

Residents of Monticello during the mid Levy period of 1853-1883
by Sam Towler (DRAFT 3-1-2008)

Thomas Jefferson died on July 4, 1826. He died heavily in debt and Monticello was sold by his heirs, the Randolphs, to James T. Barclay in 1831. In 1834, Barclay contracted to sell the house to Uriah P. Levy. Commodore Uriah Levy continued to own the house up until his death in 1862.¹ The Levy family and the service they did to the country by preserving Monticello has been covered in two recent books, Saving Monticello, by Marc Leepson and The Levy Family and Monticello 1834-1923 by Melvin Urofsky. Both books cover the Levy family, this article goes into the local residents living at Monticello during the mid Levy period. Although looked for, not enough records could be found to make any observations on the early Levy period of 1834-1853².

Ira Chapman Garrison of Albemarle was the manager of Monticello at least by 1853.³ Ira was born about 1813 and died June 28, 1892 in Albemarle County.⁴ He married Ann ----, but his will makes no reference to his children. By the fall of 1860 he had left Monticello.⁵ Ira continued to live in Albemarle and in the 1870s bought land surrounding the Burnt Mills near Stony Point. He died in 1892, by his will, he left his estate to his wife for life and then his farm was to go to his nephew James Marsh.⁶ James Marsh was a grandson of Ralph Garrison, a brother of Ira.

One would think more would be known about the African-Americans living at Monticello during the Levy ownership than during the Jefferson ownership due to the Levy period being closer in time to the present day. The opposite seems to be true. Levy did not keep records like Jefferson and the original papers concerning the sale of the Monticello slaves in 1864 by the Confederate Government cannot be found. There is enough documentary evidence in Albemarle records to definitely say that the West family were owned by Uriah Levy and they were at Monticello at least by 1853. Aggy (Aggie) Dickenson West was the cook for Uriah Levy.⁷ The Albemarle birth records show she had a child Augusta in 1853. By 1880, at the time of the census, Augusta West was living with her brother-in-law Willis Shelton. Willis Shelton along with the Colemans were the long time gate keepers of Monticello starting after the civil war. Willis Shelton had belonged to Judge Alexander Rives before the war and was still living at adjacent Carlton farm in 1867.⁸ He married Martha (sometimes called Aggy) West a daughter of John and Aggy Dickenson West.

In 1834, the same year Uriah Levy bought Monticello, Benjamin Randolph, a grandson of Jefferson married Sallie Carter of Redlands farm. They settled on land she was given by the Carters south of Monticello. They started building a house, later called Round Top, and moved into it on Jan 1, 1837. At that time Thomas Cosby was their farm manager.⁹ Some time in the 1840s Benjamin Randolph hired Joel N. Wheeler as his farm manager.¹⁰

In 1860 Uriah Levy was looking for a new manager. He and his wife spent his last summer at Monticello that year. Commodore Levy or his local attorney, George Carr, must have discussed possibilities with his neighbors, including Benjamin Franklin Randolph of nearby *Round Top* farm. Benjamin Randolph must have recommended his old farm manager, Joel Wheeler, who started in the fall of 1860 as Commodore Levy's new overseer.

In 1860, Wheeler brought several white people with him to Monticello being: James Nicholas Bailey (sometimes called James N. Wheeler), Richard C. Bailey and his wife Elizabeth Mayo Norris, Joel Jefferson Wheeler, and Virginia Hobday. Joel Wheeler and his wife, Martha Hobday, had no children and raised James Nicholas Bailey from infancy. James was a son of Dr. Rice Garland Bailey and Amanda Wingfield Bailey of Albemarle. Rice Garland Bailey lived until 1893 but his wife may have died about the time of Bailey's birth in 1851. Richard C. Bailey, an uncle of James Bailey, was a son of Charles Bailey (d. 1860) and Patience Buster Bailey of Ivy, Albemarle. Charles Bailey (d 1860) had a sister Francis who married Robert Wheeler. It is believed they were the grandparents of Joel on his father's side. Joel's mother, Sally, was also a Wheeler. Also at Monticello was Joel Jefferson Wheeler, a nephew, being a son of Bennett Wheeler and Elizabeth Moore Wheeler. Lastly Virginia Hobday, one of Mrs. Wheeler's nieces, appears with Wheeler in the 1860 census so it is assumed she moved with them later that year to Monticello.

In 1860, Wheeler brought with him to Monticello several African-Americans. Wheeler inherited a slave, Mary Green, and her daughter Malvina from his grandfather Benjamin Wheeler.¹¹ Malvina married Beverly Watson, an apparent slave of Benjamin Randolph. Beverly Watson stated in a deposition that he

was born in 1833 and had known Wheeler since he was a boy at *Round Top* farm where Wheeler was the manager. He did not state he was owned by Wheeler.¹² Benjamin F. Randolph owned a slave named Beverly. At the start of the civil war, Beverly rode a horse into Charlottesville for Lewis Randolph, the son of Dr. Benjamin. Later during the war, Mrs. Randolph stated in a letter dated Feb 14, 1863 "...Papa had to send Beverly, poor fellow he was in the greatest distress, (to Richmond) so many negroes have died while on work at the fortifications below Richmond. Four have died. This week Beverly goes for two months. Moses came back last week". Several times during the Civil war, Beverly ran supplies, such as bread and butter, to Lewis Randolph at the front. During the Gettysburg campaign when the army was in Pennsylvania they thought about sending Beverly but it was thought he should not be sent into a free state, Pennsylvania. In another letter written Aug 3, 1865 Mrs. Randolph stated Beverly has not been seen in 10 days.¹³ Assuming Beverly owned by the Randolphs is Beverly Watson then he stayed at Round Top until 1865 while Malvina went to Monticello in 1860.

In 1860, Wheeler's mother died. Joel and his brother, Bennett Wheeler, inherited a slave, Elizabeth and her ten children.¹⁴ Elizabeth was married to Robert Johnson who may have belonged to Benjamin Randolph also. Frederick Johnson was at Monticello in 1867 but by the 1870 census he is listed next to Benjamin Randolph. He apparently went to Monticello with Wheeler and returned to Round Top to work for Randolph by 1870. Mrs. Randolph states in a Oct 3, 1871 letter that "Frederick came to Robert yesterday to keep him but this morning he announced he had hired himself out to Mr. Starke."¹⁵ One of the ten Johnsons was Mary who was born in Albemarle in 1845.¹⁶ Mary Johnson gave birth at Monticello to Burwell Johnson in 1862 and Ben Johnson in 1865. Another Burwell Johnson was working for Benjamin Wheeler in 1868. This Burwell is believed to be another brother of Mary Johnson and an uncle of the Burwell born at Monticello. The Albemarle birth records show that Robert Johnson and Elizabeth had a daughter, Mary, born at Monticello. This Robert maybe a son of the elder Robert Johnson since the older couple already had a daughter named Mary.

The Colemans along with the Johnsons and Watsons may have been brought to Monticello in 1860 by Wheeler. The other possibility (besides the Colemans being owned by Uriah Levy) is Ben Snead was their owner. Ben Snead, who lived at Kenwood next to Monticello, owned a William Coleman in 1861. In April of 1862, Wheeler was charged by the authorities of letting a slave, Tom, "of going at large and trading as a free person".¹⁷ It is known that Tom Coleman and his son were working at Benjamin Snead's in 1867 while a James Coleman was working at Levy's. Tom Coleman Sr. died in 1888 at Monticello being 80 years old. His wife was Jane -----.

The Civil War came to Albemarle on May 8, 1861, when the Justices of the County assembled to arm the County and to levy \$50,000 for the cause.¹⁸ In August 1861, Jonas Levy (Uriah's brother) "took up residence in Monticello, and wrote to Judah Benjamin asking for the arrest of Joel Wheeler, who had remained as overseer and caretaker of the estate. Jonas Levy had raised the Confederate flag over the house, despite the fact that he knew his brother to be loyal to the Union, and Wheeler had pulled down the Stars and Bars and spoken disrespectfully of the Confederacy."¹⁹ In March 1862, Uriah Levy died and his will was disputed and went into litigation among Levy family members. On Nov 6, 1862, the Justices of Albemarle met to get a levy of 540 slaves between the ages of 18 and 45 to go work on the fortifications of Richmond. One of George Carr's and one of U.P. Levy's hands were ordered to be at the Court House on Friday morning at 10 am, Dec. 12, 1862, to march to Richmond. The amount of any slaves serving in the Confederate army could be subtracted from the total an owner was to provide. The County had 43 slaves serving in the Confederate army. In contrast, Thomas Jefferson Randolph was ordered to send four, while Dr. Benjamin F. Randolph was apportioned to send three but he only had to send one because he had two male slaves serving in the Confederate army.²⁰ In February 1863, Joel Jefferson Wheeler, the nephew of Joel, was conscripted into the Confederate army and left Monticello to go off to war.²¹ In Sept. 1863, the Justices met again and ordered "Joel N. Wheeler agent for Capt Levy" to send two slaves to Charlottesville on Monday, Sept. 21, 1863 to go to Richmond to work on the fortifications.²² The third time the Justices met to send slaves to Richmond was March 10, 1864, and no hands from Levy or Wheeler were ordered to Richmond.²³

Commodore Levy's 19 slaves and Monticello were sold by order from the Confederate Government on November 17, 1864. Wheeler's slaves were exempt and not included in this sale. Jonas Levy bought one of the slaves, John -----. I suspect John was John West the widower of Aggy the cook of Uriah Levy. The records of the sale and confiscation of Monticello were apparently destroyed later in the war. It is known a slave named Fleming was sold. He was likely Fleming West a brother of Willis Shelton's wife. Benjamin Franklin Ficklin, an Albemarle native, became the owner of Monticello, being

the highest bidder at the Confederate sale. Benjamin was born in 1827 in Albemarle, a son of Rev. Benjamin Ficklin. He fought in the Mexican war and took part in skirmishes with the Mormons in 1857. In 1860, he was one of the main founders of the Pony Express. In 1861, he started fighting for the South and before he bought Monticello he had taken over the operation of three blockade-running ships. It is believed that profits from blockade runners is where he got the cash to buy Monticello in 1864. It is not clear whether he ever lived at Monticello as he did not receive title for the house until March 17, 1865. What is known is that Wheeler never left Monticello during this period. According to Ficklin family lore they did live at Monticello and Rev. Benjamin Ficklin (his father) died in Jefferson's bed. One Ficklin member apparently stated that some of the Jefferson furniture left in the house was sold off during this period.²⁴

On March 4, 1865, about twenty Union soldiers in Sheridan's army arrived at Monticello, the residence of Joel N. Wheeler. Wheeler made a successful claim for compensation to the government after the war was over.²⁵ There is no mention of the Ficklins being at Monticello during the raid. This claim gives us the following information:

The Union force took two horses and a quantity of bacon and flour and returned to their camp nearby at Mr. Farish's²⁶ Wheeler cultivated 60 acres of the 218 acre property. Present at the time were Richard C. Bailey, boarding with Wheeler, and Wheeler's slave, Mary Johnson and William Barbour, a black man and also perhaps a slave. Richard C. Bailey had been living with Wheeler since 1860. Richard Bailey stated that no other white person was present at the time besides him and Wheeler when the raid happened. James Nicholas Bailey had left Monticello a few days before the raid. Before James left he had killed 30 hogs and had stored 13 or 14 barrels of flour. When James Bailey came back four days later, there was no meat, flour or horses. Wheeler stated he also had corn stored at his house in town which also had been taken. Malvina Watson had seen the corn taken in town. Charles E. Bailey (a brother of James N. Bailey) stated Wheeler was known as a strong Union man.²⁷

A few weeks after the raid, the war ended and the ownership of Monticello was returned to the estate of Uriah Levy and the Reconstruction period started. Reconstruction in Virginia can be divided into "Native Reconstruction" which ended in the spring of 1867, when Congress took more control and "Congressional Reconstruction" which lasted until mid-1869, when conservative Virginians regained control.²⁸ Wheeler made the most out of his known pro-Union feelings during this period. As noted he applied for compensation (on damage just to his own property) for the Union raid on Monticello in 1865. Compensation was eventually approved by the U.S. government. In 1868, when William Criddle was appointed Constable of Albemarle by Military Order 379 from Head Quarters, First Military District, the people putting up his bond were Joel N. Wheeler, Allen Bacon (jailor of Albemarle), and T.W. Savage.²⁹ Thomas W. Savage "seems to have been a relatively prosperous storekeeper who was named mayor of Charlottesville by federal authorities in April 1868. Owner of slaves in 1840, he was converted to abolition by 1860 and tried to vote for Abraham Lincoln in 1860 but was denied by the clerk of Albemarle at the time.³⁰ Wheeler probably made it known about his run-in with Jonas Levy during the war and him tearing down the Confederate flag at Monticello in 1861.

It's possible some of Levy's slaves, who were sold in 1864 locally returned to Monticello shortly after the war. It is known Fleming and Joshua West returned to Monticello. Jack Carey was at Monticello in 1867. John Carey is listed as being at Monticello in Albemarle's personal property tax list of 1868. What is interesting about the Careys is that in 1867 there was a Wilson Carey at Edgehill, Jack Carey at Monticello, and Tom Carey at Round Top/Redlands area. Jack Carey is shown in the Monticello vicinity in the 1870 census. He was 30 years old and married to Ann who was 28. The census shows Jesse Carey 9, Jim Carey 4, Mary Carey 3 and Louisa <1 as their children. The Albemarle marriage records show that Louisa married in 1886 to Thomas Quarles and Mary Carey married in 1888 to Daniel Smith. A Sarah Carey b 1865 is shown in the household of Fleming West in the 1870 census. Fleming West's wife, Rachael, may have been a Carey.

Besides Jack Carey, the people listed in 1867 as being at "Levy's" in Albemarle's personal property tax list of 1867 were the following: James Coleman, Lewis Harvey, Phil Richardson, Joshua West and Flemming West. In 1867 Fontaine Grevias and Fred Johnson were listed as being at Joel Wheeler's.³¹ Louis Harvey is known to have married Amanda Coleman. She was likely a daughter or close relative of Thomas Coleman Sr. who died at Monticello in 1888. The 1869 personal property tax shows that Louis

Harvey and Fountain Grevias were both working at a slate quarry. Peyton's map of Albemarle in the 1870s shows a slate quarry to the east of Ash Lawn, the former home of Monroe. The 1870 census shows Louis Harvey, 55, living next to Hamilton Potts (who at that time owned *Sunnyfields*). Josephine Michie, 17 (in 1870) was living with Louis Harvey. His wife Amanda Coleman Harvey may have been working on a different farm. She appears in the same vicinity as Monticello in the 1870 census.

The Levy heirs got Uriah Levy's will overturned in 1868 and several plans were made to sell the house at auction in the late 1860s but none went through. A local attorney, George Carr, had been appointed commissioner to take care of the house for the estate. Jonas Levy asked George Carr during this period to find another caretaker besides Wheeler but Carr did not.³² After Levy's slaves were sold off in 1864 all maintenance on Monticello stopped. William Roads in 1868 took the earliest known picture of Monticello, which shows broken windows, shutters and a dilapidated fence.³³

In 1866, David Clarkson, a nephew of Mrs. Wheeler, moved from Dade County, Missouri to Monticello. He lived at Monticello full time from 1866 to 1870 and after 1870 he lived there at intervals. In 1871, he attended the University of Virginia for one year and then went to Baltimore Medical College for one year. This apparently was enough to become a country doctor in this time period. In 1873, he started a general medical practice in Fluvanna County.³⁴ He witnessed several of the rental agreements between Wheeler and Carr in the 1870s and George Carr mentioned him favorably in one of his letters to the Levy family.³⁵ By 1882, David had moved back to Missouri.³⁶ In the fall of 1869, Martha Clarkson, one of his sisters, arrived at Monticello and stayed there until her death in 1875.³⁷

Richard Bailey and his wife, Elizabeth Mayo Norris, divorced around 1866 after the war. Richard Bailey had a bad leg and existed off the tourist trade of Monticello for his living. He kept a buggy or gig and must have used it often to move people from Monticello and town as he was constantly getting it repaired from use. There is an early photo of two buggies under the west entrance, one must have been Bailey's and the other belonged to Wheeler. It has been stated that Wheeler piled up trash and dirt so he could get horse buggies up under this porch. Recent archeology work has revealed that in this time period there were no side steps on the west portico only dirt ramps and it had been that way since Jefferson's time.³⁸ On November 9, 1870, Richard C. Bailey "at Monticello this County" was given a certificate for an ordinary license for Monticello.³⁹ In 1875, David Clarkson said of him⁴⁰:

Richard Bailey waited on visitors a portion of the time for one half of the profit. I heard him make that arrangement with Mrs. Wheeler. He attended to the cherry trees and the gardens and charged people 25 cents a head for cherries. On one occasion in the Spring of 1871 I carried some students to the Cherry trees, not knowing it was any harm. Richard Bailey came out to the trees and we came very near having a fight or short words about it. He said he must have either the 25 or 50 cents I forget which. He claimed it was his. Richard died a few years later on Jan 26, 1873 at Monticello. J. Edgar Chancellor, M.D. visited Monticello to attend to Bailey's last sickness⁴¹

In the 1870s, Wheeler invited two attorneys (John A. Doll and Lloyd G. Harris) from southern Albemarle to stay at Monticello when Court was in session because of the distance of their homes. John A. Doll, Esq. (he was also a minister) was asked in 1883 in a deposition of who he remembered living at Monticello during the 1870s period. He stated the following:

On the mountain there were about 21 persons. I think I counted that number big and little, white and black living with him (Wheeler) and upon him. I can give the names only of some. After the death of Miss Clarkson in 1875, James N. Bailey, wife and child, a black boy by the name of Burwell Johnson and his mother, Mary Johnson. A black boy named Ben (Johnson), and a black man named Reuben Barbour. His brother Bennett Wheeler and Joel Jefferson Wheeler visited him. I have repeatedly heard that Joel Wheeler Sr. raised Joel Jr. from childhood. James N. Bailey and Joel Jefferson Wheeler, the nephew, have been at variance and enmity with each other ever since I have known them. Some white and black people lived with Wheeler whose names I do not now remember. In the summer of 1875, Mrs. Wheeler sustained a severe injury from a fall, from the effects of she never fully recovered. She died about the first part of 1876. During her last illness she called for Miss Sallie Wheeler, Willie (W.Dyer) Wheeler⁴² and me to come to Monticello. I left without writing her will and James Perley did the funeral. I resided with him (Wheeler) for about a month or so at different times. Burwell Johnson slept on the floor in the same room (with Wheeler) almost every night. Burwell made the fires, brought the wood, and ran

errands. Burwell Johnson had ample opportunity of seeing (Wheeler's papers and will), especially when Mr. Wheeler lived in his room on Hill Street. While on the mountain (Wheeler's papers) were kept in small boxes and a basket locked up in his store room, as he called it, to which no one had access but himself and wife. Sometimes the cook (probably Mary Johnson) would go in with him to get flour and meal. He and his wife's money and what little silver and gold they had was also kept in the same room. In his room on Hill St. they were kept in the same boxes insecurely in bureau drawers. It was possible for the black boy Ben (Johnson) who sometimes led Mr. Wheeler about (to have seen his will), as Wheeler was nearly blind or blind. It was possible for Malvina Watson to have seen (his will). She had access to some of the (bureau) drawers where the papers were kept when she went to get out spoons and forks for the table whilst Mr. Wheeler was living in his room on Hill Street. (In town) Malvina Watson cooked for (Wheeler) and those that were with him and also made up the beds and swept the rooms. The boy Ben could both read and write, Burwell could read some little and all of Malvina Watson's grown and nearly grown children could both read and write.⁴³

In 1872 David M.R. Culbreath visited Monticello and noted:

After stopping at Ambroselli's⁴⁴ for oysters and waffles I proceeded to Monticello. An elderly white man made his appearance. He was the keeper living on the premises (several south rooms), having the privilege of certain tillage and the revenue from showing visitors through the house—that for us being the modest sum of fifteen cents each. In this capacity he had acted for years, knew considerable Jeffersonian history, and delighted to communicate it. (He entered through the east or main entrance.) On one side is an old bust of Mr. Jefferson and opposite stood one of Hamilton, both mounted on large pedestals; over the front door built into the wall is a good sized clock, which had to be wound standing upon a ladder. From this hall we passed through folding glass doors into an octagonal parlor or drawing-room. The parlor is adorned with several pictures, and French plate mirrors extending from ceiling to floor. From these two large halls or rooms we entered the other living quarters. We entered on the right (north) a good-sized dining room furnished with a handsome crystal chandelier and busts of Washington, Lafayette and Voltaire. The dome room is octagonal, being used in its day as the “ladies drawing room,” but now the repository of one solitary article of more than passing interest—the sulky or gig body in which Mr. Jefferson (used). Monticello of that day was a total wreck, as many years had passed without the slightest effort at repairs; the shingles of the roof were so decayed as not only to admit rain and snow but the rays of sunlight; many window panes, slats and shutters were broken or missing; the paint of former years was scarcely visible. (he visited at least once each year when he was at the University). Each year we found Monticello the same dilapidated, heart rendering object, experiencing no change save for the worse, presided over by the old keeper, more dead than alive, ever glad to greet a strange and youthful face. We not only brought him abundant sunshine, but what possibly was more appreciated and to his liking many dainties and dimes.⁴⁵

In 1872 James N. Bailey married Katharine Chewning, a daughter of Robert Chewning and Mary E. Riordan Chewning of Louisa and Fluvanna County. They had a child, Ernest Linwood Bailey, who was born about 1873 who lived with them at Monticello. They also had a one month old son who died at Monticello in June 1876 and son, Robert, who was born after they had left Monticello⁴⁶ James Bailey stated in a deposition taken in 1883 in the Albemarle Chancery case of Wheeler vs. Bailey the following:

He (James N. Bailey) was born in 1850 and Wheeler had taken him as a child and raised him. Wheeler lived about 18 years at Monticello from the fall of 1860 to the fall of 1878. Joel Jefferson Wheeler (Wheeler's nephew) visited occasionally. Wheeler had a servant boy Burwell Johnson to go on errands and a servant woman, Malvina Watson, at his beck and call (when he was in town). He and Beverly Watson did errands for Wheeler. John A. Doll, Esq., generally came to Monticello about once a month but sometimes he would not come for a month or two. Whenever Court was in session in Charlottesville, Doll would come over and spend the night. The old gentleman Wheeler would tell him he would be pleased to have him. In 1876 Wheeler rented *Pantops* farm. Bailey stayed at *Pantops* most of the time in 1876 but he was at Monticello nearly every night and frequently at day. Bailey would take his family with him back and forth between

Pantops and Monticello. Wheeler could not see and James managed both Pantops and Monticello for Wheeler. Wheeler rented out most of the farming at Monticello but cultivated 8 (?) acres which Bailey had to see to. After leaving Monticello his hands worked at the Bailey's (*The Cedars*) farm out at Greenwood Albemarle about 15 miles from Monticello.⁴⁷ (The 1880 census shows Henry Coleman, 41, and Jefferson Monroe, 17, as hired hands of James H. Bailey at Greenwood).

Reuben Barbour came to Monticello around 1873. Reuben had been in the "Canada" settlement near the UVa in 1868.⁴⁸ He could have been the brother of the William Barbour who apparently had lived with Mary Johnson during the Civil War, but the exact relationship is unknown.⁴⁹ Reuben Barbour officially married Mary Johnson in Albemarle July 1, 1889. Their marriage license states Reuben was born in 1833 in Culpeper County, a son of Major Barbour and Phyllis. Mary Johnson was listed as having been born in Albemarle in 1845, a daughter of Robert and Eliza Johnson. Reuben, upon his marriage to Mary in 1889, was listed as a widower.⁵⁰ In 1878, when Jonas Levy visited Monticello he found that, "Mr. Jefferson's office which was never occupied since Mr. Jefferson's time he (Wheeler) has placed (black) people in."⁵¹ Jefferson's office is the little building which is the mirror image of the honeymoon cottage at Monticello. It is likely Reuben Barbour and Mary Johnson were the ones who lived out in Jefferson's office. It was Reuben Barbour who packed Wheeler up and moved him out of Monticello when Wheeler left.⁵² Reuben Barbour and Mary Johnson left Monticello by 1880 when the census shows them on the southern end of Ridge St. in Charlottesville. They had a son, William Barbour who started the Albemarle Messenger and Printing Co. with John Shelton. They also had a daughter Ada Johnson who married William Truehart. The Trueharts owned land on the south end of Ridge St. Maude Truehart (d 1971) was a daughter of William & Ada. She married Winston Goings, a WWI veteran and house builder. Reuben and Mary also had a son, Ruffin Barbour who died in 1970.⁵³

Between 1875 to 1878, Wheeler started some repairs on Monticello. The main worker was John R. Thompson with help from John E. Chewning, James N. Bailey, Micajah Henderson and Henry Scott.⁵⁴ In 1870, Thompson had performed repairs on the Albemarle County jail for Allen Bacon, jailor of Albemarle, with Beverly Watson helping.⁵⁵ In 1875, he worked on Hartman's Mill.⁵⁶ In 1884, he was to build Beverly Watson a house on the old Lynchburg road.⁵⁷ John E. Chewning was a brother of James N. Bailey's wife, Katharine. In 1879, he married Dollie Bailey (a first cousin of James N. Bailey) being a daughter of James H. Bailey and Mary Hays of Greenwood Albemarle. Micajah Henderson was a stone mason and carpenter. In 1879, he lived near Monticello on two acres on the south side of the road from Milton to Sneed's store at Colle. This two acre lot had once been a part of *Auburn Hill* farm and had belonged to Mary Harris.⁵⁸ A brother of Micajah, William Henderson also probably lived at Monticello during this period. William Henderson married Lizzie Shelton, a daughter of Willis Shelton, on Oct 28, 1876 in Albemarle. William stated in court papers he was living at Monticello in 1883.⁵⁹ A son of William and Lizzie Shelton Henderson was Willis Henderson who was a long time employee of Jefferson Levy and the Thomas Jefferson Foundation.⁶⁰ Henry Scott worked on the brickwork of Monticello or Jefferson's office.⁶¹

Wheeler bought a section in Oakwood Cemetery, Charlottesville in 1879, which the City deeded to Joel Jr. in 1902.⁶² Wheeler died in 1881. He left the bulk of his estate to James N. Bailey instead of Joel Jefferson Wheeler, his nephew, which sparked the Albemarle Chancery case of Wheeler vs. Bailey. Wheeler Sr. left his "servant boy Burwell Johnson, a boy I raised from infancy" 10 acres and \$100 and Mary Johnson received the same amount. In June 1881, Wheeler's personal property was sold off. James N. Bailey and Joel J. Wheeler bought the most items but John A. Doll, Beverly Watson and Jefferson M. Levy bought a few items. Mr. Levy bought a "sword and war club" for \$1. This could have been the same object seen at Monticello in 1864 by a Civil War nurse. She entered by the east or main entrance and noticed the clock, a few portraits, the model of the ship that Uriah Levy commanded and "nearby sat an antique table with a war club said to have belonged to some Indian Chiefs."⁶³ James N. Bailey bought for \$25 a gold watch. The Baileys later claimed to have a watch that had been Thomas Jefferson's.

Robert Bailey had "Jefferson's watch" which had been given to Katherine Chewning Bailey by Mrs. Wheeler about the time of her marriage to James Bailey. Mrs. Wheeler told Katharine Chewning Bailey that it had been one of Thomas Jefferson's watches. If it was Jefferson's they could have obtained it themselves but the most likely source is that it had belonged to Uriah Levy. The watch was made by Charles Oudin, of Paris, who was a pupil of Abraham Louis Brequet. Oudin was a watch maker from 1807-1825. In the 1940s Robert Bailey had it insured for \$25,000.⁶⁴ When Robert Bailey died in 1962 he

willed it to Virginia Ehrenburg, his secretary in Washington. She took it to Monticello and tried to sell it to them about 1963 but they questioned the authenticity of it and did not buy it. It seems to me it is more likely the watch was Uriah Levy's rather than Jefferson's.

James N. Bailey, upon leaving Monticello, moved "his hands" to *The Cedars* farm, which his first cousin, William L. Bailey, had recently bought from John S. Cocke. In 1879, Joel Jr. brought Joel Sr. three times out to Greenwood to visit the Baileys. In 1879, his wife's brother, John Chewning, married Dollie Bailey, a sister of William L. Bailey.⁶⁵ The 1880 census of Albemarle shows with James H. Bailey at Greenwood are Henry Coleman (41 years old) and Jefferson Monroe (17 years old) both "hired help". Henry Coleman was likely related to Tom Coleman who died at Monticello in 1888. Jefferson Monroe was married twice first to Alice Givens and then as a widower to Mary Field in Charlottesville in 1892. His father was Peter Monroe who likely was the Peter Monroe "at Spooner's near U(niversity) in the 1867 personal property tax list. G.W. Spooner was the head builder of the UVa in the 1850s. Eventually James Bailey gave up farming and became a conductor on the C & O R.R. His son, Ernest, also worked for the Railroad as an engineer. James died in 1924 and Katharine died in 1921. Both are buried in Maplewood Cemetery, Charlottesville. Ernest Bailey bought in 1911 a brick building (on the site of the old Leschot Watch shop) on Court Square. He bought *Sunnyfields* near Monticello in 1945 and *The Washington farm*, which had been part of Jefferson Levy's holdings between 1905-1913⁶⁶.

The family of Beverly Watson continued to live at Wheeler's house in Charlottesville after leaving Monticello. The 1870 census shows some of his children "attending school" which must have been the Freedman's school. The 1880 census shows William, one of Beverly's sons, as a teacher. In 1884, John R. Thompson built him a house on the old Lynchburg Road. By 1891, he was living on 6 ½ street (lot 17 of Fry's addition) Charlottesville. When he bought the house in 1891, the deed stated "being the same lot where he was already residing".⁶⁷ By 1904 Beverly was deceased and Malvina was still living.⁶⁸ Beverly had a daughter, Lucy, born in 1857 who married Clarence Watson Oct. 14, 1878 in Albemarle. Beverly's son, William G. Watson, was living in Covington, Va. in 1904 and was married to Carrie ----- while William's son Howard, married to Bessie ---- was living in Charlottesville. Beverly's son, Joseph, born in 1860 (either at Round Top or Monticello) married Matilda Waller Oct. 30, 1888 in Albemarle. Beverly had a son, Allen, born about 1864 who married Annie Scott Oct. 14, 1886 in Albemarle. Beverly's daughter, Mary Watson, born about 1869 married William Taylor Sept. 4, 1888 in Charlottesville.⁶⁹

The one known family that stayed on after Wheeler left were the West/Shelton family and the Colemans. Joshua West left Monticello by 1880. The census shows him next to James Bailey and Katherine Chewning in town. He bought a house in town next to Beverly Watson which he later exchanged for another house next to the cemetery in town. Coleman Heiskell sold him this house. Joshua West died there in late 1919. His sister, Martha, (Aggy) stayed on at Monticello with Willis Shelton who was the gatekeeper for Monticello until his death in 1902. The 1880 census shows Flemming (John) next to Thomas Coleman Sr. and Jr. at Monticello. Flemming later moved to town and his two children were the heirs of Joshua West in 1919. The 1919 chancery case over Joshua's estate is interesting. It states Thomas Rhodes (manager of Monticello) was interviewed. The case also states that Dr. Eugene Dickinson, M.D. of Harrisonburg Va. is a first cousin of Joshua West, being a son of a uncle. This is how Aggy the cook for Uriah Levy was discovered to have been a Dickenson before marriage with John West.

Thomas Coleman Sr. (probably a former slave of Wheeler) stayed on at Monticello and died there in 1880. His son Tom and his wife Elizabeth continued to work at Monticello. Elizabeth became the gatekeeper of Monticello after Willis Shelton died. Paul Coleman, a son of Thomas Jr., lived in the Woolen Mills area outside of Charlottesville. He married Adelene Jones, a daughter of Spotswood Jones Jr., in 1894. Adelene Jones worked at Ash Lawn for John E. Massey and the marriage took place there. At that time Paul was a butler, perhaps to an executive at the Woolen Mills. Later he became one on the few African-Americans working at the Woolen Mills doing the same job and pay as whites in the dye department.⁷⁰ Her grandparents were Spotswood Jones Sr. and Mary Carey who were former slaves of Dr. Benjamin Randolph. Paul Harris who was elected to the Va. House of Representatives in the 19--s from Albemarle was a descendant of Tom Coleman.

Wheeler likely got his job at Monticello from his connection to Benjamin Randolph of *RoundTop*. There is no doubt that Monticello suffered from neglect during Wheeler's period in the house. The house was confiscated by the Confederate government and raided by the Union forces. Levy's nineteen slaves were sold off and slavery ended. Either some of Levy's ex-slaves returned to Monticello by 1867 or sharecropping came to Monticello by that date. By the 1870s sharecropping was in force, twenty-one people were making a living off the farm and not maintaining the house. The entrance fee was not used for

repairs; however Wheeler paid the property tax for Monticello while he was there. Wheeler may have done well enough at *Round Top* for the Randolphs but they were permanent residents, while the Levys were not. Wheeler was also older and later blind while working for the Levys. The residents did not have the attitude to stop the relic hunting of visitors. Wheeler left Monticello in August 1878 after he was paid for some repairs and reimbursed for paying the property taxes. Jefferson Levy with paid labor and better management was able to save the house.

¹ Rev Edgar Woods, *Albemarle County in Virginia*, reprint Harrisonburg 1982, pg 141, 250. Alb. Chancery case of Barclay vs. Levy. Melvin Urofsky, *The Levy Family and Monticello*, Charlottesville 2001. Marc Leepson, *Saving Monticello*

² Cinder Stanton mentioned (by memory) that Uriah Levy is known to have bought one slave from the estate of Thomas Craven.

³ The 1853-1859 Albemarle birth records show that there were at least 6 births at Monticello and they were reported by Ira C. Garrison manager for U.P. Levy.

⁴ The Library of Va./VGS death records index project on line has his death record.

⁵ James N. Bailey's deposition in the Alb. Chancery case of Wheeler vs. Bailey. The 1860 census shows Ira C. Garvison near Monticello.

⁶ There are no deeds in Albemarle for Ira until the late 1870s when he bought land surrounding the Burnt Mills. He died in 1892 in Albemarle leaving a will, which left his farm to his wife for life and then it was to go to James Marsh his nephew. In 1900, James Marsh sold the 40 acres Ira had left him to the Norfords. Marriage records show James Marsh's mother was Susan Garrison, a daughter of Ralph Garrison of Albemarle.

⁷ Virginia Rees (sp?) Recollections mentions Aggy the cook but not her last name. Joshua West's marriage license names his parents as John and Aggy. The Charlottesville chancery case of West vs. West # 665 mentions Dr. Eugene Dickerson (of Harrisonburg @ 1920) was a first cousin of Joshua West. Thus Aggie (Aggy) must be Aggie Dickerson West.

⁸ Willis stated in an interview that he had belonged a relative of Amelia Rives before the war. The 1867 personal property tax list shows him at Alex(ander) Rives (who was Judge Alexander Rives of Carlton farm adjacent to Monticello

⁹ Randolph-Hubard papers at Special Collections at UVa box 6 has a short "diary of Benjamin Randolph".

¹⁰ Beverly Watson's deposition in Alb. Wheeler vs. Bailey chancery case. The 1850 Alb. Census also shows Joel Wheeler directly below Benjamin Randolph.

¹¹ 1860 Alb. Chancery case of Bennett Wheeler vs. Joel Wheeler. These slaves were coming from their maternal grandfather Benjamin Wheeler. So their parents were ---- Wheeler who married Sally Wheeler. It is believed that ---- Wheeler was John Bailey Wheeler, a son of Robert Wheeler and Frances Bailey.

¹² Deposition of Beverly Watson in the Alb. Chancery case of Wheeler vs. Bailey (1883). He states he had known Wheeler since a boy but doesn't state he was owned by him. Malvina, his wife, was definitely owned by the Wheelers. It's possible Beverly was not owned by the Wheelers.

¹³ See Randolph-Hubbard papers at UVA Special Collections. Several letters mention Beverly ----.

¹⁴ Alb. Chancery case of Bennett Wheeler vs. Joel N. Wheeler 1860. Elizabeth (who must be the Elizabeth who married Robert Johnson had 10 children by 1860. Mary Johnson must be one of the ten children. Mary, perhaps a sister of Elizabeth, had 3 children by 1860, one of which was Malvina who married Beverly Watson.

¹⁵ Randolph-Hubbard papers at UVA special collections dated Oct 3, 1871. The 1868 P.P. tax shows Frederick Johnson at J.N. Wheeler's. The 1870 census shows him next to or near Dr. Randolph. Mr. Starke owned an adjacent farm to Roundtop called "Kelona".

¹⁶ Mary Johnson's Alb. marriage license to Reuben Barbour states her parents. See also Mary Johnson's and John A. Doll's depositions in Wheeler vs. Bailey (1883).

¹⁷ The Commonwealth vs. Joel Wheeler, available in Albemarle's Commonwealth causes at the Va. State Library. The last name of Tom is not mentioned. In 1888, a Tom Coleman died at Monticello (see on line death certificates available at the Va. State Library.

¹⁸ Alb. Minute Book 1859-1862, pg 326-328.

¹⁹ Melvin Urofsky, *The Levy Family and Monticello*, Charlottesville 2001, pg 95.

²⁰ Alb. Minute Book 17 (1859-1862) pg 439.

²¹ Joel Jefferson Wheeler's deposition in Alb. Chancery case of Wheeler vs. Bailey (1883).

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- ²² Alb. Minute Book 18 (1863-1866) pg 113-115. Robert R. Prentis was one of the Justices.
- ²³ Minute Book 18 (1863-1866) pg 180-182.
- ²⁴ All the information of Benjamin Ficklin and the sale of Levy's slaves comes from Marc Leepson, *Saving Monticello*, New York 2001, pgs 91-93.
- ²⁵ All the information on the raid comes from Lucia C. Stanton, Senior Research Historian Monticello, who got the information from Bob Vernon who got it from the Southern Claims Commission Papers, Record Group 56, National Archives: RG 217, Box 332, Entry 732, Settled case files for Claims Approved by the SCC, 1871-1880.
- ²⁶ On Jan 6, 1862 Andrew J. Farish was appointed guardian of Letitia M. Bailey a daughter of Rice G. Bailey and a sister of James N. Bailey. (Alb. 1859-1862 Minute Book pg 412). So this may have been at Andrew Farish's however William P. Farish of *Verdant Lawn* lived nearby and Thomas L. Farish owned 76 acres adjacent to Jefferson Levy at least in 1886. (See Alb. Deed Book 87 pg 308 for survey)
- ²⁷ Charles E. Bailey, who died in testate in 1881, bought Division F, block 2, section 7 of Maplewood Cemetery, Charlottesville.
- ²⁸ John Hammond Moore, *Albemarle Jefferson's County 1727-1976*, Charlottesville 1976, pgs 220,221.
- ²⁹ Albemarle Minute Book 19 (1866-1868), Sept. 7, 1868, pg 372.
- ³⁰ John Hammond Moore, *Albemarle Jefferson's County 1727-1976*, Charlottesville 1976, pgs 228,229.
- ³¹ Bob Vernon's CD copies of Alb. Personal Property tax for 1867. There are two marriages for men named Fountain Green in Alb. Fountain Green , 50 (son Nelson & Mary Green and widower) married in 1881 and another Fountain Green, 56, (son Peter & Mary and widower) married in 1891. There are no marriages for a Fortune Green in Albemarle.
- ³² George Carr Papers, Special Collections Dept of Alderman Library, box 1.
- ³³ Information from Antoinette W. Rhodes, a descendant of William Roads and a Charlottesville writer working on a study of Dr. James T. Barclay's tenure at Monticello. She stated the picture was more likely taken in 1868 (rather than the 1870 date that is usually associated with the photo).
- ³⁴ David Clarkson's deposition in Alb. Chancery Case of Richard Bailey's executor vs. Charles T. Duke et al. (1878).
- ³⁵ George Carr papers, box 1, Alderman Library Special Collections dept.
- ³⁶ List of Martha Hobday's family in the case of Ernest Bailey vs. Heirs of Martha J. Wheeler et al. David Clarkson was in Iron (?) Co. Missouri in 1882.
- ³⁷ Martha Clarkson's deposition in the Executors of Richard Bailey vs. Charles T. Duke et al. (1878) and John A. Doll's deposition in Wheeler vs. Bailey (1883)
- ³⁸ Paul Wilstach reports in his 1920s book that Wheeler piled up dirt and trash over the west portico steps to get his buggy up on the porch. This has been repeatedly told up to the present time. Recent archeology at Monticello has revealed the side steps of the west portico were always dirt at least up to 1880. See Monticello's report on the West Portico steps available at their internet site.
- ³⁹ Alb. Minute Book 20 (1869-1871) pg 491. This is also mentioned in the Chancery case of Executors of Richard Bailey vs. Burwell Johnson, Charles Duke et al. (1878).
- ⁴⁰ David Clarkson's deposition in the Alb. Chancery case of Executors of Richard Bailey vs. Charles Duke et al. (1878)
- ⁴¹ There was a chancery suit over Richard's will also. Alb. Chancery Book 8 pg 587 and the original papers in the State Library Richard Bailey's executor vs. Burrill Johnston (infant), Charles A. Duke et al.
- ⁴² W. Dyer Wheeler is shown in the 1860 census as living with George Wheeler who is about his same age. George is married with several children two of which are mentioned in Joel Wheeler's will. Therefore I concluded W.D. Wheeler (Joel's nephew) is William Dyer Wheeler. He was a builder/master brick mason and worked on the Samuel Miller school when it was being built. He married Fannie ---- and left will in Charlottesville in 1906.
- ⁴³ This is combined deposition answers of John A. Doll's depositions in 1883 in the Alb. Chancery cases of Ernest Bailey vs. Hobday et al., and Joel J. Wheeler vs. James N. Bailey et al.
- ⁴⁴ On Oct 2, 1871, J.M. Ambroselli got an ordinary license at "the Bailey house near the University of Virginia" (Alb. Minute Book 21, pg 189). On Jan 5 1874 the license for ordinary was transferred from C.E. Bailey to J. Ambroselli and G. Bowyer (Alb Minute Book 21, pg 361). On 3 Aug 1874 Joseph Ambroselli and George F. Bowyer at the Monticello House received an ordinary license. (Alb. Minute Book 21, pg 445). On Oct 8, 1884 it was noted that the Monticello House has been demolished. Elections are to be held at Peter Diggs alias Woods Barber Shop until further notice. (Alb Minute Book 27 pg 134)

The Monticello House was the name of an ordinary and voting place in town rather than Monticello itself. The possibility exists that when Richard Bailey got a license for “Monticello in the County” they were talking about the tavern in town and not the house itself. Richard seems to have been at the actual Monticello house while his nephew Charles E. Bailey was associated with the Monticello House Tavern near the UVA.

⁴⁵ Merrill D. Peterson, ed, *Visitors to Monticello*, Charlottesville 1989, pgs 146-154. Citing David M.R. Culbreath, *The University of Virginia*, Washington D.C. 1908, 217-223.

⁴⁶ Robert Bailey claimed his brother Ernest was born at Monticello. Ernest signed a substitute birth certificate for my grandmother saying she was born at the old Bailey home at Greenwood and stated that Ernest was born in Fluvanna County. Va. State Library on line death certificates show James N. Wheeler and Katharine Wheeler had a son die at Monticello in June 1876

⁴⁷ James N. Bailey’s deposition in 1883 in the Alb. Chancery case of Wheeler vs. Bailey.

⁴⁸ 1868 personal property tax of Albemarle (courtesy Bob Vernon) shows Reuben Barbour (Major) at Canada. The Major in parenthesis is also his father’s name so it has to be the same person.

⁴⁹ Lucia Stanton passed on the information that a William Barbour is mentioned in Wheeler’s request for compensation papers for Sheridan’s raid in 1864. Reuben Barbour states in his deposition in Wheeler vs. Bailey that he came to Monticello in 1874. Reuben’s marriage to Mary Johnson states he was a widower.

⁵⁰ The Albemarle marriage records after 1854 were studied to find these. There was a Reuben Barbour who died in Alb. In 1875 being 64 years old his wife is E-----. There was another Reuben Barber a younger man b 1843 by the 1870 and 1880 census. The people who list “Reuben Barbour” as their father in Albemarle marriages are the following: The 1900 census of the Reuben Barbour who married Mary Johnson lists that he has 5 living children in 1900. Ruffin was the only child by Mary Johnson that I know of. The other possible children by a first wife would be the following: Major Barbour, born in 1859 married Alice Prior April 21, 1880 in Albemarle. William, who was born in 1862, married in Adele Yager Sept 22, 1883 in Albemarle. William died in Charlottesville in 1927 and was buried at Oakwood. Charles, born in 1845 in Albemarle who married Alice Key in Albemarle Dec 27, 1883. Reuben had a son, Wilson, who died in Charlottesville in 1927 and his wife was Lucy Jones. Evalina Barbour born in Albemarle in 1863 who married James Luther Ware Nov 17, 1881 in Albemarle. (see J.F. Bell records)

⁵¹ Melvin I Urofsky, *The Levy Family and Monticello*, Charlottesville 2001, pg 127. Citing the George Carr Papers at the Special Collections department of Alderman Library at UVA.

⁵² Reuben Barbour’s deposition in 1883 in the Alb. Chancery case of Wheeler vs. Bailey.

⁵³ Race and Place, the J.F. Bell funeral home records on line. The 1900 census of Charlottesville shows Reuben, Mary and Ruffin in the 4th ward near Ridge St. The obituary of Ruffin Barbour in 1970 states he lived in Ohio and is survived by a niece, Maude Goings of Charlottesville, and a nephew, Arthur Truhart of Columbus Ohio.

⁵⁴ George Carr Papers, Special Collections Dept, UVa Alderman Library. The financial records state J.R. Thompson and J.E. Chewning. Note that John W. Chewning, who had a mill at Milton in this same time period, is not the same person as John E. Chewning. J.E. Chewning has to be John E. who married Dollie Bailey in Albemarle in 1879. J. R. Thompson has to be John R. Thompson who built Beverly Watson a house on old Lynchburg road (see Mechanics lien deed).

⁵⁵ Alb. Minute Book 20 pg 235 and 236. (Feb 8th and 9th of 1870).

⁵⁶ *The Jefferson* newspaper on July 28, 1875 mentions “Capt Thompson was injured when he fell from a new building rising at Hartman’s Mill”. Information from Antoinette W. Rhodes a descendant of John R. Thompson and a Charlottesville writer working on a study of Dr. James T. Barclay’s tenure at Monticello.

⁵⁷ Alb. Deed Book 63 pg 547.

⁵⁸ Alb. Deed Book 75 pg 194. (This homestead deed protects Micajah’s stone mason tools and lumber planks on his lot). Alb. Deed Bk 73 pg 357 Mattie Wingfield’s husband, Charles H. Wingfield, was a son of Anderson Wingfield and Mary Bailey. Mary Bailey was a sister of Richard C. Bailey, and Amanda Wingfield Bailey (Rice’s wife) was an aunt of Charles H. Wingfield (to my understanding).

⁵⁹ The Commonwealth vs. Joseph Barbour in 1883. Willis Shelton and William Henderson both state in this case they were living at Monticello. They appeared as character witnesses.

⁶⁰ From a tip from Cinder Stanton, researcher of Monticello and double checked with the Alb. Marriage records which state the following: William Henderson (25, son of Ned and Betty) married Lizzie Shelton (20, dau of Willis and Aggie) on Oct 28, 1876. Willis Henderson (27, son of William & Lizzie) married Lucy Harris (23 dau of Henry and Martha) on July 31, 1911.

⁶¹ George Carr Papers, Box 1.

⁶² Records of Oakwood Cemetery located in the Special Collections Dept, Alderman Library

⁶³ Alb. Hist Society Magazine Vol 52 (1994) pg 135.

⁶⁴ *I work for Uncle Sam*, Washington Times article @ 1940. This was an article about the watch Robert L. Bailey owned. His "Jefferson Watch" is also mentioned in his will recorded in the City of Charlottesville @ 1962.

⁶⁵ The writer, Sam Towler, is a descendant of John Chewning and Dollie Bailey.

⁶⁶ All of these deeds are easily found in the Alb. deed books. I also looked in the Long & Sadler law firm papers at the UVa law library, box 5, A22-6E, Certificate of Title (dated Sept 24, 1947) of Washington Farm just purchased by E.L. Bailey from McKinley Longworth and wife

⁶⁷ Charlottesville Deed Bk 19 pg 182.

⁶⁸ Charlottesville Deed Bk 16 pg 113-117. Charlottesville and Albemarle marriage records.

⁶⁹ Information from Monticello however a George Jones was the executor of Sophie Leschot which is not mentioned in the documents from Monticello. If this George Jones is George M. Jones he could have acquired it as executor. Mary Hays Bailey's sister was Harriet Hays Crobarger the mother of George's wife.

⁷⁰ See his Jan 15, 1894 marriage license, and his second marriage in Alb. See also [The Charlottesville Woolen Mills: Working Life, Wartime, and Walkout of 1918](#) by Andrew H. Myers (available on the web as of 2008)