

**UM Slavery and the University Working Group:  
2-Year Report and Proposal for Future Projects,  
October 15, 2015  
{Partial version}**

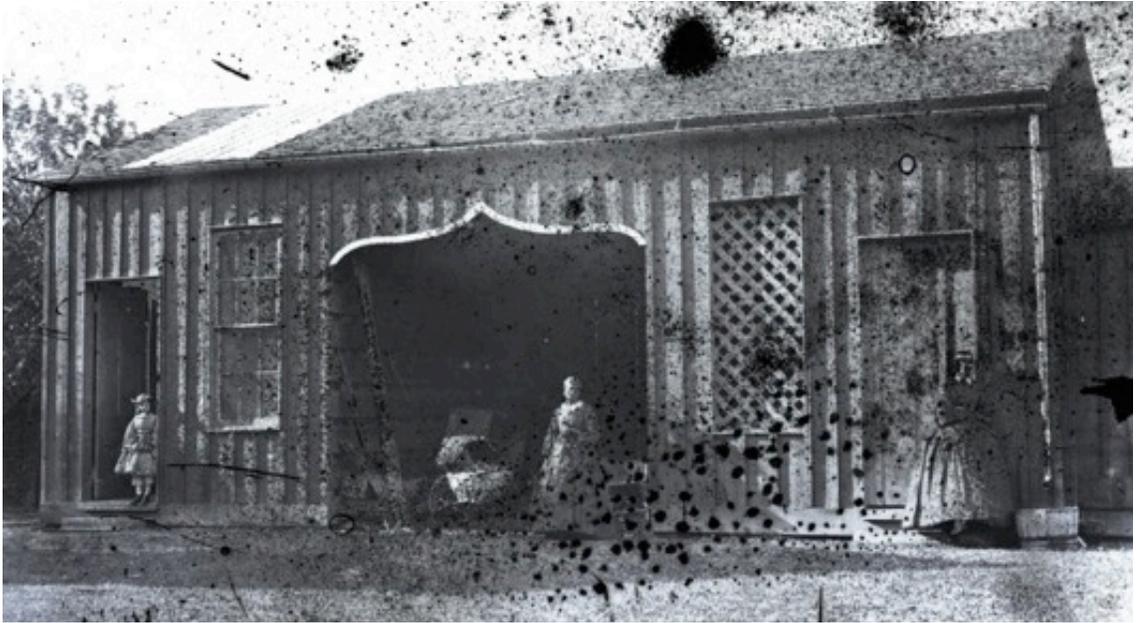


Photo of the carriage house behind Prof. Edward Boynton's faculty residence, University of Mississippi campus, circa 1860. Source: UM Special Collections



UM Students Kyara Williams and Hali Niles conducting an archaeological excavation near the kitchen/slave quarters at the Hugh Craft House as part of the "Behind the Big House Project," Holly Springs MS, Fall 2014.

“It is part of the irony of slavery that historians studying the institution... have failed to provide all the answers; indeed, perhaps they have not yet asked all the right questions.”

--Harry Owens, introduction to the 1975 Porter Fortune symposium.

“The University of Mississippi has an obligation to itself but it also has an obligation to Mississippi, the South and the Nation. It sits in a leadership position. And we can't shrink from that leadership position when the questions get tough. That's when we need universities to really stand up and, in fact, set an example for how we deal with a difficult, contentious, at times painful past... but ultimately a past that we're quite capable of dealing with.”

--Craig Steven Wilder, Feb. 11, 2014, University of Mississippi visit.

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Zoomed in portion of the Boynton photo from title page, showing woman and baby carriage, University of Mississippi, (circa 1860): UM Special Collections

## **Introduction:**

One day in what was probably the year 1860, Edward C. Boynton, the new Professor of Chemistry, Minerology, and Geology at the University of Mississippi, took a picture of the carriage house behind his faculty residence. Boynton was practicing using his new photography equipment by taking shots of campus buildings as well as his own family members. The new photographic technology he was testing, known as “the wet-collodion process,” had just been invented. The technique utilized individual glass plate negatives which were fragile and “somewhat cumbersome and tedious,” but were superior to “earlier daguerreotype and calcotype processes... and produced images of remarkable sharpness and fine grain.”<sup>1</sup> All of the antebellum photographs of the UM campus were a result of Boynton’s new hobby and the fortunate coincidences that resulted in the survival of his box of high-quality fragile glass negatives.

In the photo he took of the carriage house, we can clearly see three figures. On the far right stands Boynton’s wife, Mary Hubbard Boynton, in a long dress. On the far left, we see his 6 year-old daughter, Lizza, dressed in petticoats and a sporty brimmed hat. And in the middle, framed by the opening of the carriage house, stands an African American woman. Wearing a long cotton dress with a white collar and a scarf covering her head, she rests her right hand on the handle of a wheeled basinet, likely holding Boynton’s 4 month-old baby, Florence.

We do not know the name of this woman, nor do we know anything about her life attending to the Boynton family and caring for the Boynton children, but she is likely the person listed as the sole slave owned by Boynton in the 1860 Federal Slave Schedule: age, “45;” sex, “Female;” color, “Black.”

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<sup>1</sup> Lloyd, James B. “The University of Mississippi: The Formative Years, 1848-1906,” p. 19

While the photograph connotes her probable role as nanny to the Boynton children (Mrs. Boynton is not holding the basinet handle), her image--this fragile trace of her life--serendipitously preserved as the *only* image of antebellum slavery at the University of Mississippi found to date, leaves us with many questions: What was her name and who was she? What was her life like? What was her relationship to her owners and masters, the Boyntons? What did her work entail? Where exactly on campus did she live? What was her relationship to the University? And, most importantly, what was her relationship to the other dozens, perhaps hundreds, of African American slaves who worked on the University of Mississippi campus, and in the surrounding town of Oxford, during those antebellum years? Was her experience similar to those who worked the campus fields and gardens that provided for the student meals in the Steward's Hall or the cooks and waiters who served these meals? Was it different from those who labored to fire the hand-made bricks and construct the earliest campus buildings, such as the Lyceum and the Observatory? Did she interact with the other slaves who undertook the domestic chores of caring for the students and faculty: building their fires in the morning, making their beds, laundering their clothes, making their meals, emptying their chamber pots? And what happened to her after the war, after her owner and master, Edward Boynton had been dismissed for harboring Northern sympathies and left the University? Did she leave Oxford along with other free people of color to build a new life elsewhere, or did she remain, perhaps even returning to work on the very campus on which she was standing when this photo was taken?

We know none of the answers to these questions because Boynton's slave, so far as we know, left no letters or documents of her own. It is unlikely that she could even read or write, though she may have been able to do so. Like most of her black contemporaries, her life is shrouded in obscurity; almost completely absent from the material traces typically left by

society's more privileged citizens. Not even the Federal Government, required by law to enumerate every individual in the nation every ten years, asked for her name. What hope does the historian or archaeologist have to ever recover these traces never recorded? Especially when even the faintest signals have been lost, denied, hidden, and even intentionally repressed for over 150 years?

But the stories of slavery and the University of Mississippi are not completely lost. Many fragile traces of antebellum slave life on this campus are actually "hidden in plain sight."<sup>2</sup> We know, for instance, the names of the enslavers and the extent of their slave ownership. We also know that slavery was a fact of life in North Mississippi prior to the Civil War. Nevertheless, even these facts and details are often obscured by lenses of misperception and misunderstanding. They are minimized, even, by the dynamics of national shame and denial associated with our collective memories of American slavery and the racial biases of the scholars who have spent decades constructing them. The enslavers are called "wealthy planters" in our institution's official history, the slave labor camps that enriched them and created the economic wherewithal for the founding of the University itself: "plantations."<sup>3</sup> The details of the founders' slaveholdings, perhaps casting too dark and painful a shadow for the author or his institution to fully contemplate, are conveniently omitted and carelessly neglected. Nevertheless, the fragile traces are there, waiting to be fully recovered, explored, and understood.

In this document, the UM Slavery and the University Working Group, which was formed in 2014 out of an interest to explore new scholarship on slavery and the legacies of slavery, seeks to address these historical

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<sup>2</sup> Working group member Jodi Skipper, as quoted in "UM Students Dig for Clues about Slaves' Daily Lives," UM Press Release, April 24, 2015. <http://news.olemiss.edu/um-students-dig-clues-slaves-daily-lives/#.VUgE1c5Wtfs>

<sup>3</sup> Sansing, David. *The University of Mississippi: A Sesquicentennial History*, pp. 36 & 32.

omissions and social neglect. Here we outline our work over the past three semesters to more carefully understand the relationship between our own institution—The University of Mississippi—and the “peculiar institution.” We also lay out our next steps for creating an ongoing campus-wide interdisciplinary research, teaching, and community outreach effort aimed at recovering, preserving, exploring, and understanding slavery and its legacies here in our own locale.

**Background:**

In Fall of 1975, the University of Mississippi hosted the first in a series of History Symposiums which would eventually be named for the Chancellor who lent his support to the effort: Porter Fortune. The event was historic not only for its inaugural implications but also for its subject matter: “The Slave Experience in America: A Bicentennial Perspective.” The fact that a University in the Deep

South—a previously all-white University that had experienced only a decade earlier one of the most tumultuous racial conflicts associated with desegregation in the nation—was hosting an academic conference on a subject so central to the African American experience was so extraordinary that the symposium itself made national headlines. The symposium was also momentous because of the caliber of scholars it attracted. The seven speakers included two Bancroft History Prize winners (Engerman and Genovese), one Lincoln Prize Winner (Stampp), one National Humanities Medal winner (Davis),

two winners of the Pulitzer Prize (Carl Degler, David Brion Davis), and one Nobel Laureate (Engerman). Perhaps it was the intriguing opportunity to speak about slavery in a place that had recently gone through such tumult, and a place that was so central to the history of the subject of their expertise that attracted such a large number of distinguished slavery scholars to this campus. Perhaps it was the progressive efforts of the symposium organizers, including Historians Harry Owens



and David Sansing, but also Chancellor Fortune himself, that made it happen. These organizers were all wrestling with recent campus difficulties in which the predominately white students were making life difficult for the small but growing African American student body and Harry Owens, in particular, had just five years earlier created the university's first "Black Studies Program." Certainly, a symposium like this was exactly what he had in mind when he said:

[Black people's] historic struggle against almost overwhelming odds, not only enlarges our understanding of American history. But it also offers a great lesson to all Americans. The history of millions of black people fighting, not only to survive, but more important, to overcome institutionalized racism, can provide an historical perspective of the present and a hope for the future (Cohodas, *The Band Played Dixie*, p. 177)

Owens, Sansing, Fortune and the other supporters and organizers of the event surely must have seen the potential in what they were creating. For in the years that followed, the 1975 symposium became the impetus for several new faculty positions in the History Department funded by the Ford Foundation, the arrival of symposium participant and eminent slavery scholar Winthrop Jordan to a full time position in the UM Department of History, the founding of new campus initiatives and centers, including Center for the Study of Southern Culture and, of course, the Porter Fortune Symposium series itself, which continues to this day. In short, the 1975 symposium, borne of a progressive vision in a university community trying to heal from tumult and crisis, opened up a lasting space on this campus for a more inclusive discussion. Since that time, there have been many other significant achievements on this campus that have sought to broaden this space and widen the opportunities for a more honest reflection on the relationship between our University (and our State's) relationship with our racist past. Over the past 40 years the University has built up a respectable record of teaching and research on the topic of American slavery and its legacies. It is this spirit and tradition on which we hope to build.

## **History of the UM Slavery and the University Working Group**

In September 2013, Chuck Ross (Director of African American Studies and Associate Professor of History and African American Studies) and Jeff Jackson (Associate Professor of Sociology) met with Joe Ward (History Department Chair) and Kirsten Dellinger (Sociology and Anthropology Department Chair) to discuss the idea of inviting Craig Steven Wilder, author of “Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America’s Universities” to campus. Frustrated by recent incidents of racism on campus and concerned whether our respective departments might be able to do more to provide opportunities for our students and faculty to engage questions regarding the legacies of racial inequality in our local context, we had just emailed each other an NPR story featuring Wilder on the radio and saw immediately the potential of studying the relationship he explored in our own locale. Chuck Ross contacted Wilder about the possibility of visiting our campus in February 2014 and learned that he would be interested and available.

The basic idea that emerged from the discussion was to create a faculty reading group, read Dr. Wilder’s book collectively, and invite him to campus for a discussion with the group and see where it might lead. We were very encouraged when, upon presenting our idea to Chancellor Dan Jones, he responded with enthusiastic support and a financial commitment to support the reading group. This funding would provide for Wilder’s campus visit, the purchase of the books, as well as a series of luncheons that would allow the reading group to discuss the book prior to Wilder’s visit and discuss the implications of the book for the UM campus following Wilder’s visit. In addition, Dr. Jones pressed us to use the remaining funds to explore what other campuses were doing on this issue (Brown University and the University of Virginia, in particular) and to, if possible, develop a set of preliminary initiatives that faculty and students on the campus might be able to tackle with regard to the history of slavery at the University of Mississippi. Dr. Jones also emphasized that these efforts should attempt to connect the realities of antebellum slavery to the legacies slavery in the post-bellum and current contexts.

When we sent out the campus wide invitation for faculty to participate in the reading group, we hoped we would get at least 15-20 reading group members to sign on to read the book and attend the series of luncheons during the Spring 2014 semester. We were encouraged and surprised when 58 people from all over campus signed up! This included faculty from seventeen different departments and centers and a number of people from the central administration, including Chancellor Jones.

During the Spring semester, 2014 our “UM Reading Group on Slavery and the University” met three times. The first meeting was to discuss the book and prepare questions for Dr. Craig Wilder. During the second meeting, we had the opportunity to meet with Dr. Wilder to discuss the book and its broader implications. At the third meeting, we discussed what we had learned as a group and decided to form a “working group” that would continue to explore these issues.<sup>4</sup>

The discussions we had within the reading group were engaging and robust. It became clear early in our meeting that we didn't want to limit our work solely to discussions about enslaved people and their historic significance to the university, but rather we wanted to focus our efforts on addressing bigger and broader contemporary issues of race on campus. In the wake of events across the country in the past year, we felt this was a critical time to examine what is currently happening on campus and become more purposeful and honest about race and diversity. We agreed that faculty often avoid discussions about race because they feel unprepared or are ill-equipped to handle the topic appropriately, and we saw one of our missions to be providing training/support to faculty so they all would be able to facilitate these conversations in constructive and respectful ways.

While the nature and content of these numerous discussions are too much to recap here (notes from our meetings are available in our UM Box account), what became clear is that there was a great deal of energy and interest among reading group members to delve into this topic more fully. In particular, the reading group concluded that there was tremendous potential in exploring the relationship between slavery and our institution and it recommended that we should form a

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<sup>4</sup> Notes from our meetings and Wilder’s visit are available in our UM Box account:

faculty “working group” devoted to investigating and laying out potential plans and initiatives that we might undertake.

Of the original 58 members of the reading group, 28 signed up for the working group which met multiple times in the Fall of 2014 and Spring of 2015 to build upon the reading group’s recommendations. We decided to form subcommittees in three main areas: Research, Teaching, and Community Outreach. Each subgroup was asked to meet independently from the larger group to try to identify the “most fruitful first steps” we might take in each area. This report and proposal is based upon the recommendations that emerged from this process. (Group reports on which these were largely based can be found in Appendix B).

In October 2014, two of our group members, Annie Twitty and Lynn Deitrich, volunteered to travel on behalf of our group to the University of Virginia for a national conference on the topic of “Universities Confronting the Legacy of Slavery.” Their report back to the group was extremely beneficial in terms of situating our own activities within the larger national context of what other Universities with histories directly connected to slavery were doing.

The working group also invited Nancy Bercaw, curator at the Smithsonian Institution’s new National Museum of African American History and Culture in Washington D.C. (currently under construction, scheduled to open in 2015) to give a presentation and meet with the group in April 2015. Dr. Bercaw is a former faculty member here at UM and her expertise in the areas of slavery interpretation and engaging the public on these matters was extremely helpful for addressing many of the questions we had. Not only did she help us reflect on what community engagement might mean for our own potential activities, but she also offered many ideas about how we might connect to larger funding opportunities and other national and international level initiatives.

We had originally hoped to also send group members to visit Brown University to meet with representatives of their newly established “Center for the Study of Slavery and Justice.” We were particularly hoping to be able to speak with its new Director, Anthony Bogues and the Chair of the committee which drafted the original Brown University “Slavery and Justice” report, James Campbell. While plans

to do this in March 2015 fell through, we are still hoping to be able to do this in the coming year: We are planning to send group members to visit Brown University and also to invite James Campbell (currently at Stanford) to the University of Mississippi.

In addition, we are planning to invite Dr. Jillian Galle to campus this coming Fall. She is the Project Director for the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS - <http://www.daacs.org>). Part of their project involves an online, relational database that contains the digitized results from "multiple archaeological sites where enslaved Africans and their descendants once lived and worked." Up until this point, this database focused on comparative archaeological research in the Cheseapeake, the Carolinas, and the Caribbean areas. Nothing in the deep south. However, there may be potential for us to become a part of these comparative slavery efforts if we were to: a.) become trained in the DAACS methodology; and b.) do an archaeological excavation of a site using our own resources. Furthermore, there could be future funding opportunities if we were to become involved. One of the members of our UM Slavery and the University Working Group, Dr. Maureen Meyers, has had preliminary conversations with Dr. Galle and learned that Dr. Galle would be very willing to come and speak with us about the potential opportunities of collaborating with the DAACS project.

### **Overarching Working Group Goals:**

- Create opportunities for UM students and faculty interested in studying slavery, Indian removal, settler colonialism and the legacies of slavery
- Bring state of the art research techniques and methodologies for exploring these issues to the UM campus.
- Support these efforts through external grants and funding opportunities
- Become known as a site for innovative practices in American slavery research through the use of traditional manuscript collections, archaeology, public anthropology, cultural geography, historical comparative sociology, ethnography/oral history, critical race analysis, literary analysis and engaged community research.
- Become a clearinghouse for scholars interested in studying slavery in general and slavery in the lower south, in particular. Develop visiting scholars' program.
- Build connections among our campus community interested in these issues: Special Collections, Academic departments and centers, Museum, Rowan Oak, etc.
- Develop classes on "Slavery and the University of Mississippi" for undergraduate and graduate students.
- Build connections to our local community: Oxford schools, Oxford Lafayette history groups; Holly Springs and Pontotoc as well.
- Develop summer classes for Mississippi teachers and community members on the history of slavery on campus and in North Mississippi generally.
- Build connections to our statewide community: MS State, History museum in Jackson
- Build connections to the larger national discussion on slavery and the University: e.g. Brown, Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, Alcorn, Miss State.
- Build connections to the larger national and global discussion on slavery: DAACS archive, Smithsonian Institution,
- Build a permanent site or destination for students and visitors to learn about slavery on campus and in North Mississippi generally by exhibiting artifacts and objects related to slavery our locale

## **Preliminary Findings and Discoveries Related to Slavery at UM:**

### **Existing primary sources consulted:**

Faculty Minutes (FM), "Minutes of the Faculty of the University of Mississippi"  
Board of Trustees Minutes (BTM)  
1850 and 1860 Federal Censuses  
1850 and 1860 Federal Slave Schedules

### **Existing primary sources not yet consulted:**

Library Faculty and working group members Jennifer Ford and Leigh McWhite have assembled an extensive list of "antebellum UM collections and publications" which will likely prove useful for our group given enough student and faculty researchers to go through them (attached as Appendix A).

The most promising of these include: the Alumni Minutes (which start in 1848); the UM "Announcements and Catalogue"; the Barnard Collection; the Hermean and Phi Sigma minutes; the Hilgard Papers; the MS University Magazine (which begin in 1856); the Phi Sigma Magazine; and the "Rules and Regulations of UM" (which begin in 1850).

Library faculty have also created a spreadsheet listing all administrators, board members, faculty, staff, and students during antebellum times. This is an important resource that can be used to trace the slave owning history of university community members (in particular the degree to which UM students derived from slave-owning families whose tuition helped to fund the university). These data have already been compiled and are essential for future research on university-related slave owners. The sources used in creating the spreadsheet were from the Registrar Ledgers Collection and the Historical Catalogue of the University of Mississippi, 1849-1909 (Nashville, TN: Marshall & Bruce Company, 1910).

### **Existing Secondary sources consulted:**

Cabaniss, Allen. "The University of Mississippi: Its First Hundred Years"  
Sansing, David. "The University of Mississippi: A Sesquicentennial History"  
Lloyd, James B. "The University of Mississippi, The Formative Years: 1848-1906"

### **Partial names of campus slaves discovered:**

#### **George:**

--July 12, 1849: "Ordered by the board that the Treasurer pay the College servant **George** Five dollars as a present for the faithful manner in which he has performed his duties during the past session." BTM p. 110

--July 13, 1853: "On motion it was ordered that the a/c of Dr. Millington for services of servant **George** as Janitor be allowed by deduction the time he was sick, and that the Proctor pay the same." BTM p. 193

--It is probable that George is listed, unnamed, in the 1850 slave schedule under Millington's name as one of his 7 slaves (2 male: one age 53, the other age 40)

**Jane:**

Slave owned by Chancellor Barnard. Name is cited in Faculty Minutes and Board of Trustee Minutes in what is known as the "Branham Affair" in which she was assaulted on Dr. Barnard's premises by student S.B. Humphreys (see below). She is also probably listed, unnamed, in the 1860 slave schedule under Barnard's name as one of his two female slaves (one age 30, the other age 35)

**Martin?**

According to "African American Experience" website in the Dept. of African American Studies, "Martin" is listed as one of the "two servants hired" by University in the Proctor report 1859

**Marcus?**

According to "African American Experience" website in the Dept. of African American Studies, "Marcus" is listed as one of the "two servants hired" by University in the Proctor report 1859

**Unnamed campus slaves 1850**

According to the 1850 Slave Schedule, 55 slaves are listed as the property of individuals listed as faculty (or steward) of the University of Mississippi. It is not clear whether these slaves lived on campus, or elsewhere in the county.

10 slaves listed under President **Augustus B. Longstreet's** name as slave owner in the 1850 Slave Schedule, probably living on campus, dwelling unknown (maybe President's residence on south side of circle?):

- Unnamed, 50, M, B
- Unnamed, 35, M, B
- Unnamed, 30, M, B
- Unnamed, 25, M, B
- Unnamed, 10, M, B
- Unnamed, 52, F, B
- Unnamed, 50, F, B
- Unnamed, 50, F, B
- Unnamed, 53, F, B
- Unnamed, 30, F, B
- Unnamed, 28, F, B

7 slaves listed under Language Professor **John Waddel's** name as slave owner in the 1850 Slave Schedule, probably living on campus, dwelling unknown:

Unnamed, 70, F, B  
Unnamed, 5, M, B  
Unnamed, 45, F, B  
Unnamed, 28, F, B  
Unnamed, 14, F, B  
Unnamed, 10, F, B  
Unnamed, 15, F, B

2 slaves listed under Mathematics and Astronomy Professor **Albert Taylor Bledsoe's** name as slave owner in the 1850 Slave Schedule, probably living on campus, dwelling unknown (maybe faculty residence?):

Unnamed, 40, F, B  
Unnamed, 4, F, B

7 slaves listed under Professor **John Millington's** name as slave owner in the 1850 Slave Schedule, probably living on campus, dwelling unknown (maybe faculty residence?):

Unnamed, 55, M, B  
Unnamed, 50, F, B  
Unnamed, 40, M, B  
Unnamed, 22, F, B  
Unnamed, 18, F, B  
Unnamed, 4, F, B  
Unnamed, 2, F, B

15 slaves listed under College Steward **A.G. Ellis'** name as slave owner in the 1850 Slave Schedule, probably living on campus, dwelling unknown (maybe Steward's Hall?). Unclear if Ellis owned the slaves or his is listed as owner on behalf of the University of Mississippi:

Unnamed, 45, F, Black  
Unnamed, 32, F, Mulatto  
Unnamed, 25, F, B  
Unnamed, 25, F, B  
Unnamed, 25, M, B  
Unnamed, 18, M, B  
Unnamed, 13, M, B  
Unnamed, 4, M, B  
Unnamed, 4, M, B  
Unnamed, 2, M, B  
Unnamed, 42, F, B  
Unnamed, 30, F, B  
Unnamed, 30, F, B  
Unnamed, 28, F, B

Unnamed, 4, F, B

14 slaves listed under Mathematics Assistant Professor **L.Q.C. Lamar's** name as slave owner in the 1850 Slave Schedule, possibly living on campus, possibly living off campus, dwelling unknown (maybe faculty residence?):

Unnamed, 28, F, B  
Unnamed, 28, F, B  
Unnamed, 24, F, B  
Unnamed, 16, F, B  
Unnamed, 15, F, B  
Unnamed, 12, F, B  
Unnamed, 11, F, B  
Unnamed, 9, F, B  
Unnamed, 6, F, B  
Unnamed, 7, F, B  
Unnamed, 6, M, B  
Unnamed, 4, M, B  
Unnamed, 4, M, B  
Unnamed, 2, M, B

### **Unnamed campus slaves 1860**

According to the 1860 Federal Census Slave Schedule, 118 slaves are listed as the property of individuals listed as the faculty (and steward) of the University of Mississippi. It is not clear whether these slaves lived on campus, elsewhere in the county, or even in neighboring counties. Faculty members living on campus who owned slaves include **President Frederick Barnard** (2 slaves), **Edward Boynton** (1), **William F. Stearns** (5), **Henry Whitehorne** (5), **LQC Lamar** (31), and **William D. Moore** (46). There are too many to list here individually, but we would like to try to match up the 1860 list with the 1850 and 1870 lists to find possible names of slaves that worked on campus during this time.

### **Unnamed slaves who were hired out by local slaveholders to work on the University of Mississippi campus:**

Robert Sheegog hired slaves to the University (twice mentioned in the BTM)

Jacob Thompson hired slaves to the University (BTM)

J.E. Market hired slaves to the University (BTM)

Multiple other slaves hired by unnamed slave owners (many listings in the BTM)

## **Information regarding the lives of campus slaves**

### Duties of campus slaves:

-- May 20, 1850--"It was further resolved that the College servants all be employed under the direction of the President in cleaning up the Campus & putting it in order, when not engaged in the business of the buildings." FM P. 26 (p. 38 of typescript)

--September 16, 1856—"it was Resolved, That is shall be duty of the servants employed in the dormitories to sweep the rooms and entries daily, adjust the bedding, carry fuel, make fires, bring water daily, from the 1<sup>st</sup> October till the first April, and twice a day the rest of the college year. When unemployed thus they shall be at the disposition of the President." FM P. 67 (page 83 of typescript).

### Other significant achievements/activities of slaves on campus:

- Clearing the land for original campus building (details unknown)
- Creating hand-fired clay bricks for all buildings (details unknown)
- Building the Lyceum (details unknown)
- Building the original campus buildings (details unknown)
- Building the Chapel (details unknown)
- Building the Observatory (details unknown)
- Building cisterns, wells (referred to in BTM, details unknown)
- Creating "Hilgard's Cut" which allowed the train to pass through Oxford. (According to some sources, these slaves—a large number to do this work—were hired out by Thomas Isom)

### Abuses Suffered by campus slaves:

Assault of President Barnard's slave, Jane by Mr. Humphreys; "The Branham Affair":

--February 2, 1860:....Mr. S.B. Humpheys, a student of the University, having been previously cited, appeared and plead 'Not Guilty' to the following charged preferred against him by the Presidents—1. 'Visiting the dwelling of the President in his absence and while it was occupied by defenceless [sic.] female servants, with shameful designs upon one of the said servants. 2. Committing a violent assault and battery upon the servant aforesaid, and inflicting severe personal injury, whereby the said servant was for some days incapacitated for labor, and of which the marks are still after the lapse of many days, plainly visible.' FM P. 130 (pages 174 of the typescript)

Beating of "college negro" by Mr Gage:

--May 7, 1860—"The Proctor reported Mr. Gage of the Senior class as having severely beaten one of the college negroes, and as having acknowledged the act: Where upon the Chancellor was instructed, unanimously, to converse

with Mr. Gage upon the subject and to refer the case to the Executive committee unless he (Gage) showed a proper spirit in relation to the occurrence in the interview with the Chancellor." FM P. 143 (page 194 of typescript).

Whipping, beating and other maltreatment of College negroes:

--October 16, 1860--"In consequence of complaints, made by the Proctor, of whipping, beating, and other maltreatment of the College negroes, by a self constituted 'Vigilance Committee of Students' who proposed to apprehend a general 'negro insurrection' from the fact that an ounce or two of powder had been found in one of the servants' rooms- ... and it was determined that a repetition of such conduct by students should be dealt with at the discretion of the Faculty." FM P. 151 (Page 202 of typescript).

College servant burned on cheek by Mr. Wright:

--November 5, 1860—" ... The Proctor reported to the Faculty that one of the college servants had, a night or two previous, been brutally and severely burned on the cheek by a Student, and without provocation. The case was considered by the members present to be worthy of the notice of the Faculty. But no action in the premises was taken or suggested until the student charged with the offense could have the opportunity to defend his conduct to a full meeting of the Faculty." FM P. 151 (p. 203 of typescript).

--November 6, 1860—"Pursuant to adjournment the Faculty met at 10 A.M. in the Library to investigate the charges preferred against a student as stated on the last page. Several students were summoned to answer such questions as should be asked them and came before the meeting; but nothing of importance was elicited [sic.] except the confession of Mr. Wright that he had burned the negro's cheek with a cigar-an action which he himself pronounced indefensible. The students were allowed to retire after each one of them had exculpated himself from any shadow of a charge of aiding or abetting in the bad treatment of the Negro... A motion was made 'that Mr. Wright be indefinitely suspended' and, having first passed by a majority it was afterwards made unanimous-when the Faculty adjourned." FM P. 152 (page 204 of typescript).

--November 26, 1860--"The Chancellor read a letter from Mr. Wright who had been recently suspended from his connection with the University, asking to be readmitted to his class and expressing sorrow for his act which has caused the suspension. Voted that he be readmitted provided he pledge himself in writing to avoid a repetition of the offence for which he had been arraigned and punished." P. 154 (page 206 of typescript).

College servant beaten by Mr. Rice:

--November 26, 1860—"Met at the usual hour. Absent Prof. Lamar. Mr. Rice of the Junior Class, was summoned before the Faculty to state whether or not he had a few nights previously, beaten a college servant, in defiance of the Resolutions of the Faculty recently read before the students by the

Chancellor on that subject. After some hesitation, he acknowledged that he had whipped the negro but denied that he had treated him brutally- and stated that his provocation had been what he considered a personal insult from the negro. When Mr. Rice had retired from the meeting a discussion as to the merits of the case ensued- and several 'motions' were made and lost with regard to it. It was finally moved that: Mr. Rice should be required to sign a written promise never again to take the law in his own hands in such a case, and never to chastise a college servant for misdemeanors, which should in all cases be reported to the authorities of the University for punishment; and Resolved, Moreover, that unless Mr. Rice does sign a promise to that effect he be hereby indefinitely suspended. FM P. 153 (Page 205 of typescript).

--November 26, 1860—"Mr. Rice signed the pledge required of him." FM P. 154 (Page 206 of typescript).

College servant beaten by Mr. Melton:

--January 14, 1861—"... Mr. Melton was called before the Faculty and examined relative to a charge which had been preferred against him and be which he was accused of having beaten one of the college negroes, in violation of a regulation recently passed by the Faculty and announced by the Chancellor in the Chapel. He pled guilty, but so far succeeded in justifying the act, that, under the circumstances, he was no farther punished than by the imposition of 25 demerit marks and be begin required to sign a paper promising never again to attempt to chastise one of the College Negroes." FM P. 158 (page 209 of typescript).

### **Named campus servants after 1865:**

#### **Alford:**

---November 11, 1869---"Mr. Wharton presented himself & stated in answer to a charge of threatened violence against the College servant, **Alford**, that he had not been guilty of any thing of the kind: and the Chancellor stated that the servant had withdrawn the charges and admitted that he had misunderstood Mr. Wharton." FM P. 255 (page 345 of typescript).

#### **Collins:**

--January 6, 1874—"The Chancellor laid before the Faculty the following communication from the Mayor of Oxford. 'Oxford, Miss. Jan'y 20, 74—Dear Sir, A negro man named **Collins** living beyond the University near Austin States, has complained to me that Lewis Green, Frank Walter, and Hall Gill, gave him a pretty severe whipping last Wednesday evening. Preferring that the Faculty should deal with such cases, I have declined for the present to issue a warrant for the arrest of the young gentlemen. Rev. J.N. Waddel, Uny. Of Miss. Yr. Friend J.M. Phipps.' Therefore the Faculty proceeded to investigate the affair by summoning before them Mssrs. Walter, Green, Gill, Hamblin, Houston, McIntosh, Craig, Tate and Adams—after considerable

debate, the following Resolution was adopted...Resolved—That the Faculty having thoroughly examined the case by sending for every student who knows any thing of the transaction, find that a violation of the peace has occurred, and that the provocation in the case largely if not entirely condones the offence upon the part of the students.” FM P. 381 (p. 535-536 of typescript).

**1870 census names of servants on campus:**

The census enumerator who visited the UM campus on the 21<sup>st</sup> of July, 1870 listed 19 black individuals inhabiting the campus. As free African American citizens, their full names were being recorded for the first time by the U.S. census. The list includes their full name, age and occupation. It also lists children of campus servants who were “at school.” While these individuals may have come to live on campus as employees after the war, there is a possibility that some of these individuals were former slaves who worked on campus prior to the war and remained.

*Living in their own single dwelling:*

**E.M Farill**, 55, Female, Black – Cook  
**Lou Farill**, 12, Female, Black – at school  
**Ann Thompson**, 40, Female, Black -- houseservant  
**Emma Jones**, 35, Female, Black – waiter  
**Frank Watson**, 35, Male, Black – waiter

*Living in their own single dwelling:*

**Tom Brown**, 75, Male, Black – cook  
**Seth Brown**, 64, Female, Black – house servant  
**Clarecy Brown**, 19, Female, Black – house servant  
**Phillip Brown**, 17, Male, Black – house servant

*Living in the Steward’s Hall with J.H. Ferrell, Stewart of the College:*

**Frank OBrian**, 14, Male, Black – going to school  
**Tom Goodey**, 18, Male, Black – laborer  
**Jeff Profit**, 24, Male, Black – laborer  
**John Thompson**, 54, Male, Black – laborer  
**James Kerr**, 27, Male, Black -- laborer

*Living with Claudius Sears, Professor of Mathematics:*

**Peter Kenshaw**, 26, Male, Black – laborer

*Living with John Wheat, Professor of Greek:*

**Callie Pillar**, 40, Female, Black – cook

*Living with A.J. Quinche, Professor of Latin:*

**A Nelson**, 29, Male, Black – laborer  
**Mary Nelson**, 40, Female, Black – house servant

**S Williams, 24, Male, Black -- laborer**

**Buildings that served as dwellings for campus slaves/servants:**

Professors' residences: Two faculty residences were located on the North and South sides of the circle. Each residence housed two faculty members and their families (the residence on the South side housed the President). According to photographs and later maps of the buildings, there appear to be what may have been 2 attached servants quarters, one on each side of each building. It is possible that campus slaves/servants attending to the faculty members and their families lived in these attached dwellings. Or there may have been detached "outbuildings" behind these buildings in which they lived



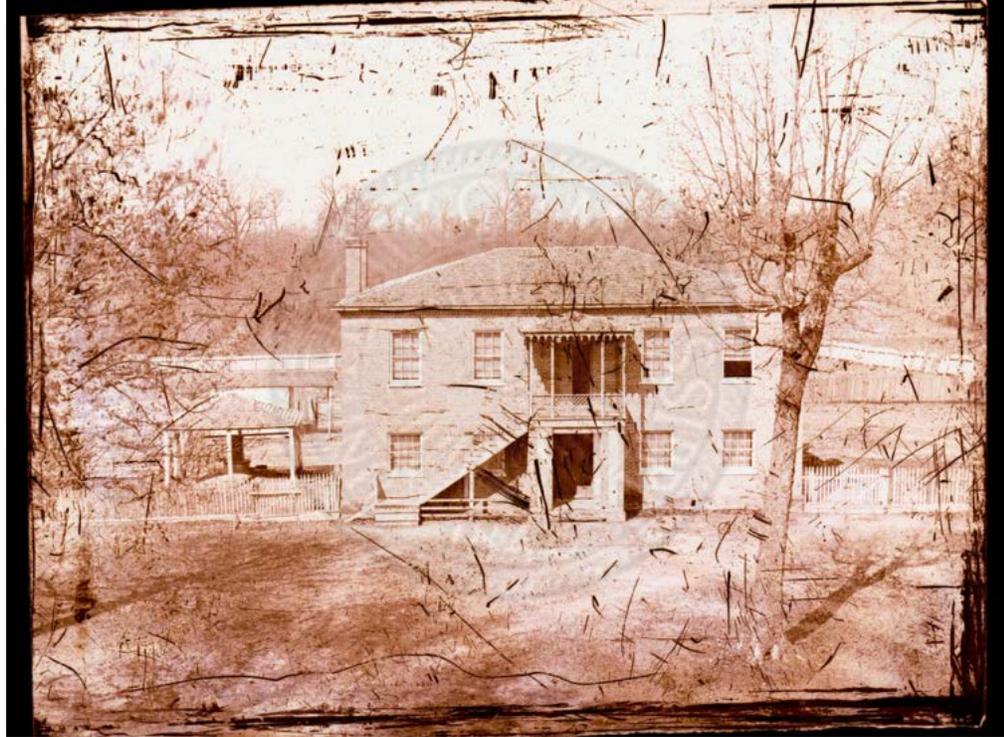
"Unidentified building" (most likely the South faculty residence). Source: UM Special Collections, Edward C. Boynton Collection (circa 1860)



Zoomed and cropped portion of above image, showing what may have been slave quarters.



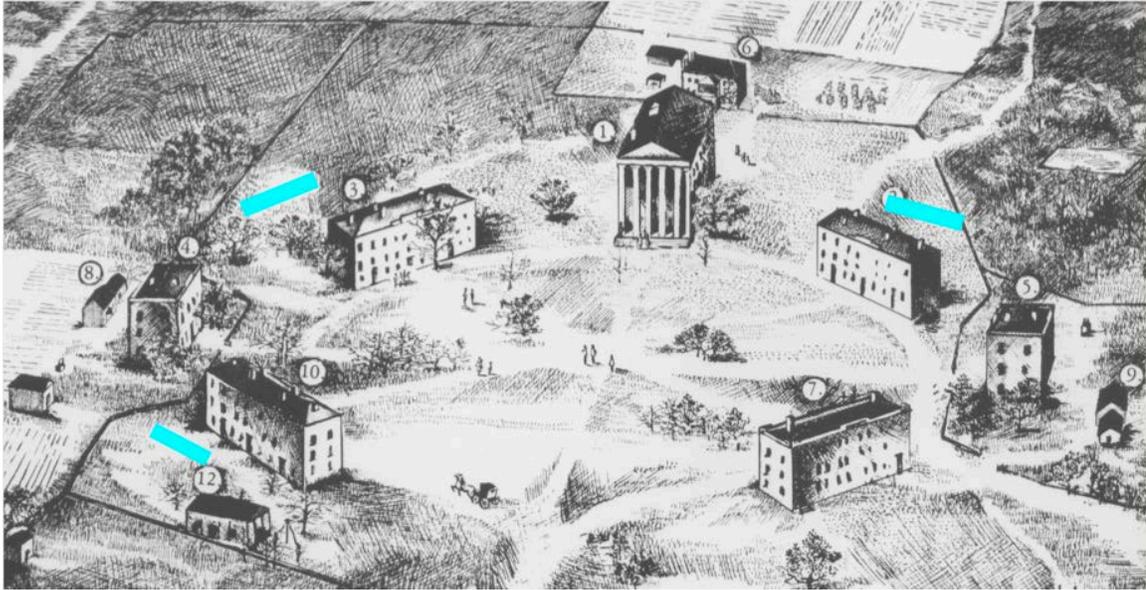
Original Steward's Hall: The small Steward's Hall that was located directly behind the Lyceum may have also served as a dwelling for some of the cooks and waiters that served meals for students and faculty.



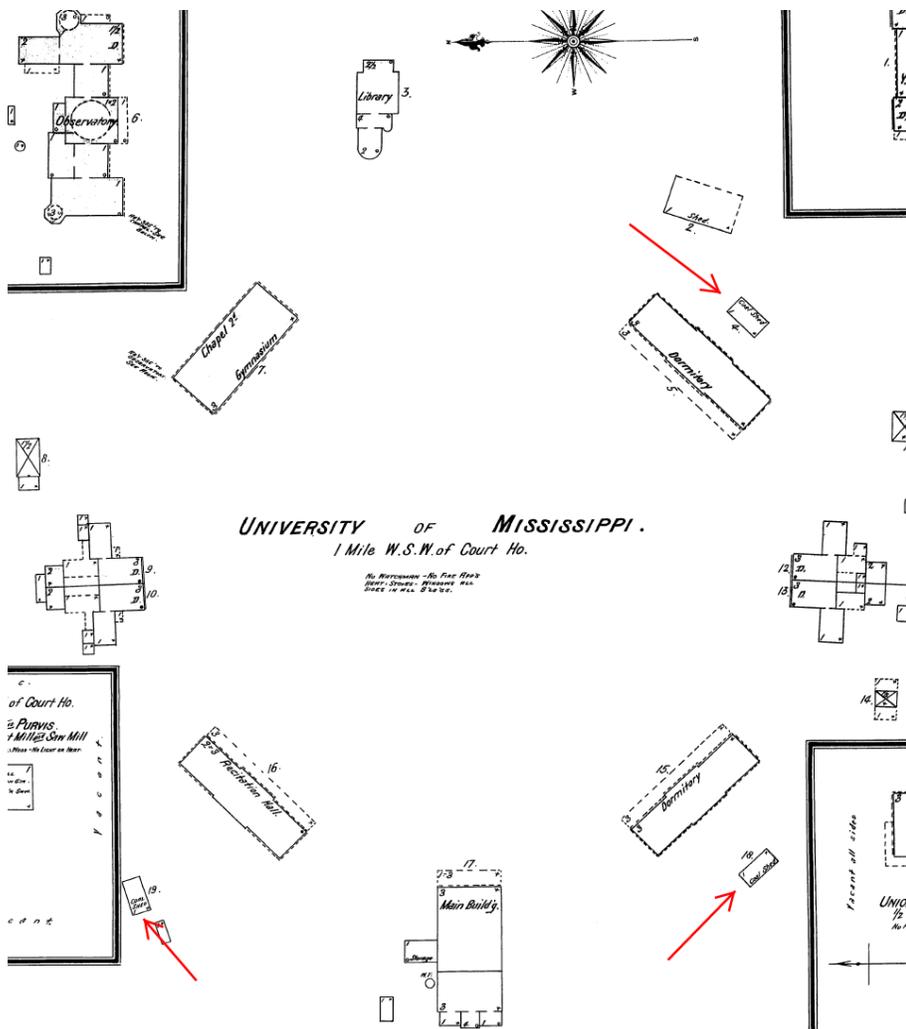
Original Steward's Hall (circa 1860). Source: UM Special Collections, Edward C. Boynton Collection

New Steward's Hall: The larger Steward's Hall (built on the far Eastern portion of the campus in 1857) may have also served as a dwelling for some of the cooks and waiters who served meals for students and faculty.

Separate slave quarters: There is evidence to suggest that there were two (or maybe three) additional "outbuildings" behind the student dormitories that served as dwellings for campus slaves. This evidence includes the two separate dwellings enumerated in the 1870 census (one holding 5 residents, the other holding 4) as well as clearly marked buildings behind the dormitories displayed on the 1895 Sanborne Map of campus (here they are marked "coal sheds" but may have served as servants quarters at an earlier time. Deborah Freeland, who did extensive research to do a sketch of the University of Mississippi campus as it stood in 1861 also recalls seeing some maps or documents that may have shown the location of these outbuildings (we have located this map as well, an 1895 campus map drawn by Alfred Hume). These materials have allowed us to identify potential sites for future research and, perhaps, archaeological excavation.



Deborah Freeland's drawing, "The University of Mississippi Campus, 1861" showing the possible location of outbuildings that may have been slave quarters



1895 Sanborn Map of UM Campus, red arrows showing outbuildings behind student dormitories, here labeled "coalsheds"

**Existing ruins of former slave quarters?**

Of the original three suspected antebellum slave quarters, it is probable that the ruins of only one are available for archaeological investigation. The other two have likely been bulldozed and covered by existing buildings (Old Chemistry and Peabody Hall). It may be possible to excavate the approximate location of the third dwelling. If so, we may be able to locate the original foundation or footings for the building as well as remnants of antebellum slave life from nearby middens. The approximate location of the ruins of this dwelling are indicated below (light blue box):



Potential site of existing slave quarters ruins (in light blue)

## **Discovery of 1862 maps documenting slavery in North Mississippi:**

As part of our effort to locate information regarding the original UM campus geography over the past year and a half, members of our group have located some previously unseen civil war era maps that contain extensive information regarding the geography of slaveholdings in Lafayette County (and neighboring counties) at the time of the war. Working group member Deborah Freeland (currently in the UM Office of Outreach) was the impetus for this search. She previously worked in UM special collections and, in the late 1970s, did extensive research of the original campus geography for her sketch of the University of Mississippi campus in 1861 that was published in "The University of Mississippi, The Formative Years, 1848-1906." In particular, she recalled using some "civil war era maps" (now lost) that showed the original campus building geography. With the help of Deborah and faculty members Jeff Jackson (Sociology), Jay Johnson (Anthropology) and community member Richie Burnette (President of the Oxford-Lafayette County Heritage Foundation), we began a search of local and national archives for these maps. This search led us to the National Archives in College Park, Maryland where with the help of an archivist there, Marina Reid, we first found two, then eight, civil war era maps of Northern Mississippi, including Lafayette County and Oxford, produced by the Union Army in December 1862. These maps had previously not been a part of any collection in the State (including the State Archives in Jackson) and are now a part of the UM Library collection. Six of the eight maps show details related to slavery in Northern Mississippi at the time of the war including the location of "cotton fields," "cotton presses," names and location of slaveholders and their homes (including many who had direct connections to the University, such as Thomas Isom and Alexander Pegues) and even, in some cases, slave quarters and rows of slave quarters. These maps represent a significant resource for researchers interested in reconstructing a deeper understanding of the relationship between slavery and the University of Mississippi. They are listed here:

1. "Plate no. III. Map of the Country between LUMPKINS MILL and OXFORD, Mississippi, shewing the Routes folled by the R. Wing, 13<sup>th</sup> Army Corps, Army of the Tenn. under the Command of Maj. Genl. J.B. McPherson, Dec. 1862. Surveyed under the direction of 1<sup>st</sup> Lieut. J.H. Wilson, Chief Top. Eng. Department of the Tennessee drawn by Otto H. Matz A.T.E. Scale=2 inches to 1 Mile." (CWMF S9-3)

This map shows most of Lafayette County in 1862 including the town of Oxford and the University of Mississippi beginning from just South of Oxford, and going up to what used to be called "Lumpkins Mill" (now Wall Doxey State Park). It includes Abbeville, College Hill, Tchulahoma, Waterford, Wyatt and portions of the Tallahatchie River d It is also a partial mapping of many landholdings in the county and includes the names of 84 landowners listed next to their properties as well as identifying accompanying houses, "fields," "mills," "cotton presses," and slave cabins.

2. Plate no. IV. Camp of the Right Wing, 13<sup>th</sup> Army Corps on the YOKNAPATAFA, Dec. 21<sup>st</sup>, 1862. Surveyed under the direction of 1<sup>st</sup> Lieut. J.H. Wilson, Chief Top. Eng. Scale=2 inches to 1 Mile” (CWMF S4)

This map shows the area of southern Lafayette and northern Yalobusha counties and includes Water Valley, Springdale, Yockna Station (now Taylor), and portions of the “Yoknapatafa” River. It is also a partial mapping of many landholdings in the county and includes the names 62 landowners listed next to their properties as well as identifying accompanying houses, “fields,” “mills,” “cotton presses” and slave cabins.

3. “Plate no. II. Map of the Country between LAMAR and LUMPKINS MILL, Mississippi. Surveyed under the direction of 1<sup>st</sup> Lieut. J.H. Wilson, Chief Top. Eng. Department of the Tennessee drawn by Otto H. Matz A.T.E. Scale=2 inches to 1 Mile. (CWMF S9-2)”

This map shows the area of Northern Lafayette and Southern Marshall counties and includes Holly Springs and Lamar. It is also a very partial mapping (most of the map is blank) of some of the landholdings in the county and includes the names of some landowners listed next to their properties as well as identifying accompanying houses, “fields,” “cotton presses” and slave cabins.

4. “Map of the Northern Portion of the STATE OF MISSISSIPPI. Compiled, surveyed and drawn under the direction of 1<sup>st</sup> Lieut. J.H. Wilson, Chief Top. Eng. Department of the Tennessee. Drawn by Otto H. Matz, H.A Ulffers and L. Zwanziger, Asst. Top. Eng. (CWMF S5)”

This is a map of six counties of Northeast Mississippi in 1862: Marshall, Tippah, Tishamingo, Lafayette, Pontotoc and Itawamba. It is also includes the names of hundreds of landowners listed next to their properties.

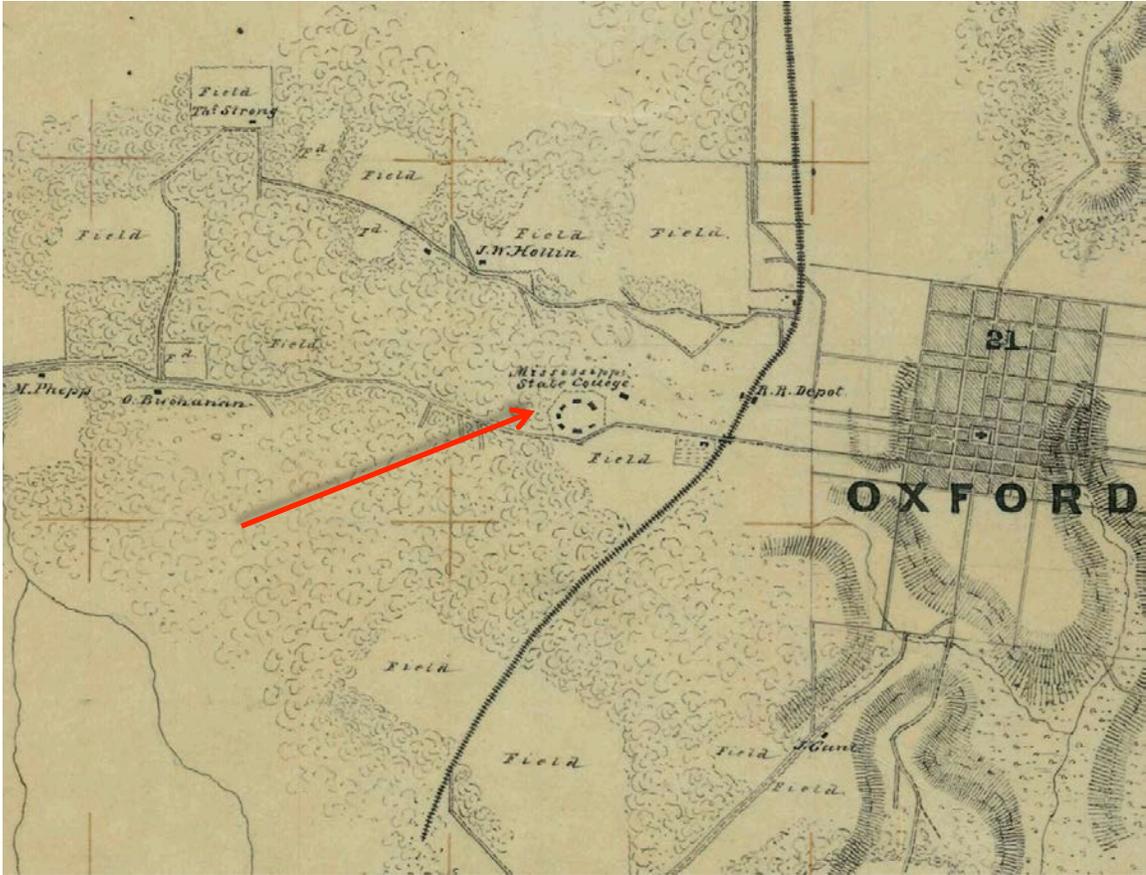
5. “Map of the Route Pursued by the Calvary Expedition under Col. T Lysle Dickey, Chief of Cav. In the RAID UPON THE MOBILE AND OHIO R.R. Dec. 13<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> 1862. Surveyed and drawn under the direction of Lieut. J.H. Wilson, Chief Top. Eng. Department of the Miss by Topping and Hartwell Asst. Top Eng. Scale=1 inch to 1 mile. (CWMF S8, 1 of 2)

This map shows the area of southern Lafayette, Yalobusha and Pontotoc counties as well as southern Lafayette County. Includes Water Valley, Springdale, Yockna Station (now Taylor), Pontotoc, Tupelo and portions of the “Yoknapatafa” River. It is also a partial mapping of many landholdings in the county and includes the names of many landowners listed next to their properties as well as identifying accompanying houses, “fields,” “mills,” “cotton presses” and slave cabins.

6. “Map of the Route Pursued by the Calvary Expedition under Col. T Lysle Dickey, Chief of Cav. In the RAID UPON THE MOBILE AND OHIO R.R. Dec. 13<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> 1862. Surveyed and drawn under the direction of Lieut. J.H. Wilson, Chief Top. Eng. Department of the Miss by Topping and Hartwell Asst. Top Eng. Scale=1 inch to 1 mile. (CWMF S8, 2 of 2)

Same as #5 above.





Portion of Lumpkin's Mill to Oxford Map showing UM Campus in 1862



Portion of Lumpkin's Mill to Oxford Map showing "Pigeo" (Pegues) Field with Cotton Press and rows of slave quarters.



## **Appendix A: Antebellum UM collections and publications**

**Alumni Association Minutes Collection.** 1858-1976. Finding aid available online at <http://purl.oclc.org/umarchives/MUM00512/> (1 box).

*Announcements and Catalogue.* 1852-present. Call Number: [LD3406 M7 A5](#).

**F.A.P. Barnard Collection.** 1834-2000. Publications by and material related to Frederick Augustus Porter Barnard, chancellor of UM from 1856 to 1861 and president of Columbia University. Finding aid available online at <http://purl.oclc.org/umarchives/MUM00519/> (2 boxes).

**Board of Trustees Reports and Minutes Collection.** 1848-1992. Finding aid available online at <http://purl.oclc.org/umarchives/MUM00524/> (15 boxes).

**Edward C. Boynton Collection.** Circa 1856-1861. Glass plate negative images of UM campus. The collection has been [digitized](#) and is available in the [University Archives Photographs digital collection](#).

**Richard C. Bridges Collection.** 1861-1864. A student at UM in 1861, Richard C. Bridges became a Confederate soldier in the 11th Mississippi Infantry Regiment, Company A known as "the University Greys." Finding aid available online at <http://purl.oclc.org/umarchives/MUM01789/> (1 box). Collection available as part of the [Civil War Archive digital collection](#).

*Catalogue of the Officers, Alumni and Students of the University of Mississippi, at Oxford, Mississippi.* 1854-1860. Call Number: [LD3408 U55](#).

**Classbooks from 1861.** Contains images compiled in 1861 of the faculty, students, and campus. Finding aid available online at <http://purl.oclc.org/umarchives/MUM00542/> (1 box). The collection has been [digitized](#) and is available in the [University Archives Photographs digital collection](#).

**Commencement Collection.** 1854-present. Programs primarily but also includes some invitations, articles, and speeches. Finding aid available online at <http://purl.oclc.org/umarchives/MUM00543/> (8 boxes).

**Diploma and Certificate Collection.** 1850-1950. Contains a number of diplomas and certificates conferred by UM and other institutions. Finding aid available online at <http://purl.oclc.org/umarchives/MUM00107/>.

**Faculty Minutes & Committees Collection. 1848-1995.** Faculty minutes from 1848 to 1874; minutes of general faculty meetings from 1933 to 1945; minutes of Faculty Senate

and its committees from 1946 to 1995. Finding aid available online at <http://purl.oclc.org/umarchives/MUM00554/> (14 boxes).

**Elijah Fleming Collection.** Twenty-three daguerreotype images of UM faculty and students circa 1859. Finding aid available online at <http://purl.oclc.org/umarchives/MUM00665/> (1 box). The collection has been [digitized](#) and is available in the [University Archives Photographs digital collection](#).

**Gage Family Collection.** 1830-1937. Includes Civil War correspondence of Jeremiah Sanders Gage, a member of the University Greys (Company A of the 11th Mississippi Infantry Regiment). Finding aid available online at <http://purl.oclc.org/umarchives/MUM00196/> (3 boxes). This collection has been [digitized](#) as part of the [Civil War Archive](#).

**Graduating/Senior Theses Collection.** 1858-1937. Handwritten and typed theses prepared by graduating and senior UM students. Finding aid available online at <http://purl.oclc.org/umarchives/MUM00564/> (8 boxes).

**William Franklin Hamilton Autograph Book.** 1859-1860. A Carrollton, Mississippi resident, Hamilton graduated from UM in 1860. The autograph book contains inscribed entries by friends and a record of UM alumni. Finding aid available online at <http://purl.oclc.org/umarchives/MUM00567/> (1 box).

**Hermean/Phi Sigma Societies Collection.** 1849-1934. Pins, programs, invitations, and minutes of these two UM debate clubs. Finding aids available online at <http://purl.oclc.org/umarchives/MUM00568/> (5 boxes).

**E.W. Hilgard Papers.** 1856-1872. Transcriptions of correspondence largely from F.A.P. Barnard to Eugene Woldemar Hilgard. Barnard served as chancellor of UM from 1856 to 1861. Hilgard was appointed Mississippi state geologist in 1855 and served as professor of chemistry and agriculture at UM between 1869 and 1873. Finding aid available online at <http://purl.oclc.org/umarchives/MUM00569/> (1 box).

**Longstreet-Hinton Family Papers.** 1844-1955. Augustus Baldwin Longstreet served as president of UM between 1849 and 1856. Finding aid available online at <http://purl.oclc.org/umarchives/MUM00276/> (3 boxes).

**Mississippi University Magazine.** 1856-1877. Published by the Literary Societies. Continued as *University of Mississippi Magazine*. Call Number: [LH1 M7 U5ma](#).

**Thomas A. Moore Keepsake Album.** 1858-1861. From Issaquena County, Mississippi, Moore graduated from UM in 1861. Album contains inscriptions from fellow students (1 box).

**William Cowper Nelson Collection.** 1843-1949. A student at UM when the Civil War broke, Nelson joined the 9th Mississippi Infantry Regiment and later the 17th Mississippi

Infantry Regiment. Finding aid available online at <http://purl.oclc.org/umarchives/MUM00688/> (11 boxes). This collection has been digitized as part of the [Civil War Archive](#).

***The Phi Sigma Magazine.*** 1856-1857. Call Number: [LH1 M7 U5p](#).

**Ann Rayburn Collection of Paper Americana.** 1858-1997. Box 1 includes essays by and correspondence to Evan Jeffries Shelby, a UM student in 1861 who died in 1864 while serving in the Confederate States Army. Finding aid available online at <http://purl.oclc.org/umarchives/MUM00380/> (84 boxes).

**Registrar Ledgers.** 1848-1921. Contain attendance records, grades, and vital statistics of students attending UM, as well as several faculty committee minutes. Finding aid available online at <http://purl.oclc.org/umarchives/MUM00605/> (13 boxes).

***Rules and Regulations of the University of Mississippi Collection.*** 1850-1911. 1 box. See also, catalogued holdings at [LD3400.5 M5](#).

**David G. Sansing Collection.** 1840-1999. David G. Sansing is the author of *The University of Mississippi: A Sesquicentennial History* (1999). The collections contains his research files for the book. Finding aid available online at <http://purl.oclc.org/umarchives/MUM00402/> (10 boxes).

**Small Manuscripts 1986-1.** 1860 letter from H.M. Rice to his father describing his experiences as a new student at UM (Folder 15).

**William F. Stearns Collection.** 1837-1993. Contains correspondence, lectures, legal materials, and other items related to the life of UM's first law professor William F. Stearns. Finding aid available online at <http://purl.oclc.org/umarchives/MUM00430/> (2 boxes).

**Andrew Baron Stewart Autograph Album.** 1861. Album of Andrew Baron Stewart in the University of Mississippi Class of 1861. Transcription available in finding aid which is online at <http://purl.oclc.org/umarchives/MUM00619/> (1 box).

**University of Mississippi Small Manuscripts.** Includes material on academic and administrative departments; alumni; athletics; budget & finance; faculty & staff; Greek organizations; other organizations and honor societies; publications; speakers & speeches; student life; and the University Greys. Finding aid available online at <http://purl.oclc.org/umarchives/MUM01771/> (49 boxes).

