later, the college became a full-fledged public institution when, in return for a $30,000 appropriation, MCV conveyed the entirety of its property to the Commonwealth of Virginia. Unfortunately, there appears to be no extant inventory of these assets, and the actual deed only speaks of property in the vaguest terms. The purpose of the $30,000 appropriation, however, remained quite clear. MCV proposed to carry out improvements to the college building, upgrade its anatomical museum, and construct a new infirmary adjacent to the current property that would finally separate academic and clinical instruction.

The college moved quickly to construct the new infirmary. They engaged the architectural firm of Grant and Nenning to design the building. John Grant, one of the partners, assumed primary responsibility for drawing up the plans. A forty-three-year-old architect who had been born in Scotland, he enslaved one person in 1860 and had earned a regional reputation for reliability based on his other projects. Records concerning the 1860 infirmary construction, which lasted until the facility opened in 1861, remain considerably better than that of the college building since the dean had been required to report all disbursements to state authorities. R. B. Woodward, a forty-year-old Virginia native who was listed as a carpenter in the 1860 U.S. Census albeit one who had accumulated $10,000 in real estate and $25,000 in personal property, served as the general contractor on the project. He received the bulk of the available funds for the infirmary job. An examination of the subcontractors whom he hired provides some indication of the connection between slavery and construction projects in the Commonwealth.

Woodward himself enslaved several individuals though it remains unknown whether he leased additional people to work on this project as well as his other commissions, a common practice. Eight other individuals or firms received at least fifty dollars for their labor on the infirmary. This excludes such workers as H. Bamberger, quite possibly a hired enslaved person or free black who earned $4.37 for 3 ½ days' work as that amount appeared typical for African-American labor in Richmond. Seven of the eight major subcontractors enslaved multiple human beings and likely employed them in this project.[7] Most of these employers held more enslaved laborers than might be used in a typical urban household. This made it likely that they employed their own enslaved laborers in such construction projects as the infirmary. And, of course, these subcontractors may have supplemented their own work force with temporary enslaved laborers, a common practice throughout the city.

The new relationship between MCV and the Commonwealth of Virginia, the substantial increase in the student population, and the opening of the infirmary in 1861 all produced a sense of optimism within the institution. Unfortunately for the medical college, that triumphalism proved short-lived. With the onset of the Civil War, new crises threatened to cripple the school. The Civil War years began with a flourish and a renewed sense of purpose, but as the 1860s wore on, pessimism and gloom descended upon the institution. Faculty members found it difficult to maintain their college commitments as many grew involved in serving the Medical Department of the Confederate States of America. Early infusions of money from increased student enrollments and stipends from the government to treat wounded soldiers proved unsustainable. Richmond became an unstable place.

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[7] The contractors included: V. J. Clutter, a thirty-nine year old carpenter who built the stables; George and Albert Benjamin, brothers who operated a plumbing business; the firm of Crump & Ragland, builders and carpenters who constructed the scaffolding; George R. Crutchfield, a painter who also handled glazing on the building; Joseph G. Watts, a brickmaker; Jacob Holloway, a seventy-year-old whose occupation was listed as "excavator" in the 1860 U.S. Census, but who no doubt relied on younger enslaved laborers to dig up the lot and break up plumbing; and William Ready, who molded locks and keys for the museum, as well as crafting the bells and speaking tubes that allowed for communication throughout the hospital. Only William H. Johnson, who applied stucco and plaster to the building, does not appear to have been involved with slavery.

During the latter stage of the war inflation grew rampant. Food, fuel, and medical supplies proved scarce. The dean eventually struggled to generate sufficient income to support the needs of the college and maintain the two buildings. By October 1865, as the city itself lay in ruins following a devastating fire, the college authorities essentially admitted defeat. They shuttered the infirmary and agreed to rent it out to a "Mrs. Smoot," who planned to convert it into a boardinghouse and lease individual rooms to students. The heady years of optimism and expansion had come to an ignominious end. Future prospects appeared bleak and uncertain. And slavery no longer played any direct role in institutional life.

4 SLAVERY

A few scattered references suggest that the medical college used enslaved people from the establishment of the institution through the opening of the new college building in 1844. The first solid demographic information concerning the extent of enslaved workers at the institution dates from the late 1840s. According to state law, the auditor of public accounts imposed a personal property tax on individuals and institutions who claimed ownership of enslaved people aged twelve years and older. This information has been recorded in the Richmond City Tax Lists, which date back to the late eighteenth century. These documents appear to be somewhat irregular and incomplete, with some enslavers inexplicably disappearing from the rolls in one particular year then reappearing in the next. The entries therefore are not comprehensive and contain unexplained gaps and inconsistencies. Further, ambiguity exists about whether these numbers indicate ownership or hiring. Contemporary scholarship suggests that owners often arranged with hirers to pay annual taxes on the enslaved, since renters benefited from the labor in each rental year. But the application of a tax to either an individual or an institution does constitute definitive evidence of enslavement practices. The medical college first

began appearing on the rolls under a variety of names as enslavers in 1848 and the entries appear as follows:

Table 1: Richmond City Tax Lists[8]

Year	Content
1848	"Richmond Medical College Infirmary -- 4 slaves"
1849	No mention of Infirmary
1850	No mention of Infirmary
1851	"Medical College – 6 slaves"
1852	"Richmond Medical College – 7 slaves"
1853	"Richmond Medical College – 5 slaves"
1854	"Richmond Medical College – 5 slaves"
1855	No mention of medical college
1856	"Richmond Medical College – 5 slaves"
1857	1857: "Richmond Medical College – 4 slaves"
1858	No mention of Richmond Medical College or Medical College of Virginia
1859	No mention of Richmond Medical College or Medical College of Virginia
1860	"Medical College of Virginia – 6 slaves"
1861	"Medical College of Virginia – 6 slaves"
1862	"Medical College of Virginia -- 7 slaves"
1863	"Medical College of Virginia -- 8 slaves"
1864	Taxes suspended by the Virginia state legislature since adequate revenue existed, thereby no taxes were imposed that year.

The tax lists only include actual monetary evaluations for enslaved persons in 1862 and 1863. In 1862, the 7 individuals listed are valued at $4,200 ($600/person), and in 1863 the 8 persons designated are assessed at $9,600 ($1,200/person), an astounding increase that probably owes to inflationary pressures and labor shortages during wartime.

[8] The term "slaves" in this table reflects its usage on the tax lists themselves.

It therefore can safely be concluded that the college either owned or hired between four and eight enslaved human beings annually throughout the late antebellum period. Although the tax evidence points toward at least some level of ownership, no documentation concerning actual purchases exists in the medical college archives. Searches in other external sources also proved fruitless. One other important piece of demographic evidence that confirms and corroborates enslavement practices at the institution does exist in the "1860 U.S. Federal Census -- Slave Schedules." Francis Marion Parrish, who served as the superintendent of the medical college in 1860, lived at the infirmary along with his wife who served as matron. The facility also housed three resident students who recently had graduated from the college and one resident physician who attended to patients as needed on a round-the-clock basis. The 1860 U. S. Census indicates the presence of six enslaved persons at the Medical College of Virginia, thus corroborating the 1860 Tax List. These enslaved human beings are listed under the name of "F.M. Parrish" in Ward Two of Richmond, which is where the infirmary was located. In a notation over Parrish's name, three of the enslaved people are designated as being "owned by M[edical]. School of Richmond": a forty-five-year-old female mulatto, a twenty-five-year-old female black; and a forty-year-old male black. Three other enslaved persons are listed as being with Parrish at the Medical College, where he is designated as "employer", but they are designated as being owned by other individuals: a fifty-five-year-old male black, a thirty-five-year-old male black, and a thirty-year-old female black. The names of these three "owners," unfortunately, appear difficult to definitively determine. The first one is marked as "owner unknown". The second appears to have been James Holman, a sixty-six-year-old who lived at the corner of Clay and Monroe Streets in Richmond and who had enslaved nine persons in Henrico County, many of whom he likely rented out for income. The third owner is listed as "Caskie," who seems most likely to be either James Caskie, President of the Bank of Virginia and an enslaver who both lived near the college and moved in the same social circles as the faculty, or the firm of Caskie and Brothers, commission merchants who rented out enslaved persons

among their other business enterprises. Unfortunately, neither the tax lists nor the U.S. Census designated any individual enslaved person by name, referring only to their ages, their gender, and whether they might be considered “black” or “mulatto.” This enslavement pattern also reflects broader institutional developments. The mid-to-late 1840s marked a period of expansion following the construction of the new college building, so it appears likely that the enslaved work force grew somewhat during this period. And the general optimism surrounding state funding, student increases, and potential new sources of revenue – combined with the fact that the faculty themselves no longer needed to finance all college expenditures – likely accounts for the increase in the enslaved labor force around 1860. Further, the gender division among these people (three male and three female) as well as the fact that they did not include any children appears appropriate given their necessary experience and the types of tasks that they would be called upon to perform at the infirmary.

College records concerning slavery remain spotty and incomplete, but scattered documentation exists in faculty minutes, correspondence, and account books. The most thorough and systematic account of hiring enslaved people occurs in connection with the Demonstrator of Anatomy.[9] This position dates to the founding of the college when the physicians engaged Robert Munford, a twenty-two-year-old native Richmond resident who had studied medicine at the University of Virginia, to fill the post in 1838. His job primarily entailed managing the anatomical and dissecting rooms, a critical responsibility since the college emphasized and promoted extensive clinical training for students. The demonstrator also bore the burden of assisting the professor of anatomy. The faculty elected to continue the position following Munford’s untimely death in 1843, but no records exist to document the function. In 1848, however, after the move to the new college building, the professors explicitly spelled out the demonstrator’s responsibilities, integrating slavery into his operations. They stipulated that the

[9] The Demonstrator of Anatomy was a physician who also supervised the dissecting hall.

faculty would "pay one half the hire of a Servant for the Anatomical Department, the Demonstrator of Anatomy paying the other half." The following year, the faculty placed responsibility for procuring this enslaved person in the hands of the demonstrator, mandating that he shall "hire a servant for the use of the Anatomical & Dissecting rooms, -- the hire of such servant being shared equally between him and the Faculty, the latter being chargeable with no other expense for the servant than one half the hire."

The anatomical department also intersected with slavery in another gruesome way. The demonstrator remained responsible for procuring and maintaining cadavers that could be used for student dissections. This typically involved working with grave-robbers, or "resurrectionists" in the medical parlance, who mainly plied their trades in African-American or pauper burial grounds. All evidence indicates that the college entered the grave-robbing business given its emphasis on clinical training. The faculty negotiated a collaborative arrangement with the University of Virginia in the 1840s whereby resurrectionists would obtain corpses in the more fertile fields of Richmond and share them with Charlottesville, a much smaller community that had few African-American cemeteries. Faculty and staff always remained on the lookout for potential subjects. Dr. Howell L. Thomas, who became a demonstrator of anatomy at MCV during the Civil War, wrote to the professor of anatomy at the University of Virginia in 1849 as follows: "In passing down the street today I heard the darkies talking of a funeral tomorrow, if there be anything in it, I will watch and endeavor to secure the commodity for you." By the late 1850s, the college took in dozens of bodies per year, primarily from the nearby pauper's field, the African-American burial ground, and the local almshouse. The college's anatomical needs also created issues involving the disposal of human remains. A large refuse well on East Marshall Street constituted the final resting place for most anatomical specimens and cadavers once they satisfied their purposes. Departmental demonstrators and their enslaved helpers unceremoniously dumped human remains down the well. This practice only came to light generations later when an

excavation project uncovered the skeletal remains of these subjects in conjunction with the construction of the Kontos Medical Sciences Building.[10]

Rumors ran rampant throughout the community concerning goings-on and the disposition of dead bodies at the college. The *Richmond Dispatch* noted that "many of the negroes laboring in Richmond are, for the want of room and nurses, sent to the infirmary of the Medical College when they are taken sick. Among them prevails a superstition that when they enter the infirmary they never come out alive." Matters came to a head in 1860 when Richmond considered erecting a marine hospital for the treatment of seamen who needed medical care. Mariners traditionally had been taken to MCV, but the *Daily Dispatch* noted in February 1860 that "the fact that it is a College – and dissections are made there – and that by possibility they might get into the dissecting room after death and be cut up, so horrifies poor superstitious Jack that he would rather die in his hammock for want of medical attention and be cast into the ocean as food for the fishes, than go to the Medical College." A subsequent newspaper editorial, however, attempted to ensure the seamen that "no white person is ever dissected in the college; and that all patients who die there are decently interred in the public burying ground." Levin Smith Joynes, the medical school dean, paid for an advertisement concerning the controversy, expanding on the previous rebuttal. He stated unequivocally that "no patient dying in the Infirmary, whether white or black, is ever sent to the dissecting room; but the body is in every case decently interred in the public burying grounds when not otherwise disposed of by those interested." He also

[10] In April of 1994, construction workers discovered a well containing human skeletal remains 25 feet below East Marshall Street on the MCV Campus of VCU. These remains, from stolen bodies used for dissection by medical students, were hastily removed from the well and subsequently forgotten. See: Douglas W. Owsley and Karin Bruwelheide, "Artifacts and Commingled Skeletal Remains from a Well on the Medical College of Virginia Campus" 2012 https://scholarscompass.vcu.edu/arch001/1/. In 2011 following the release of VCU faculty member Shawn Utsey's film*, Until the Well Runs Dry: Medicine and the Exploitation of Black Bodies* and community complaints, VCU initiated the East Marshall Street Well Planning Committee to address this troubling chapter in the university's history. See: The East Marshall Street Well Project, https://emsw.vcu.edu/

pledged that the permissions of either family or friends of the deceased, or enslavers where appropriate, would be obtained by college officials before even conducting post-mortem examinations. A recent study of nineteenth-century interments at the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground conducted by a group of VCU students appears to confirm Joynes's guarantees. Several bodies were sent for proper burial to the cemetery by the infirmary under the auspices of the steward.[11] Still, anatomical training remained controversial and provoked fear among the general public.

Financial arrangements between the college and the anatomical department varied somewhat over the years, but a hired enslaved person always remained part of the operation. In January 1857, the faculty shifted some of the financial burden to the dean, resolving that he "be authorized to pay Fifty Dollars on the present year's hire of the servant employed to attend to the Anatomical lecture room." That policy became codified again in January 1858 with "$50 paid out by the College funds & the remainder by Professor of Anatomy." This system remained in effect until the severe financial crisis occasioned by the Civil War caused the faculty to rescind the rule. Marion Howard, who had served as demonstrator from 1857 until 1861 before resigning to join the 56th regiment of the Virginia Infantry, expressed some interest in returning to the college in June 1863, but only on condition that the dean assure him that "a servant could be hired to attend to the dissecting room and a resurrectionist engaged." He noted pessimistically "that it would be a great difficulty in getting a servant who would attend to the dissecting room, and that, judging, from present rates, the hire, board, and clothing of said servant would be more by one third than the whole income of the office." In September, Howard again petitioned the dean, noting ironically that "the man who he engaged as a resurrectionist is dead" and deferring his decision to return on "whether or not the faculty would agree to the proposed

[11] Resurrectionists, of course, may still have dug up corpses of patients who died in the infirmary after their interment, but at least the medical college could claim that it fulfilled its responsibilities. VCU students in Dr. Ryan K Smith's Digital History course developed the Shockoe Hill Burying Ground Annotation Project to transcribe information from the quarterly interment report for the Shockoe Hill Burying Ground from August through September 1862.

arrangement in regard to the board of the servant who was to attend the dissecting room." The faculty thereupon moved to suspend the regulation requiring the demonstrator to supply an attendant for the dissecting room with the understanding that he "should be allowed to employ for this purpose the servant hired to attend upon the lecture-rooms." This apparently still did not satisfy Howard, and the faculty eventually hired a replacement.

Management at the medical college largely remained in the hands of the steward, also occasionally referred to as the "janitor." This position entailed considerable authority and responsibility. Stewards purchased supplies, supervised cooking, oversaw laundry and maintenance, managed property, admitted and discharged patients, and attended to the cleanliness of every room. The Board of Visitors, when spelling out the infirmary-related duties of the position in 1854, also carefully specified that the steward shall "procure the necessary servants & nurses, & shall see that they perform their duties." The College employed someone to fill this role at least since 1847, when Caleb R. Newman was listed as "janitor" in the catalogue. The fifty-three-year-old Newman clearly possessed some means. In the 1840 U.S. Census, he and his wife Eliza are listed as living in Richmond and possessing two enslaved people. The 1850 enumeration lists Newman as enslaving five individuals: a forty-five-year-old female, a thirty-eight-year-old male, a thirty-year-old female, a twenty-year-old female, and a thirty-year-old male. It seems quite likely, however, that similar to Francis Marion Parrish in 1860, he was living on the college grounds at the time and that these individuals constituted the work force for the classrooms and infirmary. Although the 1850 U.S. Census does not list addresses, meaning that definitive evidence remains lacking, Newman did live in the same neighborhood as Professor Socrates Maupin, who served as president of the infirmary, and near an individual listed as being a sexton, quite likely at Saint Paul's Episcopal Church. The remainder of the neighborhood appeared to consist of boardinghouses and private residences for a professional class of merchants and physicians, which would have fit with the area surrounding the college building. And the number of enslaved human beings, as well as their

demographic profile, seems consistent with the tax list and the needs of the infirmary at that time. For whatever reason, Newman and his wife, who also served as matron at the facility, soon wore out their welcomes. On January 17, 1848, the faculty voted to inform the superintendent "that his conduct and that of his wife do not give satisfaction." Approximately two years later, Socrates Maupin noted in a letter to his brother that:

> the faculty have determined to make a change in the management of the Infirmary and I have given notice to Mr. Newman that his services will not be required after the 1st day of May [1850]. I have seen Mr. Turnley and offered him the place. He has agreed to take charge of the Institution at the expiration of Mr. Newman's time. I trust he will give satisfaction and that he may discharge the duties of his situation in a manner agreeable to himself and advantageous to the Institution.

Maupin appeared pleased with the new steward and matron in 1851, observing that Turnley's wife "will give a great deal more satisfaction than Mrs. N[ewman] both to the faculty and to the patients."

Nelson G. Turnley, who succeeded Newman, possessed good entrepreneurial skills and no doubt used the stewardship sinecure at the college to provide a small but steady income that supported his other business activities. He involved himself in Richmond real estate speculation and also developed a tobacco manufacturing firm with his brother-in-law and another partner under the name of Cox, Turnley, & Hart. Turnley parlayed these various ventures into a comfortable living. By 1860, he had amassed $4,000 in real estate, accumulated $8,000 in personal property, occupied a substantial dwelling in the fashionable Church Hill neighborhood, and enslaved four people who he reserved for his personal use. When his firm dissolved in 1859, Turnley settled the accounts and continued the business with a new partner. Faculty minutes and college account books during his five-year tenure reveal that he diligently performed his function by hiring numerous enslaved workers. He maintained a separate account with the faculty for his dealings with enslavers, apparently fronting money for the institution and receiving reimbursements at a leisurely pace. An 1856 entry in the faculty minute book noted the "balance due N. Turnley for hire of servants Matt and Winnie for the years 1852 to 1855 (both

inclusive)" at $400. Similarly, Dean Levin S. Joynes settled Turnley's account for hiring enslaved workers in January 1857 by reimbursing him $12.51, and finally closed the steward's account two months later at $241.60. It remains unclear whether Turnley received a commission for acquiring enslaved laborers annually, as might be suggested by the small January 1857 reimbursement, in addition to his regular salary of $25/month. Either way, Turnley parted with the institution on good terms in 1857 when he likely decided to devote more time to his other concerns. Francis Marion Parrish, who succeeded Turnley, hailed from rural Louisa County in Virginia and had already a fair amount of real estate ($8,000) and personal property ($10,000) by the time he assumed charge of the infirmary at the age of thirty-five. He also proved skilled at managing the enslaved work force and gave general satisfaction to the faculty. When his wife, who served as the college matron, died in 1862 Parrish resigned his post and the faculty once again engaged Turnley to handle these responsibilities. Parrish went on to become a steward at Chimborazo Hospital, a major Confederate facility in Richmond during the Civil War, and subsequently operated as a successful merchant in the city.

Only two rules and regulations for managing the institution explicitly reference slavery. The Board of Visitors in 1854 spelled out the duties of resident students concerning patients as follows: "they [resident students] shall always dress the surgical patients unless otherwise directed by the attending surgeon by 8 o'clock A.M. & they shall in no case depute this duty to any servant of the Institution." The rationale behind this rule remains unclear. Perhaps it indicated some deviation from this practice in the past, or white patients may have resented having this duty performed by enslaved persons. Whites and African-Americans received decidedly different treatment once they entered the infirmary. White patients retained the privilege of selecting any faculty member to treat them should they have a preference. Only "the master of any colored patient" could make a similar request. Whites also had the prerogative of requesting private rooms for a higher fee, an option not granted to African-Americans. A second regulation governing the conduct of resident students, also promulgated in 1854,

stipulated that they could “not under any circumstances, strike or maltreat any patient or servant of the institution.” Once again, no context exists for interpreting this rule. No evidence indicates that maltreatment had created a problem in the past, but this lack of evidence should not be interpreted to suggest that such incidents never occurred. Slavery studies at other antebellum institutions, such as the University of Virginia and the College of William and Mary, document a history of abuse directed toward enslaved people by students. So, the regulation might have been either preemptory or intended to deal with existing problems.

A few other scattered sources offer insight into the institutional connections with slavery in the Richmond area. Lewis Webb Chamberlayne, the professor of materia medica and therapeutics at the medical college, died in 1854. Resolving his substantial estate proved complicated. His wife, Martha Burwell, had been borrowing money from her half-sister for several years “in order to avoid the painful necessity of selling the slaves of the decedent,” but this arrangement ended around 1860 when her half-sister married. Many deceased family patriarchs bequeathed their enslaved persons to surviving spouses as a form of insurance, assuming that their wives might easily monetize these people in order to obtain a steady income. Martha Burwell Chamberlayne provided a perfect case in point. She purchased a farm, sold off her railroad stock to remain debt-free, and contracted with the prominent Richmond firm of P.M. Tabb & Son to hire out her eleven enslaved human beings for an income that exceeded $1,000 in 1861. One of those, Franky, became leased to her husband’s former employer, the Medical College of Virginia. Martha, it should be noted, also reimbursed the college infirmary for treating Franky’s young son and she ultimately paid the child’s burial expenses as well. Martha also laid out twenty-seven dollars in 1860 for a variety of doctor visits for Franky and his child, vaccination expenses, medical charges for “a Negro man” on the farm, and a tooth extraction for an enslaved woman named Dolly.

The school, for its part, used its reputation and modest fee schedule to attract business from enslavers throughout the entire region. Elizabeth Chowning, for example, a wealthy widow from Spotsylvania, who described her property as being “mostly in slaves,” placed her ailing enslaved person Frank in the infirmary for two lengthy stays in 1862. She worked through a broker, Redwood & Keach, who handled all the financial and transportation arrangements. Frank stayed at the infirmary from mid-January until the end of February, then returned to the MCV facility for another fifteen days at the end of March. These medical services ended up costing Elizabeth $37.85. The medical college worked with enslavers and human trafficking firms throughout Virginia in this manner, relying on them for a steady and substantial income.

Dean Levin S. Joynes provided additional insights into the slavery culture at the institution through entries in his account book. On some occasions, he fronted money to the steward and to individual faculty members for renting enslaved people. For example, the dean advanced fifty dollars from the infirmary fund to Francis Parrish on January 2, 1862 “in part payment of Lewis Pleasants’ hire.” At other times he reimbursed faculty for previous hires, authorizing a fifty-dollar payment in March 1862 to Arthur E. Peticolas, professor of anatomy, “on a/c of hire of attendant on anatomical room for 1861.” Joynes occasionally paid out small amounts of money when he individually contracted enslaved laborers for short-term jobs, such as two fifty-cent disbursements to a person who he referred to only as “negro Billy” in 1858 and 1859. Sometimes those arrangements might prove a bit more substantial, as when he paid Sienna five dollars “for work on shirts” in November 1864 and an additional fifteen dollars “for altering 15 shirts” later that same month. In his last series of accounting entries before the end of the Civil War, Joynes paid “Acenath (negro)” five dollars for cooking on March 13, 1865, though it remains unclear whether she was enslaved or free. And at times he designated funds totaling three or four dollars to Richmond newspapers when he advertised individuals for hire, as he did with Sienna in

October 1864. For the most part, however, his account book reflected income from hirers when he managed to broker deals with other enslavers.

During the early 1860s, the college appeared in an expansive mode as enrollments increased and the Confederate States of America reimbursed the infirmary for treating sick and wounded soldiers. Advertisements sometimes appeared in the Richmond newspapers seeking short-term enslaved laborers to supplement the more permanent staff as when Francis Parrish sent out a call in November 1861 for "a good Cook, by the month or for the balance of the year – a male preferred, likewise, two good House Servants." Similarly, the following year Parrish sought to hire "two competent washwomen by the month." By 1864, however, the tide had turned and the college appeared in desperate financial straits. The Confederacy withdrew its patients from MCV and transferred them to government facilities instead, thereby cutting off a substantial income. Joynes attempted to negotiate some alternative arrangements, but they all proved futile. In 1862 he asked Confederate authorities "to pay the Steward, matron, nurses, cooks, laundresses, and other employees," but the Quartermaster General refused. He sought to transfer hospital management to the government, but this plan fell through. Joynes found it necessary to close the new infirmary in 1864 and transfer the dwindling patient population to the older and much smaller college building. He floated a plan to the faculty to hire out all enslaved individuals "except for two: viz: a cook & washerwoman, and a servant to attend on the rented rooms" who would continue to live with the steward. The faculty rejected this arrangement, however, "inasmuch as it implied that the Steward and his family, including two servants were to be furnished with provisions and fuel, as heretofore, at expense of the faculty, and the said Servants to be hired and clothed." Joynes therefore agreed to an alternate plan whereby he would allow the steward and enslaved workers to occupy some apartment on their own but relieve the faculty of any financial obligations. As a final solution, he aggressively entered the Richmond marketplace, renting out some enslaved laborers to receive income and hiring others to keep the infirmary open with a skeleton staff. Newspaper

advertisements now attempted to transfer enslaved people at MCV elsewhere as with this notice in the June 29, 1864 *Daily Dispatch*: “For Hire for the balance of the year a good cook, washer, and ironer. Apply to Dr. Joynes, Franklin Street, above 7th, or to N.G. Turnley, at Spencer & Venable’s, Cary street, below 12th.”

Dean Joynes received rental income from three major sources during 1864. A Richmond grocer named A. Millpaugh rented the enslaved domestic servant Amy for seventy-five dollars for three months in October. Similarly, that same month Joynes arranged to hire out an enslaved person named Craig to Dr. J. W. Davis at the identical cost and for the same period as Amy. The dean’s most lucrative venture, however, occurred when he hired out four males named Joe, Daniel, Frank, and John to nearby Chimborazo Hospital for nearly $500. James Brown McCaw, who held the chair of chemistry and pharmacy at MCV, administered this facility, the largest military hospital in the Confederacy. Chimborazo relied heavily on enslaved laborers throughout the war, utilizing hundreds of African-Americans to support its activities. McCaw’s personal connection with Joynes and the medical college created a natural institutional partnership. The Chimborazo administrator found the MCV relationship to be especially useful as he desired experienced nurses, cooks, and laundresses, which the medical infirmary could provide. Financial arrangements benefited both institutions. Clothing expenses for the four enslaved individuals, paid for by MCV, exceeded $400 for the year. The college also remained responsible for paying boarding expenses for Joe, which amounted to $660. Chimborazo apparently handled room and board expenses for Daniel, Frank, and John. Joynes attempted to continue these arrangements through the last days of the war, writing to McCaw in 1865 that “I send you two men at present, Daniel and Joe, whom you can have at the terms proposed to you (Daniel for the balance of the year, Joe until sometime in October). We cannot spare him [Joe] longer, if we have a course of lectures next winter, as he has been dissecting and lecture room attendant.” The college also paid out $75 over the course of the year to John Rock, probably not the same John who had been hired to Chimborazo, for

a variety of tasks including service at the annual faculty dinner. None of these people appeared to have retained any connection to the institution after the Civil War. The college did, however, engage a formerly enslaved man named Billy, likely the same one who received the periodic fifty-cent allowances in the late 1850s, to help maintain the college building. He received wages totaling $210 from November 1865 through the end of December 1866, typically working on a month-to-month basis with a few extra disbursements occasionally added to his salary. As the hiring of Billy illustrates, the Medical College of Virginia now needed to reconsider its employment practices, financial situation, and overall managerial models. Those considerations did not only apply to post-war institutions, however, but also to individuals. A further investigation of the people who were affiliated with MCV during this period reveals additional connections with the institution of slavery.

5 VISITORS, DEANS, AND FACULTY

VISITORS

The Governor of Virginia appointed a board of visitors to manage the Medical College of Virginia once it separated from Hampden-Sydney in 1854. They exercised administrative responsibilities, provided fiduciary oversight, and appointed the faculty. Although the visitors met regularly throughout 1854 to establish policies and procedures, they exerted a minimal impact on the organization thereafter. They scheduled meetings only once a year, had a gap of several years during the Civil War when they failed to meet at all, and dealt primarily with routine matters. The visitors primarily consisted of wealthy physicians, attorneys, and businessmen throughout the entire state, residing in cities from Richmond to Wheeling and counties from Northampton to Roanoke. Meeting attendance therefore proved

problematic for most board members under any circumstances. Most remained disconnected from the organization and tangentially conversant with ongoing operations.

Not surprisingly, the visitors held significant numbers of enslaved persons. Biographical data exists for twenty-one of the twenty-three antebellum visitors. Twenty of them constituted enslavers, the only exception being the attorney Charles Wells Russell who lived in the largely antislavery area around Wheeling, then part of Virginia. The visitors collectively enslaved at least 467 people over the course of the antebellum period, with numbers and circumstances varying according to years and individual situations. William H. Dennis, for example, both managed a substantial farm and maintained a medical practice at Big Lick in Roanoke County, a relatively common combination for country doctors. His holdings included sixty-seven enslaved workers, the largest number among the visitors, and he reported his assets as totaling $4,000 in real estate and nearly $17,000 in personal property in 1860. George Teackle Yerby, a physician who lived in Northampton County on the eastern shore of Virginia, reported enslaving forty-four human beings in 1860, undoubtedly managing a plantation as well as attending to his medical duties. And George Llewellyn Nicholson, another farmer/physician who lived in Middlesex County, located on Virginia's middle peninsula, maintained a work force of over thirty enslaved people throughout the 1850s. Other visitors lived in more densely settled communities and pursued non-agricultural careers, but they still relied on the enslaved to support their comfortable lifestyles and ratify their social standing. John Mercer Patton, the first president of the board, exemplified this group. He had been born in Fredericksburg in 1797, practicing law there and serving as the local representative in Congress until he moved to Richmond in the 1830s. He also owned a plantation in nearby Spotsylvania County, and his wife hailed from a prominent local family of planters and lawyers. After moving to the state capitol, Patton received a variety of political appointments, including member of the council of state, lieutenant-governor, acting governor for thirteen days, and eventually judge of the court of appeals. By 1850, seven enslaved people managed his substantial

Richmond household, which included nine in-laws, children, and grandchildren. Another influential visitor, William Hamilton MacFarland, played an important role in the organization owing to his position as president of the Farmer's Bank, which handled MCV accounts. He had been born in Lunenburg County in south central Virginia, attended both Hampden-Sydney and the College of William and Mary, and practiced as an attorney in addition to his bank presidency. MacFarland moved to Richmond in the 1830s, amassed $90,000 in real estate and $90,000 in personal property on the eve of the Civil War, and eventually retired to a country estate in Greenbrier County when his bank failed following the collapse of the Confederacy. MacFarland had accumulated twelve enslaved persons (four male and eight female) to support his household in 1860, and also employed the services of a free black worker. Other visitors benefited from their medical connections to ease their financial burdens and remain solvent during the Civil War. Dr. John Spotswood Wellford, for example, hired out his work force to Jackson Hospital north of Richmond where his thirteen enslaved individuals there served on his nursing staff. As these brief biographies indicate, the visitors remained thoroughly enmeshed in the culture of slavery and carried those commitments to their MCV responsibilities.[12]

DEANS

Unlike the visitors, deans exerted considerable control over the institution. They remained responsible for implementing all major faculty decisions, maintained the college accounts, and played the major leadership roles in guiding the institution. Four individuals served as deans during the antebellum period: Augustus Lockman Warner from 1838 to 1847; Socrates Maupin from 1847 to 1853; David Hunter Tucker from 1853 to 1856; and Levin Smith Joynes from 1857 to 1871. Their biographical backgrounds, combined with an examination of their administrative tenures, offer further insight into MCV's relationship with slavery.

[12] See Appendix 1 Board of Visitors Demographics

Warner (1807-1847) had perhaps the most unique background of any dean. Unlike his colleagues, he grew up in a thoroughly urban and industrial environment, spending his youth in the dynamic and rapidly growing city of Baltimore, Maryland. His father George K. Warner, who had to provide for his wife and seven children, proved to be a highly successful entrepreneur. George owned and operated a thriving brickmaking establishment based in the substantial family home slightly outside the city. Slavery undergirded the operation. George enslaved fifteen people according to the 1820 U.S. Census, three-quarters of them adult males who no doubt constituted his factory workforce. One free black also lived with the family. From his earliest days, Augustus imbibed the culture of slavery and he clearly remained comfortable with the institution based on his administrative decisions after he assumed the deanship at MCV. The 1840 U.S. Census reveals that his Richmond household included five enslaved people: one male aged 10-23; one male aged 36-54; one female aged 10-23; one female aged 24-35; and one female aged 36-54. This constituted a fairly robust number of enslaved people for a small urban household, perhaps also reflecting some inheritance from his father who had died in 1829. Augustus's spouse, Elizabeth Jane Ludlum, also may have contributed in this regard since her father Lewis enslaved twenty-eight people according to the 1830 U.S. Census. Warner's medical training and career took place exclusively in the south. He graduated from the University of Maryland with a medical degree in 1829, gave private lectures in Baltimore for the next several years, and eventually received an appointment as professor of anatomy, physiology, and surgery at the University of Virginia in 1834. He quickly grew disillusioned with life in Charlottesville, however, as rural Albemarle County could not support a hospital that would allow for clinical practice, and he set his sights instead on Richmond as a more appropriate locale for a medical school, moving there in 1837.

Warner apparently did not leave behind any significant body of personal papers and the VCU archives does not fully document the early years of the institution. It remains difficult to obtain insight into his institutional philosophy based on this lack of solid evidence. Developments at the college from

its founding through Warner's death in 1847 provide some clues that help to discern his attitudes. He clearly appealed to enslavers for patients through advertisements and by offering them desirable financial arrangements. His efforts to promote clinical anatomical training meant that grave-robbing from African-American cemeteries and experimental operations on the enslaved would become routine practices at the college. By the time of his death, with the construction of the new college building, the institution had made a commitment to incorporating forced labor into its operations. In the college catalogues and his occasional addresses to the students, Warner promoted the virtues of a southern education and warned students about going north to pursue their medical training. The first dean certainly bequeathed a legacy to his successors that placed the college on a firm financial footing and earned it a reputation as an important place for educating southern physicians. He achieved this goal at least in part, however, by tying the school's fortunes inextricably to the institution of slavery, a relationship that would only grow stronger as the nineteenth century progressed.

Socrates Maupin, who succeeded Warner in 1847, came of age in a different environment. Born in 1808, he grew up in rural Albemarle County where his father Chapman owned a modest-size plantation. Chapman reported to the U.S. Census that his plantation included sixteen enslaved individuals in 1820 and eighteen in 1830. Chapman used the labor of enslaved people to financially support college educations for his three sons, with Socrates gravitating toward medicine and his brother Addison pursuing a career in commerce. By the time that Socrates moved to Richmond in 1835 to become principal of a private school known as Richmond Academy, however, Chapman began experiencing some financial difficulties. He attempted to shift his farming operation from tobacco to grain to take advantage of the more robust market in foodstuffs, but often scrambled to secure adequate supplies of cash. He also sought to hire out members of his enslaved work force, a common strategy for farmers throughout the area. Socrates, with his urban contacts and his relationship with the firm of P.M. Tabb & Son, often served as the intermediary for such transactions. In 1848, for example,

following the death of his youngest brother he "took a bond for the hire of two boys at the cotton factory" for ninety dollars, less six dollars deducted by the factory owners to cover medical fees. He also attempted to find rental situations for other plantation workers and domestic laborers on his father's farm throughout the 1840s and 1850s, as well as securing reliable Richmond enslaved people when Chapman needed to expand his labor force. Despite this wheeling and dealing in the marketplace, the Maupin patriarch still owned fourteen human beings in 1860 as he approached his eighty-third birthday.

Socrates learned other lessons concerning ways to manage an enslaved work force as a young man administering the plantation that went beyond buying, selling, and trading. The 1850 U.S. Census indicates that he enslaved five people in Richmond, where he recently had completed construction on a new home near the college. He proved to be a harsh and unforgiving enslaver. In December 1843, when one of his enslaved people named Marshall had an altercation with the wet nurse "I was so incensed with him that I determined he should not stay on the lot another day without being severely flogged." Only through the intervention of his landlady, who convinced him that corporal punishment might diminish Marshall's economic value, did Socrates reluctantly decide not to apply the lash. Instead, he hired Marshall out and considered placing him up at auction. Socrates also decided to rent another individual named Garland from the P. M. Tabb firm to try and determine whether he might be suitable for domestic service. Garland proved to be a disappointment in this regard, displaying little interest or aptitude for this work in the mind of Socrates. At various moments during the late 1840s, Socrates sought to rent Garland out in Richmond or find another situation for him in Charlottesville. He even unsuccessfully ordered Garland to find his own placement. Socrates eventually rented him out to his brother Addison, who still lived on the family farm, where Garland might work as a gardener. This proved problematic for the Maupin family, as Garland engaged in some unspecified transgression once he arrived in Albemarle County. Socrates wrote to his brother Addison that "I am very sorry that you did not order him to be flogged. He has wanted a master for many years and a good flogging would be of

more service to him than anything else that could be named." Eventually, the young physician decided that the only way to resolve the situation would be to place Garland up for auction. Socrates embraced violence, whipping, and physical intimidation as appropriate and effective responses to even minor misbehavior.

Socrates Maupin served as dean at MCV during a period when its administrative situation solidified and its relationship to slavery deepened. The new college building offered better student and patient accommodations, faculty turnover attracted a new corps of professors to the institution, and the infirmary workforce stabilized. The professors also proved successful in building political relationships that would bear fruit when they received an independent charter shortly following Maupin's departure. Socrates, however, always appeared restless and on the move. He regularly inquired about open positions at other medical schools especially his beloved alma mater, the University of Virginia. His family's perceived financial instability presented an ongoing source of concern, even though all the Maupins seemed to be in comfortable circumstances. And his family's health emerged as a constant worry in his correspondence. Not surprisingly, when the University of Virginia finally offered him a major administrative position as dean of the faculty in 1853, Socrates jumped at the opportunity. After tying up some loose ends at MCV, including a role in negotiating the break with Hampden-Sydney, he happily moved his family to Charlottesville where his household included eleven enslaved people to tend to his domestic affairs. Maupin died in 1871, the result of an accident suffered when returning from the State Fair when the horses carrying his carriage grew frightened and bolted. Interestingly and ironically, contemporary newspapers placed all the blame for his death on "the negro driver [who] instead of attempting to stop them, dropped the reins and leaped to the ground, escaping unhurt."

Dean David Hunter Tucker, unlike his predecessor, never needed to worry about financial issues and moved easily in elite social circles. His father, Henry St. George Tucker (1780-1848) boasted familial relationships with the Randolph family and carved out a distinguished political and legal career in the

Commonwealth. He served two terms in the United States Congress, received election to the Virginia State Senate, became chancellor of the fourth judicial district in the state, and ultimately achieved the presidency of the Virginia Court of Appeals. A prominent intellectual, he occupied a law professorship at the University of Virginia where he also authored several influential legal and constitutional treatises. David, who was born in 1808, grew up in comfortable circumstances based on his ancestral holdings, his father's successful legal practice in Winchester, and the twelve enslaved individuals who supported the family in 1810. He received a classical education, pursuing academic subjects and medicine at the University of Virginia before traveling to Philadelphia to earn his medical degree at the University of Pennsylvania. A European tour followed, as David studied in Paris where he had access to some of the most distinguished medical theoreticians and practitioners in the world. A successful marital match quickly ensued with an engagement to Elizabeth Dallas. Her father George served as Mayor of Philadelphia and later Vice President of the United States when he became the running mate of pro-slavery Tennessean James K. Polk. By family background, education, temperament, and personal inclination, David moved comfortably in Richmond elite circles. Tucker had procured three enslaved individuals to manage his substantial three-story brick dwelling on Ross Street in 1850, modestly expanding his work force to four in 1860.

Some indication concerning Tucker's difficulties in managing his enslaved workers might be inferred from a brief notation in the December 29, 1856 *Richmond Daily Dispatch*. The article described the arrest of George, a man who had been enslaved by Tucker but who had been apprehended for "having no pass, resisting the watchman, and carrying a dirk knife." The court sentenced George to suffer "twenty stripes." Although legal scholars have noted that enslavers often intervened in such cases, not wishing their workers to suffer punishment and render them temporarily incarcerated and inoperative, no evidence indicates that Tucker supported George, who eventually pleaded not guilty. Tucker also appeared in newspapers earlier that year in connection with two other incidents. The first

involved a suspicious robbery at his home and the second documented his refusal to testify in a court case concerning a duel, "claiming any testimony would expose him to a criminal charge." His relatively brief deanship at the college left little overt mark on the institution, except for the escalation in pro-slavery rhetoric that occurred during the mid-1850s. Tucker himself harbored pro-slavery sympathies and enthusiastically supported the Confederacy during the Civil War. In common with many of his MCV colleagues, he received a variety of appointments from the new government and worked as a surgeon in numerous Confederate hospitals throughout the Richmond area. Tucker also earned considerable notoriety when he treated General Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson during his final and fatal illness. College records do not indicate why he resigned as dean and elected to return to a faculty position, but he left his successor with the unanticipated and decidedly unenviable task of guiding the institution through the Civil War.

Levin Smith Joynes also came from a background of wealth and privilege, albeit one very different from that of Tucker. He was born in 1818 in rural Accomack County on the eastern shore of Virginia, part of what is known as the Delmarva Peninsula. His father Thomas (1790-1856) was a major landowner and agriculturist in the area. Thomas's will indicated that he owned eight plantations at one point, many with appropriately romantic names including: Rural Felicity, Sealand, Mount Prospect, Woodburn, and Montpelier. He further reported owning several lesser tracts, some woodland, a swamp, an interest in a tavern, and a storehouse. Over the course of the early nineteenth century, Thomas Joynes expanded his enslaved labor force from six in 1820 to twenty-six in 1830. By 1850, when his property had been valued at $65,000, Thomas and his wife Anne enslaved at least sixty-four individuals. The couple made sure that their children inherited substantial landholdings in their wills. Thomas also carefully included provisions for bequeathing his personal property in enslaved individuals to his heirs. His son Thomas received "my negro man Jim Hatton and a gold watch." Edward would benefit from "my negro man Lewis as well as $1,000 to complete his education." Another daughter

counted "one negro girl named Catherine as well as cash" as part of her inheritance. Levin came into possession of "my negroe man Abel." Although these apparently valued individuals received special mention, Thomas appeared less discriminating when referencing the remainder of his enslaved people. His wife Anne received his collection of books, household and kitchen furniture, a carriage and horses, and "my negro man Jim Satchell," but she retained discretion concerning the remainder of his human holdings. Thomas stipulated that "in assigning my wife dower in my slaves, it is my desire that she may be permitted to select such of them as she chooses, and that she should not be compelled to pay any part of the expense of maintaining such of them as may be chargeable." Levin clearly imbibed these patrician and cavalier attitudes toward property and slavery, traits that he would carry to his deanship at MCV.

Thomas also accumulated great wealth so that his children might receive solid educations and benefit from his labors. Levin took full advantage and somewhat followed the educational path pioneered by Tucker. After graduating from Washington College in Pennsylvania in 1835, he studied at the University of Pennsylvania, and then headed to Charlottesville where he received his doctorate in medicine at the University of Virginia in 1839. Similar to Tucker, Levin pursued additional studies in Europe, attending medical lectures in Paris and Dublin before returning to Accomack County in 1843. He next spent some time in more urban locales, removing to Baltimore, then assuming a medical professorship in Philadelphia. He eventually returned to the family estate to practice medicine in Accomack County between 1849 and 1855. Perhaps finding city living more to his liking, Levin set out for Richmond with a new bride in the latter year. He quickly secured a position on the first MCV Board of Visitors, and after one year was appointed professor of institutes of medicine and medical jurisprudence. Joynes rose rapidly in medical professional circles. He had joined the American Medical Association in 1847, shortly after its founding, and became a major force in the Medical Society of Virginia, ultimately attaining the presidency. He also was eventually elected secretary of the state board

of health. Within one year of his professorial appointment at MCV, Joynes became dean of the faculty, a position that he held until poor health forced his retirement in 1871. The 1860 U.S. Census found him living with his second wife and child in a comfortable home in the fashionable second ward of Richmond. By that time, he had accumulated $25,000 in real estate and $40,000 in personal property. Eleven enslaved people, ranging in age from twenty-seven years to eleven months, shared his Henrico County home.

Joynes's administrative tenure at the medical college reflected the political savvy, cultural sophistication, entrepreneurial skills, and cold-hearted practicality concerning slavery that characterized his father. He successfully negotiated with state officials to transform MCV into a public institution in 1860, supervised construction of the new infirmary, convinced the Common Council to grant various tax breaks and appropriations to the college, and worked with the Confederate States of America during the early years of the Civil War to ensure a steady supply of patients at the infirmary. Joynes also took the first step toward obtaining outside private funding directed at a specific need. In 1858, MCV established the Warren Prize for "the best and most original Essay which may be presented to the Faculty by any member of the graduation class for the present session." Thomas Davis Warren (1817-1878) a physician and plantation owner from Edenton, North Carolina, financed this award. Once again, profits generated by slavery played an important part in funding an institutional project. Warren had accumulated great wealth, owning $300,000 in real estate and $657,000 in personal property according to the 1860 U.S. Census, with an enslaved labor force that numbered 353. Interestingly, Joynes exhibited little sentiment in administering the prize. He removed Warren's name from the award in 1861 when the planter/physician failed to provide proper financing for two sessions in a row.

Joynes apparently brought a more entrepreneurial and market-oriented approach to managing his enslaved work force than the other deans. His willingness to rent and hire enslaved people, place advertisements in Richmond newspapers, and cultivate mutually beneficial associations with local

traders all speak to this fact. He exhibited these same values in his personal life. Joynes established a particularly cozy relationship with the firm of P.M. Tabb & Son, receiving healthy incomes of nearly six hundred dollars in 1863 and 1864 as this company negotiated rental opportunities for various enslaved people. A similar though more episodic arrangement existed with E.A. Eacho, another notorious Richmond firm that engaged in human trafficking. Joynes also entered the market himself, exhibiting little sympathy and no consideration for individuals regardless of their long-time association. Abel, for example, who his father had specifically bequeathed to him, offers a case in point. He took out a $750 insurance policy on Abel to protect his investment and rented him out periodically over the next several years, twice in 1863 to a man named Edward Dixon. Enslaved individuals named Matilda, Eliza, and Mary Anne received identical treatment. Joynes purchased additional insurance policies for men named George and Ned, and when opportunities arose, he rented people for short-term jobs. He also entered the auction market. His personal account book contains an entry proclaiming that during the height of the Civil War in 1864 he turned a tidy profit for "sale of negro man Preisson, sold at auction for $2,475 less Commission $123.75, Confederate and State Tax 5%, days board $158.75. Total profit, $2,316.25." This extraordinarily high sales price may have reflected the general shortage of enslaved people during the latter stages of the war when many deserted their owners and others sought sanctuary with the Union troops. One intriguing piece of evidence suggests that at least one of Joynes's actions provoked rebellion. The dean placed an advertisement in the November 8, 1864 *Richmond Daily Dispatch* offering a three-hundred-dollar reward for "my NEGRO GIRL MARGARET" who ran away from Robert M. Allen, a clerk who rented her from Joynes and who lived on Main Street in Richmond. Joynes described Margaret in stereotypical terms commonly used by contemporary whites: "about fifteen years of age, of dark brown color, with flat nose and thick lips." He expressed himself as "quite confident that she is secreting herself somewhere in the city." And he offered to pay the reward either "for her delivery to me or her confinement in jail, so that I may regain possession of her." Joynes remained a steadfast

enslaver and trader until the end of the war, so it likely comes as no surprise that he joined many colleagues at MCV in serving the Confederacy, or that he required a post-war pardon from President Andrew Johnson for his actions.

Collectively, these biographical sketches demonstrate the dynamics that drove institutional culture during antebellum times. The deans all hailed from wealthy families who depended upon slavery to achieve their economic independence. These men moved easily in the patrician social circles that set the stylistic tone for elite life in mid-nineteenth-century Richmond. Their marital matches typically enhanced their slavery-dependent wealth and enmeshed them in extended families equally committed to the institution. Enslaved people provided them with the support to maintain their comfortable lifestyles. The deans never questioned these arrangements and naturally incorporated slavery into the life of the college. They purchased, hired, and rented human beings without a second thought. Economic considerations remained at the forefront. Paternalism always took a back seat to rational calculation. Warner, Maupin, Tucker, and Joynes implemented consistent policies toward enslaved peoples from the 1840s through the 1860s and the college never wavered. Their choices kept the institution financially afloat and contributed to its smooth progression. Ultimately, however, the deans' decisions exacted a significant moral and ethical cost.

FACULTY

Twenty-three physicians served on the medical faculty between 1838 and 1865.[13] Fifteen of the twenty-three constituted enslavers. The other eight apparently had no connection with the institution of slavery for a variety of reasons. Some appeared too young. Isaiah White was a twenty-two-year-old

[13] This list includes the demonstrators of anatomy who, though technically not members of the faculty, deserve inclusion here since their responsibilities included procuring specimens for dissection and hiring enslaved individuals to assist in the dissecting room. It does not include Benjamin F. Lockett a twenty-four-year-old graduate of the medical college who had been appointed demonstrator in 1848, but who died before assuming his responsibilities.

recent graduate of the medical college who was living in the infirmary and serving as a resident physician in 1860. Others resided in situations whereby enslavement appeared impractical or not necessary. Theodorick Mayo, twenty-nine-years-old in 1860, boarded in Richmond with a commission merchant and various other individuals. Howell Lewis Thomas lived by himself in the third ward of Richmond when he became demonstrator of anatomy in 1864. Marion Howard, also single, lived in an upper-middle-class boardinghouse with several other professionals, albeit one owned by the enslavement entrepreneur Philip M. Tabb, Junior, who was described as a "gentleman" by the census enumerator. Three faculty members held decidedly antislavery and pro-union viewpoints. Charles Brown-Sequard, who grew up immersed in the culture of slavery on the island of Mauritius, developed a life-long revulsion for the institution and spent only one year at the medical college before departing for Paris. Meredith Clymer, a native Pennsylvanian, also had a brief tenure as professor of medicine from 1848-1849 before securing a professorial appointment at the University of the City of New York. He served as a medic in the union army during the Civil War, achieving the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Jeffries Wyman, who had been born in Massachusetts and graduated from Exeter Academy and Harvard University, also harbored anti-slavery sentiments. After arriving in Richmond in 1843, he wrote to a colleague that "I find the city pleasantly located, but wanting in many of those comforts, especially cleanliness, in which we luxuriate in Boston, all of which I attribute to the curse of the country, the institution of slavery – which of itself would be sufficient to deter me from anything more than a temporary residence here." A subsequent letter, written during the period when southern politicians attempted to open the western states to slavery, declared that "*this cursed* [emphasis in original] slavery should at all events be kept within its present limits – this is bad enough." But Wyman also understood the value of discretion. He noted that "I dare not say this in Virginia, for fear of Judge Lynch, or some other dignitary of justice, understood in these parts." He further identified himself as an antislavery moderate: "do not count me as an abolitionist, for I have not arrived at that pitch of insanity

as yet." Wyman happily returned to Massachusetts after receiving a professorial appointment at Harvard in 1847. Inadequate biographical information exists to connect Robert Munford, demonstrator of anatomy from 1838 until 1843, with the institution of slavery.

The remaining fifteen faculty members embraced slavery in their professional and private lives. Extant records indicate that the professors enslaved at least 101 African-Americans over the course of their careers at the medical college. Most enslaved between four and seven persons, a substantial number for professional urban households, but exceptions existed. Arthur E. Peticolas, for example, had only one enslaved person in his household in 1860 according to the U.S. Census, an eighteen-year-old female. He lived with his wife and three children in the home of a prominent Richmond attorney, C. G. Griswold, perhaps making the presence of a larger enslaved domestic work force superfluous. Peticolas certainly had no problem in procuring enslaved persons, arranging for the resurrection of African-American corpses, or hiring enslaved attendants as his six-year tenure as demonstrator of anatomy indicates. He also on at least one occasion served as a go-between who handled sales and transactions for an acquaintance. In February 1865, Peticolas placed an advertisement in the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* under the title "A Good Seamstress for Sale." He informed readers that a war refugee from the countryside intended to place his domestic worker, seamstress, and nurse "a likely Mulatto Girl, aged fourteen years" for sale. Although she had always lived with the same family, her enslaver appeared happy to abandon her during wartime. The doctor explained to readers that "she will be in the city in a few days and can then be seen at the Carlton House" for examination. He coordinated the bidding and dealt with potential buyers at his medical office. John Cullen, an Irish-born physician who served as professor of medicine from 1838 until his death in 1848 appeared more typical. Although his early medical career had been spent in Dublin, Paris, England, New York, and Philadelphia, he quickly adapted to the institution of slavery after moving to Virginia. Cullen purchased a substantial dwelling at the corner of Governor and Ross Streets in Richmond, where he resided with his wife and four daughters.

Four enslaved domestic workers managed the household. John and his wife Charlotte had a stormy and contentious marriage, and she charged him with both spousal abuse and turning the enslaved workers against her. They eventually separated and he lived out his final years alone in a boardinghouse with no enslaved people.

Other faculty members with more complex financial holdings enslaved considerably more individuals. Lewis Webb Chamberlayne, for example, who traced his lineage to the Byrd family and had been born in King William County, owned a 429-acre plantation in Henrico County. He managed a work force that included seventeen enslaved people over the age of sixteen. Richard Lafon Bohannon similarly hailed from an agricultural background. His father had been a planter in Essex County in the middle peninsula, bordered by the Rappahannock River on the north. Bohannon enslaved ten individuals by 1860 to support his growing family of seven and to provide them with financial income. Chamberlayne and Bohannon also illustrate the ways in which physicians relied on the institution to augment their practices. Chamberlayne's account book for 1835-1836 included entries that documented visits he made throughout the city and countryside to treat enslaved persons belonging to his white primary patients. He also recorded vaccinating several enslaved individuals owing to white fears that they proved more susceptible to smallpox and other infectious diseases. Bohannon turned up in another source that illustrated the murky medical ties to the institution of slavery. Clara Robinson, a sixty-year-old woman who had been emancipated by her owner in 1848, petitioned the Virginia General Assembly to exempt her from the requirement that all freed people leave the state within one year of manumission. She pleaded with legislators that exile would destroy her strongest familial ties with "all of her children being slaves" who lived in Richmond. Robinson poignantly noted that being left "unknown and unprotected to wander to a foreign state meeting the hardships and infirmities of old age unsupported and uncheered by the warmth of filial affection" would prove devastating to her well-being. As in all such appeals, freed people of color required testimony from white citizens to prove their

character and reliability. Clara relied on the medical profession to support her claims. She noted that she "has been for several years professionally employed in the City as an accoucheur or midwife and given satisfaction generally in that capacity." As supporting evidence, she produced a signed petition from obstetricians in Richmond who "have had occasion to employ her and kindly given this testimony of their valuation." The well-connected attorney who presented this document to the assembly turned out to be James Seddon, a member of the MCV Board of Visitors. Signatories included Dr. John A. Cunningham, another member of the board, and Bohannon, who served as professor of obstetrics and diseases of women and children at the college. It appears that Bohannon used the services of Clara, thus relying on the skills of this enslaved woman to augment his private practice. Both professors and physicians found unique and innovative ways to exploit African-American labor to both ease the strains of managing their households and to support their medical work.[14]

6 STUDENTS

Student life at the college has proven difficult to document and track. No diaries and little correspondence from this period have been found. Disciplinary records do not exist, excepting a few scattered mentions in faculty minutes. Since students boarded throughout the city and made their own living arrangements, no dormitory documentation tracks their daily life. The antebellum medical college relied for its solvency on a largely transient group of aspiring physicians who paid their fees, proved somewhat irregular in their attendance from session to session, and developed generally weak networking associations. Yet it would be a mistake to ignore them. Students, after all, supported the entire operation and relied on enslaved labor in the boardinghouses to serve them meals, maintain their living quarters, and wash their clothes among other services. Enslaved people cleaned their classrooms, made sure that dissecting rooms remained free of offal and other waste material, and worked with the

[14] See Appendix 2 Faculty Demographics

demonstrator of anatomy to manage the museum. For the most part, students had been raised to expect a high level of service and personal attention from those whom their families enslaved. No direct evidence exists that they brought personal “manservants” with them to Richmond. But the medical college needed to meet their expectations if it wanted to survive in a competitive educational environment. This brief section attempts to present some basic demographic information concerning student backgrounds. Although individual thoughts and ideologies remain mysterious, some common themes begin to emerge. The data below has been compiled from a survey of fifty-nine students who graduated from the medical college in 1861. This date was selected because it roughly coincided with the 1860 U.S. Census, thereby allowing data linkage between these sources. It also reflects the maturation of the school. It further prevents painting an inflated portrait of the student body that would have occurred by focusing on the year immediately prior to 1860 given the sudden influx of enrollees from the north during that time.

Fifty-two of the fifty-nine graduates in 1861 hailed from Virginia. Five of the remaining seven traced their family roots to neighboring North Carolina, with one South Carolinian and one Arkansas resident rounding out the graduating class. Thomas J. Reid, the lone attendee from Arkansas, actually had spent his formative years in North Carolina, until his father relocated the family to the southwest. Further, the Virginians largely came from rural backgrounds. Only two students had grown up in Richmond and one other matriculant had been born in Fredericksburg. The remainder of the class primarily spent their formative years on the eastern shore, the central piedmont, or the more isolated western counties. Student homesteads appeared evenly dispersed across the state; counties that sent more than one student to the medical college included Henry on the North Carolina border, Hanover in the western tidewater region, and Goochland north of the James River. Some scattered biographical information exists for fifty of the fifty-nine graduates, allowing for interesting generalizations. Virtually all students graduated in their early twenties with only two deviating significantly from this profile:

William C. Jones of Highland County and the Reverend J. W. Miller from Richmond. Medical college graduates for the year 1861 overwhelmingly came from agricultural backgrounds: of the 42 students whose fathers' occupations can be identified, 34 (81%) identified themselves as farmers. Four physicians, two ministers, one clerk, and one merchant constituted the remainder. Farmers often possessed inadequate landholdings to support their sons, so they frequently sought educational alternatives to set their children up in professional careers. By the late antebellum period, Virginia also suffered from specific agricultural problems that involved soil exhaustion, the declining profitability of tobacco as a cash crop, and chronic indebtedness. These factors further made agriculture a less appealing alternative for many sons of wealthy planters.

Not surprisingly given their rural roots, medical student families relied heavily on slavery. Forty-seven of the fifty families (94%) whose names appeared on the 1860 U.S. Census constituted enslavers. They enslaved a total of 1,144 people. Clayton G. Coleman from Louisa County earned the dubious distinction of being the largest enslaver in this sample. He had enslaved 127 people, all of whom supported an estate valued at over $83,000 in realty and $174,000 in personal property in 1860. Wealth that had been derived from slavery generated educational opportunities and an entry into the professions for his two sons who became a lawyer and a physician. Clayton, Jr., returned to Louisa County and lived in his father's plantation home following graduation from the medical college. He became a successful country doctor. By 1870 he had married and sired four children, aged five, three, two, and three months. He also employed an eighteen-year-old black woman named Laura to care for his growing household. Seemingly at the other end of the social spectrum, the medical student Henry H. Turner came to Richmond from Isle of Wight County in the tidewater region. His father James had a farm valued at merely $3,500 in 1860 and reported only one enslaved laborer. Three free blacks lived with the family, however, and Henry clearly benefited from the African-Americans who worked on the farm and economically made his attendance at medical school possible. Most medical student families

operated between these extremes. The median number of enslaved people for these households constituted twenty, and fifteen families (nearly one-third of the number in this sample) claimed ownership of between nineteen and twenty-nine. The mean number of enslaved people stood at approximately 24.5. Charles Guerrant might appear indicative of this middle group, though his story also reflects the difficulty of precisely understanding the connections between freedom and slavery based on extant records. Charles was born in 1800 and by 1850 his workforce consisted of twenty-five enslaved people, despite the fact that his Goochland farm received a surprisingly modest appraisal of between three and four thousand dollars. His son John Guerrant, who graduated MCV in 1861, had been born in 1839. The 1840 U.S. Census identified Charles as the only white person in the household over the age of thirty. The Guerrant patriarch died in 1852 but the farm apparently continued under family management. John, for his part, enlisted and fought for the Confederacy, served time in a northern prison, and ultimately attained the rank of first lieutenant during the war. After the hostilities ceased, he returned to Goochland and settled into the role of a farmer and country physician. Intriguingly, the family next door was headed by a forty-one-year-old mulatto man who had taken the name "William Guerrant" and who had an African-American wife and three children. William Guerrant worked as a farm laborer, perhaps on the very property that John had inherited from his father. The facts that William resided in such close proximity to John, that he had taken the surname "Guerrant," and that the census taker characterized him as a mulatto invites some informed speculation. Had William Guerrant resulted from a forced sexual encounter between Charles and an enslaved woman on the farm? Although that determination remains impossible to confirm at this historical distance, this evidence suggests that there may have been some relationship. Such situations appeared common throughout the antebellum south. The frustratingly sketchy documentation makes it dangerous to draw definitive conclusions and indicates the difficulties inherent in accurately reconstructing the lives of enslaved persons. In any case, the familial connections that have been documented between students

and slavery once again illustrate the way white privilege created opportunity and easy professional entry for some while effectively closing off those same avenues for others.[15]

7 CONCLUSION/FURTHER RESEARCH

The Medical College of Virginia had been intimately connected with the institution of slavery from its founding in 1838 through the Civil War. MCV enslaved and/or rented between four and eight persons at least since the erection of the Egyptian Building in 1844. Stewards regulated their lives, enforced rules and regulations to control their behavior, and made sure that they effectively served the college. Although they rarely receive any mention in college records, these enslaved individuals played key roles in maintaining the institution. They cooked the food, cleaned the classrooms and infirmary wards, laundered the patient clothing, stoked the furnaces, maintained the buildings and grounds, and contributed in myriad ways to the overall success of the organization. They worked within an institutional culture that denied their humanity. Enslavers overwhelmingly composed the MCV Board of Visitors. Deans descended from wealthy enslavers and easily integrated the institution into both the medical college and their private lives. Most faculty members personally held enslaved human beings. Their lucrative incomes often were derived from treated enslaved laborers. They benefitted from Richmond's robust rental market. Students hailed from farms and plantations that relied heavily on the labor of enslaved persons to finance their educations. Anatomical lecturers used African-American bodies to instruct students, routinely procuring cadavers from such places as the Shockoe Hill African Burial Ground that included a preponderance of corpses of the enslaved. Institutional leaders shared

[15] See Appendix 3 Student Demographics

pro-Southern and pro-slavery sympathies. Many professors attained major administrative positions in the Medical Department of the Confederate States of America. MCV never reckoned with the contradictions between its often lofty and humanitarian rhetoric and its commitment to slavery during the antebellum period.

This study has documented the ways in which slavery remained central to MCV as a first step in helping Virginia Commonwealth University grapple with a troubled and problematic past. The story has been difficult to reconstruct owing to the paucity of early archives and some inconsistencies in the documentary record. Subsequent research projects beyond the scope of this endeavor may hopefully build on this effort. Several possibilities exist. On a broader level, future scholarship needs to compare MCV with such similar southern institutions as the Medical College of the State of South Carolina, the Medical College of Georgia, the University of Louisiana, and the University of Nashville. Only by considering these related histories can the college effectively consider its experience within a broader context. Similarly, the college functioned within a complex constellation of organizations within Richmond. Private hospitals, public social welfare organizations, religious institutions, and other benevolent associations emerged throughout the city during the antebellum period. Many of these churches and philanthropies extensively relied on enslaved peoples to advance their missions, yet few histories document these connections. Further, MCV operated within a distinct milieu. The neighborhood around the college included wealthy private residences, cramped boardinghouses, commercial spaces, religious Institutions, and state offices. A cursory glance at the census suggests that free blacks also populated the area in significant numbers. Since MCV did not provide housing for its matriculants, a careful consideration of these immediate environs would allow for a more complete understanding of the student experience. College construction projects also provoked tension. When MCV decided to build a new infirmary in 1860, for example, local residents responded with protests to the Common Council and threatened legal action. Future projects that use such tools as geospatial

mapping might prove useful in better reconstructing the area around Marshall Street during the 1840s and 1850s.

Other research projects could also shed further light on institutional connections with slavery. Students and faculty remain at the heart of any college or university. A more comprehensive survey of national archival collections might unearth materials such as correspondence and diaries that were created by antebellum students. Similarly, additional research in the U.S. Census could add depth to the student analysis conducted in this report. More information needs to be accumulated concerning matriculants between 1845 and 1860 to determine whether student body characteristics and backgrounds changed over time. Some student lecture notes exist at MCV, and they might be read more carefully to determine whether any racial issues rose to the surface within the classroom. Faculty attitudes about slavery also appear difficult to discern based on the existing evidence. Antebellum medical journals, including *The Stethoscope* and the *Virginia Medical and Surgical Journal*, might be mined more systematically to discover the extent to which faculty articles described clinical experimentation on enslaved patients or reflected prevailing racist attitudes. Finally, although the Board of Visitors maintained some administrative distance from the college, its members included some of the most influential men in the Commonwealth. Many probably left behind papers documenting their beliefs and actions. Even if they did not specifically comment on issues concerning MCV, they likely reflected the ethos and philosophy that drove institutional policies. Their perspectives should be brought to light.

An even more glaring oversight, however, requires remedy. African-Americans themselves remain almost completely absent from this early institutional history. Records rarely reference their contributions. Their names, images, expressions, and thoughts appear largely lost to history. They seem hidden in plain sight. Even extensive research efforts reveal few leads concerning their lives. An occasional census notation. A random entry in an account book. A brief newspaper advertisement. A

veiled mention in the faculty minutes. At times these seem to be the only acknowledgements that enslaved people labored at the medical college. No wonder that this historical chapter has received little attention and that a more sophisticated story transcending traditional narratives remains difficult to tell. Occasionally, however, an intense examination of the extant sources unearths an intriguing if fragmentary nugget. It seems appropriate to conclude this study with the story of one enslaved individual who has left some mark on the historical record, albeit through the lens of white chroniclers and reporters.

Lewis Pleasants came to the attention of city residents on December 16, 1851, when the *Richmond Daily Times* ran a story under the headline "Brutal Assault." The article described a confrontation during which two white men physically attacked and knifed "a free man of colour named Lewis Pleasants." The victim, according to this account, had been employed by Dr. Carter Page Johnson, a professor of anatomy and physiology at the medical college. Pleasants' wounds had been considered serious, but police decided only to confine the two white men to jail for a few days pending the severity of the wounds. Six months later, the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* reported on another incident concerning Pleasants, but this time newsmen identified him as "a slave … hired to Carter P. Johnson." Reporters claimed that Pleasants, who they characterized as a drayman working for Dr. Johnson, had instigated an argument with two white teamsters near a tobacco factory over who had priority in loading their wagon. The factory owner demanded that Pleasants leave the premises, upon which he refused to budge. He instead became "insolent," directing abusive language toward the tobacco manufacturer. This prompted the factory owner and the teamsters to restrain Pleasants whereupon "they whipped the negro severely." The men then tied Pleasants down and carried him "to the cage" where he awaited judgment in the Mayor's Court. Pleasants received an additional thirty-nine lashes for his perceived misbehavior.

Pleasants next appeared in the Richmond press in 1860, when *The Daily Dispatch* reported an incident on Main Street near the United States Hotel. This time the newspaper described him as having been enslaved by Dr. Auther E. Peticolas, the professor of anatomy at the medical college who had replaced Carter Page Johnson after the latter's death in 1854. A group of young white boys heckled and began throwing things at Pleasants as he walked down the street, whereupon "getting into a rage the negro picked up a brick bat and threw it with great violence" hitting and seriously injuring one of the children. Though the child appeared on the road to recovery, police "captured and caged" Pleasants. The reporter concluded that "the black ruffian will be brought before the Mayor to-day and deserves all the punishment that the law can inflict upon him." Lewis had one final run-in with local authorities in May 1863, when the mayor confined him to jail on the charge that "he did feloniously take, steal & carry away & drive away one cow of the value of one hundred dollars of the goods & chattels of Wellington Goddin," a Richmond real estate auctioneer. The Mayor's Court identified Lewis in this source as "a slave belonging to William H. Pleasant." Two persons had been enslaved by Pleasant according to the 1860 U. S. Federal Census -- Slave Schedules, including a forty-four-year-old male described in the entry as being hired out to another employer by an agent. A final reference to Lewis Pleasants has been located in the MCV Dean's Account Book in January 1862 when Levin Joynes approved a payment to Francis Parrish, then serving as the college steward, "for an advance of $50 from the Infirmary fund, in part payment of Lewis Pleasants' hire for the year 1860." This amount, it should be noted, was consistent with the annual fee allotted to rent an enslaved person for the anatomical department.

These scattered informational tidbits perfectly illustrate the inconsistencies, inaccuracies, and irregularities that make it difficult to reconstruct the lives of enslaved persons. One source indicates that Pleasants had been a free man employed by Dr. Carter Page Johnson. Two others suggest that he may have been an enslaved person who had been in the personal service of two physicians during the 1850s. Or, according to the account book, the medical college might have hired him from another

enslaver – likely William H. Pleasant -- to serve in its anatomical department. Further, the nature of Pleasants' labor appears unclear. Though the newspaper described him as a "drayman" who drove a wagon, and the other entries suggest that he may have been traveling around Richmond undertaking various errands, the way in which these duties intersected with his medical college responsibilities appear baffling. And the newspaper accounts portray him as a volatile and unstable individual who regularly engaged in conflicts with whites. He had been locked up in the city jail on more than one occasion, suffered whippings at the hands of both private individuals and legal authorities, and always seemed to receive the blame even when he responded to taunting and physical abuse by others. Yet despite these incidents, physicians and the medical college apparently employed him steadily throughout the 1850s and 1860s. Pleasants' strange and troubled life in Richmond appears puzzling and somewhat incomprehensible to modern sensibilities.

Another source, however, shed further light on Pleasants' life and career, even as it raised other disturbing issues. In August 1879, *The State* newspaper in Richmond printed an obituary for "Old Lewis" Pleasants, described as "the most acted character in his particular line ever in this city." The newspaper claimed that Pleasants had been enslaved at the medical college since its founding, serving as both janitor in the dissecting room and a resurrectionist who procured cadavers from throughout the city. If accurate, this assertion confirmed that the college held enslaved people from its earliest days at the Union Hotel. *The State* portrayed Pleasants as a somewhat buffoonish eccentric who engaged students in debates and discussions concerning anatomy, offered on multiple occasions to donate his body to science, and owing to his regular handling of poisons "possessed a perfect immunity from the effects of arsenic, corrosive sublimate and chloride of zinc or poisoned wounds from cuts." The article also claimed that Pleasants "had the misfortune to commit a homicide" prior to the Civil War, had been banished from Richmond, surreptitiously returned, and set himself up, in the words of the newspaper,

as a “professional” resurrectionist after the war ended. His memorialist described his grave-robbing methodology as follows:

> whenever he would hear of any of his colored friends being sick unto death ‘Old’ Lewis would become very much interested in their condition, and call around and mourn with those who mourned, was the first at the funeral and the last at the grave, which he marked well with a view to call again in the dead hour of the night when there was no one to intercept him in his sorrow.

The obituary never mentioned his age except for the fact that he was “old,” said nothing about surviving family members, contained no tributes from friends or acquaintances, and focused primarily on his idiosyncratic behavior rather than his accomplishments. Lewis’s life became reduced to a series of humorous anecdotes and asides intended to amuse a white readership. The account of his work as a resurrectionist in “colored” graveyards once again devalued black bodies and made them targets for jests as well as subjects for anatomical demonstrations. Black lives and deaths continued to be trivialized and treated with derision in a dismissive manner. Thankfully this Virginia Commonwealth University project, along with similar academic endeavors elsewhere, can at least begin the process of addressing such injustices and providing a richer context for explaining the lives of enslaved laborers. They played key roles in building and buttressing institutions that still stand and flourish in the twenty-first century. Their lives deserve respectful and dignified treatment. Hopefully, this report can contribute to that process.

8 PRIMARY SOURCES AND COLLECTIONS CONSULTED

HAMPDEN-SYDNEY COLLEGE ARCHIVES

Board of Trustees Minutes
College Catalogues

LIBRARY OF VIRGINIA

Auditor of Public Accounts
Brock Collection
Governor John Letcher Papers
Hustings Court Deeds and Wills
Literary Fund Auditor of Receipts
Literary Fund General Records/General Correspondence, Letters Sent and Received
Literary Fund Letter Book
Literary Fund Letters Received
Literary Fund Letters Received – Insolvents, Fines, Escheated Estates
Literary Fund Letters Received Receipts
Literary Fund Letters Received – Record Regarding Stocks
Literary Fund Letters Received – Vouchers for Warrants
Literary Fund Minute Books
Literary Fund Letters Received – Vouchers for Warrants
Lyons Family Papers
Maupin Family Papers
Randolph-Tucker Family Papers
Richmond Auditor of Public Accounts, Property Tax Books
Richmond City Directories
Richmond Common Council Minutes
Second Auditor Financial Account Books
Second Auditor Ledgers
Second Auditor Papers
William H. MacFarland Papers

MEDICAL COLLEGE OF VIRGINIA ARCHIVES AT VIRGINIA COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITY

College Catalogues
Dean's Account Book
Faculty Vertical Files
Minutes of Meetings of the Board of Visitors
Minutes of Meetings of the Faculty
Sanger Historical Files, 1982-01-01
Stethoscope
Virginia Medical and Surgical Journal

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

NEWSPAPERS
Richmond Daily Dispatch
Richmond Enquirer
Richmond Whig
Staunton Spectator and Central Advertiser

UNITED STATES CENSUS
1820-1860 Manuscript Schedules
1850 and 1860 Slave Schedules

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, SMALL SPECIAL COLLECTIONS
John Staige Davis Papers
Socrates Maupin Papers

VIRGINIA MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND CULTURE SPECIAL COLLECTIONS
Anne Bell Satchell Joynes Papers
Confederate Hospitals Collection
Elizabeth B. Chowning Papers
George Nicholson Johnson Papers
Gooch Collection
Gustavus Adolphus Myers Collection
John Cullen Account Books
Joynes Family Papers
Levin Smith Joynes Account Books
Lewis Webb Chamberlayne Papers
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Medical College of Virginia Petition to General Assembly

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Name	DOB	DOD	Residence	Dates of Service	Profession	1840 Census	1850 Census	1860 Census
Barbour, John Strode	1820	1892	Culpeper County, VA	1854-1868	Lawyer	28 enslaved people	15 enslaved people	
Cabell, Robert Henry	1799	1875	Richmond, VA	1854-1865	Physician	4 enslaved people	5 enslaved people	Unknown
Cunningham, John A	1803	1881	Richmond, VA	1859-1880	Physician		6 enslaved people	2 enslaved people
Dennis, William H.	1825	1883	Roanoke County, VA	1856-1884	Physician		67 enslaved people	
Grattan, Robert	1799	1855	Rockingham County, VA	1854-1855	Farmer	18 enslaved people	15 enslaved people	
Joynes, Levin	1819	1881	Accomac County, VA	1854-1855	Physician	7 enslaved people		11 enslaved people
Lyons, James	1802	1882	Richmond, VA	1854-1882	Lawyer	10 enslaved people	12 enslaved people	1 enslaved person
MacFarland, William H.	1799	1872	Richmond, VA	1854-1871	Banking	10 enslaved people	5 enslaved people	12 enslaved people
Marshall, Hunter H.	1821	1896	Charlotte County, VA	1854-1860	Lawyer		24 enslaved people	
McGuire, William H.	1810	1877	Clarke County, VA	1854-1872	Farmer/Physician		15 enslaved people	
Newton, Willoughby	1802	1874	Westmoreland County, VA	1854-1872	Lawyer	87 enslaved people		119 enslaved people (137)
Nicolson, George Llewellyn	1814	1883	Middlesex County, VA	1854-1883	Physician	36 enslaved people	36 enslaved people	32 enslaved people
Owen, William Otway	1820	1892	Lynchburg, VA	1860-1892	Manufacturer/Physician			1 or 12 enslave people
Patton, John M.	1797	1858	Richmond, VA	1854-1858	Lawyer		7 enslaved people	
Robertson, Wyndham	1803	1888	Abingdon/Richmond, VA	1854-1865	Lawyer	11 enslaved people	7 enslaved people	

Russell, Charles Wells	1818	1867	Wheeling, VA	1854-1865	Lawyer			
Seddon, James A.	1815	1880	Goochland County, VA	1854-1880	Lawyer		6 enslaved people	1 enslaved person
Simpkins, Jesse J	1804	1866	Northampton, VA	1854-1866	Physician		17	1 enslaved person
Southall, Stephen O	1816	1884	Prince Edward County, VA	1854-1866	Lawyer			1 enslaved person
Stribling, Francis T.	1810	1874	Staunton, VA	1854-1874	Physician			3 enslaved people
Wallace, Thomas	1812	1868	Petersburg, VA	1854-1868	Lawyer		12 enslaved people	
Wellford, John S	1825	1911	Fredericksburg, VA	1854-1868	Physician			6 enslaved people
Yerby, George T	1802	1865	Northampton County, VA	1855-1864	Physician	14 enslaved people	19 enslaved people	44 enslaved people

11 APPENDIX 2: FACULTY DEMOGRAPHICS

Name	DOB	DOD	Title	Dates Employed	1830	1840	1850	1860
Bohannan, Richard Lafon	1790	1855	Professor of Obstetrics and diseases of women and children	1838-1855		5 enslaved people	10 enslaved people	
Brown-Sequard, Charles Edouard	1817	1894	Professor of the Institutes of Medicine and Medical Jurisprudence	1854-1855				
Chamberlayne, Lewis Webb	1798	1854	Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics	1838-1854			17 enslaved people	
Clymer, Meredith	1816	1902	Professor of Medicine	1848-1849				
Conway, James Hugh	1820	1865	Professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children	1856-1865			3 enslaved people	7 enslaved people
Cullen, John	1797	1849	Professor of Practice of Medicine	1838-1848	4 enslaved people			
Gibson, Charles Bell	1816	1865	Professor of Surgery	1848-1865			6 enslaved people	1 enslaved people
Howard, Marion	1825	1880	Demonstrator of Anatomy	1856-61, 1863				
Johnson, Carter Page	1822	1854	Demonstrator of Anatomy; Professor of Anatomy and Physiology	1847-1855			6 enslaved people	
Johnson, Thomas	1802	1859	Professor of Anatomy and Physiology	1838-1843			2 enslaved people	
Joynes, Levin Smith	1819	1881	Professor of the Institutes of Medicine and Medical Jurisprudence	1855-1871; 1857-1871				11 enslaved people
Maupin, Socrates	1808	1871	Professor of Chemistry and Pharmacy, Dean	1838-1853			5 enslaved people	11 enslaved people
Mayo, Theodorick P.	1829	1889	Demonstrator of Anatomy	1855				
McCaw, James Brown	1823	1906	Professor of Chemistry and Pharmacy	1858-1869				6 enslaved people
Munford, Robert	1816	1843	Demonstrator of Anatomy	1838-1843				

Peticolas, Arthur Edward	1824	1868	Demonstrator of Anatomy, Professor of Anatomy	1849-1855; 1855-1866				1 enslaved person
Rodney, Frederick William	1827	1865	Demonstrator of Anatomy	1848-1849				1 enslaved person
Scott, Martin Pickett	1823	1904	Professor of Chemistry and Pharmacy	1853-1858				11 enslaved people
Thomas, Howell Lewis	1824	1879	Demonstrator of Anatomy	1864-1865				
Tucker, David Hunter	1815	1871	Professor of Medicine, Dean	1849-1869; 1853-1856			3 enslaved people	4 enslaved people
Warner, August Lockman	1807	1847	Dean, Professor of Surgery and Surgical Anatomy	1838-1847		5 enslaved people		
Wellford, Beverley Randolph	1797	1870	Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics	1854-1868		11 enslaved people	10 enslaved people	6 enslaved people
White, Isaiah H	1838	1907	Demonstrator of Anatomy Pro Tem.	1862				
Wyman, Jeffries	1814	1874	Professor of Anatomy and Physiology	1843-1847				

12 APPENDIX 3: STUDENT DEMOGRAPHICS

Name	Residence	Maximum Number of Enslaved People	Father	Occupation
Bailey, James	Person County, NC	24 enslaved people	Gabriel Bailey	Farmer
Barham, Sidney B	Surry, VA	2 enslaved people	Thomas Barham	Farmer
Bohannon, Thomas A	Madison County, VA	21 enslaved people	George M. Bohannon	Farmer
Brumbach, John D	Page County, VA	5 enslaved people	John Brumbach	Farmer
Buffy, John W	Augusta County, VA	3 enslaved people	William C. Buffy	Physician
Campbell, William P	Monroe, VA	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Carper, Robert B	Botetourt, VA	9 enslaved people	Joseph Van Meter Carper	Farmer
Catterton, Elijah Finks	Albemarle, VA	20 enslaved people	Council Catterton	Famer
Chapman, Warner Davis [Davies]	Gloucester, VA	25 enslaved people	Henry Van Buren Chapman	Farmer
Christian, Richard Allen	Middlesex, VA	29 enslaved people	R A Christian	Farmer
Coakley, John Brownlow	Stafford, VA	4 enslaved people	Daniel S. Coakley	Merchant
Coggin, William W	Halifax, NC	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Coleman, Jr, Clayton G	Louisa County, VA	127 enslaved people	Clayton G. Coleman, Sr.	Farmer
Coles, Edwin H [Hiram Edwin]	Northumberland, VA	52 enslaved people	Edward P. Coles	Farmer
Davis, Hugh Wythe	Chesterfield, VA	26 enslaved people	Robert F. Davis	Farmer
Delk, Jeremiah Edward Lewis	Isle of Wight, VA	34 enslaved people	Jeremiah Delk	Farmer
Doggett, Cyrus	Gloucester, VA	4 enslaved people	Cyrus Doggett, Sr.	Methodist Minister
Elder, John Harrison	Lunenburg, VA	30 enslaved people	Brooken Elder	Farmer
Ellis, Robert S.	Orange County VA	29 enslaved people	Robert S. Ellis	Farmer
Ellzey, Mason	Loudon, VA	9 enslaved people	Thomas Ellzey	Physician
Gardner, James B	Hanover, VA	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Goode, R Heber	Bedford, VA	39 enslaved people	John Goode	Farmer
Griffin, John Cullen	Southampton, VA	19 enslaved people	Robert G. Griffin	Physician
Griffith, Frederick	Westmoreland, VA	24 enslaved people	Edward Colville Griffith	Farmer

Guerrant, John	Goochland, VA	24 enslaved people	Charles Guerrant	Farmer
Harvey, Mungo P	Westmoreland, VA	30 enslaved people	Joseph Fox Harvey	Farmer
Heggie, William Z	Rockingham, NC	14 enslaved people	John Heggie	Farmer
Henry, Patrick	Fredericksburg, VA	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Hill, Robert Garlick	King William, VA	25 enslaved people	Robert P. Hill	Farmer
Horner, J Mccabe	Chesterfield, County, VA	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Ingram, Thomas L	Lunenburg County, VA	26 enslaved people	Alice Ingram	Farmer
Ish, Milton A	Fairfax, VA	19 enslaved people	Jacob Ish	Unknown
Jenkins, Seabrook	Colleton, SC	47 enslaved people	Seabrook Jenkins	Farmer
Jennings Henry E	Halifax, VA	32 enslaved people	Robert G. Jennings	Farmer
Johnson, Nicholas	Louisa, VA	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Jones, William C	Highland, VA	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Layne, Jr, James	Highland, VA	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Martin, R. Walter Scott	Richmond, VA	15 enslaved people	William Augustine Martin	Farmer
Maxwell, Benjamin Close	Henrico, VA	5 enslaved people	Close Maxwell	Clerk
Miller, Hiram H	Rockingham, VA	31 enslaved people	Henry Miller	Farmer
Miller, J W	Richmond, VA	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Moore, Powhatan B. [Putnam?]	Hanover, VA	7 enslaved people	Edward Waid	Farmer
Moore, Robert E	Wythe County, VA	35 enslaved people	Alfred C. Moore	Farmer
Raines, Benjamin	Sussex County, VA	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Reamey, Henry C	Henry, VA	25 enslaved people	Peter (brother	Farmer
Reid, Thomas J	Dallas County AK	64 enslaved people	Thomas J. Reid	Farmer
Selden, Charles	Gloucester, VA	45 enslaved people	Robert C. Selden	Farmer
Smith, Adolphus E	Wake, NC	9 enslaved people	Simon Smith	Farmer
Snead, Edward D	Johnston, NC	16 enslaved people	Robert W. Snead	Farmer
Swann, William Macon	Cumberland, VA	24 enslaved people	Thomas Hompson Swann	Farmer
Taylor, Edmund P	Caroline, VA	7 enslaved people	Unknown	Physician

Thomas, William	Tazewell, VA	3 enslaved people	Jonathan Thomas	Farmer
Tompkins, J Wilmer	Albemarle, VA	11 enslaved people	Robert Tompkins	Farmer
Trevillian, John G	Goochland, VA	64 enslaved people	John M. Trevillian	Farmer
Turner, Henry H	Isle of Wight, VA	1 enslaved person	James S. Turner	Farmer
Wade, Joseph H	Henry, VA	10 enslaved people	John D. Wade	Clergy
Walker, George E	Henry County, VA	14 enslaved people	Peter Reamey	Farmer
Weaver, Virgil	Fauquier, VA	19 enslaved people	Joseph Weaver	Farmer
White, Isaiah H	York, VA	15 enslaved people	Samuel C. White	Farmer

13 APPENDIX 4: SYNOPSIS

ENSLAVED ANCESTORS PROJECT SYNOPSIS

I. ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

Several prominent Richmond physicians successfully petitioned Hampden-Sydney College in 1838 to establish a medical department connected with that institution. It began receiving public funding in 1844, when the Commonwealth of Virginia granted the faculty a $15,000 loan to construct a new building and the Richmond City Council appropriated $2,000 to purchase land for that purpose. The medical faculty severed their ties with Hampden-Sydney in 1854. They received an independent charter from the state legislature and officially changed their name to the Medical College of Virginia (MCV). In 1860, the college became a full-fledged state institution when it conveyed the entirety of its property to Virginia in exchange for a $30,000 appropriation.

II. SLAVERY AND IDENTITY

Solid documentation from census data and tax lists indicate that the institution owned and/or rented between four and eight individuals annually at least from the late 1840s until the end of the Civil War. Narrative evidence in faculty correspondence and the 1879 obituary of Lewis Pleasants, an enslaved person affiliated with MCV, suggests that the institution utilized slave labor much earlier, perhaps dating to the 1838 founding. It is extremely difficult to identify the names of individuals who were enslaved at the college, owing primarily to the lack of extant institutional documentation. City, state, and federal records do not list names for the enslaved. Other secondary data is sketchy and scattered. A reasonably detailed account of the life of Lewis Pleasants, one enslaved individual at MCV, has been uncovered but this is exceptional. Based on Dean Levin Smith Joynes's account book (which only begins in 1856) and advertisements appearing in Richmond newspapers we do know that other enslaved individuals also labored at MCV in the early 1860s with the following first names: Billy, John, Daniel, Joe, Frank, Sienna, Amy, Acenath, Matt, Winnie, and Craig. Another individual named John Rock – probably not the same person as the "John" listed above --also worked at the college, but it remains unclear whether he was enslaved or a free person of color.

III. FUTURE RESEARCH POSSIBILITIES

The most potentially fruitful avenues for future research would involve attempting to track the networks of deans, faculty, students, and enslaved persons in several ways. First, by consulting the records of the First African Baptist Church near the college and other local religious institutions, it may be possible to trace names and link data. Second, the postwar census documentation, city directories, and similar demographic sources could yield results, especially if the college employed any of the individuals that it had enslaved or hired during the antebellum period. Third, Freedmen's Bureau records might offer better identification concerning individuals and reveal their postwar financial situations. Finally, a thorough and systematic search of Richmond newspapers could prove useful since obituaries and other references may exist, as was the case for Lewis Pleasants.

14 APPENDIX :5 INDIVIDUALS AND INSTITUTIONAL REFERENCES

Individuals

Abel [enslaved or hired by Joynes Family]
Acenath [enslaved or hired by MCV]
Allen, Robert M.
Amy [enslaved or hired by MCV]
Andrew [enslaved or hired by Myers Family
Bamberger, H.
Benjamin, Albert
Benjamin, George
Billy [enslaved or hired by MCV]
Bohannon, Richard Lafon
Brown-Sequard, Charles
Byrd Family
Carroll, Daniel Lynn
Caskie, James
Catherine [enslaved or hired by Joynes Family]
Chamberlayne, Lewis Webb
Chamberlayne, Martha Burwell
Chowning, Elizabeth
Clutter, V. J.
Clymer, Meredith
Coleman, Clayton G.
Coleman, Jr., Clayton G.
Craig [enslaved or hired by MCV]
Crutchfield, George R.
Cullen, Charlotte
Cullen, John
Cunningham, John A.
Dallas, George
Daniel [enslaved or hired by MCV]
Dennis, William H.
Dixon, Edward
Dolly [enslaved or hired by Chamberlayne Family]
Eliza
Elizabeth Dallas
Frank [enslaved or hired by Chowing Family]
Frank [enslaved or hired by MCV]
Franky [enslaved or hired by Chamberlayne Family]
Garland [enslaved or hired by Maupin Family]
George [enslaved or hired by Joynes Family]
George [enslaved or hired by Tucker Family]
Grant, John
Griswold, C. G.
Guerrant, Charles
Guerrant, John
Guerrant, William
Hatton, Jim [enslaved or hired by Joynes Family]
Holloway, Jacob
Holman, James
Howard, Marion
Howlett, William
Jackson, Thomas J. "Stonewall"
Joe [enslaved or hired by MCV]
John [enslaved or hired by MCV]
Johnson, Carter Page
Johnson, William H.
Jones, William C.
Joynes, Anne
Joynes, Edward
Joynes, Levin Smith
Joynes, Thomas
Laura [enslaved or hired by Coleman Family]
Lewis [enslaved or hired by Joynes Family]
Lockett, Benjamin F.
Ludlum, Lewis
MacFarland, William Hamilton
Margaret [enslaved or hired by Joynes Family]
Marshall [enslaved or hired by Maupin Family]
Mary Ann [enslaved or hired by Joynes Family]
Matt [enslaved or hired by MCV and/or Turnley]
Maupin, Addison
Maupin, Chapman
Maupin, Socrates
Mayo, Theodorick
McCaw, James Brown
Miller, J. W.
Millpaugh, A
Mitilda [enslaved or hired by Joynes Family]
Munford, Robert
Myers, Gustavus Adolphus
Ned [enslaved or hired by Joynes Family]
Newman, Caleb R.

Newman, Eliza
Nicholson, George Llewellyn
Parrish, Francis Marion
Patton, John Mercer
Peticolas, Arthur Edward
Pleasant, William H.
Pleasants, Lewis [enslaved or hired by MCV and/or Peticolas/Johnson]
Polk, James K.
Preisson [enslaved or hired by Joynes Family]
Ragland, John T.
Randolph Family
Ready, William
Reid, Thomas J.
Robinson, Clara
Rock, John [enslaved or hired by MCV]
Roy [enslaved or hired by Mayo Family]
Rucker, David Hunter
Russell, Charles Wells
Satchell, Jim [enslaved or hired by Joynes Family]
Seddon, James Alexander
Sienna [enslaved or hired by MCV]
Smoot, Mrs.
Steward, Thomas S.
Tabb, Jr., Philip M.
Thomas, Howell Lewis
Tucker, Henry St. George
Turner, Henry H.
Turner, James
Turnley, Mrs.
Turnley, Nelson G.
Warner, Augustus Lockman
Warner, Elizabeth Jane Ludlum
Warner, George K.
Warren Thomas Davis
Watts, Joseph G.
Wellford, John Spotswood
White, Isaiah
Winnie [enslaved or hired by MCV and/or Turnley]
Woodward, R. B.
Wyman, Jeffries
Yerby, George Teackle

Institutions

American Medical Association
Bank of Virginia
Briery Presbyterian Church
Carlton House
Caskie and Brothers
Chimborazo Hospital
College of William and Mary
Cox, Turnley, & Hart
Cumberland Presbyterian Church
E. A. Eacho
Exeter Academy
Farmer's Bank
First African Baptist Church
Grant and Nenning
Hampden-Sydney College
Hanover Presbytery
Harvard University
Medical Society of Virginia
P. M. Tabb & Son
Redwood & Keach
Richmond Academy
Richmond Common Council
Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground
Spencer & Venable
St. Paul's Episcopal Church
University of Pennsylvania
University of the City of New York
University of Virginia
Washington College
Wellington Goddin

Additional names listed in Appendices 1-3