This file is a nomination to the Virginia Landmarks Register and the National Register of Historic Places. It has been recently submitted to the Virginia Department of Historic Resources for their review and approval. A preliminary outline of this nomination was reviewed last year and found by VDHR and their State Review Board to be eligible for listing in the historic registers and we, the nominating committee, were encouraged to complete this formal nomination. Please note, however, that VDHR's review is in process and it will be some months before their final recommendation and/or approval is made.

This document is offered here as information for the interested public and various stake holders in this process. There may be substantial changes made to the document as the review process ensues over the next few months.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form.* If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions.

1. Name of Property

Historic name: __Shockoe Hill Burying Ground_____
Other names/site number: _____ 127-7231_____
Name of related multiple property listing**:**
_____N/A_____
(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing

2. Location

Street & number: Bounded by 2nd St. on west, northern limit of CSX r/w on north, on SE and East by historic property line and former stream courses.
City or town: __Richmond_____ State: __VA_____ County: ___N/A_____
Not For Publication: N/A Vicinity: N/A

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,

I hereby certify that this __ nomination ___ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

___national ___statewide ___local
Applicable National Register Criteria:

___A ___B ___C ___D

_____

Signature of certifying official/Title: **Date**

_____

State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of commenting official: **Date**

Title : **State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government**

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ entered in the National Register

___ determined eligible for the National Register

___ determined not eligible for the National Register

___ removed from the National Register

___ other (explain:) _____

Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

(Check as many boxes as apply.)

Private: [X]

Public – Local [X]

Public – State [X]

Public – Federal [ ]

Category of Property

(Check only **one** box.)

Building(s)	☐
District	☒
Site	☐
Structure	☐
Object	☐

Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
_____	_____2_____	buildings
_____4_____	_____1_____	sites
_____	_____4_____	structures
_____	_____	objects
_____	_____	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register ____3_____

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6. Function or Use

Historic Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

_Funerary/Cemetery_____
_Health Care/Hospital_____
_Defense/Arms Storage____
_Defense/Military Facility__
_Domestic/Poor House_____
_Education/Medical Training___

_Education/Military Academy__

Current Functions
(Enter categories from instructions.)
_Funerary/Cemetery_____
Domestic/ Apartment Building
_Transportation/road-related___
_Transportation/rail-related____
_Business/Employment Agency

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7. Description

Architectural Classification
(Enter categories from instructions.)
__Italianate (Almshouse)__
__Romanesque Revival (Hebrew Cemetery Chapel)_
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Materials: (enter categories from instructions.)
Principal exterior materials of the property:

__Brick_(building walls and cemetery enclosure walls)____
_Metal: Wrought and Cast Iron, Zinc (fences, gates, grave markers)___
__Stone: Sandstone, granite, limestone, marble_(grave markers)

Narrative Description
(Describe the historic and current physical appearance and condition of the property. Describe contributing and noncontributing resources if applicable. Begin with **a summary paragraph** that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, type, style, method of construction, setting, size, and significant features. Indicate whether the property has historic integrity.)

Summary Paragraph

The proposed Shockoe Hill Burying Ground Historic District occupies 43 acres bounded to the south by E. Bates Street, to the north by the northern limit of the CSX rail line right-of-way at the southern margin of the Bacon's Quarter Branch valley, to the west by 2nd Street, and to the east by the historic edge of the City property at the former location of Shockoe Creek (Figures 1 and 2). The District encompasses most of a 28.5-acre tract acquired in 1799 by the recently incorporated City of Richmond to fulfill its municipal functions along with later additions to this original tract. The District is a significant example of a municipal almshouse-public hospital-cemetery complex of the sort that arose in the period of the New Republic following disestablishment of the Anglican Church. The history of the District documents and illustrates changing social and racial relationships in Richmond through the New Republic, Antebellum, Civil War, Reconstruction, and Jim Crow/Lost Cause eras of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. While three previously listed properties within the District (The Almshouse complex, Shockoe Hill Cemetery, and The Hebrew Cemetery) illustrate wonderfully the public appreciation for and memorialization of important and wealthy persons, such as civic leaders and historical figures like John Marshall and Elizabeth Van Lew, in addition to excellence in public architecture and design, there is much more to the Shockoe Hill tract. These previously recognized individual properties do not fully encompass/embrace a complete understanding of this historic complex. This nomination recognizes a suite of municipal functions and services concerned with matters of public welfare, health, and safety, which the City of Richmond relegated to its periphery. Significant social history, military history, and medical history beg for proper recognition of all of the known contributing properties on this tract. This recognition leads to a more comprehensive and accurate understanding and appreciation of the resources found within this district and the relationships among them.

Narrative Description

The proposed District is mostly defined by the original 28.5-acre parcel laid out by the City in 1799 for the purpose of locating a burying ground "for white people," and the incremental expansion of that plot throughout the nineteenth century.[1] This parcel is located at the northeastern edge of Shockoe Hill, one of the main hills on which the City of Richmond was built, and it extends into the floodplain valleys of Shockoe Creek and its tributary Bacon's Quarter Branch. In the early nineteenth century, this tract lay at a remote edge of the City and spread across the boundary between the City and neighboring Henrico County. Early maps indicate that this northeastern promontory of Shockoe Hill was cut through by several major erosional gullies and/or spring-fed streams. However, it appears that throughout the nineteenth century there were ongoing efforts to fill in these gullies, and by the end of that century, the landform had come to look very much as it does today.

The District consists primarily of properties just to the north and south of Hospital Street, which traverses and roughly bisects the District. The description that follows imagines a walk through the district from west to east along Hospital Street, presenting in sequence each of the District's contributing and non-contributing properties as they are encountered

The Almshouse Complex including the Site of the 1805 Poor House (Contributing Property)

The prominently visible landscape of the District begins in the west at 2nd Street (Photo 1). To the north is the The Almshouse (Virginia Landmarks Register 127-0353, NRHP reference numbers 81000647, 89001913), a complex which includes four buildings constructed between 1860 and 1926, significant in medical and social history and for its imposing Italianate architecture (Photos 2 and 3). Originally listed on the National Register in 1990, the Almshouse property was expanded in 1989 to include its early twentieth-century addition, and the nomination was updated in 2020 to clarify its period of significance. The Almshouse complex is listed due to its significance under National Register Criteria A & C. The six-acre Almshouse property, extending north from its existing structures on Hospital Street to the southern edge of the CSX right-of-way, was sometimes used for burying inmates of The Almshouse. There may also be intact archaeo-

logical remains of structures and features from the 1805 complex on this lot (Figures 3 and 4).

The Shockoe Hill Cemetery (Contributing Property)

Opposite the Almshouse, on the south side of Hospital Street, is the enclosed portion of the municipal burying ground reserved for White people: The Shockoe Hill Cemetery (Virginia Landmarks Register 127-0389, NRHP reference number 95000818). The property is listed on the National Register under Criteria C and D. In many ways this large formal cemetery sets the general tone for the District with its weathered old brick walls, gridded walkways, park-like landscape, enclosed family plots and abundance of monumental styles (Figure 5, Photos 4, 5 and 6). Portions of this property had been used to bury paupers prior to the cemetery's formal designation as such, possibly as early as 1805. The first recorded interments occurred in 1822. The majority of the visible landscape reflects aesthetics of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. The property comprises 12.7 acres, which includes an original 4-acre plot and two expansions that occurred in the nineteenth century. It is still owned by the City of Richmond, and it is maintained in large part by a volunteer organization: The Friends of Shockoe Hill Cemetery. There are approximately 4,000 remaining extant grave markers in the cemetery. Research by Jeffry Burden of The Friends of Shockoe Hill Cemetery suggests that there are approximately 22,000 interments within the walls.

The Hebrew Cemetery (Contributing Property)

After passing the Almshouse, on the north side of the street we come immediately to the Hebrew Cemetery (Virginia Landmarks Register 127-6166, NRHP reference number 06000348). The property is listed under eligibility Criteria A and C. In 1816, the City granted one acre at the corner of Hospital Street (at the time it was called Marshall Street) and 4th Street to a local Jewish congregation, Beth Shalome, for use as a burying ground. Since then, the property has been extended through a series of five additional purchases and two gifts from the City's Shockoe Hill tract. The heart of the property is laid out in a block-and-grid plan typical of many nineteenth-century urban cemeteries. In 1911, the Hebrew Cemetery expanded to the south side of Hospital Street and took over what had been the property formerly occupied by the old City Hospital. This tract south of Hospital Street and east of 4th Street, along with other additions to the Hebrew Cemetery, had previously been included in the

Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground. It now comprises 8.4 acres total (Figure 6, Photos 7 and 8).

All three of these properties – the Almshouse Complex, Shockoe Hill Cemetery, and Hebrew Cemetery – are listed on the Virginia Historic Landmarks Register and on the National Register of Historic Places (National Park Service 1981, 1995, 2006). Less visible are important contributing sites we pass as we continue to the east along Hospital Street:

The City Hospital and Colored Almshouse Site (44He0709)

(Contributing Property)

The archeological site of the City Hospital/Colored Almshouse lies just east of and adjacent to Shockoe Hill Cemetery on the south side of Hospital Street and the east side of 4th Street (Figure 7). The building was constructed by 1842. The lot surrounding the City Hospital had been formally incorporated into the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground by 1850. It remained in City use until the beginning of the twentieth century. It was a large multistory brick building to which an equally large wing was added following the Civil War. Figure 8 is a view of the original City Hospital building in 1865. A detail from a ca. 1891 photograph by Richmond's Cook Studio shows the City's "Colored Almshouse" which occupied those structures at that time (Figure 9). That latter function was taken over in 1910 by the newly constructed West Building at The Almshouse complex and the old City Hospital building was razed. A portion of the property was purchased for use as an "annex" by the Hebrew Cemetery in 1911. Archaeological remains of the City Hospital and Colored Almshouse (probably including associated graves) survive on the property.

This archaeological site was first recorded in 1989 by Dan Mouer, an author of this nomination. At the time, Mouer noted:

> One archaeological site of interest was discovered south of the project area. In the large green space which occupies the block between Fifth Street and Shockoe Hill cemetery, extensive ground exposure revealed architectural debris and nineteenth century artifacts.[2]

Current aerial imagery indicates evidence of substantial subsurface architectural features from the structures. This property contributes to the District's signifi-

cance through Criterion A. It has not been further archaeologically tested, but it appears very likely to be eligible under Criterion D individually as well.

The Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground (44He1203)
(Contributing Property)

The Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground, founded in 1816, is the next contributing property we encounter (Figure 10; Photos 9, 10, and 11). Portions of this massive property are on both sides of Hospital Street as well as on both sides of 5th Street and, as mentioned previously, overlap significantly with both the present-day Hebrew Cemetery and the earlier City Hospital and Colored Almshouse lot. Documentary research indicates that more than 22,000 African American men, women, and children were buried here, making it the City's primary burying ground for the enslaved and free people of color who died in Richmond between 1816 and 1879. The original early nineteenth-century core of this burying ground encompassed two acres at the northeast corner of present-day 5th and Hospital Streets (Figure 11). By the time this Burying Ground was officially closed by the City to further interments, it extended east to Shockoe Creek, north to Bacon's Quarter Branch, and south to the city property line at an unnamed spring-fed branch of Shockoe Creek. Note that a portion of the Burying Ground lies outside of the proposed Historic District (Figure 12. See discussion of boundary justification, below.)

A considerable discussion of the site's importance and integrity follows, below, in the section concerning significance. It is worth noting here, however, that this may be the largest known nineteenth-century public burying ground for enslaved and free people of color in the United States.

Sunoco/Talley Service Center and Billboard
(Non-Contributing Building and Non-Contributing Structure)

At 1305 North 5th Street, in the middle of the oldest portion of the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground, there is an abandoned building. It represents the remains of a ca. 1960s Sunoco gas station (VDHR #127-6660). Towering above it is a billboard structure designed to face traffic along Interstate 64. Notably, records indicate that the City quietly acknowledged that this property had been recorded as a cemetery when the municipality sold it to the Sun Oil Company in 1960. The City has recently re-acquired ownership of the lot containing this building with the intention of preserving and/or memorializing this portion of the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground.

Staff Zone Building (Non-Contributing Building) and
City Powder Magazine Site (44He1228) (Contributing Property)

South of Hospital Street lies the archaeological site of the City of Richmond powder magazine (44He1228) which was exploded by Confederate troops during the evacuation of Richmond on April 3, 1865, causing considerable damage to properties throughout the city, and specifically to the other properties in the proposed District (Figure 13, Photo 12). The magazine stood partially within the gully formed by the branch that bounded the city's property. The magazine was surrounded on at least three sides by the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground. Today its site has been largely covered with fill and now includes the location of a non-contributing small building (VDHR127-6659, 501 Hospital Street) constructed in 1958 to house an animal shelter or pound and which is now occupied by a staffing agency. Archaeological remains of the City Powder Magazine (44He1228) may survive at depth below subsequent urban fill both under the current building and in the partly filled gully immediately to the south.

This site has not been archaeologically tested, and its integrity as an arsenal or magazine has likely been transformed by the explosion and by subsequent efforts to cover and fill the site to its present condition. There is a slim likelihood that the site could be individually eligible under Criterion D. Nonetheless, the impact, literally, of the magazine's explosion on the City and, especially, on the environs, buildings, and inhabitants of the District, make this site eligible as a contributing property under Criterion A.

City Gallows
(Non-Contributing or potentially future Contributing Properties)

There were several nineteenth-century City of Richmond gallows sites erected at various times on the District property, some of which can be placed with reasonable confidence on contemporary maps. One of those locations stood on the hill near the Powder Magazine site and near the original lots of the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground. Another gallows location was just north of the enclosing wall of the Almshouse complex.

Postbellum Powder Magazines

(Non-Contributing or potentially future Contributing Properties)

Following the Civil War, two new commercial powder magazines were constructed within the eastern margin of the proposed District. They did not last very long as the City soon decided to close them down by ca. 1883. The sale by the City of these parcels from the Burying Ground to a private owner for these two magazines represent the sort of intrusions into the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground that are critical to multiple Areas of Significance of importance to the District. The construction of one of these magazines in 1867 disturbed "over one hundred" burials in the African Burying Ground. (Figure 14) [3]

Historic map projections indicate that its location was approximately beneath the present I-64 overpass. Archaeological testing done here in 2013, in preparation for construction of an additional lane to the overpass, revealed that the ground here had been highly modified through a variety of cutting and filling processes. The resulting report does indicate considerable disturbance, but there are fill zones within the tested area that were not excavated to sterile subsoil. It is possible that some of the deposits revealed here are filling the remains of one of these magazines.[4]

The Seaboard Air Line/CSX Railroad Embankment and Track

(non-Contributing Property)

At this point in our imagined tour along Hospital Street, we find ourselves having descended downhill into the Shockoe Valley and standing near the turn-of-the-twentieth-century track of the Seaboard Air Line Railroad. The railroad, originally constructed in 1900, is now owned by CSX. Shockoe Creek and its major tributary, Bacon's Quarter Branch, are both now confined to large subterranean sewers that were constructed in 1917. The rail line and this stretch of 7th Street are elevated on fill over what was once part of the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground. Were we to continue our wandering west along the railroad track we would be traversing the northern portion of the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground (Photo 13). By the early 1850s, the Burying Ground comprised a rising staircase of terraces to our left cut into the northern and eastern faces of Shockoe Hill for the purpose of burying the dead. The Burying Ground—later referred to as the City's "Potters Field"—had spread North to Bacon's Quarter Branch and, eventually, West as far as 2nd Street.[5]

The Curtis Holt, Sr. Bridge (5th St. Viaduct, former Stonewall Jackson Memorial Bridge) and I-64 Shockoe Valley Bridge and ramps

(Non-contributing Structures)

Extension of 5th Street and construction of the 5th Street (aka Northside) Viaduct caused substantial harm to the original core of the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground in the period ca. 1889-1891. That event, or series of events, is highly important to significant historic contexts of this District. They set the pattern for a series of ongoing road widening and bridge replacements that have continued to the present day. Likewise, the "invisibility" of the Burying Ground caused by this and other intrusions permitted highway planners to route the Richmond-Petersburg Turnpike, now combining sections of I-64 and I-95, over the eastern terminus of the District in the 1960s. While the history underlying these structures is central to the importance of the District, these structures do not contribute meaningfully in their present altered forms.

The Setting Now and in History

The above-ground Contributing Properties in this District have been expertly described in the National Register nominations for the Almshouse, the Shockoe Hill Cemetery, and the Hebrew Cemetery. Those documents describe in detail the architectural qualities of the Almshouse and its attendant West Building, a segregated almshouse and hospital for Black persons during the Jim Crow era of the early twentieth century. The important design elements of both Shockoe Hill Cemetery and The Hebrew Cemetery have been extensively documented. Historically important persons and classes of people—from Chief Justice John Marshall to the Jewish soldiers who fought for the Confederacy—are documented in those nominations.

The District continues to be used in ways that are similar to how it was used during the nineteenth century. The majority of the landscape is allocated for use as burying grounds. The Almshouse is now a privately managed apartment complex for low-income senior residents. Of course, there are no gallows, no public powder magazine and, unfortunately, no markings or enclosures indicating the presence of the vast Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground which extended to the north and east even beyond the boundaries of the proposed historic district.

The area remains primarily a quiet, somewhat secluded historic anomaly surrounded by industrial landscapes and dense residential areas including the Gilpin Court pub-

lic housing complex. The principal intrusions into the District include Hospital Street east of 5th Street; the Curtis Holt Sr. Bridge, which carries 5th Street across the Bacon's Quarter Branch valley; Interstate 64, which passes over the eastern edge of the District in the vicinity of the oldest part of the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground; the CSX railroad track which bounds the District on the north and east at the base of Shockoe Hill; the abandoned Sunoco gas station and billboard tower which sit on a portion of the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground; and finally, a one-story building, formerly used as an animal shelter, currently used to house the Staff Zone employment agency.

Obviously the appearance of the proposed District changed somewhat through its long period of its historical significance. We have some pictorial evidence from the Civil War period, and at that time the new Almshouse was in use both as a military hospital and to house the Virginia Military Institute. It appears that little effort was being expended to maintain the aesthetics of the cemeteries during the war. There are also two important photographs, by the Cook Studio, which bracket the period before and after construction of the Northside Viaduct, which extended 5th Street over Bacon's Quarter Branch over the period 1888-1891. These will be discussed at length in the Significance Narrative, below.

At approximately the same time as the construction of the Northside Viaduct to carry 5th Street across the Bacons Quarter Branch valley, 7th Street was also extended across the eastern tip of the property in order to enable easier transportation from the heart of Richmond to the growing industrial complexes and expanding suburbs rising in the Shockoe Valley and beyond. This marked an important change in the character of the setting. Prior to ca. 1890, the District lay at the periphery of the City of Richmond and astride its border with neighboring Henrico County. After that point, the District became increasingly surrounded by urban growth. This had been a place one could travel to easily enough, but it was hard to travel through it and beyond it. Today, the District feels very much in the middle of a metropolis rather than on its edge, and it is traveled through and over rather than traveled to. The extensions of city streets through the African Burial Ground were the first intrusions, beginning a process which caused the Burial Ground to be cut off from the rest, further intruded upon, desecrated and eventually forgotten.

Figure 15 includes an image of The Almshouse by Scottish photographer Alexander Gardner, photographed from City Hospital on April 12, 1865, just days after the fall

of Richmond to United States troops. We can juxtapose this image with a quote from Lt. Col. John Lyell, a Confederate officer who served at The Almshouse during the Civil War, describing the landscape at that time of the Shockoe Hill Burying Ground.

> The Almshouse was to many of us a doleful place. Shockoe Hill Cemetery was just across the street in front of us. The Jewish Cemetery to our left, separated from us by an area used for a parade ground, the Colored Cemetery to the rear, and in the rear, just outside the enclosure, the gallows with many gruesome associations.[6]

Between the photograph and Lyell's description we see the totality of the Shockoe Hill Burying Ground District in 1865 with The Almshouse, Shockoe Hill Cemetery, The Hebrew Cemetery, the gallows, and the "colored cemetery." A close look at the Almshouse reveals shattered windows from the explosion of the City Magazine just a few days previously. If the northeastern corner of the brick wall surrounding Shockoe Hill Cemetery were visible here, it would be seen to have been badly damaged. These components, the contributing properties, all functioned together as an integral system throughout most of the nineteenth century.

The eastern end of the proposed District clearly lacks the high-style Victorian aesthetics of the remainder of the District. Initial impressions of the District east of 5th Street are that the landscape has been completely and irreversibly transformed; that it stands apart from and in stark contrast to the better preserved, bounded, more grand and memorialized landscape west of 5th Street. Yet, upon reflection, this impression fades and is refashioned, and the stark contrast of the present-day re-emerges as one of the District's most enduring and essential defining characteristics. It is here that the highway overpass and the remains of an abandoned gas station leave the area feeling desolate, which is how Lenora McQueen, a member of the descendant community of people buried here, and one of the authors of this nomination, first described this place when recounting her attempt to find her ancestor's grave. Interestingly, that is precisely how Frederick Law Olmsted described arriving at the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground while following a funeral there in 1853.

> Passing out into the country, a little beyond the principal cemetery of the city (a neat, rural ground, well filled with monuments and evergreens), the hearse halted at a desolate place, where a dozen colored people were already engaged heaping the earth over the grave of a child…

Lenora McQueen was searching for the grave of Kitty Cary, her great-great-great-great-grandmother. In a poem, published in *Harper's Weekly*, on September 1, 1866, Elizabeth Akers Allen (writing as "Florence Percy") describes the scene at the burial place of Kitty Cary, an enslaved woman who had died in 1857 and was buried here. Allen noted that "nothing guards her humble place of rest," and that "straying cattle" and "untended goats" were grazing on her grave.

The City's Superintendant of the Burying Ground described it as unenclosed in 1877 when he urged the City to abandon it and begin interments of Black residents in a new cemetery. There were few permanent markers or walls like those found in the adjacent cemeteries for White Christians and Jewish people, although one account refers to a marble stone for a grave occupant named "Old Aunt Sally" and some headboards placed over a few of the Union dead buried there. In short, it seems that throughout the entire period of significance, this eastern edge of the proposed District had been somewhat "desolate."[7] This lack of respect, monumentalizing, and memorializing of Black dead, in stark contrast to the Whites in neighboring cemeteries, was nothing new, indeed it is a "character-defining feature" of the Shockoe Hill African Burial Ground.[8] In that sense, the historic aesthetics resonate with the present, and the defining characteristics of the proposed District remain remarkably intact.

The Shockoe Hill Burying Ground Historic District: A Note on Historic Integrity

The regulations defining eligibility for listing in the National Register of Historic Places rightly place emphasis on the historic integrity of a property, and the regulatory definition of integrity is the ability of a property to convey its significance. Of course no historic site or district can be expected to clearly or unequivocally convey historic significance to an observer or visitor who has no access to information about the property and the people or events or cultural patterns for which it is considered significant.

This nomination began by inviting the reader to take a walk through the proposed historic district, from west to east, along the path of Hospital Street. We now present a detailed discussion of the history and historical significance of the District. Following this more in-depth elucidation of the events, patterns of history and associations among the contributing properties and the changes they have undergone through time, we suggest a second simulated walk through the

Shockoe Hill Burying Ground Historic District. This time, imagine the visitor is armed with an illustrated pamphlet, perhaps some strategically placed signage, a few illustrations showing what had been and how it relates to what is visible now. Even in the one portion of the District where intrusion and alteration has been relatively substantial, it is not difficult to experience a deeper understanding and association with the events that shaped what is now seen. It is for this reason that the authors of this report feel strongly that proper recognition and preservation of this District is critically important to an understanding of the history of Richmond, Virginia and the impact of that past on our present.

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria
(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

[X] A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.

[ ] B. Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.

[X] C. Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.

[X] D. Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations
(Mark “x” in all the boxes that apply.)

A. Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes
B. Removed from its original location
[X] C. A cemetery
D. A reconstructed building, object, or structure
E. A commemorative property
F. Less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years

Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions.)

_Social History_____
Ethnic Heritage: African American
_Ethnic Heritage: Jewish_____
_Military History_____
_Health/Medicine_____
_Architecture_____
Archaeology: Historic Non-aboriginal
Education(medical and military)__

Period of Significance

_1799-1968_____
_____
_____

Significant Dates

_1799 City purchased the site for use as a municipal burying ground
_1805 City Poor House and Workhouse constructed
_1816 City Powder Magazine established at Shockoe Hill
_1816 City designated two 1-acre burial tracts, one each each for "free_persons of colour" and "slaves," which form the core of the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground
_1816 City transferred 1-acre plot for burial plot "for Jews"
_1822 First officially recognized interments in the Shockoe Hill Cemetery designated for White people
_1842 First appearance of "City Hospital" building on map
_1843 Two acres added to Shockoe Hill Cemetery
_1850 Five acres added to Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground
_1860 Construction of Almshouse to replace Poor and Work House
_1861 Confederate military took charge of new Almshouse building
_1864 Virginia Military Institute moved into the new Almshouse
_1865 Confederates exploded the powder magazine on April 3rd
_1866 The City sold two parcels from the African Burying Ground to W. S. Wortham to use for new powder magazines
_1879 City closed Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground to further interments
_1882 Hebrew Cemetery purchased a portion of African Burying Ground to its north from the city of Richmond
_1883 City extended 5th Street, disturbing burials in the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground

1886 The Hebrew Cemetery was extended further across the former African Burying Ground via a gift of land from the City

1890-1891 Construction of Northside Viaduct led to destruction of more graves in the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground

1900 Seaboard Air Line Track extended through the eastern and northern edge of the District, causing destruction of portions of the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground

1911 Hebrew Cemetery expanded south across Hospital Street to former City Hospital property

1959 Construction of dog pound partly on the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground and on fill overlying the City Powder Magazine site

1960 Construction of Sunoco Station on the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground

1968 Completion of Interstate 64 and approaches across Shockoe Valley

Significant Person
(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

_____
_____
_____

Cultural Affiliation

_____
_____
_____

Architect/Builder

_____
_____
_____

Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance, applicable, justification for the period of significance, and any applicable criteria considerations.)

The proposed Shockoe Hill Burying Ground Historic District represents a unique landscape in Richmond, Virginia, that emerged following the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in the late Eighteenth century, and it embodies the City's assumption of responsibilities for the medical and housing needs of the poor, for treatment and isolation facilities for victims of epidemics, and for burial of its citizens. It is proposed that the contributing properties named here should be considered together as an historic district comprising historic sites,

archaeological sites, cemeteries, buildings and structures. The District meets National Register eligibility Criterion A, while some of the contributing properties are individually listed under Criteria B, C, and D as well. Contributing archaeological properties may also be individually eligible under Criterion D, but have not been adequately tested. These resources are inextricably linked by historic contexts, conjoined and complementary purposes, and common municipal management or oversight. The District's contributing properties reflect and illustrate patterns and changes in social and racial relationships, the impacts of war, medical practices and education, and the construction of historical memory. In the development of this district, the city offered a key example of the kinds of municipal design forces that reshaped cities across the early republic. As at Philadelphia, New Orleans, and other growing cities, authorities in Richmond paid greater attention to the spatial articulation of social differences and sought to reorder the city's functions and its core along more orderly lines. The material culture and archaeological elements of this District are a potential treasure-trove of data for comparative cultural and physical studies among and between White Christian, Jewish, and African American communities in nineteenth-century Richmond. The proposed District includes three cemetery properties. Two of these are already individually listed. The third—The Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground—is considered eligible as a critical contributing property under Criterion A due to its unique role in representing African American history throughout the period 1799-1960.[9] It may also be eligible under Criterion D as a data source for local funerary customs of the Black enslaved community, for bioarchaeological information important to elucidating the health and life patterns of the enslaved, and/or geoarchaeological data that can illuminate the attempted destruction of the African Burying Ground during Richmond's long Lost Cause era. Nonetheless, while the potential for important archaeological research seems highly probable, the quality of archaeological integrity is unknown at the present time.

Narrative Statement of Significance (Provide at least **one** paragraph for each area of significance.)

The proposed Shockoe Hill Burying Ground District comprises a variety of distinctive properties related to each other through a long period of historic significance (1799-1968). We present discussion of these individual properties and of their corporate or collective areas of significance using a chronological framework.

The City of Richmond Creates New Public Burying Grounds (1799-1821)

Shortly after the surrender of the British at Yorktown ending the American Revolutionary War, Richmond was incorporated as a city and officially became Virginia's new capital. Richmond's first charter was drafted in July 1782. In 1799, the City of Richmond surveyed and set aside a 28.5-acre plot of land straddling its northern corporate margin for the purpose of establishing a "burying ground for white people." Burial, however, would not be the City's first use of the property. The first known public use of the property was to set aside a portion of the tract in 1803 to establish a "Poor House and Workhouse" that would address what had become the City's responsibility for attending to the domestic and medical needs of the City's paupers and disabled residents. That building, which was located on the lot where the Almshouse complex now stands, was a four-story brick structure completed in 1805 (Figure 16). Its first occupants took up residence there in December of 1806.

The Poor House accommodated both White and Black residents, at least in its early decades. It is not currently known whether the races were initially segregated, although genders were housed separately in the building. At least by 1843, however, it appears that Black paupers were housed outside the main Poor House building, in "huts." Dr. Robert William Haxall, a member of from the Shockoe Hill Burying Ground Committee, brought the following report and recommendations to the City Council:

> The condition of the huts for the accommodation of the blacks, which are situated in rear of the main building, are in wretched order, and in the opinion of the Committee beyond the point of profitable repair. They recommend that this class of inmates be removed to the basement story of the Hospital building, and that speedy measure be taken to effect this object. To place the rooms in this story in habitable condition, the following expenditures will become necessary: Plank floors to three rooms $100 -- gutters and conductors to drain off the water $50-- general repairs $50-- $200.[10]

An important function of early poor houses, including this one, was to provide medical services for the poor as well as isolation spaces in times of epidemics. For that reason, there were hospital and clinical facilities at the Poor House. Ac-

cording to an 1816 plan, the Poor House occupied a rectangular lot of just over three acres (Figure 4). The Poor House, measuring 43.5 by 71 feet, stood in the center of its lot, diagonally spanning the projected course of 3rd Street and mirroring the orientation of a deep gully to the west rather than the City's orthogonal grid. To the east of the Poor House was a small adjoining yard enclosed by a brick wall, while larger yards enclosed by a combination of brick wall and wooden fence extended around the north, west, and east sides of the building. North and south of the Poor House and its yards were larger spaces, also enclosed by wooden fences, designated "front" and "back" gardens.

Life at the City's Poor House was strictly regulated with discipline and work activities controlled in a manner patterned after the Virginia State Penitentiary, according to architect-historians Gibson and Richard Worsham. Nonetheless, it was apparently operated with a human sense of moral responsibility for the poor. The Worshams write:

> Robert Greenhow, a prominent merchant, civic leader, and president of the Richmond Overseers of the Poor, described the board's duties in 1820: "The trust imposed on us is, indeed, an important one. We are the constituted almoners of the City; we are the nominated guardians, friends, and protectors of the destitute and forlorn, the Widow & the Orphan, & we are invested with the power of administering to their necessities as . . . applicants for relief, in our opinion, deserve."[11]

No matter what their situation while living there, Richmond's Poor House residents apparently were segregated at death. Further to the south, just across Marshall Street (now Hospital Street) and a short distance to the east, across 4th Street, Richard Young's 1816 Plan (Figure 11) shows two burying ground lots. These were designated as one for burying White residents who died at the Poor House and another for Black residents. These lots were at least partially within the grounds that later contained the Shockoe Hill Cemetery and the City Hospital.

Aside from these paupers' graves, the first moves towards establishing a formal burying ground on the 28.5-acre municipal property came via a petition written by Christopher McPherson in 1810, representing the free people of color in Richmond.[12] This petition presented grievances claiming that the City's existing

burying ground for free and enslaved people of African descent was unsuitable and shamefully maintained. McPherson requested that a new cemetery for people of color be constructed on the property on Shockoe Hill. McPherson reported that one of the "honorable members of the common hall" (the city council of the day) replied that the Shockoe Hill property was "too valuable" to be used for burying Black people. McPherson and Richmond's free Black community continued to press City Council however, and by 1816 the City had set aside two adjacent burial-ground lots of one acre each on Shockoe Hill: one for "free people of colour" and one for "Negroes" (or "slaves" as termed in an 1816 notice in the *Richmond Enquirer*). These lots lay some distance east of the Poor House, on the northeastern promontory and side slopes of Shockoe Hill above the confluence of Bacon's Quarter Branch and Shockoe Creek. To the west these new burial lots for free and enslaved African Americans were bounded by the 5th Street corridor and to the south by the corridor of Marshall Street.[13]

Richmond's Jewish population had also begun pressing for a similar accommodation from the City and succeeded in acquiring from the City a one-acre lot on the corner of Marshall and 5th Streets between the Poor House and the new plots designated for Blacks. The City granted this plot, labelled on the 1816 plat as the "Burying Ground for Jews," to a local congregation, Beth Shalome.

The year after platting these new Shockoe Hill properties, City Surveyor Richard Young published his completed map of the City of Richmond. On this map he indicated the area near the original Poor House burial grounds on the south side of Marshall Street (later renamed Hospital Street) and west of 4th Street with the label "Burying Ground for White Persons." Just east of 5th Street and adjacent south of Marshall Street, opposite the new African Burying Grounds, Young also showed the location of the new City Magazine, relocated from its original location near 15th Street. While the new "Burying Ground for White Persons" did not receive its first official interments until five years later, the period 1816-17 clearly saw the development of the City's Shockoe Hill tract to become the conglomeration of public and semi-public facilities that would characterize this District throughout the nineteenth century.

The "Burying Ground for White Persons," later referred to simply as "The New Burying Ground," and now known as Shockoe Hill Cemetery, received its first interments in 1822. At the time, it comprised 4 acres. New acreage was added in 1843 and 1850, each time expanding the brick perimeter walls that still define

the property, and which quickly came to separate and distinguish the burying places for affluent White persons from those parts of the Shockoe Hill Burying Ground used for burying non-Whites and those without the means to purchase a private plot.

The Antebellum Era: Hospitals, Resurrectionists, Gallows, and Growing Cemeteries (ca. 1830-1859)

The 1835 Bates Map of Richmond gives a good picture of the District in the early Antebellum period (Figure 17). In this image, the original one acre set aside "For Free people of Colour" appears relatively stable, while the companion acre set aside "For Slaves" appears to have grown to cover more of the eastern tip of the City's property. The other properties on the tract are labelled “The Poor House,” “New Burying Ground,” “Jew’s Cemetery,” and the “Powder Magazine.”

Beginning as early as 1832, medical faculty at the nascent University of Virginia regularly negotiated to purchase cadavers robbed from the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground and to have them shipped to Charlottesville for study and eventual discard.[14] Hampden-Sydney College established an independent medical school in Richmond in 1837 and soon advertised that it had ample access to a good supply of cadavers for their students. That supply was largely due to the direct pipeline between physicians and medical students working or residing at the Poor House and the new City Hospital (discussed below) at Shockoe Hill, and Hampden-Sydney’s Medical College just several blocks to the south. That college would become the Medical College of Virginia (MCV) and it is now part of Virginia Commonwealth University (VCU).

In 1994, construction of a new building at VCU’s medical school revealed a nineteenth-century well that had been used to dispose of cadavers used for instructing students in anatomy and physiology in the period ca. 1840 to 1860. All or nearly all of the identifiable remains from the MCV well were those of African Americans.[15] Research by Jodi Koste has led to a better understanding of the Medical College’s use of grave-robbers, known at the time as “resurrectionists,” to acquire these “specimens” primarily from the Richmond public cemetery—that is, from the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground.[16]

The grave-robbing was common knowledge at the time, and there were ongoing protests from religious groups and the public. Typically, at least one physician and some medical students were present at the Poor House and/or City Hospital, and contemporary sources indicate that they would watch for funerals at the African Burying Ground and alert the "resurrectionists" to disinter a fresh "commodity" the following day. Use of the African Burying Ground on the margin of Shockoe Hill to provide cadavers for medical training continued throughout the following decades and did not cease until the City finally closed the cemetery for new interments in 1879.

While there had been a hospital facility at The Poor House from the beginning, this was supplemented by a new City Hospital during the Antebellum period. The City Hospital stood just east of the "New Burying Ground" and across the street from the "Jew's Cemetery." The new City Hospital does not appear on Bates's 1835 map, but can be seen on his 1842 "Corrected Plat of the City Property at the Poor House" which also shows the acquisition of two additional properties. By this time, the municipal property on Shockoe Hill had increased to 36 acres (Figure 18).

The City Hospital, now an archaeological site, began as a 3-1/2-story brick building. The earliest image we have of the City Hospital is one made by Alexander Gardner on April 12, 1865 (Figure 8). According to the Worshams:

> In 1831 the state authorized localities to set up smallpox hospitals and remove patients to them. A city ordinance of 1841 "To provide for the removal of persons infected with the Small Pox, and other dangerous, contagious diseases, and for other purposes" directed that infected persons were to be removed to the City Hospital until "he or she shall have gone through the distemper" or pay ten dollars per day.[17]

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Over the first few decades after its opening, the "New Burying Ground" (now the Shockoe Hill Cemetery) became the popular burying place for White residents who could afford to purchase individual or family plots there. The *Richmond Enquirer* in 1849 listed three City-owned cemeteries on Shockoe Hill as the "Shockoe Hill Burying Ground," the "Coloured Persons' Burying Ground," and the "Paupers and Strangers Burying Ground."[18] The first two of these were already at capacity and the City laid off additional acreage for their expansions. Six acres were added to Shockoe Hill Cemetery and nine acres were added to

the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground with provision to surround the grounds, including the City Hospital grounds, with a plank fence, perhaps to prevent livestock—if not resurrectionists—from so easily entering the precinct.[19]

When the original City Powder Magazine and the old African Burying Ground along Shockoe Creek had been abandoned and replaced by the newer upstream and uphill facilities, the City also moved its gallows to Shockoe Hill. On Friday, September 10, 1852, Jane Williams, an enslaved domestic servant, was executed on gallows "erected a short distance south east of the Poor House, on the side of the hill near the powder magazine, appropriated to the purpose of a grave yard for blacks." The story notes that "She was interred in a grave dug near the scaffold, under the hill." Her husband was also hanged at this spot several weeks later.[20] Lenora McQueen has compiled documentation of public executions performed in the Shockoe Hill Burying Ground District. In each of these cases where the location of the gallows is specifically reported, they were located either at the location described here for Jane Williams's hanging or at a "gibbeting place" which stood for some years north of the walls of the Poor House.

The 1853 Smith Map of Henrico County includes an inset detail showing a closer look at the City of Richmond (Figure 19). In the overall map the location of this proposed historic district is labelled "Shockoe Hill Burying Ground." In the detailed inset, the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground is separately labelled.

In 1853, the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground was visited by a sojourner from the North; he was America's premier landscape architect. His visit to Shockoe Hill is described by historian Ryan K. Smith:

> A picture of activity at the site—demonstrating how the Black community found ways to sustain meaning there—was laid before the eyes of northern readers in 1853. It came from the pen of Frederick Law Olmsted, whom the *New-York Daily Times* had commissioned to traverse the South and assess the impact of slavery on the region. One chilly Sunday afternoon in Richmond, he happened upon "a negro funeral procession." Curious, he "followed after it to the place of burial," which, based on his descriptions, seems to have been the [Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground]. The procession was impressive: "There was a decent hearse," Olmsted observed, "of the usual style, drawn by two horses; six hackney coaches followed it, and six men, mounted on handsome saddle-horses, and riding them well, rode in the rear of these." Accompanying the rid-

> ers were about twenty black men and women on foot. "Passing out into the country," the procession moved "a little beyond the principal cemetery of the city," or Shockoe Hill Cemetery, which Olmsted found to be "a neat, rural ground, well filled with monuments and evergreens." Just beyond "the hearse halted at a desolate place, where a dozen colored people were already engaged heaping the earth over the grave of a child, and singing a wild kind of chant." Olmsted was not familiar with African American spirituals and hence struggled to describe their rhythm, tone, and delivery. He noticed a new grave dug immediately alongside that of the child, lying "near the foot of a hill, in a crumbling bank—the ground below being already occupied, and the graves apparently advancing in terraces up the hill-side," an arrangement which he thought practical given the steep terrain. The arriving mourners joined in the singing and heaping of earth over the child's grave, and then turned to prepare the adult's pine coffin for lowering into the ground.[21]

Four years after Olmsted's visit, Kitty Cary, an enslaved servant of a Richmond family, died and was buried at the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground. Lenora McQueen, a co-author of this nomination report and a principal researcher working towards the preservation and recognition of this Burying Ground, is a descendant. McQueen writes:

> My 4th great-grandmother Kitty Cary would have been buried in the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground; the now invisible Grave Yard for Free People of Colour and For Slaves at 5th and Hospital Street. She died a little over 160 years ago in the city of Richmond, where she lived in the home of her owner on the south-side of Franklin St., between 6th and 7th. That place today is a parking garage. Elizabeth Fisher, the daughter of her owner wrote a heartfelt letter to her sister Ann in Philadelphia the very same morning that Kitty died in 1857; lovingly, but very sadly informing her sister of the death of their beloved Kitty. The letter brought tears to my eyes as I read of her long illness, and painful death. I was touched by how much love was expressed for her in that letter by Elizabeth. Kitty's daughters who were present were devastated. Her other children and grandchildren [did not know] what had occurred - as they had been sold after the death of their owner a few years prior, splitting up the family. The deceased owner was Elizabeth's father. Elizabeth told of how she had Kitty's body neatly prepared for

the grave "It is what she would have done for me," she said. Kitty was dressed in the garment that she herself had requested for that purpose. Her last words were spoken to her children in an attempt to comfort them as she herself lay dying, seeing them weeping: "Don't cry children, don't cry for me, I am going home." She breathed her last breath and died. Elizabeth then told her sister how she intended to follow Kitty's body to the burying ground the following day.[22]

It is almost certain that the grave prepared that day in 1857 was one and the same grave seen a few years later by poet Elizabeth Akers Allen. Allen penned a poem titled "Kitty Cary" and had it published (using her pen name "Florence Percy") in *Harper's Weekly* in 1866. Allen also included the poem, with slightly different wording, in her 1886 book, *The Silver Bridge and Other Poems*. We reproduce the poem here because it, along with Olmsted's vignette and the photography and written accounts from the Civil War gives us the best impression of what this eastern end of the proposed District was like in the mid-nineteenth century.

Kitty Cary

No marble tells where Kitty Cary sleeps —
Only a simple slab of painted pine,
Time-stained and worn, her poor memorial keeps —
One brief and half-obliterated line —

So near the highway, that the yellow sand
From passing wheels falls thickly on her grave —
In death, as in her life, proscribed and banned —
For Kitty Cary lived and died a slave.

Ay, lived and died before the Almighty's hand
Struck the strong fetters from the bondman's limbs,
And made the farthest borders of the land
Shake with her dark-browed kindred's freedom hymns.

Alas ! too early snapped the silver cord,
Or all too slowly came the tardy good —

Life was to her but toil without reward :
And death the welcome end of servitude.

Death brought her freedom. Haply it may be
That Kitty Cary, from some fairer sphere,
Looks down to-day and pities tenderly
The bitter bondage of existence here;

Yet smiles to see her race with freedom crowned,
Subject no longer to a master's rule,
Nor grieves because their thoughtless children bound
Across her grave-mound, on their way to school ;

For nothing guards her humble place of rest,
The straying cattle browse above her head,
Untended goats pause in their hungry quest
To crop the scanty herbage from her bed.

Yet Nature's self has not forgotten her,
But decks her lonely grave with dainty grace ;
See! in the wind the blossomed sweet-briars stir,
And scatter fragrance round her resting-place.[23]

A detail from the Cook Studio photograph taken ca. 1888 (Figures 20 and 21) shows the hillside at the northeastern end of the proposed District as it appeared nearly a decade after the closing of the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground. Clearly the heart of that property is nearly devoid of vegetation. Likewise, the hillside is patterned with multiple low terraces, perhaps the remnants of those observed by Olmsted several decades earlier and since co-opted and further transformed into the paths of wandering livestock—like the cows and goats who kept Kitty Cary's grave clean— as they traversed the steep land, nose-to-tale, gleaning the property and preventing its overgrowth by shrubs, vines and trees. Rilling and gullying by erosion, which must have been a perpetual force that re-shaped this denuded terrain, is also visible on the lower slopes in the early Cook Studio photograph.

The Civil War Transforms Shockoe Hill (1861-1865)

A New Almshouse, Delayed

In 1859, the City's Common Council authorized construction of a new almshouse complex to replace the old Poor House and Workhouse. The new building was designed by city engineer Washington Gill, Jr. and would occupy the same ground, albeit an expanded lot, as the original 1805 building. To permit razing the old structures and construction of the new, the Poor House resident paupers were moved to temporary housing. This facility was located on the John W. Smith property adjacent to the City's Shockoe Hill tract. Smith, who died in 1861, had served for many years as Keeper of the Magazine. The City arranged to rent his house and some smaller buildings on his property to use while the new Almshouse was under construction, but that temporary arrangement lasted until the end of the Civil War. By the time the new structure was completed, war had broken out, and the new "Almshouse" was repurposed as Confederate General Hospital #1.

In that capacity, the City's new almshouse on Shockoe Hill became the first hospital devoted to the treatment of both Confederate and Union soldiers. It operated under the direction of Dr. Charles Bell Gibson, the head of the surgical department at the Medical College of Virginia. In December 1864, the Almshouse also became the temporary home of the Virginia Military Institute (VMI), after the Institute's Lexington campus had been burned by Union troops. VMI remained housed in the building until the city was occupied by Union forces in April 1865.

Although Union and Confederate soldiers were both being treated at the Hospital, the dead from each side were typically buried in different graveyards. Hollywood Cemetery and Oakwood Cemetery, located on the western and eastern edges of the city, respectively, drew the vast majority of Confederate soldier burials during the war. That said, there are nonetheless an estimated 700 graves of Confederate soldiers and veterans within the walls of the Shockoe Hill Cemetery.

Union dead, including those who died in the Confederate Hospital #1 or in the horrific conditions of Libby Prison, were buried at Shockoe Hill, outside the walls, in the African Burying Ground. They were buried on the north side of the City Hospital in orderly graves (though many contained more than one body), and they were buried on the eastern side of City Hospital on the outside of a

fence going down into a gully in pits containing multiple bodies. Still others were buried in the vicinity of the Poorhouse.[24]

The Magazine Explosion

Arguably, the most widely reported event to occur within the District during the Civil War was the purposeful explosion of the City Powder Magazine. That happened during the evacuation of Richmond by the Confederate Army on April 2 and 3, 1865. Thomas Hughes was a Richmond boy who was among the youngest cadets living at "the Institute"—that is, the new Almshouse serving as temporary quarters for VMI—when this occurred. In a memoir Thomas later described what happened on Shockoe Hill on April 3rd, 1865.[25]

> …it was apparent to anyone that the City was to be abandoned by the Confederate troops… I had first gone out to the Institute to see how matters stood there and I found it was in possession of a horde of men, women and children from all the neighborhood around, who had broken open the building and were carrying away everything movable, furniture, cadets' trunks, books, guns and swords indeed their vandalism spared nothing. I went to my room and was able to secure my blankets and my knife and fork and my books. It was intensely distressing to observe the property of the cadets who were off in the discharge of their duty, boldly appropriated and carried off before my eyes…In leaving I noticed that the brick arsenal across the road from the Institute had been during the night blown up with such force that the fresh dirt in two graves alongside had been blown out. They were the graves of two negroes who shortly before had been hung on the hill to the east of the Institute, having been found guilty of burglarously entering the cellar of the Rev. Dr. Moses D. Hoge, the Presbyterian minister in Richmond, out of which they had stolen a couple of hams.

Confederate troops had arrived at the City Magazine very early on the morning of April 3rd with the intention of exploding the powder stores there to prevent them from falling into enemy hands. Early notices from the press reported that as many as 30 people had been killed by the blast. Apparently windows were shattered throughout the city, and photographs taken by Union photographers just a few days later show glassless windows at the City Hospital and the Almshouse (VMI) building. The John Smith House and some other buildings

serving as the temporary almshouse were virtually destroyed. In coming days, the actual scope of the disaster became a bit clearer.

On April 27th, 1865, the *Richmond Whig* newspaper published an overview of the event and its damage, providing a better idea of what the Magazine looked like before the explosion, and what might be expected of its archaeological remains:

> THE CITY MAGAZINE. - To the curious, the site of the late city magazine will repay a visit. It will be recollected the magazine was blown up by the Confederates just before sunrise on the morning of the 3d instant.
>
> - Eleven inmates of the city almshouse and one old colored man living on 2d street being killed by the explosion, and thousands of panes of glass in the city smashed by the concussion. We have no means of ascertaining the quantity of powder in the magazine at the time it was blown up but presume it must have been several tons. The magazine, a small brick building, twenty feet wide, by thirty long and twenty high, surmounted by a steep slate covered roof, and surrounded at the distance of six feet by a thick brick wall which rose above the eves, was situated on the southern slope of a hill one hundred yards east of the northern extremity of Shockoe Hill Cemetery, and about the same distance north of the buildings occupied by the Superintendent of the Poor and the city paupers.
> - The building faced due north and south. On the morning of the evacuation, the Superintendent and inmates of the Poor House somehow became aware that the magazine was to be blown up, and all hustled out and ran in their night clothes over the neighboring hills and stopped in what they considered places of safety. Having waited some time, and no explosion taking place, a number of them determined to return and save their clothing. About the time they reached the places where they had left their clothing and whatever other little property they possessed, the explosion occurred. The four walls of the magazine were blown not equally in every direction, but in four volleys towards the four cardinal points of the compass. One of these volleys raked the almshouse premises, making a wreck of one-half of the main building and utterly demolishing several of the smaller buildings. Eleven of the paupers were killed outright either by flying brickbats or the concussion, and several others seriously injured.

- Another volley was thrown westward up the hill toward the [Shockoe Hill Cemetery], about twenty yards of the wall of which was knocked down level with the earth. - Many of the bricks and other rubbish were thrown much farther westward, to Second street and beyond. An old colored man, lying asleep in the upper story of his house, on Second street, was killed by a brick which passed through the roof and struck him in the temple. The other two volleys, flying east and north, expended themselves on the hills. Nothing but a long narrow trench in the ground, looking like the grave of a resurrected giant, marks the spot where the magazine stood.
- It is astonishing into what atoms the brickbats and timbers of the building were for the most part blown. They have more the appearance of having been ground in a grist mill or quartz-crusher than blown up. None of the rubbish fell back into the foundation. From each side spreads out over the green hills the pulverized brickbats, like four enormous pale red faces.
- By this explosion the City Hospital and the new Poor House had most of their glass broken but received no other considerable damage. Had the magazine not been situated somewhat in a ravine, the injury to the city and the loss of life resulting from its being blown up must have been much greater. We have not learned the name of the individual who applied the torch. We wish we were able to state that he lost his life by the exploit.

Much of the activity of federal occupiers at Shockoe Hill involved locating the remains of the Union dead buried there. Most were interred in ground that previously had been designated for burying Blacks. We have a description of the situation from the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 11, 1865. The correspondent writes:

> Near the magazine, and, between it and the Military Institute, is a Potter's Field, Used as a burial ground for negroes, and which constitutes the last resting place of a number of departed Northern heroes, who died in the modern 'Black Hole,' Libby Prison. It is a dreary, desolate-looking place, and close by a large and rather handsome cemetery. Slaves, paupers and Union soldiers are buried indiscriminately together, the 'chivalry' doubtless thinking it would be contaminating in the highest degree to have a defender of the Union interred in the cemetery, where lie the relatives and friends of the would-be destroyers of the country.

> By some chance, a few of the graves of our men have rough head-boards indicating the name and rank of the deceased. - A Gallant Deceased Pennsylvanian - Among others, I noticed the following:--'Captain S. S. Marchand, Company H, One-hundred-and-thirty-sixth Pennsylvania.' I learned from a Union officer that Captain Marchand belonged to Jacksonville, Pennsylvania, and was a gentleman of considerable influence, widely known and highly respected in the neighborhood where he resided. He was wounded at Fredericksburg and died soon after at Libby Prison. Another head board bears the name of Captain Charles D. Schaffle, Company D, Fifth Pennsylvania Reserves, and others contain the names of C. Hamilton, Thirty-ninth New York; Wm. Sturgis, Thirty-ninth Kentucky; P. A. Rice, Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, and John Langlin, Company D, Twelfth Illinois. One grave, which had evidently received more care and attention than its neighbors, contained a white marble head stone of small size, on which was cut, in regularly formed letters, the name of 'Old Aunt Sally,' and giving date of birth, &c.…\"[26]

Union troops and Federal officials returned the new Almshouse to its original intended use. Two years into the occupation of Richmond, the Federal officials noted that the U.S. Government had assumed responsibility for the City's paupers, and mandated that such responsibility should be returned to the cities and counties without regard to race. An article in the October 31, 1867 edition of the *Daily Dispatch* reported that City officials were seeking proposals to convert it into an almshouse for "colored paupers," which would require draining a flooded basement, making alterations to the building, and construction of a new three-story addition to the City Hospital in order to accommodate this "new class of paupers." The "Colored Almshouse," as it was now known continued to grow and serve as a segregated facility under the direction of the Superintendant of the Almshouse. By the late 1880s, it was evident that the facility was inadequate to the task, but it was not until 1910 when the new Colored Almshouse (known today as the "West Building" at the Almshouse complex) took on the role of housing the City's Black paupers.

After Reconstruction: The Lost Cause, Jim Crow and the "Disappearance" of the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground (1870-1968)

Richmond was a dynamic city in the Postbellum era. It was a time of rapid growth fueled by a revitalization and expansion of industry and transportation that was augmented by a measure of land speculation.The District experienced a flurry of activity involving the construction of sidewalks and the re-alignment and extension of city streets. The Hebrew Cemetery began to expand rapidly, often by taking over grounds that had earlier been included in the African Burying Ground. As illustrated by the detail of the 1888 Cook Studio photograph, it is apparent that the Hebrew Cemetery had expanded north to the rim of the hill overlooking the Bacon's Quarter Branch valley (Figure 21) and two additional parcels extending down the slope and north to the banks of the Branch. By the time this picture was taken, it is obvious that this extension, which had formerly been part of the African Burying Ground, had been enclosed by a fence, probably to keep out the grazing animals, allowing the natural vegetation to return, and to prevent the continued use of this hillside as a "Potters Field."

In his report of February 21 1877, The Superintendant of Shockoe Hill Cemetery recommended to City Council that it was time to find a new burying ground for Black people. The following month, the Council's minutes recorded their decision to follow that recommendation:

> Five hundred and forty-seven interments have been made this year—243 white and 304 colored. The interments during the preceding year were 488, being an increase this year of 59. That portion of the cemetery allotted to the colored poor is by its locality and arrangements (being an unenclosed field) illy fitted for a burial-place, and its now overcrowded condition renders it impossible to make any interment therein without disturbing some previous burial, thus making it both repulsive and inhuman.[27]

The Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground was closed to further interments two years later. Over the following decade, the city began a series of intrusions into the Burying Ground that continued into the late twentieth century. Proposed railroad and highway construction projects threaten to continue this process in the 21st century.

Street Construction and Grave Desecration

Without a doubt, the most extensive changes to the District landscape occurred following the end of Reconstruction and are closely entangled with a combina-

tion of municipal and private development and urban expansion. This period in the District's history has been analyzed and reported by historian Ryan K. Smith, a co-author of this nomination, in an essay titled "Disappearing the Enslaved: The Destruction and Recovery of Richmond's Second African Burial Ground." Smith's essay begins setting the context by comparing what we see here today compared with an earlier reality that is now hidden by the processes of history.

> Atop a hillside just north of downtown Richmond, Virginia, an abandoned automobile service station sits on a lonely lot … travelers passing by Fifth Street would miss the extraordinary significance of the ground beneath Talley's Auto Center. The site served as the principal burial ground for the city's African Americans, enslaved and free, from 1816 through 1879.
>
> This population made up half the city's residents, conducting their lives in the shadow of one of the nation's largest slave markets. These residents shouldered war when Richmond became the capital of the Confederacy, and they would contend with the forefront of postwar Lost Cause mythmaking following emancipation. Evidence suggests over twenty-one thousand interments took place in the site's initial two acres and its eventual hillside overruns throughout these years, making it one of the largest and longest-serving burial grounds for enslaved Blacks in the nation. Treated as sacred by its people, the burial ground offered a ritual space for public mourning, and for a time it inscribed the African American presence on the landscape in a way few other sites could. At the same time, its history was entwined with two adjoining burial grounds for whites—the privately owned Hebrew Cemetery and the municipally owned Shockoe Hill Cemetery, both of which remain recognized and celebrated today.
>
> But following war and emancipation in 1865, the once-titled "African" burial ground was subject to a series of assaults on the part of White authorities that served to erase the ground's place in public memory. First, the deliberate explosion of a gunpowder magazine there unearthed some of the field's buried remains, and the construction of new magazines displaced more. The continued predation of grave robbers seeking anatomical specimens for medical schools further undermined the site. Later, as the city moved to close the still-active graveyard in the 1870s,

> engineers ran streets through it and used its bones and bodies for fill. Then a viaduct project on one end opened graves to the curiosity of passersby. At the turn of the century, the city delivered sections of the ground to the local Jewish community for the expansion of Hebrew Cemetery. The site's definitive destruction took place in the 1950s when the city converted one corner of the old graveyard into a dog pound before selling off the rest to the Sun Oil Company for the service station that would become Talley's Auto Center. Throughout the process, African American voices protested the violations to no avail. Their voices eventually turned to similarly threatened cemeteries in an effort to ward off the continuation of the destruction elsewhere. "The tangible past is altered mainly to make history conform with memory," geographer David Lowenthal has observed, and Richmond's white leaders had no use for such memories. Amid the New South rush to champion a heroic Confederate past and an exclusively White polity, the burial ground was not, as some would say, abandoned—it was actively destroyed. The loss of this immense burial ground underscores how essential the landscape and even human bodies are for the maintenance of social space and memory. We are left with the unrecognized shell of Talley's Auto Center today and a long-forgotten history.[28]

The "disappearing" of the portion of the Shockoe Hill Burying Ground that had been used to bury Blacks began with the realignment of Hospital Street, which cut off the Southeastern corner of the African Burying Ground. Hospital Street east of 5th Street was re-routed in the early 1860s, cutting diagonally across a portion of the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground. Two new powder magazines were then constructed on the Burying Ground—one north and one south of Hospital Street. One of these, completed in 1867, led to the disturbance and recovery of "more than 100" skeletons.

In 1883, attempts to fill in eroded ground in the area where 5th Street crosses the old "Poorhouse Gully," led to the exposure of numerous graves. Even with considerable public outcry, workers were not instructed to clean up the exposed graves and rebury the remains until months after the road work was completed. Human remains had been used as street fill and had lain exposed on the ground for months before the issue was raised in the City Council and instructions were issued to clean up the site.[29]

Again in 1890, as 5th Street was extended to the northern edge of the hill and ground was prepared for the abutments of the new viaduct that would carry streetcars over Bacon's Quarter Branch and into Richmond's newest suburban neighborhoods, many more graves were exposed to view. At the same time, 7th Street was extended through the eastern tip of the Burying Ground in order to provide access to the new industries that were then growing across the Shockoe Creek Valley floor. More human remains were also uncovered during this construction work. John Mitchell, Jr., editor of the *Richmond Planet*, wrote about these intrusions into the Burying Ground:

> This was done, too, at the instance of people who profited by the desecration of the burial ground on Poor-house Hill, North 5th Street when graves were dug into, bones scattered, coffins exposed, and the hearts of the surviving families made to bleed by the desecration of the remains of their loved ones.[30]

One long-time resident of Richmond remembered this incident later in his life:

> About fifty years ago when Fifth street north of Hospital was graded, a large hill was gone into and a number of graves were cut into. The boys of that day found it interesting to climb up the bank and peer into the end which had been exposed. All the ground unenclosed in this vicinity was evidently used as a potters' field. [31]

That "unenclosed" field was a substantial portion of the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground following its expansion in 1850.These violations of the public cemetery were all met with public outcries, but the City had no interest in thwarting growth and development for the sake of maintaining a now-closed burying ground for Blacks. Fully three-quarters of a century after Christopher McPherson succeeded in his pleas to the City to provide an adequate facility, the White city leaders resurrected the sentiment that the ground was too valuable to be used as a cemetery for Blacks.

The most substantial damage to the Burying Ground is best illustrated by a second Cook Studio taken in 1890 or 1891 showing the completed, or nearly completed extension of 5th Street and the Northside Viaduct (Figures 22 and 23). When compared with the earlier (ca. 1888) Cook Studio image taken from much the same vantage point, it is obvious that the top of the knoll that had once been the original 1816 "Burying Ground for Free People of Color and Slaves" had

been cut down. Period accounts as well as City records reveal that portions of the sacred ground and its contents, had been used to fill the bedding for 5th Street and to raise the ground in the natural gully there to permit construction of the abutments for the bridge.

There can be no doubt that dozens—perhaps hundreds—of grave sites were destroyed in these construction projects. Whatever grave markings that remained after the Burying Ground was closed in 1879 apparently had been uprooted and scattered. It seems possible that many of the large cobbles or boulders that can be seen strewn down the barren hillside in these photographs had once been placed as informal grave markers by friends or family members who could not afford carved monuments. Scattered, too, were the rough-cut wooden posts or simple tree limbs used as grave markers, such as those described by Olmsted, as well as head boards or stones like those left for Kitty Cary and "Old Aunt Sally." Eventually these intrusions and desecrations caused the cemetery to fade from historical memory.[32]

Smith's essay charts the loss of memory of the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground to its conclusion.

> In 1958, the municipal director of parks and recreation who had oversight of the city's cemeteries requested the city assessor's office to draw up a sketch of the "Paupers Burying Ground" at Hospital and Fifth Streets. The resulting sketch showed only a small triangle of property on the northeast corner, apparently discounting any potential graves beyond the lot. The parks director acknowledged that when authorities had earlier attempted to clear the area on the southeast corner of this intersection, they had been "instructed not to disturb it because bodies had been interred there." But he found that "this has not been substantiated by the records," and he allowed a dog pound [presently, the Staff Zone building] to be built south of Hospital Street. The following year, city council took steps against the north side of Hospital Street. "Records," the city officials maintained in a startling conclusion, "fail to disclose whether it was ever used for the purposes for which it was designated." So the city rezoned the worn hillside and sold it to the Sun Oil Company, allowing for the construction of the diminutive automobile service station.

That left the ground available to become a gas station, an animal shelter-cum-employment agency, and a shadowed, eroded hillside partially hidden beneath an Interstate highway. What has not vanished, however, are thousands of undisturbed graves as well as the bones, grave goods, and coffin furnishings that were unceremoniously redeposited in filled gullies and roadbeds. They are still there. Nor has the landscape that displaced them vanished.

The City of Richmond in the twenty-first century is trying to come to grips with, and to mitigate, some of the failings of its history. Among those failings is the attempted destruction of The Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground. On April 16, 2021 the City re-acquired the lot containing the abandoned Sunoco Station. The City is now formulating plans to preserve and commemorate this, the site of the original 2-acre burying ground for "free people of color and slaves." It is time to recognize, to whatever extent possible, the formerly discarded and ignored portions of the history of this District as it actually functioned in and as it presently illustrates that history. It is time to honor the fact that a large, but largely "invisible," part of it is sacred ground for descendants of the thousands of African Americans buried here. The stark contrast between the portions of the Shockoe Hill Burying Ground set aside and memorialized for White people, Christian and Jewish, on the one hand, and Black people, on the other, illustrates clearly one of the major areas of significance of the proposed District; namely, the lasting social effects of race slavery, and the Civil War that was fought to end it. Shockoe Hill houses the dead of both Black and White residents, but it is not an accident of history that African Americans cannot find their ancestors' resting places there. It is beyond time to recognize the complete history of this historic place.

Establishing Historic Justice for Richmond's Nineteenth-Century Public Facilities for the Poor, the Sick, the Disabled, and the Dead

The late 1980s witnessed the beginnings of a major social movement by African Americans in Richmond, as elsewhere throughout the country, to reclaim Black heritage by finding and forcing public recognition of important "lost" historic sites. The discovery of the cadavers in the well at the Medical College of Virginia became a magnet for African American residents, academics, and civic leaders to bring together forces and methods for identifying heritage resources and instigating processes to reclaim such sites through site visibility and interpretation. The work of the proposed nomination is intended to reclaim an equal and truthful representation of the lives and the deaths of Black individuals, and

the segregated facilities that are now a major missing component of the City's history. The truth of history is presently misrepresented by the listed historic-site properties on Shockoe Hill without the components that fully illustrate the proposed District's historic contexts and their significance.

While there is much to admire and enjoy in the well designed and purposefully curated visible properties of the District, historical *significance* now resides equally in the partial destruction, often deliberate, of a highly meaningful, emotionally charged, and racially fraught landscape. This nomination seeks both to recognize its full extent and to expose the great disparities that have characterized efforts at preservation and historical valorization across this public place. Whether graves are marked with elaborate monuments or natural vegetation, that ground remains nonetheless both sacred and historic.

Endnotes

1. A portion of the original 28.5-acre parcel, on the floodplain of Bacons Quarter Branch, has been excluded from the proposed District due to extensive industrial development there beginning in the 1880s.

2. L. Daniel Mouer. Phase 1 Cultural Resource Study of Proposed Replacement of the Stonewall Jackson Bridge, City of Richmond, Virginia. Virginia Commonwealth University Archaeological Research Center, 1989.

3. *Richmond Whig*, April 9, 1867

4. Emily Calhoun. "Archaeological and Geoarchaeological Assessment of the Slave and Free Black Burying Ground, I-64 Shockoe Valley Bridge Project, City of Richmond, Virginia." Cultural Resource Analysts, 2013.

5. Frederick Law Olmsted. *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States; With Remarks on Their Economy*. London and New York: Dix and Edwards, 1856.

"Potters Field" is a term derived from biblical use to refer to a burying ground for paupers. The term first appears in reference to the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground following the Civil War.

6. Jennings C Wise. *The Military History of the Virginia Military Institute from 1839 to 1865*. Lynchburg: J. P. Bell, 1915.

7. The abiding desolate appearance of the eastern end of the proposed District, along with the existence, or lack of, grave markers or monuments, will be discussed in detail in the following Significance section of this nomination.

8. Guidelines for Treatment of Cultural Landscapes: Defining Landscape Terminology https://www.nps.gov/tps/standards/four-treatments/landscape-guidelines/terminology.htm

9. "Ordinarily cemeteries…shall not be considered eligible for the National Register. However, such properties will qualify if they are integral parts of districts that do meet the criteria or if they fall within the following categories: … d. A cemetery which derives its primary significance…from association with historic events." (National Register Bulletin 15: p2)

10. *Richmond Daily Whig*, June 29, 1843

11. Gibson Worsham and Richard Worsham. "The Richmond Almshouse and Hospital," Urban Scale Richmond (Blog), https://urbanscalerichmondvirginia.blogspot.com/2016/11/the- richmond-almhouse-and-hospital.html. 2016.

12. Christopher McPherson. Christ's Millennium, of One Thousand Years Commenced and the Downfall of Kings, &c., Before the Throne of Justice, by the Word Particularly Sent to Them as Noted Herein. Richmond: Printed for the author, 1811.

13. Marshall Street was later renamed Hospital Street, although the section east of 5th Street was re-routed and cut diagonally across these original burying ground parcels.

14. Kirt Von Daacke. "Anatomical Theater," in *Educated in Tryanny: Slavery at Thomas Jefferson's University*, edited by Maurie D. McInnis and Louis P. Nelson. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2019.

Ryan K. Smith. *Death and Rebirth in a Southern City: Richmond's Historic Cemeteries*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2020.

15. Douglas W. Owsley and Karin Bruwelheide. "Artifacts and Commingled Skeletal Remains from a Well on the Medical College of Virginia Campus: Human Skeletal Remains from Archaeological Site 44He814." Office of the President, Virginia Commonwealth University, 2012. http://scholarscompass.vcu.edu/arch001.

16. Jodi L. Koste. "Artifacts and Commingled Skeletal Remains from a Well on the Medical College of Virginia Campus: Anatomical and Surgical Training in Nineteenth-Century Richmond." 2012. https://scholarscompass.vcu.edu/arch001/2/

17. Gibson Worsham and Richard Worsham. "The Richmond Almshouse and Hospital," Urban Scale Richmond (Blog), https://urbanscalerichmondvirginia.blogspot.com/2016/11/the- richmond-almhouse-and-hospital.html. 2016.

18. "Health of Richmond," *Richmond Enquirer*, August 17, 1849. This unique reference to a separate burying ground for : "Paupers and Strangers" may presage later references to the "potters' field," which appear occasionally in documents from the 1860s to the early twentieth century. These seem to refer to the much expanded Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground as indicated by the detail of the Smith Map of Henrico County of 1853 (see Figure 19).

19. Common Council Minutes 1848-1852, January 16, 1850, Shockoe Hill Burying Ground

20. *Particulars of the Dreadful Tragedy in Richmond, on the Morning of the 19th July, 1852: Being a Full Account of the Awful Murder of the Winston Family* (Richmond: Hammersley, 1852).

21. Ryan K. Smith. “Disappearing the Enslaved: The Destruction and Recovery of Richmond’s Second African Burial Ground.” *Buildings & Landscapes* 27 (Spring 2020): 17-45.

Frederick Law Olmsted. *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States; With Remarks on Their Economy*. London and New York: Dix and Edwards, 1856.

22. Lenora McQueen. Letter to the City of Richmond Planning Commission, the Honorable Ellen Robertson, and the Richmond City Council, in support of Ordinance 2020-213. October 4, 2020.

23. https://archive.org/details/harpersweeklyv10bonn/page/554/mode/2up

24. United State. Quartermaster’s Department. Role of honor: names of soldiers who died in defense of the American union interred in national (and other) cemeteries. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1868

25. Hughes, Thomas. *A Boy’s Experiences in the Civil War, 1860-1865*. N.P., 1904.

26. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 11, 1865: (subtitled: “Special Correspondence of the Inquirer / Richmond, Va., Spottswood House, April 7, 1865”)

27. Richmond City Council Minutes, page 507 March 3, 1877.

28. Ryan K. Smith. “Disappearing the Enslaved: The Destruction and Recovery of Richmond’s Second African Burial Ground.” *Buildings & Landscapes* 27 (Spring 2020): 17-45.

29. “Human Bones: Be it resolved that the Street Committee be required to provide for the collection and suitable burial of human bones which are now exposed and scattered along the extension of 7th St. near Hospital St.” Richmond City Council, Common Council Journal, April 1887-November 1890 (Richmond, Va. Library of Virginia, 1890), 743. Accession number BC7S96774.

30. *Richmond Planet*, March 21, 1896.

31. Herbert T. Ezekiel, “Regiment of Federal Prisoners Buried During War, Probably Near Shockoe, Is Actual ‘Lost Battalion,’” *Richmond News Leader*, September 10, 1932.

32. Olmsted’s account includes the description of a member of the burial party gathering “two small branches hung with withered leaves, that he had broken off a beech tree; which were stuck, one at the head, the other at the foot of the grave.”

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Maps of the City of Richmond from Hill's Richmond city directories, 1906-1922.

Beers, F. W. (1876). "Outline Map of Cities in Richmond and Manchester and Vicinity", Virginia Memory, Library of Virginia.

Highland Park Company (1891). "Map of the Property of the Highland Park Company showing its location with reference to the City of Richmond", University of Virginia Special Collections.

Scrivernor, Arthur, T. Crawford Redd & Bro. surveyors and engineers (1905). "Map of Richmond and Surroundings", Valentine Museum.

Images:

Alexander Gardner, photographs of Richmond's city hospital and Richmond's almshouse, Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division, 1865. https://www.loc.gov/item/2018671526/

Two views of the Richmond Locomotive Works and the Almshouse, circa 1888 and circa 1891, Cook Collection, Valentine Museum.

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

____ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
____ previously listed in the National Register
____previously determined eligible by the National Register
____designated a National Historic Landmark
____ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #_____
____recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____
____ recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # _____

Primary location of additional data:

____ State Historic Preservation Office
____ Other State agency
____ Federal agency
____ Local government
____ University
____ Other
Name of repository: _____

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): _____

---

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property __Approximately 43 acres_____

Use either the UTM system or latitude/longitude coordinates

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates
Datum if other than WGS84:_____
(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)
1. Latitude: Longitude:

2. Latitude: Longitude:

3. Latitude: Longitude:

4. Latitude: Longitude:

UTM References
Datum (indicated on USGS map):

[ ] NAD 1927 or [X] NAD 1983

The following UTM coordinates from UTM Zone 18N, WGS 1984 revision define the boundaries of the proposed District. The ID numbers below refer to points indicated on the boundary map (Figure 2)

ID	EASTING	NORTHING
1	285008	4158805
2	285159	4158685
3	285177	4158694
4	285216	4158685
5	285336	4158723
6	285539	4158771
7	285604	4158685
8	285634	4158688
9	285683	4158777
10	285615	4158795
11	285572	4158868
12	285277	4159202
13	285218	4159178
14	285170	4159010

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property.)

The proposed Shockoe Hill Burying Ground Historic District occupies 43 acres bounded to the south by E. Bates Street, to the north by the CSX rail line at the southern margin of the Bacon's Quarter Branch valley, to the west by 2nd Street, and to the east by the historic edge of the City property at the former location of Shockoe Creek.

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

The boundaries of the proposed District are mostly defined by the boundaries of the original 28.5-acre parcel of the City of Richmond property as acquired and platted in 1799, along with additional parcels added to the property by the City during the nineteenth century. The southeastern boundary follows the course of the historic stream bed used as the original property boundary. The eastern boundary is defined by the location of Shockoe Creek as it was near the end of the nineteenth century. The Northern boundary is defined as the northern extent of the CSX railroad track berm.

This boundary was chosen because historic portions of the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground, which once extended much further north to an early bed of Bacon's Quarter Branch, had been very heavily industrialized following the City's abandonment of that Burying Ground in 1879 (Figure 12). Extensive construction and development, along with the re-routing and burying of Bacon's Quarter Branch and Shockoe Creek have highly altered the landscape in that area. The construction of the railroad track by the Seaboard Air Line Railroad in 1900 undoubtedly damaged parts of the African Burying Ground, but since it was constructed on a substantial berm, it is possible that human interments might still be found beneath that berm. They are almost certainly present on the slope immediately south of the berm.

---

11. Form Prepared By

name/title: L. Daniel Mouer, PhD, Lenora McQueen, Ryan K. Smith, PhD, Steve Thompson, PhD
organization: __N/A_____
street & number: % Dan Mouer, 600 W 30th St., Richmond, Va. 23225_____
city or town:_____Richmond_____ state: ____VA_____ zip code:__23225_____
e-mail_ _danmouer@fastmail.fm_____
telephone:_804-233-2824_____
date:__*_____

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:** A **USGS map** or equivalent (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.

- **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.

- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO, TPO, or FPO for any additional items.)

Photographs

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels (minimum), 3000x2000 preferred, at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map. Each photograph must be numbered and that number must correspond to the photograph number on the photo log. For simplicity, the name of the photographer, photo date, etc. may be listed once on the photograph log and doesn't need to be labeled on every photograph.

Photo Log

Name of Property:

City or Vicinity:

County: State:

Photographer:

Date Photographed:

Description of Photograph(s) and number, include description of view indicating direction of camera:

1 of ___.

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).
Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 100 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management. U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.

Appendix 1: Figures

Figure 1: Location Map, Shockoe Hill Burial Ground Historic District

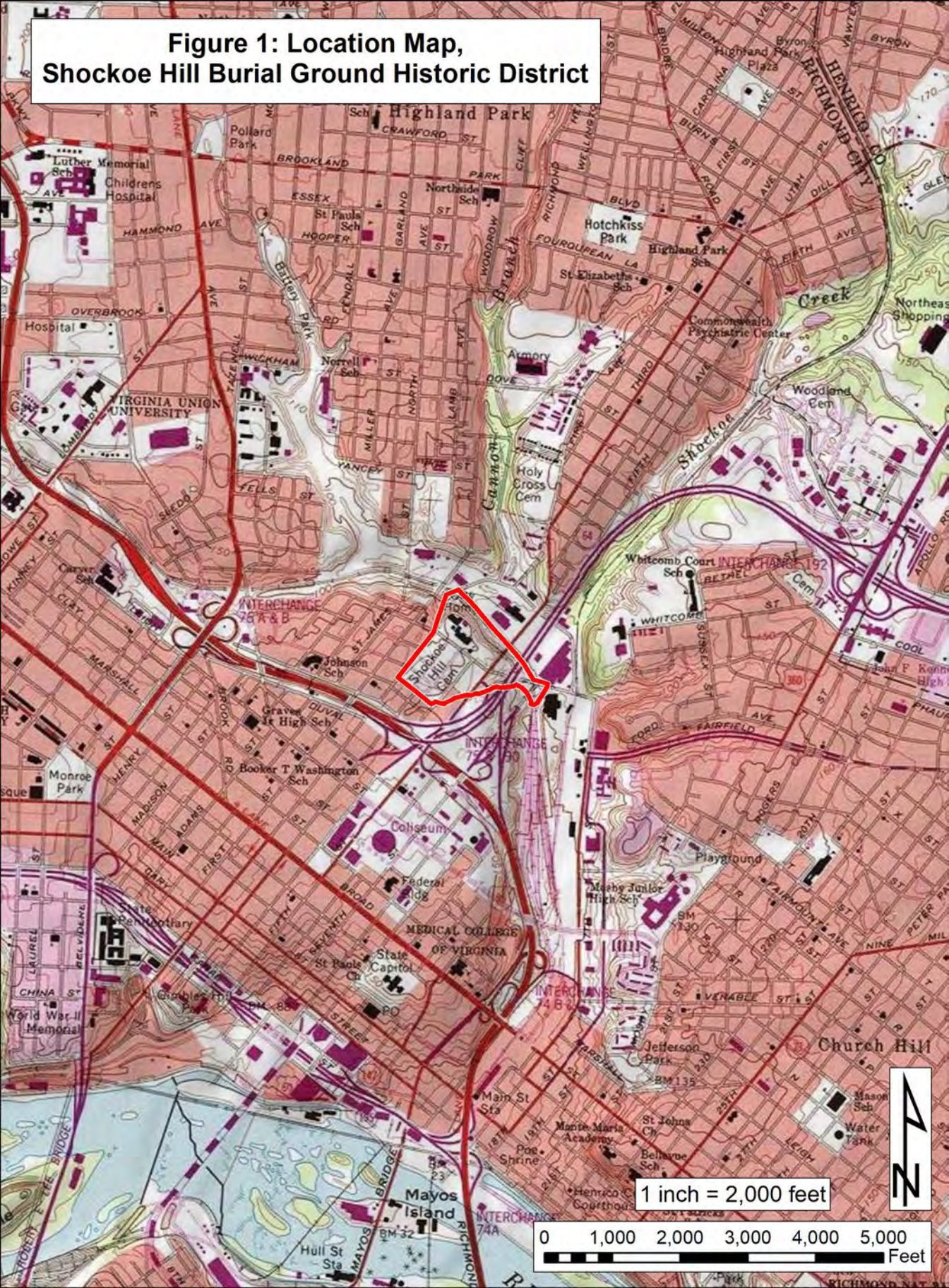
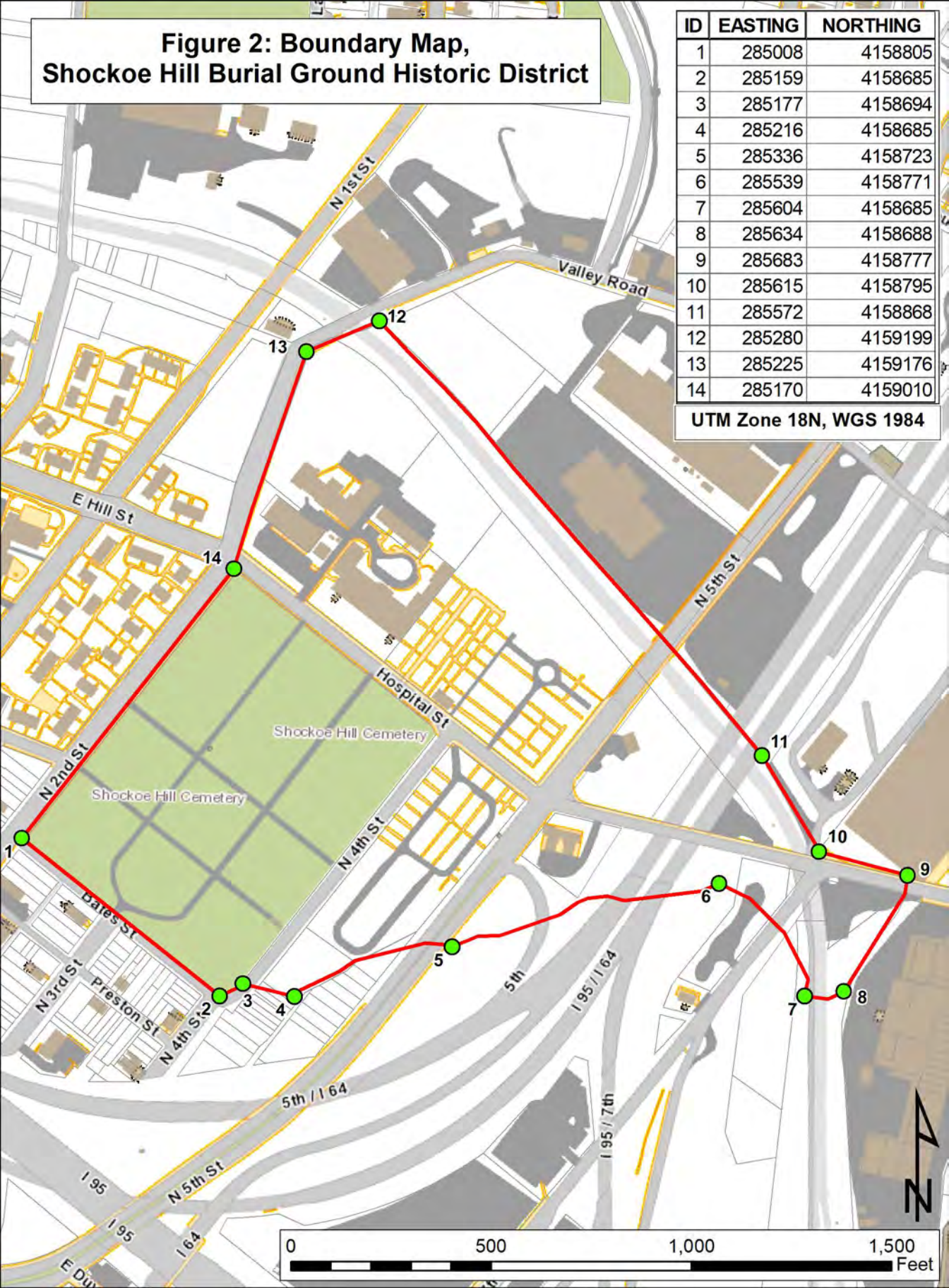


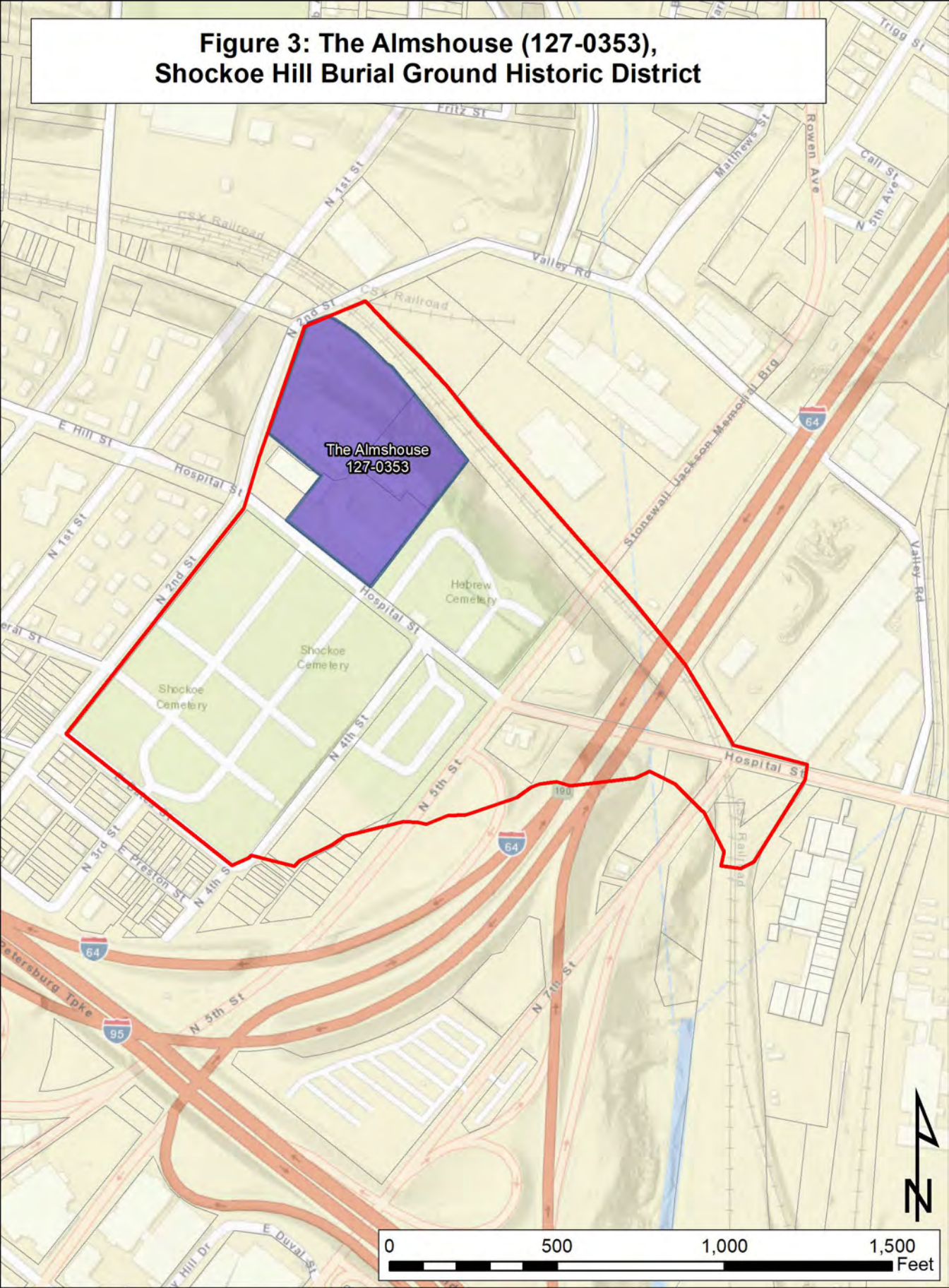
Figure 2: Boundary Map, Shockoe Hill Burial Ground Historic District



ID	EASTING	NORTHING
1	285008	4158805
2	285159	4158685
3	285177	4158694
4	285216	4158685
5	285336	4158723
6	285539	4158771
7	285604	4158685
8	285634	4158688
9	285683	4158777
10	285615	4158795
11	285572	4158868
12	285280	4159199
13	285225	4159176
14	285170	4159010

UTM Zone 18N, WGS 1984

Figure 3: The Almshouse (127-0353), Shockoe Hill Burial Ground Historic District



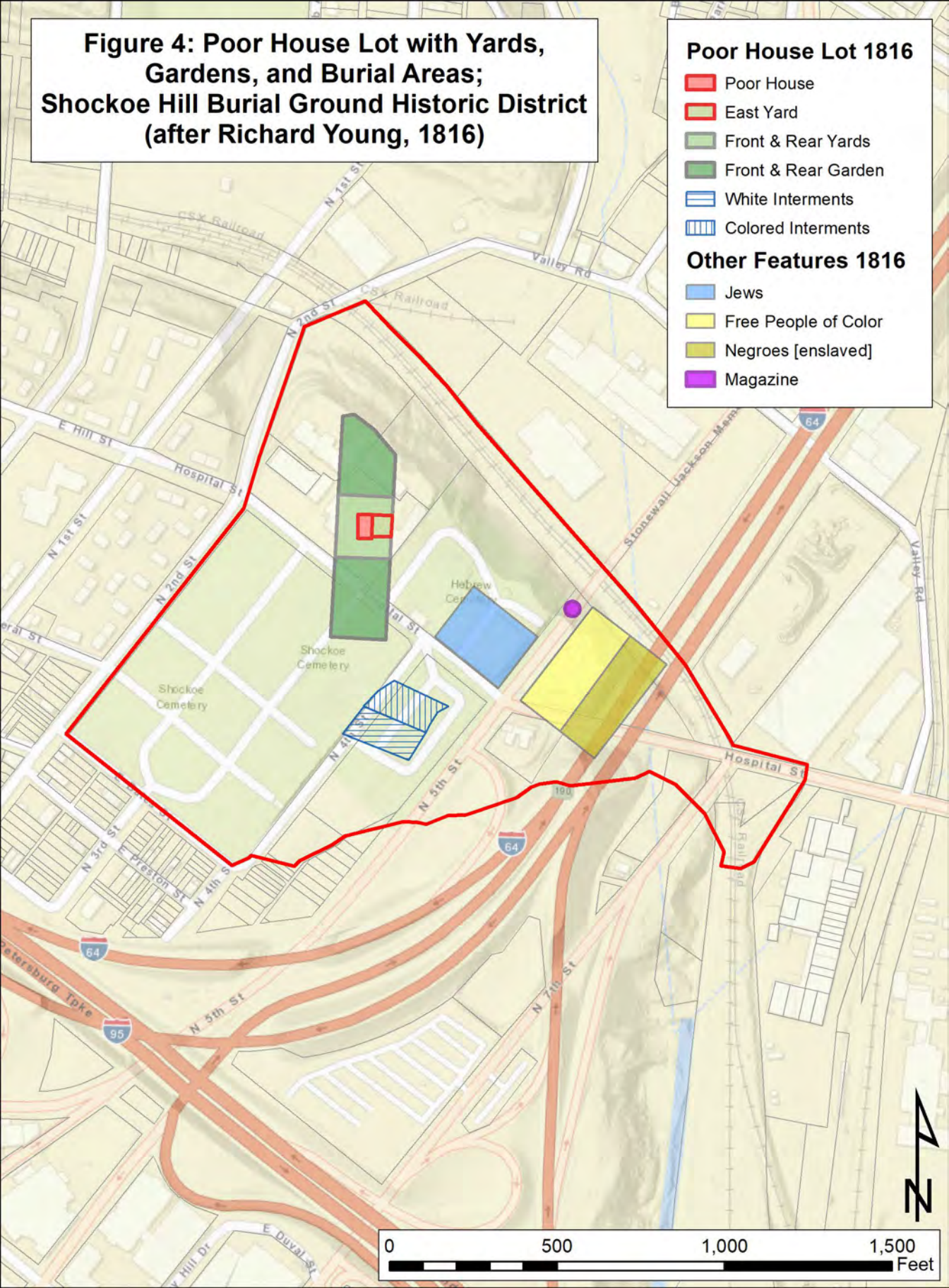

Figure 4: Poor House Lot with Yards, Gardens, and Burial Areas; Shockoe Hill Burial Ground Historic District (after Richard Young, 1816)
Poor House Lot 1816
Poor House
East Yard
Front & Rear Yards
Front & Rear Garden
White Interments
Colored Interments
Other Features 1816
Jews
Free People of Color
Negroes [enslaved]
Magazine
CSX Railroad
N 1st St
Valley Rd
N 2nd St
E Hill St
Hospital St
Stonewall Jackson Mem
Hebrew Cemetery
Shockoe Cemetery
N 4th St
N 5th St
N 3rd St
E Preston St
Petersburg Tpke
N 7th St
E Duval St
64
95
0
500
1,000
1,500
Feet
N

Figure 5: Shockoe Hill Cemetery (127-0389), Shockoe Hill Burial Ground Historic District

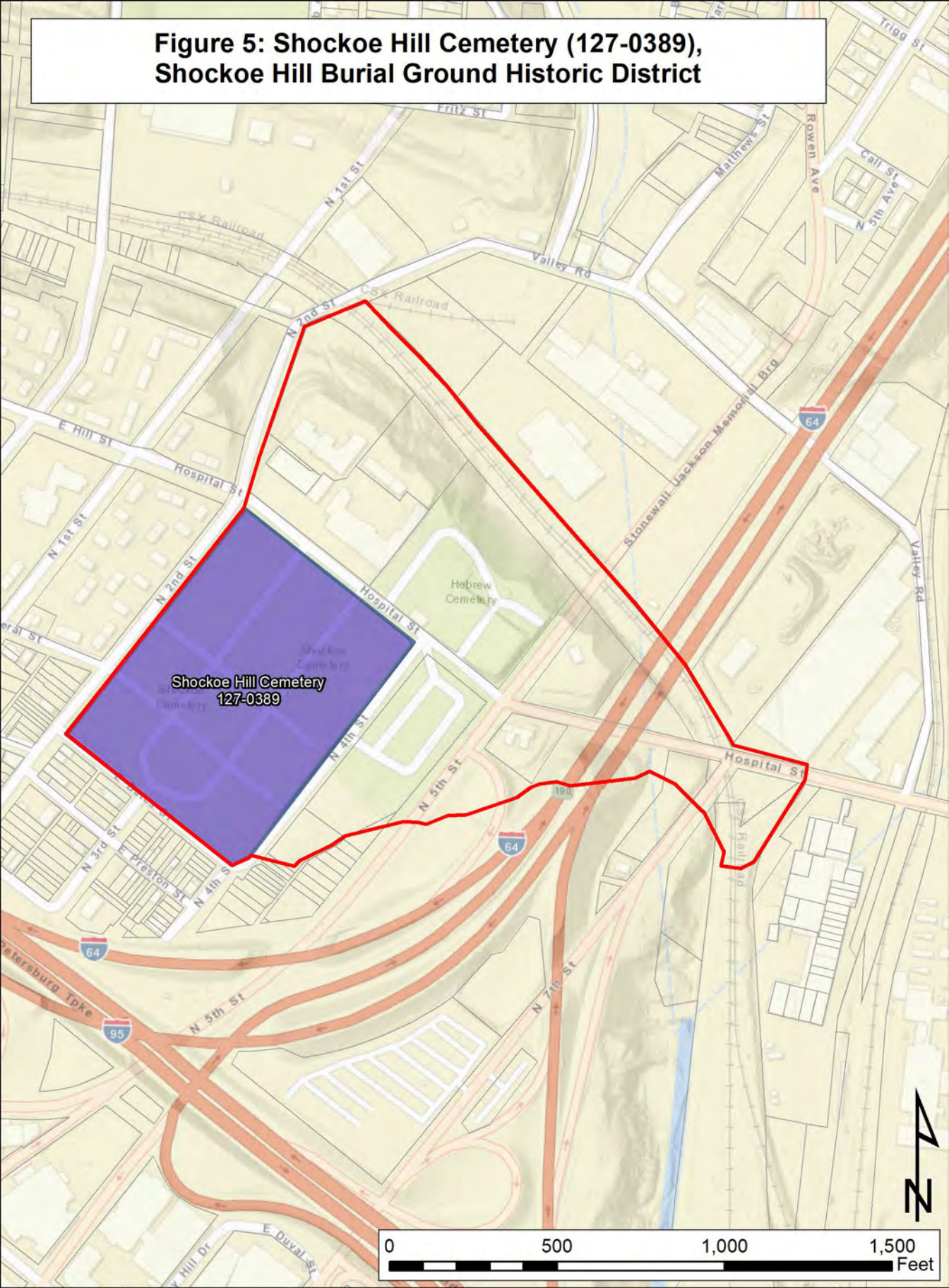


Figure 6: Hebrew Cemetery (127-6166), Shockoe Hill Burial Ground Historic District

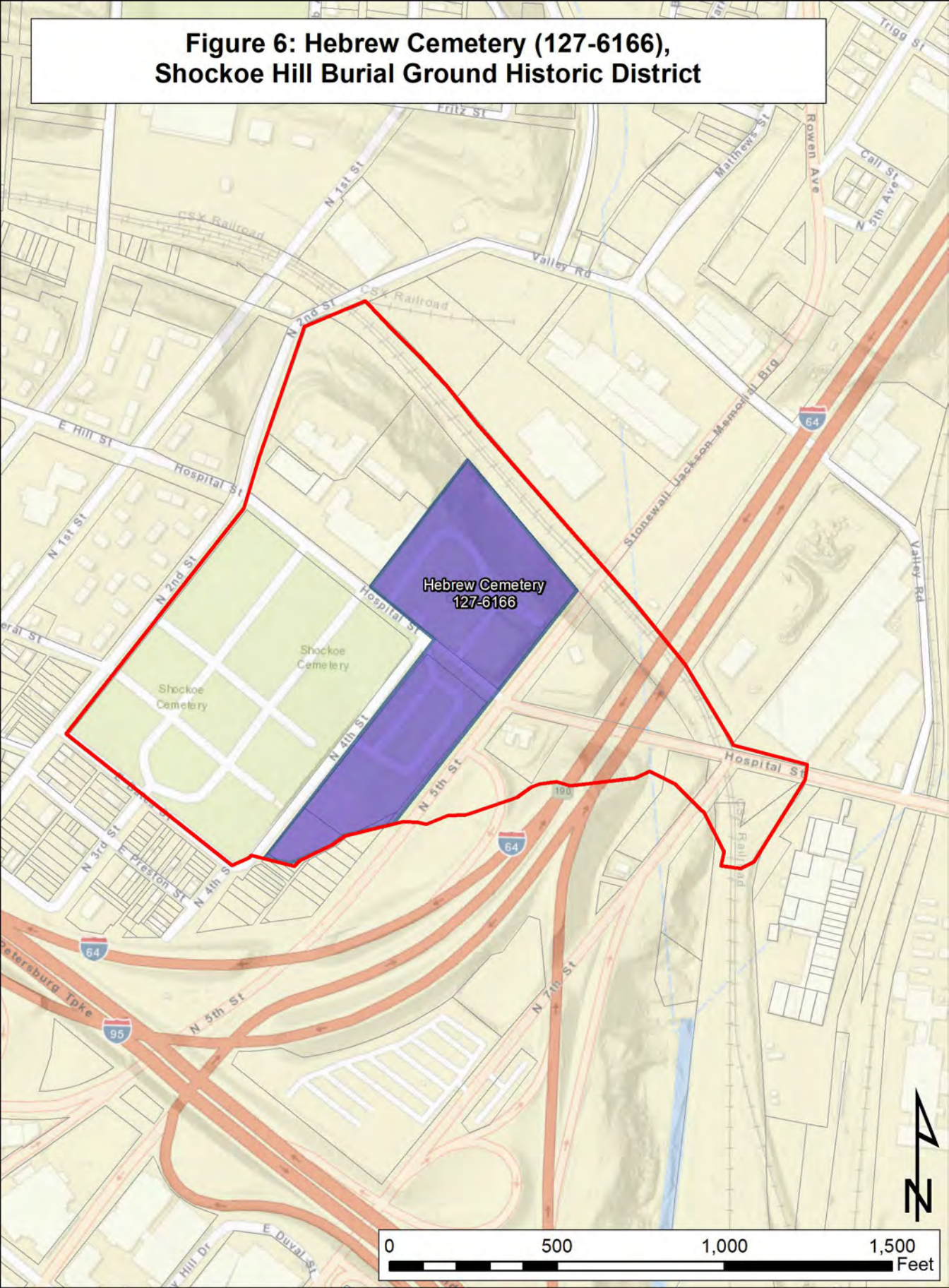


Figure 7: City Hospital (44HE0709), Shockoe Hill Burial Ground Historic District

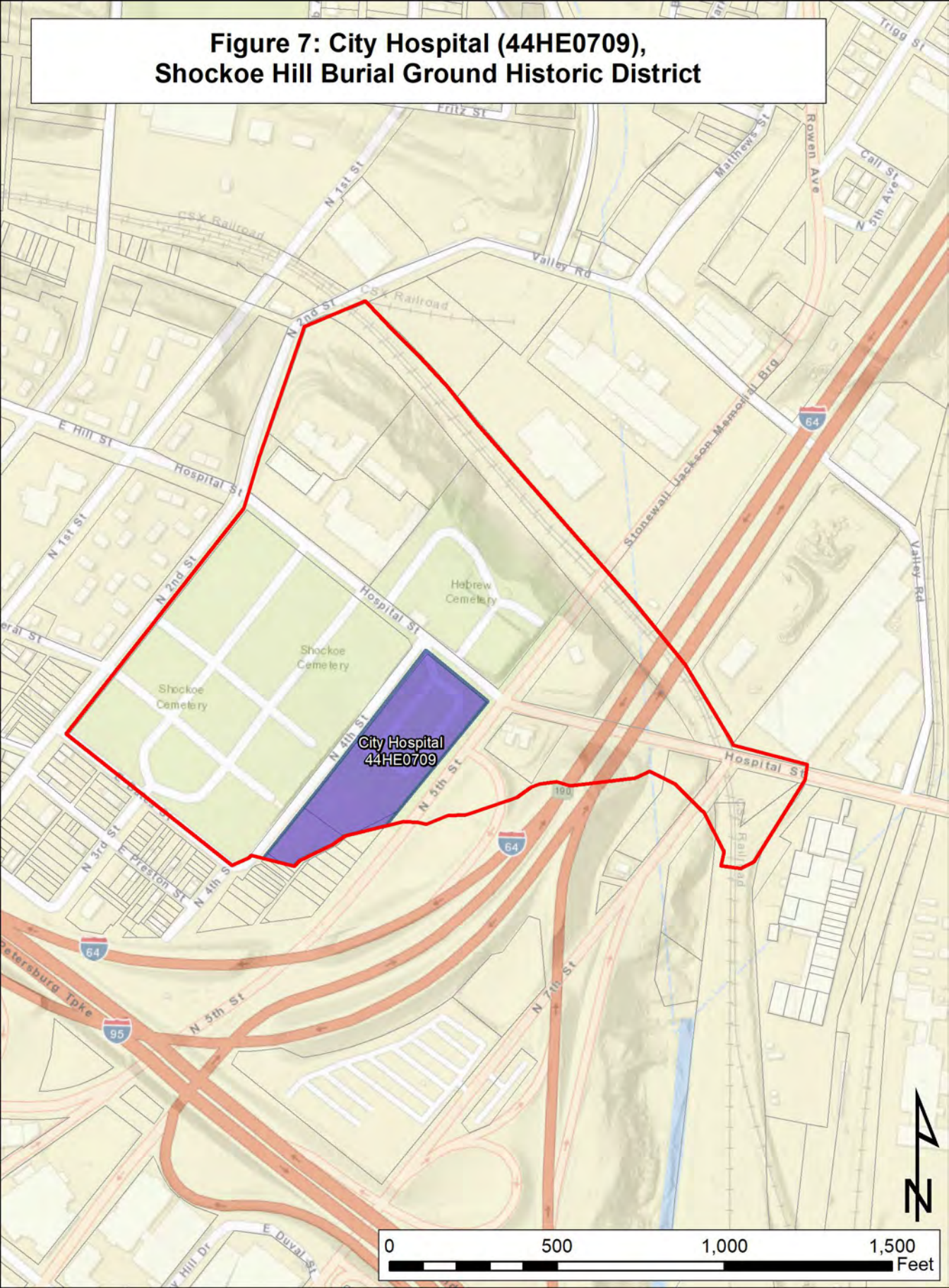


Figure 8: City Hospital, April 1865



Photograph by Alexander Gardner, April 1865

Figure 9: The "Colored Almshouse," ca. 1891



Detail of a photograph by the Cook Studio, Richmond, Virginia

Figure 10: Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground (44HE1203), Shockoe Hill Burial Ground Historic District

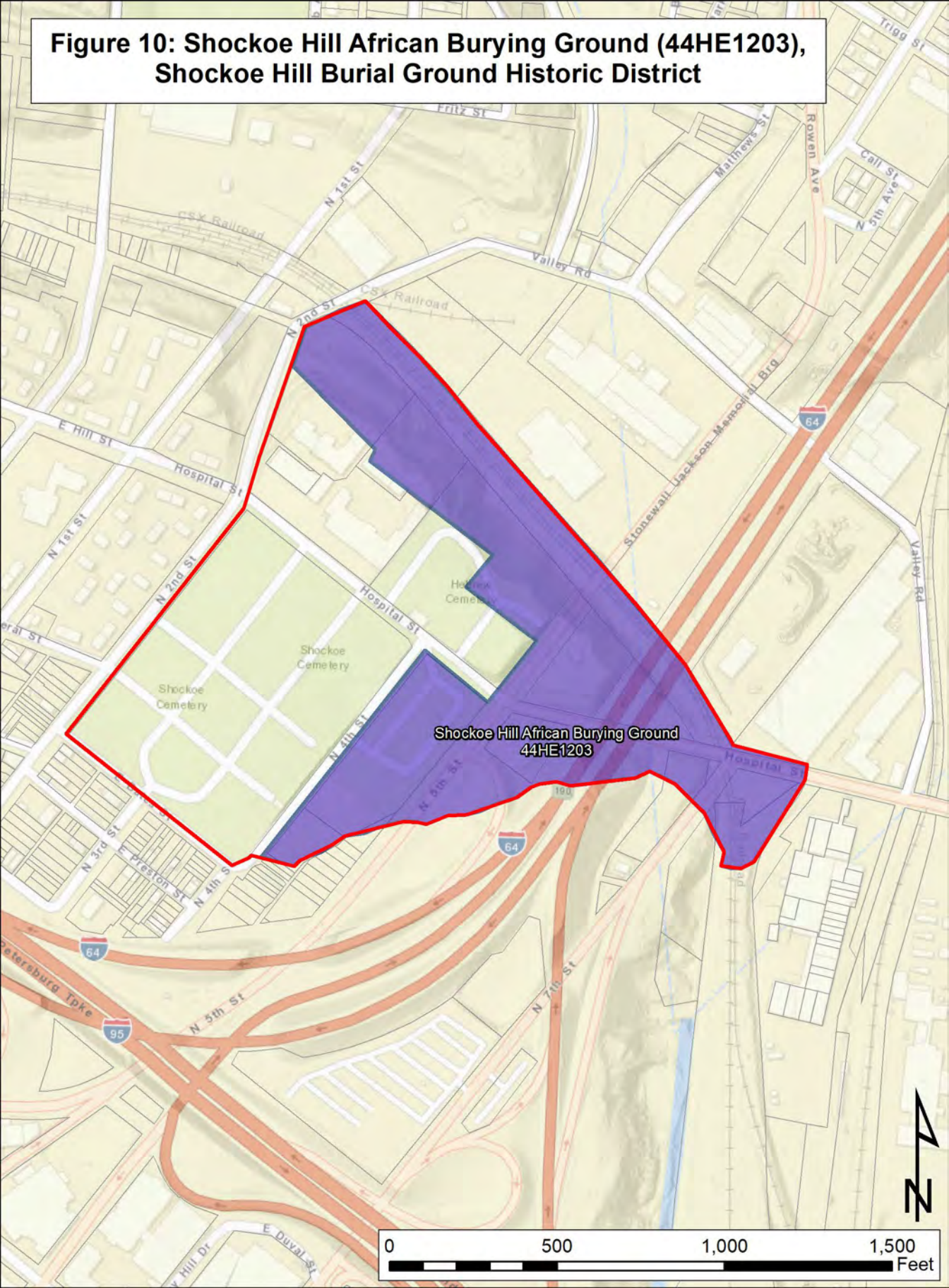


Figure 11: Annotated detail of Richard Young Map, 1816

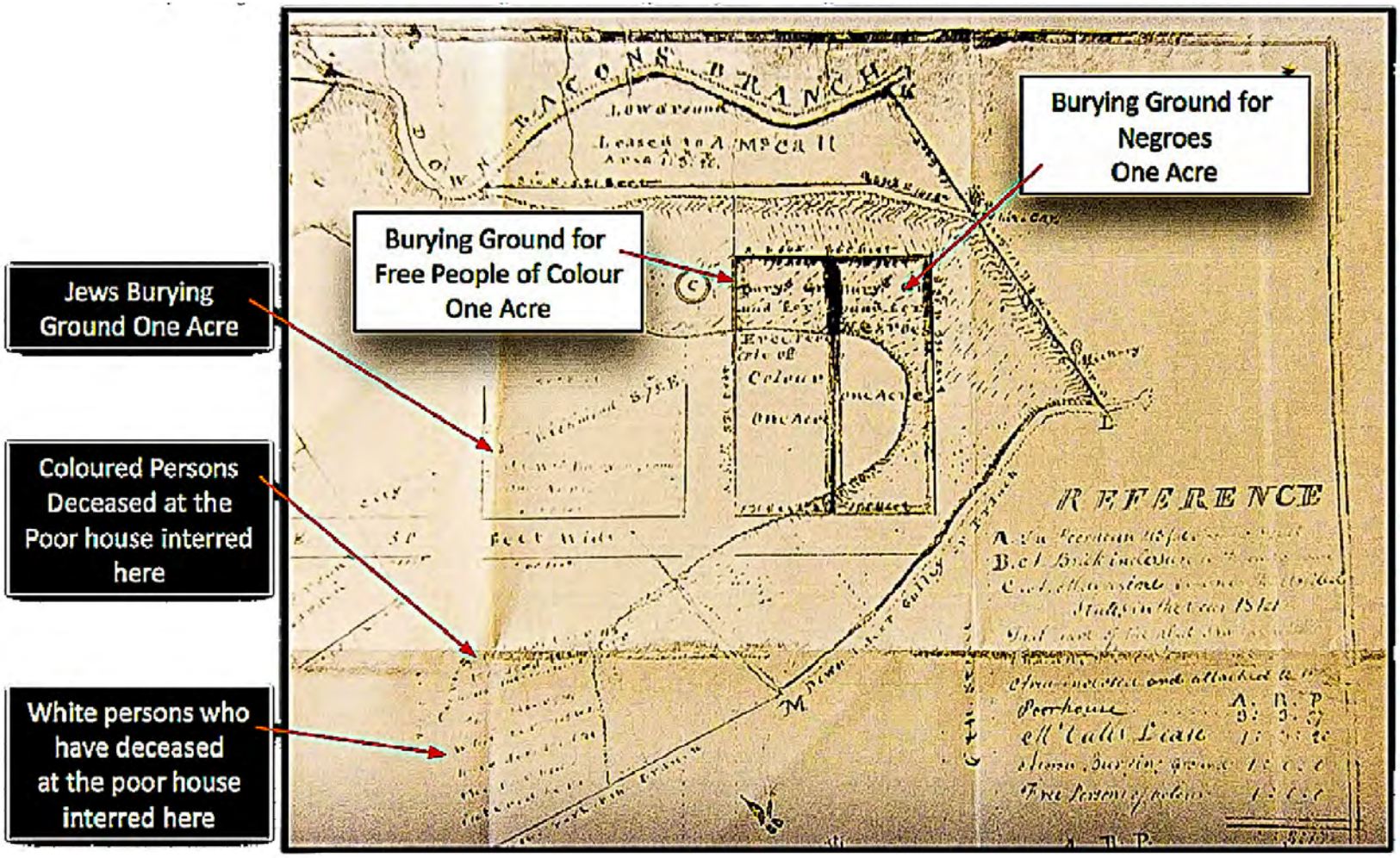


Illustration from McQueen, n.d.

Figure 12: Full Extent of the African Burying Ground (44HE1203); Shockoe Hill Burial Ground Historic District

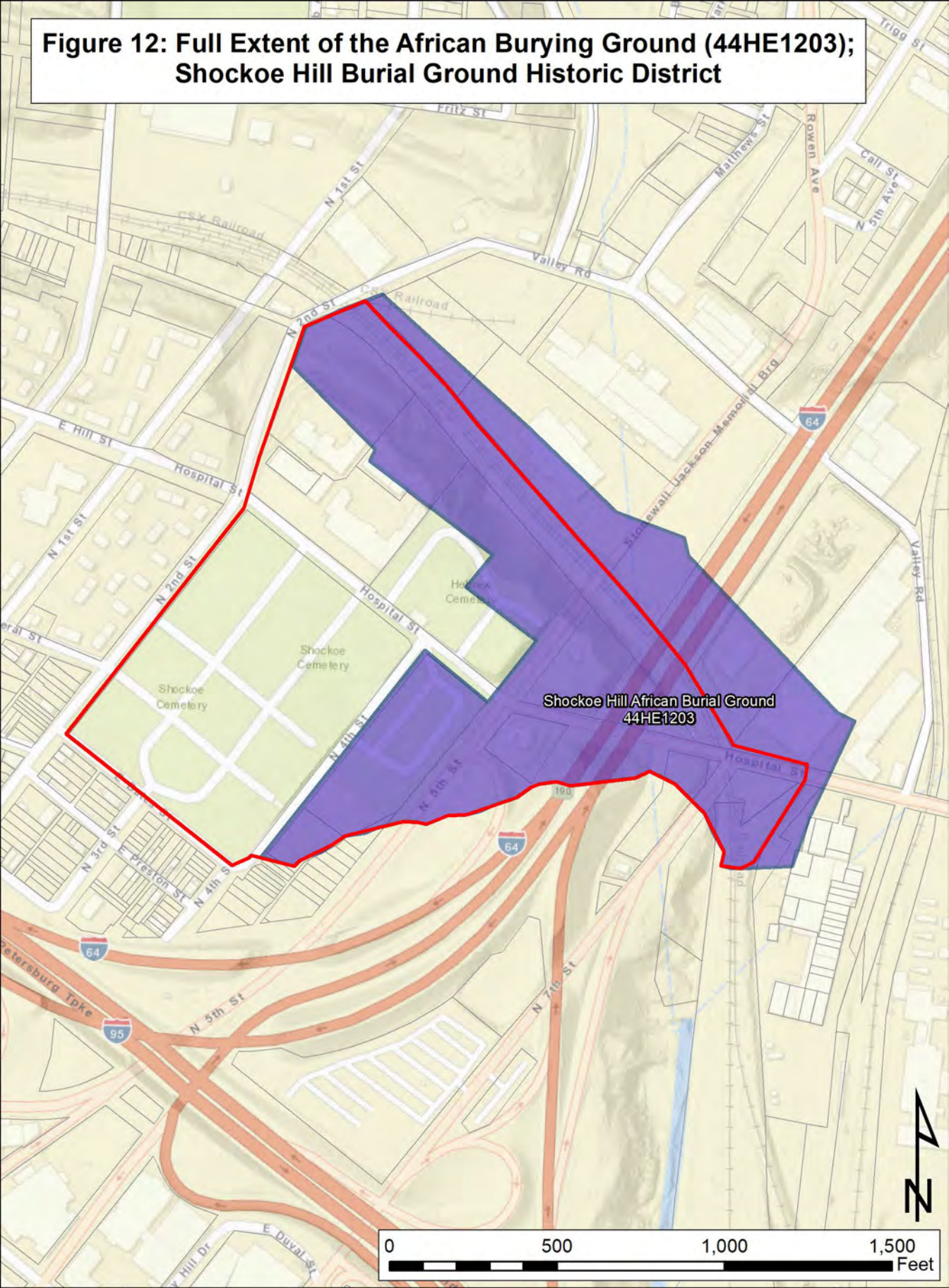


Figure 13: Shockoe Hill Burial Ground Historic District
Richmond Public Powder Magazine
(44HE1228)

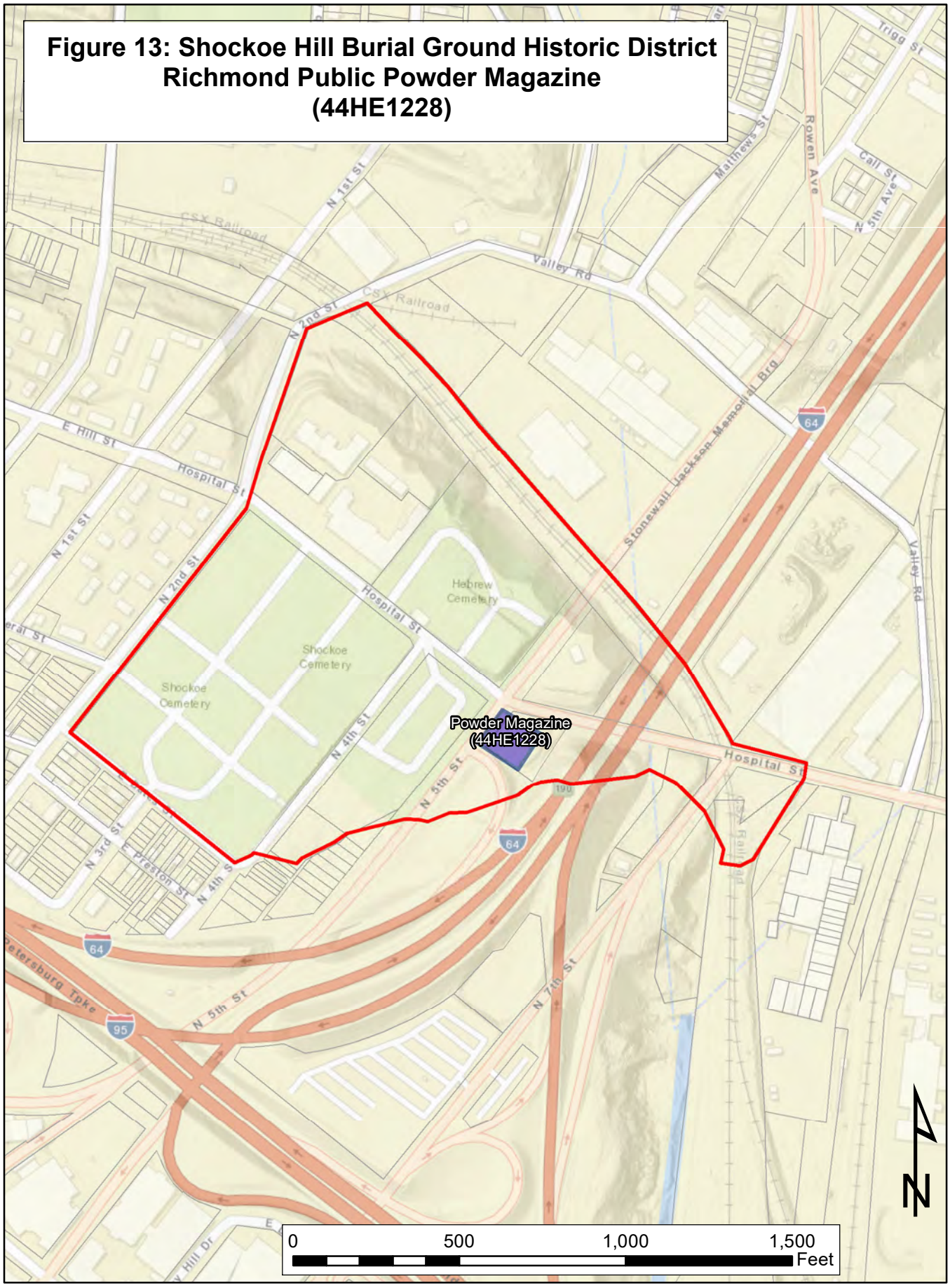


Figure 14: Detail from Beers Atlas 1877

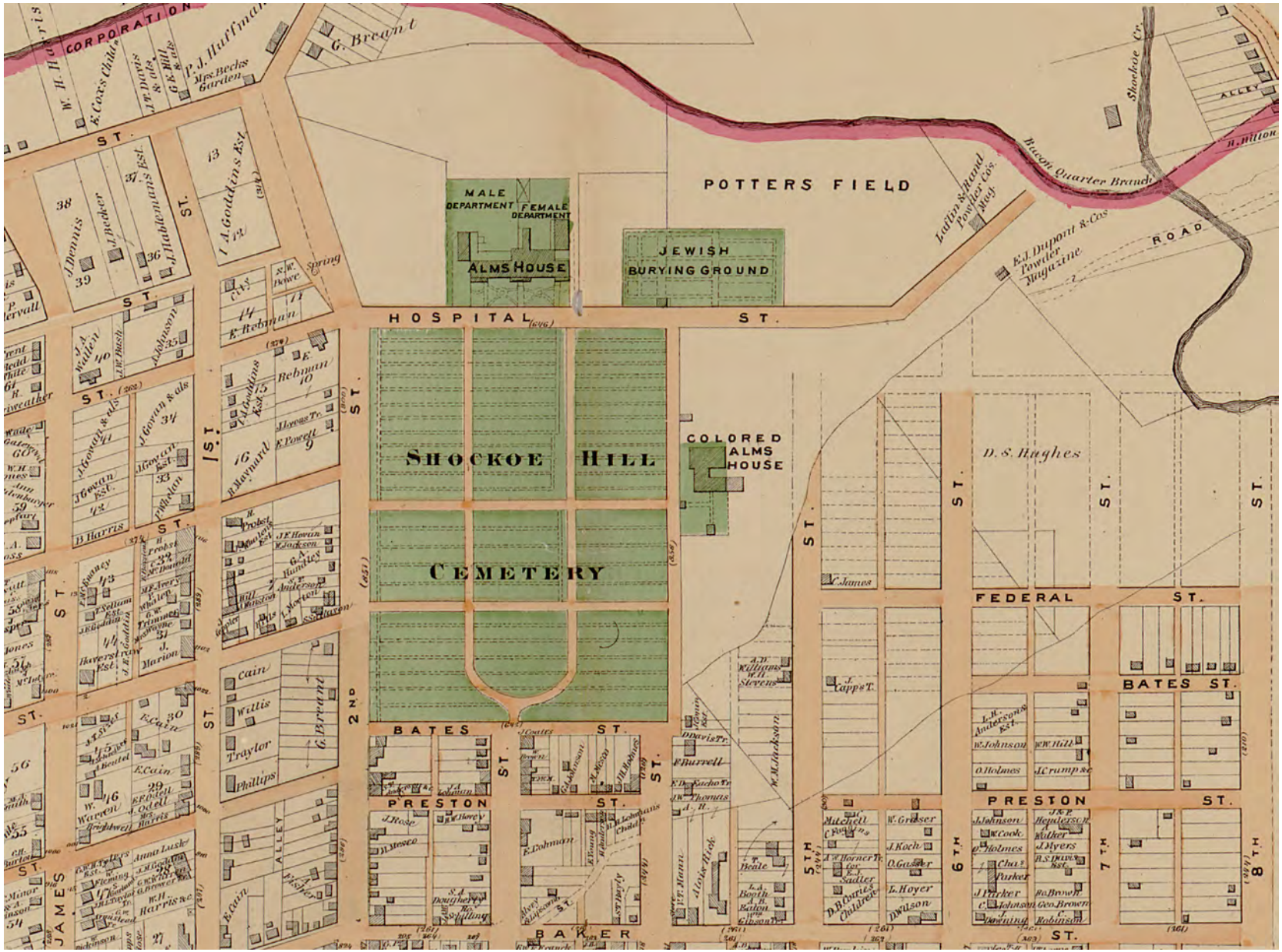
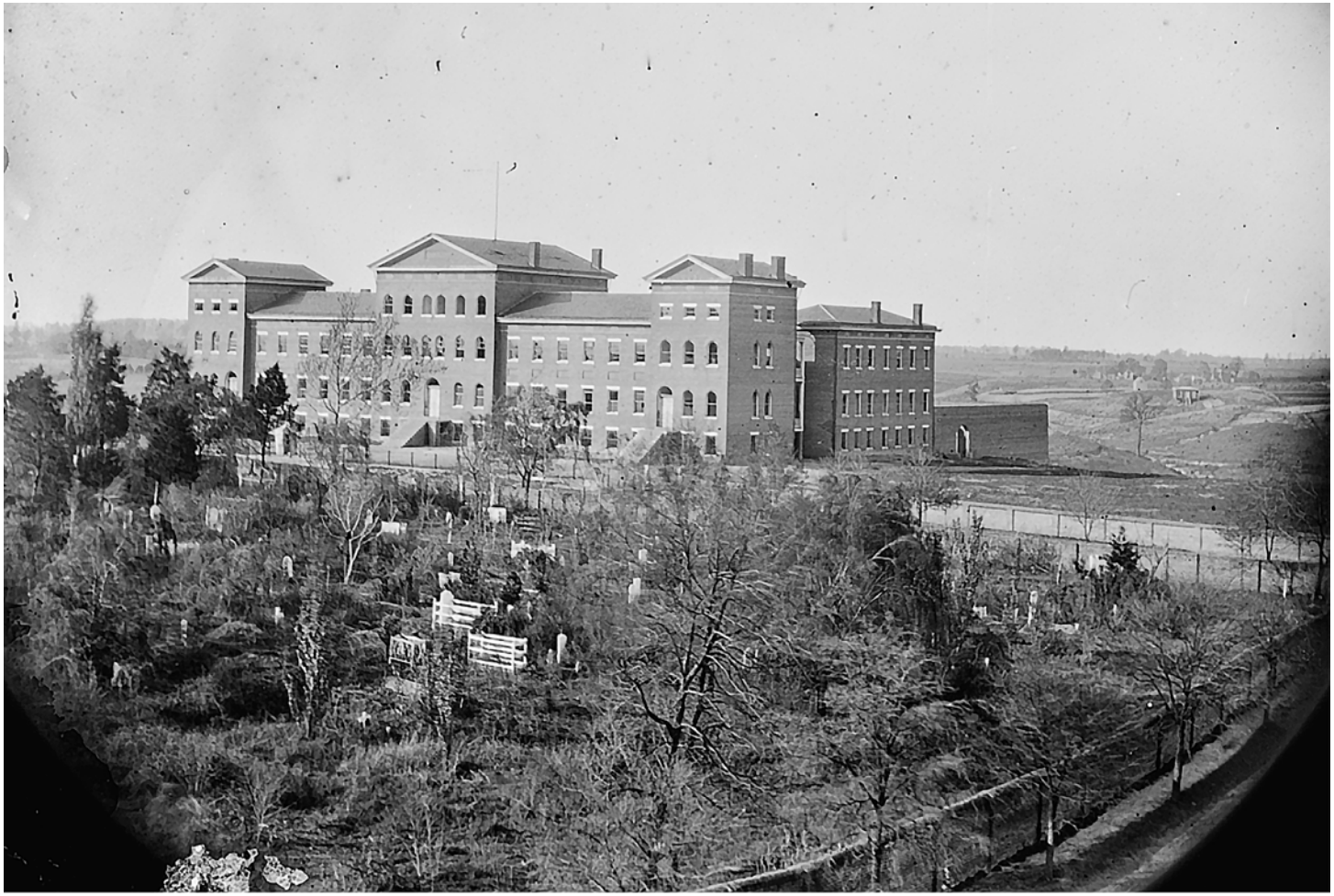


Figure 15: The Almshouse in April, 1865



Photograph by Alexander Gardner, April 12, 1865

Figure 16: The Poor House of 1805

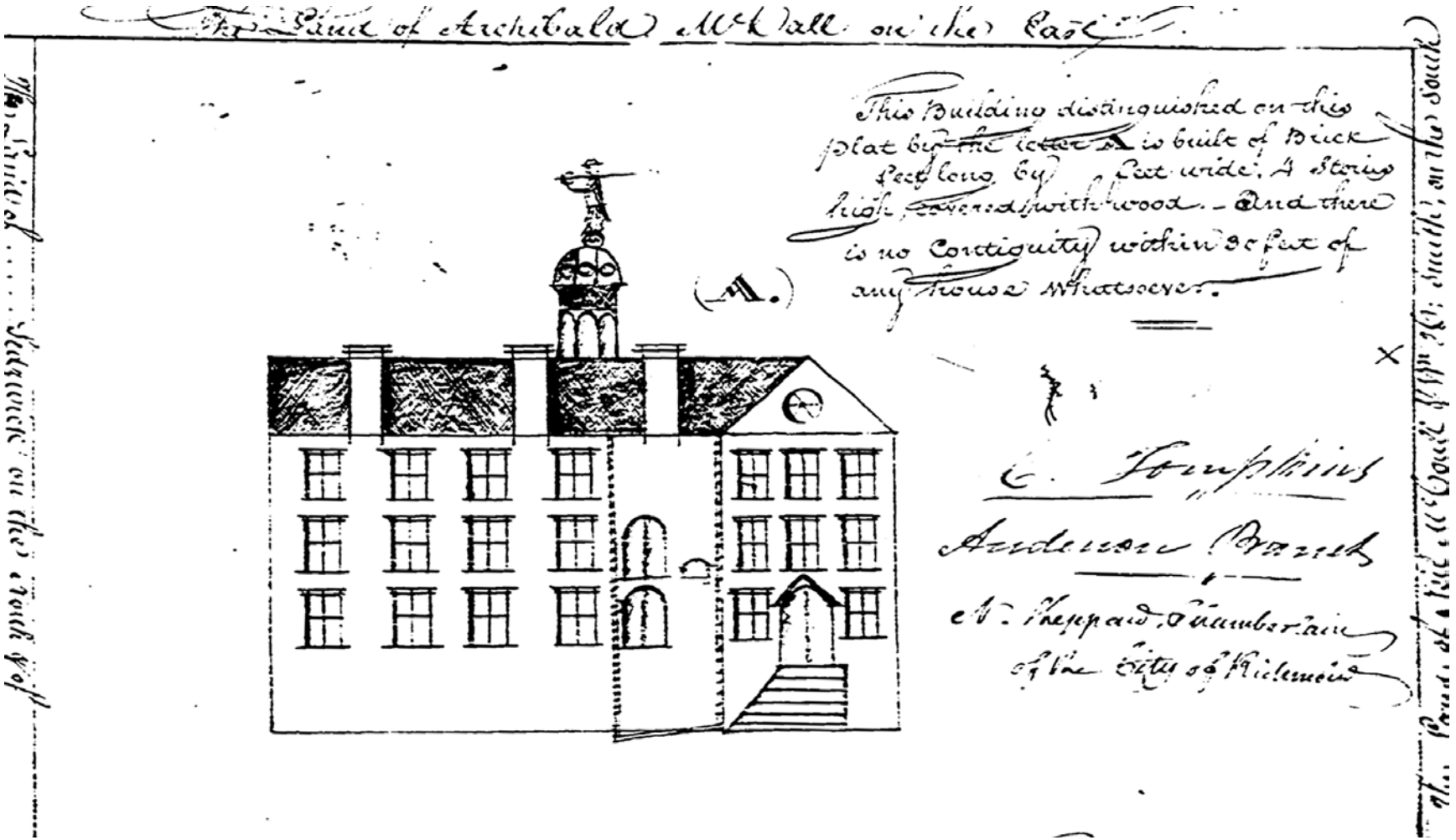


Illustration from a Mutual Assurance Society policy of 1814

Figure 17: Detail from the 1835 Map of Richmond by Micajah Bates

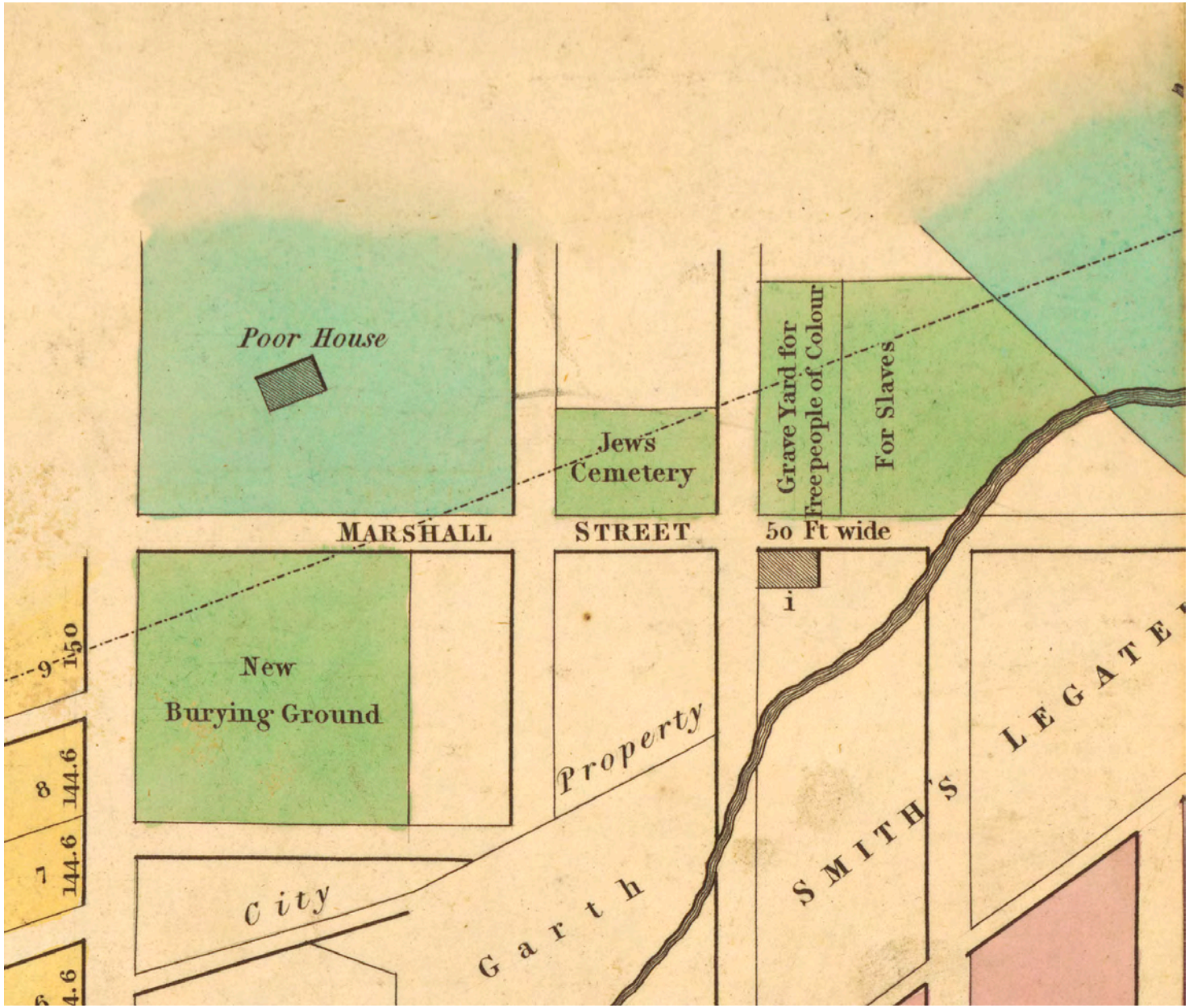


Figure 18: A Corrected Plat of the City Property Near the Poor House by Micajah Bates 1842

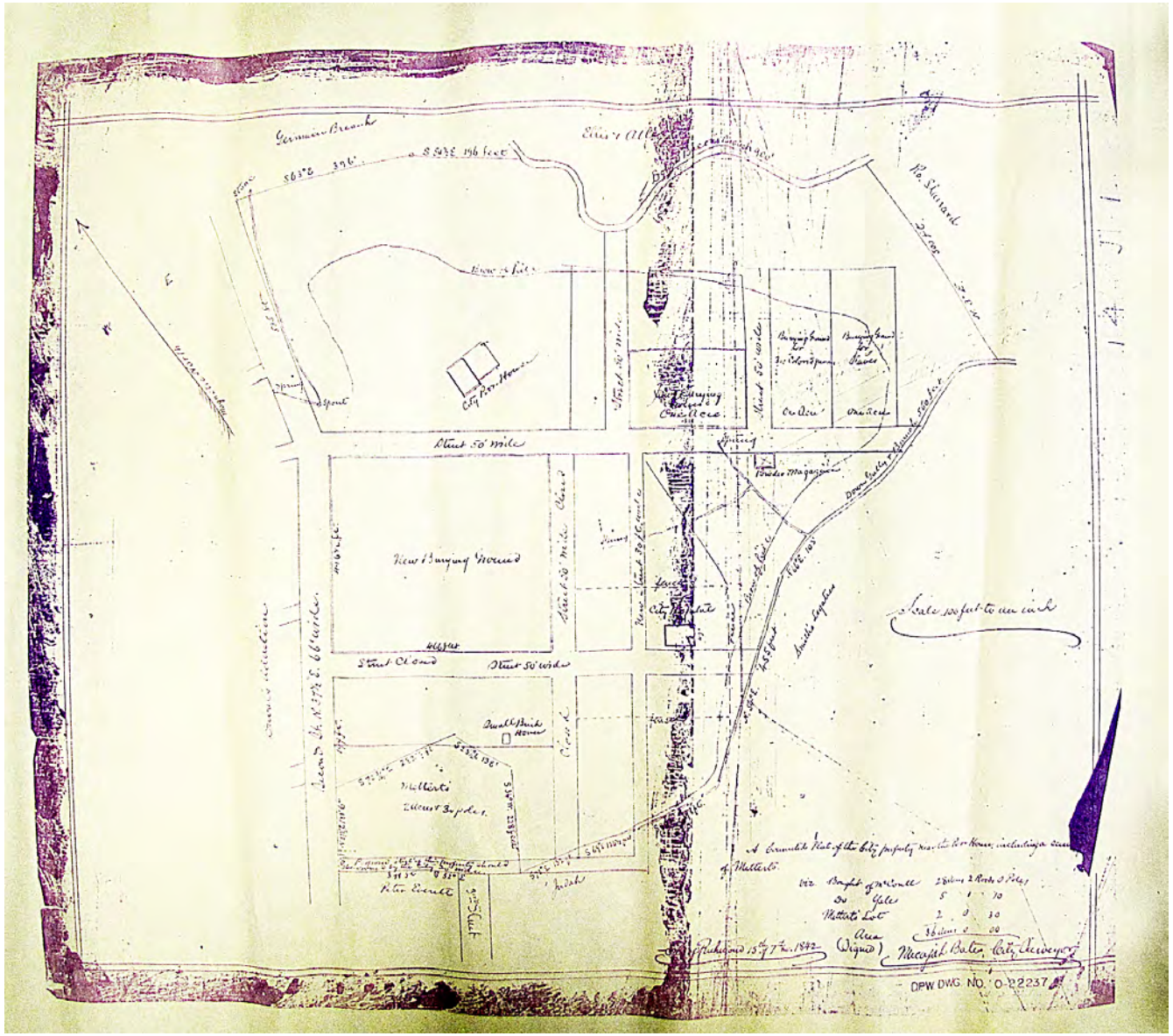
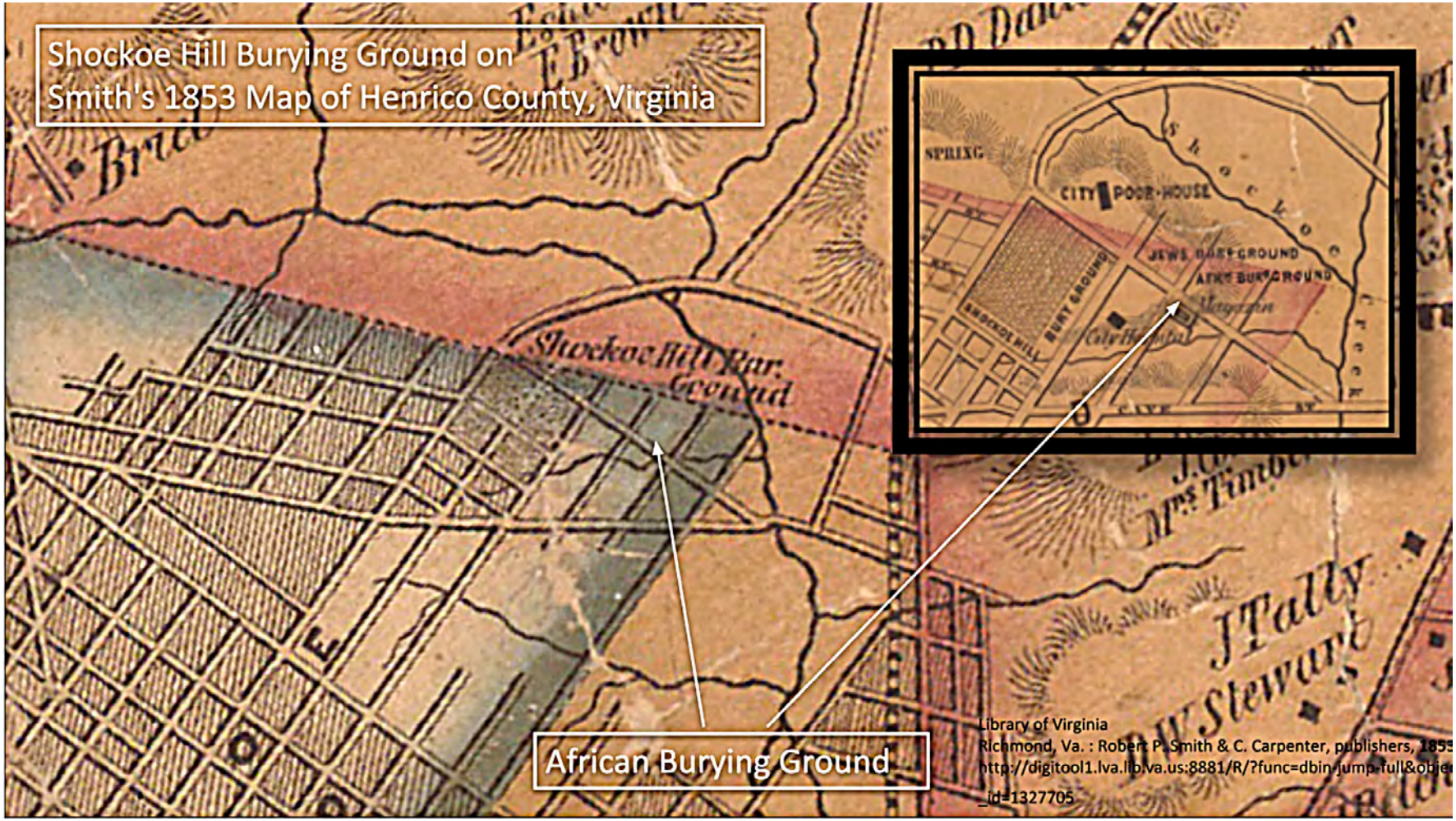
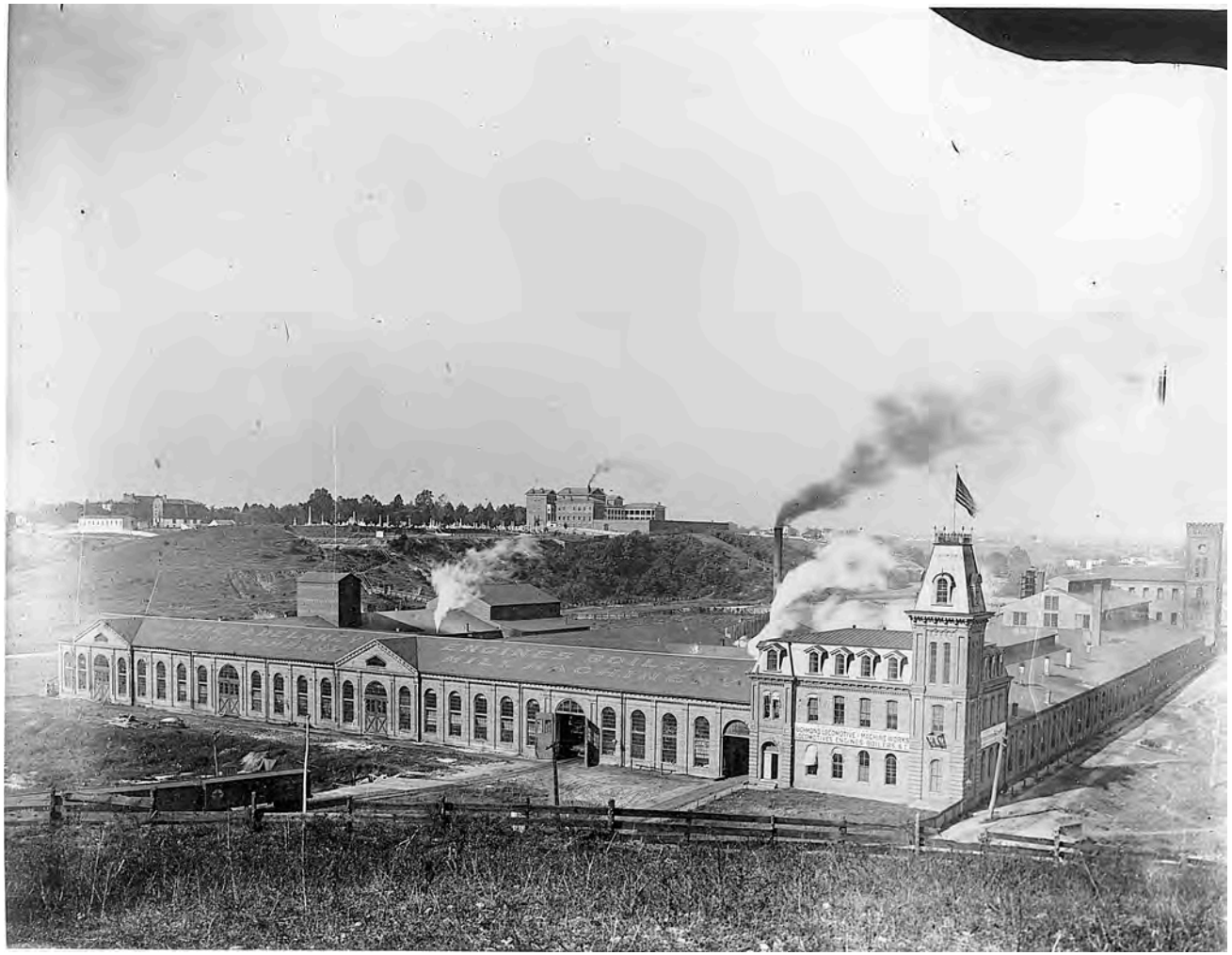


Figure 19: Annotated Detail of the Smith Map of Henrico County, 1853



Slide illustration from McQueen, n.d.

Figure 20: Photograph by the Cook Studio, Richmond, Virginia, ca. 1888



Cook184Valentine813

Figure 21 Detail of ca. 1888 Cook Studio Photograph

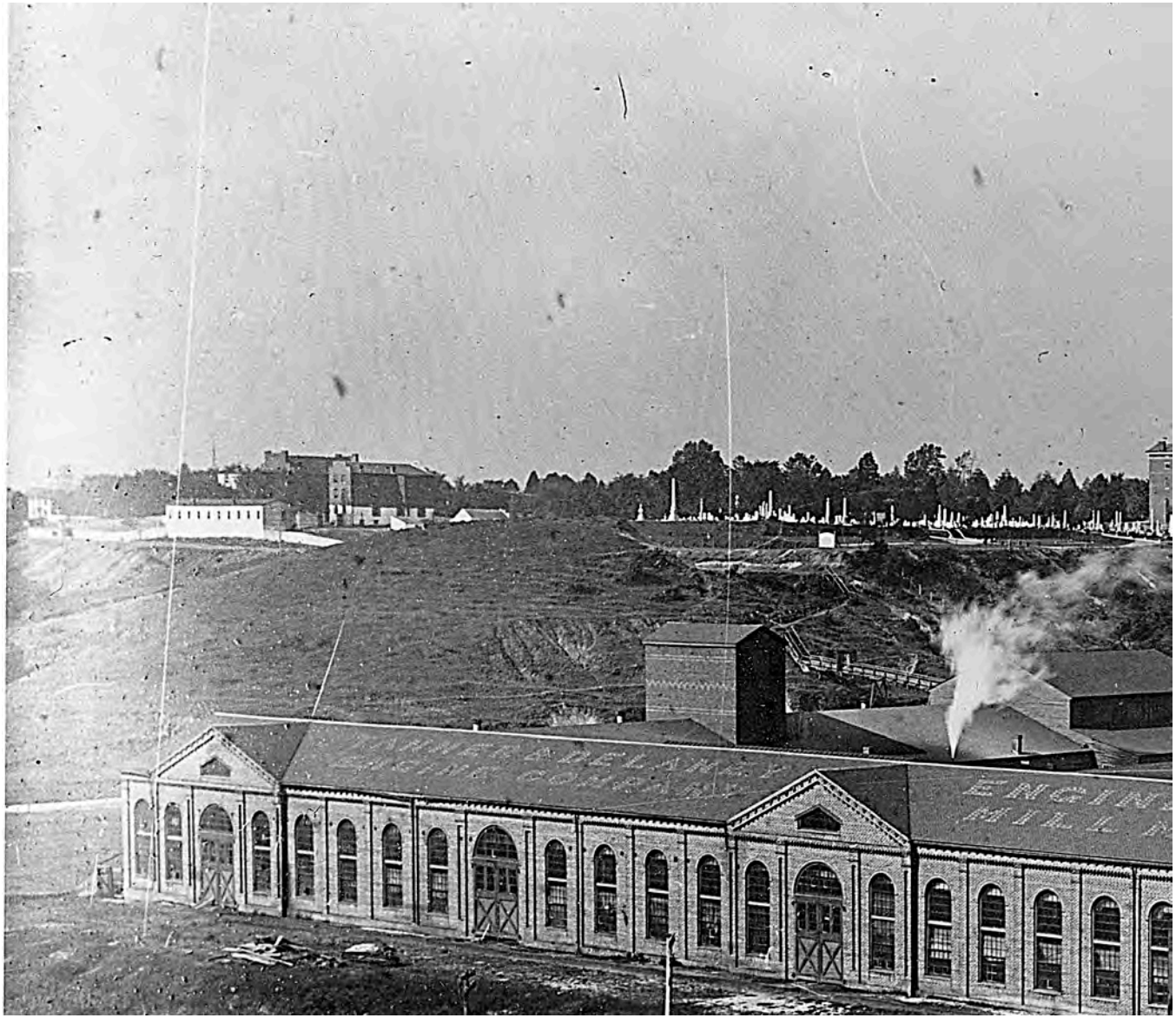
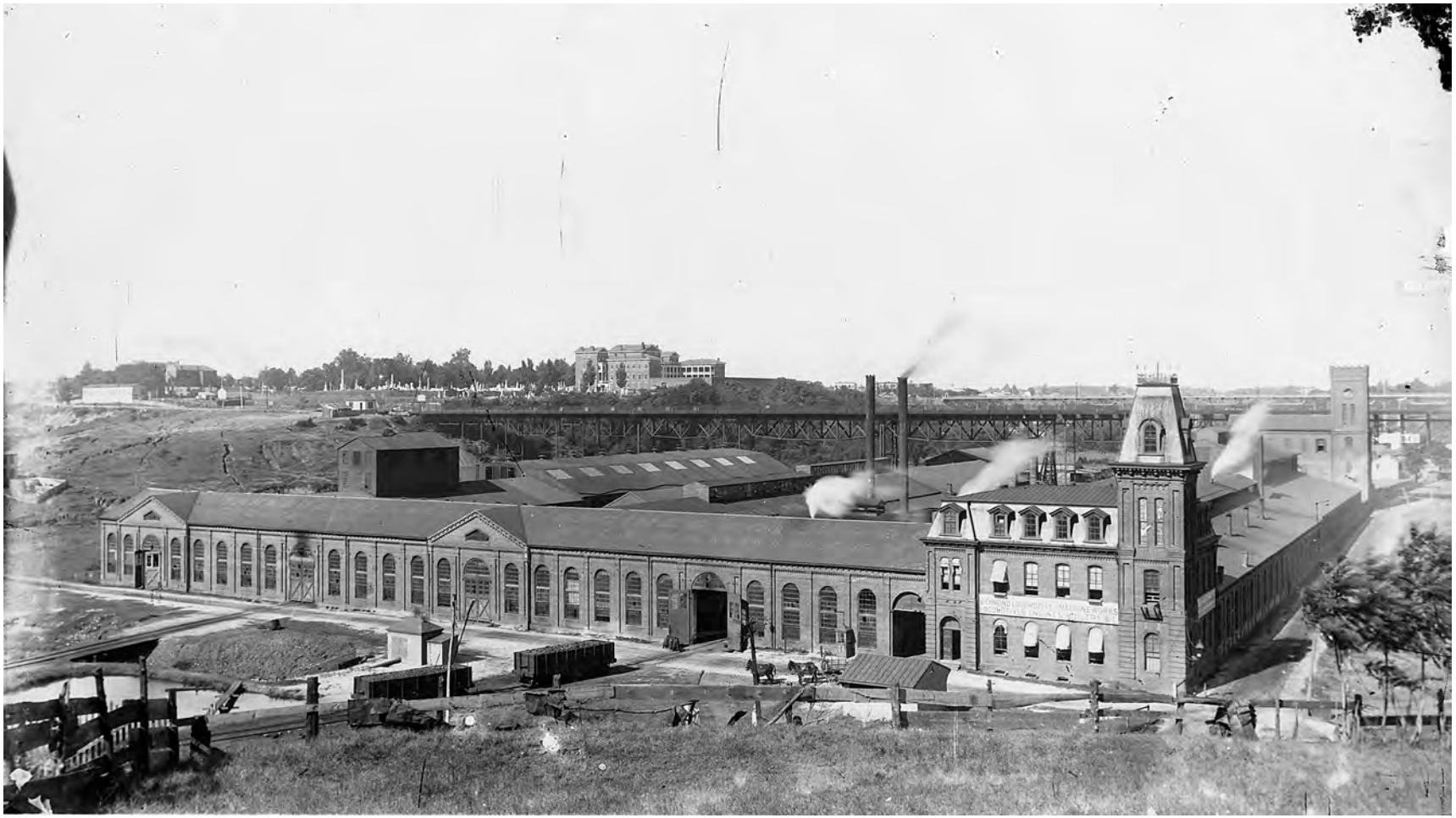


Figure 22: Photograph by the Cook Studio Richmond Va., ca. 1891



Cook 1867 The Valentine 814

Figure 23: Detail of Photograph by the Cook Studio Richmond Va., ca. 1891



Cook 1867 The Valentine 814

Appendix 2: Documentation Photographs

List of Photos

Photo #1: View to the east on Hospital Street at 2nd Street

Photo #2 The Almshouse

Photo #3: The Almshouse, view from 4th Street

Photo #4 Shockoe Hill Cemetery

Photo #5 Shockoe Hill Cemetery view to the north

Photo #6 View south on 4th Street

Photo #7 Chapel of The Hebrew Cemetery

Photo #8 Hebrew Cemetery, view to the east

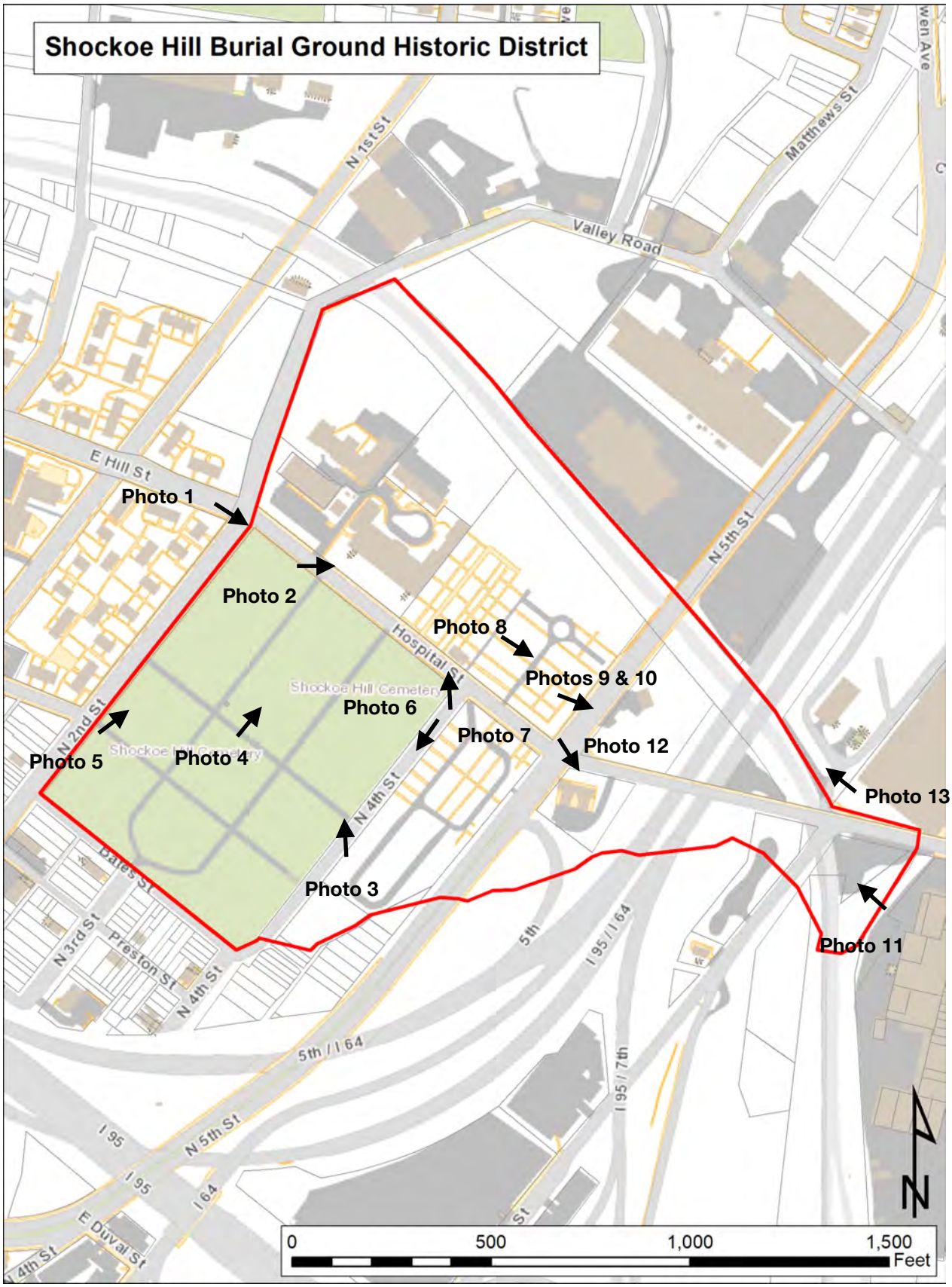
Photo #9 View of the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground from The Hebrew Cemetery

Photo #10 View to the east across a portion of the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground

Photo #11 Eastern Gateway to the Shockoe Hill Burying Ground Historic District

Photo #12 View Southeast, Intersection of 5th Street and Hospital Street

Photo #13 View to the west along the CSCX RR track



Locations and Points of Viuew for the Documentation Photographs

Photo 1: View to the east on Hospital Street at 2nd Street



Photo 2: The Almshouse



Photo 3: The Almshouse, view from 4th Street



Photo 4: Shockoe Hill Cemetery



Photo 5: Shockoe Hill Cemetery, View to the North



Photo 6: View South on 4th Street



Shockoe Hill Cemetery is on the right (west). To the left (east) is the former City Hospital/Colored Almshouse Site, now the Hebrew Cemetery Annex

Photo 7: Chapel at The Hebrew Cemetery



Photo 8: The Hebrew Cemetery, View to the East

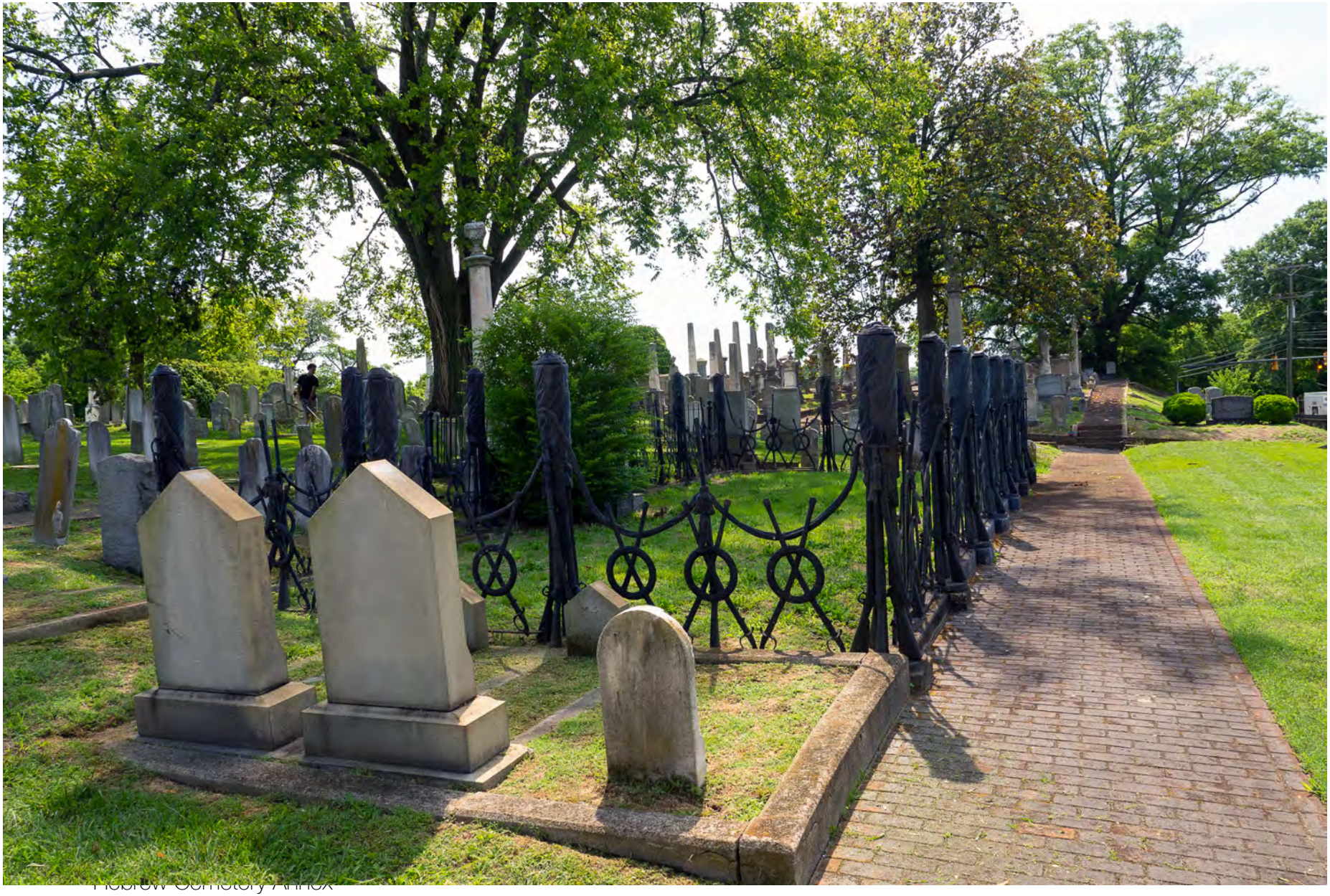


Photo 9: View of the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground from the Hebrew Cemetery



Photo 10: View to the East across 5th Street of A Portion of the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground



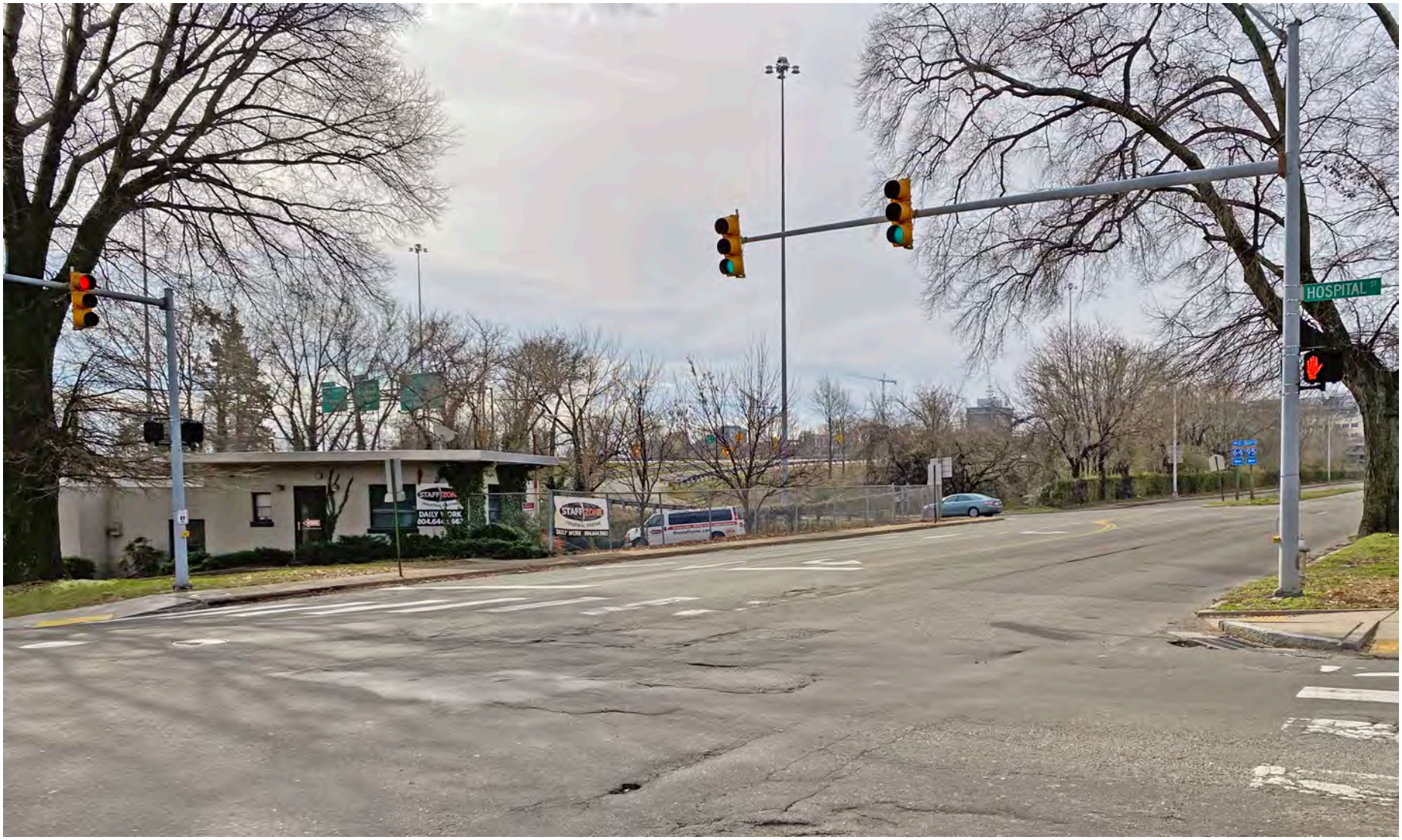
The level ground visible here includes much of the original (established 1816) Burying Ground for Free People of Color and a portion of the original Burying Ground for Slaves. When it was finally closed by the City in 1879, the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground covered more than 30 acres.

Photo 11: Eastern Gateway to the Shockoe Hill Burying Ground Historic District



View to the west at the intersection of 7th Street, Hospital Street and the CSX tracks. Each of these, and the nearby pillars of Interstate 64 have all intruded on the eastern edge of the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground

Photo 12: View Southeast, Intersection of 5th Street and Hospital Street



The location of the Staff Zone agency and the gully just south of the building include considerable fills thought to cover remains of the City Powder Magazine which was blown up April 3, 1865 causing several deaths and creating damage throughout Richmond.

Photo 13: View to the West along the CSX RR Track



The Historic District is bounded by the northern edge of this rail right-of-way. However, the Shockoe Hill African Burying Ground in 1879 extended east to Shockoe Creek, north to Bacon's Quarter Branch, and west 2nd Street