

**Section Four Articles:** *The People Enslaved by President Monroe*, by Lori Hinterleiter Kimball and Wynne C. Saffer

**“...THE SLAVES, WHOM I WISH TO SELL IN  
PRIVATE SALE, IN FAMILIES”**

## **The People Enslaved by President Monroe**

**By Lori Hinterleiter Kimball and  
Wynne C. Saffer**

### **Introduction**

This article is the second in a series about the properties and people of the Goose Creek Tract, an 11,375-acre parcel acquired by Robert Carter Jr. in 1727. Over the years, Carter descendants divided the land into large tracts and sold them. President James Monroe eventually owned one of them. In 1830, 66 men, women and children were enslaved at Monroe's Oak Hill plantation in Loudoun. He was the largest enslaver in the county by that time.

Several books have been written about Monroe, one as recently as 2020. Articles about the president and his Loudoun property, Oak Hill, have been published in journals, including this one in 1997. A more in-depth picture of Monroe, his life, and his overall views on slavery can be found in those publications. This article focuses primarily on the people enslaved by Monroe in Loudoun County, and the authors' project to document named individuals and locate descendants. They began their research in 2008 within the Black History Committee of the Friends of the Thomas Balch Library. Despite Monroe's importance and that he was the largest enslaver in Loudoun County in 1830, little had been documented about the people who were held in bondage by this Founding Father.

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**James Monroe**

Our country's fifth president, James Monroe, was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, in 1758. He served in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War, and after studying the law, he began his career in politics. He was a U.S. Senator from Virginia (1790-1794); served as Minister Plenipotentiary to France (1794-1796) during the administration of President Washington; and became Governor of Virginia in 1799. Monroe returned to Europe to serve as Ambassador to the United Kingdom from 1803 to 1807. He rose to national office when he served as Secretary of State (1811-1817) and Secretary of War (1814-1815) during the presidency of James Madison. Monroe was elected fifth president of the United States in 1817 and served two terms, retiring in 1825.

Monroe married the beautiful and well-connected Elizabeth Kortright of New York in 1786. They had two daughters, Eliza (1786-1840) and Maria (1802-1850), and a son James Spence (1799-1800) who died in infancy. Monroe purchased a large plantation in Albemarle County that he named Highland, close to the home of his friend and mentor, Thomas Jefferson. Monroe also owned property in Fredericksburg where he had a law office, a plantation called Ashfield in Henrico County near Richmond, and additional parcels in Albemarle County.

While in France in 1794, Monroe and his uncle Judge Joseph Jones bought over 4,000 acres in Loudoun County from Charles Carter, the southern portion of the Goose Creek Tract.<sup>1</sup> The Little River ran through their parcel, and the parcel spanned the Carolina Road (present day Route 15) and extended south to what became the Little River Turnpike (present day Route 50). Monroe inherited Judge Jones's share after Jones and his son died in the early 1800s. A decade later Monroe came to call the plantation Oak Hill. Today the property is on the west side of Route 15 near the Little River but the larger, original purchase

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spanned both sides of present-day Route 15 approximately 8 miles south of Leesburg. See Fig. 1.

Judge Jones corresponded frequently with his nephew while Monroe was in France. In a February 1795 letter, Monroe commented to Jones about the people he held in bondage, “I hope my people do not suffer & particularly Peter & Thena to whom remember us.”<sup>2</sup> Thena was enslaved woman Thenia Hemings whom Monroe had purchased along with her five children from Thomas Jefferson in 1794.<sup>3</sup> Peter was probably her husband. Thenia died in the summer of 1796. Monroe wrote to Jones, “ We gravely lament the death of Thena to her [mistress?] & our child [.] she is an irreparable loss. We hope her children were well taken care of, but indeed we know not with what had better be done of them. You will determine. Peter – we hope is well & the others.”<sup>4</sup>

**The People Enslaved in Loudoun County**

The first documented reference to date of enslaved people associated with Monroe in Loudoun County was in 1808 and 1809 when the estate of Judge Joseph Jones, was appraised and personal property sold. As shown in Figure 2, an advertisement placed in *The Washingtonian*, a Loudoun County newspaper, announced the sale of 2,000 acres, 25 enslaved people, and livestock. Most, or all, of the land was not sold but the enslaved people were put up for sale at auction. As recorded in the accounting of Jones’s estate:

<b>Sold to Charles J. Love:</b>	
Man named Harford	\$262
Woman named Molly & child	\$335
Boy George	\$523
Boy Moses	\$602
Man Dudley	\$551
Man Cyrus	\$550
Small girl Peggy	\$226
Small girl Sally	\$301

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**Sold to William Buckner:**

Woman Lucy & 3 children	\$910
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**Sold to Andrew Monroe (brother of James Monroe):**

Dick	\$180
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**Sold to Charles F. Mercer:**

Girl named Eve	\$388
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**Sold to John Benson:**

Old Lucy & child	\$611
Man named Ned	\$181

**Sold to William Steanburghen:**

Woman Nancy & 2 children	\$700
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**Sold to Armistead T. Mason:**

Man named Toby	\$502
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Mercer, Love, and Mason appear to have been “straw men” who purchased several enslaved people on behalf of Monroe, possibly because Monroe could not be present at the auction or as the executor of his uncle’s estate, he wanted to distance himself from the bidding. As stated in the Sale document, Harford, Molly and child, Dudley, Cyrus, Toby, George, Moses, Eve, Peggy and Sally were transferred to Monroe.<sup>5</sup>

At least two, perhaps all, of the enslaved people purchased by Monroe at the estate sale were moved to his Albemarle plantation. Cyrus and Hartford are listed on an 1810 list of blankets that were provided to enslaved people in Albemarle.<sup>6</sup> As shown in the Personal Property Tax Records Chart in Figure 3, the number of enslaved people over the age of 12 in Albemarle increased significantly from the previous years, which likely indicates a relocation of the people from Joseph Jones’s estate.<sup>7</sup>

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During the early years of Monroe's political life in Washington D.C., starting in 1811, he visited Loudoun periodically, staying in a small house on the property. When away, he wrote to his farm managers with instructions for work to be done, and he kept in contact with colleagues such as Charles Fenton Mercer about business affairs. He once again considered selling his Loudoun lands but did not move forward with the plan.

For most of his life, Monroe was in debt. As a life-long politician, he paid for his own expenses while living in Europe and Washington, D.C. His plantations were run by a series of farm managers and family members, some of whom lacked skill or interest in managing the estates. Another reason for Monroe's financial problems was his support of many family members. His brothers, in particular, were a financial drain. Their dependency started early in life and continued through adulthood.

For an enslaved person, the financial problems of the enslaver meant the uncertainty of being hired out or sold. It meant the fear of being separated from family members, friends, and familiar surroundings. Their lives depended directly on the enslaver's financial situation.

By 1818, the number of people enslaved at Monroe's two large plantations was about equal, with 25 people held in bondage in Loudoun County and 24 in Albemarle. Around this time, Monroe experimented with hiring German indentured servants to supplement the enslaved labor force in Loudoun. He wrote to his farm manager, William Benton, about placing one of the German workers at a quarry on the Potomac River near Leesburg. The experiment did not turn out well as evidenced by a letter to Monroe from Thomas Slaughter, his overseer in Loudoun, informing Monroe that the work was not done properly or in a timely fashion. He referred to the language barrier, which obviously would have prevented Slaughter from communicating instructions to the Germans. The

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experiment did not last long, and Monroe returned to use of a labor force made up entirely of enslaved people.<sup>8</sup>

Three years later, Monroe had the design for the house that he would build on his Loudoun lands. He had employed William Benton as the manager of his estate, possibly because Benton was a skilled brick mason. Monroe wrote about finding a suitable location on the property for making the bricks, noting that an area near the construction of the house would be most efficient.<sup>9</sup>

While Monroe was president, certain enslaved people, such as Harford (probably John Harford) and George traveled back and forth between Loudoun County and Washington D.C. transporting letters and other items. The degree of mobility allowed to these two men clearly showed the trust that both Monroe and his farm manager had for them.<sup>10</sup>

Despite his debts, Monroe contemplated buying land in the deep south in 1823 and relocating 30 to 40 enslaved people to work the plantation. He noted that he wanted to keep the enslaved people together in families, as many had “been long in our possession” and had “grown up in families.”<sup>11</sup>

*...the idea of placing my slaves on some tract of land in Louisiana, on some river employing onto the Mississippi, & then to make cotton. It is said that land may be obtained there, very cheap, for a few dollars the acre, to be paid by installments, & which may be paid, with ease, by the annual crops. This land must be off some distance from the Mississippi, where the land sells high. It is thought that it ought to be cleared or open land, with some improvements on it, since it takes some years to open the land & make such improvement. That the difference in*

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*crops, will more than pay for the difference in price. I am assured that with a good force, 30 or 40 working hands, & young ones growing up, placed on such a plantation bought cheap & well situated, the hands would bring a handsome annual profit, & should I be disposed to sell them after a few years, with the land, the hands alone, that is, the slave property, will be worth more, than my hands, the same number with either of my plantations in Virginia.*

*If I sell my slaves in Virga [Virginia], in families, they will sell for almost a trifle, & I would not separate them. If I send them down the Mississippi, they will be brought together in families, & if I will ever sell, they would be sold in families.*

Monroe did not follow through with the speculation, but with two years remaining in his presidency, he continued to contemplate the future of his large plantations in Loudoun and Albemarle Counties. In the same letter to long-time friend Fulwar Skipwith, Monroe wrote:

*In the course of this long service, my slaves have increased in number, having been kindly treated so that they amount now to about 60 or 70, young & old, male & female. My landed property in Albemarle & Loudoun, was some years since very valuable, but all such property has of late declined much in value, and for the reason, that our produce sells for nothing. My intention is to sell one of these tracts of land, indeed I shall be compelled to do it, and having made some improvements on that in Loudoun, to accommodate me while in this office, as a summer residence, to sell that in Albemarle,*

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*where the improvements are also good, & more extensive, but not so well suited to my family.*<sup>12</sup>

“My slaves....have been kindly treated” – Those words are emblematic of Monroe’s paternalistic view of the people he held in bondage, viewing the Black people who labored for him as children who had to be managed carefully and reprimanded when needed. He worried about George’s broken leg and told the farm manager to discuss it with the doctor.<sup>13</sup> While president, Monroe once sent two blankets and a pair of thick stockings to Oak Hill for Judy because she was sick and possibly had rheumatism.<sup>14</sup> Of course, this display of humanity was countered by the fact that the people he enslaved were valuable property and keeping them healthy benefited Monroe financially.

By autumn 1823, Monroe and his farm manager, William Benton, parted ways, and a man named William Carter became the manager of the estate in November. An “inventory of the servants, stock & plantation utensils” was written on November 25, presumably by Benton. It served Benton’s purpose of proving what was on the plantation before he left, and it aids present-day research as one of the few documents that identifies the enslaved people by last name and occupation.<sup>15</sup>

**Micanicks**

<i>Peter Malorry</i>	Carpenter	Charity his wife
Jim Maken	Gardener	Hannah his wife
Isaac Dade	Blacksmith	Margy his wife

**Plantation Hands**

Soy Lee X	Jenny & three Children Polly
<i>Sam Jackson</i>	<i>Molly</i> & [Mimey? Miney?]
	<b>Mr. Hay’s</b>
Jim Harris	Calipso & Child
[Any or Amy?] Harris X	
<i>George Williams</i>	Ann & 2 Children
<i>Sam Love</i>	Sally & 2 “ “



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Davy Cooksy	
<i>Jim Carr</i>	[Jada, Juda, Jude?] & 3 children
Jas. Lewis X	[Coty?]
<i>John Harford</i>	Boy
<i>Natus</i>	Boy

**Mr. Hay's**

Jas. Jones	
Jas Lumpkin	
John Richards	
George Dabney	Boy
Jerry Dabney	Boy
John Baker	Boy
Lewis Baker	Boy

3 micanicks  
3 invalids marked thus X  
9 Plantation Hands  
6 Boys  
10 women  
13 Children  
44 Total

The words in brackets [ ] are the authors' attempt at transcribing the poor handwriting. "Micanick" is a misspelling of "mechanic", an occupation of someone who worked with their hands. Note the two instances of the notation Mr. Hay's (bold font added by authors for clarity). Mr. Hay was Monroe's son-in-law, George Hay, who transferred several of the people he enslaved to Loudoun, presumably to help with the construction of the mansion.<sup>16</sup> The people listed under Hay's name were enslaved by him.<sup>17</sup> As we shall see later, the names in italics (added by the authors) were part of Monroe's estate inventory after his death.

Peter Mallory was a highly skilled carpenter who worked on the construction of Monroe's mansion in Loudoun. In a May 1818 letter to his farm manager, William Benton, Monroe wrote, "...the finishing the house, where Peter the Carpenter is..."<sup>18</sup> Peter and another enslaved man named

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George, possibly the George Williams named above, built the guesthouse at Highland.<sup>19</sup>

It was common practice for enslavers to use enslaved people as collateral for loans, and Monroe did so several times. In 1825, 21 enslaved people were part of a deed of trust in Albemarle County to secure a loan with the Bank of Alexandria: Jesse, Charles, and Nelson a blacksmith, all young men and brothers; William, a carpenter; Joe, his wife *Eve*, and their 4 children; Armistead and Zachariah, both young men; *Toby*, his wife Betsey, and their 3 children; Solomon and his wife Nancy; and *Ned* and his wife *Peggy*.<sup>20</sup> A year later, Monroe again used *Toby*, Betsey, and their children as collateral for a loan from the Bank of Virginia, as well as *Dudley*, his wife *Eve*, and their 2 children. While there is no documentary evidence proving several of the people had once been enslaved in Loudoun, the italicized names match those in the 1809 inventory of Judge Jones's estate in Loudoun.<sup>21</sup> The debts were eventually satisfied and the enslaved people remained in Monroe's control.

**Casa Bianca, Florida**

**“...[Colonel] White of Florida...will take them in families”**

Monroe was desperate to pay off his debts. His friend Charles Fenton Mercer learned of an opportunity to sell enslaved people to a man named Colonel Joseph White in Florida.<sup>22</sup> White owned Casa Bianca Plantation, near present-day Tallahassee. Monroe commented on the “Florida project” in several letters in early 1828 with the eventual announcement to James Madison in March about the sale.

*I have sold my slaves in that county [Albemarle] to Col. White of Florida, who will take them in families to that territory. He gives me for them (with the exception of a few sold there) five thousand dollars...*<sup>23</sup>

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Monroe was relieved by the transaction. One of his debts was a \$9,000 loan from John Jacob Astor. The funds received from the sale of enslaved people to Colonel White went directly to Astor in partial payment of Monroe's debt.

Several of the enslaved people sold south had once been in Loudoun, although they had been living in Albemarle County for many years: Betsey & Toby, Eve, and possibly Ned. They might have felt more of a bond with Highland than Oak Hill, but it is possible that kin had never been transferred to Albemarle and remained part of the Loudoun estate. Independent researchers associated with Highland have been tracking and documenting the enslaved people who had been sold to Colonel White. Their research is ongoing and current results can be found at: <https://taketheminfamilies.com/>

**Loudoun County “. . .the slaves, whom I wish to sell in private sale, in families”**

By 1830, 66 people were held in bondage by Monroe in Loudoun County, making him the largest enslaver in the county. The 72-year-old Monroe's health was deteriorating, and he began to make plans about his estate. Referencing both his infirmities and his inability to convince Congress to pay for expenses incurred as a government official, he wrote in a June 1830 letter,

*. . .I may be compelled to sell any portion of my remaining property, commencing with my slaves. . .I should be glad to begin with Nancy, George's wife, & three of their children. She is a good cook, & [it] was suggested that some person at the University [of Virginia] wished to purchase her. The oldest of the offspring, who would go with her, is a promising boy of 12 or 14 years of age, or perhaps only 11. The other two, a boy and girl, are younger. I do not wish a bargain to be concluded, for if I can avoid*

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*selling by other arrangements, I will.*<sup>24</sup> For reasons unknown, Monroe did not sell Nancy or her children.

In September, Monroe's wife, Elizabeth, died at Oak Hill and was buried in the garden.<sup>25</sup> Following the loss of his wife and dealing with his poor health, Monroe left Loudoun later that year to visit his daughter Maria and son-in-law Samuel Gouverneur at their home in New York City. He decided to remain there. In a March 1831 letter, he wrote, "I am compelled to sell my property in Loudon [sic]. . . The advertisement comprises, all but the slaves, whom I wish to sell at private sale, in families."<sup>26</sup>

An advertisement for the auction of the property was placed in the April and May editions of the *Genius of Liberty*, a Loudoun County newspaper published in Leesburg. The ad described the tract of over 2,000 acres; furniture and livestock; a "...Very Commodious Brick Dwelling House, with all the other buildings necessary for the accommodation of a large family, and likewise for servants [enslaved people] labourers, & c. several of which are of brick. There is also a grist and sawmill on the tract." As noted in Monroe's letter in March, the people he enslaved were not part of the auction, as he intended to sell them privately. Doing so often meant higher prices could be achieved or it was a way to negotiate keeping the families together. Of course, there was no guarantee that the purchaser would not break up the families after the transaction was made. As for the land, a suitable offer must not have been made because Oak Hill was not sold.

The life of a person enslaved by Monroe was constantly uncertain due to his life-long indebtedness and decisions to sell land and enslaved people to pay creditors. Certain times would have generated heightened anxiety, and this was one of them: poor health, deep debts, and the old age of the enslaver.

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That uncertainty increased when Monroe died at his daughter's home on July 4, 1831. He had written his will two months before, naming his son-in-law, Samuel Gouverneur, as executor and giving him full power to handle Monroe's estate. Gouverneur did not settle the estate right away, waiting five years for an inventory, appraisal, and sale to be done. During that time, it appears that approximately half of the enslaved people were sold. The number of people held in bondage had gone from 66 in the 1830 Census to 35 as shown below in the 1836 Estate Inventory.<sup>27</sup>

**Inventory of Enslaved People in Monroe's Estate 22 January 1836:**<sup>28</sup>

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Value</u>
Nancy Green	75	\$150
<i>Peter Mallory</i>	72	\$0
<i>Molly Jackson</i>	65	\$0
<i>James Carr</i>	63	\$25
Solomon Green	65	\$0
Soy Harris	60	\$0
Tamery Derry (crippled)	60	\$0
George Harris	55	\$250
<i>George William</i>	50	\$300
<i>Samuel Love</i>	49	\$150
<i>Samuel Jackson</i>	46	\$350
Zachariah Root	45	\$300
Nancy Harris & children Priscilla & Cornelia	42	\$700
Betsy Thompson (too fat for any use)	40	\$50
Harry Short	36	\$500
Judy Gantt & 5 children James, Catherine (has fits), Henry, Edmund & Washington (crippled)	36	\$1,100
Joseph Short	30	\$600
<i>John Harford (crippled)</i>	25	\$0
<i>Natus Berryman</i>	24	\$700
Mema Baker & 2 children, John & Sally	22	\$650
Nancy Gantt & infant child	18	\$550
George Harris (crippled in knee)	18	\$500
Alfred Gantt	16	\$600

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Anderson Harris	16	\$700
Ralph Gantt	14	\$550

The sale of Monroe’s furniture and paintings was conducted in May 1836, and Gouverneur purchased all of it. None of the enslaved people identified in the inventory were listed in this sale, and it is assumed they remained in Gouverneur’s control. What happened after that remains unclear.

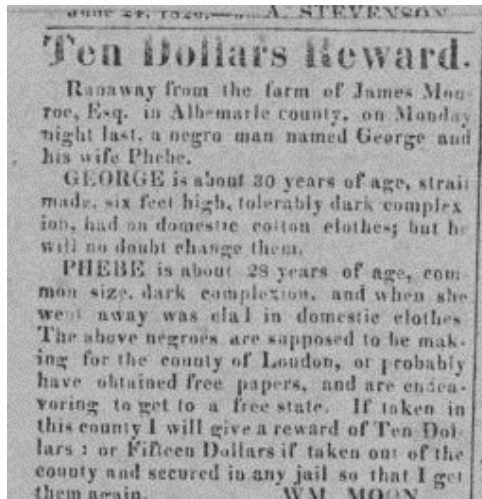
As the Personal Property Tax Chart shows, the number of enslaved people over the age of 12 dropped slightly after Monroe’s death in 1831. The slight decline could have been due to deaths or sales. The number drops sharply after the estate was settled in 1836. In 1837, Gouverneur paid taxes on 7 enslaved people over the age of 12. What happened to Nancy Green, Peter Mallory, and the others? Most likely they were sold to pay debts of the estate, but no documents have been found to prove it. Another possibility is that enslaved people were “given their time” or allowed to “walk away”, meaning they were allowed to live freely without being legally emancipated by the Gouverneurs.<sup>29</sup>

**Freedom**

With the constant concern about Monroe’s debts, it would not have been unusual if people he enslaved attempted self-emancipation before Monroe had the chance to sell them. In 1826, a married couple named George and Phebe left Highland to seek their freedom. Enslavers with financial means often placed a newspaper advertisement seeking the capture of the freedom seekers and usually offering a reward. The ads often contained descriptions of the people and speculation for where they might be going. In the case of George and Phebe, Monroe thought they might be headed for Loudoun County. Perhaps it was because they had relatives or friends in the county who would help them on their journey. Or the couple might

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have been following a route north that was known in the enslaved community for safe points along the way and how to cross the Potomac River.



*Fig. 4 Advertisement from  
(Charlottesville Central Gazette, July 8,  
1826.*

Another freedom seeker was Sey (or Soy) Harris, who left Oak Hill in late 1821. The advertisement seeking his capture and return ran in *The Woodstock Herald and Shenandoah Weekly Advertiser*.<sup>30</sup> A man named Soy Harris is listed in the 1836 Estate Inventory, and it could have been the same man or a relative.

As Monroe himself stated, many of the people he enslaved had been together for a long period of time and had formed families. They would have been known to him, especially the people who worked in the house and cared for Monroe and his family. Yet he did not emancipate anyone until the last days of his life. A "dying request" was his wish to free Peter Marks, a man he had enslaved for many years who had worked as a dining room servant and coachman.<sup>31</sup>

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## **Tracing the People**

Documenting enslaved African Americans is often challenging because they did not own land or generate paperwork on their own. The researcher depends on records related to their enslavers or the legal system. In Monroe's case, the situation is further complicated by several factors: his son-in-law waiting five years to probate the estate; by Monroe's request to sell the enslaved people at private sale, which likely did not generate any paperwork that survives to this day; by Gouverneur remarrying after Maria died in 1850 and living part-time in Maryland; and by the last known reference to the people occurring over thirty years before they were first listed in a Federal Census (1870). Many, such as Nancy Green, Peter Mallory, and George Harris, had probably died by then.

The authors did a general search for each name then focused on the less common surnames of Berryman, Harford, and Short. The men were also young enough to realistically be alive at the time of the 1870 census. Nothing has been discovered about John Harford thus far. The names of Gantt, Harris, Jackson, Thompson, and Mallory are fairly common in Loudoun County, and further research and/or the discovery of new documents might make connections between the people once enslaved by President Monroe and the people with the same surname living in the county in the late 1800s.

## **Berryman**

If the age of Natus Berryman in the Estate Inventory is somewhat accurate, he was born around 1802. No man by that name is enumerated in the 1870 census, however a man named Jefferson Berryman, born around 1804, is listed in the county with his sons George, age 14, and Thomas, age 12. They were living near Unison. Could Jefferson Berryman be Natus Berryman, now with a new first name? Or was he related to Natus Berryman?



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Jefferson Berryman's name is referenced in several vital records for enslaved children in the 1850s:

- October 1855 – death of infant male, age 4 months – owned by Joseph Eidson – parent Maria – informant Jeffrey Berryman, father
- April 1859 – death of infant male, age 1 day, at Jefferson Berryman's – owner Joseph Eidson – parent Maria
- April 1859 – death of Maria, age 40, in childbirth at Jefferson Berryman's – owner Joseph Eidson – parent Parmelia
- May 1859 – death of Pamela [Parmelia?], age 60 – owner Joseph Eidson
- August 1859 – death of Anna, age 9, at Jefferson Berryman's – owner Joseph Eidson – mother Maria

Clearly Maria was enslaved by Joseph Eidson, but what to make of the fact that the child's father was named as was the location "at Jefferson Berryman's"? It would imply that Jefferson was free and living with his enslaved wife and children at or near Joseph Eidson's. However, Jefferson's name does not appear in the 1850 and 1860 census records. That also is not definitive. He could have been enumerated as an enslaved man because the census taker grouped Jefferson with his enslaved family. Or was Jefferson a well-known enslaved man who was granted a modest degree of respect because of his connection to President Monroe?

The relationship between Natus and Jefferson is not clear. No records have connected them, and an oral history of the family indicates that ancestors are not known prior to Jefferson Berryman. Descendants of Jefferson's son George still live in Loudoun County.

## **Harry and Joseph Short**

Harry and Joseph would have been age 70 and 64 respectively by the time they would have been enumerated in the 1870 Federal Census. No persons by those names appear for Loudoun County but a Black family with the surname of Shorts was living with their grandmother near Unison: Bettie, age 18; John W., age 16; Catherine, age 14; Isabella, age 12; Frances, age 10; Shadrack, age 8; and Columbus, age 6. Their mother was Betty Weaver and their father was Shadrack Shorts. It is believed that the father had died by this time.<sup>32</sup>

Betty was born about 1847 and presumably Shadrack was born around this time period. Both Joseph and Harry Short were of an age where either man could have been Shadrack's father. Or they could have been brothers or related otherwise. Or there could be no connection at all.

## **Mallory**

Seventy-two-year-old Peter Mallory was listed in the 1836 Inventory of Monroe's estate, with a value of zero dollars. His wife Charity was not identified and is presumed to have died by then. Peter would have been dead by the 1870 Census, but Blacks with the surname of Mallory lived in Loudoun County and are identified in various records.

One of them was Erasmus Mallory, who was living in the Gleedsville area in 1900, a Black community that was established after the Civil War primarily by people once enslaved at Oatlands. He is believed to have been born about 1855. Another was a woman by the name of Mary Mallory. An oral history passed down about her says that Mary had been enslaved by Thomas Swann at Morven Park. When she died in 1921, she was believed to have been 108 years old.<sup>33</sup>

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## Epilogue

As with any genealogical project, the quest for new information never ends, but enough data had been gathered by 2012 that a database of named enslaved people was made public. It is the authors' hope that making the information available to the public, even as the research continues, will help genealogists and other researchers, and will lead to a connection with descendants of the people who were once enslaved by President Monroe in Loudoun County. The database is hosted on the Thomas Balch Library's website at: <https://www.leesburgva.gov/home/showdocument?id=8851>

Approximately five years ago, Black families living less than 10 miles from Highland connected with the staff at Monroe's former plantation. Many had the surname of Monroe. Since then, both groups have been working together to document ancestors and locate descendants. Information about slavery at Highland and individual people can be found at: <https://highland.org/enslaved-biographies/>

It is the hope of this article's authors that one day the descendants of the people enslaved in Loudoun County will be located and reconnected with one another.

**LOUDOUN LAND**  
**FOR SALE.**

For sale on Thursday the 21st of December next on the premises, the tract of LAND on which the late *Judge Jones* resided in Loudoun county with about 25 slaves, and the stock of *Horses, Cattle, and Hogs*, on the estate. The tract contains nearly 2000 acres, and possesses many advantages which entitle it to the attention of those who may wish to reside, in that highly improved part of our country. Two merchant mills are in the neighbourhood, one on the adjoining estate, and the other within two miles. It is 10 miles from Leesburg, 35 from Alexandria and 40 from Georgetown. The new, Turn-pike from Alexandria crosses a corner of the land, and terminates at the nearest merchant mill. The whole tract is remarkably well watered, Little river passing through the middle of it, and many small streams on each side emptying into that river. About 50 or 60 acres are already well set with timothy, and at least 300 acres are capable of being made excellent meadow. It will be divided into tracts of different dimensions to suit the convenience of purchasers. A credit of one, two and three years will be allowed. Bonds with approved security, and a trust on the land will be required. The negroes are supposed to be very valuable, some of them being good house servants, and the others, principally, young men and women. For them the same term of credit will be allowed, and that of a year for every other article.

N. B. The above lands, being yet unsold, notice is given that they will be disposed of, by private sale, upon terms which will be made known on application to Israel Lacy Esq. of Goshen, Col. Armstead T. Mason, near Leesburg, Maj. Charles Fenton Mercer of Leesburg, or to the subscriber, near Milton in Albermarle county.

**JAMES MONROE.**  
December 23d 1809. tf.

Fig. 2 Loudoun Land for Sale

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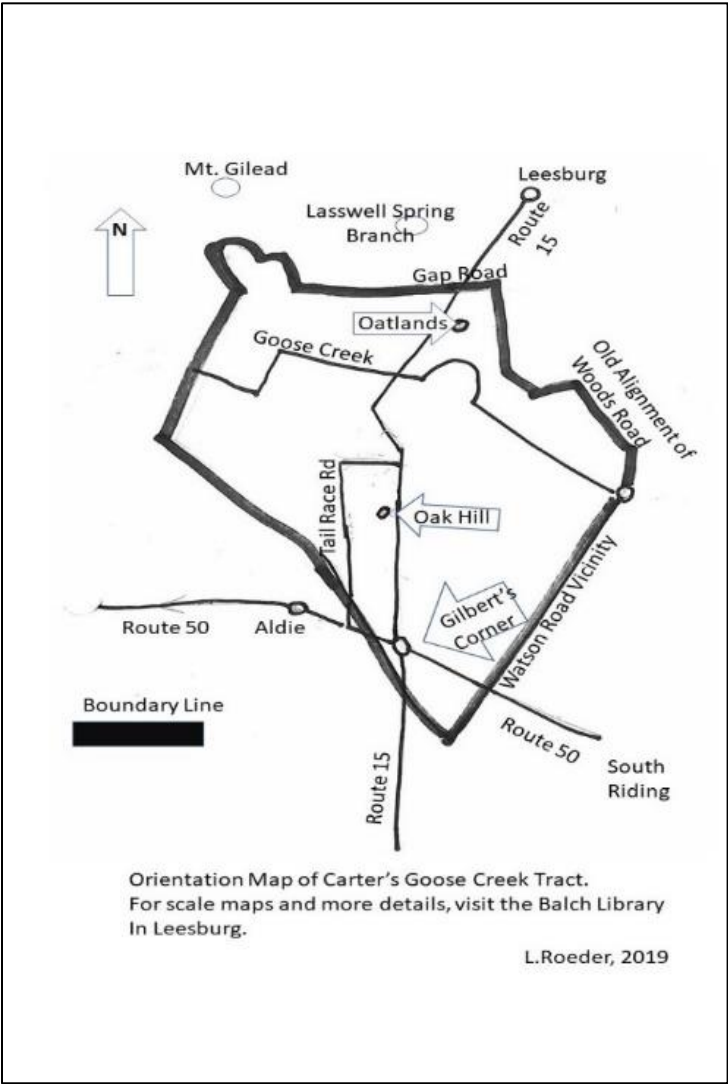


Fig 1 Orientation Map of Carter's Goose Creek Tract

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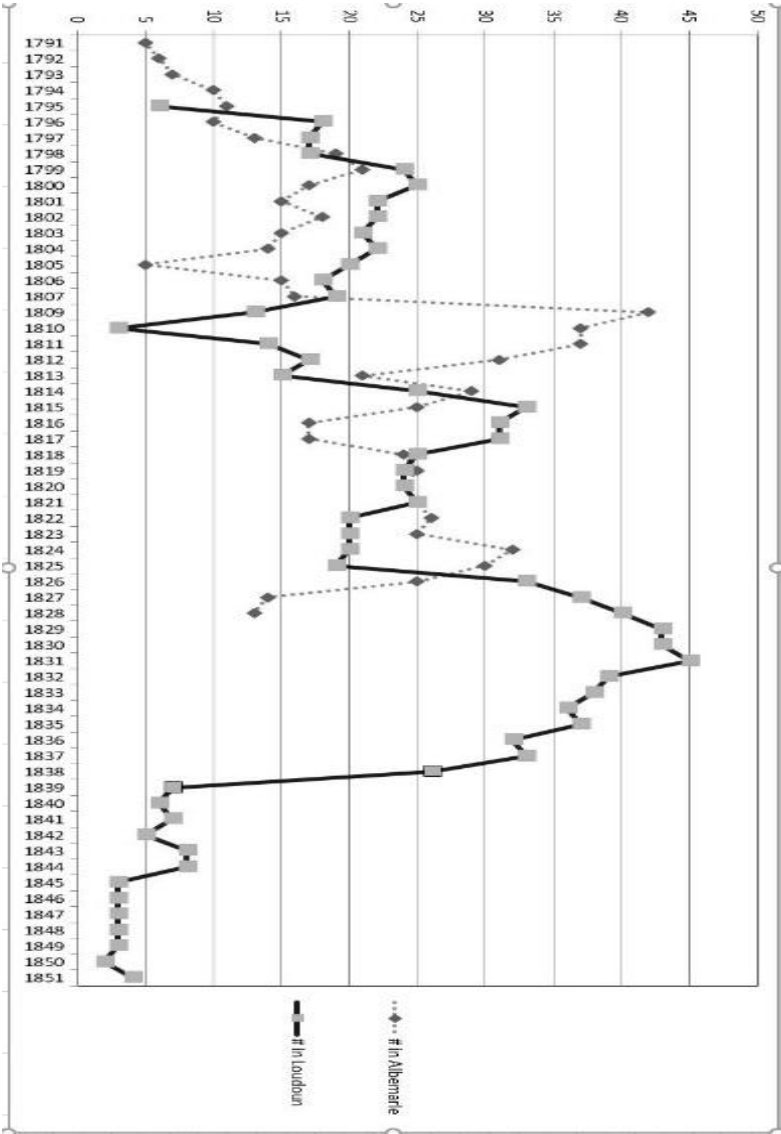


Fig 3 Personal Property Tax

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## End Notes

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<sup>1</sup> The deed for the sale has not been located but calculations from the Loudoun County Land Tax Records and the work of David Smarr for the Smarr plantation both arrive at an approximate number of 4,400 acres purchased by Jones and Monroe. David D. Smarr, *John Smarr's Little River Neighborhood, 1743 to 1811, Part 1: Life at the Crossroads of Colchester & Carolina Roads* (Columbia, Missouri: David D. Smarr, 2016), 245-247. Also, Tim McGath, *James Monroe* (Dutton, 2020), 286.

<sup>2</sup> James Monroe in France to Joseph Jones, 1 February 1795. *Selected Correspondence and Papers, 1794-1796* by Daniel Preston. Original at the College of William and Mary, Swem Library, Monroe Papers.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Jefferson's Farm Book, p. 25. Entry for 19 September 1794. Referenced in the published research of B. Bernetiae Reed, p. 363 and 398. Thenia was the sister of Sally Hemings, later to bear six children by her enslaver, Thomas Jefferson.

<sup>4</sup> James Monroe to Joseph Jones, 1 August 1796. Monroe Papers, Library of Congress, Series 2: Reel 10.

<sup>5</sup> Loudoun County Will Book I:135. Loudoun County Courthouse, Leesburg, Virginia.

<sup>6</sup> List of Blankets Provided to Slaves (file 1810.xx.xx blankets). Papers of James Monroe at the University of Mary Washington. Thank you to Nancy Stetz, Education Programs Manager at Highland, for providing this document.

<sup>7</sup> Enslavers paid a tax on enslaved people over the age of 12. The personal property tax data plotted on this chart was for James Monroe in Albemarle County and Joseph Jones, Andrew Monroe, James Monroe, and Samuel Gouverneur in Loudoun County. The tax data is informative, but it omits the number of children, which is why the numbers don't match the census numbers for the same year.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Slaughter to James Monroe, 19 February 1817. James Monroe Museum, Fredericksburg, Virginia. Monroe to William Noland, 26 February 1817. James Monroe Papers, University of Virginia, Alderman Library, Manuscript Collection.

<sup>9</sup> James Monroe to William Benton, 8 January 1821. Library of Congress: Monroe Papers, Series 4, Container 1, Folder 5.

<sup>10</sup> James Monroe to William Benton, 8 January 1821. Library of Congress, Monroe Papers, Series 4, Container 1, Folder 5.

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James Monroe in Washington D.C. to William Benton at Oak Hill, 22 January 1821. College of William and Mary, Swem Library, Manuscript Collection, Jay Johns Collection 68 M75, Box 2, Folder 38A.

<sup>11</sup> James Monroe in Washington D.C. to Fulwar Skipwith, 31 July 1823. Research at Highland by University of Virginia intern. Original source: Bulletin of the New York Public Library, Vol. VI, No. 7, July 1902, pp. 253-254.

<sup>12</sup> James Monroe in Washington D.C. to Fulwar Skipwith, 11 March 1823. Library of Congress: New York Public Library microfilm.

<sup>13</sup> James Monroe in Washington D.C. to William Benton at Oak Hill, 4 February 1822. Library of Congress, Monroe Papers, Series 1, Reel 8.

<sup>14</sup> James Monroe to in Washington D.C. to William Benton at Oak Hill, 22 January 1821. College of William and Mary, Swem Library, Manuscript Collection, Jay Johns Collection 68 M75, Box 2, Folder 38A.

<sup>15</sup> 1823 inventory from the papers at the James Monroe Museum, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

<sup>16</sup> James Monroe to George Hay, 17 December 1820. "There will be no difficulty in finding good quarters for any number of your people whom you may send to Loudoun, and we shall have employment for them. Should you have any of a size to bear off bricks, they also will be very useful to us." James Monroe Museum, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

<sup>17</sup> Henrico County Deed Book 32:242 (1830). John Baker, Lewis Baker, George Dabney, Jerry Dabney, and Joe Lumpkin were listed in the deed.

<sup>18</sup> James Monroe in Washington D.C. to William Benton, 8 May 1818. Transcription provided by Nancy Stetz, Education Program Manager at Highland. Original at the James Monroe Museum, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/07/us/politics/monroe-slavery-highland.html>

<sup>20</sup> Albemarle County Deed Book 25:143. Albemarle County Courthouse, Charlottesville, Virginia.

<sup>21</sup> Albemarle County Deed Books 25:143 (1825) and DB 26:147 (1826). Albemarle County Courthouse, Charlottesville, Virginia. Loudoun County Will Book Y:326, Loudoun County Courthouse, Leesburg, Virginia.



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<sup>22</sup> James Monroe at Oak Hill to C.F. Mercer, 17 October 1827. University of Virginia, Alderman Library, James Monroe Papers, Manuscript Collection.

<sup>23</sup> James Monroe at Oak Hill to James Madison. 28 March 1828. Library of Congress, James Madison Papers, Series 1, Reel 22.

<sup>24</sup> James Monroe at Oak Hill to Egbert Reed Watson, 6 June 1830. University of Virginia, Alderman Library, James Monroe Papers, Manuscript Collection.

<sup>25</sup> Elizabeth's body was later exhumed and reburied at Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond, Virginia, where her husband is buried.

<sup>26</sup> James Monroe in New York to [handwriting indistinguishable], 24 March 1831. Jay Johns Collection 68 M75, Box 2, Folder 60, College of William & Mary, Swem Library, Manuscript Collection.

<sup>27</sup> Loudoun County Will Book (A):291. Loudoun County Courthouse, Leesburg, Virginia.

<sup>28</sup> Loudoun County Will Book Y:326. Loudoun County Courthouse, Leesburg, Virginia.

<sup>29</sup> A prominent example is Sally Hemings, the enslaved woman who bore several of Thomas Jefferson's children. Jefferson did not free her in his will but after his death, his daughter gave Sally "her time", which enabled her to live freely in Charlottesville.

<https://www.monticello.org/thomas-jefferson/jefferson-slavery/thomas-jefferson-and-sally-hemings-a-brief-account/>

<sup>30</sup> <https://jeffreysevens.hibid.com/lot/17533665/the-woodstock-herald-and-shenandoah-weekly/>. Thank you to Sara Bon-Harper, Executive Director at Highland, for telling the authors about the advertisement.

<sup>31</sup> McGrath, p. 576.

<sup>32</sup> Betty Weaver Shorts would later marry Wormley Hughes who had once been enslaved at Monticello, raising the question of connections between the people enslaved by these two presidents.

<sup>33</sup> For Erasmus Mallory: 1900 United States Census, Loudoun County, Leesburg District, page 90B. For Mary Mallory: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/2005/06/19/a-former-slaves-life-revealed-in-bits-and-pieces/f97ddc64-ade6-4616-a5ed-f3ce747acc6c/>