THE LEGACY OF SLAVERY AT HOLLINS

Working Group on Slavery Information Session
The Working Group was first established in 2016 to address the legacy and future of Founder’s Day, an annual event traditionally at Hollins to celebrate the birthday of President Charles Lewis Cocke, and the history of the institution. That year, many Hollins students objected to the fact that the story of Charles Lewis Cocke was presented without mention of his and his administration’s involvement with the use of enslaved people on the Hollins campus. Out of that protest came a group called the Hollins Heritage Committee, formed by President Nancy Gray and chaired by Professor Jon Bohland.

Today, the committee is called the Hollins Working Group on Slavery and Its Contemporary Legacies. This name reflects our mission to research and educate not just Hollins’ connections to enslavement, but the ways in which those connections reverberate throughout our school’s history. Due to the pathbreaking genealogical work of alum Brittney Flowers, we have engaged in work on and off campus to identify those people who were enslaved on our campus, and address the lasting effects of that injustice.

Our group’s first job was to come up with a better plan for the aforementioned Founder’s Day; the result was a 2017 presentation in which all of Hollins history was included. There were stories and images of African Americans on this campus, starting with those who were enslaved here. The highlight of that presentation was
the moment that Isaiah Sweetenberg, who works at Hollins today, read the words of his ancestor Clement Read Bolden, who will be discussed further later in this presentation.

After the presentation, students brought a wreath to hang at our library, in recognition of Mr. Bolden and all the women and men who worked on campus and lived in the nearby Oldfields Community. And the day was renamed – it is now called Hollins Day, in recognition of the fact that we want to acknowledge all of our school’s history.

It became clear that in order for this historical reckoning to be an ongoing process, as opposed to a one-time event, our group would have to continue to work to uncover and share these stories, and to right the wrongs perpetrated by previous generations.

Some of our other past, current and future initiatives include:

• Meeting with members of the Hollins Community and Hollins First Baptist Church. When we say Hollins Community, we are referring to the community in an area adjacent to our campus which used to be known as Oldfields. According to Ethel Morgan Smith, that term has an interesting history in connection with enslaved people being housed on land which is no longer used for farming, in other words, “the old field.” So what we today call the Hollins Community includes direct descendants of those enslaved people who worked on campus, and lived in Oldfields.

• Faculty have brought the results of this research, and archival materials, into the classroom: in January of 2018 a month-long class led by Jon Bohland focused on the history of enslaved people at Hollins. During the Spring semester that same year, an Archaeology Project and Field School gave students the experience of investigating a site where enslaved people may once have worked. Out of this grew a student group, Students Studying Slavery, who reached out to students at other colleges and universities interested in research and activism.

• In January of 2020, a course taught by Ashleigh Breske looked at evidence of enslavement in our archives; students produced an online exhibition in conjunction with that.

• In 2020, a scholarship established for descendants of the Hollins was publicized.

• Hollins has also contributed signage to Hollins First Baptist church in recognition of the Hollins Community representation in that congregation.
And finally, Hollins is a member of Universities Studying Slavery, an international consortium of more than 55 universities dedicated to collaborative research, joint projects, and more. This group was started in Virginia but keeps growing; it is now an international collaboration including schools as close to us as Roanoke College, W & L and Sweetbriar, and as far as Saint Louis, Harvard, Princeton Theological Seminary, and the University of Glasgow.

In April of 2018, our group hosted the Spring Conference of USS here at Hollins, with 80 attendees from 11 U.S. states and the United Kingdom. The group discusses best practices on matters of restorative justice work, in terms of process and progress, on everything from teaching strategies to renaming processes, how to issue official institutional apologies for slavery, and what kinds of institutional commitments, from memorials to curricular changes to scholarships, can create meaningful reparative change.

During the remainder of our presentation, working group co-chair Maryke Barber and other members will discuss recent work in more detail, followed by a Q&A about what comes next, and how to get involved.
My task is to share some stories which have been gleaned from the Hollins archives and from oral histories. While people like Hollins’ Founder Charles Lewis Cocke are easily found in published sources, the stories of the Black people whose work sustained Hollins from its earliest days have not been so accessible.

Meet Clement Read Bolden. We know that when he was 17, Mr. Bolden was taken from the Hollins campus and pressed into service by the Confederate Army. We know this because in 1925 Joseph Turner, General Manager at Hollins, wrote these experiences down as part of a pension application. The State of Virginia granted the annual pension, which Mr. Bolden received until his death in 1929.

Clement Read Bolden was born in Henrico County, Virginia in 1846. He and his family were enslaved by the Read family and around 1857 came to work on the Hollins campus when Charles Lewis Cocke hired them from David Read. Clem would have been 11 at the time.

In 1863 Clem Bolden and some other enslaved men at Hollins were impressed, it was called, by the Confederate forces. During what he later called the longest two years of his life, Clem Bolden drove a wagon and worked with other Black teamsters to bury dead confederate soldiers after battles. In 1865, he remembers being in Appomattox and standing near the place where General Lee surrendered to General Grant. When
he was finally able to return, Clem Bolden worked at Hollins as head gardener. Seeding, planting, and harvesting were his specialties and even the professors in the biology department would come to him for advice.

Aside from such paperwork as the pension application, we know about Mr. Bolden from oral history interviews, conversations a Hollins student named Ethel Morgan Smith held with people in the Hollins Community. I should explain this term – which refers to the area adjacent to our campus. It used to be known as Oldfields; according to Ethel’s book that term’s history refers to enslaved people being housed on land which is no longer used for farming, in other words, “the old field.” What we today refer to as “The Hollins Community” is a community whose residents have included direct descendants of enslaved people who worked on our campus, including Mr. Bolden.

Caesar Morton was also born enslaved, in Appomattox County, Virginia; his family came to Hollins after the war had ended. We don’t know a lot about Caesar’s childhood, but by his death in 1929 he was famous. He had worked at Hollins for a total of 67 years, 50 years as head waiter. If you’d gone to Hollins, you knew Caesar Morton. Hollins Alumnae Quarterly published a long eulogy for Mr. Morton, saying “The secret of his amazing popularity was his abounding interest in other people, his unfailing good humor, and his own – his very own – smart, quaint, and penetrating ways of expressing himself.” Articles also appeared in the Roanoke World News, and the New York Times. While these praised Mr. Morton and proclaimed the mourning of the many students whose lives he’d touched, they missed some other important landmarks. Caesar Morton and his wife Betty had four children and eleven grandchildren; he and his Brother Nathan were the first from the Hollins Community to buy and own land in this area.

I wish stories about Black women in Hollins' earliest history were as detailed; sadly, they are not. These fuzzy images are from the 1903 yearbook. They are probably the earliest known images of the women who did this heavy work. Aside from the photo we have Hollins ledger books; ledgers are one way to find people in records while they were enslaved, when they were involved with some sort of financial transaction: this is we find “washer women,” or “laundresses”. The information is very sparse – a name, and the name(s) of persons whose laundry was cleaned. One name we know is Eliza, who appears in the ledgers from January 1865-1868 – that is all we know about her.

I mentioned Ethel Morgan Smith; she told the stories of Clem Bolden, Caesar Morton, the Washer Women and others in her book From Whence Cometh My Help: the African American Community at Hollins College, which she published in 2000.
Ethel Smith also spent extensive time interviewing Ms. Mary Emma Bruce, and in her story we see the experience of a Black staff member at Hollins in the mid-20th century. Ms. Bruce was a resident of the Hollins Community and a lifelong member of Hollins First Baptist Church, adjacent to the campus. She worked as a chemistry lab assistant at Hollins for 46 years. In addition to her work setting up experiments she was invited to sit in on classes. She earned all A’s, but was not able to attend because Hollins was not open to African American students until she was close to retirement. In 1976, Ms. Bruce was the first African-American (and first staff member) to receive The Algernon Sydney Sullivan Award, which recognizes members of the campus community who have a spirit of love and helpfulness to other people. And in 2004, at the age of 95, Hollins University awarded her an honorary degree.

I mentioned segregation at Hollins; the first African-American student at Hollins was Cecelia Long, who graduated in 1970 and went on to a career in both social work and business. She also served on the Alumnae Association Board of Directors and Board of Trustees.

We should also honor Pamela Meade, she graduated in 1984 as the first Hollins graduate from the Hollins Community and the great-grandchild of Caesar Morton, whom you met earlier.
While Cecelia Long and Pamela Meade hold important places in the History of Hollins, they are certainly not our only distinguished Black alums.
Perhaps one of the best known currently is the Reverend Dr. Cynthia Hale, Founder and senior pastor of Ray of Hope Christian Church, with 9,000 parishioners in Decatur, Georgia. Dr. Hale has received many awards for her work including being inducted into the African American Biographies Hall of Fame, and National Urban League’s “Women of Power” award. She is a current member of the Hollins Board of Trustees.

I already mentioned Ethel Smith; another alum to credit for her work in telling these stories is Brittney Flowers. Brittney wrote her thesis work on the Hollins Community, and since then she has also done a tremendous job gathering stories and genealogical information in an attempt to trace family trees.

While I wanted to start with students I should not neglect faculty and staff; in your program you will find more information about Hollins first Black administrator, Esther Vassar, who became Assistant Dean of Students and taught English in 1972; Judith Hunter, Hollins first full-time Black faculty member in Social Work in 1973; and Hollins first Black tenured faculty member joined the English department in 1998: T.J. Anderson, III.
In Spring 2020 Professor Ashleigh Breske and her class worked with the Wilson Museum and with Archivist Beth Harris on an exhibit of objects which give voice to the stories which have traditionally been excluded from historical narratives. It is now a virtual exhibit, called Unveiling the Past, accessible from the Museum’s website and also the Working group.

I would not be able to tell you these stories with such authority and detail without the work of Hollins Archivist Beth Harris, and I’d like to acknowledge the tremendous work she did during 3 decades at Hollins. Unfortunately, we lost Beth to cancer in August.

At the moment, archival research into this history is unfortunately not an option. You heard me mention ledger books and they are only one example of how specialized a field archival research really is. While Hollins has other librarians, none of us are trained to facilitate and manage this work. We are hoping for permission fill this position, but our university is currently under a hiring freeze. In the meantime, we hope you’ll consider lending your skills to one of our other projects. Thank you.
By neglecting to talk about the history of enslavement at a pre-emancipation university, we are also neglecting to create a space for the voices of the unheard and making it seem like white voices are the only voices we are willing or able to listen to. With projects from the Working Group, as will be discussed later in this presentation, and the j-term class with Dr. Bohland, we are creating a space for racial justice and to hear the stories of the enslaved people who built this campus.

I took Dr. Bohland's "Digging into the past at Hollins" class during J-Term last January along with about thirteen other students. The first half of the class involved talking about the history of enslavement and racial injustice at a state level. We were instructed to form groups and travel to a place in Virginia that was tied to enslavement and to research how they portrayed this narrative. Students chose places ranging from plantations to Monticello to the Booker T. Washington memorial. The second half of the class focused on the history of enslavement at a college level, with Hollins being its main focus. Students began working on projects to portray the history of enslavement at our own university.
In this time, a group of students and I started working on a walking tour, with its main goal being to include a walking tour at orientation as well as creating an app and virtual tour to reach as many members of our community as possible. This walking tour would cover the archaeology site behind the library, front quad, Carvin, Tayloe, West parking lot, Hollins First Baptist church, and the cemetery on Plantation Road.

We chose orientation because it would provide a fuller story for incoming students. We also found that this tour could fit anywhere in the orientation schedule, either as a mandatory activity or for students to come as they pleased. You may be asking yourself, why orientation? Well, it can transform campus culture by creating a space to talk about the history of enslavement on campus, set an example for other universities in a similar position, and get students involved in this kind of memory work and keep the legacy of this project alive.

During spring term last year, I began fleshing out details of what an app of this walking tour would look like as an independent study. I split the content up into 3 parts: buildings, where information about different sites and buildings would be discussed, people, where stories of people such as Charles Lewis Cocke, William Carvin, Clem Bolden, Lewis Hunt, and Caesar Morton would be told, and culture, where moments in our history such as incidents of blackface and yellowface in our yearbooks or showed the culture of the time would be portrayed.
There is also a mapping aspect to this app, where if you decided you wanted to walk around campus you could tap on the icon as you reach a building and everything from any of the sections popped up that are related to that section. So say if you went to Botetourt, you would not only see the building history, but also learn more about Caesar Morton’s story. This system will also allow you to choose three tours: a short covering front quad, Tayloe and Carvin; a medium covering all of the short, the archeology site and West parking lot; and a long, covering all of both and taking you off campus to Hollins First Baptist church and the cemetery on Plantation Road.

The goal is to provide a more in depth history of our past, not to erase what we already know or hide the shameful parts. This project helps in working toward reconciliation of Hollins past, creating a space for the diversity Hollins prides itself on and getting students involved in campus culture in a way that is also crucial for racial justice.

If you would like to get involved, I’m always happy to get help with researching platforms to build this app on and more than happy to speak with anyone about my research.
Charles Lewis Cocke (1820-1901) was born in 1820 at Edgehill in King William County, attended Richmond College from 1836-1838 and continued at Columbian College (now George Washington University), graduating in 1840. He then returned to Richmond College where he was business manager and teacher of mathematics. In late 1840 he married Susanna Pleasants, and six years later on July 1, 1846 Cocke accepted the offer to become head of the Valley Union Seminary (two years after its establishment). Cocke is considered the founder of this institution and his reign began a legacy of family members involved in the running of the institution.

But what is his narrative? It is the narrative of a man who made a difference. The trustees of this institution hired Cocke because the institution was in trouble. Cocke brought not only stability, but spent $1,500 of his own money to pay the school’s creditors and declined to accept a salary.

His narrative is also consistent with the stories of so many other White men of his time. Cocke grew up on a plantation, and when he arrived at the Seminary along with his family he also brought a number of enslaved people. So while there are no records showing that the school ever owned slaves, it is a fact that the school’s founder did, along with other members of the Hollins faculty. In addition to using the labor of those enslaved by the management, the Seminary also leased slaves from nearby landowners.
Under Charles Lewis Cocke's leadership, the school's academics improved and enrollment grew from 81 in 1852 to 236 at the time of his death in 1901. Oral history accounts claim that Cocke also arranged for the religious education of the enslaved at Hollins, and we know that he helped establish several churches. But for whom, exactly? As historians of the period know, actual records can be hard to come by: enslaved people were rarely paid and are therefore mostly absent from the surviving business records of the school. Some names and ages can be found using Census records, but the narratives of many of those who labored at Hollins who were not White and who were not free remain, unfortunately, incomplete.

George Plater Tayloe (1804-1897) was born into one of the wealthiest families in Virginia – also one of the largest slave holding families in Virginia. He was born at Mount Airy, in Richmond County on the Northern Neck of the Rappahannock River. This was the home of his parents Colonel John Tayloe III and Ann Ogle Tayloe, the Daughter of the Governor of Maryland (and the house is still owned by the Tayloe Family). His life spanned an age of American politics from Jefferson to McKinley; he lived through the post colonial period, antebellum years, through reconstruction and the emerging capitalism of the late 19th century. He fulfilled his role as civic leader, patron of institutions, and slaveholder.

In 1997 he was the focus of a thesis written by Jack Payden-Travers titled *A Case Study of George Plater Tayloe and Buena Vista* which focused on G.P. Tayloe's life as a plantation master, and owner of over 200 enslaved people by the Civil War. George Plater Tayloe was educated at Princeton University. As the fifth son (the ninth out of fifteen children) he was sent to oversee the ironworks at Cloverdale following his graduation. Upon his Father’s death in 1828 he inherited the Cloverdale property (3,000 acres) and thus became the largest slaveholder in Southwest Virginia. In the mid-1830s he shifted his emphasis to agriculture, both in the Roanoke Valley and in Alabama. He married Elizabeth Langhorne and during their 18 years together had nine children (she died in her 37th year). In 1851 Tayloe built his home “Buena Vista” which overlooks Roanoke, and is still extant.

In 1844 Colonel Tayloe became associated with Hollins University, then known as The Valley Union Seminary. He was the first secretary treasurer, then became President of the Board of Trustees. In 1856 George Plater Tayloe was re-elected as President and given a lifetime tenure. The institution owed much of its growth to Colonel Tayloe who at the end of the civil war (February 12, 1865) paid Charles L. Cocke $2,000.

The two men were well-acquainted and it is likely that Hollins would not have survived without either of them. Both were from wealthy backgrounds, both were slave owners, both were devoted churchmen and both were Sunday School
teachers. When the gymnasium was built in 1924 it was named for Colonel Tayloe. Which leads us into Renaming...

Because of the fact that George Plater Tayloe was the largest owner of enslaved people in Southwest Virginia and because of his close ties to Hollins, renaming Tayloe Gym has become a topic of conversation on the Hollins campus. The Working Group supports renaming, and has provided and is continuing to investigate information for the administration in support of a renaming process at Hollins. This includes gathering information about how the process has worked at other universities.

Renaming is a complicated process: the campus community needs to be involved as much as possible, with education offered to help people understand why and how this will happen. To that end there is a plan to host listening sessions in January, 2021 which will be announced before the end of the 2020 fall term.

Also with renaming/removal comes the need to reframe, refocus, and recontextualize. : So - Renaming but not Erasing - and thinking about what should be in its place?

There is a change.org petition started by a Hollins student Shardei Sudler to Rename Tayloe Gym - her petition has almost 1700 signatures. You can also go to the Working Group on Slavery’s website, click on links and articles to see more about renaming.
A key feature of the history of the Hollins community has been its churches both before and after emancipation. In the early years, nearby Enon Baptist Church was established in 1855 and Mt. Mariah Baptist Church was established in 1858.

Two years after the Civil War ended, Green Ridge Baptist was established. This congregation was primarily African American and a large number of the congregants were employed at Hollins University. Green Ridge split into two congregations in 1892: Ebenezer Baptist Church and Lovely Zion Baptist Church. Ebenezer remains a vibrant congregation to this day. Lovely Zion later became Hollins First Baptist Church, which also continues to flourish.

This slide shows a photo of the Reunion Luncheon of the Hollins Community which the Heritage Committee (now the Working Group) hosted in 2017. Members of both congregations were among those who attended. Brittney Flowers described the goals of the committee and gave genealogy presentation. It was a wonderful occasion to make acquaintances and hear oral histo
In my 17-year association with Hollins University I have heard many references to the antebellum period and its legacy on the Hollins campus. It has been the purpose of the Working Group to investigate these bits of information thoroughly and reconstruct the truth.

One such passing comment I had heard has been the existence of a cemetery at the site next to Honey Tree Early Learning Center on Plantation Road. (See photo above left) A few of years ago my wife and I walked through the vacant lot and found a few headstones and indentations in the ground. Indeed, it was cemetery, but little more could be discerned. In the spring of 2019 the Working Group decided to delve further into the history of this site. With many of us in the midst of preparing our students for final exams and graduation, the bulk of the work commenced later in the summer.

In the Roanoke County archives we found a survey of the site done by Tom Klatka, of the Virginia State Historical Resources Department. His study confirmed there were 113 persons buried at the site. This was the location of the original Green Ridge Baptist Church.

During the summer representatives of the Working Group met with Phil North, Chair of the Roanoke County Board of Supervisor and representative of the Hollins district;
Dan O’Donnell, County Administrator; and Tom Klatka. Everyone was extremely supportive of the project. As a result of the meeting, Bailey Howard-Debois, of the county planning department, was appointed to help us with the project going forward. Bailey and her colleagues, with Tom’s input as well, have developed a schematic of the site with suggestions for layout and landscaping. In general, the idea is to landscape with indigenous plants that are appropriate to what a 19th century cemetery would have looked like. (See PowerPoint) We envision a plaque with the names of those we know are buried there, a walkway with a couple of benches, and a state historical marker near the road. With regards to these names, we have identified about 20 so far, and it appears that Clem Bolden and his wife are among them.

The County would like a commitment from all interested parties about the ongoing maintenance of the site. While the County is willing to further develop the site, they understandably want to know their work will have a long-lasting impact before they invest a lot of time and labor in the project. At present, we have the verbal commitment of Hollins University, First Baptist Church of Hollins, and Ebenezer Baptist Church.

As you can see, this is a work in progress. Currently, we are working with Ebenezer Baptist Church and county officials to update archival records pertaining to the property.

The Working Group is committed to seeing this project come to fruition. We look forward to the day when the Green Ridge Baptist Church Cemetery is a place of honor, reflection, and peace.
In recognition of the contributions made by enslaved members of the Hollins Community (formerly Oldfields), a renewable scholarship is available to their descendants.
SCHOLARSHIP & INSTITUTIONAL APOLOGY

Need a key phrase here regarding institutional apology
MEMORY WORK

Join us in an ongoing conversation to reconstruct our collective memory of Hollins University
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