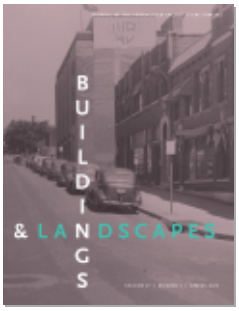
25 YEARS
PROJECT MUSE

Disappearing the Enslaved: The Destruction and Recovery of Richmond's Second African Burial Ground

Ryan K. Smith



Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum, Volume 27, Number 1, Spring 2020, pp. 17-45 (Article)

Published by University of Minnesota Press

For additional information about this article
https://muse.jhu.edu/article/762534

[Access provided at 1 Sep 2020 13:42 GMT from Lou & Beth Holtz Library Endowment]

RYAN K. SMITH

Disappearing the Enslaved

The Destruction and Recovery of Richmond's Second African Burial Ground

ABSTRACT

The hilltop at the intersection of Fifth and Hospital Streets in Richmond, Virginia, served as the city's primary burial ground for enslaved and free blacks from 1816 through emancipation, making it one of the longest-serving and most populous burial grounds of its kind in the nation. The site's early history and active use show its profound role in the lives of the city's African American residents as well as intimate connections with resident whites buried in adjoining cemeteries. Yet today the burial ground stands as the site of an abandoned gas station, its historic core unrecognized like so many other smaller burial grounds for the enslaved elsewhere. By tracing the process of obliteration at Richmond's "second African Burial Ground," this article illustrates how those in power—in this case a New South coalition of government officials, city engineers, and private developers—worked to truncate the highly charged memorial landscape related to human remains. The loss of this immense burial ground, untouched in the scholarly literature until now, underscores how essential the landscape and even human bodies are for the maintenance of social space and memory. As this site continues to face threats by roadway and railway projects and a proposed auction, it poses a key challenge to the concept of material "integrity" at the heart of federal preservation guidelines that have placed such properties at a disadvantage. As descendants and activists work to reclaim this burial ground without benefit of archaeological discoveries, the historic importance of its destruction may offer one of its few ways forward.

Atop a hillside just north of downtown Richmond, Virginia, an abandoned automobile service station sits on a lonely lot (Figure 1). The master architectural survey form at the state's Department of Historic Resources describes "Talley's Auto Center" as a one-story, four-bay masonry building composed of brick and concrete block. Constructed in 1960, this structure faces a paved driveway on a parcel at the northeast intersection of Fifth and Hospital Streets. Railroad tracks run along the bottom of its hill; Interstate 64 cuts across its eastern edge. When the staff of the Department of Historic Resources conducted their assessment of the site in 2011, they concluded that the property should not be considered eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. "There is no known association with important people or events and the resource is a typical example of this time period in the City of Richmond," the survey declared, and "the resource does not have the potential to yield future information." As late as 2016, the survey of the property was updated only to confirm these mundane findings.[1]

Readers of the survey as well as 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



Figure 1. View of the northeast corner of Fifth and Hospital Streets in Richmond, Virginia, as it appears today. Talley's Auto Center stands in the left of the frame while Interstate 64 rises in the distance. Photograph by Ryan K. Smith, 2017.

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 many 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.[2]

A similar litany of degradations, including the eventual fall from public memory, can be found at innumerable graveyards of enslaved and freed people across the nation, to say nothing of the vandalism visited upon later Jim Crow–era cemeteries. Among urban centers, examples abound at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, Nashville, Dallas, and in Norfolk, Petersburg, and Alexandria in Virginia, in addition to a host of other cities. Those few that have survived tend, like Savannah's Laurel Grove South, to be formally attached to white municipal cemeteries as segregated sections, but even these sections have frequently required distinct energies for their preservation. Many early burial grounds for whites also fell victim to what Dell Upton has described as "the frenzy of urban expansion," but the widespread, consistent destruction of African American graves points to a particular pattern of devaluation and discrimination.[3]

Even so, as cultural geographer Kenneth Foote has shown, the process of "obliteration" at sites of tragedy can never be complete. The obliteration of a meaningful site relies on improvisation, not convention, and hence the process must remain unfinished. Further, just as the physical landscape itself is entailed in the act of forgetting, it can also present openings for the recovery of memory. The scholar Elizabethada Wright has shown that graveyards' particular blend of the symbolic and the material creates unique openings for memories to become manifest. "As a physical place and a spiritual space," she observes, "the cemetery confuses the symbolic and physical to allow memories forgotten in other locations to survive—often silently." Increasingly the presence of human remains gives special impetus to these sites' recovery.[4]

The case of New York City's African Burial Ground presents the most striking example of recovery. When a federal construction project in lower Manhattan unearthed remains from the lost eighteenth-century "Negros Burial Ground" in 1991, public outcry led the General Services Administration to commission a full-scale study of the exposed site. Historic maps had recorded the location of the burial ground, but it was the uncovering of actual human remains that galvanized action. The ensuing analysis of more than 419 burials (among an estimated fifteen thousand) has yielded tremendous insight into early African American lives and culture, and the resulting African Burial Ground National Monument has helped re-center the role of slavery in the city's early history. In its memorials and reinterred remains, it has also opened a key portal for reflection and communion.[5]

Despite the influence of this project, the majority of slave-era cemeteries failed to receive such treatment. Generally, the best that could be hoped for was exemplified at Richmond's own "Burial Ground for Negroes," the predecessor to that beneath Talley's Auto Center. The demise of this earlier burial ground along Shockoe Creek in the early nineteenth century led to its repurposing as land for a school for whites and then a jail. A highway project in the 1950s buried it and the edge of the historic slave-trading district deep under lanes of traffic below Interstate 95. At the turn of the new millennium, activists identified the burial ground's presence on a historic map and prompted the city and state to designate a parcel of the historic site as the newly recognized "African Burial Ground," the earliest of its kind in the city (Figures 2 and 3). Its association with the enslaved conspirators of Gabriel's Rebellion has brought it special renown, and it now serves as host to revived folk rituals. No archaeology has been conducted there, but its story is told to visitors in a way that has so far been impossible for those standing at the shell of Talley's Auto Center just one mile away.[6]

Richmond's second African Burial Ground cannot claim this pride of place as the city's

"earliest," nor do we know of any famous interments there. Yet it was exponentially larger, involving interment numbers equivalent during its use with the famed Hollywood Cemetery across town or with the whites-only Shockoe Hill Cemetery nearby. And though it initially stood on the fringes of settlement, its place alongside the prominent burying grounds of Shockoe Hill and Hebrew Cemeteries meant that elite residents had intimate exposure to its routines. Accordingly, this burial ground shaped the city's passage through key decades of slavery and emancipation. Unlike the portrait presented in much scholarship on funerals for the enslaved, its history demonstrates that the practices surrounding the death and burial of one-half the city's population were not marginal affairs. Though familiar, and though white paupers may have occasionally been buried within its precincts, its usage nevertheless served to anchor concepts of race, blurring distinctions between free and enslaved. Yet those residents were able to rework its meanings to open a way to "home." By revisiting the history of such a vast, overlooked site, we see the scope of what has been effaced at burial grounds here and elsewhere throughout the urban South.[7]



Figure 2. Richmond's reclaimed African Burial Ground, with signage and interpretive markers on the western edge of the property beneath trees along the shoulder of Interstate 95. A field of grass in the foreground takes the place of an earlier parking lot. Photograph by Ryan K. Smith, 2019.



Figure 3. Two formal interpretive markers raised by Richmond's Slave Trail Commission at the African Burial Ground standing amid informal signage and visitor offerings and libations. Photograph by Ryan K. Smith, 2016.

To resurrect the site's history and to show its place in the lives of white and black residents requires a reversal of many well-honed methodological traditions of vernacular landscape studies. Scholars of material culture have commonly advocated beginning with cues from the physical evidence and turning to documentary sources secondarily. As a visit to Talley's Auto Center reminds us, there is an essential role for fieldwork. But without substantive archaeology, it is the archival evidence, with its own limitations, that must be used to identify the nature of the historic site. The destruction of the burial ground and the recent reclamation of its memory by descendants present essential elements of this history.[8]

Ironically, the site's destruction may offer one of its few ways forward. For the fate of this and of comparable burial sites still hangs in the balance. Last year, the city of Richmond prepared to auction this onetime public graveyard for the owner's tax delinquency before a newly identified descendant with family interments there rallied in protest. At the same time, two major infrastructure projects in central Virginia, a high-speed rail project and an expansion of Interstate 64, threaten to intrude upon its boundaries. Surveys conducted for the projects have acknowledged the historic presence of the burial ground even as their findings highlight the limitations of

historic preservation policies for African American sites. Eligibility for listing on the National Register of Historic Places requires a site to have retained a substantial portion of its historic fabric, and none of the surveys in this case have found such material "integrity" here. Thus advocates have put forth instead a novel proposal for listing it on the National Register; rather than having to demonstrate that the burial site retains its original integrity, an argument can be made that the postbellum desecration of the site itself deserves to be recognized as a historic act. If successful, the site could serve as a precedent against the privileges embedded in preservation policy which even the New York African Burial Ground had to satisfy. And it could offer a firmer foundation for the city's liminal burial ground in Shockoe Bottom. So in its history and in its prospects, a forlorn gas station may offer as deep a meaning as any recognized monument.[9]

Named and Unnamed: Origins and Use of the Burying Ground

The site's history began as early as 1799, when Richmond's city council purchased over twenty-eight acres of land straddling the county line to the north. At the time, Thomas Jefferson's newly constructed state capitol overlooked the waterfront on the James River to the south. Most of the city's population of 5,700 labored in the tobacco trade or pursued mercantile activities, while the falls of the river drew industrial enterprises. Bondspeople made up 40 percent of the population, and free blacks made up an additional 10 percent. Shockoe Valley and its creek split the city's settlements between two adjoining hills. Atop the eastern hill, which would come to be known as Church Hill, stood the Henrico parish church, around which most whites were buried. Down in the valley, on the rough western banks of Shockoe Creek, sat the "Burial Ground for Negroes." Already the hierarchies of burial were clearly demarcated. With the city's growth, the council understood that it would need more burial space; its acquisition of twenty-eight acres in 1799 was driven in part to seek "a suitable piece of ground . . . to be appropriated as a public burying ground for white persons."[10]

The city's free black community soon pressed authorities for a new site of their own. Leading the charge was Christopher McPherson, an educated ex-bondsman who worked in town as a clerk. Motivated in part by prophetic Christian visions, he voiced outrage at the conditions of the "mock of a grave yard" then designated for blacks. In 1810, he described it as "unenclosed [sic], very much confined as to space, under a steep hill, on the margin of Shockoe creek, where every heavy rain commits ravages upon some one grave or another, and some coffins have already been washed away into the current of Shockoe stream." McPherson also objected to its humiliating proximity to the city gallows, "*where malefactors are interred*" following execution. "Commanded" by the spirit, McPherson took action and drafted a petition to the city council "on behalf of the Free People of Colour, and got them to sign it, requesting a more eligible Burying Ground." McPherson even confronted one of the councilmen on the issue, suggesting that a new burial ground for blacks could be opened at the city's recently acquired property to the north. The councilman made some conciliatory remarks but explained that this new property "was too valuable for the purpose."[11]

So the free community took steps to chart its own future. Successful barbers, carpenters, shoemakers, and other artisans formed the Burying Ground Society of the Free People of Color of the City of Richmond in 1815. In doing so, they drew upon precedents like Newport's Free African Union Society (founded in 1780), Philadelphia's Free African Society (founded in 1787), and Charleston's Brown Fellowship Society (founded in 1790), all of which sought more dignified burials as part of their programs. The Richmond group purchased land on Academy Hill in Henrico County across the valley formed by Bacon's Quarter Branch, a tributary which fed into Shockoe Creek about one mile upstream from the original burial ground. Academy Hill stood within sight of the poorhouse that the city built on its own property. The Burying Ground Society then opened what would become known as the Phoenix Burying Ground for its paying members. Similar burial societies soon followed

in nearby Petersburg and Alexandria, forming in 1818 and 1824, respectively. In other cities, black congregations advanced their own efforts along these lines for members, as did Philadelphia's Mother Bethel and First African Baptist churches and Baltimore's Sharp Street Church.[12]

In Richmond, as if in response to the formation of the free blacks' Burying Ground Society, the city council passed an ordinance in 1815 opening a new "*public burying ground*" consisting of "one acre for the free people of colour, and one for slaves in the City." A subsequent map drawn by the city surveyor gives us a sense of the area (Figure 4). The graveyard was located just east of the poorhouse, a brick four-story structure surrounded by fields. Residential development had not yet reached that far, so most of the gridded streets existed as paths or as map notations only. Just south of the poorhouse was the intended site for the "Burying Ground for white persons" to succeed St. John's churchyard. The city's Jewish residents of Congregation Beth Shalome sensed the momentum toward a burial ground complex and successfully petitioned the city for one acre of ground between the poorhouse and the two acres set aside for black residents. The Jewish site would eventually become known as Hebrew Cemetery. As with the earlier "Burial Ground for Negroes," the city built a powder magazine just below the two acres set aside for black burials, which were perched on the cusp of the hillside running down three sides of the site. Bacon's Quarter Branch flowed into Shockoe Creek at the base of the hill's northeastern descent. There is no evidence that the grounds were enclosed, though the city did furnish landmarks to outline the property. In February 1816, the keeper of the poorhouse announced that he was "appointed to lay off the graves" in this yard assisted by a gravedigger. Its opening marked the end of interment activity at the earlier burial ground along Shockoe Creek.[13]

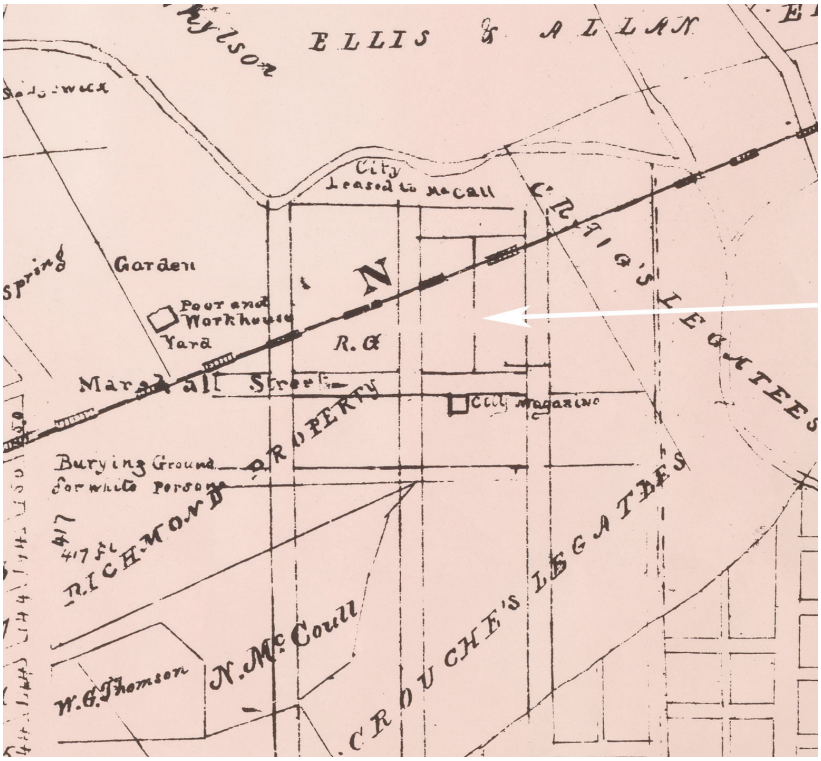


Figure 4. Detail from Richard Young's 1817 map of Richmond, showing the two acres (untitled, but a white arrow indicating their location has been added for this illustration) plotted for burial of the free people of color and slaves in the city, directly north of the city magazine and one block east of the "Poor and Workhouse." The city's corporate line runs across the two acres, and the winding streambed of Bacon's Quarter Branch joins Shockoe Creek to the northeast. The site intended for the "Burying Ground for white Persons," later known as Shockoe Hill Cemetery, appears to the south of the poorhouse. Richard Young, "Map of the City of Richmond and Its Jurisdiction Including Manchester" (1817), courtesy of the Library of Virginia.

Though initially it might have been seen as an improvement from the earlier gallows grounds, this hillside site pointed to the fact that most brought there had had no choice in the matter. This contrasted with the Phoenix Burying Ground across the valley, where families further exercised their options by selecting and raising permanent grave markers for their kin. On the other hand, since black families in Richmond could be composed of both free and enslaved members, the city's lot enabled such families to stay together in ways that the free society did not. The segregated section of the municipal burying ground in Lynchburg, Virginia, likewise mingled the graves of free blacks and slaves at the time, reflecting the different legal status of family members. In Richmond, any distinction made between the free and enslaved lots faded after the first few decades.[14]

The composite nature of the ground was reflected in the naming pattern associated with it. The nearby "Burying Ground for white persons" was titled the "New Burying Ground" upon its

opening in 1822, but city authorities soon stabilized its appellation as the Shockoe Hill Burying Ground (or, later, Shockoe Hill Cemetery). White families who could afford to do so purchased lots within the gridded and walled grounds; those who could not were buried "out side," presumably around the poorhouse grounds.[15] In contrast, the two hillside acres set aside for African American burials received a variety of shifting, informal titles. In 1835, a mapmaker titled its respective sections the "Grave Yard for Free people of Colour" and "For Slaves," with the latter section slightly expanded to the east (Figure 5). By 1848, another mapmaker identified the entire site as the "Burying-ground for Coloured persons," collapsing distinctions between the two groups while emphasizing race. Likewise at that time the keeper of the poorhouse named it the "Coloured Persons' Burying Ground" in his reporting. The following decade, the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* referred to it as the "negro burying ground" or "the colored burying ground." Robert Smith's map of 1853 titled it the "Afr[n] Bur[g] Ground," a name which must have resonated more closely with the language of those who used it, as with the recently established First African Baptist Church in the city. In other cities, bodies of the enslaved were often relegated to grounds serving additional purposes, such as Philadelphia's southeast public square, or subsumed at sites bearing the traditional anonymous term "potter's field." Urban black burials elsewhere also tended to be divided across more splintered networks of sites. In Charleston, the city's black burials were divided among five burial grounds in the lower wards and twelve more in the upper wards, in addition to a potter's field. In Richmond, the vast majority of antebellum black burials took place at the Shockoe Hill site, and the insecurity of its formal name would contribute to its instability in public memory.[16]

The city's black population rose quickly during the burial ground's early years and strained its two acres. By 1820, Richmond's black population, more than three-quarters of which was enslaved, stood above 5,600. Only twenty years later, in 1840, the city's black population would nearly double, surpassing 9,400. Additionally, the slave trade regularly brought transients through the city. Any records kept of the burial ground's earliest interments have been lost, but it is reasonable to posit that overall interment numbers roughly matched those at the white Shockoe Hill Cemetery, a supposition bolstered by sporadic newspaper reporting on the site from the 1830s and 1850s. Such projections point to more than seven thousand African American burials by 1840. During one cholera epidemic in the 1830s, officials counted 356 black interments there in a single six-week period. In 1848 authorities recognized the need to enlarge the grounds, contemporary with expansions at Shockoe Hill Cemetery as well as the free black burial ground on Academy Hill. So the city council directed a committee to inquire into "procuring a Burial ground for free persons of colour and slaves," and this came to fruition two years later. The council enclosed up to nine acres of the grounds around the city hospital which had been built across the street from Hebrew Cemetery and adjacent to the walls of Shockoe Hill Cemetery (Figure 6). Essentially an extension of the original two acres, it was "to be used as far as practicable, as a Burying ground for coloured persons." Like so much of this area, it was a makeshift ground; the expansion was never marked on any of the city maps as a graveyard.[17]

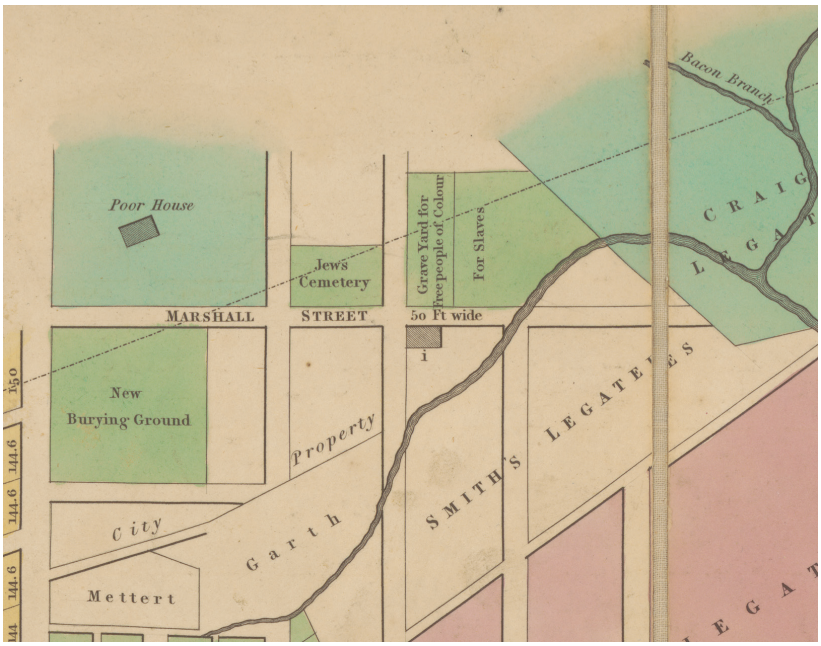


Figure 5. Detail from Micajah Bates, *Plan of the City of Richmond,* (1835), showing the expanding "Grave Yard for Free people of Colour" and "For Slaves" across from the "Jews Cemetery" and north of the magazine ("i"). Marshall Street would be renamed Hospital Street later that century, and Fifth Street, appearing on this plan only as a designation, would be cut into the yard. Courtesy of Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.



Figure 6. The city hospital in Richmond, constructed sometime before 1842, around which burials from the second African Burial Ground would extend. Photograph by Alexander Gardner, 1865, Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division.

All the while, these African American burials suffered predations on the part of the white community. Such activities had begun as early as the 1830s, when black bodies newly interred in the grounds were removed for use as medical specimens in anatomy labs. In 1832, the keeper of the poorhouse complained to city council that over the previous six months, "not less than sixteen persons have been disinterred in the Burying ground near the Poor house, appropriated for the coloured population and paupers." Upon investigation, the keeper found "that certain low and base men of this City are engaged in procuring subjects for the University of Virginia, and that they receive a compensation as soon as the body is deposited in care of the Agent who resides here." This was the first recorded example of medical schools preying upon the bodies of Richmond's recently deceased blacks; unlike in northern cities, future patterns would make it clear that any bodies of white paupers seized among them were anomalies. Richmond's city council referred the keeper's initial complaint to a committee with little hope of ending the practice. Six years later those ravages increased with the opening of Hampden-Sydney College's Medical Department, the forerunner to the Medical College of Virginia and Virginia Commonwealth University. The new medical school, located within a short walk from Richmond's poorhouse, announced that "the supply of subjects" for its dissecting room was "ample," since "from the peculiarity of our institutions, materials for dissection can be obtained in abundance." City authorities occasionally caught and imprisoned resurrectionists for disinterring black bodies at the "poor-house burying ground," though one local doctor could coolly inform a colleague in 1849 that "in passing down the street today I heard the darkies talking of a funeral tomorrow, if there be anything in it, I will watch and endeavor to secure the commodity for you." On one hand, this practice violated the sanctity of the grave, which the poorhouse keeper and the police force recognized. Even the General Assembly acknowledged increasing sensitivities toward human remains when it passed a law at that time prohibiting the violation of sepulture, or the removal of "any human body" from the grave. On the other, the broader toleration of the practice offered a defining signal of the dehumanization of enslaved residents, of their treatment as "commodity" rather than as persons.[18]

Further, as with the older burial ground, the city executed convicts on a series of gallows periodically raised in the vicinity. This, too, implicated black burials. For example, the enslaved servant Jane Williams was hung after being convicted of murdering her owner's family in 1852. Her execution took place in view of six thousand onlookers at a scaffold "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," according to a contemporary account. After her body was taken down, she was buried "in a grave dug near the scaffold, under the hill." "She has gone home," one black witness reputedly remarked upon her hanging.[19]

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 second African Burial 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 riders 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. Once complete, a man stepped to the head of the grave, "and after a few sentences of prayer, held a handkerchief before him as if it were a book and pronounced a short exhortation." This gesture toward literacy was striking, aligning with the inscribed gravestones that members of the burial society were raising across the valley. Olmsted found the man's delivery solemn but his words "ludicrous," though they included quotations from recognizable hymns, the book of Job, and the New Testament. Several women nearby were weeping and sobbing "intensely," and Olmsted admitted to being "deeply influenced myself by the unaffected fine feeling and the simplicity, natural, rude truthfulness and absence of all attempt at formal decorum in the crowd."[20]

At the conclusion, the speaker threw symbolic earth on the coffin and then took up a shovel with others to fill the grave. During their work, "an old negro" stepped forward to raise a hymn, which, in Olmsted's ears, unaccustomed as he was to call-and-response singing, "became a confused chant—the leader singing a few words alone and the company then either repeating them after him or making a response to them, like sailors 'heaving' at the windlass." The "plaintive" melody "was continued until the grave was filled and a mound raised over it." The group's final step was to mark the grave, as "a man had in the meantime gone into a ravine nearby and now returned with 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." After a few more prayers, the group dispersed.

Through Olmsted's detailed but disoriented descriptions, we find that despite the challenges of the site—steep and "desolate"—the mourners had arranged its ground as best they could with terraces and orderly graves. They had formalized a comforting ritual, beginning with a mounted procession and punctuated throughout with prayer, oratory, and songs rooted in black Richmonders' traditions. Different groups of African Americans (for apparently two different funerals) had mingled easily with one another, even under the watchful eyes of a white outsider like Olmsted. Olmsted later added that another white man had been in attendance, leaning against a fence as an official "procured to witness the funeral, in compliance with the law which requires that a white man shall always be present at any meeting" to prevent plans for insurrection. In spite of such restrictions, the black exhorter had directed the proceedings and invoked gestures toward literacy. Lastly, Olmsted was able to document the fragile grave markers illustrating the enslaved community's ongoing regard for its dead. Tree branches could point to connections and new life, just as uninscribed field stones used by slaves elsewhere could signal strength. On Academy Hill, free blacks raised



Figure 7. The headstone of John W. Faggains (d. 1854), featuring a willow tree motif, as it lies among others in the free black burial grounds on Richmond's Academy Hill, which would come to be known as the Barton Heights cemeteries. Photograph by Ryan K. Smith, 2015.

willows carved in stone over their graves; the enslaved at the second African Burial Ground employed the real thing (Figure 7).[21]

Broader white engagement with the site came in the form of attendance at funerals for family domestics. In 1857, white resident Elizabeth Fisher, wife of a prominent mill operator, recorded the deathbed scene of her family's longtime enslaved servant Kitty Cary. As Fisher hastened to the ailing woman's room, "our dear, faithful, old Kitty" drew her last breath, which "so completely unhinged me," she explained to her sister shortly after, "that I am unfit for any thing." Cary, a member of the First African Baptist Church, had uttered memorable final words, saying "Don't cry children, don't cry for me, I am going home." Though shaken, Fisher "staid [sic] there and had her neatly prepared for the tomb," and then planned to follow "her body to the grave tomorrow afternoon," surely referring to the second African Burial Ground only a few blocks from their home. "We do not intend any respect shall be spared to one who was ever faithful and affectionate," Fisher insisted. But her grief was enfolded within relations of mastery that structured their lives through the grave. Just a few years later, a northern white woman commented upon Cary's resulting gravesite at the close of the war. Florence Percy memorialized her and others who died before emancipation in a poem printed in *Harper's Weekly* in 1866. Composed upon the New Englander's arrival in Richmond, its first stanza highlighted the scene: "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." Wooden headboards had been traditional for poor whites as well. But Percy understood the uniqueness of such memorials to the enslaved and how soon they would all fall away, "For nothing guards her humble place of rest, / The straying cattle browse above her head." In those same years, another northern observer there was struck by the sight of "one grave, which had evidently received more care and attention than its neighbors," containing "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." So despite different politics, these northern and local whites each evinced similar assumptions regarding the body as a sacred vessel for individual personality, an element glimpsed among the enslaved but more formally and permanently visible amid the marble tombs within the walls of nearby Shockoe Hill and Hebrew Cemeteries.[22]

The maintenance of formal burial registers for the latter cemeteries made those assumptions plain. Astonishingly, a few quarterly burial registers also survive for the second African Burial Ground dating from the war years of 1862 through 1864, the only ones of their kind to do so. Newspapers had published annual interment figures for the black portion of the Shockoe Hill site since 1854; it is not clear whether the wartime burial registers represented a new type of

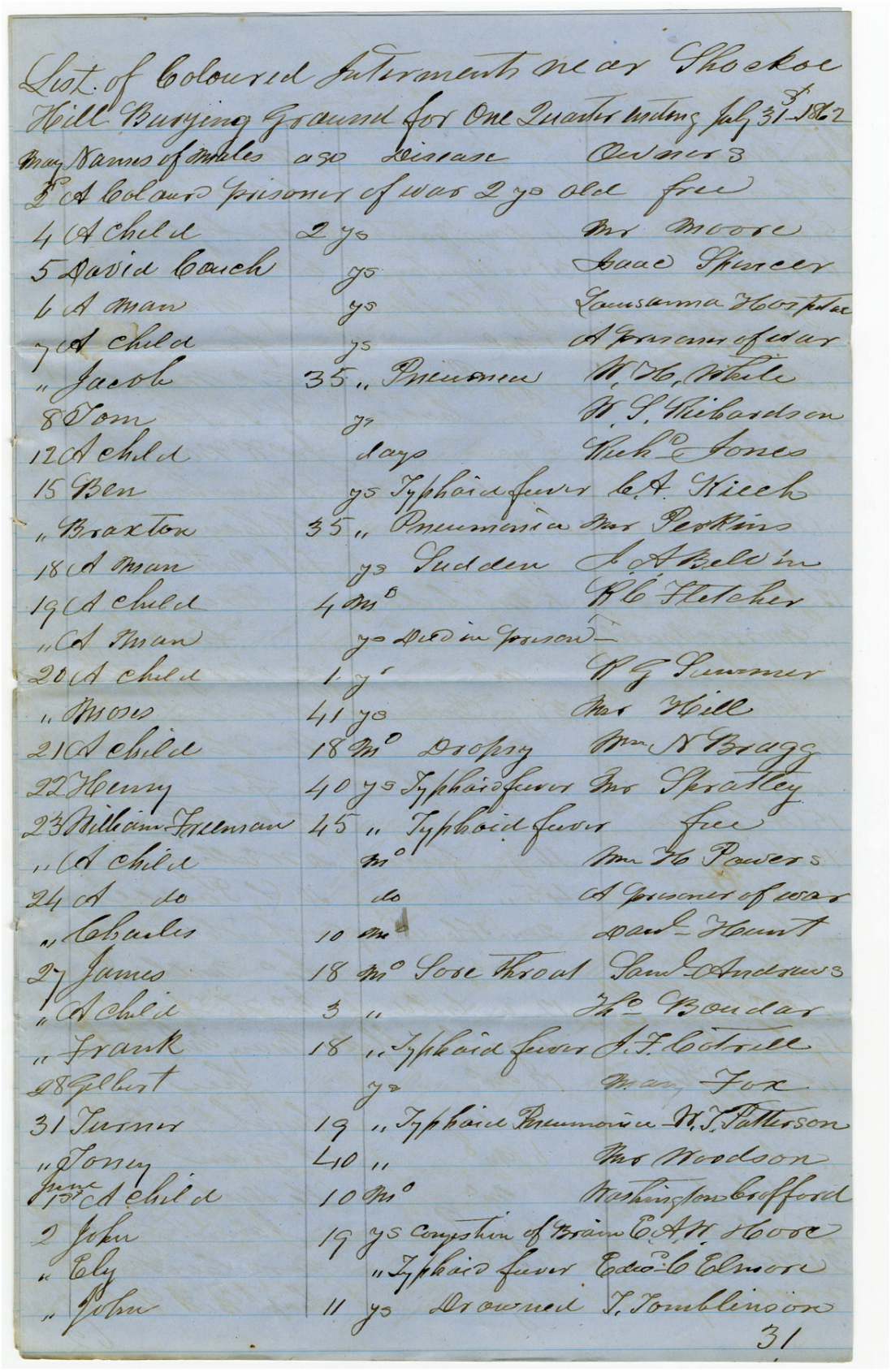
accounting or a vagary of survival in the archives. The registers show the relationship between the white and black portions of the Shockoe Hill sites under the same keeper as well as the broader entwinement of black and white lives in the city. The registers titled the site the "Shockoe Hill Burying Ground" / "Black" (or "Colored"), again showing the slippage of the site's official title. The registers were structured to give listings of names, ages, causes of death, and owners, if any, and they were separated into sections for males, females, and "still borns" (Figure 8). The month of May 1862, for example, listed twenty-seven males ranging in age from three months old to forty-five years, all enslaved except for William Freeman and three "prisoners of war." Those named included David Couch, Jacob, Tom, Ben, Braxton, Moses, Henry, Charles, James, Frank, Gilbert, Turner, and Toney. Fifteen females were interred that same month, ranging in age from four months to seventy-two years, all enslaved except for Barbara Ann, who died of hemorrhage. The names of the others were Victoria, Rebecca, Ida, Nancy, Cyntha, Molly, Hannah, Fanny, Julia Ann, two Lucys, and two Marys. Molly was the oldest among them, having lived to seventy-two before she died of "pleuric pneumonia." Only one stillborn child was listed that month, born of a mother owned by E. Wortham. The registers show that the ground received 819 interments from February 1, 1862, through February 1, 1863, averaging sixty-eight per month. This nearly doubled the annual interment figures from the previous decade, which had ranged from 422 to 548 each year.[23]

The registers highlight the prevalence of disease. The enslaved suffered from dropsy, dysentery, consumption, scarlet fever, diphtheria, heart disease, whooping cough, measles, smallpox, cancer, and more, with typhoid fever and pneumonia among the most common. All made old age a rarity on the lists. Others died more violent deaths, suffering from burns, accidents, drowning, or childbed. Twenty-five-year-old Archie was crushed by railroad cars. Another enslaved man, Aaron, was killed in a machinery accident. Twenty-one-year-old Margaret was executed for causing the death of her owner Samuel Tardy's infant daughter. A year later, twenty-two-year-old Henry was executed for waylaying a Hanover County man. Two enslaved men, William and Ben, were hung in the valley beyond the poorhouse, having been convicted of stealing shoes and apparel. All were buried in the grounds.[24]

On the other side of the columns listing the dead, a wide range of owners figured on the register, representing the city's slave-owning class and including women as well as men. The record for May 1862 identifies thirty-six different owners' names amid nearly that many slave deaths. The prominent slave trader Silas Omohundro appears on the list, as does Robert Lumpkin, who operated a notorious slave jail in Shockoe Valley. General John Winder, or at least his command, lost twenty-two-year-old Henry, and one-time governor Henry Wise delivered the body of "a woman." Joseph Anderson of Tredegar Iron Works is recorded as losing two enslaved men. Famed Baptist minister Robert Ryland buried his slaves William, Aggy, and Walker, ten years after ministering to Jane Williams on the gallows. And the Medical College of Virginia sent at least nine men for burial, though it is not clear if the college was the owner or the source of these particular bodies. Slave-owning women included Mrs. Pegram, Polly Price, Mary Hill, Mary Mountjoy, and Ann Overby. In a show of the site's basic utility, Confederate authorities also buried at least five hundred white Union soldiers in the grounds who had died as prisoners during these years, reinforcing their outsider status.[25]

The arrival of emancipation was heralded by destruction at the grounds. In 1865, Confederate authorities exploded the powder magazine adjoining the burial ground in their retreat from the city. The blast caused extensive damage to the surrounding graves. The force was so great that it killed area residents, blew out windows, and knocked down one portion of the wall around Shockoe Hill Cemetery. At the burial place "for the negro and the slave," recalled one Richmond resident, "some of those graves were torn open." It was a fitting opening to the conflicts Reconstruction would bring. The restored city council soon moved to replace the magazine, authorizing two new projects near the same site. In 1867,

Figure 8. The initial page of the section marked "Blacks" of the "Report of Interments for Quarter ending 31 July 1862" for Shockoe Hill Burying Ground, from the Richmond City Council Papers, Box 1862–1863, courtesy of the Library of Virginia. The page is headed "List of Coloured Interments near Shockoe Hill Burying Ground for One Quarter ending July 31st 1862."



List of Coloured Interments near Shockoe Hill Burying Ground for One Quarter ending July 31st 1862

No.	Names of Infants	Age	Disease	Owners
3	A Colour'd Prisoner of war	2 yrs	old	free
4	A child	2 yrs		Mr Moore
5	David Couch	yrs		Isaac Spencer
6	A man	yrs		Louisanna Hospital
7	A child	yrs		A Prisoner of war
"	Jacob	35 "	Pneumonia	W. H. Wiltshire
8	Tom	yrs		W. S. Richardson
12	A child	days		Richd E. Jones
15	Ben	yrs	Typhoid fever	L. A. Kiech
"	Braxton	35 "	Pneumonia	Mrs Perkins
18	A man	yrs	Sudden	L. A. Belvin
19	A child	4 mos		W. C. Fletcher
"	A Man	yrs	Died in Prison	
20	A child	1 yr		W. G. Pemmer
"	Moses	41 yrs		Mrs Hill
21	A child	18 mos	Dropsy	Wm N. Bragg
22	Henry	40 yrs	Typhoid fever	Mrs Spratley
23	William Freeman	45 "	Typhoid fever	free
"	A child	mos		Wm H. Powers
24	A do	do		A Prisoner of war
"	Charles	10 mos		Saml Hunt
27	James	18 mos	Sore throat	Saml Anderson
"	A child	3 "		Mr Boudar
"	Frank	18 "	Typhoid fever	A. F. Cottrell
28	Gilbert	yrs		Mary Fox
31	Turner	19 "	Typhoid Pneumonia	W. S. Patterson
"	Tony	40 "		Mrs Woodson
June 1st	A child	10 mos		Washington Crofford
2	John	19 yrs	Congestion of Brain	C. A. H. Hooe
"	Ely	"	Typhoid fever	Edwd C. Elmore
"	John	11 yrs	Drowned	T. Tomblinson

31

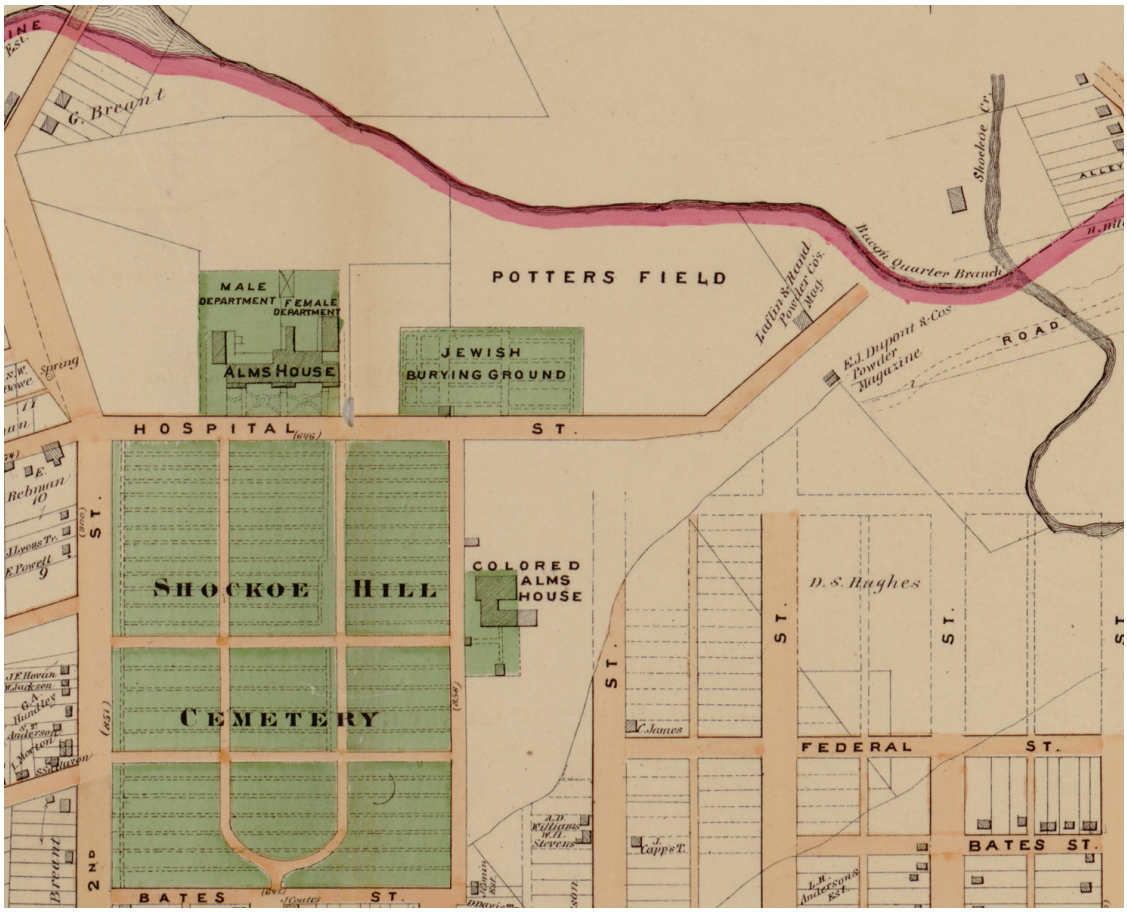


Figure 9. The Potters Field as represented in F. W. Beers, *Illustrated Atlas of the City of Richmond* (Richmond: Beers, 1876). Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Geography & Map Division.

workers digging their foundations at the eastern edge of the hill unearthed upwards of one hundred skeletons.[26]

Still the city's ground continued in use, relegated largely to the impoverished. Freed people, taking advantage of new opportunities, entered into and expanded the grounds across the valley established earlier by free blacks.[27] City directories titled the old municipal ground the "African" cemetery from 1869 through 1871 and then dropped all such references until 1877, when the directories pointed only to the free people's burying grounds across the valley. Even so, annual interment counts averaged 265 burials per year, rivaling or exceeding the number of white interments at nearby Shockoe Hill Cemetery. At the same time, maps began labeling the site the "Potters Field," indicating its use by the African American poor. White paupers seem to have been accommodated in a new "public portion" within the walls of the expanded Shockoe Hill Cemetery. The new name of Potters Field hinted at the site's vulnerability to further trauma. Maps showed an enlarged range, stretching to the north of Hebrew Cemetery all the way down to Bacon's Quarter Branch and along the streambed (Figure 9). At the same time, workers rerouted the newly designated Hospital Street on the southern border of the original graveyard, cutting off its southeastern corner.[28] Grave robbing for anatomical specimens continued, with one Medical College of Virginia alumnus recalling that body snatchers regularly targeted its graves of forlorn people. "For many years the city had used a barren hillside just outside the northern wall of the Hebrew Cemetery as a potter's field," the alumnus observed, explaining that ghost stories and "the protection from observation afforded by the high brick wall of the Hebrew Cemetery made it a simple matter to rob graves" there. The *Richmond Daily Dispatch* likewise found that "when the colored paupers

and others were buried on the hillside north and east of the Hebrew Cemetery they generally fell into the hands of the resurrectionists," though no prosecutions resulted.[29]

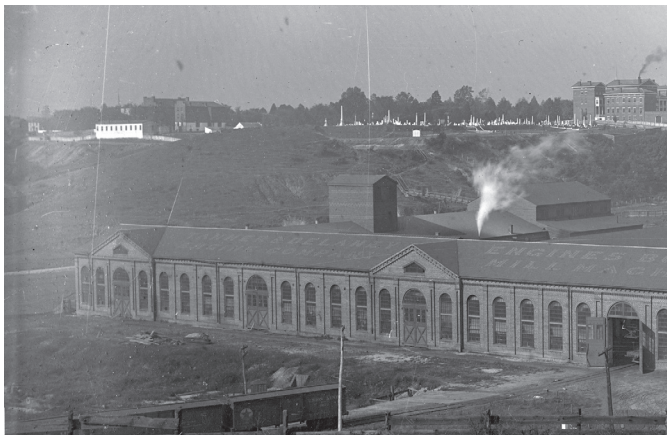
By 1877, the superintendent of nearby Shockoe Hill Cemetery had seen enough. That year, he reported to the city council that "that portion of the cemetery allotted to the colored poor is by its locality and arrangements (being an unenclosed field) illy fitted for a burial-place, and its now overcrowded condition renders it impossible to make any interment therein without disturbing some previous burial, thus making it both repulsive and inhuman." He recommended opening a new graveyard in some other spot. The council chose a more expedient solution and decided simply to shift all such burials to the paupers' sections of the city-owned Oakwood Cemetery on the eastern end of town. So in 1879 the city council finally ended interments at what it called "the Burying ground for colored people on the hill adjoining Hebrew Cemetery," closing a chapter on approximately twenty-one thousand total graves, while burials and grave robbing shifted to Oakwood Cemetery.[30]

Obliteration

Geographer Kenneth Foote describes the process of obliteration as the opposite of the process of sanctification, whereby a site is consecrated to certain ideals intended to invite public veneration. Sanctification is a formal procedure, yoking landscape and memory for civic purposes, while obliteration is "usually an improvised process unique to a specific context." Competing versions of cemetery sanctification occurred in Richmond after the war. At Hollywood Cemetery, memorial tributes to the thousands of Confederate dead culminated in the erection of a ninety-foot stone pyramid in its Soldiers' Section. At Richmond National Cemetery, the federal government collected over six thousand of its fallen troops (including those from the poorhouse grounds) and arranged them in lines of graves around a central flagpole. Formal speeches, processions, and holidays animated both versions. In contrast, the obliteration of the second African Burial Ground and so many others like it could follow no conventions. Foote holds that this "absence of a sanctioned ritual" means that a targeted site's associations "can never be completely effaced from place." Instead, the landscape itself, combined with memory and oral history, grows latent with unresolved conflict. This would prove especially true of the remains at the second African Burial Ground, for even the white editors of the *Richmond State* in 1882 could concede in theory that "the grave, all agree, is a very sacred place, and the grave of one person just as sacred as that of another, of the pauper as of the king." Agents of the site's destruction would include the same New South coalition of government officials, city engineers, and private developers engaged in the creation of the city's Monument Avenue as a means to blend commercialism with Lost Cause triumphalism for political ends.[31]

The process of obliteration began at the second African Burial Ground as soon as its utility for the white community ceased. It had already been weakened by grave robbing, the powder magazines, and its increasing association with the indigent. Accordingly, in 1883, city engineer Wilfred Cutshaw directed the extension of Fifth Street north through the graveyard, exposing a great number of bones in the process. City aldermen, including Josiah Crump, the black representative from the African American neighborhood of Jackson Ward, voiced concern with this blatant desecration. Alderman Joseph Dickerson went so far as to insist that "if there ever was an outrageous thing, this is one." The board adopted a resolution that provisions be made "for the decent and proper interment of the human bones disinterred by the extension of 5th Street and such as may be hereafter exposed to sight." But the workers nevertheless used "some of the dead bodies and bones" to "fill in the grade of the street." As the site lacked a formal enclosure, Cutshaw's engineering followed the process by which Hospital Street had earlier been redirected through the ground. In contrast, Hebrew Cemetery, on the other side of Fifth Street, was largely spared.[32]

Less than a decade later, in 1890, developers with the Highland Park and Northside Land companies constructed a viaduct, or bridge, across the valley at Fifth Street. This further exposed and





Figures 10 and 11. Two views of the site of the second African Burial Ground as seen from the northeast, showing the site's original two acres on the hillside to the left of the frame across from Hebrew Cemetery and the poorhouse. The first photograph taken circa 1887 shows a large mound on the hilltop and some excavations between it and Hebrew Cemetery. The second photograph taken circa 1891 shows the resulting devastation of that hillside following infill work and construction of the new viaduct extending Fifth Street across the valley formed by Bacon's Quarter Branch. Both show overgrowth on the graves descending from Hebrew Cemetery down to the valley floor where the Richmond Locomotive and Machine Works operated. Details of photographs courtesy of the Cook Collection, The Valentine, Richmond, Virginia.

destroyed the surrounding black burials. One white resident recalled that young boys found entertainment by climbing up the bank and peering into the graves during construction. In the process, the original graveyard hilltop was removed and leveled for fill, as a sequence of photographs from 1887 to 1891 make plain (Figures 10 and 11). Indeed, the newspaper touted the fact that "the dirt being used in filling the great ravine [to the east, at Seventh Street] is taken from the side of the hill nearby and from the street that is being graded near the city almshouse." The city council offered the now-familiar gesture of requesting that the exposed bones be collected and suitably reburied. Black residents' anguish found vent on the pages of the *Richmond Planet,* where editor John Mitchell Jr. shamed the "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." It was the first African Burial Ground all over again.[33]

Such road and bridgework would prove the bane of black burial grounds across the South. A parallel story for the destruction of Petersburg's earliest black burial grounds, including the desecration of bones, took place around this time, when the city purchased the site of a black burial ground in the Pocahontas area and repeatedly exposed bones in its excavations for street fill into the 1870s. In Baltimore during the 1880s, city authorities widened an avenue through Belair Burial Ground, which had been in use by blacks since 1839, though its trustees were able to reinter nearly five hundred bodies to a new site across town. By the early twentieth century, only two African American cemeteries survived in that city, both on sites postdating the war. Comparable obliteration involving highways could also be found at the Freedmen's Cemetery in Alexandria; the Lower Cemetery in Columbia, South Carolina; and the Freedmen's Cemetery in Dallas.[34]

In Richmond, an additional signal of white authorities' intention to undermine the ground sacred to the formerly enslaved and visible to whites appeared when the city government moved to essentially give away large, recently used portions. In 1882, the council responded favorably to a petition from Hebrew Cemetery's managers for the sale of "the piece of ground on the North side of their Cemetery, which was formerly used as a Potters Field" for $200. Such language made their intentions plain. The remainder of the land to the north all the way down to Bacon's Quarter Branch was granted to Hebrew Cemetery in 1886 with a deed that made no mentions of the land's previous use, despite the fact that maps continued to identify it as the potter's field.[35] Also in

the 1880s, the city moved to sell the old burial ground expansion across Hospital Street. By the time this plan took shape in 1909, three African American residents of Fifth Street appeared before a city committee to protest the sale. Representatives from the Hebrew Cemetery Company countered that the site was "adjacent to their present grounds and that it was suitably located for the purposes of a cemetery and was badly needed by them for this purpose." The African American protests were overridden, and graves were again lost to the Hebrew Cemetery Company for expansion of its own grounds.[36]

Industry also moved into the area as the Richmond Locomotive and Machine Works opened on the floor of the valley and the Seaboard Air Line Railroad Company ran tracks just south of Bacon's Quarter Branch. Related losses were soon echoed across the valley, where James Barton developed a streetcar neighborhood for whites known as Barton Heights, which moved to close and then seize the original free black burying grounds on Academy Hill. Those graves were threatened with disinterment as well, though black citizens organized a "Richmond Memorial Association" which managed to keep them in place.[37]

The process near the poorhouse continued into the 1930s when the city replaced the Fifth Street viaduct with a reinforced concrete bridge, requiring new footings through the disturbed ground. Shortly thereafter, Richmond's city council renamed the Fifth Street bridge the Stonewall Jackson Memorial Bridge. These steps aligned with city leaders' parallel efforts to crown the city's hills and avenues with tributes to additional Confederate heroes. Reflecting on it all, archaeologist Steve Thompson has observed that the re-creation of Richmond after the Civil War "included a range of acts *both commemorative and destructive* that left their enduring marks on the City's landscape and these marks continue to influence and shape the way Richmond's residents and visitors alike understand its history." Acts of destruction blocked the power of certain memories to be conveyed via symbolic space while they continued to dehumanize the dead by denying them their graves. All of this connected to the diminished life expectancy, disproportional arrest and incarceration rates, restricted housing, unequal educational opportunities, bleak employment prospects, and threats of racial violence faced by African Americans during Jim Crow.[38]

The site's signal destruction came in the 1950s, the same decade that the Richmond-Petersburg Turnpike, soon to be Interstate 95, tore through a swath of blocks in the heart of Jackson Ward. 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 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 (Figure 12). Generations of cars scraped its surface, as the memory-laden hillside was, as Kenneth Foote has observed of other obliterated sites, "not just cleansed but scoured."[39]

Recovery and Integrity

This site reemerged in an unusual way in 1994, one year prior to Shockoe Hill Cemetery's listing on the National Register of Historic Places without mention of black burials. That year, construction on the campus of Virginia Commonwealth University's medical college exposed a well dating to the nineteenth century. Untenured archaeologists on the faculty were called in and instructed by the university's president to clear the remains in two days. Racing to do so, they found a tangled knot of mostly African American bones, soft tis-



Figure 12. Looking south across the Stonewall Jackson Memorial Bridge (signage on pole) in the 1960s toward the new Sunoco station on the original site of the second African Burial Ground. Courtesy of the Virginia Department of Transportation.

sue, hair, and clothing dating before 1860. At least fifty-three individuals composed this assemblage, and their bones showed clear signs of anatomical study and saw marks prior to their disposal. Given the date of the deposits, the remains pointed back to the second African Burial Ground. Despite everything, they had survived.[40]

The university's administration did not see the remains as significant at the time. Those recovered were sent to the Smithsonian Institution and largely forgotten. But that decade saw renewed interest in Richmond's African American past, as at New York's African Burial Ground project. At the free black cemeteries, newcomer Denise Lester helped galvanize the city to clear and care for the historic Barton Heights cemeteries, and she orchestrated successful public events on the grounds with the community. Her efforts took place just as another local historian, Elizabeth Kambourian, circulated archival findings regarding the "Burial Ground for Negroes" at Shockoe Bottom that would lead to a grassroots effort to mark the site. And Richmond's city council launched its own Slave Trail Commission to highlight such stories across the urban landscape.[41]

By 2013, under local pressure, Virginia Commonwealth University's administration was ready to revisit its initial handling of the remains from the well. So the university formed a planning committee for the respectful disposition of the remains and then convened a Family Representative Council in 2015 to represent the descendants as surrogates, adopting a practice pioneered at New York's African Burial Ground project. The council called for additional research, a series of memorials, and the dignified interment of the remains in the first African Burial Ground just below the medical campus to mark the lives of the deceased. Proximity would play a role in this recommendation, but so did the better publicity and space of the earlier site, having been sanctified at a ceremony in 2011 and groomed for visitation (see Figure 2). The council's report mentioned the second African Burial Ground, or "potter's field," only briefly, but the process demonstrated the passions that could bring the site back into public memory.[42]

During these same years, the Virginia Department of Transportation began investigating the "purported Slave and Free Black Burying Ground" along Fifth Street. Interstate 64 had been built along the outer edges of the site fifty years earlier, and now planners were preparing studies for widening the highway. The resulting report by archaeologist Emily Calhoun in 2013 examined the project's right-of-way and "found



Figure 13. Projected limits of disturbance for the DC2RVA high-speed rail project at the site of the second African Burial Ground. Hatched white lines show "temporary limits of disturbance" just outside solid white lines showing the permanent limits of disturbance, including the extension up Hospital Street below Talley's Auto Center. The rail lines roughly follow the old creek bed. Hebrew Cemetery can be seen to the west of Fifth Street. Detail from Sheet 192 of the Preferred Alternative Mapbook accompanying the "DC to Richmond Southeast High Speed Rail Tier II Final Environmental Impact Statement," May 2019. Courtesy of U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Railroad Administration, and Virginia Department of Rail and Public Transportation.



Figure 14. The "Assumed Intact Portion of the Site" of the burial ground, in the words of the phase IB archaeological survey, at the crest of the slope seen just beyond the footings of Interstate 64. Photograph by Ryan K. Smith, 2016.

no evidence of interments" there. Her study involved archaeological trench surveys below the interstate, which yielded no remains or features and suggested that layers of soil had been moved. Calhoun also pointed to the possibility that graves had been removed from the area during the 1890 viaduct construction.[43]

Federal agencies investigated the site as well, as they began preparing high-speed rail plans connecting Washington, D.C., to points south. Within that effort, the DC2RVA project was launched, funded by the Federal Railroad Administration, the Virginia Department of Rail and Public Transportation, and CSX Transportation. The rail project entailed a review of sensitive sites along the project area, and in Richmond the team encountered the then-unacknowledged burial ground. In its phase IB study, archaeologists with the consulting firm Dovetail Cultural Resource Group sought to discern the limits of disturbance that the project might entail in relationship to the site. Defining the site by its most restrictive 1835 boundaries, Dovetail's surveyors found that the portion of the burial ground within the proposed project area "lacks subsurface integrity and therefore does not contribute [to] the site's overall [National Register of Historic Places] eligibility" (Figure 13). "Integrity" is among the benchmark criteria for National Register nominations and for Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, which governs federal undertakings. The criteria require that properties "possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association." Cemeteries with such integrity must demonstrate significance, as being "associated with historic events including specific important events or general events that illustrate broad patterns." Dovetail's surveyors acknowledged that the crest of the hill directly under Talley's Auto Center might contain intact remains, justifying a view of it as "potentially eligible" (Figure 14). So the project team formally recorded the burial ground with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources for the first time in 2018, as the "Grave Yard for Free People of Color and Slaves" (state archaeological site 44HE1203), using the boundaries from the 1835 map (see Figure 5). The

Department of Historic Resources concurred with the project team's findings and approach, approving a determination that the provisional railway plans would have "no adverse effect" on the historical fabric of the burial ground. Following this logic, bodies would need to be discovered in order to deem the ground historic.[44]

At this point the burial ground began to enter public discourse. Veronica Davis had offered the first published sketch of the site's history and significance in her 2003 study, *Here I Lay My Burdens Down: A History of the Black Cemeteries of Richmond, Virginia*. My own public-facing web project, www.richmondcemeteries.org, featured the site ten years later. A local working group soon emerged to see what kind of commemoration might be possible. Initially, the group's formation was prompted by Dennis Bussey, a white newcomer to the city and a Navy veteran whose James River Hikers organization had raised two other historical signs in the city through crowdsourcing. Bussey thought the second African Burial Ground should be recognized as such. Ellen Chapman's RVA Archaeology group also took an active interest.[45]

These groups' deliberations were missing an essential component: participation by descendants who identified a connection with the ground. One entered the conversations in 2017, when members heard from Lenora McQueen, an African American genealogist in Texas with family roots in central Virginia. McQueen had identified her fourth great-grandmother as the very Kitty Cary memorialized by Elizabeth Fisher and Florence Percy. During one research trip, McQueen traveled to Richmond to learn what she could of the enslaved woman's fate. After reading Fisher's narrative and identifying Cary's likely burial spot, McQueen ventured to the intersection of Fifth and Hospital Streets to see what had become of her ancestor's resting place. "When I arrived there I did not recognize the property as a cemetery," she said. "I thought that my GPS was wrong. Surely it had taken me to the wrong location. I hoped that was not the place." Only later could she reconcile herself to the fact that she had found the correct location. Contemplating the disturbing visit, she explained,

> It makes me very sad, it also makes me angry, and I feel somewhat horrified. For all I know my ancestor ended up on the dissection table and from there possibly in the well at MCV. I hope that is not the case. But it is possible. The feeling of excitement that I should be feeling for figuring out where my ancestor is buried is overshadowed by all of the other feelings. I realize that this is an incredible find—but at the same time it seems so terrible.

These were raw feelings. McQueen concluded that "all of those people buried or who were buried at the African Burial Ground at Hospital Street and Fifth deserve to be honored, respected and remembered just like anyone else." Her wound was worsened by having seen the pristine plot of her ancestor's owners at Hollywood Cemetery just before the encounter.[46]

McQueen's findings galvanized her into action and energized the working group, with her voice and research giving a renewed urgency to the site. She identified two additional enslaved ancestors likely buried in the grounds, and she expanded the number of stakeholders throughout the region. In 2018, working from afar, McQueen discovered that the property at the northeast corner of Fifth and Hospital Streets had been seized by the city for tax delinquency and was slated for public auction. The city government did not know what it had. So McQueen alerted Virginia government officials to the situation and the city suspended the tax sale. At the New York African Burial Ground, director of research Michael Blakey had demonstrated the necessity for descendant involvement in such projects. Blakey's colleague Cheryl Janifer LaRoche found that "the nature of African-American archaeology is such that archaeologists are continually challenged by the unexpected and hampered by the unknown. These are the qualities of the field that alternately inflame and inspire the public." Echoing McQueen's experience at Richmond's site, LaRoche concludes that public activism on the part of individuals, descendant communities, and other stakeholders has been primarily responsible for reclamation and monumental recognition at numerous related sites. LaRoche's examples include Alexandria's

Freedmen's Cemetery, where activists recently partnered with the city to acquire the land, clear a gas station, and raise a memorial.[47]

Even so, the high-speed rail project continues to move forward. McQueen and her allies have challenged the state's ruling that the provisional plans would have "no adverse effect" on the historic fabric of the burial ground, pointing to a series of historic maps which show the steady expansion of the grounds, even down to the creek bed at the base of the hill, as well as to the south across Hospital Street. Representatives from other groups, including the Virginia Defenders for Freedom, Justice & Equality; the Historic Richmond Foundation; and faculty at Virginia Commonwealth University lent support to such a view. In response, the rail project team convened a site visit in 2019 and offered a series of three "commitments": to undertake a historic landscape analysis, to conduct archaeological testing in the revised limits of disturbance, and to staff an onsite archaeologist during construction to monitor potential discoveries (Figure 15). The project awaits final plans and funding while the burial ground's allies look for the outcome of those commitments.[48]

At the heart of the deliberations is the rail project team's primary concern to identify the potential for intact remains. But the treatment of this and other historic African American sites has ensured that those expectations impose an unequal burden in comparison with sites associated with whites that make up the longstanding focus of the historic preservation movement. Virginia's preservation office identifies a mere 306 landmark sites related in some way to African American history statewide among more than 3,240 total. Nationally, amid more than 85,000 sites on the National Register, as few as 2 percent focus on African American history. As McQueen explains, "My ancestor's scattered remains are not less important to me than their intact remains. I can't imagine that others would feel differently concerning their ancestors."[49] In response, archaeologists Ellen Chapman and Steve Thompson have put forward an alternative reading of the site's significance related to its potential listing on the National Register. Rather than asserting a period of significance involving the use life of the cemetery (1816–1879) and in terms of intact human burials (a liability in light of the site's obliteration), Thompson and Chapman venture an alternative: "to extend the period of significance through the 1880s and '90s when the site was effectively destroyed and to make the destruction/erasure of this piece of Richmond's antebellum landscape the lynch pin to the discussion/evaluation of historical significance of the place." It would be "a novel approach that is largely without precedent." There are reasons why the National Park Service, which maintains the register, and the state preservation offices, which coordinate it, might resist such a precedent. But destruction as well as origins speak to a site's significance.[50]

This kind of creative response to the limits of African American historic fabric can be seen at the Legacy Museum and National Memorial for Peace and Justice in Montgomery, Alabama, which has been collecting and displaying jars of soil from lynching grounds throughout the South. "We can grow something with this," observes the museum's founder, Bryan Stevenson. "We can create something with this that has new meaning." Another line has been pursued by members of the Periwinkle Initiative, which has sought to build a national burial database of enslaved Americans for sites it defines then and



Figure 15. Attendees, including Ana Edwards (center) of the Virginia Defenders for Freedom, Justice & Equality, reviewing the proposed area of potential impact for the railway project at the corner of Fifth and Hospital Streets in Richmond in February 2019. Photograph by Ryan K. Smith.

now as sacred grounds. Concerning such sites' eligibility for the National Register and federal recognition, preservationist Ned Kaufman has advocated a related shift in emphasis "from 'objectness' to 'placefulness'" as a remedy.[51]

In the meantime, it will be a challenge for activists to commemorate Richmond's privately held site despite its deep history and scale and the rising public interest attending it. The obliteration of the site has left its boundaries confused and its "integrity" compromised, with nothing historic apparent on the visible landscape. African American preservation energies have gone toward other threatened sites nearby, including the first African Burial Ground, the Barton Heights cemeteries, East End Cemetery, and the resting places of Maggie Walker and John Mitchell Jr. in Evergreen Cemetery and of Arthur Ashe in Woodland Cemetery. The second African Burial Ground site cannot draw on a well-known historic figure to galvanize popular interest. Still, as Kenneth Foote has observed, such sites "play an active role in their own interpretation" and can help reshape that process. The human remains from the nineteenth-century well call for an interpretation of their meaning, as does the empty shell of the auto center alongside the beautified Shockoe Hill and Hebrew Cemeteries. A successful National Register nomination using the burial ground's destruction as an element of its historic significance would open a new avenue for recognition of properties in similar straits across the country. Whatever its official status, however, and whatever the condition of its remaining graves, it holds a profound place in the lives of descendants like Lenora McQueen, some scattered by the slave trade and later migrations, and some reckoning their lives in its neighborhood. Those descendants, with the aid of archives, archaeology, and artists, can tell a different story about Talley's Auto Center. Twenty-one thousand in bondage cannot be disappeared for long.[52]

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Ryan K. Smith is professor of history at Virginia Commonwealth University. He is author of *Gothic Arches, Latin Crosses* (2006) and *Robert Morris's Folly* (2014). His book *Death and Rebirth in a Southern City: Richmond's Historic Cemeteries* is forthcoming in 2020.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Lenora McQueen for her transformative contributions to this project, including research she has graciously shared. I also thank Jeffry Burden, Ellen Chapman, Ana Edwards, Cassandra Farrell, Jodi Koste, Amanda Morrell, Steve Thompson, Minor Weisiger, Douglas Winiarski, Tom Woodward, and Trevor Wrayton for key contributions and conversations. The Humanities Research Center at Virginia Commonwealth University and my colleagues there, including Winnie Chan, Faedah Totah, and Nicole Myers Turner, offered essential support. And I am grateful to Lydia Mattice Brandt, Carl Lounsbury, and two anonymous readers for their valuable comments, critiques, and encouragements to improve the piece.

NOTES

1. "Talley's Auto Service Center" architectural survey form, site 127–6660, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, 2011 and revisited in 2016.

2. David Lowenthal, "Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory," *Geographical Review* 65 (January 1975): 1–36; Gertrude Fraser and Reginald Butler, "Anatomy of a Disinterment: The Unmaking of Afro-American History," in *Presenting the Past: Essays on History and the Public,* ed. Susan Porter Benson, Stephen Brier, and Roy Rosenzweig (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 121–32; W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005); Ryan K. Smith, *Death and Rebirth in a Southern City: Richmond's Historic Cemeteries* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, forthcoming). Before 2019, the only published study of this burial ground was a brief mention in Veronica A. Davis, *Here I Lay My Burdens Down: A History of the Black Cemeteries of Richmond, Virginia* (Richmond: Dietz Press, 2003).

3. Dell Upton, "The Urban Cemetery and the Urban Community: The Origin of the New Orleans Cemetery," in *Exploring Everyday Landscapes: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, VII,* ed. Annmarie Adams and Sally McMurry (Knoxville: University of

Tennessee Press, 1997), 131–45. For urban graveyards for the enslaved, see Morton R. McInvale, *Laurel Grove-South Cemetery* (U.S. National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, 1977); Roberta Hughes Wright and Wilbur B. Hughes III, *Lay Down Body: Living History in African American Cemeteries* (Detroit: Visible Ink Press, 1996); John P. McCarthy, "Material Culture and the Performance of Sociocultural Identity: Community, Ethnicity, and Agency in the Burial Practices at the First African Baptist Church Cemeteries, Philadelphia, 1810–41," in *American Material Culture: The Shape of the Field,* ed. Ann Smart Martin and J. Ritchie Garrison (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 359–79; Michael Trinkley, Debi Hacker, and Sarah Fick, *The African American Cemeteries of Petersburg, Virginia: Continuity and Change* (Columbia, S.C.: Chicora Foundation, 1999); Davis, *Here I Lay My Burdens Down*; Kami Fletcher, "The City of the Dead for Colored People: Baltimore's Mount Auburn Cemetery, 1807–2012" (PhD diss., Morgan State University, 2013); Lynn Rainville, *Hidden History: African-American Cemeteries in Central Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014); Seth Freed Wessler, "Black Deaths Matter," *The Nation,* October 15, 2015; Andrea E. Frohne, *The African Burial Ground in New York City: Memory, Spirituality, and Space* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2015); Periwinkle Initiative, *Memory & Landmarks: Report of the Burial Database Project of Enslaved Americans* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Periwinkle Initiative, 2016); Zach Mortice, "Perpetual Neglect: The Preservation Crisis of African-American Cemeteries," *Places* (May 2017), https://placesjournal.org/article/perpetual-neglect-the-preservation-crisis-of-african-american-cemeteries/. Jerome S. Handler offers useful reflections on the general disappearance of burial sites for the enslaved in "Searching for a Slave Cemetery in Barbados, West Indies: A Biological and Ethnohistorical Investigation," Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, Research Paper No. 59, 1989.

For the narrowing of public ground available for black memory following Reconstruction, see Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997); Brundage, *The Southern Past*; Dell Upton, *What Can and Can't Be Said: Race, Uplift, and Monument Building in the Contemporary South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015); Ethan J. Kytle and Blain Roberts, *Denmark Vesey's Garden: Slavery and Memory in the Cradle of the Confederacy* (New York: New Press, 2018).

4. Kenneth E. Foote, *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy,* rev. ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003); Elizabethada A. Wright, "Rhetorical Spaces in Memorial Places: The Cemetery as a Rhetorical Memory Place/Space," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 35 (Fall 2005): 51–81; Gary Laderman, *The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes Toward Death, 1799–1883* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); Kathleen S. Fine-Dare, *Grave Injustice: The American Indian Repatriation Movement and NAGPRA* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002); Keith Eggener, *Cemeteries* (New York: Norton, 2010). Michael Blakey reminds us that "once the corporal remains of a human life have been planted under earth, chances are good that they will be encountered again." See Blakey, "Forward," in Wright and Hughes, *Lay Down Body,* xiii.

5. Cheryl J. LaRoche and Michael L. Blakey, "Seizing Intellectual Power: The Dialogue at the New York African Burial Ground," *Historical Archaeology* 31 (1997): 84–106; *The New York African Burial Ground: Unearthing the African Presence in Colonial New York,* 5 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press in association with the General Services Administration, 2009); Frohne, *African Burial Ground in New York City.*

6. Smith, *Death and Rebirth in a Southern City*; *Meet Me in the Bottom: The Struggle to Reclaim Richmond's African Burial Ground,* prod. and dir. Shawn O. Utsey (Burn Baby Burn Productions, 2010); "Sacred Ground Historical Reclamation Project," http://www.sacredgroundproject.net; Mai-Linh K. Hong, "'Get Your Asphalt Off My Ancestors!': Reclaiming Richmond's African Burial Ground," *Law, Culture and the Humanities* 13, no. 1 (June 13, 2013): 81–103; Autumn Rain Duke Barrett, "Honoring the Ancestors: Historical Reclamation and Self-Determined Identities in Richmond and Rio de Janeiro" (PhD diss., College of William and Mary, 2014); Ellen L. Chapman, "Buried Beneath the River City: Investigating an Archaeological Landscape and Its Community Value in Richmond, Virginia" (PhD diss., College of William and Mary, 2018).

7. Richard C. Wade, *Slavery in the Cities: The South 1820–1860* (New York: Oxford University Press,

1964); David Charles Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991); Frohne, *African Burial Ground in New York City.*

8. Henry Glassie, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975); James Deetz, *Flowerdew Hundred: The Archaeology of a Virginia Plantation, 1619–1864* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993); Jules David Prown and Kenneth Haltman, eds., *American Artifacts: Essays in Material Culture* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2000); compare with Maurie D. McInnis, "Mapping the Slave Trade in Richmond and New Orleans," *Buildings & Landscapes* 20, no. 2 (Fall 2013): 102–25.

9. Personal correspondence with Lenora McQueen, 2018–2020. For the role of descendants and activists in redefining the historic value of African American sites, see LaRoche and Blakey, "Seizing Intellectual Power"; and James M. Davidson and Jamie C. Brandon, "Descendant Community Partnering, the Politics of Time, and the Logistics of Reality: Tales from North American, African Diaspora, Archaeology," and Cheryl Janifer LaRoche, "The Anthropology of Archaeology: The Benefits of Public Intervention at African-American Archaeological Sites," in *The Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology,* ed. Robin Skeates, Carol McDavid, and John Carman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 605–28 and 629–58.

10. Entries for April 15 (quotation), May 20, July 3, and August 20, 1799, in Richmond City Council Minutes, 1796–1807, Library of Virginia; Richard Young, "Plan of the city of Richmond," c. 1809, Richmond Office of the City Engineer Records, Library of Virginia; Marianne Buroff Sheldon, "Black-White Relations in Richmond, Virginia, 1782–1820," *Journal of Southern History* 45 (February 1979): 27–44; Midori Takagi, *Rearing Wolves to Our Own Destruction: Slavery in Richmond, Virginia, 1782–1865* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999); T. Tyler Potterfield, *Nonesuch Place: A History of the Richmond Landscape* (Charleston, S.C.: History Press, 2009); Judith Bowen-Sherman, *The Burying Ground at Old St. John's Church: A Concise History with Fifty Family Profiles and a Parish Burial Register* (Richmond: St. John's Episcopal Church, 2011).

11. 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); entry for June 18, 1810, in Common Hall of the City of Richmond, Records No. 3, 1808–1813, Library of Virginia; Edmund Berkeley Jr., "Prophet Without Honor: Christopher McPherson, Free Person of Color," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 77 (April 1969): 180–90.

12. "The 1844–1858 Minutes of the Burying Ground Society of Free People of Color of the City of Richmond, Virginia," transcribed by Denise I. Lester, Black History Museum, Richmond, Va.; James B. Browning, "The Beginnings of Insurance Enterprise Among Negroes," *Journal of Negro History* 22 (October 1937): 417–32; Gregg D. Kimball and Nancy Jawish Rives, "'To Live in Hearts We Leave Behind Is Not to Die': The Barton Heights Cemeteries of Richmond," *Virginia Cavalcade* 46 (Winter 1997): 118–31; Denise I. Lester, *Barton Heights Cemeteries* (U.S. National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, 2000); Michael Trinkley, Debi Hacker, and Sarah Fick, *The African American Cemeteries of Petersburg*; "Rules and Regulations for the Government of a Society of the Free People of Color in the Town of Alexandria, to Be Called the 'Mutual Relief and Friendly Society,'" 1824, Virginia Historical Society; McCarthy, "Material Culture and the Performance of Sociocultural Identity"; Rebecca Yamin, *Digging in the City of Brotherly Love: Stories from Philadelphia Archaeology* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Aaron Wunsch, *Bethel Burial Ground* (U.S. National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, 2015); Fletcher, "The City of the Dead for Colored People"; Wright and Hughes, *Lay Down Body;* Smith, *Death and Rebirth in a Southern City.*

13. "This is to inform the Inhabitants of the City of Richmond," *Richmond Enquirer,* February 22, 1816; entries for June 19, 1815, and February 28, April 15, and May 20, 1816, in Common Council of the City of Richmond, Records No. 5, 1814–1816, Library of Virginia; "An ordinance for regulating the public burial grounds of this city," June 19, 1815, in Ordinances 1806–1816, Richmond City Administration Records, Library of Virginia; Richard Young, "Map of the City of Richmond and Its Jurisdiction Including Manchester" (1817), Library of Virginia (second quotation); Herbert T. Ezekiel and Gaston Lichtenstein, *The History of the Jews of Richmond from 1769 to 1917* (Richmond: Herbert T. Ezekiel, 1917). The keeper announced a fee

of $1.25 for gravedigging services. Despite the graveyard's alignment with the poorhouse and the new municipal burying ground for whites, it may nevertheless reinforce Maurie D. McInnis's view of the slave trade in Richmond's public spaces as "tucked away and almost hidden, relegated to the least-desirable locations in the city," in that the graveyard stood at the far edge of the northernmost hill. See McInnis, "Mapping the Slave Trade in Richmond and New Orleans."

14. Ryan K. Smith, "Philip N. J. Wythe's Headstone," *Southern Cultures* 23 (Fall 2017): 39–46; Ted Delaney and Phillip Wayne Rhodes, *Free Blacks of Lynchburg, Virginia, 1805–1865* (Lynchburg, Va.: Warwick House Publishing, 2001).

15. Shockoe Cemetery Records, Registers of Interments, Library of Virginia; Richard Young, "Map of the New Burying Ground of the City of Richmond" (1824), Richmond Office of the City Engineer papers, Library of Virginia; "The Cholera," *Richmond Enquirer,* September 28 and October 5, 1832; "Cholera Statistics," *Richmond Enquirer,* October 23, 1832; "The Petersburg Express," *Richmond Daily Dispatch,* September 8, 1855; Kathryn L. Whittington, *Shockoe Hill Cemetery* (U.S. National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, 1995). In 1849, the *Richmond Enquirer* listed the "Coloured Persons' Burying Ground" as distinct from the "Paupers' and Strangers' Burying Ground" adjacent to the "Shockoe Hill Burying Ground." See "Health of Richmond," *Richmond Enquirer,* August 17, 1849. For context, see Dell Upton, *Another City: Urban Life and Urban Spaces in the New American Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 203–41.

16. Micajah Bates, "Plan of the City of Richmond" (1835), Special Collections, University of Virginia, Charlottesville; Charles S. Morgan, "Plan of Richmond (Henrico County), Manchester and Springhill," 1848, Harvard Map Collection, Harvard Library, Cambridge, Mass.; "Health of Richmond," *Richmond Enquirer,* August 17, 1849; Robert P. Smith, *Smith's Map of Henrico County, Virginia, from Actual Surveys by James Keily* (Richmond: Smith & Carpenter, 1853); "City Council," *Richmond Daily Dispatch,* February 14, 1854; "Local Matters," *Richmond Daily Dispatch,* May 15, 1855; H. L. Pinckney, *Remarks Addressed to the Citizens of Charleston, on the Subject of Interments, and the Policy of Establishing a Public Cemetery, Beyond the Precincts of the City* (Charleston, S.C.: Riley, 1839). In 1842, a subsequent plat by Richmond's Micajah Bates showed the two acres as originally surveyed and labeled "Burying Ground for Free Colored persons" and "Burying Ground for Slaves." See Micajah Bates, "A Connected Plat of the City property near the Poor House," 1842, Richmond City Cemeteries Office. But in 1848, Virginia's auditor of public accounts named the Richmond site "the grave yard of coloured persons in the vicinity of the City Poor House." See Harry M. Ward, *Public Executions in Richmond, Virginia: A History, 1782–1907* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, 2012).

17. Entries for December 11, 1848 (first quotation), and January 16, 1850 (second quotation), in Common Council for the City of Richmond, Records No. 12, 1848–1852, Library of Virginia; "Cholera Statistics," *Richmond Enquirer,* October 23, 1832; "Health of Richmond," *Richmond Enquirer,* August 17, 1849; "City Council," *Richmond Daily Dispatch,* March 9, 1852; "Local Matters," *Richmond Daily Dispatch,* February 15, 1853; "Mortality of the City of Richmond," *Virginia Medical and Surgical Journal* 1 (May 1853): 172; "Interments," *Richmond Daily Dispatch,* January 10, 1855; testimony of James B. Ricketts, April 3, 1862, *Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1863), 462; Takagi, *Rearing Wolves to Our Own Destruction*. In 1854, one newspaper editor estimated that "more than nine-tenths of [the city's "negroes"] are interred at the 'Shockoe Hill Cemetery,'" adopting a colloquial name for the segregated site. See "Health of the City," *Richmond Daily Dispatch,* July 25, 1854.

18. Entry for February 13, 1832, in Common Council for the City of Richmond, Records No. 9, 1828–1834, Library of Virginia (first quotations); "Of Offences Against Chastity, Morality, and Decency," *Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia, Passed at the Session Commencing December 6, 1847, and Ending April 5, 1848* (Richmond: Shepherd, 1848), 112; Joseph Johnson to the General Assembly, March 22, 1852, in *Journal of the House of Delegates of the State of Virginia for the Session of 1852* (Richmond: William F. Ritchie, 1852), 265–66; "Pardoned," *Richmond Daily Dispatch,* March 22, 1852; "The Cholera," *Richmond Daily Dispatch,* July 21, 1854 (which reported that the city's "negroes" maintained "a superstition, that when they enter the Infirmary [of the Medical College] they never come out alive"); 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/ (last quotations); James O. Breeden, "Body Snatchers and Anatomy Professors: Medical Education in Nineteenth-Century Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 83 (July 1975): 321–45; Kirt von Daacke, "Anatomical Theater," in *Educated in Tyranny: Slavery at Thomas Jefferson's University*, ed. Maurie D. McInnis and Louis P. Nelson (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2019); Frohne, *African Burial Ground in New York City*, 19–21; Daina Ramey Berry, *The Price for Their Pound of Flesh: The Value of the Enslaved, from Womb to Grave, in the Building of a Nation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2017). The Medical College of Virginia and the University of Virginia paid upwards of twenty dollars for each black body.

19. *Particulars of the Dreadful Tragedy in Richmond, on the Morning of the 19th July, 1852* (Richmond: Hammersley, 1852), 23 (first quotation); "The Execution of Jane Williams," *Richmond Daily Dispatch,* September 11, 1852 (second quotation); "The Case of Jane and John Williams," *Richmond Daily Dispatch,* October 28, 1852 (last quotation); Jennings C. Wise, *The Military History of the Virginia Military Institute from 1839 to 1865* (Lynchburg, Va.: J. P. Bell Co., 1915), 406. One month after Jane's execution, her husband John Williams was hung on the same gallows following his conviction for the same crime and upon being pronounced dead, "his body was cut down, deposited in a rough black coffin, placed in the wagon which brought him there, taken a few yards from the gallows to a grave which had already been prepared for him, and there buried" (*Particulars,* 40); see also Ward, *Public Executions,* 49–63.

20. Yeoman [Frederick Law Olmsted], "The South; Letters on the Productions, Industry and Resources of the Slave States, Number Three," *New-York Daily Times,* February 25, 1853; Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States; With Remarks on Their Economy* (New York: Dix and Edwards, 1856). It is possible that this was instead a lower portion of the Academy Hill site. For comparable descriptions of slave funerals, see William E. Hatcher, *John Jasper: The Unmatched Negro Philosopher and Preacher* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1908); Mrs. Roger A. Pryor, *Reminiscences of Peace and War* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1908); Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); Margaret Ruth Little, *Sticks and Stones: Three Centuries of North Carolina Gravemarkers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

21. Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States,* 27. For grave markers among Virginia's enslaved communities, see Rainville, *Hidden History*; Rainville, "Home at Last: Mortuary Commemoration in Virginian Slave Cemeteries," *Markers* 26 (2009): 54–83. Rainville found that fewer than 5 percent of surviving gravestones for the enslaved were inscribed. See also Harriet Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by Herself,* ed. Nell Irvin Painter (New York: Penguin Books, 2000), 100–01. For the significance of trees planted on Kongo graves, see Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 138–39.

22. Elizabeth G. Fisher to Ann Hoskins, April 25, 1857, Higginbotham family papers, Virginia Historical Society; "Kitty Cary," *Harper's Weekly,* September 1, 1866 [thanks to Lenora McQueen for these references]; "From Another Correspondent," *Philadelphia Inquirer,* April 11, 1865; Jeffry Ruggles, "Visual Evidence for the Second African Burying Ground," 2019, unpublished manuscript; Angelika Krüger-Kahloula, "Tributes in Stone and Lapidary Lapses: Commemorating Black People in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century America," *Markers* 6 (1989): 33–100; Laderman, *The Sacred Remains*. Percy was the pen name of Elizabeth Akers Allen, who moved to Richmond in 1865. See Richard Cary, "The Misted Prism: Paul Akers and Elizabeth Akers Allen," *Colby Library Quarterly,* 7th ser. (March 1966): 193–227.

23. Quarterly lists of "Colored Interments near Shockoe Hill Burying Ground" from 1862 until January 1865 can be found in Richmond City Council Papers, 1862–1863, 1864–1865, and 1866, Library of Virginia. Quarterly burial totals for the yard had been occasionally published in the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* since 1852; see note 17 above. Other possible names of burials in this yard may be found on a document titled "Births of Slaves Belonging to A. M. Crew" at the Virginia Historical Society. The list includes nineteen names with a handwritten note on one side indicating that "most of the above-named slaves were in Shockoe Cemetery."

24. "Execution To-Day," *Richmond Daily Dispatch,* September 23, 1864.

25. Shockoe Cemetery Records, Registers of Interments, Library of Virginia; "From Another Correspondent," *Philadelphia Inquirer,* April 11, 1865; *Roll of Honor (No. XVI): Names of Soldiers Who Died in Defence of the American Union, Interred in the National Cemeteries and Other Burial Places* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1868); "The Union Soldiers of Shockoe Hill," https://soldiersofshockoehill.com.

26. "From Another Correspondent," *Philadelphia Inquirer,* April 11, 1865; "The City Magazine," *Richmond Whig,* April 27, 1865; "Shockoe Hill Cemetery," *Richmond Daily Dispatch,* June 8, 1866; "The Dead of the Past—Interesting Memorials," *Richmond Whig,* October 12, 1866; "The Dead Resurrected," *Richmond Whig,* April 9, 1867; "Discovery of Skeletons," *Richmond Daily Dispatch,* April 9, 1867; [Ernest Taylor Walthall], *Hidden Things Brought to Light* (Richmond: Walthall Printing Co., 1908), 27–28 (quotation); Michael B. Chesson, *Richmond After the War, 1865–1890* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1981), 87–96. E & S Wortham & Company and E. G. Rex would initiate the new powder magazine construction in this area, and the effort would evolve into those managed as the Laflin & Rand Powder Company's magazine and the E. J. Dupont & Company's powder magazine. See petitions dated November 21, 1865, and January 27, 1866, Richmond City Council Papers, 1866; entry for March 29, 1866, in Council for the City of Richmond, Records No. 15, Library of Virginia; "Local Matters," *Richmond Daily Dispatch,* October 9, 1866; and F. W. Beers, *Illustrated Atlas of the City of Richmond* (Richmond: Beers, 1876).

27. The Academy Hill grounds would encompass Cedarwood Cemetery (the old Phoenix Burying Ground), Ebenezer Cemetery, Methodist Cemetery, Union or Union Mechanics Cemetery, the Sons and Daughters of Ham Cemetery, and Sycamore Cemetery in the decades after the war. The Freedman's Bureau paid for some of the initial postwar interments at Union Mechanics. See "Interments from Cholera," *Richmond Daily Dispatch,* September 13, 1866; Smith, "Philip N. J. Wythe's Headstone"; Kimball and Rives, "To Live in Hearts We Leave Behind Is Not to Die"; Lester, *Barton Heights Cemeteries*.

28. *Boyd's Directory of Richmond City* (1869 and 1870), *Richmond City Directory* (1871–72), and *Chataigne & Gillis Richmond City Directory* (1877–78); annual interment counts in the black portion of the Shockoe Hill Burying Grounds are given in the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* each year on January 1 from 1870 through 1880 excepting 1872; Shockoe Cemetery Records, Register of Interments, No. 2, 1848–1870, Library of Virginia; Beers, *Illustrated Atlas*; G. W. Baist, *Atlas of the City of Richmond, Virginia and Vicinity* (Philadelphia: Baist, 1889); Lenora McQueen, "The Shockoe Hill Burying Ground . . . On and Off the Map," 2019, unpublished manuscript.

29. Allen J. Black, "Robbing Graves in Old Richmond," *Richmond Times-Dispatch,* June 1, 1930 (first quotation); "The Alleged Desecration of Graves at Oakwood Cemetery," *Richmond Daily Dispatch,* January 7, 1880 (last quotation).

30. "Additional Burying-Ground Needed," *Richmond Daily Dispatch,* February 21, 1877 (first quotation); "Burials During the Year," *Richmond Daily Dispatch,* January 1, 1879 [thanks to Lenora McQueen for these references]; entry for June 2, 1879, in Council for the City of Richmond, Records No. 21, 1878–1883, Library of Virginia (last quotation).

31. Foote, *Shadowed Ground,* 179–81; "Robbing the Grave," *Richmond State,* December 14, 1882; Kathy Edwards and Esmé Howard, "Monument Avenue: The Architecture of Consensus in the New South, 1890–1930," in *Shaping Communities: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, VI,* ed. Carter L. Hudgins and Elizabeth Collins Cromley (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 92–110. *The Roll of Honor (No. XVI)* states that the bodies in Section 3 of Richmond National Cemetery "were removed from the north side of the Richmond City hospital. The graves ran east and west, at right angles with Fourth street, the first grave of each row being about five (5) feet from the road. . . . Most of the graves contained more than one body" (308). For another recent exploration of the intentional inscription of racist values on Virginia's urban geography, see Louis P. Nelson, "Object Lesson: Monuments and Memory in Charlottesville," *Buildings & Landscapes* 25, no. 2 (Fall 2018): 17–35.

32. Entry for September 10, 1883, in Board of Aldermen's Journal, 1878–1887, Richmond City Administration Records, Library of Virginia; "Board of Aldermen," *Richmond Daily Dispatch,* September 11, 1883; "Board of Aldermen," *Richmond Daily Dispatch,*

October 9, 1883 [thanks to Lenora McQueen and Steve Thompson for these references]. In *The History of the Jews of Richmond,* Herbert T. Ezekiel and Gaston Lichtenstein commented that "In cutting Fifth Street, some years ago, the city found it necessary to encroach upon the cemetery. The fence and tombstone" of the first interment there "were moved back," but the body of that interment was "undisturbed" (284).

33. "Opening Streets," *Richmond Dispatch,* June 29, 1890 (which reported that "dirt" from the northern terminus of Fifth and Seventh Streets was being dumped at "Navy Hill, Smith's Hill, and on Hospital street below the powder-magazines"); "A Direct Way to Go," *Richmond Dispatch,* July 24, 1890 (first quotation); "The Colored Cemeteries," *Richmond Planet,* March 21, 1896 (last quotation); Herbert T. Ezekiel, "Regiment of Federal Prisoners Buried During War, Probably Near Shockoe, Is Actual 'Lost Battalion,'" *Richmond News Leader* (September 10, 1932); "Fifth Street Viaduct," Historic American Engineering Record No. VA-67 (1992), Library of Congress; Kimberly Chen, *Streetcar Suburbs in Northside Richmond, Virginia* (U.S. National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, 2001); Ruggles, "Visual Evidence for the Second African Burying Ground."

34. Trinkley, Hacker, and Fick, *African American Cemeteries of Petersburg,* 22–23; "Contrabands and Freedmen Cemetery Memorial," City of Alexandria, https://www.alexandriava.gov/FreedmenMemorial; Michael Trinkley and Debi Hacker, "Columbia's Scandal: Lower Cemetery," Chicora Research Contribution 521, 2009, https://www.chicora.org/pdfs/RC521%20-%20Lower%20Cemetery.pdf; Wright and Hughes, *Lay Down Body*; Fletcher, "City of the Dead for Colored People"; Jane Bromley Wilson, *The Very Quiet Baltimoreans: A Guide to the Historic Cemeteries and Burial Sites of Baltimore* (Shippensburg, Pa.: White Mane Publishing Co., 1991).

35. Entries for March 15, 1880, and May 1, 1882 (last quotation), in Council for the City of Richmond, Records No. 21, 1878–1883, Library of Virginia; City of Richmond to Hebrew Cemetery trustees, June 21, 1882, Deed Book 121C, page 99, Richmond City Chancery Court; City of Richmond to Hebrew Cemetery Company, June 14, 1886, Deed Book 130C, pages 290–91, Richmond City Chancery Court. In 1880 the city council had conveyed another tract of land on the northwest corner of Hebrew Cemetery to the cemetery's managers for an expansion which was soon "enclosed, graded, and suitably laid off." See "The Common Council," *Richmond Daily Dispatch,* March 16, 1880; and "Burials During the Year," *Richmond Daily Dispatch,* January 1, 1882 (quotation). One of the final maps to show the "Potters Field" came from the 1906 city directory.

36. Entry for May 1, 1882, in Richmond City Council Records No. 21, 1878-1883, Library of Virginia (first quotation); entry for July 11, 1887, in Board of Aldermen's Journal, 1887–92, Richmond City Administration Records, Library of Virginia; "Saunders Claim Is Laid on Table," *Richmond Times-Dispatch,* April 20, 1909 (last quotation); City of Richmond to the Hebrew Cemetery Company, January 2, 1911, Deed Book 210D, pages 369–70, Richmond City Chancery Court.

37. "Colored Cemeteries," *Richmond Times,* December 2, 1899; "Colored Cemeteries," *Richmond Times,* December 12, 1899; "Henrico Woman Insane," *Richmond Dispatch,* June 2, 1900; "Cemetery at Barton Heights," *Richmond Times,* June 13, 1900; "German Club," *Richmond Times,* October 6, 1900; "An Act to Amend and Re-Enact Section 1416 of the Code of Virginia," March 14, 1904, in *Acts and Joint Resolutions Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia, During the Session of 1904* (Richmond: O'Bannon, 1904), 281; "Town Council Acts," *Richmond Times-Dispatch,* September 15, 1904; "Refused Them Permission," *Richmond Planet,* January 13, 1906; Louis H. Manarin and Clifford Dowdey, *The History of Henrico County* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1984); Lester, *Barton Heights Cemeteries*; Smith, *Death and Rebirth in a Southern City*. The city of Richmond annexed the northside neighborhood in 1914. The city received title to those burial grounds in 1935.

38. "Fifth Street Viaduct," Historic American Engineering Record No. VA-67; Steve Thompson, communication to Kerri Barile and Emily Stock, January 24, 2019, from Appendix E5, "Consulting Party and Public Invitations, Emails, Letters, and Other Correspondence," in U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Railroad Administration, and Virginia Department of Rail and Public Transportation, "DC to Richmond Southeast High Speed Rail Tier II Final Environmental Impact Statement," May 2019, available at http://dc2rvarail.com; Wright, "Rhetorical Spaces"; E. D. Caffee, "Colored Richmond," *The Crisis* 13 (January 1917): 124–27; Negro Welfare Survey

Committee, *The Negro in Richmond, Virginia* (Richmond: Richmond Council of Social Agencies, 1929). The bridge renaming took place in 1941, and this bridge would again be replaced in the early 1990s.

39. Jesse Reynolds, "Paupers Burying Ground, City of Richmond," memo, May 23, 1958 (first quotation); "BB" to Jesse Reynolds, May 26, [1958]; and Jesse Reynolds to city manager, May 27, 1958, all at Richmond City Cemeteries Office; "Former Burying Ground Rezoned," *Richmond News Leader,* October 13, 1959 (second quotation); city of Richmond to Sun Oil Company, March 29, 1960, Deed Book 601A, pages 429–32, Richmond City; Selden Richardson, *Built By Blacks: African American Architecture and Neighborhoods in Richmond* (Richmond: Dietz Press, 2007); Foote, *Shadowed Ground,* 24 (last quotation). Walter and Leontyne Talley (spelled "Tally" in the city's parcel map) purchased the property in 1981.

40. Whittington, *Shockoe Hill Cemetery*; Mike Allen, "Well-Preserved Find at MCV," *Richmond Times-Dispatch,* May 11, 1994; *Until the Well Runs Dry: Medicine and the Exploitation of Black Bodies,* dir. Shawn O. Utsey (Burn Baby Burn Productions, 2011); Karin Kapsidelis, "Confronting the Story of Bones Discarded in an Old MCV Well," *Richmond Times-Dispatch,* November 11, 2011; Douglas W. Owsley and Karin Bruwelheide, "Artifacts and Commingled Skeletal Remains from a Well on the Medical College of Virginia Campus: Introduction" and "Human Skeletal Remains from Archaeological Site 44HE814," Smithsonian Institution, 2012; Koste, "Artifacts and Commingled Skeletal Remains"; Tina Griego, "Into the Light," *Richmond Magazine,* September 8, 2015; "East Marshall Street Well Project," https://emsw.vcu.edu.

41. Gary Robertson, "Long Neglected 'City of the Dead' Gets Attention," *Richmond Times-Dispatch,* June 1, 1998; Chapman, "Buried Beneath the River City."

42. VCU East Marshall Street Well Family Representative Council, "Recommendations for Research, Memorialization, and Interment of the East Marshall Street Well Ancestral Remains," 2018; "East Marshall Street Well Project," https://emsw.vcu.edu. For context, see "Universities Studying Slavery," http://slavery.virginia.edu/universities-studying-slavery; LaRoche and Blakey, "Seizing Intellectual Power." In November 2019, the human remains from the well were returned to Richmond from the Smithsonian Institution to be housed at the Virginia Department of Historic Resources for final study before reinterment; the artifacts and animal remains are likewise at the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

43. 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, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond. Calhoun chose not to list the site as a cemetery with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources at the time. An earlier study had been conducted at the Fifth Street/Stonewall Jackson Bridge in 1989. See L. Daniel Mouer, "Phase I Cultural Resource Study of Proposed Replacement of the Stonewall Jackson Bridge, City of Richmond, Virginia," VCU Archaeological Research Center, 1989, Virginia Department of Historic Resources. Mouer said of the "Free Black and Slave Cemeteries" site that "a *potential* archaeological site has been identified through the documentary research, but has not been confirmed through testing and, therefore, no archaeological site form has been completed," and that later construction "probably destroyed most of the [black] cemetery (18). He cleared the project but warned that "*it is possible that human remains may be encountered during construction.*"

44. "DC to Richmond Southeast High Speed Rail," http://dc2rvarail.com; U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Railroad Administration, and Virginia Department of Rail and Public Transportation, "DC to Richmond Southeast High Speed Rail Tier II Final Environmental Impact Statement," May 2019; Kevin McCloskey, Emily Calhoun, Kerry González, and Mike Klein, "Phase IB Archaeological Survey for the Washington, D.C., to Richmond Southeast High Speed Rail (DC2RVA) Project Preferred Alternative Limits of Disturbance," 2018, 226 (first quotation); U.S. National Park Service, "How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation," National Register Bulletin, rev. 1997 (second quotations); "Grave Yard for Free People of Color and Slaves" archaeological site record form, site 44HE1203, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2018. The determination of no adverse impact arrived in a statement from the Department of Historic Resources dated June 12, 2018. The rail project's initial phase IA survey in 2015 did not recognize the burial ground. See Mike Klein, Emily Calhoun, Marco González, and Earl E. Proper, "Archaeological

Background Review and Predictive Model: Washington, D.C., to Richmond Southeast High Speed Rail Corridor," DC2RVA Project Team, 2015. In another forum, Dovetail's principal Kerri S. Barile has emphasized how context is essential for considering the NRHP eligibility of underrepresented sites. "By placing the property [considered for eligibility] within its unique socio-historic context," she argued, "each site takes on individual meaning and can be interpreted on a number of levels. When these interpretations are reduced to a single level, that of subsurface materials only, the perceived significance and integrity of the site are also dramatically reduced. It can therefore be deduced that a single-level study at a historic site completely denies the formulation of an historic context," Kerri S. Barile, "Race, the National Register, and Cultural Resource Management: Creating an Historic Context for Postbellum Sites," *Historical Archaeology* 38 (2004): 90–100.

45. Davis, *Here I Lay My Burdens Down*; "Richmond Cemeteries," https://www.richmondcemeteries.org; personal interviews with Dennis Bussey, 2017–18.

46. Personal interviews with Lenora McQueen, 2018–19 (quotations from March 3, 2018). On March 8, 2018, McQueen explained of her site visit that "I went with a purpose. . . . I had questions that could only be answered by my making a personal appearance" there.

47. LaRoche and Blakey, "Seizing Intellectual Power"; Michael L. Blakey, "African Burial Ground Project: Paradigm for Cooperation?" *Museum International* (2010): 61–68; LaRoche, "Anthropology of Archaeology"; personal communication from Lenora McQueen, May 8, 2018. The property's tax sale was halted in June 2018.

48. [Stock and Barile], "Draft Timeline of Events: Site 44HE1203"; "Site 44HE1203/Grave Yard for Free People of Color and Slaves: Cultural Resource Commitments for DC2RVA Rail Project," March 5, 2019, in Appendix E5, "Consulting Party and Public Invitations, Emails, Letters, and Other Correspondence," in U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Railroad Administration, and Virginia Department of Rail and Public Transportation, "DC to Richmond Southeast High Speed Rail Tier II Final Environmental Impact Statement," May 2019, available at http://dc2rvarail.com. Support for a more expansive interpretation of the site's boundaries and significance developed at a RVA Archaeology Happy Hour gathering on June 27, 2018, at which the burial ground was the subject of discussion. Following the onsite meeting convened by the rail project team on February 13, 2019, the Historic Richmond Foundation sent a letter to the team dated March 20, 2019, in which director Cyane Crump urged the team to revisit its determination of "no adverse effect for the Site to ensure that the Site is treated with the utmost respect," as "Based on the information available to us at this point, we believe the determination of *no adverse effect* for the Site to be premature."

49. "Historic African American Sites in Virginia," https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-register/black-history-month; Rainville, *Hidden History*; Ned Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 75–138; Lenora McQueen to Emily Stock, personal communication, May 8, 2019.

50. Personal communications from Ellen Chapman, February 21 and March 7, 2019, and personal communication from Steve Thompson, March 7 (quotations) and May 28, 2019; Barile, "Race, the National Register, and Cultural Resource Management." In his January 24, 2019, correspondence cited above, Steve Thompson suggests that not considering this later history of the graveyard's destruction and "confining consideration of its potential historical significance to the presence of intact graves and/or other surviving physical evidence of a former memorial or commemorative landscape, runs the very real risk of implying that the late-nineteenth-century destruction and desecration of sites integral to the formation and maintenance of African American cultural and community identity somehow lacks historical significance."

51. Stevenson, quoted in Katie Couric, "Hallowed Earth," *National Geographic* 233 (April 2018): 150–51; Periwinkle Initiative, "Memory & Landmarks"; "Sacred Ground Historical Reclamation Project"; Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story,* 126.

52. Foote, *Shadowed Ground,* 5, 324–32; Jordy Yager, "Passenger Rail Project Slated to Run Through Richmond African American Burial Ground," *Virginia Currents,* July 25, 2019; Samantha Willis, "The Departed and Dismissed of Richmond," *Scalawag Magazine* (August 5, 2019), https://www.scalawagmagazine.org/2019/08/black-graveyards/; Smith, *Death and Rebirth in a Southern City.*