

The Lemon Project: A Journey of Reconciliation

Report of the First Eight Years

SUBMITTED TO

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February 2019

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WILLIAM & MARY

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Executive Summary

In 2009, the William & Mary (W&M) Board of Visitors (BOV) passed a resolution acknowledging the institution's role as a slaveholder and proponent of Jim Crow and established the Lemon Project: A Journey of Reconciliation. What follows is a report covering the work of the Project's first eight years. It includes a recap of the programs and events sponsored by the Lemon Project, course development, and community engagement efforts. It also begins to come to grips with the complexities of the history of the African American experience at the College.

Research and Scholarship

Over the past eight years, faculty, staff, students, and community volunteers have conducted research that has provided insight into the experiences of African Americans at William & Mary. This information has been shared at conferences, symposia, during community presentations, in scholarly articles, and in the classroom. For more information about Research and Scholarship, see Appendix A.

Teaching

Early in the process, it was decided that undergraduate courses would be revised or developed using archival resources. The purpose of such courses is to disseminate archival information and to help students learn about the complexities of institutional slavery. To date, seven courses have been developed and taught or co-taught by Dr. Jody Allen, Lemon Project Director. An Independent Studies course resulted in the student report, "The Legacy of Jim Crow at William & Mary." The Lemon Project has also mentored several student summer research projects. For details on these projects, see Appendix B: Teaching.

Other Initiatives and Collaborations

A full description of Lemon Project initiatives and collaborations is provided in Appendix C. Ongoing signature projects include the annual Lemon Project Spring Symposium, which began in 2011. In 2012, William & Mary added a new tradition to Commencement weekend, the Donning of the Kente. Through the 2018 Commencement, a total of 745 students have participated in the Donning of the Kente celebration. The third signature event are the Lemon's Legacies Porch Talks, which foster conversations among students, faculty, staff, and community members.

Plans, Recommendations, and Endorsements

Building on and learning from the Lemon Project's work to date, this report includes plans, recommendations, and endorsements that suggest a map forward. These are based on feedback gathered at symposia, Porch Talks, community meetings, online questionnaires, courses, small group discussion, etc. They also reflect collaborations with other colleges and universities doing similar work.

Appendices A through D provide details related to research and scholarship, teaching, project initiatives, university initiatives, community collaboration, and the Project's organizational

structure and staffing. Section III, the final section, consists largely of the findings of archival research and includes an overview of African Americans at William & Mary.

Conclusion

As the Lemon Project wraps up its first eight years, much has been accomplished. Yet there is still much work to do. Additional research questions need to be asked, and scholarship remains to be written. While we know more about the experience of the enslaved African Americans at William & Mary, their experience based on gender and age remain unclear. Additionally, a better understanding of their experiences over time (17th, 18th, 19th centuries) and place (campus or plantation) will help us gain a clearer picture of the enslaved as individuals and families.

The Lemon Project classes have provided an opportunity for students taking History, American Studies, Africana Studies, and Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies courses to learn more about the institution's racial history. The next step is to encourage faculty in other areas to explore how and where their disciplines overlap with the university's history. For example, in what ways is the health of the descendant community affected by the legacies of slavery? What are the economic holdovers from slavery and Jim Crow, and how might the university reach out to underserved communities?

Finally, we must sustain and expand efforts to engage the Greater Williamsburg community, especially the African American community. While we have worked diligently with some success to build a bridge between this community and the campus, some people remain skeptical about the institution's real, meaningful, and long-term commitment to the work of reconciliation. William & Mary's recent issuance of an apology for its role in slavery and Jim Crow may go a long way toward allaying these doubts, but it is not enough. We will both continue to go out to the community and encourage the community to come to us; however, a literal and figurative wall still surrounds William & Mary. We will work to remove barriers and urge the community to take advantage of all the school has to offer.

The work of Lemon Project has been challenging and rewarding. It has also been inspiring. It has provided a doorway to the past and a way to propel William & Mary into the future. And we have just begun. Stay tuned.

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Acknowledgements

It is with deep gratitude that the Lemon Project thanks the organizations, programs, and departments listed here. The success of the Project to date is a result of your willingness to collaborate over the years.

Africana Studies	Office of the President
All Together Williamsburg	Office of the Provost
American Studies	Omohundro Institute of Early American Culture and History
Arts & Sciences (with special appreciation to Steve Otto, Director of Communications)	The Middle Passage Project
Art and Art History	The Sadler Center
Bursar Office	School of Education
Bruton Heights/James City County Training School Alumni Association	Sweetly Spirited Cupcakes
Colonial Williamsburg Bruton Heights Education Center	Earl Gregg Swem Library
Dean of Students Office	Swem Library Special Collections Research Center
First Baptist Church, Scotland Street	University Advancement
Greater Williamsburg Women's Association	University Counseling Center
Historic Campus	University Events
Hulon Willis Alumni Association	University Web & Design
Lyon Gardiner Tyler Department of History	Visual Appeal Design Studio
Marshall-Wythe School of Law	The Roy Charles Center for Academic Excellence
Mason School of Business	Theatre, Speech, and Dance
Midwest Global Group Inc.	WMSURE
Momo on the Go Catering	William & Mary Catering
Office of Community Engagement	York-James City-Williamsburg NAACP Branch
Office of Diversity and Inclusion	

DEDICATION

This report is dedicated to the memory of
Robert Francis Engs, Ph.D.
1943–2013

Summary Report

Introduction

“Not everything that is faced can be changed...but nothing can be changed until it is faced.”
— James Baldwin

What is the Lemon Project: A Journey of Reconciliation?

The name “Lemon” appears in the records of William & Mary referring to an enslaved African American owned by the College. We know that he was allowed to farm on his own time and sold the produce to the College; that he received the Christmas bonus in 1808; that he was given an allowance to provide his own food in 1815; that the College paid for medicine for him in 1816; and that the College purchased a coffin for him in 1817.

These glimpses into Lemon’s story emerged from research conducted by then doctoral candidate, Jennifer Oast, to begin uncovering the history of race relations at William & Mary. In hindsight it appears that multiple forces were working in tandem to address the same perceived need. In 2007 the Student Assembly passed a resolution to “establish a commission to research the full extent of the College of William & Mary’s role in slavery” and report its findings. The following fall the Faculty Assembly passed a similar resolution.

With the call-to-action levied by the students and faculty, Professor Robert F. Engs, at the University of Pennsylvania, was invited to spend the Fall 2008 semester at William & Mary teaching a course and conducting research with the goal of recommending to the faculty and administration “appropriate and meaningful responses to those historical wrongs and their stubbornly enduring legacy.” At the end of his stay Engs wrote “The College, Race and Slavery: Report to the Provost and Faculty” (see p. 42) which informed the 2009 mandate, adopted by resolution of the William & Mary Board of Visitors (see p. 41), creating the Lemon Project: A Journey of Reconciliation.

Today, nearly ten years later, the Lemon Project is a university-wide initiative, reporting to the Provost, with a steering committee, advisory committee, project director, admin/research associate, post-doc, and two graduate assistants.

Work of the Lemon Project

Although the Lemon Project was originally conceived to focus primarily on archival research, the Lemon team soon realized that a multifaceted approach was required. In this report, we discuss the project’s work in relation to research and scholarship, teaching, and other initiatives and collaborations that extend across William & Mary

and into our area communities. Yet we are mindful of the intertwining, mutually reinforcing nature of these categories. New knowledge that is uncovered, new scholarly assessments and understandings that emerge, provide material that can be introduced into new undergraduate courses, collected into public databases and digital resources, and integrated into our communities through presentation and discussion. All of these activities give evidence of William & Mary’s institutional commitment to uncover the legacy of William & Mary’s racial history and to address and mitigate that legacy—a significant step toward the reconciliation envisioned by the Board of Visitors in creating The Lemon Project: A Journey of Reconciliation.

Pursuit of a multi-faceted approach has brought changes over time to the make-up of the Lemon Project’s organizational structure and staffing (see Appendix D: History of Organizational Structure and Staffing). Short- and medium-term goals adopted by the Lemon Project, described below, suggest further staffing adjustments. Regardless of the staffing pattern, this team, along with volunteer committees, has planned, guided, and implemented the Lemon Project’s signature events. Since its inception, the Lemon Project has gone out into the African American community with the understanding that we could not expect a people who have a cultural memory of being ostracized by William & Mary to come into that institution without signs that they would be welcomed.

This document is the first formal report of the Lemon Project, looking back at what we have accomplished to date and looking forward to the work yet to be tackled. This summary report section provides an overview of activities, followed by appendices that document these activities in detail. We have also included a section providing documentation and resources we consider vital to relating the context of the Lemon Project and William & Mary’s racial history.

Research and Scholarship

Uncovering the story of African Americans in the United States presents challenges to historians. In general, primary sources are limited and, specifically, sources in their own words are almost non-existent. William & Mary reflects the challenges inherent in doing this work.

Over the past eight years faculty, staff, students, and community volunteers have conducted research that has

provided insight into the experiences of African Americans at William & Mary. This information has been shared at conferences, symposia, during community presentations, and in the classroom.

Research undertaken or assisted by the Lemon Project has resulted in published articles, reports, research papers, master's theses, and a dissertation. With Swem Library's Special Collections and the Media Center, we launched an Oral History Collection of interviews with alumni of William & Mary, former faculty and staff, and members of the Williamsburg community. With the National Institute of American History & Democracy, two interns investigated possible connections between William & Mary's enslaved and free blacks and the Civil War and Reconstruction and investigated slaveholding patterns among William & Mary faculty, staff, and administrators. Several summer Field Schools in Archaeology, conducted jointly by the W&M Anthropology Department and Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, excavated the presumed site of the Bray School, an 18th-century school for the religious instruction of free and enslaved African American children. We conducted archival research to learn more about Nottoway Quarter, the university's tobacco plantation. We secured two sets of family papers to add to the African American History Collection at Swem Library. These and other research activities are described in detail in Appendix A: Research and Scholarship.

As our work progresses, various questions have arisen about biased assumptions affecting previous research and how our evolving understanding can be better reflected in campus practices and protocols. As one example, archaeological excavations undertaken in the Historic Campus have followed one set of protocols, while "nonhistoric" campus construction projects have followed another. This distinction marginalizes the potential archaeological record of African Americans not afforded full access to the Historic Campus. Different reporting and cataloging conventions and multiple recordkeeping sites have also impeded current research efforts. These and other issues related to research and scholarship are discussed in the "Plans, Recommendations, and Endorsements" section below.

Teaching

Early in the process it was decided that undergraduate courses would be revised or developed using archival resources. The purpose of such courses is to disseminate the information being found in the archives and to help students learn about the complexities of the institution of slavery. To date, seven courses have been developed and taught or co-taught by Jody Allen, Lemon Project Director. An Independent Studies course resulted in the student report, "The Legacy of Jim Crow at William & Mary." The Lemon Project has mentored several student summer research projects. For details on these projects, see Appendix B: Teaching.

In 2018, the Faculty of Arts & Sciences amended the COLL Curriculum (general education requirements) to require the newly designated COLL 199:

COLL 199 courses will: 1) examine social norms, institutional practices, and patterns of belonging and marginalization by exploring at least two key social categories including, but not limited to: race, gender identity, ethnicity, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, language, religion and disability; 2) emphasize respectful dialogue among students as an integral component of the course; and 3) enable critical reflection by requiring students to make sustained connections between the course material and contemporary life in the United States.

The new requirement fits well with the purposes of the Lemon Project. Project staff will collaborate with the Center for the Liberal Arts to support faculty in developing courses that will use information gathered on the history of slavery and its legacies to help students see the connections between the past and the present.

The Lemon Project's teaching efforts have extended beyond the campus classrooms in a variety of ways, including invited speaking engagements and radio and television interviews (see Appendix C: Project Initiatives, University Initiatives, and Community Collaboration), articles developed and promoted by William & Mary News (see Bibliography), an email listserv, and postings to various social media (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, Instagram) and to the Lemon Project's website. Extensive collaboration with academic departments and programs, institutions, and community organizations has also widened and shortened the pipeline between research and scholarship and the many communities and audiences reached by the Lemon Project.

Two signature initiatives of the Lemon Project must be mentioned in the context of teaching: the annual Lemon Project Spring Symposium and the more frequent Lemon's Legacies Porch Talks. These are described below.

Other Initiatives and Collaborations

A full description of Lemon Project initiatives and collaborations is provided in Appendix C. Here we highlight several signature, ongoing projects that characterize our multifaceted approach and the collaborations that extend across William & Mary and into our area communities.

The first **Lemon Project Spring Symposium** (2011) took place at the Bruton Heights School, the formerly segregated school for African American children. Panels of community members, faculty, staff, and students brought the theme, "From Slavery Toward Reconciliation: African Americans & the College," to life. The annual symposium has become the project's most successful method of community outreach.

Through keynote addresses, breakout sessions, readings, performances, workshops, and open mic sessions, this public forum has addressed themes ranging from "Ghosts of Slavery: The Afterlives of Racial Bondage" to "Black Revolutionary Thought from Gabriel to Black Lives Matter."

The idea behind the occasional **Lemon's Legacies Porch Talks** is to foster conversations among students, faculty, staff, and community members. These events represent collaboration among the Lemon Project, William & Mary

Scholar Undergraduate Research Experience (WMSURE), the Counseling Center, the Office of Diversity and Community Initiatives, and the Center for Student Diversity. Topics discussed at Porch Talks have ranged from “A Story of the Bray School” to “Post Trayvon Martin Trial: Mobilizing an Effective Response to Race and Injustice.” It has become a tradition to end each semester with a Drum Circle.

In 2012, William & Mary added a new tradition to Commencement weekend, the **Donning of the Kente**. This rite of passage ceremony celebrates excellence, both personal and academic, for students of color while also making a public statement that William & Mary is committed at the institutional level to meeting the needs and interests of all students. Through the 2018 Commencement, a total of 745 students have participated in the Donning of the Kente celebration.

Plans, Recommendations, and Endorsements

Building on and learning from the Lemon Project’s work to date, the following plans, recommendations, and endorsements have been developed as a map forward. These are based on feedback gathered at symposia, Porch Talks, community meetings, online questionnaires, courses, small group discussion, etc. They also reflect collaborations with other colleges and universities doing similar work.

The Lemon Project plans to continue offering these ongoing, signature programs:

- Research and scholarship
- Teaching and course development
- Annual Lemon Project Spring Symposium
- Lemon’s Legacies Porch Talks
- Donning of the Kente
- Community Engagement

The Lemon Project has adopted these short- and medium-term goals, assigning target completion dates as indicated:

Establish a Research and Resource Center for the Study of Slavery and Its Legacies

This center will house current Lemon Project programs while expanding the scope to include an online depository of records and programs, genealogy, support for archaeological research, and a clearinghouse role for research on institutional slavery and Jim Crow. Potentially the center could become an online depository for records related generally to the study of higher education, slavery, and Jim Crow. The current Lemon Project staff would expand to include an associate director, an additional graduate assistant, an additional post-doc, and a genealogist. The Center’s work will include:

- Conduct ongoing archival research related to the African American experience at William & Mary
- Support archaeological research to locate and mark slave burial grounds
- Conduct genealogical research to locate descendants
- Engage with the descendant community

- Consider how William & Mary might use its resources to benefit the African American community
 - Facilitate research and teaching at the undergraduate and graduate level
 - Assist with course development
- Target Date: Fall 2023

Seek Permanent, Base Funding for Post-doc Position

Currently the Lemon Project post-doc position is funded by the Omohundro Institute, and funding will end in June 2020. The Lemon Project will seek funds to continue the post-doc beginning July 1, 2020. Target Date: July 1, 2020

Offer a May Seminar to Expand Lemon Project Course Offerings

The Lemon Project develops interdisciplinary course offerings that engage the African American experience. To facilitate this process, the Lemon Project will support the development of a May seminar encouraging faculty to work together to develop these interdisciplinary courses. These courses could be co-taught or complementary and feature guest lectures. Target Date: May 2020

Develop New Course around Trauma and Community Healing

The Lemon Project recommends the development of a course around the theme of Trauma and Community Healing. Addressing the often-asked question: “Why are we still talking about slavery and Jim Crow?” this interdisciplinary course will consider Trauma Informed Care, among other models, to look at the impact of long-term oppression on subsequent generations. Target Date: Fall 2020

Support Faculty Developing COLL 199 Courses

In working with the Center for the Liberal Arts and the Educational Policy Committee, project staff will contribute to the implementation of the COLL 199 objective “to provide students with a rigorous academic space in which to explore differences in perspective while foregrounding reasoned and respectful discussion as the means for achieving common ground.” Target Date: On-going

Assist with K-12 Teaching Modules

Work with local K-12 students and teachers to develop teaching modules on local African American history, tours, etc. Target Date: June 2020

Continue Participation in the Universities Studying Slavery Consortium

This consortium, formed in February 2015, was first known as Virginia Colleges and Universities Studying Slavery. It grew out of consultation between Jody Allen

and Kelley Deetz, then the Research Associate with the President's Commission on Slavery and the University at the University of Virginia (UVA). Now known as Universities Studying Slavery, the consortium is international. Its purpose is to bring together colleges and universities, who are participating in this growing movement to fully understand our histories with slavery and its legacies. Target Date: Ongoing

Seek a Book Contract

The Steering Committee will seek a book contract for scholarly articles on the history of the African American experience. Target Date: June 2020

Publish RENGs: A Journal of Reconciliation

There will be two issues published online per year: one to include papers presented at the annual Lemon Project Spring Symposium, and the second to feature invited local, national, and international scholars, who will write on topics related to institutional slavery and its legacies. An editorial team will be formed to determine a work plan that will produce a journal that will seek to appeal to scholars and non-scholars, teachers, students, and members of the community at large. The journal is named in honor of Robert Engs, the visiting faculty member whose work was pivotal in helping to found the Lemon Project. Target Date: Fall 2020

Spearhead a Genealogy Research Effort

The Lemon Project will spearhead a research effort to identify descendants of enslaved people owned by William & Mary, in collaboration with the Swem Library Special Collections Research Center. This project will provide an opportunity for the university to engage with and share its resources with area residents interested in learning how to conduct genealogical research. For those with a specific interest in investigating familial ties to those once enslaved by William & Mary, it will provide an avenue through which descendants can learn about their ancestors and help us to further recognize the humanity of those African Americans who labored on campus before the end of the Civil War. Target Date: Spring 2020

Create Lemon's Legacies Student Ambassadors

The goal of these new student ambassadors is two-fold: to inform undergraduate students about the Lemon Project, and to keep abreast of student needs and concerns as related to the mission of the Lemon Project. Target Date: Spring 2019

Establish a Summer GAP Program

The Lemon Project can provide a new education-based outreach component through a 3-5 day summer program of workshops exploring (a) the contributions of African Americans at William & Mary and (b) methods of preparing for and attending a university. As imagined, this program would engage

in partnerships with existing Williamsburg/James City County organizations for youth and young adults. One such partner could be the Lafayette subsidized housing community. William & Mary already has a partnership there through Lafayette Kids, a tutoring and mentoring program. The Lemon Project could extend that connection to high school students in the Lafayette housing community, with the possibility of extending the program to middle school students in the community. This effort is scheduled for introduction in Summer 2020. Target Date: June 2020

Complete the Idea Competition to Select a Memorial Design

The Idea Competition was begun in 2018, for a memorial to those enslaved by William & Mary. In response to the 2007 Student Assembly Resolution, the Lemon Project Committee on Memorialization will support the selection of a memorial design and advocate its implementation at William & Mary. Target Date: March 2019

Conduct a Critical Review of Campus Monuments and Material Culture

The William & Mary campus is replete with the monuments and material culture, not to mention designed landscapes, reflective of an often racist past. Archaeologists, historians, and the University writ large need to better understand how these tangible and intangible effects of racism persist and influence the community. A comprehensive review of the physical markers of commemoration on campus needs to be conducted. A detailed database of current markers—buildings, portraits, plaques, spaces, etc.—should include the subject commemorated and by whom nominated, date established, time period referenced, and location. A brief but comprehensive history of individuals involved—subject and nominator—should be provided. This comprehensive history must include accurate accounts of these individuals' contributions, both flattering and not so flattering. This database will be added to the Lemon Project website. Deadline: August 2019

Establish a Williamsburg Area African American Community History Working Group

The Lemon Project recommends the establishment of a Williamsburg Area African American History Working Group, under the aegis of the Lemon Project. This group would endeavor to bring together William & Mary faculty and students along with local historians not affiliated with William & Mary who are working on African American community history to (a) exchange ideas and resources, (b) identify potential research projects, and (c) develop bibliography and archive-finding aids to support such research. Target Date: August 2019

Explore Partnerships with the Alan B. Miller Entrepreneurship Center

The Alan B. Miller Entrepreneurship Center connects students across diverse majors and maintains programs for the entrepreneurship community at large. The center plans to expand its services to the entrepreneurship community to establish an effective ecosystem in the greater Williamsburg area. Its vision is to partner with organizations that have diverse constituencies, including companies owned by African Americans. The center is a potential co-sponsor of Lemon Project events, and also a potential way to expand the Lemon Project's connections to area communities. Target Date: Ongoing

The Lemon Project encourages the university to consider the implementation of the following recommended initiatives:

Implement the Memorial Design from the Idea Competition

Once a winner of the Idea Competition has been selected, we ask that the full resources, including staff contacts and time of the Office of University Advancement, be engaged to secure the funds needed to implement the selected design on the Historic Campus. Target Date: Ongoing

Update the Campus Walking Tour

The Lemon Project recommends that all campus tours be updated to include the history of slavery and Jim Crow at William & Mary. This includes tours conducted by the Spotswood Society and the Admissions Office. Deadline: December 2019

Consult with the Lemon Project on Campus Historical Exhibits

The Lemon Project should serve as consultant for all permanent exhibits including, but not limited to, exhibits in the Wren Building. Project staff should also advise on the curation of permanent historical exhibits (physical and virtual) in other campus spaces, including but not limited to the Wren Building, the Muscarelle, Swem Library, and Wolf Law Library. Target Date: Ongoing

Revisit Practices and Records of Campus Archaeological Research

Since the Rockefeller restoration of Williamsburg began in the 1920s, a significant amount of archaeological research has taken place on campus. There are three major problems with the data that has been obtained:

- Much of the work was done to meet the demands of construction work, not as research. With few exceptions, the research design of past excavations was not intended to look for broader cultural

markers, and, prior to the last few decades, archaeologists were not trained to consider if their finds represented people other than British colonial elites.

- The work was performed over a long period of time and by different firms, so the data exists in different reporting and catalog conventions.
- “Historic Campus” and the rest of campus have been treated as separate sites. Archaeological work within the designated Historic Campus area has been done to exacting research standards; work on the rest of campus complies with laws for work on state property but does not meet those same standards. W&M needs to look to the entire property it owned in the past—including outlying parcels such as Nottoway Quarter—as potentially contributing to our knowledge about enslaved people and how their labor and domestic activities were part of W&M's community.

Recommendation: Reexamine and re-catalogue reports and artifact inventories created earlier in the century to work in concert with excavation done more recently. Target Date: December 2019

Recommendation: Create a single repository for the official archaeological and architectural reports (and artifact storage), with all material available in searchable, digital form. Target Date: December 2020

Recommendation: Align all future archaeological work to the research standards currently applied in the Historic Campus area. Target Date: Ongoing

Establish Billups Hall through Renaming

In the continuing effort to expand the campus landscape to represent a diverse and inclusive environment, the Lemon Project calls for the renaming of Brown Hall. We strongly suggest that this building or another appropriate building be renamed for Henry Billups, an African American man who worked at the College from 1888 until 1954.¹ Deadline: December 2019

Establish Committee to Determine Nomenclature at William & Mary

What does William & Mary's landscape communicate? At this time, the landscape reflects the rich history of the institution's white male founders and early students. Does it suggest an inclusive and diverse community of the 21st century, or does the landscape reflect an earlier time? While the additions of Hardy and Lemon Halls and the plaques highlighting the arrival of women in 1918 and African American residential students in 1967 represent very positive steps forward, there is still much work to do if the campus is to reflect the full diversity of the local, state,

¹ With this recommendation, the Lemon Project supports the President's Task Force on Race and Relations calling for the College to “Name important and prominent campus buildings to more fully reflect the diversity and achievement of the entire William & Mary community.” Taken from the Final Report: Task Force on Race and Race Relations.

and national communities. To this end, the Lemon Project recommends the establishment of a campus committee to, first, conduct research to determine best practices related to this issue, and then, considering William & Mary's unique history, develop policies and procedures that will best prepare the University to respond when presented with recommendations to name or rename structures, spaces, events, etc. Target Date: May 2019

Build Consistent Research Capacity into James Monroe's Highland

Monroe's Highland home, owned by William & Mary, has made significant contributions in document-based research and archaeological study of the plantation landscape, one of the main sources of information about enslaved African Americans and their lived experiences. Highland's relationship with its descendant community is in its infancy. In 2017, Highland staff met and began collaborating with several members of families who have always known their relationship to Monroe's plantation, and in 2018 developed relationships and research collaboration. These initiatives are ongoing and will contribute to future site interpretation. Highland and staff of W&M Libraries have planned and obtained funding for an oral history project with this descendant group that will begin in 2019.

Highland has no staff whose primary role is research, and it is crucial that oral histories, document-based research, and archaeology continue with momentum. By integrating Highland into curricular initiatives such as COLL 199, and taking the rich opportunity offered by vertically integrated research teams, Highland can become a laboratory for the main campus, providing a rich and authentic setting for research and student learning. Some continuity may also come from establishing a post-doc whose responsibilities include portions of Highland's commitment to research and interpretation of diverse narratives. Faculty involvement could be further developed through the availability of research or course development funds that might serve as incentives. The goal would be to work toward sustained research and teaching that would develop over years.

Recommendation: William & Mary should assist Highland in actively seeking a diverse group of advisors in envisioning the museum experience and implementing that vision. This should include museum professionals, public historians, and university stakeholders whose perspectives ensure that research and interpretation at Highland are inclusive and multivocal. Descendant communities should also be engaged in the visioning and implementation as stakeholders in the organization. The ability to fully

implement the shared vision will depend on the availability of curatorial time, which is not yet present at Highland. Target Date: Ongoing

The Lemon Project endorses and will support these endeavors where possible:

Faculty Diversity

A diverse workplace matters, and this is especially true for college and university campuses. Currently only 4.25 percent of the W&M faculty is African American. This is not reflective of the student body, nor is it on par with the percentage of blacks in this country. W&M students, faculty, and staff have called for the institution to recognize this reality and take steps to rectify its omission. Only a truly diverse and inclusive faculty will enable the institution to fulfill its goal "to use the scholarship and skills of its faculty and students to further human knowledge and understanding, and to address specific problems confronting the Commonwealth of Virginia, the nation, and the world." Inherent in William & Mary's acceptance of qualified students is the promise that upon graduation said students will be prepared to enter the workforce ready to interact with people from different cultural, economic, racial, gender, and social backgrounds. This preparation requires that they have the opportunity to learn how to function in a diverse climate. Many of our students come to campus from homogeneous environments; to leave W&M as truly educated people with the potential to be successful, they must have the opportunity to overcome this deficit².

Transition to Department of Africana Studies

As a program, Africana Studies (AFST) deconstructs certain fallacies regarding the concept of race and prepares students to contribute to American race relations without racial bigotry and hatred. In short, the program contributes to the diversity of the human experience by being an anti-racist discipline. The program contributes to the diversity of William & Mary simply by existing. AFST faculty also include more nontraditional, nonwhite faculty members than most programs and departments at the William & Mary. As an interdisciplinary program, Africana Studies encourages multiple ways of thinking and knowing.³ The Lemon Project wholeheartedly supports the transition of the Africana Studies Program to a Department of Africana Studies. The establishment of this department will signal to potential faculty and students that W&M is an institution that is capable of discerning and responding to important trends in higher education, and that it understands the importance of the type of work that can be accomplished through such a department.

² The Lemon Project endorses the recommendation of the President's Task Force on Race and Race Relations to "Increase the diversity of the faculty and senior administrators, and demonstrate commitment to this goal with a \$35 million dollar investment of resources." Taken from Final Report: Task Force on Race and Race Relations.

³ Excerpted with modifications from the Africana Studies Diversity and Inclusion Plan, December 2017.

Native American Study at William & Mary

The Lemon Project commends the work of Dr. Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, Director of the American Indian Resource Center, Lecturer, Department of Anthropology and Curator of Native American Art at the Muscarelle Museum of Art, Dr. Ashley Atkins Spivey (Pamunkey) the Tribal Liaison for the Native Studies minor and the American Indian Resource Center, and Dr. Buck Woodard, affiliated scholar, for their research and efforts to reframe the complex history of indigenous peoples at the Brafferton Indian School during the 18th-century. The Lemon Project endorses the continued support of research related to the history of Native Americans at William & Mary, the interdisciplinary faculty teaching in the Native Studies minor, as well as ongoing civic engagement with descendant communities associated directly and indirectly with William & Mary.

Economic Development

One of the goals of the Lemon Project is to promote reconciliation between William & Mary and the Greater Williamsburg community. One way to accomplish this goal is to provide a means of economic uplift for members of underserved communities. Clarence Rodwell, a Virginia native, who retired in Williamsburg after working for many years in Silicon Valley, CA, has started a business, Llewddor Gardens, LLC, which supplies live microgreens to chefs in Hampton Roads and Richmond. Chefs like microgreens for their outstanding taste, nutritional value, and visual appeal. Mr. Rodwell's Williamsburg business is successful and sustainable. A key to his success was the modest capital investment required for startup, and the margins are very good. Mr. Rodwell believes that the growing and marketing of microgreens can be easily taught. Their visual appeal makes selling them easy. Discussions have started with members of underserved communities in Orlando and New Orleans with plans to start operations in these cities in 2018. Mr. Rodwell believes that this is an opportunity to move beyond conversation and provide a concrete opportunity for William & Mary to give back to the African American community. Consultations with individuals in the School of Business have already begun.

Conclusion

As the Lemon Project wraps up its first eight years, much has been accomplished. And there is still much work to do. Additional research questions need to be asked, and scholarship remains to be written. While we know more about the experience of the enslaved African Americans at William & Mary, their experience based on gender and age remain unclear. Additionally, a better understanding of their experiences over time (17th, 18th, 19th centuries) and place (campus or plantation) will help us gain a clearer picture of the enslaved as individuals and families.

The Lemon Project classes have provided an opportunity for students taking History, American Studies, Africana Studies,

and Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies courses to learn more about the institution's racial history. The next step is to encourage faculty in other areas to explore how and where their disciplines overlap with the university's history. For example, in what ways is the health of the descendant community affected by the legacies of slavery? What are the economic holdovers from slavery and Jim Crow, and how might the university reach out to underserved communities?

Finally, our efforts to engage the Greater Williamsburg community, especially the African American community, must be sustained and expanded. While we have worked diligently with some success to build a bridge between this community and the campus, some people remain skeptical about real, meaningful, and long-term commitment to the work of reconciliation. William & Mary's recent issuance of an apology for its role in slavery and Jim Crow may go a long way toward allaying these doubts, but that is yet to be seen. In the meantime, we will continue to go out into the community and welcome them to William & Mary. We will both continue to go out to the community and encourage the community to come to us; however, a literal and figurative wall still surrounds William & Mary. We will work to remove barriers and urge the community to take advantage of all the school has to offer.

The work of Lemon Project has been challenging and rewarding. It has also been inspiring. It has provided a doorway to the past, and a way to propel William & Mary into the future. And we have just begun. Stay tuned.

Appendix A:

Research and Scholarship

In pursuit of the W&M Board of Visitors' mandate "to better understand, chronicle, and preserve the history of blacks at the College and in the community," the Lemon Project has completed the research and scholarly activities described below.

In Search of A Burial Ground.

At the request of The Lemon Project, the William & Mary Center for Archaeological Research (WMCAR) undertook a phase one dig on land located southwest of the intersection of Harrison Avenue and College Terrace from May 20 through 27, 2015. "The main purpose of the work was to assess the potential for any unmarked graves within a small parcel of what was likely the northwestern edge of the original 300 acres of College-owned land dating back to 1693."⁴ No evidence of burials was found. To view the full report, go to "Archaeological Assessment of a Site Near the Alumni House..."

All of the five-week summer **Field Schools in Archaeology** in 2012, 2013, and 2014, sponsored by the William & Mary Anthropology Department and the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, were held at the presumed site of the Bray School, an 18th-century school for the religious instruction for free and enslaved African American children. The excavations had three main goals. One goal was to determine if there was an earlier building on the lot that could have housed the Bray School that might have been torn down after the school moved off-site to make room for the construction of the extant (but relocated) ROTC/Diggs House. Another goal was to recover artifacts attributable to the school that could help us better understand the nature of the instruction taking place, as well as the material conditions of the students. The final goal was to see if there was any other evidence that spoke to the organization of the property (yard spaces, outbuildings, etc.) during the Bray School period, but also before and after the school. The final report is forthcoming. The dig attracted attention in the professional literature as well as in a series of *William and Mary News* articles (these were picked up in some instances by other media; the *Los Angeles Times* published the AP article).⁵ Neil Norman (William & Mary) and Mark Kostro (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation), the two Principal Investigators, have given several popular talks (including one for the University Studying Slavery Consortium meeting at the September 2016 meeting at William & Mary) and one

professional presentation at the University of Leicester in January 2013 at a meeting of the Society for Historical Archeology.

Nottoway Quarter Researchers.

In 1718, the College purchased Nottoway Quarter tobacco plantation and 17 enslaved laborers. With funding from the Omohundro Institute of Early American History & Culture, we hired two independent researchers, Laura Ansley (2016) and Joseph Bailey (2017), to conduct archival research to learn more about the university's tobacco plantation. Unfortunately, the paper trail is very thin. The next step needs to involve archaeological fieldwork.

W&M National Institute of American History & Democracy Interns.

NIAHD offers a semester-long museum internship through its Field School in Public History, giving students the opportunity to explore a topic in depth under the supervision of an expert in the field. In 2016, Bronte de Cardenas investigated possible connections between William & Mary's enslaved and free blacks and the Civil War and Reconstruction. In 2018, Alexandra Sansovich investigated William & Mary faculty, staff, and administrators to determine slaveholding patterns.

An **Oral History Collection** has been established with the approval of the William & Mary Protection of Human Subjects Committee. To date, twenty-one interviews have been conducted by the Lemon Project Director and several graduate fellows. Working in conjunction with Swem Library Special Collections and the Media Center, the interviews were filmed and will be housed in Special Collections. Thus far the collection includes: alumni of the College, former faculty and staff, and members of the Williamsburg community.

⁴ Elizabeth J. Monroe and David W. Lewes of the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research, "Archaeological Assessment of a Site near the Alumni House and the Early College Boundary, College of William and Mary, City of Williamsburg, Virginia," <https://www.wm.edu/sites/lemonproject/researchandresources/archaeology-report.pdf>, accessed June 24, 2018.

⁵ Mark St. John Erickson, "Archaeologists dig for a colonial-era black school," *Los Angeles Times*, <https://www.latimes.com/world/la-xpm-2012-aug-19-la-na-black-school-20120819-story.html>, August 19, 2012.

Additions to Swem Library Special Collections Research Center.

The Lemon Project secured two sets of family papers to add to the African American History Collection:

Curtis West Harris and Ruth Jones Harris Papers

This collection contains biographical information relating to Reverend Curtis W. Harris, Ruth Jones Harris, Hopewell community members and calendars for the Harris family. Included in the collection are documents relating to Reverend Harris's time spent serving on Hopewell's City Council, materials from the churches Rev. Harris served, as well as his involvement with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. In addition to this material are photo albums, pertaining to church related programs/activities and events at the Union Day Care Center, and artifacts.

QuoVadis Wright Family Papers

This collection contains biographical information relating to QuoVadis Wright, her mother, and other family members. Mrs. Wright was a lifetime resident of the Triangle Community in Williamsburg. The collection includes pictures, yearbooks, and Mrs. Wright's mother's diary.

Publications:

Report "Integrating the College of William & Mary" (September 2014) Lois Bloom

<https://www.wm.edu/sites/lemonproject/researchandresources/resourcesandresearch/IntegratingWMBloom.pdf>

Report "1971 Commencement Speaker at William & Mary" (October 2013) Lois Bloom

<https://www.wm.edu/sites/lemonproject/researchandresources/resourcesandresearch/Final1971CommencementSpeaker.pdf>

Report "Confederates on the Campus 'Dixie' and Secession" (October 2013) Lois Bloom

<https://www.wm.edu/sites/lemonproject/researchandresources/resourcesandresearch/FinalConfederatesonCampus10-23-2013.pdf>

Article "A First Look at the Worst: Slavery and Race Relations at the College of William and Mary" *William and Mary Bill of Rights Journal* 16 Terry L. Meyers (April 2008), 1141-1168.

https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1068921

Article "Benjamin Franklin, the College of William and Mary, and the Williamsburg Bray School," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 79 Terry L. Meyers, (December 2010), 368-393.

https://www.jstor.org/stable/42612683?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

Article "Thinking about Slavery at the College of William and Mary," *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal*, Volume 21, Issue 4, Article 6, Terry Meyers, (2013).

http://scholarship.law.wm.edu/wmborj/vol21/iss4/6_

Article "Thomas Dew and the rise of proslavery ideology at William & Mary". Jody L. Allen Pages 267-279 Published online: 31 May 2018

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0144039X.2018.1446783?journalCode=fsla20>

Report Emma Bresnan '17 "Eugenics at William & Mary" Gaither-Johnson (Summer Research Fellowship recipient) (2016)

<https://www.wm.edu/sites/lemonproject/documents/bresnaneugenicsoutline.pdf>

Research Paper "African Americans at the College of William and Mary from 1950 – 1970" Jacqueline Filzen '14 (2012) (fulfilled requirements for a non-Lemon Project Class)

<https://www.wm.edu/sites/lemonproject/documents/jacquelinefilzen.pdf>

Research Paper "The Cultivation of the Black Experience: Student Voices at William and Mary, 1954-2014" (2014)

Tanisha Ingram '14 (Summer Research Fellow)

<https://www.wm.edu/sites/lemonproject/documents/tanishaingram.pdf>

Appendix B:

Teaching

In pursuit of the W&M Board of Visitors' mandate "to promote a deeper understanding ..." faculty associated with the Lemon Project have drawn on emerging scholarship to develop new courses and direct students' independent studies and summer research projects.

Women of the Civil Rights Movement (Fall 2013 and *2014).

The modern Civil Rights Movement arose in earnest when forces of change that had been percolating at the local level for decades gelled. While the leadership of this Movement is typically attributed to men, the truth is that there were countless women who galvanized their communities to resist oppression and demand justice. These women continued to work in the trenches even after the Movement gained national attention but few are known and fewer still acknowledged. This course studies the history of the long Civil Rights Movement from the point of view of these women and their known and unknown predecessors who paved the way. In Fall 2014, the students selected the following peninsular women to be included in an exhibit at Swem Library: Alleyne Blayton, Jessie Rattley, Miriam Johnson Carter, Clara Byrd Baker, Mary Smith Peake, Norvleate Downing-Gross, and Edith Heard.

Education of African Americans in Virginia (Fall 2011, 2015, 2016, and Spring 2013).

The education of African Americans in Virginia has traveled an interesting and often complicated and complex path affecting students across the country. From the Bray School of Williamsburg, possibly the first educational institution in this country established for the sole purpose of the religious education of African American children, free and enslaved, through the *Brown* decision, *Charles C. Green v. County School Board of New Kent County*, and the desegregation of the public schools on the peninsula, this course explores the process of desegregating education with the intent of trying to understand the past, investigate the present "resegregation" of schools, and contemplate the future of education for all students.

Finding Lemon: In Search of the Peninsula's African Americans from Slavery to Reconstruction (Spring 2012).

This research seminar gives students the opportunity to explore primary and secondary sources in an effort to learn more about the lives of African Americans before, during, and after the U.S. Civil War. How did they live and die? How did they labor, forge families, worship? What role did

gender and age play? How did the time period and location impact their lives? These questions and more are addressed. Using census records, letters, wills, estate inventories, oral histories, etc. students develop a greater understanding of the 'peculiar institution' and Freedom's First Generation.

The History of the African American Family (Spring 2014, 2015, 2016).

The idea of the traditional family unit—mother, father, two children—is often referred to as the backbone of American society. The black American family has not always fit this model, however. Indeed, circumstances have often forced African Americans to adopt non-traditional family structures. This course employs an interdisciplinary approach to study the African American family from its West African roots through the Civil Rights Movement. A variety of teaching resources are used, including film, novels, plays, and traditional historical texts. While exploring this topic, students learn research methodologies designed to provide insight into the black family. In the process students gain an understanding of how African American families not only survived but thrived in an environment that was at best dismissive and at worst hostile. (This course is now taught under Africana Studies and cross-listed with HIST, GSWS, and AMST.)

Memorializing the Enslaved of the College of William and Mary (Fall 2014).

This course is rooted in the 2007 Student Assembly bill calling for the Board of Visitors to "establish a commission to research the full extent of the College of William and Mary's role in slavery." As part of the course, students take walks around the William & Mary campus and note the memorials—statues, plaques, buildings—celebrating the people, organizations, and so forth that have contributed to William & Mary's history. But there is one group of individuals that is largely ignored. Where is the recognition and appreciation of the Africans and African Americans who toiled on the campus? Specifically, the people who built and maintained the institution from its inception until the Civil War? Additionally, where is the acknowledgement of the African American laborers who worked here throughout the Jim Crow period? Students in this course study the life of William & Mary and its historical context. They

also learn the language of design and explore the process of establishing a monument, and consider the process of bringing history and memory together. The format of the course is varied but is largely discussion-based and includes town hall style meetings, guest speakers, documentaries, and readings (fiction and non-fiction). It is open to undergraduate and graduate students, administrators, and members of the local community. (Co-taught with Ed Pease, architect and Sr. Lecturer in Art & Art History).

The World of Henry Billups (Spring 2010 and 2011).**

W.E.B. DuBois writes in *The Souls of Black Folk*: “After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world, -a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness,--an American, a Negro; two warring souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.” This course investigates the world described by DuBois. The Jim Crow Era began shortly after the end of Reconstruction and lasted until the late 1960s. During this period, law and custom in this country dictated racial segregation, and it was through the eyes of Jim Crow that blacks saw themselves on a daily basis—lazy, shiftless, womanizing drunks or Jezebels without morals good for only physical labor. There was a second pair of eyes, the eyes of their communities. Were these the eyes that gave them the strength to keep “from being torn asunder”? Exploration of this phenomenon as experienced by black Virginians, including Henry Billups, a William and Mary employee from 1888-1955, is a central focus of this course.

** The students who took The World of Henry Billups in spring 2011 curated an exhibit for Swem Library “[The World of Henry Billups: Jim Crow at the College of William & Mary.](#)”

1619 and The Making of America.

This 1-credit class, based on the Norfolk State University Conference, 1619: The Making of America, creates historical accessibility by framing the past within the context of understanding how the events that occurred in 1619 permanently altered British America and created a complex culture and society. Students participate in a roundtable discussion and attend lectures by a group of eminent scholars, who use their expertise to summarize how American society was transformed beginning in 1619. At the beginning of the 17th-century all the eastern portions of North America, which afterward became the thirteen original colonies, were known as Virginia. Three important events marked a significant transformation for the history of the nation, twelve years after the founding

of Jamestown. The arrival of Africans to America has been fraught with dispute by historians for years because of the question about whether they arrived as slaves or as unfree people. Today, historians agree that their arrival heralded the beginnings of a history that would take these unfree people and eventually transform the majority into America’s enslaved population by the 1660s. At the same time, the birth of a limited democratic government would be important in establishing for the world the concept of a government “of the people, by the people, and for the people.” Composed of twenty-two delegates who met in July 1619, the House of Burgesses would construct a society that allowed for the people to have a share in their government. Also in 1619, English women would begin their journey to Virginia, laying the early groundwork for the establishment of white families in America. Following the entrenchment of the white family in America, concepts of whiteness and an American society based on Anglo culture would emerge. (Fall 2012 co-taught by Professors Jody Allen and Joanne Braxton; Fall 2013 taught by Jody Allen)

Independent Studies and Summer Research Projects (directed by Jody Allen):

- Danielle Green ‘12 “The Rockefellers’ Colonial Williamsburg Dream & The African-American Community” Symposium Presentation (summer research project)
- Sebastian Kreindel ‘12 “African Americans in the News at the College of William & Mary: 100 Years of Flat Hat History” (summer research project)
- Denay Morrison ‘12 “The Legacy of Jim Crow at William & Mary” Report (Independent Study)
- Andrew Ojeda ‘12 “A Persistent Romance: The Progress of Interracial Relationships in Virginia” Symposium Presentation (summer research project)
- Tanisha Ingram ‘14 “The Cultivation of the Black Experience: Student Voices at William & Mary 1954-2014.
- Emma Bresnan ‘17 “Eugenics at William & Mary”

Appendix C:

Project Initiatives, University Initiatives, and Community Collaboration

The Lemon Project's initial focus on archival research evolved quickly into a multifaceted approach that has involved many parts of William & Mary and has invited in the Williamsburg and Peninsular African American communities. It is appropriate here to describe Lemon Project and university initiatives together with community collaboration.

The Lemon Project Symposium

The first Lemon Project spring symposium (2011) took place at the Bruton Heights School, the formerly segregated school for African American children. Panels of community members, faculty, staff, and students brought the theme, "From Slavery Toward Reconciliation: African Americans & the College," to life. The annual symposium has become the Project's most successful method of community outreach.

2012 "The Journey Continues: Learning From Difference" Bruton Heights School (BHS)

2013 "Campus & Communities: The African American Experience Along the Peninsula"

On Friday evening, a two-woman play entitled "Flight to Freedom: The Fields Family and Freedom's Fortress" took place in the BHS auditorium. The symposium outgrew the BHS, so the Saturday sessions took place at the School of Education on the W&M campus. The community moved with us.

2014 "Aspiring for Change: Representations of the African American Experience" opened at the BHS auditorium with the symposium's first internationally known speaker, Dr. Craig Steven Wilder, who led a discussion on his book *Ebony & Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities*. Later that night, the first Lemon Project Open Mic took place. The open mics provide students and community members another forum, in addition to traditional presentations, to express their thoughts on the theme. The next day Wilder's keynote address and breakout sessions took place at the W&M School of Business.

2015 "Ghosts of Slavery: The Afterlives of Racial Bondage" featured "Riding in Cars with Black People and Other Newly Dangerous Acts: A Memoir of Vanishing Whiteness" written and performed by Chad Goller-Sojourner, took place at the BHS auditorium. The one-man show was followed by a community discussion. The Saturday day time sessions took place

at the School of Education with the keynote addresses given by Stephen Seals and Hope Wright of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation followed that night by the open mic in the Sadler Center.

2016 "Jim Crow & Civil Rights in the Age of President Obama," long committed to the importance of the arts in the study and presentation of African American history, the Lemon Project began the 2016 symposium at the Kimball Theatre with The Cleo Parker Robinson Dance Ensemble. Ms. Robinson, a choreographer and civil rights activist, expresses her activism in her work. Civil Rights legend Diane Nash gave the 2016 keynote address which was followed by a series of sessions that included a paper by our first scholars from outside the U.S. The Saturday events took place at the School of Education.

2017 "Black Revolutionary Thought From Gabriel to Black Lives Matter" The Hampton University Choir was in concert on Friday evening at First Baptist Church, Scotland Street in Williamsburg. The second day took place at the School of Business and featured keynote speaker Dr. Lester Spence of Johns Hopkins University. The open mic took place in the Sadler Center.

2018 represented a collaboration between the Lemon Project and the 50-Year Commemoration Committee. The theme was "Desegregating Higher Education in Virginia: William and Mary in Historical Context." For the first time, the symposium took place over two full days- Friday at the Sadler Center and Saturday at the School of Education. The schedule included an art workshop featuring artist Steve Prince and a one-woman show entitled "The New Gatekeepers," written and performed by Valarie Gray Holmes. The two days ended with the open mic at Small Hall.

Donning of the Kente

In 2012, William & Mary added a new tradition to Commencement weekend, the Donning of the Kente. This rite of passage ceremony celebrates excellence, both personal and academic, for students of color and has the following goals:

- To recognize and reward personal and academic achievement
- To highlight the need to keep striving for excellence
- To provide an intimate end-of-college experience
- To illustrate to students of color that W&M strives to meet the needs and interests of all students.

Graduating Seniors Participating in the Donning of the Kente:

2012 = 46
 2013 = 90
 2014 = 98
 2015 = 120
 2016 = 130
 2017 = 130
 2018 = 131

Lemon's Legacies Porch Talks grew out of the Donning of the Kente. At the first DOK ceremony, we were struck by the number of parents and graduates who approached us to thank us for holding this event and to say that it was the first time that they had felt a part of William & Mary. As gratifying as this was, it was also disheartening to hear that some of the students who participated in a Commencement Weekend event felt, for the first time, they were part of the William & Mary family. The idea behind the Porch Talks is to foster conversations among students, faculty, staff, and community members. These events represent collaboration among The Lemon Project, William and Mary Scholar Undergraduate Research Experience (WMSURE), the Counseling Center, the Office of Diversity and Community Initiatives, and the Center for Student Diversity.

Topics to date:

- "What I Wish Someone Had Told Me Before I Came to College" September 2012
- "What gifts did my family give me that proved useful on my journey?" November 2012
- "Developing Skills for Asking Questions in Front of Large Audiences" January 2013
- "What I Wish Someone Had Told Me Before I Came to College" September 2013
- "Drum Circle for Faculty and Staff" October 2013
- "Post Trayvon Martin Trial: Mobilizing an Effective Response to Race and Injustice" November 2013
- "A Discussion with Authors and Educators Erna Brodber and Catherine John" April 2014
- "Stress Management/Setting Realistic Goals" November 2015

- "Social Justice and the Arts: A Conversation with Choreographer Cleo Parker Robinson" March 2016
- "Learning How to Navigate a New Place" September 2016
- "Having Difficult Conversations (With People You Disagree With)" October 2016
- "A Story of the Bray School" April 2017
- "Student Activism: How to Support Sustained Action" February 2018
- Two Drum Circles at the end of each semester

Branch Out Alternative Breaks

In 2015, the Lemon Project was approached by the Office of Community Engagement to see if we would be willing to sponsor a day during the upcoming Martin Luther King Jr. Branch Out weekend trip.

About Branch Out alternative breaks: Active citizens in partnership for positive change

"An alternative break is an immersive service trip in which students engage in direct service with a community partner organization. In a Branch Out alternative break, you can join a group of students to travel locally, across the US and around the globe in small groups to work in partnership with host organizations on community-driven service and social justice projects. Each trip focuses on a particular social justice topic, and immersion in that topic begins before the trip in team meetings. You'll learn in depth about your issue and host community and will gain needed skills well before traveling. After the trip, you'll come home to continue action in your local community, using skills and perspective that you gained through your trip."

"Branch Out also has a strong focus on social justice — meaning that we're working for a society in which everyone can achieve their full potential. We work to ensure that our projects build capacity and respect the dignity of the communities with whom we partner. Our site leaders are trained in principles of social justice and gain an understanding of privilege so that our alternative breaks can bring about more justice in society."⁶

Branch Out 2015 This was our first year working with the Office of Community Engagement and the MLK Weekend Branch Out trip which lasted for several hours on Sunday morning and afternoon. The theme was "From Lemon to MLK and Beyond: The Journey of Understand W&M's History with Race." The day began with a tour of the Wren building followed by a discussion. Next, there was Q&A about the Lemon Project. Finally, the student participants began the process of transcribing some of the oral history interviews that we had collected to that point. We spent approximately six hours together.

Branch Out 2016 This trip covered Saturday, Sunday, and Monday. Using exercises developed by The Program on Intergroup Relations at the University of Michigan and Augusto Boal's *Theatre of the Oppressed*, discussions designed to foster an understanding

⁶ Taken from the Community Engagement website <http://www.wm.edu/offices/oce/programs/branchout/index.php>

of self and one's place on campus and in the larger community took place. These discussions provided students a lens through which to consider what happens when self-identity is constrained by the beliefs and actions of others. Students also explored African American history and how black identities have been overlooked in the history of the campus and the Greater Williamsburg area. During an Alternative Tour of African American history sites on campus and the surrounding community, led by Terry Meyers, Chancellor Professor of English, the students were guided through an interrogation of primary source documents to learn what insights they provide into the history that has been ignored in the mainstream.

On the second day, the students attended a service at First Baptist Church (FBC) and focused on developing their exhibit. After going through an abundance of sources gathered by the Lemon Project graduate assistant and Fellow in consultation with Special Collections staff, the students deliberated, given their experiences with community members, and began to curate the exhibit they were planning for FBC's 240th Anniversary.

On Monday, the students attended Moral Mondays, led by John Whitley, a W&M alum and member of the local community, to experience local activism with a focus on the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., completed the exhibit and concluded the weekend. At Moral Mondays, the students met and talked with local activists. Later that day, they completed the exhibit by reviewing, revising, and finalizing the descriptions of the chosen documents. Following the trip, the graduate student assistants conducted a final review of the work and printed the images on foam board to be displayed in First Baptist Church. The final product was an exhibit on African American Education in Tidewater that was on display at First Baptist Church, Scotland Street from February through the summer of 2016 as part of "Let Freedom Ring," the recognition of the church's 240th Anniversary. The materials have since been transferred online to the Lemon Project's Omeka site, lemonlab.wm.edu.

Branch Out 2017 The Lemon Project again collaborated with Branch Out, but this time, the focus was on starting an online platform for Lemon Project exhibits that would make the information accessible to the public. The exhibit the students created concerned discussions of race in the *William & Mary Flat Hat* from its founding to the present.

As in 2016, the first day consisted primarily of introductions: to the Lemon Project, to the learning space, to identity and to Omeka. The students were trained in basic Omeka skills, digital humanities and history frameworks, and primary source reading techniques. On the second day, a guest lecturer came to discuss the intersections of activism and the arts and the students engaged in making activist art of their own and sharing it with the group. They watched and discussed the film *Thirteenth* to address

histories of race, media, and discrimination. They also built much of the exhibit and participated in *Forum Theater*, a social justice-oriented theatrical activity from Agosto Boal's *Games for Actors and Non-Actors*. In this, the students acted out incidents of oppression and explored different ways to intervene. On the third and final day, students worked again with Moral Monday's activists and completed their exhibit. This time, however, it was focused online. The exhibit still stands as the first completely made by students on our lemonlab website. <https://lemonlab.wm.edu/collections/show/19>

Branch Out 2018 When Karen Ely, Lynn Briley, and Janet Brown Strafer arrived at the College of William & Mary in 1967, they did not realize the impact their presence would have. Ely, Briley and Brown Strafer (the Legacy 3) were the first residential African American students at the College. From their corner room in the basement of Jefferson Hall to the Wren Building, these women carved spaces for themselves and for those African American students who would follow. For this Martin Luther King, Jr. Weekend Branch Out Alternative Break, student participants interviewed Ely, Briley and Brown Strafer about their interactions with spaces and places at William & Mary. Though their stories reflect distinct barriers and challenges, they were also adamant that they had a normal college experience. They put their academics first, they enjoyed the beautiful campus, and they found friends and places to study. In the interviews, the students asked the Legacy 3 about three facets of student life: residential, academic, and social. Over time, the women's experiences added layers of meaning to the spaces we currently share as a campus. <https://lemonlab.wm.edu/exhibits/show/building-a-legacy>

Bray School Historic Marker

The Virginia Board of Historic Resources has approved an historic marker to be placed at the site of the original Bray School. The proposed text for the marker: "School for Black Children The Associates of Dr. Bray, a London-based charity, founded a school for enslaved and free black children here in 1760. Located in Williamsburg at the suggestion of Benjamin Franklin, a member of the Associates, the school received support from the College of William & Mary. Anne Wager instructed as many as 400 boys and girls during her 14 years as teacher. In a culture hostile to educating African Americans, Wager taught the students principles of Christianity, deportment, reading, and, possibly, writing. The curriculum reinforced proslavery ideology but also spread literacy within the black community. The school moved from this site by 1765 and closed in 1774." The marker is planned to be unveiled during the 2019 Lemon Project Symposium.

Naming of Lemon and Hardy Residence Halls

In response to the call to diversify the campus landscape, two residence halls, Jamestown North and South, were renamed Lemon Hall after a man once enslaved by the

College, and Hardy Hall after Carroll F.S. Hardy, Dean Hardy, who nurtured and shepherded countless African American students through William & Mary.

Proposed Naming of Billups Hall

The Lemon Project is currently working on the renaming of Brown Hall, a residence hall which is situated at the site of the Bray School, for Henry Billups, an African American man who worked at the College from 1888 until 1954.

The Lemon Project Committee on Memorialization

This committee, formed from the class that was taught in Fall 2014, has worked diligently since spring 2015 to respond to the 2007 Student Assembly resolution, which called for the establishment of a memorial to the enslaved men, women, and children who labored at William & Mary before the Civil War. While committee members have changed over the years, the group includes undergraduate students, faculty, administrators, alumni, and community members. Using ideas gathered from the class, town hall meetings on campus and in the community, and an online survey, this body determined that an Idea Competition, which allows for a diverse and inclusive group of entrants—professional designers, architects, sculptors, and amateurs of all ages and skill levels—is the best vehicle for obtaining a memorial design. This plan was inspired by the story of Maya Lin, who was a 22 year old undergraduate at Yale when she designed the Vietnam Memorial in Washington, D.C. President Taylor Reveley and Provost Michael Halleran received the initial proposal for the Idea Competition in fall 2016. Concerns about the approach prompted a second document, “Why A Competition?” In October 2017, the President approved the Idea Competition and at the same time agreed that the historic campus is the best location for the memorial. Since that time, Jody Allen, Susan Kern, and Ed Pease, the LPCOM executive committee, have worked with university officials and now, the competition advisor, Phyllis Slade Martin, to implement the plan. The competition launched August 28, 2018.

Invited Public Speaking Engagements

- Christopher Wren Association
- The Greater Williamsburg Women’s Association
- Norfolk Public Library
- Hampton History Museum
- Williamsburg Landing Residents
- Retired Teachers of Williamsburg
- National Institute for American History and Democracy (NIAHD) annually
- “I Am William & Mary” Week panel 2013
- Association of Theological Field Educators
- Association for the Study of African American Life and History (2012 & 2013)
- The Hulon Willis Association
- Student Residence Halls, including Lemon Hall and Hardy Hall

- Classes
- Young African Leaders Institute (annually)
- Annual presentation to Counseling Center Interns
- Spotswood Society training
- The Association for Theological Field Education

Publicizing the Lemon Project: Television and Radio

- July 2010, Robert Trent Vinson appeared on WHRO’s ‘Another View’ with host Barbara Hamm Lee (television)
- January 2012, Robert Engs and Jody Allen appeared on WHRV’s ‘Another View’ with host Barbara Hamm Lee (radio)
- January 2015, Jody Allen appeared on the D.C. based Kojo Nnamdi Show (radio)
- December 2015, Jody Allen appeared on the Diane Rehm Show, NPR
- Publicizing the Lemon Project continued
- Social Media presence (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram)
- Lemon Project Website
- Established listserv
- Article in Diverse: Issues in Higher Education (provided national and international exposure)
- Regular contributions to Voices newsletter from the Office of Diversity and Equal Opportunity
- Universities Studying Slavery (USS) Meeting at The College of William & Mary Fall 2016 <http://slavery.virginia.edu/universities-studying-slavery-uss-meeting-at-the-college-of-william-mary/>

Collaboration with Departments, Institutions, and Community Organizations

- From 2010 until 2013 the Lemon Project, in association with William & Mary’s Sharpe Community Scholars Program and the Maggie Walker National Historic Site, provided funding to assist with the processing of the Maggie Walker Papers.
- Norfolk State University on the “1619: The Making of America Conference,”-The director served on the planning committee 2012-2013
- Co-sponsored “Voter Suppression 2012: Jim Crow Lives” panel with Africana Studies and the Williamsburg-James City-York County NAACP Chapter
- Co-sponsored “The Lock-Out Generation: Children of Courage, Prince Edward County Public School Closings” with Swem Library, Africana & American Studies, the Department of History, and the Robert Russa Moton Museum November 2012
- Co-sponsored the Lemon Legacies Porch Talks with the Counseling Center, Center for Student Diversity, WMSURE, Office of the Chief Diversity Officer
- Co-sponsored Black Law Students Association (BSA) symposium “Where Do We Go From Here: Community of Chaos? A Conversation on Race, Law, and Current Events” March 2015

- Co-sponsored Black Law Students Association (BLSA) symposium “Systematic Suppression: Mass Incarceration and Voter Disenfranchisement” March 2016
- Director served on the 50 Years of African Americans in Residence Commemoration Committee; Co-sponsored the 2017 annual symposium
- Director serves on the 100 Years of Coeducation Committee 2017-2019
- Co-sponsored The Daily Work of Justice “conversation series on the Criminal Justice System that invited people directly involved in an issue to share their lived experience, as a way of providing space for others to engage with empathy, understanding, and action. It was created collaboratively by people from diverse units across William & Mary.” The Office of Community Engagement was the lead office. Excerpted from the W&M website.
- Co-sponsored “Building A Vocal Community: The Power of Song in Community” in January 2017 with All Together, the William & Mary Lemon Project, William & Mary Africana Studies Program, William & Mary Music Department, Williamsburg Unitarian Universalists, and the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, with generous financial support from the Williamsburg Community Foundation. In this workshop, Dr. Ysaye Barnwell, a former long-time member of the renowned musical group Sweet Honey in the Rock, led participants in experiencing the musical traditions of Africa and the Diaspora (including chants, spirituals, ring shouts, and songs from the Civil Rights Movement), and explored the power of music to bring communities together. No musical experience was necessary. Excerpted from the W&M website. Co-sponsoring again January 2019
- Co-sponsored a “Chat and Chew” lunch event with the Center for Student Diversity and COLL 300 featuring architect Zena Howard, who was part of the team that designed the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture.
- There has been a continual effort to present programming that embraces interdisciplinarity. To that end, the Lemon Project co-sponsored with the Center for Student Diversity Celebration of Dance 2013 featuring William & Mary’s own Professor Leah Glenn and Jamal Story <http://www.jamalstory.com/>. The following year, Hip Hop prodigy Rennie Harris was the featured guest for Celebration of Dance 2014. In 2016, co-sponsored the Cleo Parker Robinson Dance Ensemble with the Greater Williamsburg Women’s Association.

Appendix D:

History of Organizational Structure and Staffing

The evolution of the Lemon Project's multi-faceted approach has brought changes over time to the make-up of the Lemon Project's organizational structure and staffing. Short- and medium-term goals adopted by the Lemon Project (see the Summary Report's section on Plans, Recommendations, and Endorsements) suggest further staffing adjustments.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

Current Structure

Director
Office Manager/Research Associate
OI-Lemon Project Post-Doc
Graduate Assistant
Graduate Assistant
Steering Committee
Advisory Committee

2017-18

Director
Fellow
Graduate Assistant
Steering Committee
Advisory Committee

2011-17

2 Co-Chairs
Managing Director
Fellow
Graduate Assistant
Steering Committee
Advisory Committee

2010-11

2 Co-Chairs
Project Coordinator
Fellow
Steering Committee
Advisory Committee

CO-CHAIRS

2010-11 Kimberly Phillips
2010-13 Robert Trent Vinson
2011-15 Terry Meyers
2013-17 Jody Allen
2015-17 Leah Glenn

FELLOWS

2010-11 Caroline Morris
2011-12 Caroline Hasenyager
2012-13 Sarah McLennan
2013-14 Lindsay Keiter
2014-15 Thomas Gillian
2015-16 Amanda Stuckey
2016-17 Sarah Thomas
2017-18 Sarah Thomas

GRADUATE ASSISTANTS

2011-12 Meghan Holder Bryant
2012-13 Jhari Derr Hill
2013-14 James Padilioni
2014-15 Travis Harris
2015-16 Ari Weinberg
2016-17 Ari Weinberg
2017-18 Ravynn Stringfield

STEERING COMMITTEE

*Jody L. Allen
Berhanu Abegaz
*Stephanie Blackmon
David Brown*
Kelley Deetz*
Robert F. Engs
Leah F. Glenn*
Fanchon Glover*
Artisia Green*
Cindy Hahamovitch
Susan Kern*
Arthur Knight*
Terry Meyers*
Neil Norman*
Kimberly Phillips
Hermine Pinson
Joel Schwartz
Francis Tanglao-Aguas
Sarah Thomas*
Robert Trent Vinson*
Alexandra Yeumeni

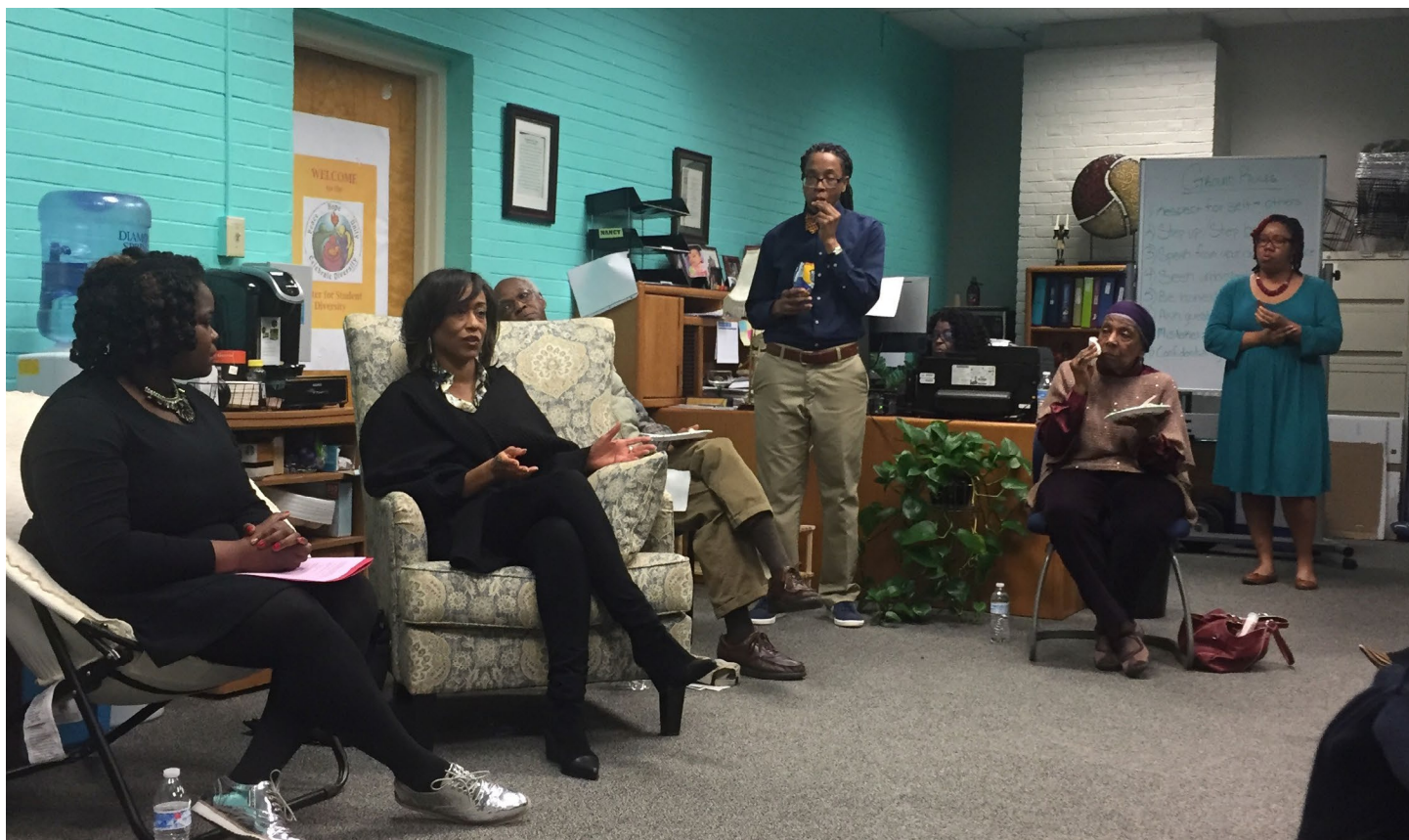
* Current members

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Oscar Blayton
Joanne Braxton*
Robert Braxton*
Anthony Conyers*
Amanda R. Cottingham
Christina Draper
Melvin P. Ely*
William T. Geary
Leah F. Glenn
Monica Griffin*
Grey Gundaker
Edith Heard*
Anne Charity Hudley
Heather Huyck
Arthur L. Knight
Charles E. McGovern*
Jacquelyn Y. McLendon
Neil L. Norman
Maggie Russello
Amy Schindler
Joel D. Schwartz
Carol Sheriff*
Kimberly Sims*
James P. Whittenburg*

* Current members

Porch Talks



Branch Out Trips



Lemon Hall Dedication



Symposium 2018



Symposium 2016



Symposium 2013



Symposium 2012





Keynote Speakers





Donning of the Kente





Resolution Adopted by the William & Mary Board of Visitors

In 2009 the William & Mary Board of Visitors passed the resolution below, acknowledging the University's history as a slaveholder and proponent of Jim Crow and establishing the Lemon Project: A Journey of Reconciliation.

WHEREAS, the College of William and Mary acknowledges that it owned and exploited slave labor from its founding to the Civil War; and

WHEREAS, the College acknowledges that it engaged in the discrimination and exclusion that characterized educational institutions during the era of Jim Crow and disfranchisement and that it failed to challenge these hurtful policies; and

WHEREAS, the legacy of that era has encumbered the College's relationships with the Williamsburg and Peninsular African American community, many of whom are descendants of antebellum slaves and many more of whom have worked for or attended the College since that time; and

WHEREAS, as a preeminent institution of higher learning we are dedicated to understanding the truth of our past and the impact that past may have had on us and on the community; and

WHEREAS, only of late have we learned of an African American named Lemon who was owned by the College during the late 18th and early 19th century, served it well, and, remarkably, carved out a life of his own in Williamsburg.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary heartily supports the creation of the Lemon Project: A Journey of Reconciliation that will be a long-term research project under the sponsorship of the Office of the Provost, involving College faculty, staff, and students as well as members of the Greater Williamsburg community, to better understand, chronicle, and preserve the history of blacks at the College and in the community and to promote a deeper understanding of the indebtedness of the College to the work and support of its diverse neighbors.⁷

⁷ See Board of Visitors Minutes of April 17, 2009, p. 8.

“The College, Race and Slavery: Report to the Provost and Faculty”

Robert F. Engs, James Pinckney Harrison Visiting Professor in History
December 1, 2008 / February 12, 2009

Note: At the invitation of the Provost and the faculty of the Lyon Gardiner Tyler Department of History, Visiting Professor Robert Engs studied the history of slavery and race at William & Mary and reported his recommendations to the faculty and administration. His report, which follows below, informed the Board of Visitors' resolution, adopted in 2009, creating the Lemon Project: A Journey of Reconciliation.

I. The Process, Fall 2008:

In the Fall semester of 2008 I studied the history of slavery and race at the College. My charge was to make recommendations to the faculty and administration on appropriate and meaningful responses to those historical wrongs and their stubbornly enduring legacy. I undertook this project at the invitation of the Provost and the Faculty of the Lyon Gardiner Tyler Department of History. I understood that I was chosen for this task in part because, as an outside scholar, I might bring objectivity to a troublesome subject, and because, as a person with family ties in the Williamsburg community, I might be able to engage in dialogue with long time black residents about their feelings toward the College, its past, and its present policies. It was made clear to me that William and Mary wished to do something more meaningful and lasting than a simple apology for a wrong in the distant past. I took that commitment as my guiding principle in the work that I have done. It informs the recommendations I make in the conclusion.

In my work during the fall, I received invaluable cooperation from everyone I encountered at the College, but a few must be singled out for special appreciation. First is Prof. Terry Meyers without whose energy and tenacity this project may never have begun. Also there are the other members of our unofficial “Working Group” who have guided me to the conclusions and recommendations that follow. They are: History Professors Cindy Hahamovitch, Carol Sheriff, James Whittenburg, and Visiting Professor Jody Allen. History Graduate Student Nancy Hillman was invaluable as my research assistant. Also providing assistance and insights were Professor Robert Vinson,

Professor Joel Schwartz, Director of the Charles Center, and Hope Yelich Beatriz Hardy of Swem Library. I offer special thanks to Provost Geoff Feiss and President Taylor Reveley for unstinting support on this potentially sensitive undertaking.

The work on recovering the history of slavery at the College and its meaning was well begun before my arrival. Faculty, particularly in the History Department, have been guiding their graduate students and advanced undergraduates on a number of projects that have probed what evidence remains of slaves at the College, and the stances College faculty took on the existence of the “peculiar institution.” Professor Alfred Brophy gave a talk at the William and Mary Law School exploring the pro-slavery arguments of Thomas Roderick Dew and discussed the larger issues of institutional apologies and reparations. Professor Meyers and the students of Professor Hahamovitch have taken the story further to begin looking at the nature of race relations at the College following slavery's collapse and well into the 20th Century.

The work of building bridges with the black community of Williamsburg has also been underway for some time. Provost Feiss and Mrs. Barbara Watson of the James City County Community Services Department have led various efforts to engage the College and Community in dialogue through the group “All Together” and participation on the Diversity Committee of the College. By my assessment these efforts are at a nascent stage and much work remains to be done. I have been startled by the deeply rooted anger and distrust of the College that exists among longtime residents of the black community. Any action to improve relations with the black community, therefore, must reach far beyond apologies for slavery to include apologies about ongoing injustices and action plans for remedies.

II. The College and Slavery: An assessment of the state of the research

The current research and writing on Slavery at William and Mary falls into two categories: 1. Studies focused on faculty and students in regard to slavery. 2. Studies seeking

to reveal more about the slaves themselves.

1. Faculty, Students, and Slavery:

The published works of Professors Brophy and Meyers have well documented the attitudes towards slavery among the College's faculty. Professor Alfred Brophy, in "Considering a University Apology for Slavery: The Case of Thomas Roderick Dew," explored the intellectual legacy of William and Mary faculty on the question of slavery. In Dew's case, it is primarily a pro-slavery defense. Brophy and Professor Terry Meyers in "A First Look at the Worst: Slavery and Race Relations at the College of William and Mary" look at other evidence of faculty involvement with slaves as well. Slaves were widely employed at the College by faculty, some of whom owned their slaves, while others hired slaves as servants. Some like President Ewell did both. Others like John Millington may have used slaves as assistants, and, perhaps, subjects in science experiments. What seems clear is that there was no discernable opposition to slavery among the faculty after St. George Tucker in the late 18th century. Indeed, slavery seemed largely accepted by College faculty and students in the years leading to the Civil War. Although the numbers actually owned by the College were small in the 19th Century (see below), this was more a sign of the College's precarious financial state than some quiescent opposition to the institution.

Along with the perhaps five slaves directly owned by the College in the years just before the Civil War, there were likely several more brought to campus to serve their student/masters. Little has been discovered about the lives of these slaves nor about what the student body thought of slavery. Once again, there is little reason to believe anyone questioned the legitimacy of the institution. There may be some fruitful research that can be done on students who brought slaves with them to school as well as faculty interaction with slaves. This is painstaking work with uncertain rewards. Nevertheless, these subjects might be plausible topics for senior research seminars, other undergraduate inquiry, and masters or doctoral theses.

2. Slaves at the College, Hired and Owned:

Upon my arrival at the College I was pleasantly surprised by the amount of research and writing that had been done on the history of slavery at the College. Most helpful have been Professor Meyers' work, that of Kristin Zech in her 2001 Honors thesis, "So Well Endowed: Economic Support of the College of William and Mary During the Colonial Period," and Jennifer B. Oast's recently completed doctoral dissertation, "Forgotten Masters: Institutional Slavery in Virginia, 1680-1860." Zech has valuable information and sources on the Nottoway Quarter, the plantation lands owned by the College in Prince George

and Surry Counties along the Nottoway River. Oast is very informative on slavery at the College in the late 18th and early 19th Centuries.⁸ It is clear that slavery at the College was much more prominent in the 18th Century than the 19th. Before the Revolution, the College had extensive ownership in slaves and property upon which slaves labored. Slave labor was used to construct early College buildings, maintain its grounds, and to feed and care for its students and teachers.

For both centuries evidence is scattered and very incomplete, but this is particularly true of the 19th century when the fortunes of the College and its ownership of slaves markedly declined. It would appear that the College owned as few as five slaves in the late antebellum period although it clearly hired many more. Moreover, the College "outsourced" housekeeping and food service; thus the slaves who did those tasks would have been enumerated in the census as belonging to the College Steward rather than the College itself.

Nancy Hillman and I tried valiantly to find these slaves but with indifferent success. Of the two men who may have been the Steward in 1850, Turner Christian, owned five slaves, males 16, 6 and 4, and two women ages 80 and 48. These hardly seem like a college workforce. John B. Christian, likely the son of Turner, owned ten slaves seven of whom were between 13 and 40 and thus of an age to provide the kind of labor needed at the College. We have been unable to establish thus far that these were slaves owned or hired by the College.⁹ Contrary to previous reports, we have established that President Ewell owned at least one slave, a 60 year old woman.¹⁰ It is also reported in the Bursar's Records for 1851 that President Ewell was paid \$95 "for a hire of negro man belonging to College hired for last year to Lunatic asylum."¹¹

It is apparent that slavery and the hiring of slaves were an integral part of the operation of the College. Slaves were also sold to help the College through economic hardships. It would appear that no one challenged the institution, certainly none out of regard for the slaves themselves. At the same time, Oast documents a certain pattern of paternalistic concern. The College paid medical bills for ill slaves, provided education occasionally to slave children at the Bray School, and gave Christmas bonuses to five male slaves on one occasion.¹² Of particular note is the slave Lemon, owned by the College, who may have had a family of his own –status as slave or free undiscovered so far in Williamsburg. He was allowed to farm on his own time and sold the produce to the College. He was one of the slaves given the Christmas bonus in 1808. In 1815, an aging Lemon was given an allowance to provide his own food, and the College paid for medicine for him in 1816. Finally in 1817 the College purchased a coffin for him. We cannot know the

⁸ The Nottoway Quarter was land owned by the College in Prince George and Surry counties worked by slaves. The income was used to provide scholarships to middle-class white students.

⁹ Both Christians show up in the 1831 Bursar's Records as having been compensated \$800 for that year. Bursar's Records, 1831, E.G. Swem Library Special Collections. Schedule 2, "Slave Inhabitants in the City of Williamsburg in the County of James City" US Manuscript Census, 1850.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Bursar's Records, 1851, E.G. Swem Library Special Collections Research Center.

¹² Jennifer B. Oast, "Forgotten Masters: Institutional Slavery in Virginia, 1680-1860." PhD Dissertation, College of William and Mary, 2008, 200.

full dimensions of Lemon's life but he clearly was more than a cipher who merely provided labor for his institutional master.¹³ It is in recognition of Lemon and the other slaves whose complicated histories are largely lost to us that I propose naming the ongoing enterprise on Race, Slavery and the College the "Lemon Project."

I might observe here that I believe we are close to exhausting discoverable sources on slavery at the College, particularly from the perspective of the bondspeople. The remaining task is to bring together their stories and those of the white masters of the College into a unitary narrative. There is much that could be done on the 19th Century black community, slave and free, in the town and county. This would complement Thad Tate's excellent work on the 18th Century. There is special promise in documenting the coming of freedom to the region and its bondspeople. These are tasks I would enjoy assisting in the future.

III. The College and Race Since the Civil War:

The urgency of meaningful response to slavery and its legacy is necessitated by ongoing missteps of Southern collegiate institutions in regards to race, particularly public ones. Although slavery was relatively unimportant in the final antebellum years at William and Mary, the racial attitudes that had allowed its existence to go largely unquestioned persevered into the late 20th Century and offending remnants abound about town and campus to this day. These are the sources of the deep seated anger and suspicion in the African American community that I noted above. William and Mary is far from alone in this situation, but it has the opportunity, perhaps, to provide a model for sensitive, intellectually stimulating engagement between once arrogant and distant academic enterprises and the disrespected, underpaid black folk who provided the basic labor that made them work.

The story of racism and neglect on the part of the College from emancipation through the beginnings of desegregation in the last quarter of the 20th Century needs to be researched, analyzed and included in that ongoing journey of self-discovery and reconciliation. Far less has been done on these topics and they were beyond my capacity to investigate during my short tenure. Nonetheless, it is apparent that rich resources may exist both archival and oral. Terry Meyers' article and the seminar paper of Cindy Hahamovitch's students give some idea of the territory that must be covered. How did relations between the College and the now free black community evolve in the last half of the 19th century when the College was barely alive? How did the resurrection of the College in the 1880's and the employment of black workers change that situation? How did co-education and other early 20th century changes alter interactions? Why have employee positions at the College remained racially hierarchical and seemingly hereditary even into the 21st Century? How can the College become a genuine partner in aiding the black community to realize some of its goals?

These are the true issues any "apology for slavery" must incorporate. Therefore I propose the following to the Faculty and Administration as an outline for a course of action:

IV. Text of Proposed Apology:

The College of William and Mary acknowledges and deeply regrets its ownership and exploitation of slave labor from its founding through the Civil War. It further acknowledges that that legacy continues to encumber its relationships with the Williamsburg African American community, many of whom are descended from antebellum slaves and many of whom work for the College. The College commits itself to an ongoing intellectual journey to reveal the wrongs of the past and address injustices that may continue. This enterprise will be known as the Lemon Project for the Study of Slavery and Race at William and Mary. It is named in honor of a longtime slave of the College who served it well while also carving out a life of his own. It will be overseen by a faculty/staff/community committee created by the Faculty Assembly.

The Lemon Project will, among other activities, encourage research in courses and by faculty on the history of blacks at the College and in the community. It will create an archive of this research accessible on line to everyone. It will assist in the publication of important new findings and analyses. It will promote conversation and dialogue within the College and among the College and its diverse neighbors.

V. Possible Activities under the "Lemon Project" Umbrella

1. The Lemon Fellowship: A Full Scholarship for two minority students from Williamsburg / James City County, and upper York County Public Schools. (privately endowed)
2. Relocation of The Bray School (if the history of the structure can be compellingly established) to a location near the Wren Building or the creation of a memorial on that site appropriate for interpretation and discussion of the College's past association with slavery and racial discrimination.
3. Bray School Harvest of Reconciliation Picnic: A picnic/ buffet on the Wren lawn hosted by the President, for community residents and students, especially those of color, in recognition of the slaves who provisioned the College in its times of need and to commemorate the Bray school where some of the College's young slaves were taught.
4. The Lemon Research Project at the College of William and Mary: for the Study of Race and Slavery and their Enduring Impact.
5. An annual "Lemon" or "Bray School" Symposium recognizing the best research and writing done by undergraduate, graduate students and faculty on the topics of race and slavery at the College or in the region.

¹³ Ibid, 197-200.

6. An Annual Lecture on diversity in our society, especially in the academy and in the South. (funded by alumni)
7. The Lemon Project Archives: Maintenance of a dedicated online archive within Special Collections at Swem which will contain all research papers and special documents related to slavery and race at the College and in the region.
8. Appointment of a Project Coordinator to seek out grants and assist faculty in planning (Spring, 2009).

A Final Comment:

I present this discussion piece and these proposals in hopes that they will both inform and inspire further conversations. I am grateful for the opportunity to have participated in this kind of institutional reappraisal and celebrate the institutional courage it represents.

Robert F. Engs



“The African American Experience at William & Mary: An Historical Overview” and Staffing

Collective effort undertaken by the Lemon Project: A Journey of Reconciliation

The following document following provides the broad span of the story of black people at the institution. It is meant to inspire future scholarly research placing William & Mary in context. Looking at primary sources—financial records, meeting minutes, wills, church records, newspapers, and secondary records—dissertations, books, theses, articles—the beginnings of a fascinating and complex history are taking shape. Clearly W&M’s history mirrors that of the South and the nation.

The research process began with a general overview of the historiography of slavery and its legacies as experienced in higher education. This work reflects the efforts of a wide variety of researchers—students, undergraduate and graduate; faculty, current and retired; and interested members of the community. In some cases, independent study students researched specific topics and in other cases the work is the result of a class project. Several undergraduate students were funded by summer research fellowships and other members of the community volunteered their time out of personal interest. What is true of all the contributors is an interest in supporting W&M as it attempts to learn, disseminate information, and evolve into an institution that understands what it means to appreciate and celebrate diversity and inclusion. Another truth is that this section on the African American experience at the College is uneven for a variety of reasons—first of course is that we have not found all the sources lingering in boxes and behind corners that we have not yet uncovered. Second, as mentioned earlier, much of this research has been conducted by talented volunteers with particular interests. Since this is an ongoing labor of love, there will be other

volunteers and their research interests will help to even out and fill in gaps of this very important story.

Uncovering the story of African Americans in this country presents a challenge to historians. In general, primary sources are limited and specifically, sources in their own words are almost non-existent. We may know something of what was said to them and about them; we get a glimpse of their lives when their names appear in wills, letters, diaries, estate appraisals, and newspapers. Sometimes we know when they were punished and when they were rewarded. We also gain some insight about enslaved people appearing in runaway ads that sometimes mentioned a trade, items taken with them, or their appearance.

William & Mary certainly reflects the challenges inherent in doing this work. First, the College Building, now known as The Wren Building, burned three times and documents were lost. Second, of the remaining records, many only mention black people in passing, and when they are mentioned, the comments shed more light on the white people involved than on the humanity of the African Americans. For example, the 200 years of BOV or faculty meetings might refer to enslaved people being disciplined, sold, purchased, etc. but rarely, if ever, do these records provide an idea of how black individuals felt about these actions. What follows is not a scholarly treatment, but a starting place from which to delve more deeply into the African American experience at the College.

The African American Experience at William & Mary: An Historical Overview¹⁴

The African American experience at William & Mary was complex and contradictory, but one thing is clear—for most of the institution's 325 year history, it treated black people as inferior and with disdain. During its 170 year relationship with the institution of slavery, the University bought, sold, and hired-in and hired-out people as needed. William & Mary treated African Americans poorly both before the Civil War and in the post-Emancipation period. Like the South in general, the institution did not attempt to bring the newly free blacks into the fold of society. While the record does not indicate that the university was blatantly cruel, the school's staunch adherence to the tenets of Jim Crow is evident. From the end of the war until forced to accept the reality of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the leadership of the institution did all in its power to resist desegregation. This section of the report presents an overview of this history and invites deeper, more comprehensive study.

When the first enslaved Africans arrived in the colony of Virginia in 1619, they became part of a labor force that included Native Americans and white indentured servants. Together, these three cultures worked to build the colony—cultivating tobacco, the all-important cash crop, and making the environs livable—for their masters. The workforce changed by the turn of the eighteenth century when Native Americans and Europeans had proven to be less attractive laborers and African had become synonymous with enslaved. Virginia had become a slave society, its economy dependent upon the labor of enslaved people.¹⁵

From its beginning, the success or failure of William & Mary was reliant on the labor of black people who worked the tobacco fields in Virginia and Maryland. Indeed, King William and Queen Mary specified in the charter that the institution was to be funded with

the said revenue of a penny per pound, for every pound of tobacco aforesaid, with all its profits, advantages, and emoluments, to apply and lay out the same, for building and adorning the edifices and other necessities for the said college,¹⁶

Slavery played a key role in the establishment of the

academy in the new world. Historian Craig Steven Wilder, author of *Ebony & Ivory: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities*, argues that “The academy never stood apart from American slavery—in fact, it stood beside the church and state as the third pillar of a civilization built on bondage.”¹⁷

Enslaved black people, who came to William & Mary through several different channels, were part of the campus community from its inception until the Civil War. The institution purchased some enslaved laborers to serve the president and professors, others were given to the College, and still others belonged to members of the administration and to students. Some of the enslaved worked on the main campus, while others lived and worked on college-owned plantation land. Following the American Revolution, the College rented black people from individuals who made all or some part of their living hiring out human beings. Regardless of their status, there was never a time when black people were not a part of the campus community.

Wilder argues that “a small army of slaves maintained the College of William and Mary” during the eighteenth century.¹⁸ Unfortunately, missing records make it difficult to determine the exact size of this army, but we do have an idea about the people who labored at the school before the Revolution. Some of the individuals in this army entered the community one at a time. For example, in 1704, Francis Nicholson, the Governor of Virginia from 1698 - 1705, gave Price, an enslaved man valued at 30£, to the College.¹⁹ In 1771, the College purchased an enslaved woman from the estate of Lord Botetourt.²⁰ The largest known single purchase of enslaved people took place in 1718 when the institution purchased 17 blacks to work on its newly acquired Nottoway Plantation, located in the present-day counties of Sussex, Surry, Prince George, and Dinwiddie, Virginia.²¹ Little is known about these individuals, but 16 years later Ben, an enslaved child born on the successful tobacco plantation, was baptized at the Bristol Parish Church in Prince George County.²²

While details of the enslaved individuals on the plantation remain largely a mystery—gender, age, skill level, etc.—the available record includes one incident that suggests that they understood that their true master resided away from

¹⁴ Terminology: Throughout this section the terms African American and black are used interchangeably to avoid repetition. Also, enslaved, slave, and laborer are used when referring to the people who were forced to serve William & Mary without compensation.

¹⁵ Jennifer Oast, *Institutional Slavery: Slaveholding Churches, Schools, Colleges, and Businesses in Virginia, 1680 - 1860* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 127. John C. Coombs, “Beyond the ‘Origins Debate’: Rethinking the Rise of Virginia Slavery,” in Doug Bradburn and John C. Coombs, eds., *Early Modern Virginia: Reconsidering the Old Dominion*, (2011), pp. 239-78.

¹⁶ Royal Charter Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

¹⁷ Craig Steven Wilder, *Ebony & Ivory: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities* (New York: Bloomsbury Press 2013), 11.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, 136.

¹⁹ Mary Goodwin “William & Mary College Historical Notes” Colonial Williamsburg Research Department, n.d. Oast, *Institutional Slavery: Slaveholding Churches, Schools, Colleges, and Businesses in Virginia, 1680 - 1860*, 131.

²⁰ Oast, *Institutional Slavery: Slaveholding Churches, Schools, Colleges, and Businesses in Virginia, 1680 - 1860*, 146.

²¹ *ibid.*, 131 Wilder, *Ebony & Ivory: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities*, 43. See also, https://scdbwiki.swem.wm.edu/wiki/index.php?title=File:Nottoway_Quarter_05_25_2011.jpg Nottoway Quarter and the 17 enslaved workers was purchased with public funds and the proceeds from the plantation were to be used to establish scholarships. Goodwin, p. 127.

²² *ibid.*, 145.

Nottoway Quarter. Among the business addressed by the faculty at the January 25, 1742 meeting were two runaways from the plantation. It is not clear why the individuals left the plantation, but the minutes explain that two members of the faculty, Thomas Dawson and John Graeme, agreed to visit the plantation to ascertain “the Matters of Fact and to endeavor to put things to rights.”²³

Tobacco was the major crop grown at Nottoway, but enslaved people also grew hops on that land. Indeed, a 1755 bursar’s office record suggests that the College paid “Nottoway Negroes” for hops.²⁴ This also suggests that some of the enslaved people on the plantation may have had, at times, a vendor relationship with the College. Enslaved individuals serving as vendors to the College may have been commonplace. Historian Jennifer Oast argues that Lemon, a man owned by the College in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, farmed and sold produce to the College.²⁵ It is possible that Lemon was one of the enslaved people who initially lived and worked at Nottoway Quarter until it was sold. Perhaps hops was one of the crops he provided. For now, this is speculation.

Lemon might have held a special place in the hearts of some people at the College. His name appears in the limited written record more than those of other enslaved people at the College. Indeed, historians Robert Engs and Jennifer Oast have concluded that Lemon stood out. Engs writes in his 2009 report to the Board of Visitors:

Of particular note is the slave Lemon, owned by the College, who may have had a family of his own—status as slave or free undiscovered so far—in Williamsburg. He was allowed to farm on his own time and sold the produce to the College. He was one of the slaves given the Christmas bonus in 1808. In 1815, an aging Lemon was given an allowance to provide his own food, and the College paid for medicine for him in 1816. Finally in 1817 the College purchased a coffin for him. We cannot know the full dimensions of Lemon’s life but he clearly was more than a cipher who merely provided labor for his institutional master.²⁶

A character named Lemon appears in *The Valley of Shenandoah*, a novel by George Tucker, a younger cousin of St. George Tucker. The younger Tucker and Lemon were

at William & Mary at the same time and it is quite possible that they crossed paths. Lemon might have made enough of an impression that George Tucker wrote the enslaved man into his novel which was published in 1825, eight years after Lemon’s death. The protagonist is served by “old Lemon” first as a furniture mover and later as an errand runner. Lemon is also remembered for his oyster suppers.²⁷

Another source of information about the enslaved people owned by the College is the baptism registry of the Bruton Parish Church. Founded as an Anglican institution, the College had a strong connection to the Church of England, indeed, the Board of Visitors (BOV) members were required to belong to the Church, the faculty accepted the Thirty-Nine Articles, and students knew the catechism.²⁸ It makes sense that between 1749 and 1768, 17 people owned by William & Mary were baptized at Bruton Parish. Commissary William Dawson, the president of the College between 1743 and 1752, owned at least four people—Judah, John, Beck or Buk, and Jack—whom he had baptized.²⁹

The Bruton Parish records also give insight into the families enslaved by the college. The records indicate that Peggy’s son, Fanny, daughter of Sharlot, and Molly’s son Tom Mask were all baptized in 1766. Sucky, daughter of Priscilla received the rite in 1768 as did Lucy daughter of Charlot.³⁰ Andrew, Molly, Antony, Frankey, Glasgow, Margaret, James, Andrew, and Catherine were all baptized between 1747 and 1782, but their parentage was not provided.³¹

Some enslaved people came to campus with their young masters. Indeed for the fee of 10£ students could bring enslaved body servants with them to take care of their personal needs. According to historian and former W&M president Lyon G. Tyler, this was especially true of the wealthier scholars. In 1754, eight students, including Charles and Edward Carter, paid the fee and brought their servants.³² It is likely that these personal servants cleaned their masters’ clothes and shoes, kept the fireplaces lit, and ran errands.

With the rise of revolutionary fervor at the end of the 18th century, William & Mary’s income decreased. Royal grants dried up, as did money from the Boyle Estate, which had funded the Indian School.³³ These were important sources of income. With the decline in funds, financial adjustments were required. In 1777, John Carter, the Bursar, advertised

²³ Faculty Assembly Records, Special Collections Research Center, Swem Library, William & Mary, January 25, 1743, p. 23.

²⁴ Bursar Account Book, 1745-1770 (Box 2). Special Collections Research Center, Swem Library, William & Mary.

²⁵ Oast, p. 155.

²⁶ *ibid.*, 197-200. Engs, Robert. “The College, Race and Slavery: Report to the Provost and Faculty” James Pinckney Harrison Visiting Professor in History December 1, 2008/February 12, 2009 <http://slavery-and-universities.wikispaces.com/file/view/The+College.Race+%26+Slavery.pdf>

²⁷ George Tucker. *The Valley of the Shenandoah: Or, Memoirs of the Graysons*, C. Wiley, Publisher, 1825, p. 81 <https://archive.org/details/valleyshenandoa00tuckgoog>

²⁸ Webster, Homer J. “Schools and Colleges in Colonial Times.” *The New England Times*, September 1902 – February 1903.

²⁹ Bruton Parish Church (Williamsburg, Va.) Records, Special Collections Research Center, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

³⁰ Charlot and Sharlot may have been the same woman.

³¹ *ibid.*

³² Wilder, *Ebony & Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America’s Universities*, 136. Office of the Bursar Records. Special Collections Research Center, 1743-1770.

³³ The Indian School, funded by the estate of Sir Robert Boyle, was established to Christianize and Anglicize Indian boys who, in theory, would return to their people and educate them in the ways of the English, making them more amenable to the demands of the colonists.

in the Virginia Gazette “thirty likely Negroes” to be sold at Nottoway Quarter on Monday, December 22nd for “ready money.”³⁴ Five plantation workers—Winkfield, Bob, Lemon, Adam, and Pompey—were brought to campus where they cleaned and maintained the buildings.³⁵ It is not clear why these particular men were spared from the auction block, but it is possible that they had particular skills that could be used on the campus. It may have also been the case that they were thought to be able to bring income if hired out. On December 25, 1779, the Board of Visitors removed the institution’s responsibility for feeding its scholars. They agreed to hire a man to run the kitchen and garden, and that he was to be assisted by “Negroes accustomed to labour in the same.”³⁶ The Board of Visitors hired James Wilson to be the steward, and he was assigned two men and a boy as his assistants. Wilson’s compensation included “any benefit he can derive from the Garden after supplying the president and professors with vegetables, as steward and gardener of ye College.”³⁷ While the College saved some money because of this adjustment, it was not enough, and in September 1782, the decision was made that “so many of the Negroes not employed about the College be Sold to defray the Expense of repairing the Buildings.”³⁸

The College survived the Revolution, but never again owned as many slaves as it had before the war.³⁹ While William & Mary continued to own some enslaved individuals, most of the people who labored at the school thereafter were leased or rented since it was cheaper. In June 1828, the administration resolved to hire Abram, a carpenter, from Holt Richardson who accepted \$160 per year with the proviso that Abram could be returned if he was “found not to answer our purpose.”⁴⁰

Not all blacks associated with the Williamsburg, James City, and York County communities were enslaved. Indeed, John Wallace DeRozarro⁴¹ was a twenty-year-old landholder and native of the area. He was a free black gunsmith of such high regard in the community that thirty white men from all three localities signed the following petition on his behalf in 1806:

Whereas by an act of the general assembly, passed at their last session, [coloured] people of every description are prohibited from the use of fire arms without first obtaining a special [licence] from the court of the county in which they respectively reside—we the under written [illegible] from a personal knowledge of John Wallace De Rozaro who

is a land holder in our neighborhood and the high opinion we entertain in his honesty and [Integrity] do I do hereby further certify that the above named John Wallace DeRozarro is an excellent gunsmith and stocker and wishes to follow said calling for a support and without a [Licence] for doing so he is afraid the public who may entrust their Firelocks with him may sustain a Loss [in them all the above as stated illegible] This is signed by John Waller entertain in his honesty and [Integrity] do hereby recommend the said John to the notice of the [worshipfull [illegible] court of York for the purpose of obtaining under the Law, the aforesaid [licence] [illegible] 4 March 1806.⁴²

One year later, DeRozarro approached Bishop James Madison, president of the College from 1776 to 1812, asking permission to sit in on classes. While we do not know much about DeRozarro from his own hand, we do know of his skill as a gunsmith, and we learn a great deal more from a letter that Madison wrote on his behalf to the superintendent of the Richmond armory in 1807. In the letter, Madison explains that “There is in this neighborhood a free black man, of so uncommon a Character in Respect to Genius, and good Conduct, that I have informed him, I would take the Liberty of writing to you to know, whether he could be admitted as a Workman or in the Armoury.” Going on, he explains that Rozarro is a gunsmith and that he taught himself reading, writing, arithmetic, and superficial and solid measuration, geometry. In his letter, Madison acknowledges that Rozarro might indeed be a genius and that “considering the peculiar Situation of our Country, ought, if possible, to be directed into a safe Channel, & ardent as he really appears to be, in the Acquisition of Science, I, not withstanding, advised him to apply himself to those Trades, which he has commenced, & by perfecting himself in which he may obtain a comfortable living.” According to Madison, the young man agreed to take his advice “if he can be admitted into the Armoury, -- upon wages proportioned to his Skills, he will attend, with the fullest Certificate of good character.”⁴³ DeRozarro inspires many questions including but not limited to the following: How did he obtain his skills? Was he an apprentice? If so, with whom? How did he learn to read, write, do arithmetic, etc.? How did he contact Madison? In person? By letter? Why did he feel free to approach the Madison? Did they have a personal relationship? Did someone from the community bring DeRozarro to Madison’s attention? Did Madison feel

³⁴ Virginia Gazette, *Purdue & Dixon* November 28, 1777.

³⁵ College of William & Mary Faculty Minutes, Book One, page 280, Swem Library Special Collections, pdf 6, page 31. The record does not provide information about Richard Holt’s identity.

³⁶ Mary Goodwin “William & Mary College Historical Notes” Colonial Williamsburg Research Department, n.d., 233.

³⁷ *ibid.*, 234a.

³⁸ *ibid.*, 252.

³⁹ Oast, *Institutional Slavery*, 151.

⁴⁰ Mary Goodwin “William & Mary College Historical Notes” Colonial Williamsburg Research Department, n.d., 336. The record does not provide additional information about Richardson or Abram.

⁴¹ Sometimes spelled DeRozarro, De Rozaro, Rozarro, and Rozario.

⁴² York County (Va.) Free Negro and Slave Records, 1806-1861. Local government records collection, York County Court Records, ACC: 0007432087; Found John W. Rozario in the 1830 census listed as a male 36-54; free; only person in household; York County, VA (see NARA notes)

⁴³ Protestant Episcopal Bishops Collection, [MS 21], Yale University; copy at Earl Gregg Swem Library, Special Collections Research Center.

the need to find a way to control this free black gunsmith?

Attitudes toward black people

As the South's only colonial college, William & Mary was a slaveholder and its relationship with the peculiar institution was both complex and complicated. Some people affiliated with the College during the colonial and early National periods considered the morality of slavery.⁴⁴

The establishment of the Bray School and the anti-slavery leanings of two of the college's best-known scholars reflect two different responses from whites living in slave societies during the mid to late eighteenth century. From 1760 until 1774, the Associates of Dr. Bray operated a school for free and enslaved black children in Williamsburg.⁴⁵ According to Terry Meyers, Benjamin Franklin, a member of The Associates of Dr. Bray, recommended the location because of what he considered William & Mary's "commitment to the religious education of local blacks."⁴⁶ During its 14-year tenure, the Bray School was under the charge of Anne Wager, who taught at least thirty children to read, enabling them to learn the Christian Bible and manners. The girls learned to sew. Two of Wager's students, Fanny and Adam, were owned by William & Mary.⁴⁷ The Associates of Dr. Bray did not try to end slavery, but sought to ameliorate the conditions of slavery through Christian conversion and education to make the enslaved better workers.

The other impulse directly engaged with the ideals of natural rights and liberty that helped forge the United States. A number of slaveholders manumitted or wrote wills for future manumissions in the years immediately following the Revolution. George Wythe was the first professor

of law in the United States, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and a signatory on the Anti-Slavery Petition of 1795, which called on the state government to end "not only a moral but a political evil." Using Biblical Scriptures, the petitioners admonished the Speaker and House of Delegates to live by the golden rule and to remember Jesus' words: "Verily I say unto you inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of my brethren, ye have done it unto me."⁴⁸ Acknowledging that most Virginians did not believe that the enslaved were ready for freedom, the petitioners proposed a gradual emancipation process

...declaring the children of Slaves now or to be born after the passing of such and Act, be made free, as they [come to proper] ages to [enjoy] their instruction to Read, &c. and to invest them with suitable privileges as an excitement to become useful citizens; and also to restrain the holders from inhuman treatment of those who may remain in Bondage. Or that the House may grant such other relief as in its wisdom may seem meet.⁴⁹

St. George Tucker, a Revolutionary War veteran, returned to his alma mater in 1790 and took over the reins as the professor of law and police when his mentor, George Wythe, resigned.⁵⁰ Like Wythe, Tucker harbored antislavery ideas, which he expressed in *A Dissertation on Slavery: With a Proposal for the Gradual Abolition of It*, in the State of Virginia (1796). While a slaveholder, Tucker recognized that slavery and liberty made strange bedfellows. Indeed, he argued "how perfectly irreconcilable a state of slavery is to the principles of a democracy, which, form the basis and foundation of our government."⁵¹ Like the petition of 1795, this document, too, went unheeded.⁵²

⁴⁴ Terry Meyers in his article "Thinking About Slavery at the College of William & Mary" has argued that William & Mary was an institution, under the influence of Enlightenment thought, seemingly permeated with a curricular skepticism about slavery (indeed, right through the presidency of Bishop Madison, d. 1812). A recent biography of Jefferson notes that, "as Jefferson understood the College of William and Mary was a small island of relative liberalism on the issue" of slavery (John B. Boles, *Jefferson: Architect of American Liberty*, p. 172). Jefferson repeatedly noted how W&M students were being exposed to criticism of slavery and hoped that as Virginia's next generation of leaders they could and would do something about slavery. Winfield Scott noted of his generation of students (1805) that virtually all graduates left skeptical of slavery, having studied both Jefferson and Tucker on the subject. Further research will help clarify the context in which Wythe and Tucker were writing and what other members of the faculty might have been writing at the same time. Indeed, exactly what did this skepticism mean?

⁴⁵ Thomas Bray was an English clergyman who believed in introducing Christianity to all including enslaved people.

⁴⁶ Terry Meyers, "Benjamin Franklin, the College of William & Mary, and the Williamsburg Bray School." *Anglican & Episcopal History*, vol. 79, no. 4 (December 2010): 368 – 393. Terry Meyers, <tlmeyer@wm.edu > "The LP Report," August 27, 2018, personal email (September 4, 2018). Meyers explains, "The Bray School was affiliated with the College after Franklin found existing here already a predisposition towards black education; I make the claim with a sense of irony but also of truth, that W&M was the first college or university in America to concern itself with black education (albeit religious indoctrination for black children); and the College was left a bequest to oversee another school that would have been located in the free black community at the heart of James City County." For more information on the Bray Schools, see Antonio T. Bly, "In Pursuit of Letters: A History of the Bray Schools for Enslaved Children in Colonial Virginia." *History of Education Quarterly* 51, no. 4 (2011): 429-59.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 384 (note 50).

⁴⁸ Legislative Petitions Digital Collection, Library of Virginia, Richmond Virginia. http://digitool1.lva.lib.va.us:8881//exlibris/dtl/d3_1/apache_media/L2V4bGlicmlzL2R0bC9kM18xL2FwYWNoZV9tZWRpYS85Nzg4NTA=.pdf

⁴⁹ "An Act to ameliorate the present condition of slaves, and give freedom to those born after the passing of the act." Library of Virginia, Legislative Petitions microfilm, Reel 233, Box 294, Folder 5. When his wife died, Wythe returned some of the slaves she had brought into the marriage and he freed Lydia Broadnax, the Wythe's cook and housemaid.

⁵⁰ Davison M. Douglas, "St. George Tucker (1752 – 1827)," *Encyclopedia of Virginia*, accessed November 26, 2017, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Tucker_St_George_1752_x2013_1827#start_entry

⁵¹ St. George Tucker, *Blackstone's Commentaries: With Notes or Reference to the Constitution and Laws of the Federal Government of the United States and the Commonwealth of Virginia* appendix, Note H at 54 (Philadelphia, William Young Birch and Abraham Small, 1803). Unlike Wythe, Tucker did not free his slaves.

⁵² Tucker pulled back from his 1796 proposal. Philip Hamilton, *The Making and Unmaking of a Revolutionary Family: The Tuckers of Virginia, 1752–1830*.

The Bray School, Wythe, and Tucker were not the only indicators that some people at the College struggled with the institution of slavery. In his article, “Thinking About Slavery at the College of William and Mary,” Terry Meyers argued that Edward Coles, William Short, and other students and friends of Wythe and Tucker were skeptical about slavery. Indeed, the work of Coles and Short in the American Colonization Society reflects yet another generation seeking solutions to the long problem of racial inequality in America, Coles in the Northwest Territories and Short in Africa. Meyers suggested that the rise in proslavery thought during the 1830s represented a shift in attitudes at the College. This too reflected both regional and national conversations about slavery, slaveholding, and the role of elected governments and the property rights of slaveholders. As evidence he offers alumnus, professor, and eventually president, Thomas Roderick Dew, William & Mary’s most well-known known proslavery ideologue.⁵³

Nineteenth Century Proslavery Thought

Thomas R. Dew, a member of the Virginia elite, was born in 1802 to great privilege. The family plantation, known as Dewsville, was located in King and Queen County, Virginia. Like most wealthy southern boys, young Thomas grew up fully engaged with the institution of slavery on his family’s land. He and his brothers were to inherit enslaved people from his father, but Thomas predeceased his father. In 1832, Dew became a slave owner by purchase.⁵⁴ He was educated at William & Mary, graduating with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1820 and a Master of Arts in 1824. Following graduation, Dew studied in Germany and traveled throughout Europe, broadening his knowledge and hoping to overcome a respiratory condition.⁵⁵

Having accepted a professorship, Dew returned to William & Mary in 1826. Five years later, Nat Turner’s 1831 insurrection made real the nightmare that many slaveholders had lived with since African had become synonymous with enslaved. While Turner and his army were defeated, their executions or jail sentences did not comfort most white Virginians. The insurrection led Virginia’s leaders to consider emancipation. Something had to be done to protect white Virginians not only from people like Turner but also from abolitionists like David Walker and William Lloyd Garrison.⁵⁶ Editors of the Richmond Whig wrote, that “It is not the non-slaveholder, or the visionary Philanthropist, or the fanatic, who now says this, but the mass of slave-holders themselves.”⁵⁷ Indeed, the local newspapers played a key role in making sure that the General Assembly addressed the slavery issue.

John Floyd, the governor of Virginia, called for increased measures of control, warning that “the public good requires the negro preachers to be silenced, who full of ignorance, are incapable of inculcating any thing [sic] but notions of the wildest superstition, thus preparing fit instruments, in the hands of the crafty agitators, to destroy the public tranquillity.[sic]”⁵⁸

When the General Assembly opened on December 5, 1831, it was well aware that Virginians were frightened, but most legislators were not inclined to debate the slavery question. Reluctantly, the body appointed a Select Committee on the Colored Population to consider Governor Floyd’s concerns.⁵⁹

When the General Assembly came together again on January 11, 1832, William O. Goode (Mecklenburg County) read the following resolution:

Resolved, That the select committee raised on the subject of slaves, free negroes, and the melancholy occurrences growing out of the tragical massacre in Southampton, be discharged from consideration of all petitions, memorials and resolutions, which have for their object, the manumission of persons held in servitude under the existing laws of the commonwealth, and that it is not expedient to legislate on the subject.⁶⁰

This resolution was unacceptable to many of the representatives, especially the westerners, who carefully manipulated the debates. The legislators agreed that something had to be done to avoid another insurrection like the one that had taken place in Southampton County. Past that obvious point of agreement, they were largely of different minds. Most abolitionist leaning members hailed from the western part of the state where slavery was less central to the economy and therefore more disposable. In the east, where most plantations were located, the case was not so clear. The two sides agreed that free black people would have to be removed from the state. Emancipation without exportation was not an option. The debates lasted 13 days, and in the end, while still divided over the aim of emancipation, the great majority had come to understand that there would be no solution other than the status quo. Property rights were too important to tamper with, there was no money to pay owners for their enslaved property, and there was nowhere to relocate such a large group of people.

Shortly after the debates closed, Thomas Roderick Dew stepped into the fray with his *Review of the Debates in the Legislature of 1831 and 1832*, which provided scholarly support for the General Assembly’s decision. Dew believed that debating slavery on the heels of the insurrection

⁵³ Terry Meyers. “Thinking about Slavery at the College of William and Mary,” *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal*, Volume 21, Issue 4, Article 6, <http://scholarship.law.wm.edu/wmbrj/vol21/iss4/6>, 2013.

⁵⁴ Stephen S. Mansfield. “Thomas Roderick Dew: Defender of the Southern Faith.” Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 1968, Chapter 3, at 1. Office of the President, Thomas Roderick Dew Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

⁵⁵ Thomas R. Dew, Travel Diary Office of the President, Thomas Roderick Dew Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, On the third day of the debates William H. Broadnax (Dinwiddie County) mentioned Garrison and Walker; on the thirteenth day of the debates Philip A. Bolling (Buckingham County) mentioned Walker.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, 6.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, 7.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, 7.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, 25.

telegraphed to enslaved people that violence could lead to freedom, or at least self-doubt, therefore instigating more violence. Second, having the discussion in such a public manner frightened white Virginians and failed to comport with the precedent set by the founding fathers who met in closed session while planning for and conducting a revolution.

Third, Dew's biggest concern was that those who participated in the debates were ill-prepared for the task. Just elected the previous April, the legislators were young, and inexperienced, and had overreacted. In Dew's opinion, there was no real threat that black people across the state could organize a rebellion to violently overthrow the institution of slavery. Additionally, abolitionists' arguments were poorly formed and unsupported and threatened property rights, risking the "order and tranquility of society...and would lead to the most inevitable and ruinous consequences."⁶¹

Dew documented the global history of slavery declaring that "slaves, or those whose condition is infinitely worse, form by far the largest portion of the human race!"⁶² Indeed, he insisted that it was slave and not free labor that was the very foundation of all civilizations. Dismayed that some of the legislators suggested that the Commonwealth approach the federal government for assistance with abolition and exportation, Dew addressed a cautionary tale to his fellow Virginians. He warned them not to be tempted as Eve had been. Virginia needed to depend on her own resources and resist the tempter and "preserve her political virtue."⁶³ Dew pointed out that there was no need to fear God's wrath; they were in a better position than Eve, because she had gone against the word of God, but Virginians were in no way violating biblical mandates. On the contrary, they were following the will of God, because slavery could not be ended without "producing a greater injury to both the masters and slaves, there is no rule of conscience or revealed law of God which can condemn us."⁶⁴

Dew's most convincing argument went straight to the heart of the matter. Property rights were of paramount importance, and owners would have to be compensated for the loss of their slave property. The 1830 census established that there were almost 470,000 enslaved people in Virginia with an average value of \$200 per person. Based on these numbers, it would have cost the Commonwealth approximately \$94,000,000, one third of the state's total wealth, to pay the owners. This amount did not include the cost of relocation. Simply, the state could not afford to end slavery. Another option was to emancipate without

exportation, but white Virginians did not want to live with almost half a million newly freed black people. Dew's point was that emancipation was completely impractical.⁶⁵

Slavery remained in place for another thirty years. Indeed, it would take a Civil War, black self-emancipation, and an amendment to the United States Constitution to end slavery. In the meantime, Dew's proslavery ideas did not die away. On the contrary, they lived on at William & Mary through his students.

Dew's *Review* brought him acclaim throughout the South and brought recognition to the College.⁶⁶ In 1836, the Board of Visitors named Dew the 13th president. In that role, he spoke to the students at the opening of William & Mary on October 10, 1836. The new president shared his ideas with the entire college. His address made clear that he was still confronting northern attackers. He exalted the students to accept their roles as future leaders of the state and the nation. Imagining dark days on the horizon, he told them that:

when clouds are lowering above the political horizon, portending fearful storms; when the lapse of time is every day disclosing great and startling events, can you, gentlemen, fold your arms in inglorious indolence—throw away the opportunity that is now offered you—fail to prepare for the important part which should devolve on you, and add yourselves to the great mass of the unaspiring, illiterate citizens, who have been in all ages and all countries the blind instruments with which despotism has achieved its results.⁶⁷

He assured them that he knew that they were better than this. He cautioned them that they were under attack by the "meddling spirit of the age."⁶⁸ He exhorted, "You are slaveholders, or the sons of slaveholders, and as such your duties and responsibilities are greatly increased."⁶⁹ To be great leaders, Dew said that they needed the intelligence and virtue that they would obtain at William & Mary. Prepared men will be able to:

exhibit to the world the most convincing evidence of the justice of our cause; then may we stand up with boldness and confidence against the frowns of the world; and if the demon of fanaticism shall at last array its thousands of deluded victims against us, threatening to involve us in universal ruin by the overthrow of our institutions, we may rally under our principles undivided and undismayed.⁷⁰

President Dew was certainly rallying the men to resist the

⁶¹ Chancellor Harper, Governor Hammond, Dr. Simms, and Professor Dew, *The Proslavery Argument; As Maintained by the Most Distinguished Writers of the Southern States, containing the Several Essays, on the Subject of Chancellor Harper, Governor Hammond, Dr. Simms, and Professor* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, & Co, 1853), 292.

⁶² *ibid.*, 296.

⁶³ *ibid.*, 419.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, 451.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, 357.

⁶⁶ Godson, *The College of William and Mary*, 248.

⁶⁷ Thomas Roderick Dew *An Address, Delivered Before the Students of William and Mary, at the Opening of the College, Southern Literary Messenger* 2, no. 12 (Nov. 1836): 760-769.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*

⁶⁹ *ibid.*

⁷⁰ *ibid.*

temptation of drink and other sordid activities that might distract them, but the underlying theme was that outsiders sought to destroy their way of life. It is apparent from this address that his thinking since he penned the *Review* had only intensified.

Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, who took on some of Dew's teaching load after the latter became president of W&M, was also proslavery. In 1836, the same year that Dew became president, Tucker reviewed two proslavery publications, *Slavery in the United States* by J.K. Paulding and *The South Vindicated from the Treason and Fanaticism of the Northern Abolitionists* by William Drayton. Tucker liked both books and was particularly grateful to Paulding, a northerner, for defending the South. Like Dew, Tucker wanted to convince his fellow southerners "that in continuing to command the services of their slaves, they violate no law divine or human."⁷¹ He saw the slave-master relationship as reciprocal and that when that relationship was maintained, all would be well. "Let these be performed, and we believe (with our esteemed correspondent Professor Dew) that society in the South will derive much more of good than of evil from this much abused and partially-considered institution."⁷²

Nathaniel Tucker served as Professor of Law at William & Mary from 1834 until he died in August 1851. Like Dew, his influence as a pro-slavery advocate did not die with him. Indeed, William Lamb, a Norfolk native and William & Mary student filled much of his diary with his ideas on the topic. On April 19, 1855 he wrote:

Slavery some may think is an unnecessary abridgement of man's liberty, & therefore wrong because it diminishes the happiness of the slave. This is an untenable & false assertion. The institution of Slavery is of divine appointment. It was tacitly allowed & recommended by the great revisor of the Jewish Code, our Lord and Savior. There are three million of an inferior race held under this institution in the Southern States, this race can never become the equal of their master race. The idea of amalgamation is as revolting to human nature as it is contrary to the law of God. This vast population are happier in bondage under these circumstances than when free, few cares fall to their share, & every necessary is supplied. If they are happier, if they cannot become equal, their abridgment of liberty is justified by human nature as it is by the revealed word of God."⁷³

In 1849, Silas Totten accepted a professorship at William & Mary. He taught Moral and Intellectual Philosophy until 1859 when he left to take on the presidency of the University of Iowa. Later in life, he wrote his autobiography which he addressed to his children discussing the servants who

worked for the family while at William & Mary. He had hired an enslaved woman to cook and agreed to pay her master \$30 a year. He also agreed to clothe her. He hired a free black man to whom he paid \$60 per year, and the man supplied his own clothes. He explained to his children that this was when he learned that the services of a slave were of more value than those of a free man: "I could not have hired a slave for less than \$80 per annum and clothing in addition which would make the whole amount not less than \$100. Yet I am fully persuaded that the labour of the slave was the cheapest. The free negroes are generally unsteady and unfaithful. The one I had hired seldom did anything unless he was closely watched. He was always complaining of some misery and when he left me...over \$150 disappeared rather unaccountably at the same time. I have every reason to believe that he came into my room in the night and took it from my pocket."⁷⁴

On the eve of the Civil War, enslaved people remained the key workers at the College, and as Jennifer Oast suggests, "their work surely resembled, in most ways, the work done by their predecessors for 150 years at William & Mary."⁷⁵ The fire of 1859 confirms this suspicion. The fire, which consumed the College Building, now known as the Wren Building, began in the early morning hours of February 8th. An enslaved man had been chopping wood in the cellar by candlelight the night before and the initial assumption was that he had neglected to extinguish the candle. An investigation seems to have exonerated the man, but this story makes it clear that black people were still laboring day and night to make life comfortable for the president, professors, and students.⁷⁶

Following this fire, the school was rebuilt the same year with contributions from a variety of individuals connected to the College. Two contributors present an interesting conundrum. They are George and A. (Alex?) Dunlap or Dunlop.⁷⁷ Both men are listed in the 1859 - 1860 school catalog. George is referred to as a servant of John Speed of Lynchburg, and Dunlap as a free colored man living in Williamsburg. Why did these two men contribute to the rebuilding of William & Mary?

The story of slavery at William & Mary is not an easy one to uncover. Three fires have destroyed many of the college's records and along with them many of the stories of its enslaved labor force. From what is available, it is clear that, like Brown, Yale, Dartmouth, Georgetown, and Harvard, William & Mary, the south's only colonial college, was dependent on slave labor. There are certainly more questions to ask: To what extent did the administrators and faculty own slaves? In addition to the eight mentioned above, how many students brought enslaved servants with them to college? What more can be learned about Nottoway

⁷¹ [N. Beverley Tucker], "Slavery: Review of Slavery in the United States and The South Vindicated from the Treason and Fanaticism of the Northern Abolitionists," *Southern Literary Messenger* 2, no. 5 (April 1836): 336-339.

⁷² *ibid.*

⁷³ Box 1, series 5, William Lamb Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

⁷⁴ Silas Totten Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Swem Library, College of William and Mary. <https://srcguides.libraries.wm.edu/repositories/2/resources/808> Accessed August 23, 2018.

⁷⁵ Oast, *Institutional Slavery: Slaveholding Churches, Schools, Colleges, and Businesses in Virginia, 1680 - 1860*, 156.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, 156.

⁷⁷ Found an Alex Dunlop, a black man, listed in the 1860 census. It is possible that Dunlop was a contractor at the College. George may be George Greenhall.

Quarter? While the enslaved man named Lemon who was brought from Nottoway Quarter after the sale of the people who labored there might have been the same man listed on the Bursar's list, that has not been proven. Was there more than one slave named Lemon? What more can we learn about the housing and living conditions for enslaved workers and their families at W&M? Did enslaved people leave William & Mary to fight in the Revolution or Civil War? If not, what became of the College's labor force? Was most of the labor hired by 1861? All questions remain for on-going research.

The Eve of War

Williamsburg's nineteenth century slaves worked under the same conditions as their parents and grandparents. It was only the arrival of the Civil War in the city that things began to change. In the weeks leading up to the "Yankee occupation", rumors of the Union Army's imminent arrival encouraged free blacks working for the Eastern Lunatic Asylum (the city's largest employer of both blacks and whites) to do anything but work.⁷⁸

On October 9, 1861 the Board of Visitors (BOV) met at the Exchange Hotel in Richmond to discuss the condition of the College. Most of the students and faculty had joined the Confederate Army and the few remaining were intending to leave with the same end in mind. The decision was made to close the institution until stability returned to the area. It is not clear what became of the College's labor force, but records indicate that the institution was still using slave labor in 1860, as August BOV minutes indicate that a carpenter was hired. Again, in March 1861 \$220 was paid to L.J. Rowden, administrator for the estate of N. Piggott for the hire of a carpenter. Lightfoot Taylor was paid \$126.87 for the hire of a "servant" in April 1861. Later that same year, W. L. Spencer received \$80 from the College as payment for a hire. On March 28, 1862 William & Mary paid L. Taylor for the hire of a "Negro." The school was closed down by this time, but this payment may have been at the end of a yearlong hire.⁷⁹

The Board met again on July 5, 1865, a few short months after Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox. There was a good deal of discussion about what was left of the College. Reportedly, Philosophical Apparatus and some books had been stored at the "lunatic asylum." The financial status was considered. There was discussion about whether or not to move the school from Williamsburg to Richmond.⁸⁰ In all the talk about stocks, bonds, and the school's valuable property, there was no mention of former slave property. Indeed, it appears that the African Americans, who were serving the College at the beginning

of the war, were already rendered almost invisible, at least in the record, by war's end. Malachi Gardner and Edloe Washington were two exceptions.

The Post-War College

Following the Civil War, the South was in shambles. Total war had left the land barren and the people emotionally and physically depleted. The infrastructure was all but gone. The number of combat and civilian casualties in all affected areas numbered in the thousands. The financial cost was quite high. During the first two years of the war, the Confederacy's inflation rate was 700%. "By the end of the war, Lee's Army of Northern Virginia was out of food, out of supplies and out of alternatives to surrender" and the inflation rate had reached 9000%.⁸¹

Arguably, however, the greatest and inestimable cost of the war to the South was the loss of its entire way of life. Having been utterly dependent on slave labor in its homes, fields, and factories, white southerners at the end of the war found themselves surrounded by four million newly free men, women, and children. The reaction to all the loss was an enormous anger directed towards the freedmen. That anger resulted in the wave of laws known as 'Black Codes' and the Jim Crow practices that swept over the South. The effects of that post-war anger have lasted, by now, more than 150 years.⁸²

Not much is known about black life at the College or in Williamsburg during the period known as Reconstruction which lasted in Virginia from 1865 until the new state constitution was ratified in 1870. Thanks to Freedmen's Bureau records and the recollections of a northern school teacher, we do know that in the spring of 1868 the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) organized several branches in Virginia including one in Williamsburg. Founded in Tennessee, the KKK was a secret society dedicated to the maintenance of white supremacy through the use of intimidation and violence. The organization did not last long in Virginia, but it managed to make its presence felt in Williamsburg. According to Margaret Newbold Thorpe, a Philadelphian who traveled to Virginia in 1866 to teach at the Ft. Magruder freedmen's school in Williamsburg, "The Ku Klux Klan have been in our neighborhood, and we have received notice that they intend giving us a call. If they attempt it they will find it warm work to get inside the Fort, for our men have armed themselves and keep watch outside our house every night."⁸³ Thorpe went on to describe the treatment of a New England man who was beaten nearly to death by Klansmen.⁸⁴ The threat of racial violence was real in Williamsburg during this period.

⁷⁸ "Integration at Work: The First Labor History of The College of William and Mary" p. 166.

⁷⁹ Board of Visitors minutes UA 01 Series 1, Box 2 1860-1902, p. 40.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*, July 5, 1865.

⁸¹ Bloom, Lois. Report "Integrating the College of William & Mary" <https://www.wm.edu/sites/lemonproject/documents/IntegratingWMBloom.pdf>; John Steele Gordon, The high cost of war. *Barrons*, April 9, 2011. At <http://online.barrons.com/news/articles/SB50001424052970203990104576191061207786514?tesla=y>.

⁸² *ibid.*, 4.

⁸³ Margaret Newbold Thorpe and Richard L. Morton. "Life in Virginia" *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* Vol. 64, No. 2 (April, 1956), pp. 180-207, p. 202.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p. 203.

Late 19th and early 20th Century

Although slavery officially ended in December 1865 with the passage of the 13th Amendment to the United States Constitution, the College did nothing to challenge the grim realities of the Jim Crow era south. Slavery was over, but white people did not change their attitudes or treatment of African Americans at the College. Blacks continued to serve in important roles at William & Mary, just as they had when they were enslaved. Free black labor during this period resembled the labor of the enslaved.

William & Mary reopened after the war, but it struggled financially throughout the 1870s and eventually closed in 1881, reopening in 1888. During the intervening years, Benjamin Ewell, president of the College from 1854-1888, worked diligently to keep the institution alive in name if not in reality. During this time, the record indicates two black men who were affiliated with the College—Malachi Gardner and Edloe Washington. Ewell traveled to campus daily to tutor “local boys, answer letters, and show visitors around;” he was always accompanied by Malachi Gardner, an African American tenant farmer residing on Ewell’s land. Gardiner had served Ewell since childhood.⁸⁵ According to one observer, Gardner carried the keys and generally took care of Ewell. Edloe Washington was the bellringer. Both men were referred to by diminutives that suggest their “place” and the failure of white people to recognize their manhood. Ewell called Gardner “Professor.” Elizabeth Gilman who visited the campus in 1887 referred to Gardner saying “His little heart is all occupied with the old place and if for any reason the Colonel [Ewell] is prevented from coming in, Malachi feels the responsibility of the possible visitors’ disappointment deeply.”⁸⁶ Washington, the janitor and bellringer in the 1870s, was referred to as the “Professor of Bellology.”⁸⁷ They were treated as children or as caricature.

When the school reopened in 1888, the size of the African American staff is unclear, but one man, Henry “Doc” Billups stands out. Working as an anonymous janitor without opportunities for career advancement, Billups successfully carved out an unofficial position for himself as a mediator between students and faculty.

Due to his young age, Billups began as a dining hall waiter. The College paid him six dollars a month plus “eats.” Billups was kind to the students that he served, often overlooking their tardiness to meals and seating them anyway.⁸⁸

Billups’ had a similar relationship to President Tyler as Malachi Gardner had to President Ewell. On one occasion, for example, Dr. Tyler sent Billups to fix a delicate situation involving Tyler’s turkeys which had gotten into neighbor Colonel Bright’s orchard. Dr. Tyler sent Billups to explain to Bright that bugs were eating his fruit, not the turkeys. Bright sent Billups back to the President requesting that Tyler come and kill the bugs himself.

In addition to serving as a mediator and go-between, Billups often went out of his way to ensure that students did not get in trouble for their bad behavior. One student recalled: “I might add that Henry Billups was genuinely a good friend to all of the students and they all liked and respected him. Nothing was too much or too difficult for him to do for their pleasure.” On one particular night, for example, Billups knew both about students’ plans of playing an illegal poker game and the faculty’s plan to raid that game. He warned the students. The faculty found the students studying quietly and not partaking in illegal activities. Billups was fond of these students and often called them “my boys.” He trusted the students so much that he even lent them his car, one of his most prized possessions. He was one of the few African Americans in Williamsburg who owned a car at this time. Sometimes the car broke down while a student was driving it, and the students expected Billups to go pick up the car for them.

Billups permissive attitude towards “his boys” caused him a lot of extra work. On many occasions, a Revolutionary War-era cannon called “Old Spotswood” made its way to the president’s porch or on the second and third floors of the College building. Although President Tyler ordered Billups to take the “cussed thing” to the lake, Billups “forgot” because he knew how fond the students were of that cannon. Students also did pranks with cows, tying bells to their tails or even bringing a cow in the College building and tying its tail to the College bell! Henry Billups was of course the one who cleaned up these students’ messes, including cow manure, and the students’ antics certainly increased Billups’s workload. Nevertheless, he cleaned up their mess and tried to make sure they did not get in trouble. In this regard, expectations of Billups were not much different than those for other African American laborers.

Billups, a very complex individual, inhabited two worlds—William & Mary and Williamsburg. He took himself and his position seriously in both arenas. That he valued his appearance was evidenced by his typical attire. He often wore a shirt and tie to work regardless of that day’s duties. Once those duties were finished, he changed into a fresh shirt to go out socializing with friends. Sometimes referred to as the Doctor of Boozology on campus, his drinking prowess was known in both arenas. Sometimes excessive drinking got him in trouble. Once he was fired on a Friday because he was drunk at work, but he was back to work on Monday morning—there was no one else to ring the bell.⁸⁹

Whatever Billups’s shortcomings might have been, William & Mary students, faculty, and alumni celebrated him across campus and on special occasions. The College presented Billups a large ceremonial broom wrapped in green and gold ribbon in gratitude for his many years of service. In another gesture of thanks, one of those students whom Billups saved from that faculty poker raid raised

⁸⁵ Susan H. Godson, Ludwell H. Johnson, Richard B. Sherman, Thad W. Tate, Helen C. Walker, *The College of William and Mary: A History*, Volume I, 1693 -1888 (Williamsburg: King and Queen Press, 1993), 399. Anne Chapman. (1984). *Benjamin Stoddert Ewell: A Biography* (Order No. 8429747). Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (303313368). Retrieved from <https://proxy.wm.edu/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/303313368?accountid=15053>

⁸⁶ Godson, etal. 399.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, 400.

⁸⁸ “Integration at Work: The First Labor History of The College of William and Mary” p. 34.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*

money to purchase Billups a pocket watch. The student, named Wright, presented Billups with the watch during Homecoming. Billups was so tall that Wright had to stand on steps, so Billups did not tower over him. Homecoming was a time when alumni celebrated Billups—in life and death. Billups often rode in an open car during the homecoming parade. *The Flat Hat*, the student newspaper, also celebrated his birthday in at least 1942 and 1944.⁹⁰ After he passed in 1955, the Alumni Association drove an empty car in the homecoming parade in his honor. Despite these accolades and celebrations the College remained a segregated institution; the love of Billups did not translate into acknowledging or considering civil rights for black people in general.

Billups clearly loved the College and that love did not lessen over the years. Although he was not an official representative of the College, in 1945 he attended a City of Williamsburg zoning meeting and behaved as if he was. He defended the College when someone at the meeting was speaking poorly of William & Mary, standing up and saying, “I represents the College of William and Mary and when you talk about the College you talk about me.”⁹¹ He was a passionate—albeit unofficial—face of the College. By the 1950s, Billups had less of a presence on campus, and some people believe that Billups’s attitude toward his “boys” changed when women were admitted in 1918. Billups’ story is complex. As a black man living in the Jim Crow South, he understood his circumstances and this might have been why he was leery of the presence of white women students.

Eugenics at William & Mary and the Furtherance of White Supremacy

At the dawn of the 20th-century anti-immigrant fever was rampant. Accused of failing to assimilate, southern and eastern Europeans bore the brunt of the hostilities, but blacks and Native Americans were also victimized. Indeed, physician and eugenicist Walter Plecker, Virginia’s first registrar of vital statistics, determined that there were two races—white and black—thereby eliminating Native Americans in Virginia and using “science” to confirm the inferiority of blacks and Native Americans.⁹² The effects of Plecker’s actions, given legal backing by the passage of the Act to Preserve Racial Purity in 1924, also known as the one drop rule, still reverberate.

As the Eugenics movement swept through the United States and especially Virginia, the University of Virginia (UVA) became a hotspot of eugenical research and teaching. A cohort of biologists at UVA had widespread influence over

legislation and public and scientific opinion in the state and nationally. William & Mary’s Biology department had connections with UVA’s eugenicists, especially through Professor Donald W. Davis, the college’s main eugenicist. Davis believed that American society would be better off if those deemed inferior were not able to reproduce, and believed that that conviction was backed by science. He and others believed that the white race was in danger and needed to be protected by eliminating from the gene pool those they saw unfit and by preventing miscegenation. The eugenics movement disproportionately targeted and vilified black and Native American citizens, but also the poor and the disabled. Davis attempted to influence public opinion through his classes as well as through lectures to the public, involvement in eugenics organizations, and by exposing high school teachers and other educators to eugenics. Davis thought that the unscientific rhetoric by the likes of Walter Plecker and the Anglo Saxon Clubs of America (ASCOA) would damage the reputation of eugenics, and attempted to defend the ‘science’ of the movement.⁹³ William & Mary was not a hotbed of eugenics in the way that UVA was, but the eugenics movement certainly had a huge influence on the Biology department and beyond and the Biology department had a not insignificant influence on the eugenics movement in Virginia.⁹⁴

Eugenics education came to William & Mary as early as 1913, before Donald Davis worked at the College. “Evolution and Heredity” was a course offered in the Zoology Department and probably taught by John Woodside Ritchie between 1913 and 1919. Prior to Davis’s arrival on campus, J.W. Ritchie was the primary biology professor. Initially a one-credit course, it was described as “A series of lectures dealing with the broader aspects of biology and the social applications of biological principles.”⁹⁵ In 1917, the course was offered for two credits, and required instructor permission, and 10 Biology credits as a prerequisite. In the 1919 bulletin, the last year that the course was offered, the description had changed again to “A series of lectures dealing with the philosophical side of Biology and the fundamental laws of heredity as revealed by recent investigations.”⁹⁶ Ritchie was a great fan of George Oscar Ferguson, a William & Mary alumnus, and a member of the UVA faculty. When discussing Ferguson’s contributions, Ritchie wrote that mental testing and eugenics, “will effect greater social changes than anything that has come into the world in centuries.” He also said, “The whole negro race practically has proved feeble-minded by white standards.”⁹⁷

⁹⁰ *The Flat Hat*, (May 6, 1942, p. 1, col. 4. May 10, 1944, p. 4, col. 3-5.

⁹¹ “Integration at Work: The First Labor History of The College of William and Mary” p. 38.

⁹² The exception to this policy, known as the Pocahontas clause reads “It shall hereafter be unlawful for any white person in this State to marry and save a white person, or a person with no other admixture of blood than white and American Indian. For the purpose of this act, the term “white person” shall apply only to the persons who have one-sixteenth or less of the blood of the American Indian and have no other non-Caucasic blood shall be deemed to be white persons. All laws heretofore passed and now in effect regarding the intermarriage of white and colored persons shall apply to marriages prohibited by this act.”

⁹³ Walter Plecker was the first registrar of Virginia’s bureau of vital statistics.

⁹⁴ Bresnan, Emma. “Eugenics at William & Mary” <https://www.wm.edu/sites/lemonproject/documents/bresnaneugenicsoutline.pdf>

⁹⁵ *Bulletin: The College of William and Mary in Virginia Catalogue 1912-1913* (Williamsburg: College of William and Mary, 1913), 58.

⁹⁶ *ibid.*

By the summer of 1920, Donald Davis had joined the faculty and he offered a course called “Eugenics.” It had the following course description: “A course dealing with the known facts of human inheritance and the provision necessary for the improvement of the race; the prevention of inherited deficiencies; the origin of local characteristics and the effects of immigration upon our national traits 2 credits.”⁹⁸ In 1936 “Biology and Human Affairs” was added to the curriculum. Taught and developed by R. L. Taylor, the course was described as “A broad cultural course, particularly intended for those not concentrating in Biology. It deals with man’s concepts of the universe; the origin of man; human races; the development of science and the scientific attitude; human population movements; man as a social animal; human heredity and capacities for training; eugenics. Each student prepares a term paper. Does not count for concentration in Biology.”⁹⁹ While the name changed to “Science and Human Affairs,” the course was taught until 1947, thirty years after first appearing in the course catalog.

African American Students and the College Before 1951

For the most part, the first incarnation of the KKK had died out by 1871, but with the premiere of D.W. Griffiths *Birth of A Nation* in 1915, the white supremacist organization was reborn, and this time with nationwide appeal. By the mid-1920s, the group counted a membership of 50,000 and boldly marched, unmasked, down a main thoroughfare in the nation’s capital.

This resurgence was also marked in Williamsburg. In 1926, the KKK donated an American flag and flagpole to William & Mary, and while then President Julian A.C. Chandler’s remarks at the dedication ceremony repudiated the Klan, the gift was accepted. It was placed, along with a plaque, at the College Corner bus stop and remained there until 1959, when it was moved to the Marshall-Wythe Law School. During the intervening 33 years, black workers were reminded of their “place” in society arriving and leaving work.

Whether intentional or not, William & Mary continued to indicate its intransigent attitudes toward blacks throughout the Jim Crow years. While blatant cruelty seemed to be

absent, there was a dedicated commitment to reminding blacks of their assumed state of inferiority. As seen in the overview of Henry Billups’s service to the College, the institution hired blacks to work as janitorial staff and other jobs that required heavy labor during the Jim Crow era. There is a telling photograph that shows six or seven African American men lowering the body of Thomas R. Dew, former W&M president and proslavery ideologue, into the crypt beneath the Wren Chapel in 1939.¹⁰⁰

If African Americans were not in roles viewed as subservient, they were not welcome on campus. The southern policy that African Americans were not educated with white students applied to academics as well as to military training. However despite this tradition, in July of 1943 “three colored cadets [were] sent to the Army specialization school at the College of William and Mary ‘through mistake.’”¹⁰¹ The cadets: Eugene Simmons, Vernon Graves, and Brice Miles “were the first Negro students to be sent there for enrollment.”¹⁰² The students were redirected to another training center after four days and the President of the College of William & Mary, J. E. Pomfret, issued a statement saying “that no question of color was involved in the cases of the three men.”¹⁰³ Pomfret explained that “as president of the college, he must comply with state law” and in his statement to the press explained “the soldiers had not enrolled—only assembled—since enrollment does not begin until August 9; therefore class instruction at the college was not refused.”¹⁰⁴ Regardless of the president’s statement, race was clearly an issue.

In 1944, it seems that there was an exception to the Jim Crow standard. The earliest record of an African American studying at William & Mary occurred in 1944 “during World War II, [when] a Negro student was enrolled in the college’s naval training program.”¹⁰⁵ Lieutenant James Russell Brown who became the first African American chaplain in the U.S. Navy was “ordered to report to the Chaplain’s School at William and Mary College.”¹⁰⁶ Before he was in the Navy, James Brown was the dean of Bishop Williams School of religion in Kansas and the pastor of St. Luke’s African Methodist Episcopal Church. He had graduated with an A.B. degree from Friends University, a B.D. degree from Howard University, and had completed graduate courses at Chicago Theological Seminary.¹⁰⁷ Once at William & Mary,

⁹⁷ Gregory Michael Dorr, *Segregation’s Science: Eugenics & Society in Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008), 85.

⁹⁸ *Bulletin of the College of William and Mary: Announcement for the Summer Session 1920*, (Williamsburg: College of William and Mary, 1920), 18.

⁹⁹ *Bulletin: The College of William and Mary in Virginia Catalogue 1934-1935* (Williamsburg: College of William and Mary, 1935), 96.

¹⁰⁰ Thomas R. Dew died on his honeymoon trip to Paris, France where he was buried in 1846. In 1939 Dew’s body was reinterred in the Wren Chapel following a memorial service.

¹⁰¹ “Error Sends 3 Cadets to William and Mary,” *New Journal and Guide*, Aug 7, 1943, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/567575944?accountid=15053>.

¹⁰² *ibid.*

¹⁰³ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ “Admit First Negro Student to William and Mary Coll.,” *New York Amsterdam News*, May 5, 1951, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/225831280?accountid=15053>. “Several blacks employed at the College liked to claim, with a fine sense of irony, that they had been educated at W&M. See Terry Meyers, “Thinking About Slavery at the College of William & Mary” p. 1225. Also see Meyers footnote 52. An enslaved black man, James Hambleton Christian, “in his younger days” attended his master, James B. Christian, while the latter was a student at William and Mary. Therefore, he apparently could make a claim similar to George Greenhow’s: “through the kindness of some of the students he had picked up a trifling amount of book learning.” WILLIAM STILL, *STILL’S UNDERGROUND RAILROAD RECORDS* 69 (Phila., William Still rev. ed. 1886).

¹⁰⁶ “Navy Names Negro Chaplain,” *New Journal and Guide*, July 8, 1944, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/567792529?accountid=15053>.

he “completed an eight-week course” and then was sent to a naval training center in Michigan.¹⁰⁸

The 1950s and 1960s

Like “many of the nation’s most prestigious, predominantly white universities in the South—which did not admit any blacks until the 1950s or 1960s”¹⁰⁹ the College of William & Mary admitted its first African American students in 1951. The decision to allow its walls to be breached was not made because of an acceptance of desegregation. Rather this decision was made to avoid any legal repercussions if the College had done otherwise.

The long road toward desegregation of higher education in Virginia began in 1935 when Alice Jackson Stewart, an alumna of Virginia Union University, applied to the University of Virginia for graduate school. She was denied admittance. While the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense Fund advised Jackson, the organization ultimately decided not to take the case to court. In the meantime, the Commonwealth went into action. By December 1935, graduate programs had been established at Virginia State College (now University) and by February 1936 the General Assembly had passed the Dovell Act, which provided tuition for black students to go out of state for graduate degrees not offered at Virginia State. Jackson earned a master’s degree in English from Columbia University. Until 1950 this was the standard manner by which black students in Virginia earned graduate degrees, if they chose not to attend segregated public or private schools in the state or if those schools did not offer the desired program. In 1950, two court cases—*Gregory Swanson v. the Board of Visitors of the University of Virginia* and *Sweat v. Painter* (University of Texas at Austin)—began the process of changing higher education in Virginia. Both law schools were desegregated in 1950.

William & Mary’s admission policies regarding the acceptance of African American applicants expanded in response to these court cases. On September 30, 1950 the Board of Visitors decided “that the applications for admission to graduate and professional programs not offered elsewhere in the Commonwealth be referred to the Attorney General for an opinion, and that the College act in accordance with such opinion.”¹¹⁰

These decisions forced the William & Mary Board of Visitors to rethink school policy and more importantly, African American students in the state began to see the institution as a viable option. Black students began contacting the main campus in Williamsburg and the branch campuses in Richmond and Norfolk asking for applications. In the wake of *Swanson and Sweatt* and as a result of the obvious interest of black Virginians, the College of William & Mary announced that it would accept African American applicants to the law school. The dean of the law school “explained that that decision was based on the recommendation of J. Lindsay Almond Jr., Virginia attorney general.”¹¹¹ The College adopted the policy that if a student was considered qualified “the application would be forwarded to the state attorney general for his legal opinion. Should he rule that the college is obligated under the law to admit the student, the college would do so without a court contest.”¹¹² Of course, this meant that for an African American applicant, the process of admission was a lengthy one. Instead of simply admitting qualified students, William & Mary first checked to see if it was legally obligated to do so.

In 1950, James Gilliam applied to the Richmond Professional Institute (RPI) of William & Mary.¹¹³ He wanted to study social work and RPI was the only school in the state that offered a social work program.¹¹⁴ He was told that the social work program was only open to students working in the field of social work. Gilliam worked for the Negro Organization Society (NOS) in what the NOS considered a qualifying position: “Mr. Gilliam was told that he could not qualify for part-time study because of lack of experience and because he was not connected with a local social agency” despite having been “employed for several years as a case worker..., school principal, college teacher, and Boy Scout Master.”¹¹⁵ Dr. Kalif, the director of the school of social work stated, “Frankly the board of visitors of William and Mary College has not given an opinion on the matter of N---os [sic] attending the school.”¹¹⁶

Despite having rejected Gilliam, the College admitted two African American women in 1950 to the Richmond Professional Institute, a division of William & Mary, to take graduate courses in sociology. According to a statement from the Board of Visitors, “two Negroes have been admitted as part-time students to the graduate program of Social Work.”¹¹⁷ According to the *Chicago Defender*, “Dr. John E. Pomfret, president of the College, said he believes

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ “Navy Chaplain at Great Lakes,” *New Journal and Guide*, October 14, 1944, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/567793702?accountid=15053>.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*

¹¹⁰ The Admission of Qualified Negroes to Professional and Graduate Programs, Statement from Board of Visitors of College of William and Mary, Box 33, Folder 34, From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

¹¹¹ “William and Mary Will Admit Law Students,” *New Journal and Guide*, November 18, 1950, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/567900805?accountid=15053>

¹¹² *ibid.*

¹¹³ “Seeks to Enter Branch of William and Mary College,” *Afro-American*, September 30, 1950, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/531696880?accountid=15053>.

¹¹⁴ Letter from Charles F. Marsh to Mr. Gilliam, September 22, 1952, Box 22, Folder 21, From the Office of the President, Alvin Duke Chandler Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹¹⁶ “William-Mary Not Ready to Drop Bars--RPI Unit Head,” *Afro-American*, September 30, 1950, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/531698615?accountid=15053>.

the two students are the first Negroes ever enrolled in any part of William and Mary.”¹¹⁸ These included Mrs. Hilda Yates Warden, an employee of the Richmond Social Service Bureau, a social case work agency, and an alumna of Virginia Union University, and Marie H. Brown, also the holder of a Bachelor of Arts from Virginia Union University and a certificate in Social Work from the Howard University School of Social Work. At the time, Brown was employed by the Friends Association for Colored Children, a social case work agency in Richmond.¹¹⁹ George T. Kalif, the director of the School of Social Work, stated that the two women were “with the exception of race...eligible in every respect for admission to the classes which they are now attending.”¹²⁰

After 1950, the number of black students attending RPI continued to increase every year. In 1951 four African American students were admitted and one male student was admitted to the Norfolk Division of William & Mary-VPI.¹²¹ In 1952 RPI accepted seven African American graduate students and 35 were enrolled in night classes.¹²²

The Richmond Professional Institute was singular because at the time it was the only desegregated graduate School of Social Work in Virginia.¹²³ This trend of greater enrollment of African Americans in the Richmond division of William & Mary continued throughout the 1950s and extended to William & Mary’s main campus—albeit to a much lesser extent.

In 1951, two African American men were accepted to study at the main branch of the university, Hulon Willis, Sr. to pursue a master’s degree in education focusing on physical education, and Edward Travis to enter the law school. Neither of these areas of study were offered at Virginia State College. Hulon Willis enrolled in June 1951, making him the first African American to matriculate at the institution. Travis began his studies at the law school that fall. Both men graduated, Travis in 1954 and Willis in 1956.¹²⁴

President Chandler informed the Attorney General of the College’s policy in 1953 stating, “As a result of a discussion between Dr. Cleeton and me, the College has decided to

refer applications of students who should normally apply to Virginia State College to that institution for appropriate action.”¹²⁵ In this statement President Chandler implied that African American applicants should only apply to black institutions and that those admitted to William and Mary were to be admitted under abnormal circumstances. The Office of the Attorney General promptly responded to the College and clarified the College’s legal responsibilities. A few days later, Frederick T. Gray, assistant to the Attorney General, informed President Chandler that:

the College of William and Mary is not required to offer a course merely because a Negro applies for admission to that course. Second, that if the course of study which the Negro seeks is offered by another State-supported institution in a substantially equal manner, the College may legally decline to admit the Negro applicant and, finally, if the course of study to which the Negro seeks admission is being offered by William and Mary and is not being offered by a State-supported institution open to Negro applicants, then, under the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, he may not be denied admission on the basis of his race or color.¹²⁶

This policy was strictly followed by the College. It rejected all applicants who applied to courses that were offered at black institutions and only accepted qualified applicants who had applied to graduate programs that were not offered at any public black institutions in the state. It would refer all rejected applicants to Virginia State College (VSC).¹²⁷ All qualified applicants would be re-evaluated by the Attorney General who would determine if the College of William & Mary must admit the student on legal grounds.

In May 1955, Miriam Johnson Carter applied to William & Mary. At the time, Carter was teaching at a school in Pennsylvania and she was preparing for a yearlong sabbatical; she wanted to take it in Virginia to be with her husband and children who lived in Gloucester. She was required to take classes of her choice during her leave.

¹¹⁷ The Admission of Qualified Negroes to Professional and Graduate Programs, Statement from Board of Visitors of College of William and Mary.

¹¹⁸ “Two Enroll in all-White Va. College,” *The Chicago Defender*, December 23, 1950, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/492840293?accountid=15053>.

¹¹⁹ Letter from George T. Kalif to Dean Hibbs, Memorandum of “Negro Student Currently in the School of Social Work, Richmond Profession Institute of the College of William and Mary”, October 3, 1950, Box 22, Folder 21, From the Office of the President, Alvin Duke Chandler Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

¹²⁰ *ibid.*

¹²¹ “Negro Enrollment at White State Colleges,” *New Journal and Guide*, August 25, 1951, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/568087933?accountid=15053>.

¹²² “White Colleges Enrolling More Negro Students,” *New Journal and Guide*, October 4, 1952, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/568145865?accountid=15053>.

¹²³ Allen Jones, “Negroes Attend 6 State Colleges,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, November 29, 1959, Box 33, Folder 34, From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

¹²⁴ Alyce Fordham Willis interview, April 26, 2005 <https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/600/Willis.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

¹²⁵ Letter from A.D. Chandler to J. Lindsay Almond, June 3, 1953, Box 22, Folder 21, From the Office of the President, Alvin Duke Chandler Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

¹²⁶ Letter from Frederick T. Gray to A.D. Chandler, June 12, 1953, Box 22, Folder 21, From the Office of the President, Alvin Duke Chandler Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

¹²⁷ Virginia State College, now known as Virginia State University, was the only state-supported historically black university until 1969. Negro Education, circa 1954-1971. Special Collections Research Center. https://srcguides.libraries.wm.edu/repositories/2/digital_objects/2626 Accessed August 17, 2018.

William & Mary was closer to Gloucester than Virginia State College, so she applied to study education. Carter received the standard rejection letter which explained that the institution was bound by the laws of the Commonwealth of Virginia. This meant that since the “graduate program of the type in which you are interested is offered at Virginia State College we are unable to accept your application.” Her transcript was returned.

Most African American applicants accepted these letters and moved on but not Carter. She wrote explaining her family situation and that given her circumstances, VSC was not a viable option. She ended her letter with “In view of the fact that The Supreme Court of The United States of America handed down a very important decree pertinent to this kind of problem, may I ask that my application be given further consideration.”¹²⁸ Mrs. Carter pursued entry and while she was rejected by the School of Education, the Institute of Early American History & Culture, and the Virginia Fisheries Laboratory, she was accepted by the law school where she spent her sabbatical year before returning to Philadelphia.

William & Mary Reacts to National News

In 1961 James Meredith, a native of Mississippi, decided to apply for admittance to the segregated University of Mississippi. Denied admission twice, he took his case to the courts. Intransigent, Ross Barnett, the Governor of Mississippi, declared that the state’s schools would not be desegregated while he was in office. On September 30th rioting broke out on campus and two men were killed in the melee. With federal troops on the ground, the next day James Meredith enrolled at the University of Mississippi at Oxford.¹²⁹

Almost 1000 miles away, students and faculty at William & Mary were taking note, of what was happening in Mississippi, but initially, *The Flat Hat*, the student newspaper, did not address the situation. English Professor Donald Nunes accused the editors of cowardice. He pointed out that William & Mary, like “Ole Miss,” was a state institution and subject to federal laws and oversight, and needed to be thinking about what it would do in such a situation. He felt that Mississippi had missed the opportunity to be proactive and that loss of life had occurred. Indeed, he suggested that Barnett and other Mississippi leaders had used the institution that had not protested on its own behalf, but had acquiesced to the machinations of the Governor and others. The institution’s silence had been deafening and murderous. Nunes pointed out that responsible citizens, such as those who worked on student newspapers had “a responsibility to speak objectively and editorially about the important problems confronting the William & Mary students. Such ‘sacred’ subjects as integration and civil rights must be written about without hesitancy and without fear lest our silence betoken an academic irresponsibility akin to that displayed

in Oxford, Mississippi.”¹³⁰

In the October 12, 1962 *Flat Hat*, columnist, Roger Swagler wrote a satirical piece that featured Ross Barnett and St. Peter at the Pearly Gates. Barnett strikes up a conversation with St. Peter and a black choir sings in the background. Barnett expresses concern about the nearness of the black singers. He inquires of St. Peter if they can be roped off. The conversation goes back and forth for a while and Barnett becomes agitated. He asks about other well-known white supremacists and finds that none of them are in heaven. Finally, St. Peter tells him that only the pure at heart are allowed in, and Barnett says, “Now look, my blood’s pure, so my heart must be pure.” He is then told that having pure blood has nothing to do with a pure heart. Barnett is directed to the downward escalator as the choir sings “Glory, glory hallelujah; His Truth is marching on.”

The following week Doug Wood wrote that as a southerner he resented Roger Swagler’s suggestion that Governor Ross Barnett and people who thought like him would be blocked from entering heaven. Wood went on to impugn Meredith’s military record suggesting that he was treated for “being a race fanatic with a marked persecution complex. And who cares nothing for the fact that he has only filled the road his people must travel with more bitterness.”¹³¹ William & Mary faculty and fellow students did not all agree with Wood’s stance. On October 26th Richard Sherman, a history professor, responded to Wood that if Mr. Meredith’s determination to attend the University of Mississippi is selfish, then it is selfishness of a most unusual variety given the personal agony he has elected to endure rather than abandon his constitutional rights.”¹³² J. R. Shuster, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, also took Wood on saying:

Despite the fact that Mr. Meredith’s Air Force Psychiatric record revealed no evidence of any pathological disorder, the writer branded him a ‘race fanatic with a marked persecution complex.’ The words ‘fanatic’ and ‘complex’ imply an incorrect perception of reality. But, in a world where all ordinary spheres of activity – voting, education, employment, housing, or even eating out and using a lavatory – are regulated by White-imposed racial restrictions, is it abnormal for a Negro to see race as the single most important element in his life? When people of his race are lynched, when their homes, schools and churches are shot up, dynamited, and burned because they dared to try to be like other men, is it terribly strange that they should feel persecuted? Jews in Nazi Germany, for example, probably developed a certain persecution complex. If Mr. Meredith is a ‘race man’ who feels persecuted, it is only because his reaction is the normal response of a normal American to the normal situation of a Negro in the United States, particularly in the South.¹³³

¹²⁸ From the Office of the President, Davis Y. Paschall Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

¹²⁹ James Meredith, *Three Years in Mississippi*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966, 214).

¹³⁰ *The Flat Hat* October 12, 1962, p. 5.

¹³¹ *ibid.*, 5.

¹³² *ibid.*, 5.

On November 2nd two letters, one from the Mortar Board and one from Christopher Reiss, an international student, appeared under the Letters to the Editor section of the paper. The Mortar Board, a student organization, wrote to inform *Flat Hat* readers about the work of the Williamsburg Area Interracial Study Group, the local chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. Three faculty members who were active in the Williamsburg group, Dr. Harrell, Dr. Tate, and Dr. Sherman, the chairman, had met with the Mortar Board to update the students on the racial climate in the community. The students volunteered to work with the group. The Mortar Board expressed the belief that the work of this community organization could serve as a model to campus groups. Indeed, at that time the study group was engaged in a campaign drive to encourage blacks to register to vote.¹³⁴

Christopher Reiss, a native of England, wrote the second letter titled “Discusses Negro Problem.”¹³⁵ It is not clear who titled the letters. Reiss, studying at William & Mary for a year, wondered if Americans understood that people like Ross Barnett attracted the attention of the Soviet Union. He goes on to say that,

If this publicity is ill-informed then it is at least part the fault of the reluctance of many Americans to open into free and honest discussion of the subject. Seen from outside, the Negro problem is something of a carbuncle on the face that ‘The Free World’ presents to the Communist and neutral-backward blocks. It is by no means the only carbuncle; far from it. Racial flare-ups between white and coloured in England and South Africa, and antisemitism that appears in nearly every country, are other, and no less horrific, examples of the same basic phenomenon! Yet Governor Ross Barnett did not hit the world headlines because of the clash between State and Federal authority, nor because of the embarrassment to the ‘Voice of America.’¹³⁶

Reiss concluded by acknowledging that integration may be a slow process, but that students, willing to participate in “healthy, open and sane discussion” could help avoid the violence that erupted in Oxford.

While the doors of William & Mary began to slowly open in the fifties and sixties, there were still key obstacles that made the campus climate uninviting to black students. Two long-standing traditions—the playing of “Dixie” at W&M football games and the annual “old South” parade sponsored on college campuses where Kappa Alpha Fraternity had a chapter—are a testament to this.

When the William & Mary team scored a touchdown the school band keyed up Dixie and the student body joined in cheering and singing “I wish I was in the land of cotton, Old times there are not forgotten.” Undoubtedly, the land of cotton meant different things to the white students who

were singing and the black students who were listening. In 1969, the newly formed Black Student Organization (BSO) let it be known that they were going to address the playing of Dixie at the homecoming game. Indeed, they planned to burn a confederate flag every time the song was played. In response, the Band Director removed the song from the playlist and it was not played again during football games.¹³⁷

The tradition of Kappa Alpha’s (KA) “Old South” parade was a challenge faced by many colleges and universities, including W&M, as they desegregated. An annual event, the William & Mary parade ran from the Colonial Capital to the intersection of Duke of Gloucester and Boundary Streets where the campus begins. Fraternity members, dressed in Confederate uniforms, watched as their president handed his sword to a representative of the University administration signifying the organization’s temporary secession to a weekend at Virginia Beach.

In 1971, the BSO spoke out against this event calling the parade “an insult to the Blacks on campus” and “an attempt to perpetuate the enslavement of the black people” Former BSO president, Kermit Dance, described the parade as “a move to achieve division between the races at a time when the objective should be black and white unity.” Carter Lownace, the Executive Vice-President, designee to receive the sword, disagreed with the student organization remarking that the event was “symbolic of the chivalry and traditions of the Old South” and had nothing to do with race.¹³⁸

It was into this climate that Oscar Blayton stepped. Oscar Blayton, a Williamsburg native, was the first African American undergraduate student at W&M. He was admitted shortly after George Wallace, then Governor of Alabama blocked two African American students from entering the University of Alabama. While it may never be proven, the desire of the Commonwealth of Virginia and the institution to avoid scenes like those happening farther south may have been the impetus. Whatever the reason, Blayton was enrolled but not allowed to live on campus an indication that the institution’s motivation was not wholehearted, but expedient. Soon there were other indicators that Blayton was not welcome. With some exceptions among the student body, in particular, students in the Theater Department, he had little support among the administration. He remained two years.¹³⁹

The signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 with its Title VI which “prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, and national origin in programs and activities receiving federal financial assistance” forced William & Mary to begin taking serious steps, however reluctantly, toward desegregation or risk losing federal funding. In 1967 the school admitted freshmen Janet Brown, Karen Ely, and Lynn Briley and Michael Engs, a transfer student. While Engs, whose family lived in Williamsburg, was encouraged

¹³³ *ibid.*, 5.

¹³⁴ *The Flat Hat* November 2, 1962 “On Integration,” p. 5.

¹³⁵ *ibid.*, “Discusses Negro Problem,” p. 5.

¹³⁶ *ibid.*

¹³⁷ *The Flat Hat* October 24, 1969, p. 2.

¹³⁸ *The Flat Hat* May 7, 1971, p.1.

¹³⁹ Oscar Blayton earned a J.D. at Yale University and returned to Virginia to litigate school desegregation cases.

to live at home, the three women became the first African Americans in residence. First and foremost, they had support from the African American College staff and the local black community. As with Hulon Willis Sr., black students were “adopted.” This was the word that Lynn Briley used when talking about the congregation of the First Baptist Church on Scotland St.

In addition to the four students who came to William & Mary in 1967, the 32nd annual state conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People took place in Williamsburg from October 20th to the 22nd. The theme of the convention was “Accepting the Challenges of the Road Ahead” and while most of the events took place off campus, Sunday’s “Freedom Rally” happened on the campus of William & Mary at the Lake Matoaka Amphitheatre. The following month, R&B artists Wilson Pickett along with the Drifters headlined homecoming events.¹⁴⁰ Black entertainers performing for white audiences was not unusual. The Drifters performed on campus in 1964.¹⁴¹ Indeed, Jimmie Lunceford and his band performed at the University in 1945.¹⁴² While black students were not welcome, black entertainers seem to have been appreciated. This suggests something about the “place” of African Americans during the Jim Crow Era.

After 1967, a few African American students entered every year. In 1968, Warren Winston Jr., a Richmond native, became William & Mary’s first African American scholarship student-athlete. Viola Baskerville matriculated in 1969 and by her senior year became the first African American student to win a Fulbright scholarship.

The first three black students in residence graduated in 1971 and just as their entry had made a mark on the campus, so did their Commencement. At the time, the senior class voted on possible speakers. In 1971 the list included John Lindsay, Margaret Meade, Ramsey Clark, Paul Ehrlich, Kingman Brewster, Harold Hughes, Charles Evers, and Mark Hatfield, with space for a write-in vote.¹⁴³ After the voting, the top three were Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York, Mayor Charles Evers of Fayette, Miss., and Senator William Fulbright. Lindsay turned down the invitation. Instead of going to the second choice, then President Davis Y. Paschall, decided that he would choose the speaker. Evers, the second choice, was African American and the brother of slain Civil Rights leader, Medgar Evers. In the end, Paschall selected Representative Thomas N. Downing of Virginia’s first district.

In response, some of the students of the class of 1971 planned an alternative commencement. They invited Mayor Evers, who agreed to be their speaker saying

“I am truly sorry that you and the other

members of the Senior Class at William and Mary have been balked at your attempts to secure the commencement speaker you wished to have. . . . However, if you and all the others of the Class of ’71 who feel as you do can take this experience as an object lesson of what racism has done in our country, and can attempt in your future lives to help get rid of discrimination in all its forms, this temporary setback can be turned into permanent victory”¹⁴⁴

While not in agreement initially, the campus administration allowed the students to hold a ceremony at Blow Gym. Additionally, the Class raised \$800, for the Martin Luther King Scholarship Fund which had been established in 1968. By the following year, President Paschall had resigned and Thomas A. Graves Jr. became the 23rd President of the College. Ralph Ellison, an African American scholar and author of *Invisible Man*, was the 1972 Commencement speaker.¹⁴⁵

Brian K. Blount ’78 was the first black student inducted into Phi Beta Kappa, the nation’s first Greek honor society. Warren Buck, Sharon Coles-Stewart, and Marvin Hedgepeth all earned graduate degrees. Buck earned his Ph.D. in Physics in 1976 and Hedgepeth graduated in 1975 with a master’s degree from the School of Marine Science. Coles-Stewart ’75 was the first black woman to earn a law degree from William & Mary’s Marshall-Wythe School of Law.

In 1963 when Oscar Blayton entered William & Mary there was no support in place for him. This began to change in 1967 when alumnus Sam Sadler was charged with assisting the new undergraduates. By the 1969 – 1970 academic year, the history department offered “The Negro in the United States Since 1861” taught by Professor Cam Walker. In 1974, William & Mary, following a national trend, established the Office of Minority Affairs. Leroy Moore, the first director, served until 1980 when Dr. Carroll F.S. Hardy took over. Hardy, known as Dean Hardy, was a force on this campus and is credited by countless African American alumni for guiding them through their time at William & Mary. Hardy understood the need for support and during her time established the National Black Student Leadership Development Conference for college students across the country, founded the Hulon Willis Association for African-American students and alumni, and worked to increase the diversity of W&M’s student body.

In 1973 Trudier Harris joined the English Department faculty. She was the first black professor to be tenured and promoted at the College. Harris left William & Mary in 1979 and Joanne Braxton joined the English faculty in 1980. In 1982 Berhanu Abegaz joined the Economics Department.

Black Studies programs, with their roots in the Civil

¹⁴⁰ The Flat Hat November 17, 1967, p. 3.

¹⁴¹ The Flat Hat November 20, 1964, p. 1. *The Colonial Echo* 1965 p. 145.

¹⁴² The Flat Hat November 28, 1945, p. 1. The student paper spelled the bandleaders name Jimmy Lunceford.

¹⁴³ Bloom, <https://www.wm.edu/sites/lemonproject/documents/IntegratingWMBloom.pdf> pp. 24-26.

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Other African American and African Commencement speakers during the time covered by this report are: 1978 Rep. Barbara Jordan, member of the United States Congress; 1988 Colin L. Powell, Lieutenant General U.S.A., Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs (later Secretary of State); 1990 Lawrence Douglas Wilder, Governor of Virginia; 1993 William H. Cosby, Jr., humorist, author, educator, actor; 2006 Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu, cleric, author, teacher, Archbishop of Cape Town, South Africa, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate.

Rights and Black Power Movements, were part of an effort to acknowledge the importance of the study of black history and culture. While the doors to historically white institutions were opening to black students the curriculum remained largely the same. Students began demanding Black Studies in the 1960s. In 1997, 30 years after the first blacks allowed to live in residence arrived, a Black Studies Program was established at William & Mary and Professor Jacquelyn McLendon was the first director. In 2009 Black Studies became Africana Studies.¹⁴⁶

The Origin of the Lemon Project

When looking back to determine the origin of any endeavor, it is often difficult to establish a distinct timeline. This is certainly true in the case of the origin story of the Lemon Project. In hindsight it appears that multiple forces were working in tandem but unknown to each other to address a perceived need at the College.

In January 2006, Joanne Braxton and Terry Meyers, both professors of English sent a memorandum to Provost P. Geoffrey Feiss with the subject line: A History of Race Relations at the College. The opening paragraph stated,

In the last several years, the two of us have become increasingly interested in the history of race relations at the College, from its earliest days through contemporary times. We have come to the conclusion that now is a propitious time for William and Mary to commission a full study of this important matter and that doing so will at once educate those who are ignorant and help prepare a future where full diversity can be pursued with a knowledge of the past.

Braxton and Meyers acknowledged the scarcity of known sources but provide an informal bibliography as a place to start the research.

In October 2006, citing the 2005 Brown University report, *Slavery and Justice*, as a possible model, the two sent a second memorandum this time to then president, Gene Nichol,¹⁴⁷ expressing the desire for a commissioned study at William & Mary to uncover the full history of the institution. Both memos included possible members of such a group.

Around the same time that the memos were circulating, Meyers was also researching an eighteenth century building on campus forgotten but still in existence that he thought might have housed a school for free and enslaved black children between 1760 and 1765. While that building was

found not to be the school, Meyers uncovered that two children, Adam and Fanny, owned by W&M, had been sent to the school (at its later location).

The realization, he said, that he worked for an institution that once claimed to own human beings, including children, was electric. Slavery became immediate and actual, personified in Adam and Fanny.

Meyers began to poke around in a subject ignored, forgotten, or suppressed in the College's history, which he found even more intriguing. One early discovery was of the College's tobacco plantation, the Nottoway Quarter, worked for almost eight decades by people enslaved by W&M, but not mentioned in most College histories, including the two volume 1993 study.

In 2007 Meyers read in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (February 26) a call by Professor Al Brophy for W&M to come clean about its past. He wrote Brophy saying he had begun working on the subject. Around that time, Meyers had been asked to write for Black History Month a 1500-word account for the William and Mary News about W&M and slavery. The possibility of such a story did not please some administrators, though Meyers had been encouraged by President Nichol and Provost Feiss; slavery apparently was no longer part of the College's brand. Meyers heard that the story was to be killed and the editor of the News sanctioned in some way. He withdrew the story himself, but, of course, his interest was strengthened by the opposition. By September 20, 2007, when Professor Brophy was brought to the law school by the Black Law Students Association to talk on Thomas Roderick Dew, Meyers had an early draft of an article, "A First Look at the Worst: Slavery and Race Relations at the College of William and Mary."

In 2007, Tiseme Zegeye was a junior at William & Mary, a senator for the class of 2008, a campus leader, and she was inquisitive. With roots in Ethiopia, Zegeye was interested in learning more about African and African Diaspora history which led her to take classes with Dr. Robert Trent Vinson, a scholar of South African history and the African Diaspora. Studying under Professor Vinson was an eye-opening experience for Zegeye. She learned about the relative ease with which the history of a continent, a people, a community, can be and has been erased. The more she learned in Vinson's classes, the more she wanted to know. She became more aware of the signs of historical erasure on campus. For instance, the sign marking the "Indian School," established in 1697 "to

¹⁴⁶ Africana Studies defined "Africana Studies is about more than race. It is about the history, cultural traditions, politics and economics of the many countries that make up the African continent. It is about the experiences of African people as they adapt to new lives in North America, the Caribbean Basin, Latin America, the Middle East, South Asia, and Western Europe." Taken from <https://www.wm.edu/as/africanastudies/index.php>

¹⁴⁷ The same month that President Nichol received the memorandum he came under fire because of his decision to remove the cross from the Wren Chapel. Perceived by some people as "political correctness" gone too far, Nichol explained in his resignation letter dated February 12, 2008 that his decision "was certainly motivated by the desire to extend the College's welcome more generously to all. We are charged, as state actors, to respect and accommodate all religions, and to endorse none. The decision did no more." See the full letter at <https://www.wm.edu/news/announcements/archive/2008/statement-from-gene-nichol-feb-12.php>. This is relevant here because many students, faculty, staff, and community members, especially those of color, saw in Nichol someone aware of the school's ineptitude when it came to race relations and who was willing to take steps to address this issue. Justin Reid '09 then a junior at W&M and president of the campus chapter of the NAACP, expressed the feelings of many when he said "We have some alumni who can't accept that the [sic] William and Mary today is different than the William and Mary they attended." Whether accurate or not, Nichol's ouster signaled, for some, clear evidence that the institution did not care about them. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/story/2008/02/12/ST2008021201428.html>

educate young Indian men” which reads like a benevolent endeavor. She saw the statue of Thomas Jefferson and the obvious pride the university felt in being Jefferson’s alma mater without ever mentioning that he was a member of the slaveholding class. Finally, Zegeye was aware that some colleges and universities were beginning to take a look at their connection to the institution of slavery. Indeed, the University of Virginia’s Board of Visitors, following the Virginia General Assembly’s lead, expressed “its particular regret for the employment of enslaved persons” on April 13, 2007, the 264th anniversary of the birth of its founder, Thomas Jefferson.¹⁴⁸

With this knowledge in hand, Zegeye was moved to present a resolution to the William & Mary Student Assembly (SA), the university’s student governing body. Zegeye’s resolution called for the institution to take a hard look at itself, its history in particular. She was not sure what would be found, but she was confident that the institution of slavery figured in the story. This was a safe assumption. The school opened in 1693 not long after slavery had taken hold as the preferred labor system in England’s North American colonies. Indeed, the College was founded at a time when slavery was not only accepted but revered. Its faculty, staff, and students were part of the slave holding culture.

As a class senator, Zegeye had a platform that she was determined to use. She approached her peers on the Student Assembly about the idea of a resolution that would force the College to investigate its full story. She did encounter some pushback and admits that this was a difficult time in her W&M life, but she persevered. While the final version of the resolution represented a compromise, it was a compromise that she could live with. In its final form the resolution reads as follows: “establish a commission to research the full extent of the College of William and Mary’s role in slavery,” report its findings publicly and establish a memorial to the “contributions of slaves at the College.”¹⁴⁹

The bill was called The Research Into and an Apology for William and Mary’s Role in Slavery Act. The vote on the recommended commission was unanimous, but some of Zegeye’s fellow senators were not in favor of the request for an apology. Senator Joe Luppino-Esposito did not think that an apology was something the student senate needed to pursue. Luppino-Esposito was quoted in the *Daily Press* saying that “It wasn’t something that the student senate needed to get involved in when we have so many other pressing issues.”¹⁵⁰ Zegeye told *The Flat Hat* that she hoped to present a report to the Board in February 2008 detailing the request. “I am asking the BOV to apologize because they represent WM as an institution, the same institution that was responsible for our role in slavery.”¹⁵¹

The following fall Meyers’ article helped inform the Faculty Assembly (FA) as it passed its own similar resolution. Meyers also quoted to the Assembly from a major examination of the College’s involvement with slavery, William & Mary alumna, Jennifer Oast’s Ph.D. Thesis.¹⁵²

In fall 2008, the late Robert F. Engs, Professor of History at the University of Pennsylvania, was appointed the James Pinckney Harrison Visiting Professor of History at W&M. He was to teach one class and to conduct research with the end goal of recommending to the faculty and administration “appropriate and meaningful responses to those historical wrongs and their stubbornly enduring legacy.”¹⁵³ In Engs’ words:

I undertook this project at the invitation of the Provost and the Faculty of the Lyon Gardiner Tyler Department of History. I understood that I was chosen for this task in part because, as an outside scholar, I might bring objectivity to a troublesome subject, and because, as a person with family ties in the Williamsburg community, I might be able to engage in dialogue with long time black residents about their feelings toward the College, its past, and its present policies. It was made clear to me that William and Mary wished to do something more meaningful and lasting than a simple apology for a wrong in the distance [sic] past.¹⁵⁴

Going on, Engs argues that

The urgency of meaningful response to slavery and its legacy is necessitated by ongoing missteps of Southern collegiate institutions in regards to race, particularly public ones. Although slavery was relatively unimportant in the final antebellum years at William and Mary, the racial attitudes that had allowed its existence to go largely unquestioned persevered into the late 20th Century and offending remnants abound about town and campus to this day. These are the sources of the deep-seated anger and suspicion in the African American community.¹⁵⁵

The SA and FA resolutions were supportive of initial steps being taken by the Provost, who had just days before the FA resolution prepared the Board of Visitors for the investigations that were to be realized with the Board’s creation of the Lemon Project in April 2009 (after Brown University only the second such undertaking with an institutional sanction, charge, and budget). Once established, Professors Kimberley Phillips and Robert Trent Vinson, of the Department of History, were named co-chairs and in 2010 Jody L. Allen was named Coordinator. This report reflects a compilation of the work of the first eight years of *The Lemon Project: A Journey of Reconciliation*.

¹⁴⁸ <https://news.virginia.edu/content/university-virginias-board-visitors-passes-resolution-expressing-regret-use-slaves> and <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/02/25/AR2007022500470.html>

¹⁴⁹ <https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/1396/12-07-2007.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
William & Mary alumni Michael Faithful’07 and Justin Reid ’09, members of the student government and the student chapter of the NAACP, worked alongside Zegeye on the student resolution.

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*

¹⁵² Oast, J. (2008). *Forgotten masters: Institutional slavery in Virginia, 1680-1860*.

¹⁵³ Engs, Robert “The College, Race, and Slavery: Report to the Provost and Faculty” December 1, 2008/February 12, 2009.

¹⁵⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ *ibid.*

Further Research

While a significant amount of archival research has taken place, there is still more to do. Below are just a few of the questions that need to be addressed:

- A closer look at race and each president of the College, including President Dew's fall from Enlightenment grace to antebellum shame.
- What impact, if any, did William & Mary have on the rate of slave manumission in the Tidewater region of Virginia?
- What was the total financial contribution of the enslaved to creating and sustaining of W&M, including scholarships, tuition paid by slaveholders, returns from Nottoway Quarter, leased construction and maintenance workers, persons privately enslaved by administrators and faculty, in addition to enslaved people owned by the College.
- What was the impact of the federal government taking over the Yorktown Naval Weapons Station and Camp Peary? These are events that loom large in displacement of the local African American community.
- In what ways did Eastern State Hospital intersect with the College and the African American community?
- In what ways has the College influenced the town and vice versa, especially during the Jim Crow Era?
- The College was left a bequest to oversee another school that would have been located in the free black community at the heart of James City County.
- The name Lemon appears a few times in the written record and in fictional accounts. Sometimes the dates seem to support the idea that there was one person named Lemon associated with the College, and at other times, additional research is warranted.
- While we know something of the housing and living conditions of the enslaved at the College, additional research needs to be conducted in this area.
- What happened to the College's enslaved labor during the American Revolution and the Civil War? Did they leave to fight for the "enemy?"
- Why was Chaplain James Russell Brown allowed to complete the program at W&M?
- What are the tangible and intangible effects of racism in the community?

Nottoway Quarter

- The written records hold very limited information on the College's former tobacco plantation. People lived and worked on this land for almost 80 years. They left a record, but it will take archaeologists to find it. The Lemon Project recommends archaeological excavations at Nottoway Quarter. This will involve obtaining permission from the current owners and will be a multi-year project. To date, no other university has tied research from outlying lands or provisioning plantations to the story of slavery on its campus.

Names of the Enslaved

African Americans Owned by or Affiliated with William & Mary, 1693-1861

Research continues into uncovering and documenting the stories of African Americans who were owned by or affiliated with William & Mary. The list below is current as of the date of this report.

Adam	George	Lucy	Rachel
Agar	Gerrel	Lucy	Rachel
Alice	Gerrel	Lucy	Rachel
Andrew	Glasgow	Margaret	Sally
Ann	Grace	Martha	Sam
Antony	Hannah	Mary	Sarah
Barbara	Harry	Mary	Sarraah
Betty	Hebe	Mary	Sharlot
Beck/Buk	Jack	Mary Ann	Suckey
Ben	Jack	Mass	Tom
Bob	James	John Miller	Tom Mask
Catherine	James	Molly	Ephraim Williams
Charlott	Joan	Molly	Winkfield
Cloe	Anthony Jasper	Myrtilla	
Chloe	Jenny	Nancy	
Cyrus	Joe	Nanny	
Daniel	John	Nedd	
Daniel	John	Nero	
Dick	Judah	Norfolk	
Effy	Judith	Peggy	
Emanuel	Kate	Peter	
Epra	Lemon	Peter	
Fanny	Letty	Peter	
Fanny	Lewis	Pompey	
Frank	Lucetty	Price	
Frankey	Lucy	Priscilla	

Slaveholders Affiliated with William & Mary

Between 1693 and the end of the Civil War, there were 281 known faculty, Bursars, and Board of Visitors members associated with the College. To date, 51 have been verified as having been slaveholders. Given the time period and the social and economic status of these men, most undoubtedly owned laborers. Indeed, elite white males who did not own or hire enslaved workers were the exception. When this portion of the research is completed, the number of people owned, their names, where available, and all other information found will be made available on the Lemon Project website.

NAME	POSITION	DATE <i>of appointment/election</i>	SLAVEHOLDER?
Robert Andrews	Faculty	1777, 1784	Yes
Charles Bellini	Faculty	1779-1786	Yes
James Blair	Faculty	1693	Yes
John Bracken	Faculty	1775	Yes
Dabney Browne	Faculty	1825	Yes
William Browne	Faculty	1814	Yes
John Camm	Faculty	1749	Yes
Thomas Dawson	Faculty	1737	Yes
William Dawson	Faculty	1729	Yes
Thomas R. Dew	Faculty	1826	Yes
Adam Empie	Faculty	1827	Yes
Benjamin S. Ewell	Faculty	1848	Yes
Francis Fontaine	Faculty	1716-1729	Yes
Lucian Minor	Faculty	1855	Yes
Robert Saunders	Faculty	1833	Yes
Morgan Jedediah Smead	Faculty	1848	No
Thomas T. L. Snead	Faculty	1856	No
William Stith	Faculty	1731	Yes
Edwin Taliaferro	Faculty	1858	No
Silas Totten	Faculty	1849	Yes
Lyon G. Tyler	Faculty	1877	No
John Blair	BOV	about 1758	Yes
George Blow	BOV	1833	Yes
Baron de Norborne Berkeley Botetourt	BOV	1768	Yes
Carter Braxton	BOV	1769	Yes
Lewis Burwell	BOV	1761	Yes

NAME	POSITION	DATE <i>of appointment/election</i>	SLAVEHOLDER?
William Byrd I	BOV	1693	Yes
William Byrd II	BOV	about 1723	Yes
William Byrd III	BOV	1769	Yes
Phillip Grymes	BOV	about 1758	Yes
Thomas Jefferson	BOV	1779	Yes
Richard Henry Lee	BOV	1784	Yes
George Loyall	BOV	1842	Yes
James Lyons	BOV	1844	Yes
Robert McCandlish	BOV	1826	Yes
William H. Macfarland	BOV	1848, 1859	Yes
John Page Jr.	BOV	1768	Yes
John Page III	BOV	1827	Yes
Mann Page	BOV	about 1758	Yes
Mann Page	BOV	1788	Yes
Mann Page Jr.	BOV	1800	Yes
Matthew Page	BOV	1693	Yes
Thomas G. Peachy	BOV	1833	Yes
William S. Peachy	BOV	1866	Yes
Joseph Prentis	BOV	1791	Yes
John Randolph	BOV	about 1723	Yes
Peyton Randolph	BOV	about 1758	Yes
J.S. Ravenscroft	BOV	1821	Yes
Alexander Spotswood	BOV	about 1723	Yes
Littleton W. Tazewell	BOV	1800	Yes
John Tyler (President of U.S.)	BOV	1814	Yes
Robert Andrews	Bursar	1779	Yes
Joseph Gresham	Bursar	1829	Yes
John Palmer	Bursar	1758	Yes
William Pierce	Bursar	1777	Yes

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- W&M news articles
- Lemon Project mentioned
- Theses and dissertations

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