



FOREWORD

HISTORY OF ENSLAVEMENT REPORT

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ROANOKE COLLEGE®

The Center for Studying
Structures of Race





INTRODUCTION

From the moment of its founding as the Virginia Collegiate Institute in 1842 through the end of the Civil War in 1865, Roanoke College directly benefited and grew from the widespread practice of enslavement. Enslaved artisans, skilled craftspeople, and laborers built the college's original buildings. Founders of the college, especially members of the Board of Trustees and faculty, owned and enslaved human beings. These enslavers frequently invested wealth produced by enslaved people into the college. The foundational gifts that subsidized the college's finances and construction projects came from individuals who accumulated and derived significant surplus wealth by owning enslaved people.

Nineteenth century legal and economic records describe the ways in which college founders benefited from enslavement. Through their businesses and within their regular daily activities, college founders regularly purchased, owned, assessed, sold, leased, and bequeathed enslaved human beings. They purposely split apart the families and social units created by enslaved people to make money, settle debts, and assert control. They used their wills and other legal documents to transfer ownership of imagined but otherwise unborn children. They used physical coercion,

bodily harm, and sexual violence to maintain and expand the system of enslavement.¹

Founders of the college also offered ideological support for enslavement. In nineteenth century Virginia, enslavement was firmly rooted in white supremacy. Enslavers, such as Roanoke College's first president David F. Bittle used course lectures to defend and justify slavery. Bittle, like others in the United States, used the Bible and emerging fields of study such as ethnology to explain away the violence of enslavement.² Moreover, many people connected with the college actively supported the Confederacy before and during the Civil War.³ The Confederate States of America formed to defend and perpetuate slavery.

Although defeat of the Confederate States of America in 1865 brought a formal end to enslavement, the legacies and impacts of slavery continued. College faculty and members of the Board of Trustees from before 1865 remained active at the institution into the early 20th century. These individuals had, at least at one time, firmly believed that enslaved people were property. The period following the Civil War saw college founders participate in the steady erasure of rights of formerly enslaved and free Black individuals

safeguarded by Reconstruction-era legislation. Virginia's 1902 Constitution reinforced the widespread restoration of white supremacy by reducing voting rights and economic access for Black Virginians. Locally, county and college officials worked in concert to erect a new courthouse and Confederate Monument in 1910. The monument, which still stands adjacent to campus, celebrated and honored enslavers and white supremacy. Five college buildings—Bittle, Trout, Miller, Wells, and Yonce—carry the names of individuals who enslaved human beings.

The title of this report, 'Foreword,' draws from a desire to better understand the early history of Roanoke College that preceded the later development of the institution. This formative period gave rise to the modern liberal arts college that still exists after more than 180 years, and the impacts of slavery persist in the physical and intellectual life of the college.

At various places in this report, individual enslaved people are profiled within the broader analysis. Rather than referencing them by name and then moving back into the interpretive text, this report inserts both a short biography with known information about the specific person along with a photograph of a hand-made brick made from clay dug on campus by members of the research team. The bricks feature the enslaved person's name and were photographed on top of stones that once comprised the building foundations of the Virginia Collegiate Institute—the predecessor of Roanoke College—that opened in Augusta County, Virginia in 1842 before relocating to Salem. Today, the stones form part of a campus memorial next to Alumni Gym. While the short biographies offer a glimpse of known information about a specific individual, the contents come from archival records produced by individuals who considered people to be forms of property. As such, the biographical details incorporate, absorb, and respond to the biases inherent to the archive itself. ■



PROJECT OVERVIEW

This report responds to a formal request from the Roanoke College Board of Trustees to produce a summary of research conducted on the history of enslavement at Roanoke College. In 2023, the Roanoke College Board of Trustees created a 'College History Task Force' charged with furthering discussion and interpretation of the history and legacies of enslavement at Roanoke College. The report responds to the first portion of that charge, and exclusively focuses on broad conclusions about the history of enslavement during the period from 1842-1865.⁴ Additional research and reports on the historical legacies from the period following 1865 should emerge at a future date.

While the Board of Trustees formally requested a report in 2023, and President Frank Shushok Jr. has encouraged expansion of the institutional research since 2022, inquiry into the history of enslavement at Roanoke College preceded formation of the College History Task Force. In 2014, Roanoke College participated as an original member institution of Universities Studying Slavery, an organization that coordinates research and conversation about the centrality of enslavement at colleges and universities. In early 2020, President Mike Maxey developed a plan to expand institutional research and commemorative activities related to the history of slavery. This included formation of the Center for Studying Structures of Race, dedication of placards on the Administration Building, development of a permanent campus memorial honoring enslaved laborers, and enhanced support for new research on the college's history by the College Historian.

The institutional research sponsored by the College Historian, Jesse Bucher, was named 'Genealogy of Slavery.' From its origins in 2019, the Genealogy of Slavery (GOS) project sought to better understand and contextualize the history of enslavement at and around Roanoke College. Rather than focusing only on histories that unfolded within the boundaries of Roanoke College's campus, GOS sought to place the institution within a larger regional context. More importantly, GOS pushed to make available genealogical information about enslaved people that could be of potential use to descendent communities.

To remain consistent with the overall educational mission of the college, GOS developed by placing students at the center of the research processes. From the start, student researchers took part in the project design, archival research, and interpretation. In 2021, GOS received a \$40,000 research grant from the Council of Independent Colleges (CIC) to expand the research and employ additional students. A second \$100,000 research grant from the Gerard B. Lambert Foundation that followed in 2022 allowed the research to continue past completion of the CIC grant. Since 2019, 15 different Roanoke College students have taken part in the GOS research.⁵ These students have completed original archival research, transcribed thousands of pages of nineteenth century documents, and created a database that makes the research accessible. ■





RESEARCH PROCESS AND FINDINGS



From 2019 to 2021, the overall scale of the GOS research project dramatically changed. The original sources that document Roanoke College's history in the period before 1865 are very limited. Two main sources of information exist to document the institution's financial history: the Board of Trustee minutes, and the college's 'cash book' financial ledgers. The minutes describe in abbreviated form construction plans, contracts, and other types of college operations. The cash books provide ledgers of the college's financial transactions. In combination, these sources only contain a single mention of a specific enslaved person, a woman named **Eliza**.

Eliza was born around 1811. She was enslaved by Henry and Catherine Snyder, and she resided in Roanoke County. In Henry Snyder's 1843 will, he bequeathed Eliza and another enslaved woman named Judo to his wife, Catherine. In the appraisal of his personal property that occurred to settle Snyder's estate, a court-appointed appraiser placed a 'value' of \$400.00 on Eliza.

According to financial records from May 20, 1850, the Virginia Collegiate Institute—the precursor to Roanoke College—paid Catherine Snyder seventy-five cents for the hire of Eliza. Eliza worked for “one day cleaning passages in College Buildings.” Eliza was the only enslaved person whose name appears in the college's official records from the period before 1865. Records from the Roanoke County Courthouse reveal that Eliza died in Salem, Virginia in 1855. Her enslaver, Catherine Snyder, recorded the death in October 1855, but Snyder did not report the exact date of Eliza's birth or the cause of her death.

Biography and brick by Sydney Pennix (RC 2025)



Although college records contain limited details about individual enslaved people, they do demonstrate that the institution directly benefited from an economy inextricably tied to enslavement. For example, contracts for the Administration Building's brick construction went to father and son Joseph and J.C. Deyerle who both enslaved expert brick masons and laborers. The overall price of the construction contract from the Deyerles, which emerged through a bidding process, remained lower because the Deyerles owned and used enslaved labor.⁶ Other details about building construction did not always appear in college records. The Administration Building and Miller Hall, for example, both had tin roofs likely installed by tinsmiths enslaved by Abraham Hupp who was also a member of the Board of Trustees.

In addition to information about campus construction, the college's records also document land acquisitions and financial gifts received during the founding period. In both instances, clear evidence exists to demonstrate the connections between these financial transactions and enslavement. Most of the individuals who sold land to the college enslaved human beings. This means that enslaved people lived here and improved the value of the land before the college existed in Salem. Moreover, the core gifts received by the college to expand campus facilities all came from enslavers.⁷ This included gifts from Michael Miller and John Trout who still have campus buildings named in their honor. Among others, Miller and Trout enslaved **Archy Queman** and **Clary Fleming** during the years of the college's founding. Trout also frequently sold and assessed enslaved people on behalf of the Roanoke County Court.⁸

Archy Queman was born in Roanoke County in 1858 and was enslaved by Michael Miller. References to Archy appear in multiple Roanoke County Courthouse Records, starting with his Birth Record from 1858 which lists his name as well as the name of his enslaver. Michael Miller elected not to record the names of Archy's parents in the birth record. Records related to the settlement of Miller's estate in 1862—including Miller's will and the assessment of his property—describe a court official appraising the four-year-old Archy with a "value" of \$375.00, and transferring his ownership to George Miller.

Archy, later transcribed as 'Archie,' appears again in an 1866 record that documented formerly enslaved and free Black couples who 'cohabitated as husband and wife.' This record lists Archie (aged 8) as the son of Nancy Mokens (age 50) and Almstead Queman (age 53). His named siblings included Charles (age 13) and Winnie (age 11). Nancy, Almstead, and Charles had all been enslaved by Michael Miller.

Biography and brick by Jayde Mooney (RC 2025)



Final settlement of the estate gift of George Miller did not arrive until the early 1900s when his wife died. This means that wealth drawn from enslaved people and donated to Roanoke College arrived approximately forty years after the formal end of slavery in the United States.

Identifying the broader context in which enslaved people produced wealth that directly enhanced the expansion of the college ultimately led to a comprehensive shift in the scale and parameters of the GOS research. To accurately understand the composite layers of slavery's impact on Roanoke College, the research team began to work in local and regional archival collections that contain information

about college founders and the enslaved people they held in captivity. Between 2021 and 2023, the GOS research team worked in collections of 19th century documents located in the Roanoke County Courthouse, the Augusta County Courthouse, the Botetourt Courthouse, the Salem Museum, the Virginia Room at the Roanoke City Public Library, the Salem and Botetourt Museums, and the Salem Public Library. The research team also reviewed all published secondary sources that document Roanoke College and Roanoke Valley history.

Clary Fleming was born in Franklin County, Virginia in 1837 or 1838. Prior to the end of the Civil War, she lived in Big Lick (former name of Roanoke) and was enslaved by John Trout. The Trout property was located at the intersection of 2nd St and Campbell Avenue in Roanoke, the present site of the Ponce De Leon Hotel building. Records from the Roanoke County Courthouse reveal that Clary gave birth to a daughter, Adaline, in 1861. From the moment of her birth, John Trout enslaved Adaline. Trout reported the birth at the courthouse, but did not list Adaline's father. Records from 1866 that documented formerly enslaved and free Black couples who lived as husband and wife, show that Clary Fleming had been 'cohabitating' with William Chambers (age 55) since March 1859. They had three children: Adaline (age 5), Ada (age 3), and Martha (age 1). In 1866, they all lived in Roanoke County, Virginia.



Findings from this research provide a far more expansive and accurate documentation of the history of enslavement at and around Roanoke College. While federal census records from 1850 and 1860 list out individual enslavers and the age and sex of the enslaved population, they did not offer names or other specific details about enslaved individuals, nor did they document enslavement that occurred in non-census years. For example, records kept in 1863 reveal that President David F. Bittle enslaved a man named **Ambrose**, but Bittle does not appear as an enslaver in any Federal Census.⁹

The local and regional archival sources consulted by the GOS team contain far more information than the readily available federal census reports. Local sources include Wills, Property Inventories and Assessments, Common Law books, Tax accounts, and Birth and Death registries. Regional

records included Confederate Payroll records, Marriage and Cohabitation accounts, Child Registries, and the Freedmen's Bureau records.

After assessing the available sources, the GOS research team decided to record information about every named enslaved person documented in the sources. This decision stemmed from two interlocking conclusions: first, it is not possible to separate the history of Roanoke College from its broader regional political and economic context. Local laws and ordinances, market exchanges, labor costs, and institutional practices that ultimately shaped Roanoke College all emerged alongside and in direct support of enslavement. To claim that the college only interacted with slavery in random ways is broadly untrue and disingenuous. Second, the GOS research team had a strong interest in making publicly

References to an enslaved man named Ambrose appear in at least three different collections: the Roanoke County courthouse archives, the Virginia Library, and the Library of Congress. In particular, these sources document the process through which the Confederate States of America required some enslavers in Virginia, including Roanoke College President David F. Bittle, to send enslaved people to the Confederate capital in Richmond, Virginia to build and expand battle defenses during the Civil War. In these records, Bittle was listed as the owner of Ambrose. Records in the Roanoke County courthouse reveal that only individuals who enslaved three or more people—including Bittle—had to send men they enslaved to Richmond. Read in combination, the sources reveal that Ambrose worked in Richmond for 62 days between September and November of 1863, earning \$41.33 in Confederate currency. These earnings were subsequently transferred back to David Bittle. Potential references to Ambrose appear in correspondence sent in 1864 from Sallie Miller, then of Salem, to her cousin Ann Harnsberger who lived in Rockingham County, Virginia. The letter makes multiple mentions of an enslaved, or possibly recently self-liberated, man named Ambrose. In the correspondence, Sallie suggested that Ambrose may have joined Union General David Hunter's forces, and been part of a group that raided Salem and took David Bittle's supply of bacon in 1864.



available the research findings. Accessing information about enslaved populations is a difficult undertaking for researchers interested in family and local history. The Roanoke County archives, for example, can only be used in-person during regular business hours. This makes the collection difficult to access for individuals who live outside this region or who work during the archive's open hours.

After completing a review of all of the available materials, the GOS team assembled the Genealogy of Slavery database. The website uniquely brings together, in composite, all pieces of information about specific individuals. If an individual appears in multiple sources, the contents of these sources merge together within single page entries. This allows users to better understand and access more information about specific people. For example, the database entry for the enslaved man **Charles**, who was

imprisoned at the current location of West Hall, details his enslavement by William R. Johnson as well as information about an enslaved woman named Betty that Johnson reported in the 1860 Death Registry. Details like this give small but important insights into the social and physical worlds of enslaved people who lived in Roanoke County.

In combination, the GOS research revealed information about more than 4,500 enslaved people who lived in Roanoke County between 1838 and 1865. As the table at the end of this document demonstrates, more than 800 of these enslaved people had a direct connection to founders, benefactors, and employees of Roanoke College. ■

Charles was an African American man born in late 1830 who lived in Roanoke County, and was enslaved by William R. Johnson. In 1849 Charles was charged with assaulting a white man, the farmer and enslaver John Richardson, with the intent to kill. Both members of Charles's defense as well as the prosecutor were enslavers and members of Roanoke College's Board of Trustees. While he was detained awaiting his trial, Charles also allegedly burnt down the Roanoke County jail. The eighteen-year-old Charles pleaded not guilty, but was unanimously found guilty and condemned to death by hanging at the "usual place of execution." However, Charles was later pardoned by the Governor alongside eight other enslaved African Americans from across Virginia, in exchange for their transportation outside of the limits of the United States, possibly to Liberia. Their destination is uncertain due to the vague language of the few documents we have found, nor is it known if Charles ever made it to this final destination.

Biography and brick by Ashtyn Porter (RC 2023)

A close-up photograph of a single, rectangular red brick. The brick is positioned horizontally and rests on a dark, textured rock surface. The rock has some green moss or lichen growing on it. The brick's surface is embossed with the words "NAMED INFANT 4 MONTHS" in a bold, sans-serif font, arranged in three lines. The background is a soft-focus outdoor scene with trees and a blue sky.

NAMED
INFANT
4 MONTHS



CONCLUSION

While a numerical overview of the research demonstrates the centrality of enslavement to Roanoke College, quantification alone does not get at the lived experiences of enslaved people, nor does it tell us how and why enslavers justified their own individual decisions to own another person. Many myths have accompanied historical interpretations of enslavement in southwest Virginia. One holds that the lived experiences of enslaved people here were ‘not as bad’ as in other parts of the United States, especially as in the deep south or even in eastern Virginia. Another claims that enslavers who owned ‘only’ a few people practiced a less harmful kind of enslavement. A third claim states that slavery had little overall significance to the regional political economy of southwest Virginia. All of these narratives emerge from revisionist “Lost Cause” interpretations of history that deny slavery as a reason for the Civil War. These versions of history are false and

misleading, and ultimately accommodate and perpetuate white supremacy.

Enslavement played an essential part in the history of southwest Virginia and in the growth of Roanoke College. The 1860 Federal Census accounted for 2,643 enslaved people in Roanoke County. Slaveholders in this region enslaved more than a third of the overall population. Enslavers like Roanoke College Professor Simon Carson Wells, who enslaved multiple individuals including a **Named Infant**, perpetuated and benefited from the imposed violence of slavery. While the routines and daily labor activities of enslaved people in southwest Virginia differed from other regions of the United States, enslaved people here built lives for themselves and their families within the same violent constraints faced by enslaved individuals who lived throughout the United States.

The 1859 Death Register for Roanoke County documents the death of a 4 month old infant. Simon Carson Wells—a professor at Roanoke College—enslaved this child for the entirety of his short life. No additional information about this infant child: his given name, his parents, or his cause of death appears in the original record. The name of Simon Carson Wells appears twice in the record: both as the enslaver of the deceased infant and as the person who reported the child’s death to the Roanoke County Court. While causes of death were often unknown in the 1850s, Wells specifically elected not to list the infant’s name or the names of his parents. This choice made by Wells reinforced the reduction of the infant’s existence to the conditions of property.

Other records from the Roanoke County archives indicate possible family connections. Simon Carson Wells appears as the enslaver of a boy named Sam, born in December 1858 and a girl named Agnes, born in June 1860. Ann, a woman enslaved by Wells, is listed as the mother of Agnes. Based on these dates, the deceased infant boy could have been the son of Ann and the brother of Agnes. At minimum, these people would have lived in close proximity to the infant child during the four months of his life in Roanoke County.

A more accurate understanding of the lives of enslaved people who shaped the history of Roanoke College will emerge over time. Each of the people whose names appear in the GOS database, as well as the 829 individuals whose names appear on the campus memorial 'Authors and Architects' have rich histories that we will be fortunate to learn over time. Many of these histories exist within descendant communities that live locally and across the United States.

Sustained truth-telling about the widespread significance of enslavement at Roanoke College and the broader region will help rupture the lingering veil of silence, imposed by mythologies of white supremacy, that have kept this history largely hidden. Sustained and institutionally-supported research and interpretation will go far in further expanding what we know about the history and legacies of slavery at Roanoke College. ■

Catherine Snyder
*Snyder rented enslaved labor
to the college*

ELIZA

William C. Williams
*Williams sold land to the
college*

**ABRAHAM
BILLY
BECKY (REBECCA)
SARAH**

Margaret Williams
*Williams sold land to the
college*

**BECKY
SARAH
UNREC. NAMED BOY**

David C. Shanks
*Shanks sold land to the
college*

**ANDY
MARGARET
CHARLOTTE
JANE
TOM
ANN
WASH
EMILY**

**SHADRACK
GEORGE
CLAY
EDMUND MARSHAL
JANE PARISH
JOHN WEBSTER
PRESTON
MARY
SHADRACK
JANE
TOM
SHADEREH
NELSON
AMES
GREENE
JOHN
MARIAH
GEORGE
WILLIAM
LUCY
NANNY
THOMAS
NETTIE
FRANK
PRESTON
BOYD
ALBERT
WILLIE
GEORGE
LUCY
EMMA
JENNIE
FANNY
SARAH
EDWARD
HENRY
THOMAS**

**JACOB
ROBERT
NANCY
JOE
MARTHA
BETSEY
ASA
PRISSY
FANNY
WILLIE
FANNY
GEORGE
SARAH
THOMAS
SAMUEL
FANNY
PETER
FANNY
ALBERT**

Powell Huff
Huff owned Monterey

JUDY LEFRIDGE

Henry Chapman
Chapman owned Monterey

**MAY
JIM
MARTHA
HARRY
LILY
CHARLOTTE
WINNY
AMIAN**

**NED
RITTER
LEWIS
JUDY
JOSEPPENE
TUCKER
ELLEN
MURRIS
MAHALY
TAYLOR
JOHN
SARAH
MARY
SUSAN
JOHN
JAMES
MARIA
MARTHA
NED TAYLOR
MARTHA
JOHN
JASON**

Nancy Chapman
Chapman owned Monterey

**RANDAL
RANDALL WASHINGTON
GEORGE LEWIS
SALLY
HARRIET LEWIS
ANN WASHINGTON
SALLY LEWIS
MARGARET WASHINGTON
WILLIAM WASHINGTON
EMILY**

James C. Deyerle
*College contracted Deyerle
for Administration building
construction*

UNREC. NAMED BOY

Joseph Deyerle
*College contracted Deyerle
for Administration building
construction*

**SUSANNAH
LOUISA
SARAH
GEORGE
LEWIS
MADISON
HARRIETT
JAMES
PAULINA
CORNELIUS
UNREC. NAMED BOY
BALDWIN SIMMS
FANNIE GLADSTONE
J.E.
WILLIAM CALLOWAY
JAMES
PEYTON LEWIS
EDWARD
PHEBY
SARAH
HARRIETT
FRANCIS
MARY
LOUISA**

ROSE
LEWIS
GEORGE
CHARLES
EDWARD
BELL
JOSEPH
SEFUS
EDWARD
MARIA
MARTHA
AMI
ANN
ANNIE
EDGAR
EMMET
PATTY
CHARLOTT
INFANT (UNREC.)
JAMES
GORDON
LEWIS
MARTHA
NED
CORNELIUS
BERD
HARDING

David F. Bittle
President and Faculty

AMBROSE

Simon Carson Wells
Faculty member

SAM
ANN
AGNES
UNREC. NAMED BOY

G.P. Terrill
Faculty member

ROBERT CARTER
LEWIS

Jacob Baylor
Board member

UNREC. NAMED GIRL
UNREC. NAMED GIRL
UNREC. NAMED CHILD
MARGARET
JULIETTE
MARY CALHOUN
WILLIAM
EVE

Dr. J.H. Griffin
Board member

CINDER
UNREC. NAMED GIRL
UNREC. NAMED GIRL
SALLY
EMMA JANE
JIM
LUCINDA

ANDY GREEN
MARIA
ABNER
GEORGE
GEORGE
JOSEPH
MATILDY
MARY

Benjamin F. Hailman
Board member

CHESTERFIELD
JULIET
FREDERICK
RACHEL
HAYS
JANE
HENRY
ANDERSON
LOUISA

Chesley Kenney
Board member

AGGY
BETSEY
JUDE
ARON
UNREC. NAMED GIRL
HANNAH
BANDY

Capt. George Shuey
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AMANDA
SAM
ROSE

James A. Brown
Board member

ANGELINA
BETSY

Michael Miller
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ALMSTEAD QUEMAN
NANCY MOKENS
VERA
ANN BANKS
HARRIET
ARCHY QUEMAN
WINNIE QUEMAN
CHARLES QUEMAN
PAYTON BANKS
JIMMA
ELLEN
COLUMBUS BANKS
JURNNIER
UNREC. NAMED CHILD
JAMES
CHARLES
UNREC. NAMED INDIVIDUAL
MARIA
EDWARD

Abraham Hupp
Board member

ALFRED
AMELIA
ALBERT
MARTHA
EMMA
JESSEE
JULIUS
WILLIAM
LETITIA
HARRY
WILLIAMS

Jacob Miller
Board member

SALLY
LUCY
ROBERT
HARRIET
BILLY
TILLA
BETTIE
LUCY ANN MORRIS
REBECCA
BETTY G. GEARY
JAMES BANKS
SAM MORRIS
LUCY LANGHORN
JEFF PANKEY

H.A. Edmondson
Board member

MOLLY
ROSELL
ANN B.
ANDREW B.
ROBERT B.
BAILEY C.
JOHN

John Trout
Board member

HARRIET
JAMES
SPENCER
LESLIE
AARON
UNREC. NAMED BOY
LAURA
CLARA
ADALINE
ANTHONY
AARON YERBY
NANCY RAFORD
LESLIE
EMMELINE
NANCY
MARY WILLIS
CLARY FLEMING

Col. Green B. Board
Board member

UNREC. NAMED INDIVIDUAL

UNREC. NAMED BOY
UNREC. NAMED BOY
UNREC. NAMED WOMAN
ISAAC
HENRY DUCKWILER
ALECK DUCKWILER
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PHOEBE ANN BANKS
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Capt. Sparrell F. Simmons
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ROBERT
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PEARSON
UNREC. NAMED WOMAN
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WARNER BANKS
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LEWIS
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PARTINA
NASH
ANDY

Judge Henry E. Blair
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UNREC. NAMED WOMAN
STEPHEN

Henry S. Trout
Board member

ANDERSON
UNREC. NAMED BOY
UNREC. NAMED INDIVIDUAL
BOB
ANDERSON

Maj. C.L. Snyder
Board member

ED
JEFF
EMALINE
DAVID
CASEWELL
BOB
UNREC. NAMED INDIVIDUAL
UNREC. NAMED INDIVIDUAL
UNREC. NAMED INDIVIDUAL
LAURA
UNREC. NAMED BOY

G.W. Shanks
Board member

OLIVER
THOMAS
UNREC. NAMED BOY
UNREC. NAMED GIRL
PRESTON
CHARLES

Adolphus E. Huff
Board member

ALBERT
WILLIAM HENRY

William Watts
Board member

EDMUND RIDEOUT
NANNIE RIDEOUT
TOM M. COMB
MAURICE
TOM JR.
JIM WHALE
GEORGE BOOKER
LOUISA
HARRIET
HENRY
LOUIS
AMY
UNREC. NAMED MAN
ISHMAEL
MARY SIMS
BEN
JIMMY
LAURA
BALDWIN
LEWIS
MARY
EDWARD
JANETTA
CARTER
CORBIN
ALEXANDER
UNREC. NAMED BOY
UNREC. NAMED BOY

UNREC. NAMED BOY
UNREC. NAMED BOY
UNREC. NAMED GIRL
UNREC. NAMED BOY
UNREC. NAMED BOY
UNREC. NAMED BOY
UNREC. NAMED BOY
UNREC. NAMED CHILD
UNREC. NAMED CHILD
UNREC. NAMED CHILD
DAVID
WESLEY
MARTHA
MALINDA
MARY
JENETTE NICKOLAS
E. CALLOWAY
GRACE SANDERS
KATE SAVAGE
NANCY PATE
J. WHALES
POLLY SCOTT
LEWIS FLEMING
SUSY BALL
MAT BEVEN
ELLEN SANDERS
JERRY NICKLASS
ISHMAEL SIMS
MARY LEWIS
JACK FINLEY
HARRY RIDOUT
PRESTON BURRELL
PHILLIS SANDERS
HENRY LANGHORN
LEWIS BOOKER
LOUISA KENTLY
DAVID HANNAH

BECKY LEWIS
ALLEN
ALLEN
ROBERT
LUCY
MALINDA
THRASHER
DUGAN
BOMAN
EPHREM
TROUT
ELIAS
DIRK
SUSAN
BIRD
MARY
GEORGE
EMMA
PEGGY
WILLIAM
HENRY
THOMAS
MARY
MARY
JOHN
MARTHA
ALBERT
ANNY
FRANCIS
JAMES
SILLEY
SALLY
GRACE
JENNY
GRACE MONNS
FILLIY
JENNY B.

JESNERT
JANEY
POLLY
BECKEY
LUSON
JUDY ANN
ELCEY
GEET
DOLLY ANN
LUCY
HARRY RHODES
GALLENA
BALDY
LEWIS
THOMAS
ELIS WHITE
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CITATIONS

- 1 Sources describing these forms of violence especially appear in Common Law books which documented monthly court business, cases, and legal disputes. Evidence of physical and sexual violence also appears throughout Birth Registers that documented births of enslaved people between 1853 and 1865.
- 2 Some of Bittle's original lecture notes from the 1850s exists as part of the 'Rev. David Frederick Bittle Papers - 1811-1876 - Manuscripts Collection' housed in the Roanoke College Archive. Companion class notes taken by William McCauley (class of 1859) also form part of the archive's collection.
- 3 See also Eisenberg, William Edward. *The First Hundred Years: Roanoke College, 1842-1942*. United States: Trustees of Roanoke College, 1942 and Miller, Mark F. "Dear Old Roanoke": *A Sesquicentennial Portrait, 1842-1992*. United States: Mercer University Press, 1992.
- 4 The Roanoke College Board of Trustees defined the charge in the following way: "The Task Force on the College's History: Through ongoing campus research projects in recent years, the College has begun to understand the histories and legacies of slavery and enslaved people in the College's history, including the intersections of Roanoke's leadership (key administrators, Board of Trustees, etc.) with slavery and the slave economy. As an open and robust learning environment, the College is committed to representations of history that are transparent, fair, and accurate, including our own. The Task Force on History is charged with documenting and providing draft language regarding the facts now known about Roanoke and its leaders' associations with slavery, as well as the context within which they lived. This draft will ultimately become the College's official and public historical recognition of our history and provide an opportunity to acknowledge enslaved people who played a key role in building the Roanoke College we know today."
- 5 The research team has included the following members: Sydney Pennix, Ashtyn Porter, Ivey Kline, Chele Eaves, Casey McGirt, Reece Owen, Jayde Mooney, Jasmine McFadden, Seanice Bowser, Charlotte Angleberger, Amari Yerby, Annalisa Green, Jennie Costa, Hannah Schetselaar, Taylor Poole, Dr. Jesse Bucher, and Dr. Whitney Leeson.
- 6 See Pulice, Michael J. *Nineteenth-century Brick Architecture in the Roanoke Valley and Beyond: Discovering the True Legacies of the Deyerle Builders*. United States: Historical Society of Western Virginia, 2011. In 2024, artist Clover Archer created an installation, "Forget Me Not: Peyton Lewis," in the enslaved person's living quarters behind Monterey house at Roanoke College. The exhibit draws on Lewis' letters and publications that describe his experiences as a child enslaved by the Deyerle family.
- 7 The Roanoke College Catalog from 1865 lists these \$1,000 individual gifts that came from: Michael Miller, John Trout, A.E. Huff, Capt. J.C. Miller, Jacob Persinger, George H. Miller, Samuel Hubbard, Miss Sarah A. Miller. An additional gift came from the Lutheran Congregation at Madison Courthouse (Hebron Lutheran Church). Specific details about the individual church donors does not form part of the college's records.
- 8 These transactions appear, for example, in Inventory, Appraisalment and Sale Book 3 and 4 as well as Common Law book E in the Roanoke County courthouse.
- 9 These sources include Confederate Payroll Records, Roanoke County Slave Requisition Records, and Roanoke County Common Law book F.

