Stories in Stone: Memorialization, the Creation of History
and the Role of Preservation

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by

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ABSTRACT

In 1851 and 1866, Alexander Dunlop, a free black living in Williamsburg, VA, purchased tombstones to commemorate the lives of his father-in-law, Robert F. Hill, and of his wife, Lucy Ann Dunlop. Such purchases were rarities among Virginia's free black community, and these particular gravestones are made more significant by Dunlop's choice of text, his political advocacy, and the racialized rhetoric of the period. Buried by a white church in the 1920s and later by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, the tombstones were rediscovered in 2004 and became the center of a long-term conservation initiative, which ended in 2016.

This thesis examines the story of the tombstones, contrasting them with other regional memory projects, such as the remembrance of the Civil War dead and the erection of monuments to the Lost Cause. The research utilizes a fusion of object biography and micro-historical approaches that allows the strength of each approach to be adopted while rejecting some of their limitations. Data from a regional survey of nineteenth-century cemeteries, historical accounts, literary sources, and the visual arts are woven together to explore the agentive relationships between monuments, their commissioners, their creators, their viewers and the ways in which memory is created and contested and how this impacts the history we learn and preserve.

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SECTION ONE

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

In 1866, Alexander Dunlop, a free black man living in Williamsburg VA, did three unusual things. He had an audience with the President of the United States, testified in front of the Joint Congressional Committee on Reconstruction about what it was like to be a free black during the Civil War, and he purchased a tombstone for his wife, Lucy Ann Dunlop (Figure 1). Carved by a pair of Richmond-based carvers, who like many other Southern monument makers, contributed to celebrating and mythologizing the "Lost Cause" in the wake of the Civil War, Lucy Ann's tombstone appears to be a powerful statement of Dunlop's belief in the worth of all men and his hopes for the future. Buried in 1925 by the white members of a church congregation, and again in the 1960s by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, the tombstone was excavated in 2003. Its ongoing analysis, conservation, and long-term interpretation are being undertaken by the Foundation in partnership with the community of the First Baptist Church, a historically black church within which Alexander Dunlop was an elder.

Lucy Ann's tombstone and its history raise a number of questions. What are the roles of history, heritage and memory in negotiating identity? What part does preservation (and specifically conservation) have in augmenting or distorting this process? The question of how identity is created and disseminated is a central one for archaeologists, but what are the impacts of these four processes (history, heritage, memory and preservation) on the archaeological narrative? Do they (individually or collectively) place obligations or burdens on us? To distill all these questions down to one, I am interested in exploring whether a single tombstone can contribute to the archaeological study of identity and to the global enterprise of creating a useable heritage; in other words, does the individual/local matter?

Figure 1: Lucy Ann Dunlop's tombstone (courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

One aspect of identity that particularly interests me is the relationship between individual identity and group identity and how this relationship is expressed through memory, commemoration and forgetting. While my interest is not in public archaeology and the mechanisms of outreach and engagement *per se,* there is a **public** element of archaeology that I am interested in exploring in the context of this project: specifically, how is public memory created, maintained and expressed? Closely related to this is the question of how group identities are formed and maintained, and how they affect archaeological investigation and the narratives (or histories) that we create. Is the process a discursive one, as some have argued (Hodder 1997; Joyce 2007), or a performative one as others have argued (Holtorf 2002; Loosley 2005; Holtorf 2006; Holtorf 2010; Harrison 2013a)? A tombstone, with its unique combination of function (to provide a focal point for acts of memory) and purpose (symbols and text designed to communicate with the viewer) challenges us to engage with it and to consider both the individual stone and the group dynamic (social, familial and temporal) within which it exists.

There is, of course a risk that in studying a single object closely, one may produce work that is too narrow in its scope or too focused to be of general interest. To mitigate this risk, I am proposing to use an approach that fuses aspects of both object biography and microhistory to examine the story of Lucy Ann Dunlop's tombstone. As I will argue in chapter three of this project, I believe that pairing object biography's structured approach, and particularly the questions which form its core, with microhistory's interest in connecting the local to the global, and examining both from multiple perspectives can create a more robust methodology that opens up the potential for examining an object's biography in a non-linear way, thus providing new insights about the connections between people, objects and identity. To further broaden my study, I propose to place the tombstone in context within a number of other sources including: a wide-ranging survey of tombstones within a geographic area bounded by Richmond, Petersburg, Norfolk and Williamsburg, VA, and historical resources (such as newspaper accounts, gravestone carver's daybooks, and corporate census and tax records).

Despite these methodological safeguards, it is possible, however, that my focus may be critiqued for being "too local." In answer to that, I would like to remind the reader that all history is local. It occurs *somewhere* and is thereby localized. It is as we begin to tie the local stories together that we get regional stories, and as we aggregate those that we get national and international narratives. Local events may mirror and inform broader events, or they may prove to be the outliers that highlight different perspectives.

Williamsburg's seventeenth-century antecedents, namely Jamestown, Martin's Hundred, and Middle Plantation, and its eighteenth-century past have been widely studied and written about in the archaeological, architectural and historical literature.[1] Similarly, the twentieth-century history of the town, its reconstruction and its role in promoting the colonial revival and public history have been studied in great detail (cf. Handler and Gable 1997; Carson 1998; Gable and Handler 2000; Miller 2006). The exception to this scholarship has been the history of Williamsburg in the nineteenth century, which remains under-studied. In part, this oversight has to do with the fact that much of the research focus on nineteenth century Virginia and the Mid-Atlantic has centered around the Civil War, Reconstruction, and the larger urban centers that played significant roles in these events. Arguably, during this period, Williamsburg was a sleepy town that played little formative role in these events, but the omission is problematic on three levels. First of all, while large cities, such as Richmond, Charleston, Savannah, and Atlanta, may have been more active in shaping the events of the time, the majority of the population in the South lived in smaller communities similar to Williamsburg or on farms. Failure to consider the views from these areas and the ways in which actions elsewhere were translated, interpreted, and acted upon by them necessarily creates a biased and one-dimensional view of the past. Secondly, for much of the war, Williamsburg was in a uniquely liminal state—due to a fluke of geography, technically slaves on one side (the James City County side) of the Duke of Gloucester street were emancipated while slaves on the other (York

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[1] John Cotter, Audrey Horning and Bill Kelso have all written extensively about the development of Jamestown. Ivor Noël Hume and Marley Brown, both former directors of archaeological research at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, have produced numerous books, articles and site reports that focus on the archaeology of Williamsburg.

County) were not—making it an unusual laboratory for race relations. Finally, history cannot be so neatly compartmentalized. Artificially setting a date of 1780[2] as an end point for studies of the town implies that the discussions of citizenship and structuring a nation that played out in Williamsburg, and other cities, during this period were all neatly resolved. However, in reality they were not so neatly tied up and in them we can find the seeds of a number of issues, from race relations and civic engagement to states' rights, that continued to absorb the country through the Civil War, Jim Crow, the Civil Rights era and into the present day. Similarly setting 1926[3] as a date to begin one's studies ignores many of the ways that the nineteenth century impacted our vision of the town. Williamsburg went from being an "integrated" town, where races were separated but not segregated, to a segregated community, a factor that had implications for Colonial Williamsburg's relations with the town during its founding, its hiring practices, the kind of history it told, and has continued to influence the way in which it engages with African-American history (Martin 1973; Edwards-Ingram 2014). Given Colonial Williamsburg's position as a regional leader, these historical developments have also had an effect on how other museums in the area practice public history and its attendant parts (such as historical archaeology).

The consideration of Lucy Ann's tombstone provides a mechanism for considering the construction of identity. Although identity has been studied by a number of people and in a number of ways throughout the archaeological literature (Meskell 2002; Diaz Andreu *et al* 2005; Casella and Fowler 2005; White and Beaudry 2009) it has been applied to tombstones much less frequently and then primarily only in large scale studies that consider multiple tombstones over a large geographic area (Little 1998; Mytum 2004a; Rainville 2014). Lucy Ann's tombstone offers a way to explore how the creation of identity played out on an individual level, and also how identity was recognized and acknowledged by a diverse population. In addition, Lucy Ann's tombstone provides a gateway for studying nineteenth century Williamsburg and its ties to both the past and present. By placing these two endeavors within a framework

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[2] 1780 was the year that the State Capital moved from Williamsburg to Richmond.
[3] 1926 was the year that the Rev. W.A. R. Goodwin met John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Goodwin had the opportunity to lay out his dream of restoring the colonial town.

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CHAPTER TWO: Meeting Lucy Ann Dunlop and the Recovery of her Tombstone

Every narrative has a beginning. In this case, the story begins with the discovery and excavation of Lucy Ann Dunlop's tombstone, along with a companion tombstone, in 2003. In some ways it can be regarded as a rediscovery since the tombstones had first been encountered in 1965 during grading for an expansion to a parking lot in Merchant's Square, the commercial district attached to Colonial Williamsburg's Historic Area. The tombstones were left in place and construction of the parking lot continued after the tombstones were photographed (Figure 2). The photographs and a map were deposited in the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's corporate archives in

Figure 2: Detail of the 1965 photograph of the tombstones in situ (courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).
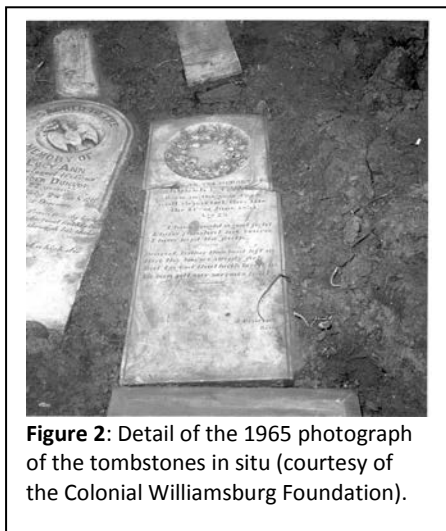
1978.[4] In 2003, the construction of the College Corner Building in Merchants Square necessitated the excavation of a combined storm drain and fiber optic conduit trench. Colonial Williamsburg's Department of Archaeological Research (DAR) was asked to monitor the process because of the potential presence of the tombstones. The construction was monitored in March 2003 and nothing was located. However, in April 2003 the gravestones were located by Arc Electric, Inc., a contractor on the construction project, near the North-east corner of the, already under construction, College Corner building.

Initially, it was hoped that a path could be cleared that would allow the fiber optic connection to be completed without disturbing the stones or any accompanying burials. However, since the potential for future disturbance associated with the building's construction and/or the servicing of the fiberoptic cable was high, it was decided that it would be better to relocate the tombstones. Therefore, Lucie Vinciguerra, a project archaeologist with DAR, excavated the area directly around the tombstones between April 14th and May 30th 2003 (Vinciguerra 2003). Since the excavation area was in the middle of a very active construction site, its extent was

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[4] There is a strong possibility that the map was not created until 1978-nearly 13 years after the initial discovery.

limited and certain avenues of investigation, which might otherwise have been adopted, could not be pursued. For example, the second tombstone, dedicated to Robert F. Hill, was found to extend several centimeters beneath the footer for the new building, limiting the amount of excavation that could occur in that area without affecting the stability of the building. Similarly, where a larger section might have been opened up to determine whether there were any other interments in the area, the decision was made to limit the size of this investigation due to the construction and the degree of disturbance that had already occurred in the area (Vinciguerra 2003: 5). Ultimately, the limits of the excavation were an uneven shaped area no greater than 3.5m x 3m at its longest and widest points.

The tombstones were lying on a deposit of dark olive brown sandy loam that contained large quantities of completed and partially worked iron artifacts, as well as iron bar stock. The excavator noted that iron appeared to be more prevalent in this layer than soil (Vinciguerra 2003: 17). In addition to the iron, the deposit contained molded glass bottle fragments and a 1920 winged-Liberty dime.[5] The dime provides a *terminus post quem*, after which the tombstones may have been laid flat.

In addition to the tombstones, one large base, the partial remains of a decorative secondary base and two footstones were also located. The footstones bore the initials "L.A.D." and "R.F.H." The footstones, clearly visible and complete in the 1965 photograph, had been damaged either by heavy construction traffic at the site or by the backhoe used in the fiber optic trenching. The majority of each footstone was recovered, although portions of the "R.F.H." footstone are missing.

No grave-cuts or shafts were present beneath the tombstones. However, the area in which the tombstones were located was poorly drained and the excavation area was enlarged several times in an effort to improve the drainage; during one of these enlargements, exposed human remains were encountered adjacent to the southeast

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[5] These dimes, produced between 1916 and 1945, depict a young Liberty wearing a winged Phrygian cap on the obverse and a bundle of fasces paired with an olive branch on the reverse (symbolizing unity and strength paired with peace). The dime is often mistakenly referred to as a Mercury head dime due to confusion over the cap.

corner of Robert Hill's tombstone. Further investigation revealed an ovoid feature running northwest/southeast and containing the commingled remains of at least two individuals (based on the presence of two mandibles). The feature was approximately 50cm long by 30 cm wide. It had clearly been dug to accommodate the length of the longest bones and they were stacked neatly several rows high. The other bones in the pit consisted of larger more robust bones such as vertebrae, clavicles, and some skull fragments. The smaller bones from the hands and feet and the more delicate facial bones were missing.

As previously mentioned, the area of the site where the remains were found was poorly drained and the bone was largely waterlogged. Therefore, after excavation, the remains were cleaned and stabilized in Colonial Williamsburg's conservation lab (Williams 2004) prior to being transferred to the Institute of Historical Biology at The College of William and Mary for analysis by Dr. Michael Blakey and Shannon Mahoney (Blakey and Mahoney 2004).

The analysis confirmed that the remains represented no more than two individuals. The first individual was significantly larger and more robust than the second. Both individuals showed signs of total epiphyseal fusion (Blakey and Mahoney 2004: 4) and complete mandibular tooth loss combined with pronounced resorption of the mandibular sockets (Blakey and Mahoney 2004: 6) placing the probable age of the two individuals over 45. Both individuals showed some signs of osteo-arthritis and/or slight arthritic lipping.

The sex of the two individuals was established by studying the mandibles, as very little remained of the innominate in either case. Individual One was identified as being probably male and Individual Two was identified as being probably female (Blakey and Mahoney 2004: 9). It was not possible to make any determination about population affiliation since so few of the cranial elements survived (Blakey and Mahoney 2004: 10).

The bioarchaeological investigation had a very tight focus. The question to be resolved was: to what degree of probability were the remains those of the individuals commemorated on the tombstones? It was agreed that should it appear that the probability was high that the two were connected, any additional analysis should be approved by the descendants. As a result, no detailed study of pathology was conducted at this point. However, one other finding from the analysis is significant. Several of the long bones showed post-mortem damage to the diaphyses consistent with having been struck by a blunt, straight edged object such as a shovel (Blakey and Mahoney 2004: 2).

Blakey and Mahoney's analysis tied in well with the biographical information contained on the tombstones. Lucy Ann Dunlop was 49 years old at the time of her death and Robert F. Hill was 75 years old when he died. It was therefore felt that there was a strong probability that the remains belonged to the individuals for whom the tombstones were carved, but the excavation raised several immediate questions. How had the tombstones come to be located on this plot of land? Why were they buried?

In 1965, the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation purchased the piece of property on which the College Corner building was built from the Williamsburg Methodist Church Figure 3). At the time, a full title search was carried out. It recorded that the Church's property had originally consisted of three lots (referred to in the document as the Powell lot, the Blacksmith lot and the Dunlop lot). Only a small strip from the most northerly of these lots, the Powell lot, was acquired by the church. The middle lot, referred to as the Blacksmith lot, was the one on which the tombstones were excavated. It had a checkered history. It was owned by the Gresham family from 1852 to 1875, when it was sold to Arthur Segar and G.M. Peake. Segar and Peake were delinquent in their taxes between 1876 and 1883, and in March 1884 the lot was sold to James A. Bank. In 1925, his heirs sold the lot to Rado L. Banks, who sold it to the church less than two weeks after he purchased it. Rado Banks appears to have been a blacksmith, and given the amount of iron working debris, was most likely using the lot prior to purchasing it. The southern-most lot, fronting onto the Duke of Gloucester

Street, was purchased by Alexander Dunlop from the estate of John Maupin[6] sometime between 1851 and 1858. The church acquired the lot from Dunlop's grandchildren. Upon uniting the three lots in 1925, the church, then known as the Williamsburg Methodist Episcopal South, razed the buildings on the Dunlop and Blacksmith lots and constructed a large building spanning the two. This building was used for services until 1965 when the church moved into a new property on Jamestown Road and sold the older building to Colonial Williamsburg. Colonial Williamsburg used the old church building for a variety of activities until 1981 when it was torn down. The lot was then vacant until the construction of the College Corner building in 2003.
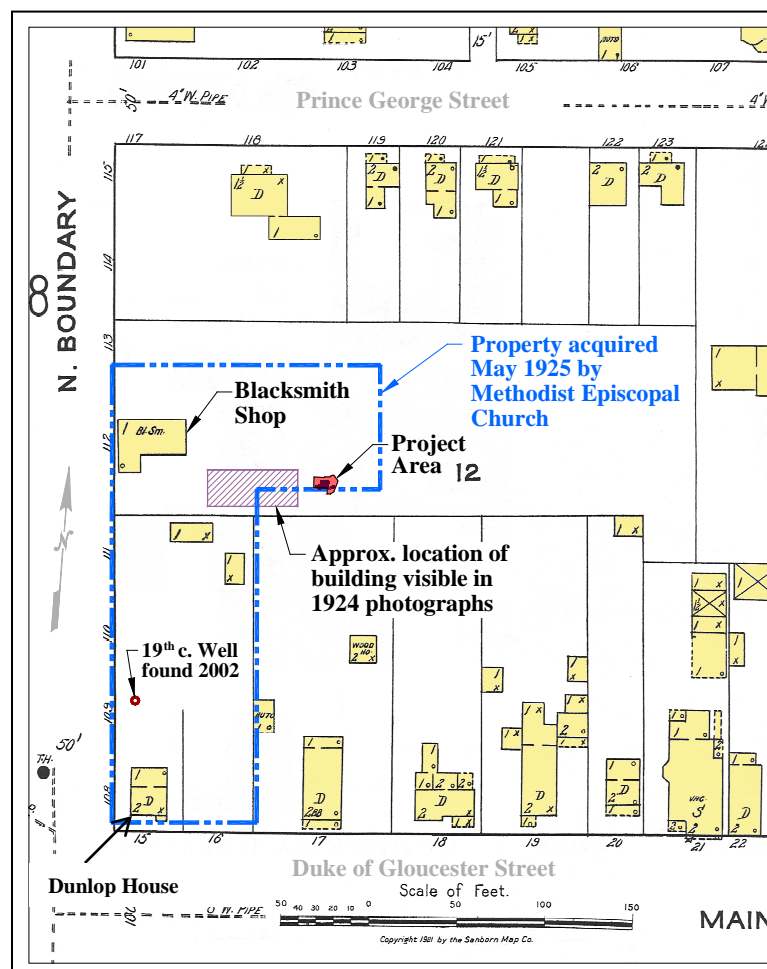
Figure 3: Limits of the property purchased by the Williamsburg Methodist Episcopal Church showing the positions of the Dunlop House and Rado Banks' blacksmith shop (courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Department of Archaeological Research).

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[6] Maupin was the Mayor of Williamsburg in 1850. He committed suicide on December 26, 1850.

Given this history and the archaeological evidence, it is likely that the tombstones were initially located on the Dunlop lot. At some point, they were relocated to the Blacksmith lot and buried. This event must have occurred after 1920, given the presence of the 1920 Liberty dime in the fill beneath the stones. Since the lots were not united until 1925, and it would have been very irregular for a family to move their family graves to a lot they did not own or control, it must be supposed that the tombstones were relocated in preparation for the construction of the church.

Although Robert Hill's tombstone gives us no indication of race, Lucy Ann Dunlop's tombstone mentions that she was "born a slave in the Travis family." Tombstones for African-Americans, and particularly enslaved ones, were very much the exception rather than the rule in the nineteenth century. Due to cost, slave burials most frequently went unmarked, or were marked with inexpensive and ephemeral materials such as wood.[7] Who then was Lucy Ann Dunlop? Why was a tombstone purchased for her? And by whom? According to both the 1860 and 1870 censuses there are no Travises living in Williamsburg. Was the tombstone purchased by her family, and if so why did they feel it was necessary to mark her enslavement? Her tombstone was carved in 1866, at a time when emancipation was less than three years old and the South was still reeling from its defeat in the Civil War. Identities were in flux. What did it mean to be an African American at the time? And what did it mean to be a former slave? This tombstone, as a textual object, connects us to other historical texts – newspaper accounts, census records, letters and even congressional testimonies – as well as other tombstones and helps us to begin to tell Lucy Ann's story and to begin to "excavate" her identity.

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[7] The daybooks of Richard Manning Bucktrout, Williamsburg's undertaker from 1850 to 1866, are housed in Swem library at The College of William and Mary. They suggest that although masters were responsible for burying their slaves, they often purchased the cheapest coffin available and certainly something like a tombstone would not normally be supplied.

CHAPTER THREE: Some Key Concepts

Before beginning to address any of the questions raised by Lucy Ann's memorial, it is necessary to introduce several key concepts that I will continue to engage with as this thesis progresses. These concepts include: the relationship between archaeology and identity; the relationship between memory and identity; and the role of heritage in the construction of identity. All three concepts interconnect, and we will continue to explore the boundaries between them throughout this thesis. Therefore, my goal here is to briefly introduce the concepts and highlight some of the interconnections rather than to create comprehensive definitions of them at this point.

Archaeology and Identity

Archaeology, and in particular historical archaeology, has long been a field in search of authority. Its history has been marked by pronouncements about the relation of the field to history, as well as to other disciplines. Noël Hume's characterization of the field as the "handmaiden to history" (1964), for example, is one that continues to sting and to be revisited (Little 1994; Levy 2000; Waselkov 2001). What does archaeology bring to the table that separates it from historical research? Does it have its own identity or is it merely destined (rather expensively) to confirm and test information already gleaned from documentary texts and theorized by historians (or anthropologists)? What, other than the process of excavation, sets the archaeological study of the past apart from other means of exploring the past? These questions have continued to be debated and reassessed by historical archaeologists and others.[8] As the field has evolved and matured it has embraced its unique position *vis à vis* material culture to explore how humans construct, communicate and maintain identity, both individually and collectively. Archaeology has used this exploration alternately to create knowledge, to challenge existing historical accounts (Whittenburg 2002) and as a form of social action (cf. Meskell 2002).

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[8] See for example Shannon Dawdy's 2009 article "Millennial archaeology. Locating the discipline in the age of insecurity" (in which she poses the question "is archaeology useful?") and the discussion pieces that follow it.

Beginning in the 1980s and drawing on earlier work carried out in the fields of psychoanalysis and anthropology, archaeologists began to examine the role of gender in the archaeological record (Diaz-Andreu 2005: 12). Simultaneously, they began to reconsider their long-term interest in ethnicity. Instead of merely different cultures that emerged and declined, archaeologists began to perceive of ethnic affiliation as an idea characterized by the fact that individuals within the group choose to do some things in a similar way while doing them differently from other groups (Lucy 2005). These emerging interests led archaeologists to consider gender and ethnicity/race as key factors in the creation of identity. While ethnicity and gender have remained the most heavily investigated topics (see for example, Spector 1991; Mytum 1994; Croucher 2005; Mullins 2009; Hayes 2011), the literature on identity has grown to include age (Baxter 2008; Lucy 2009), religion (Insoll 2004; Edwards 2009), and even foodways (Smith 2006). The study of identity is not unique to archaeology; psychology, anthropology and history all share an interest in it. What distinguishes archaeology's perspective is its time-depth and its engagement with the material world (Lowenthal 1999:187).

Identity can be defined as the way in which individuals and groups "are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities" (Meskell 2002: 280). Identity is both self-determined, a choice, and imposed by others, an assignment. Identities (and individuals may have multiple ones depending on the groups to which they belong) are negotiated socially: they are created through interactions between people (Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005). An individual may *choose* to self-identify with a particular group, but society also places limits on identity through elements outside of the individual's control. These limits may center on external factors, such as national boundaries, the body, and resource availability (Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 2). For example, it would be hard for a Hispanic American woman to gain acceptance of her self-identification as an Australian aborigine, no matter how much sympathy she might feel with their history. Similarly, a person's choice of personal adornment may be limited by what society considers gender (or even age) appropriate and what is available locally (White and Beaudry 2009). Identity can change depending on

circumstances and choice.[9] Accepting that identities in the present are fluid and contingent suggests that they may also have been in the past.

The Relationship between Memory and Identity

Closely connected to the interest in identity has been a growing interest in the role of memory in supporting the creation and maintenance of identity. Memory is seen as one way in which both individual identities and collective/ social identities are created and maintained. Memory helps form identity; our present identities are reinforced by knowing who we were in the past (Lowenthal 1998: 197). This is true on both the individual level and on the collective level. Like identity, memory is fundamentally a social phenomenon (Jones and Russell 2012: 269). Lowenthal suggests that while we remember both individual and collective pasts, we recall only our own memories first-hand. We think in terms of past events happening to us and impacting us in a certain way and we incorporate those events into our actions and experiences.[10] The private nature of individual memories causes us to wonder whether they are "real"; we look to others to confirm our memories and in so doing we begin to share the memories, to validate and sharpen them and to transform them into a collective memory. Sometimes the process of reinforcing memories requires amending elements of the memory to fit the collective identity (Lowenthal 1998: 196-7). Memory is not static; it can be redefined and contested and must be continually reaffirmed in order to be maintained (Black and Varley 2003: 236). Yet our innate tendency to trust our own memories over those of others ensures that memory is not so mutable as to be chaotic. The relationship between identity/belonging and memory is dependent on choices of what to remember and what to forget that may be revised or reawakened later (Lowenthal 1998: 206; Jones and Russell 2011: 275).

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[9] For example, as an individual ages s/he is identified differently by others. In the modern United States, an eighteen year old is identified as mature enough to vote but not to drink. Similarly, a person may identify as a member of a political party at one phase in their life and later change their party allegiance and thus one aspect of their identity as it is perceived by others.

[10] I recall my grandmother telling me about the start of World War I. In her version, World War I started *when* her mother opened the door to get the newspaper. Of course, it had started earlier and was only being reported in the newspaper, but to my grandmother, as a young girl, the mundane everyday action that she witnessed fused with the much larger event and was transformed into memory.

The relationship between memory and history is relatively clear on an individual level but becomes more ambiguous on a collective level. At the individual level, memory's relation to history is expressed through autobiography, with all the omissions, repositioning, editorializing and self-aggrandizing that normally accompany it. At the collective level, the correspondence is less clear. Historians argue that the two are in opposition (Nora 1989: 8). For Pierre Nora, "real" memory is an inviolate, spontaneously actualizing collective social structure that connects us to the undifferentiated time of heroes, origins and myths through our ancestors, and preserves and conveys collectively remembered values, while history, on the other hand, is an analytical and critical pursuit focused on reconstructing that which is no longer (Nora 1989: 7-8). He argues that there are as many memories as there are groups and as a result memory has no particular authority; whereas, history belongs to everyone and no one and can therefore claim universal authority (Nora 1998: 9). The distinction lies in the fact that "memory dictates while history writes" (Nora 1998: 21). For David Lowenthal, memory and history are distinguished as different attitudes towards knowledge rather than as different types of knowledge (1998: 213). For him what we know of the past through memory is largely private and intimate. Memory is a device that seeks to make the past useable in the present (Lowenthal 1989: 1263; Lowenthal 1998: 212). We use it as a means to classify and understand the world around us. What we know of the past through history, on the other hand, is largely collective and can be tested against accessible sources (Lowenthal 1989: 1263). Lowenthal also believes that history differs from memory by telling us things about the past that are not known by those living at the time (Lowenthal 1989: 214), a belief that is challenged by archaeologists. For example, quoting from Paul Shackel in part, Lu Ann De Cunzo writes that "archaeology can serve one of two ends as a means of writing history. It can support the status quo of 'public memory and tradition' or contradict it and 'provide an alternative [more inclusive] past' (vii)" (De Cunzo 2002: 692). Similarly, Katherine Hayes refers to the role historical archaeologists can play in "representing" the past and thus returning "history to peoples without history" (2011: 198). She points out that "archaeologists may be uniquely positioned to explore the issue of social forgetting because the bread and butter of our evidence is the abandoned, the disposed, the separated and the excluded materiality of human

experience" (Hayes 2011: 216). Similarly Jones and Russell (2011: 273) have pointed to the ways in which oral tradition can serve as a technique for exploring the histories of communities that are otherwise subsumed by grand historical narratives.

For archaeologists the boundary between collective memory and history is, clearly, not as apparent as it is for historians. In fact, as De Cunzo suggests (ibid), the term memory may simply have been co-opted by some as an archaeological way of writing history. In other words, the term "memory" may be used as a way of distinguishing the archaeological nature of the contribution from historical contributions on the same topic; of highlighting the source of the material. This relationship is less important than the fact that in all the archaeological definitions of collective memory there is a social component that is stressed. For example, Ruth Van Dyke and Susan Alcock define social memory as "the construction of a *collective* notion about the way things were in the past" (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003: 2; italics mine). This social component renders collective memory mutable, subject to negotiation, to evolution through acts of memory and through the processes (deliberate and unconscious) of forgetting. It also links social memory to the process of creating and maintaining community identities.

Heritage and the Construction of Identity

Hayes suggests that one of the reasons that memory has taken hold in archaeology is that it brings archaeological interpretation into the arenas of heritage and contemporary relevance (Hayes 2011: 216). Heritage, literally defined as something passed on from a previous generation, is a frighteningly broad term that is currently used to encompass both tangible objects (such as sites and monuments - as well as, in some cases, the assemblages or landscapes that they may form a part of) and intangible practices, traditions and values. It is an umbrella term that encompasses a range of activities including, but not limited to: historic preservation, archaeology, conservation, and curation. To confuse matters more, the term has been co-opted as a marketing tool to denote authenticity (e.g. heritage tourism, heritage roses), and the hand-crafted nature of something (e.g. heritage whiskey, heritage linens). The creation, designation and maintenance of heritage is one of the primary ways that

communities, localities, nations, and even the international community, forge and maintain group identities. Gary Edson argues that historical affiliation and collective memory are ways in which people orient themselves to the past and that often history and heritage are mistakenly conflated (2004: 338). However, in his mind, heritage has a greater symbolic meaning than history does; in it our identity through time is expressed (ibid). At times this results in individual elements being privileged in order to address specific needs within a group rather than for their historical value.

Heritage is often connected to a fear of loss – loss of traditions, loss of a way of life or loss of a shared set of values. The psychologist Mihaly Czikszentmihalyi, has stated that "artifacts help objectify the self in at least three major ways…[they] reveal the continuity of the self through time, by providing foci of involvement in the present, mementoes and souvenirs from the past and signposts to future goals" (1995: 23). Artifacts, he goes on to add, "stabilize our sense of who we are" (ibid); places and objects provide frames of reference that create a necessary sense of psychological permanence and of belonging.[11] This sense of continuity is not acquired without cost; elements of heritage are selected, supported and maintained, often at the cost of other elements. The message is often restricted to a select group (frequently those in power or with wealth) resulting in "exclusive myths of origin and endurance" (Lowenthal 1998: 8). The close associations between the rapid growth of heritage management in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the rise of European nationalism, the expansion of settler cultures in North America and Australia, and colonial sentiment created a context in which the claims of heritage were used to support territorial acquisitions and to disenfranchise native populations that continues to have negative repercussions to this day (cf. Meskell 2002a; Meskell 2002b; Ireland

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[11] One of the ways in which objects create a sense of permanence and belonging is by illustrating their owner's social relationships, their personality and their aspirations. My living room contains a watercolor by my great-aunt, my grand-mother's sewing table, a series of humorous statuettes made by my aunt and two pillows that I embroidered when I was younger. Having enjoyed a rather peripatetic childhood, it intrigues me to note that these objects, which most ground me and provide a sense of home, all belonged to women who also spent their lives travelling. These objects connect me to family and to family stories but they also provide a sense of belonging through shared familial tastes and shared creative aspirations.

2002; Dawdy 2009).[12] While it is true that archaeologists and others need to be cognizant of the misuses that individuals, groups, and nations may make of heritage, these abuses are not grounds to cease engaging in any activity that might be deemed as supporting heritage (Dawdy 2009) but rather can be seen as an invitation to engage more critically with the term, identify underlying agendas and promote discussion.

Rodney Harrison has pointed out that heritage has never been primarily about the past but rather it is about our present day relations with the past and with the future (2013a: 4). Michael Rowlands suggests that heritage is a discursive process through which groups create relationships between the past, their community, and a group identity that defines the right of the group to exist (Rowlands 2002: 108). This discussion can be a source of "alternative" narratives, with objects, or sites, serving as signposts for discussions that might not otherwise occur and offering avenues of closure (Rowlands 2002: 111). Archaeologists are well-placed to moderate these discussions. Archaeology's long view provides a unique experimental space through which identities and relationships can be understood and assumptions can be critiqued (Nelson 2009: 158). Additionally, the past involvement of archaeologists with the production of heritage gives them a source of authority that has been codified in many cases by legislative practice or international convention (Smith 2000; Harrison 2013a).

The relationship between heritage and its preservation is complex. On the one hand, denoting an object, building, site, landscape or tradition as preservation-worthy is one of the first steps to transforming it into an item of heritage (Harrison 2013a). On the other hand, the hands-on nature of preserving material culture has meant that conservators and those engaged in the day-to-day management of heritage have historically focused on the technical aspects of their fields and have been largely absent from theoretical discussions of the meaning and political and economic uses of

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[12] Similarly, today, archaeology in both Palestine and Israel continues to have a strong political agenda aimed at creating "truth on the ground," while in Bosnia the "discovery" of the world's "oldest" and "largest" pyramids is worryingly fueling nationalist sentiment in an area of the world that has already seen instability and ethnic cleansing (Holtorf 2010: 387).

creating and maintaining heritage (Matero 2008)[13]. This has led to a perception that preservation is simply about material form and somehow segregates the past from the present, creating a lifeless commodity that no longer has connections to society (Lowenthal 1989: 70; Hodder 1990: 13). Cornelius Holtorf, writing about heritage in the age of terrorism, underscores this idea. He points out that "historic objects are not innately meaningful but become meaningful only when they are socially constituted in a particular way, for instance through a performative act" (2006: 102), which is problematic to him as few preservation advocates seem to be interested in the performances that it takes to appreciate objects meaningfully.[14] He then raises the question of whether coming generations will really use the objects that are being preserved to remember the past or whether they will merely remember the preservation policies and conservation techniques that maintained them, in effect remembering the remembrance of the past (Holtorf 2006: 102).

Archaeological Narrative

The archaeological process in all its forms (including excavation, analysis, conservation and curation) can make the past legible to the future, but in order to read it, there must be an understandable narrative. What form the narrative should take and how best to construct it has been a hotly debated topic for many years (see Hodder 1989; Terrell 1990; Spector 1991; Pluciennik 1999; Joyce 2002; Lopiparo 2002; Elphinstone

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[13] Although the publication of a number of books, such as Miriam Clavir's *Preserving what is Valued* (2002), Salvador Munos-Vinas' *Contemporary Theory of Conservation* (2005), and Dean Sully's *Decolonizing Conservation: Caring for Maori Meeting Houses Outside of New Zealand,* (2008), as well as the dedication of the 2011 ICOM-CC Triennial conference in Lisbon to the theme of "Cultural Heritage/ Cultural Identity-the role of conservation" suggests this is changing.

[14] Holtorf's point is important to consider in the context of the relationship between heritage and preservation. However it is also important to note that he takes a somewhat narrow view of preservation as a matter of presence or absence and the performances that he cites largely center on past ethnographic uses of a site or artifact. There are many forms of modern performance that help to define the meaning of an object within a museum environment. For example, most collection institutions have some form of accessioning process, generally in the form of a meeting. The purpose of these meetings is to discuss the acquisition of new items for the collection. Typically an object is introduced, its pedigree is presented (who made it? where was it made? who owned it? where is it coming from now?). This is then followed by a discussion of how the object relates to other objects in the collection (what narratives does it illustrate? which objects does it complement and how? where and when might it be exhibited?) Ultimately, a decision is made as to whether or not to acquire the object. Each of these presentations is a "performance" in which old meanings, such as the object's provenance, are restated and new meanings and relationships are created. These performances are reinforced by others, such as exhibits, catalog entries, technical studies, podcasts, public lectures, etc.

and Wickham-Jones 2012). Numerous "corrective" approaches have been suggested. The following section examines two, object biography and microhistory, and their potential contributions to the archaeological record.

One of the first authors to address the need for narrative, Ian Hodder, lamented the fact that, in comparison with their eighteenth-and early nineteenth-century antecedents, modern archaeological reports had become "almost authorless" (1989: 268) and "abstract, distant and decontextualized" (1989: 271). He wrote that the earlier reports (often in the form of a letter chronicling a discovery) were actor-oriented accounts that are full of the actions of individuals (Hodder 1989: 270). The reader is drawn to a particular place and time and becomes engaged with the story. By contrast, the modern reports he studied focused more on typological constructs and were often organized by features rather than by sequence. Passive voice was employed throughout, creating a sense of detachment and a suggestion that there was only one logical interpretation to be derived and that it was the one being presented to the reader (Hodder 1989: 271). Hodder points out that no project is ever that tidy and that all archaeological accounts are based on an interpretive framework (1989: 273). In order for the reader to be able to assess and evaluate the conclusions, s/he must have a clear sense of how the conclusions were reached and what degree of uncertainty might be inherent in them. A narrative structure is one way to highlight the interpretive framework or, as Adrian Praetzellis phrases it, to "put reasoning on the table where it can be picked at, used or discounted" (1998: 1).

Rosemary Joyce expands on the idea of opening up one's interpretive approach and making it transparent, arguing that "communication is a social act that binds together both the speaker (or author) and the addressee through the speaker's expectation of a response from the addressee"(Joyce 2002: 30). It is this response, whether it is an affirmation, a rebuttal, or a query, that gives the speaker's words meaning (Joyce 2002: 30). Stretching this idea further, it can be argued that archaeological discourse has social consequences. It contains the potential to mirror and reinforce existing societal frameworks but also to deconstruct them and offer alternate view points for

consideration.[15] This is a powerful concept but it is not entirely unproblematic. The idea of archaeological narrative generating social meaning creates responsibilities that must be fulfilled. For example, Deetz writes that it is the responsibility of archaeologists to communicate the results and significance of their findings with as wide an audience as possible (1998: 94). Deetz's position mirrors that of many other archaeologists (see for example Fagan 2006; Beaudry 2007), but it also raises the question of whether it is possible to communicate if the reader does not understand or cannot engage with the format? How should archaeologists structure their accounts in order to create a dialogue with the public and (in the Joycian sense of the word) communicate meaning to them and involve them in the creation of social capital?

Joyce urges archaeologists to "foreground the 'activity' of knowledge production and not the knowledge 'products'" (2002: 131). Other archaeologists (Terrel 1990; Praetzellis 1998) have argued that adding "storytelling" and specifically narrative structures back into archaeological accounts is one way for archaeologists to communicate successfully with both the public and their peers. Among other techniques, such as "first person" accounts (see for example Beaudry 1998; Mytum 2010 and Gray 2010), object biography has been proposed as a technique for enhancing the narrative structure and bringing a new focus to the study of sites and artifacts.

Object Biography

Object biography was first proposed by Igor Kopytoff (1989) as a technique for examining the commoditization of goods and in particular the valuations that cause an object to move between singularization and commodity. He proposed a number of questions that could be asked to examine the biography of a thing including:

- where does it come from?
- who made it?

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[15] Examples of this include Janet Spector's 1991 article "What this awl means: towards a feminist archaeology" and the Museum of London's *Our Londinium* exhibit in which students at local schools were invited to install modern items in the galleries to explore the connections between Roman London and modern London

- what is its career so far and what is the ideal career for such things?

- how does it change with age and what happens when its use ends?

- what are the stages of the thing's life? (1989: 67)

Archaeologists have fastened on these questions, in particular the last one, as a method for examining the complex relationships between objects and people. The biographical sequence of an object's life from birth (production) through life (use) to death (disposal) has been used to discuss both individual artifacts (Peers 1999) and groups of artifacts (Rainbird 1999; Whitley 2002). As a methodology, object biography can highlight relationships between groups of artifacts that might not otherwise be evident if the objects are studied in isolation (Rainbird 1999: 222).

Object biography is a useful tool for archaeologists and has proven to be particularly valuable for examining questions of appropriation, adaption, and the redefinition of identity (Hall 2012: 86). However, to my mind there are several weaknesses in the way that this methodology is used in the archaeological literature, particularly in regards to its use as a narrative tool for promoting dialogue. These weaknesses center around the chronological structure of object biographies and the way in which they are most commonly employed.

Narrative requires a chronologically ordered and unified series of events with a clear beginning, middle and end (Pluciennik 1999: 654). The birth→life→death sequence used in biographies provides this structure for many historical narratives, which follow the lives of people, but is less well-suited to archaeological narratives. Most objects' (and even sites') lives can be more complex and less linear than human lives. An object can undergo periods of alteration, disposal, rediscovery, adaptation, reuse and redisposal and one or more of these events may repeat multiple times over the life of the piece. Despite the acknowledgment by several authors that object biography extends beyond the manufacture, life (use, exchange, adaption) and death (or disposal) of the object to its possible resurrection (excavation, curation, preservation) (Peers 1999; Whitley 2002 Schamberger *et al* 2012), few archaeological object biographies consider the object's life after burial or the attitudes of the author and

their contemporaries to the material.[16] There is an inherent assumption that the post-excavation analysis is separate from the birth, life and death/disposal of the object. However, it can be argued that writing about an object and discussing our interpretation of it not only communicates a meaning but creates one - particularly as others respond to us and we to them. The object can become the standard bearer of a new theory or a discredited example of an old one. Cornelius Holtorf has pointed out the number of choices we make in the process of excavating and analyzing an object and the ways in which we begin to construct objects and their social relationships even in the field (Holtorf 2002). In his case, the object was a fairly simple pot sherd, but as the complexity and or "value" of the object grows, the number of choices grows as well. The object may get conserved, made the subject of an exhibit or highlighted in a newspaper article; with each new action it is potentially entering a new phase of its life and creating new relationships with the people around it. The object's meaning may change - collections that were unimportant take on new meanings and vice-versa. As the object is incorporated into a collection (whether in an archive, repository or museum), it is interacted with and perceived differently according to the fashions of the time. If a decision is made to interpret it in situ, other interactions may take place. Despite several authors' attempts to draw the "afterlife" of an object into the narrative,[17] this sort of discussion has generally been left to museum curators (Crowther 1989: 43; Peers 1999; Seip 1999; Schamberger *et al.* 2012) or those working in the museum field.

A second weakness of object biography, as it is frequently applied in the archaeological literature, is that it is rarely approached from a holistic stand-point. It is often employed to prove a single theory or to explore a single facet of an object's life; for example, what an object wants (Gosden 2005) or how the form of an object is transformed over time (Rainbird 1999). These accounts are frequently selective in terms of what they include, utilizing only the pieces of the object's life that support

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[16] Notable exceptions include Gray 2010; Peers 1999

[17] See, for example, Moreland's discussion of the various interpretations of the Bradbourne cross since its excavation (Moreland 1999), or Holtorf's discussion of the megaliths in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (1998) and MacGregor's discussion of the nationalistic qualities ascribed to Scottish carved stone balls (1999).

the theoretical framework the author wishes to explore and rejecting those pieces that do not fit the model.[18] This use of object biography fails to look at the object holistically or to consider the fact that multiple biographies (political, emotional, cultural, economic) may reside in one artifact and that that object, like an individual, can have multiple relationships with other objects (both similar and different), with individuals (creator, owner, user, discoverer), and with the individuals with whom those individuals interact. This fault limits the scope of investigation and can give the theory being tested an unnatural weight. In these cases, the structure of the narrative may get in the way of the reader's thought processes, making certain outcomes seem more inevitable or more powerful than others because they appear to follow a predestined narrative arc. This tendency towards predeterminism is augmented by styles of writing that favor writing in the third person; an approach that further channels the reader's attention in certain directions without acknowledging the key role of the author as director in the process. The result is that the theory being tested appears neater than it might otherwise be. Additionally, the object is limited to a more static role in the narrative. The agency of the object is diminished and it may appear more passive because we are conditioned to look for the end - the moment it is disposed of and ceases to have value. However, it is important to remember that objects are not always passive, and humans are not always the actors (Schamberger *et al.* 2012). Gosden has demonstrated that objects can place obligations on people when acting in a group (2005: 193) and Hoskins has shown that human interactions with biographical objects are mediated by time and space - the object can anchor the

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[18] Examples of this include MacGregor (1999) and Gillings and Pollard (1999). MacGregor's study of carved stone balls is limited by its modern assumptions of what one might do in terms of sensory stimulus. He admits to not throwing and catching the balls, presumably because modern collections managers will not permit it, although he does not address that issue, but he does not consider rolling them over a distance, dropping them into water (despite the fact that many are found in or near water sources) or boiling them (or surrogate balls, which presumably museum managers would permit). His analysis of ancient prehistoric materials remains bounded by modern considerations of what is considered "functional" or "normal," but this aspect of the object's life is not discussed. Similarly Gillings' and Pollard's account of the standing stones at Avebury is limited by the fact that despite acknowledging that the stones slip in and out of memory throughout time, the only sources employed are modern archaeological interpretations of the stones.

owner in a particular time and place and create or mold the owner's own identity (1998: 8).[19]

Refining Object Biography with Microhistory

Although significant, these weaknesses could be easily overcome if the techniques used to create object biography were refined somewhat. Pairing aspects of the microhistorical approach with object biography would provide a more detailed analysis of objects and how they relate both to the archaeological record and to society, permitting a fuller exploration of the complexity of objects-human interactions and of their meanings.

Microhistory emerged as an opposition to the historiographical model, which focused on political, economic and national history. In contrast, microhistory shrank the field of investigation and focused on "neglected" themes that included the human body, family, and relations between the sexes and between other groups, such as cohorts and factions (Ginsburg *et al.* 1993: 19). Like object biography, microhistory excels at demonstrating connections that were not hitherto suspected; it "has the most impact where assumptions of separation were so strong and so fundamental that the demonstration of such connections forces readers to reconsider basic claims about societies in which the connections were found" (Putnam 2006: 616). However, by focusing on otherwise unknown or overlooked individuals, events or places, microhistory seeks to connect with larger social contexts and movements (Anon 2012). The challenge for microhistorians is how to relate the local to the global, to tie the smaller scale to the larger scale and to "illuminate more general truths" (Brooks *et al.* 2008: 5). Object biographers make no similar claim and many object biographies are content to study a singular artifact or group of artifacts.[20]

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[19] The idea of agentive objects and of a symmetrical archaeology that seeks to explore the tangled relationship between humans and things has been taken up by a number of other authors (see, for example, Olsen 2003; Webmoor and Witmore 2008; Pétursdóttir 2012a; Pétursdóttir 2012b; and Olsen and Witmore 2015).

[20] For example, the standing stones at Avebury (Gillings and Pollard 1999) or pearls (Saunders 1999) or the Elgin marbles (Hamilakis 1999).

One area where a microhistorical approach to object biography offers promise for archaeology is in terms of broadening the dialogue through greater transparency. According to Carlo Ginsburg, one of the precepts of microhistory is that obstacles that "interfere with the research in the form of lacunae or misrepresentations in the sources must be part of the account" (Ginsburg *et al.* 1993: 28). Jill Lepore (2001) argues that this tendency to place the author into the account as a detective or judge is one of the things that set microhistorians apart from their subject, creating an emotional detachment and ensuring an objectivity that is not always attained by biographers. It is also one of the aspects that offers particular value to object biographers. By making the author and the moment in which s/he is encountering the object, and the preconceptions that s/he bring to it more transparent, the "activity of knowledge production" (Joyce 2002: 131) is highlighted and the dialogic potential of the narrative is enhanced. It is easier to see why a particular conclusion was reached, how it was reached, what degree of uncertainty was inherent in the process and to engage with the process. The potential of such a reflexive process is for the results of archaeological research to seem less predetermined and more accessible. Kevin McGeough has made the point that as archaeological writing became more scientific and distant, the public remained interested in the romance and discovery of archaeology (particularly Near Eastern archaeology) and looked to movies and other media outlets to provide it (McGeough 2006). These sources sought to create engaging, fast-paced storylines, but sacrificed archaeological method in the process resulting in confusion about key elements of the archaeological process including how archaeology is structured as a profession, what happens to objects after they are excavated, and how archaeological work is initiated (McGeough 2006).

Another way in which a microhistorical approach to object biography might address some of the weaknesses of object biography is in broadening the scope of the investigation. It has already been argued that the focus of object biography can be quite narrow. It is often used as a method to test a single theory and examines the object through a single lens. Microhistory approaches a person, event or object from a multitude of directions, revealing its totality in greater detail. For example, Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's book *A Midwife's Tale* (1990) uses each chapter to explore a

different theme, including, among other topics, a comparison of the medical knowledge of goodwives and surgeons, the female and male economies within a household, mortality rates and legislative matters. Fusing this broad-based approach with that of object biography would help to create a methodology that is more holistic and that looks at the way people in the past construed their experiences through relations with objects and each other without being too constrained by how those relationships fit into a particular analytical framework. This approach would in turn open up the possibility of examining an object's biography in a non-linear way and might provide new insights about the connections between objects and things.

Enhancing the transparency of the archaeological analysis and broadening the scope of that analysis enhances the potential of object biography as a multi-vocal means of story-telling and opens the way for a more layered and inclusive narrative that has the potential to draw from a number of sources and pull in new areas of exploration as well as new voices. Janet Spector demonstrated this to powerful effect in her article, *What this awl means: towards a feminist archaeology* (1991); alternating between the third-person story of a Wahpeton girl and her awl and the first person account of Spector's own attempts to examine task differentiation at a site, she examined the traditional approaches to Native American archaeology and artifacts and demonstrated the need for a more inclusive approach.

Object Biography and Heritage Management

Unintentionally, Spector's approach demonstrates an issue in the management of archaeological collections. She wonders whether readers transfer their emotions about the dull lifeless artifacts described in many traditional accounts concerning the archaeology of Native Americans to the people themselves (Spector 1991: 403). Object biography provides a unique way to examine cultural capital (Hamilakis 1999). This methodology provides a stepping stone to a broader discussion of significance and values (both contemporary and past), and the object's (or site's) place within them. It enables the involvement of the public in the investigation and ultimately the decision making process by making archaeology more accessible. These discussions in

turn have potential benefits for the management of archaeological heritage both in the ground and out of it (Lipe 2002).

McGeough notes that the media presentations of archaeology he studied were characterized by three components. The first is that the archaeologist is always seen as a protector of artifacts and the villain is often characterized as someone who is not interested in the safety of the artifacts or in sharing them with others (2006: 178). Secondly, archaeologists are always associated with intelligence (2006: 177). Their specialized knowledge allows them unique access to ancient knowledge; a factor which he thinks characterizes our own society's anxiety about lost knowledge even at a time when the ways of sharing information seem to be exploding around us (2006: 180). Finally, he is particularly heartened that the validity of archaeology as a field is never questioned, and there is an implication in many films and television shows that centuries from now archaeology will still remain an important way of gleaning information (2006: 185).[21] The public has an abiding affection for archaeology, if not a deep understanding of it. As national, state and local budgets become more pressed and all but the most visible programs are asked to demonstrate their value, this affection is an important asset and one that must be cultivated.

Hodder attributes the increasing objectivity and scientific distance of twentieth-century archaeological report writing to the fact that archaeological research became institutionalized and power became invested in public spaces (i.e. universities, museums, cultural heritage institutions) and city planners (Hodder 1989: 272). Ironically, as it became important for archaeology to show that it was disciplined and accurate in order to demonstrate that it was worthy of public funds, the structure adopted for producing reports had the effect of alienating non-archaeologists. Deetz states that "if we as archaeologists are to continue our work, it must be done in the context of public understanding and support" (Deetz 1998: 96). Yet, Pluciennik notes that many academic archaeologists remain "dismissive of rather than critically

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[21] A classic example of this is the *Star Trek* franchise where, even in the twenty-fourth century, starship captains, aspire to be archaeologists and the discipline is utilized on many of their missions not only as a way to initiate the episode plotline but also as a means to resolve the issues encountered.

engaged with or interested in producing materials in the 'heritage' or cultural resource management context" (Pluciennik 1999: 668). Commenting on Pluciennik's article, Tusa writes that "the broadening of archaeology's narrative role and the paradigmatic amplification of certain broad themes can contribute directly to the development of more effective ways of safeguarding our heritage" (Tusa 1999: 672).

William Lipe suggests that the strength of archaeological research lies in the fact that "its accounts are anchored in the physical reality of artifacts/remains and the traces left by real people in a real past" (Lipe 2002: 23). He suggests that some might view the fact that many interpretations of the same record are possible as a sign of weakness, particularly since ambiguity increases the further the field delves into the cultural and cognitive aspects of its investigations. However, rather than accept this diversity as a weakness Lipe points to it as a benefit, stating that controversy is not a failure but is rather evidence of the research process at work (2002: 26). By engaging the public in these discussions and in the multiple stories that artifacts and archaeological landscapes have to tell, we have the ability not only to foster connections with the past but also to teach people about the archaeological process.

The biographical approach allows issues of gender, age, succession, and family memory to be brought to the fore. These are some of the same issues that resonate with the general public. They can build connections to the material, recognize similarities between themselves and people in the past, and make meaning for themselves. Brysbaert has written that when "an exhibition becomes an invitation to act the visitor may accept this invitation to act or react and thus have a meaningful social encounter with the display" (2011: 257). In this quote, the words "exhibition" and "visitor" could be replaced with "narrative" and "reader". We tend to value (and even overvalue) what we create; inviting the reader (or viewer) to react and engage with the material - to become a participant in the process and to help create meaning – opens new doors in terms of heritage management. Rather than sites that are just places to check off of a "bucket list" or to be toured in the half hour between tea and shopping, there is the potential for sites to become more active in the creation and examination of broad social values and the creation of a robust dialogue between

archaeologists and the public. Elizabeth Rudebeck has written that "narratives and all other forms of telling about the past presuppose an image of the present. Images of the present are the point of departure for images of the past, while at the same time the past defines the present"(Rudebeck 1999: 670). Although it is not her primary point, she highlights the cyclical nature of writing about the past. By writing about the past we hold a mirror to our own society, and as we do that we hold the potential to alter our society. Surely, then the more inclusive the process is, the more dynamic it must become.

Both object biography and microhistory have something to offer the archaeological narrative. Object biography offers a strong narrative structure with the downside that this structure may predetermine what we see to some extent, especially since almost all archaeological accounts, like many historical accounts, are written after the fact, making it easier to pick out the "beginning," "middle," and "end" that best suit the theory being tested. Microhistory's intentional approach to showing the gaps and highlighting the interpretive process adds to and strengthens object biography and augments its inherent potential for multivocality. The value of both approaches is that they are multiscalar. They allow us to look at the small scale and to use it as a means to examine key concepts, such as gender, familial relations, or even the creation and maintenance of value and/or significance, on a much broader level.

Drawing the Circle Back

Slavery and its legacy of racism have a tendency to obliterate individuals. In part this erasure is because it is easier to justify the actions needed to exert control over people when one can relegate them to a nameless and/or faceless block than it is to justify the same actions when we consider an individual known entity. In part, this erasing of individuality is also a product of the way in which slaves were commoditized and educated, the types of records that were created (or were not created), and the varying values that were placed on these records. Until fairly recently, the material culture of black Americans has not been viewed as being as worthy of investigation and preservation as that of white Americans. Lucy Ann Dunlop's tombstone allows us to begin to put a face on an individual and her family, and to explore the role of

memory in negotiating identity. Additionally, the tombstone allows us to examine how other individuals interacted with the object and how their responses to it created their own collective identities - a process which opens up the examination not only to the relationship between heritage and identity, but also to how heritage formation impacts the history we know and share. Although the intent of this thesis is to examine broad questions of identity and its relationship to both the historical and archaeological records rather than more particular questions of race, both the nature of the object that forms the core of this project and the time periods covered make it impossible to ignore this topic. Race continues to be a significant aspect of the way in which identity is negotiated not only in the southern United States, but in the country as a whole; however, the stark polarity that is often imposed between black and white, passivity and resistance, slave versus free, may not be the most productive way in which to consider it. Individuals can have many different and contextually dependent identities that may be influenced by different factors (such as race, ethnicity, age, class, gender, health, religion, and sexuality). Similarly, these identities may be perceived differently by others over time and as circumstances change.[22] Individuals, the identities that they create and the ways in which those identities interact with other individuals and objects are complex, and it is this complexity that attracts me. I believe that Lucy Ann Dunlop's tombstone and its varied history provide a vehicle for studying this complexity.

In the remaining chapter of this section, I will introduce the methodology adopted for studying and contextualizing Lucy Ann's tombstone. In Section Two, I will consider Alexander Dunlop's motivations for commissioning this tombstone. Was it merely a marker to the passing of a beloved wife, or were his choices motivated by the political changes of the time and informed by his desire to comment on them? In Section Three, I will discuss the role that "heritage" plays in institutionalizing identity. At times a top-down process (as in the case of nationalism), the process of formalizing identity

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[22] Lynn Rainville points out the arbitrary nature of nineteenth century assessments of skin color citing an 1870 census record that listed some children as mulatto and some as black despite the fact that all shared the same parents (2014: 105). Situations such as these presented opportunities for some African Americans to "pass" for whites; however, there were also disadvantages. Often "passing" meant moving away from darker skinned relatives and severing familial and social ties (Rainville 2014: 105) in order to create and exploit a new identity.

though heritage may also work as a bottom-up process. This section will consider the tombstone carvers themselves and the broader societal and political milieus within which they worked. At times individual and collective memories conflict; resolutions may be sought in the form of institutionalized forgetting. It will also examine this process in relation to the history of the tombstone between 1920 and 2003. Finally, Section Five will consider the process of renewing and reinventing identity and the role that preservation plays in this process.

CHAPTER FOUR: Methodology and Datasets

A Methodological Framework for Combining Object Biography and Microhistory

In the preceding chapter, I argued that despite the strong potential of object biography to provide insights into the relationships between objects and people, its scope can be limited by its chronological focus, and by the tendency to consider the object's life within a limited field of reference. For example, Harold Mytum has argued that object biography can be used successfully to examine the agency exerted by individual tombstones during each phase of their life. His article, *Artefact biography as an approach to material culture: Irish gravestones as a material form of genealogy* (2004b), outlines the various types of biographies tombstones can have from the simplest (a stone with a single inscriptional event) to the most complex (a stone with multiple inscriptional events and/or phases of repair and renewal), and highlights the points at which each tombstone is an active agent. However the implicit assumption that at some point in its biography an individual tombstone is destined to lose its agency, become inactive and merge into the general landscape of the cemetery, fails to take into account the ability of grouped tombstones to continue to act on each other and on us. For example, it is the massing of tombstones in military cemeteries that creates the sense of melancholia and national sacrifice often associated with them. These groupings can participate in and even provoke national dialogues about both identity and the course of broader socio-political issues.[23] While object biography is clearly successful at following the life history of an individual tombstone, its weakness lies in its ability to consider the varied, diverse and multiple relationships that a stone can have with other stones, the landscape, viewers, family and even ideas or political concepts. It is in this area that pairing object biography with microhistory has the most potential to add to our understanding of objects.

In addition to asking ourselves the biographical questions - who made it, where is it from, what are the stages of its life and what experiences has it had - we must ask

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[23] Footage of Arlington National Cemetery was used by both pro and anti-war activists during the Second Iraq War. One group used the footage to symbolically link the dead of the war to other "just" causes, such as World War II, while the other group used the footage to imply that any loss was too great.

ourselves questions that draw out the object's broader connections. These questions include:

- How is the object related to broader populations (both human and non-human)?
- Who/what did the object interact with and who interacted with it?
- Were the interactions limited to individuals or groups?
- Did these interactions have broad connotations?
- What was the intent of these interactions - maintenance of the status quo? Transformation?
- What limits our ability to understand the nature of the object, its life and its interactions?

Attempting to answer these questions at each temporal point along the object's biography has the potential to tie the small scale study of the object to the larger scale.

Our ability to put such a methodology into practice is a function, in part, of the robustness of the data sets. Clearly archaeological analysis and the contextual relationships of an object to the site and to other objects are one principal source of data, but other datasets are important as well, including, in this case archival material and other tombstones. The strengths and weaknesses of these datasets must be acknowledged before continuing on to a discussion of how our fused methodology will be accommodated in the study of Lucy Ann's tombstone.

Archaeological Data

The circumstances of the tombstone's discovery were discussed in Chapter Two. The movement of both the tombstones and the burials in the 1920s imposes some limitations on the data, as we have already seen. The manner in which the move was carried out resulted in the loss of the facial bones and many of the smaller bones, compromising our ability to carry out some forms of analysis, such as facial reconstruction or an in-depth study of pathology. Also, if grave-goods were present with the remains they did not survive the move. A small fragment of an

anthropomorphic pipe bowl found in the reburial fill may be an item from the original

grave, or it may have been an item that became incorporated in the fill during

reburial; unfortunately, due to the circumstances of the move it is not possible to

tell.[24] Similarly, our ability to study any potential surface decoration, deposits or

plantings[25] has been compromised. Finally, as a result of the construction of the

church (and in particular the excavation of its basement) no archaeological footprint

of the Dunlop house remains. As a result, there are no architectural features or

domestic artifacts to study, and our ability to examine the tombstones within their

broader domestic context is impacted.

This is not to say that the archaeological data is so thoroughly compromised as to be

unusable, but merely to point out some of the gaps in the dataset. Much can still be

learned. The excavation has produced the tombstone, a related tombstone and the

remains of two individuals. Other domestic sites associated with free blacks have also

been excavated (Ryder 1991; Singleton 2001) and comparisons with that material may

give us insights into Dunlop's domestic circumstances. Additionally, documentary

evidence, such as the inventory of Dunlop's possessions carried out after his death,

can provide us with additional clues as to his domestic life.

Documentary Data

Little needs to be written about the value of documentary sources in understanding

the past. It is well understood. Period material may survive in a number of formats

including official governmental records, business and organizational records,

newspapers and broadsheets, private correspondence and diaries. Each type of

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[24] The close parallels to other anthropomorphic pipes produced by Moravian potters in North Carolina in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries suggests that this latter explanation - the incorporation of earlier artifacts during excavation and fill - is probable, as does the presence of small fragments of whiteware and pearlware in the fill suggesting a TPQ of 1805 (Vinciquerra 2003: 30). On the other hand, the care with which the pipe has been broken to include only the facial elements and the persistence of folk traditions associated with African American graves makes its presence particularly intriguing. Connor (1989: 54) has argued that there is a continued association between African American gravesites and the use of the Kongan cosmogram (a circle quartered by a cross, which refers to spiritual renaissance and continuity) and that the inclusion of crosses on many African American graves may incorporate this earlier belief with later Christian ones. The circular shape of the pipe bowl and the strong vertical and horizontal axes formed by the line of the nose and mouth and that of the eyes is tempting to read in this light.

[25] Certain plants, such as Yucca, are particularly associated with African American gravesites.

material may be subject to biases and it is important to understand the biases in order to best use the information. Martha McCartney has pointed out that institutionalized racism may be responsible for inaccuracies between information collected by census takers and tax-officials for whites and that collected for African-Americans (McCartney 2000: 3).[26] Similarly, Howard Bodenhorn found that of the 846 free blacks listed in the Campbell County census in 1850 only 287 had registered with county officials (Bodenhorn 2002: 29). He attributed this partially to distance from the courthouse, which may have made travel difficult, and also to a lack of need in a close knit rural community where everyone knew each other, although other authors have suggested that similar findings are a sign of active resistance among the African American community (Schumann 2013).

The vagaries of the information that families choose to record and keep can introduce an additional bias to the record. Socio-economic factors become important. Education and leisure are important prerequisites for both letter writing and for creating personal records such as diaries and autobiographies. One must have the ability to write, but one must also have the time. As a result, the lives of powerful or wealthy white men have historically been privileged over those of blacks, indigenous populations or even women.[27] Inclination also plays a role. What is deemed worth recording alters according to one's interests and one's sense of being caught up in events beyond oneself. The mundane, repetitious day-to-day events that form the core of a life may be overlooked in favor of "events." The lives of servants, slaves, tradesmen, women and children may not be mentioned or, if they are, may be mentioned only in passing and/or from a very specific vantage point. We must be cognizant that what gets recorded is generally written with a reader in mind, whether it is the recipient of a letter or a descendant reading a diary. Elisions and amendments may occur and motives may be polished or hidden. Similarly, families often collect and keep the records of famous ancestors at the expense of other family records. They

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[26] Generally, the information collected about whites is more accurate and more detailed than that collected for blacks and frequently black incomes are underestimated whereas those for whites is more accurate or overestimated. These discrepancies may reflect both lack of interest in a portion of the population and ingrained beliefs about business acumen.

[27] Important exceptions exist such as the diary of Martha Ballard (Ulrich 1990) or the diary of William Johnson, a free black man living in Natchez, Mississippi (Hogan and Davis 1993).

may also seek to selectively manage the records in order to pass on a particular vision of themselves or their ancestor.[28] These actions can result in expurgation, emendation or even destruction of records. Both of these factors, the motives for creating records and the motives for keeping them are important elements in the historiography of nineteenth- century Virginia. Antebellum Virginians were engaged in an active discussion about slavery both with other Virginians and Southerners and with Northerners. A paternalistic vision of slavery was being promulgated by men like Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, a native of Williamsburg and a law Professor at The College of William and Mary. A core tenet of this concept was the development of strong ties of "mutual" affection between the master and slave. Conscious word choices were made to support this paternalistic worldview, the softer word "servant" with its implication of choice was commonly used in favor of the harsher word "slave". Ywonne Edwards has shown how Tucker's involvement with this debate was manifested not only in his writing, but also influenced how he conceived of his home architecturally (Edwards 1990). Proponents of this paternalistic viewpoint aimed to show that slavery was the only kind and humane solution to the presence of African Americans in the States. Debates about the meaning of manhood (i.e. how a man should comport himself and what he should aspire to) and emigration formed strands within the same tapestry. During and after the Civil War, Virginians and other Southerners actively engaged in another campaign to influence perceptions. This time the goal was to convey the notion that the South had entered the Civil War not to champion slavery, but out of a moral obligation because they were committed to upholding constitutional rights. This vision of Southerners as the last bastion of honor permeates both public inscriptions, such as monuments, and much of the personal writing of the time.

Finally, preservation factors may influence the record. Both benign neglect (i.e. allowing pests to silently munch on documents in an attic) and catastrophic events

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[28] The recent controversy over Ben Affleck's request that the producers of *Finding your Roots*, a television program that uses celebrity genealogies as a hook for presenting history, refrain from focusing their narrative on a slaveholding ancestor of his is an excellent example of this. Affleck is quoted as saying he made the request because "I was embarrassed…the very thought left a bad taste in my mouth" (http://deadline.com/2015/04/ben-affleck-slave-owner-ancestor-finding-your-roots-1201414583/ [Accessed 5/4/2015]).

(such as floods and fire) can create gaps and biases. Virginia is divided into 95 counties and 39 independent cities (which maintain their own records). County records typically include deeds, birth marriage and death records, order books, wills, and some court records. Generally, they serve as a "first stop" for both biographical information and inquiries regarding chain of custody.[29] Unfortunately, a number of Virginian counties have lost records as a result of events during either the Revolutionary War or the Civil War. These counties are referred to by historians and genealogists as "Burnt Counties." The Library of Virginia characterizes burnt counties as falling into one of two categories: catastrophic and considerable loss (Library of Virginia n.d.). Counties which have suffered catastrophic loss have typically lost most of their loose records as well as many, if not most, of the order, will and deed books. Counties that have suffered considerable loss have generally experienced substantial loss of their loose records but their bound volumes (order books, will books and deed books) survive.

Williamsburg, an independent city, was initially carved out of both James City County and York County. However, in 1870 the boundaries were redrawn so that the town fell entirely within James City County. Williamsburg and James City County have shared a courthouse since 1770. Catastrophic loss occurred as a result of the decision to send the court records to Richmond for safe keeping during the Civil War. The records, along with those from several other counties, were destroyed during the fire that accompanied the evacuation of Richmond on April 3rd 1865. Williamsburg/James City County experienced further loss in April 1911 when the records of the Superior Court of Chancery for the Williamsburg district were destroyed by fire.

Despite these lacunae in the administrative records, Williamsburg is home to three major research resources which all have the potential to inform this project. They are:

1) The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Rockefeller Library - although its eighteenth century holdings are its strength, it does contain primary

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[29] Federal records such as censuses and slave schedules, may provide additional useful information. Beginning in 1850, the census collected the names of those living in a household and their occupations as well as basic information regarding assets and education. The 1890 census was almost entirely destroyed in a fire in 1921.

documents, especially photographic collections, that address Williamsburg's nineteenth century history.

2) The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Corporate Archives - a rich source of twentieth century documentation regarding the establishment of the Foundation and its operations.

3) The College of William and Mary's Earl Gregg Swem library - contains numerous letters and business records relating to Williamsburg Families. The products of wealthy and/or established white families, these records contain important information about nineteenth-century Williamsburg and its inhabitants, but largely reflect the world view of their creators such that the African American lives in the town are often touched on glancingly rather than directly.

In addition to the records found in these institutions, three additional sources of information have proven particularly valuable. The first of these is Dunlop's testimony in front of the Senate's Joint Committee on Reconstruction. It is invaluable not only as a record of Dunlop's own words and thoughts, but also those of his brother-in-law, Richard R. Hill. The second, *The True Southerner* newspaper, was a short-lived newspaper that was published in Hampton, VA., between November 1865 and February 1866. Although the publisher, Colonel D.B. White was a white man, its editor Joseph T. Wilson was a free black from Massachusetts.[30] The newspaper's prospectus proclaimed that its goals were to provide free blacks with the tools to be good citizens, to aid in their education, and to advocate for their rights and interests.[31] It reported news from throughout the country, but it also took special care to report on local black political and spiritual gatherings both in Hampton and throughout the Peninsula. In February 1866, the presses were moved to Norfolk, and in April 1866, a white mob attacked the offices and threw the presses into the Elizabeth River (Engs

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[30] Col. White was a Colonel in the 81st NY Volunteers. He actively engaged with the African American population on the Peninsula, frequently attending meetings and even speaking on their behalf. Joseph T. Wilson was born in Virginia and educated in Massachusetts. He enlisted first in the 2nd Louisiana Native guard regiment and later in Company C, 54th Massachusetts Infantry. In addition to his newspaper work he also wrote *The Black Phalanx: African American Soldiers in the War of Independence, the War of 1812 and the Civil War* (1887) and was very active in the Grand Army of the Republic, the Union Army's veterans organization.

[31] *The True Southerner*, November 24, 1865, p. 3.

1979: 94). The third set of records are the corporate records of the Couper Marble Works, a company that specialized in importing and carving marble and other stone. Founded by John Diedrich Couper in 1848 the company remained in business until 1981, although the name changed to Couper Memorials. Large portions of the company's records covering the period 1848-1942 were donated to the Virginia Historical Society in 1970. They form a valuable resource for studying the organization and economics of a nineteenth-century monument firm, and were consulted heavily to contextualize the discussion in Section Three of this project.

Tombstones

Tombstones are unusual objects. Even when commercially or mass produced, each is unique in a way that few other items are.[32] Effigies, memorials and grave markers share the fact that they are designed to communicate information about identity. Frequently this data is not limited simply to the identity of the deceased; it may include information about a number of other individuals including family, friends, colleagues and even the artists or artisans commissioned to create the piece. A multitude of decisions are made from the moment the piece is commissioned - including what material to use, where to place the marker and what decorative schema to use - that convey both explicit and implicit information about socio-economic status, gender, age, race and religion among other things. Memorials may be characterized by their adherence to societal norms (conformity), or they may emphasize variability and individuality, and these are choices that tell us about the individuals associated with them.

The literature having to do with mortuary customs and practices is rich and varied. It crosses many continents and nationalities, and covers a variety of topics, from mourning (Walvin 1982) to osteological analysis (Little *et al* 1992) to discussions of cemetery planning (Tarlow 2000; Watkins 2002) to stylistic differences in tombstone decoration (Ludwig 1967; Luti 2002). Harold Mytum's book *Mortuary Monuments and*

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[32] Take, for example, another personal item, such as a comb; examples of the same model type produced by the same manufacturer will appear to be identical. There is little to distinguish one from another unless it goes through some form of post-production modification by an owner or user.

Burial Grounds of the Historic Period (2004a) provides a comprehensive bibliographic review of the above-ground archaeology that has been carried out to date on historic period cemeteries and burying grounds, and highlights some of the areas of investigation that have yet to be fully explored. Given the scope of this thesis, there is neither the breadth nor the need to recreate Mytum's work. However, a few words about the scope of work carried out to date on tombstones within the Mid-Atlantic and the way that tombstones have been used to explore issues of identity are necessary.

The primary focus of American gravestone studies has centered on New England gravestones and in particular on those carved within a vernacular or "folk" tradition. Beginning in the mid-1960s, scholars began to explore the contributions that these materials could make to a range of fields. Deetz and Dethlefsen approached gravestones from an archaeological perspective, introducing techniques such as seriation to the study of decorative motifs, and proposing the use of gravestones as a demographic tool for better understanding the population transformations taking place in early America (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966; Deetz and Dethlefsen 1967; Dethlefsen and Deetz 1967; Deetz and Dethlefsen 1971; Dethlefsen 1992). They suggested using gravestones to corroborate and test data from other sources, such as census records and published mortality records, and they highlighted the broad range of archaeological methods that could be tested under the very tightly controlled circumstances that tombstones offered temporally and spatially (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966). At the same time, Allan Ludwig's beautifully illustrated book *Graven Images* (1966) brought historians and art historians to the conversation and looked at the symbolism and style of New England's gravestones, demonstrating how Puritan ideals and English traditions combined to create a uniquely American decorative language. Over the intervening decades, these approaches have been built on and amplified by a number of authors (see for example Tashjian and Tashjian 1974, Brown 1992, or Luti 2002).

In comparison, the Mid-Atlantic has been largely overlooked (compare for example the 50 articles published in the journal *Markers* between 1983 and 2005 on topics

relating to Massachusetts as opposed to the seven on topics related to Virginia, the Mid-Atlantic's most populous state). The major exception to this, Ruth Little's book *Sticks and Stones* (1998), examines three centuries of gravestone carving in North Carolina and investigates how ethnicity and identity is made manifest within the decorative schema of the stone. Little surveyed four North Carolinian counties intensively and many others to a lesser or greater degree. She highlights the permeability of the state as it opened up, and new fashions were introduced ever further into the hinterland, but also celebrates the stubbornness with which ethnic boundaries were defined and defended.

Despite Little's broad temporal reach, most studies of Mid-Atlantic cemeteries and/or gravestones focus on the seventeenth and eighteenth century (Crowell and Mackie 1990; Williams 2012), and nineteenth century gravestones are commonly dismissed as products of "commercial" enterprises. When nineteenth-century gravestones are considered, the focus is most often on carver practices (Briggs 1990; Finnell 1993). This is a curious approach to the study of grave markers, since it frequently leaves the deceased out of the narrative completely (or refers to him/her only as an identifier for a particular stone, for example, "the Nellie Jones stone carved by x"). Recognizing that preservation biases make it more probable that nineteenth-century carver records will survive than those of earlier centuries and acknowledging that this bias opens fascinating avenues to examine industry, trade and taste during this period, this focus on the carvers is still a strange practice since the act of commissioning a tombstone is, as Sarah Tarlow has demonstrated (1999), all about the deceased and those who survive them. There is room for a more holistic approach to the study of tombstones in archaeology, one that looks at both the production and the consumption aspects and takes into account their meaning, significance and value through time.

Tombstones allow us to consider both singular identities (the individual) and collective identities (the family, the congregation, an ethnic grouping or the nation). These different levels have been investigated separately but rarely in tandem. Applying the paired techniques of object biography and micro-history to the study of Lucy Ann Dunlop's tombstone holds promise for examining these various aspects of identity,

their relation to the creation of heritage and to the broader question of collective belonging, an issue that Cornelius Holtorf has identified as one of the three meta-stories that archaeology offers (2010: 386).

In order to place Lucy Ann's tombstone in any contextual framework, and to address any of the questions posed by the stone, it is necessary to gather information on the broader community of which it was a part. This of course means comparing it to others found in Williamsburg from the same time period, but it also means comparing it to others regionally. Defining the extent of the regional approach was one of the first challenges. In particular, two hurdles existed:

1)   Beginning in the 17th century when substantial distances could exist between a plantation and "local" church, Virginians have had a well-established tradition of creating and utilizing family graveyards (Crowell and Mackie 1990). These small private plots can be difficult to locate and visit (Rainville 2014).

2)   As the railways expanded, commercial carvers could bring in materials (such as marble) from further away, and they could supply stones to larger areas (Little 1998: 179). Prices fell, marble became increasingly affordable for the middle class and the number of tombstones erected rose dramatically.

Focusing too intently on the smaller graveyards can produce a small data set that may be skewed towards white landowners, whereas contemplating too large a region may result in a dataset that is so large it becomes unwieldy and quickly overwhelms the individual stones. Successfully defining the area of the study was therefore critically important.

Ultimately a rectangular area of the eastern central portion of Virginia was defined for study (Figure 4). The rectangle was bounded by Richmond at its most northerly point, Petersburg to the southwest, Norfolk to the southeast and Williamsburg on the eastern side. Since both Lucy Ann's tombstone and its companion are signed by Richmond-based carvers, it seemed logical to include Richmond in the area of study and to focus on the populations served by these two carvers. Jacob Vincent, who

carved Robert Hill's tombstone, appears to have been active in the 1850s and early 1860s, but to have died in 1862. Wallen and Wray, the team that carved Lucy Ann's tombstone, were active from the mid-1860s until 1890 at which point their partnership disbanded and each began carving separately. James Wallen died in 1905 and Andrew Wray died in 1918, although it is likely that he stopped carving by 1914, when he appears to have suffered an incapacitating stroke. The dates of these three carvers also helped to establish a temporal range for the study: 1850-1910.
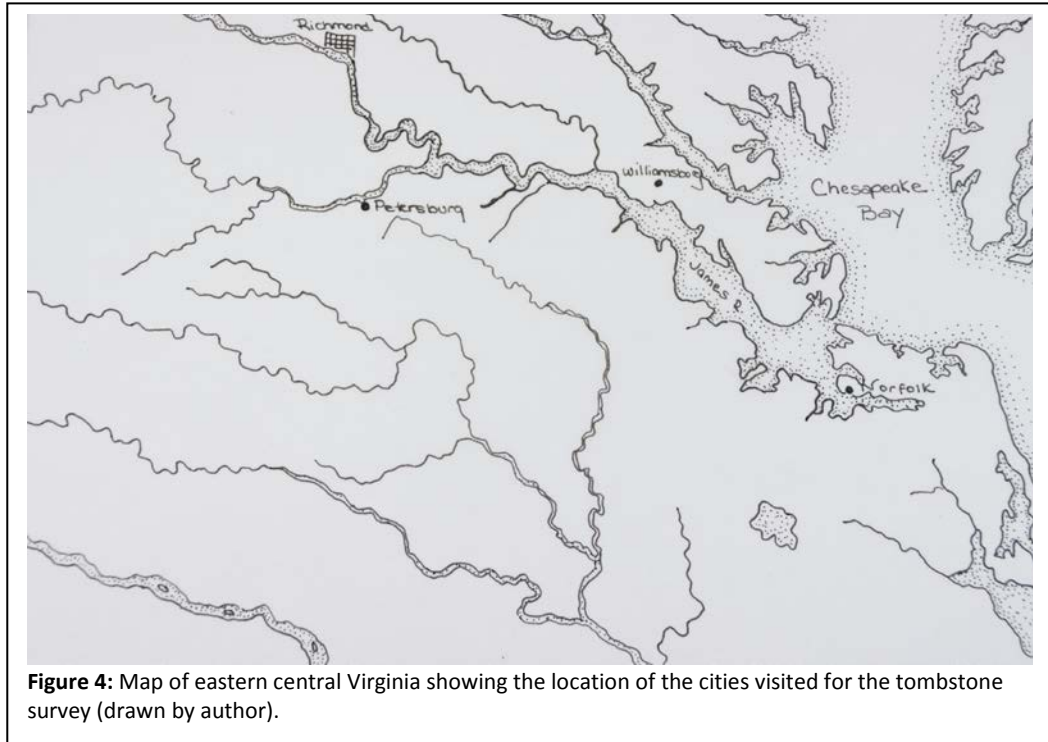
Figure 4: Map of eastern central Virginia showing the location of the cities visited for the tombstone survey (drawn by author).

During the 1850s, Richmond, Virginia's state capital, was a bustling industrial city with far flung economic ties.[33] As the capital of the Confederate States, Richmond became not only a political center, but also a highly desirable target. Some of the bloodiest battles of the Civil War were fought around its perimeter and when the city was abandoned on April 2, 1865, a fire started by the retreating Confederate troops consumed more than a third of the city. By 1880, Richmond had completed its recovery and was again a bustling industrial center.

During the period under consideration, Richmond had a strong middle class consisting of both blacks and whites and there are a number of historic cemeteries that served

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[33] Richmond was the principle exporter of flour to Brazil and imported much of that country's coffee.

each group. Unfortunately, however, today Richmond's African-American cemeteries
(with one exception) are extremely poorly maintained and overgrown; access is nearly
impossible to all but the most recent sections.

In 1860, Petersburg, located 23 miles south of Richmond, was the second largest city
in Virginia. It had 18,000 residents, a sixth of whom were free blacks. Many of these
were skilled laborers and they owned 19.4% of the property in the city (Lebsock 1980:
103). Tobacco and cotton mills provided much of Petersburg's economy but it was
also a railroad hub where the main North-South and East-West lines converged.
During the Civil War, Ulysses S. Grant[34], saw these railroad lines as a key component
of his attack on Richmond. By gaining control of the railroads Richmond's supply lines
and its ability to equip the Confederate army would be disrupted. The resulting nine
month long siege is the longest in U.S. history. Petersburg's recovery after the Civil
War was initially robust, but in the twentieth century the city has struggled to adapt to
economic changes and to competition from Richmond. Petersburg has a large public
cemetery, a Catholic cemetery, two Jewish cemeteries and three African-American
cemeteries all of which were in use during the period of study. Finally, Petersburg was
home to a local carver, Charles Miller Walsh, whose career fits within the date range
of this project. Walsh emerged from the Confederate army in 1865 and established a
monument carving business in Petersburg, taking advantage of the railroads to ship
his tombstones throughout central Virginia. He died in 1901 and his business was
managed by his sons until 1910.

The final city, Norfolk, was also chosen because it had both a historically black
cemetery and a tombstone carver whose career fit well within the scope of the
project. John Deidrich Couper began his marble works in 1848 and remained active in
their management until his death in 1909.[35] Many of Couper's daybooks and business
records survive in the collections of the Virginia Historical Society and they provided a
unique resource against which to check assumptions. Couper's tombstones can be

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[34] Ulysses S Grant (1822-1885) was created General in Chief of all U.S. armies on March 12th 1864. He
accepted Lee's surrender at Appomattox Courthouse in 1865. He was elected President of the United
States in 1869 and served two terms.
[35] After Couper's death, the company remained in family hands before finally closing in 1981.

found in Norfolk's two public cemeteries, Cedar Grove and Elmwood, and also in the historically black cemetery of West Point. Norfolk had a large enslaved and free black community prior to the Civil War. During the war, however, the numbers swelled significantly. In 1862, Norfolk surrendered to Union Troops and was occupied until the end of the war. During this period, enslaved African Americans from other parts of the state converged on Norfolk and Hampton's Fort Monroe seeking their freedom. After the war this community remained active and engaged and many blacks from Norfolk and further up the Peninsula were politically active during Reconstruction and the ensuing years.

All of the public cemeteries in each of these cities were visited during the course of this project. Other cemeteries within the broad geographic limits of the project area were visited when possible. A complete list of the cemeteries visited appears in Appendix 1. The manner in which data was collected differed slightly depending on whether the cemetery was historically white or black. In the historically white graveyards surveyed for this project, tombstones from the period of interest, 1850-1910, predominate. Therefore in these cemeteries, although information regarding the prevalence of other carvers was recorded, only the tombstones carved by one of the carvers of interest were fully documented and photographed. Since nineteenth-century tombstones were less prevalent in the historically black cemeteries[36], and the ratio of unsigned stones to signed stones was quite high, the decision was made to record and photograph every epitaph that fell within the period of interest.

In the white cemeteries, tombstones were recorded only if a signature/maker's mark could be discerned. No attempt was made to attribute stones to makers on stylistic grounds. Although over time it became tempting to believe that I could spot a stone by a particular carver, the only carver whose style was truly distinctive was Charles Miller Walsh. Walsh had a tendency to carve in unusually high relief and to repeat particular motifs more frequently than other carvers. Numerous factors may have biased the recording process:

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[36] In most of these cemeteries, tombstones from the 1920s to the present dominate.

- A number of headstones had fallen over so if they were signed on the side that was to the ground it was impossible to spot the signature. This may have affected tombstones signed by Charles Miller Walsh most of all, as he frequently signed the back of the stones.

- Over time many headstones had become separated from their bases, footstones or, in the case of cradle tombs, from their side panels. If, as was frequently the case, the carver chose to sign any of these elements instead of the headstone loss of the element meant loss of attribution.

- In some cases, tablet-in-ground and tablet-on-base style tombstones had been damaged and then reset. Frequently, this resulted in portions of the epitaph being buried so that if the carver had signed below the epitaph or low on the back of the stone his signature was buried.

- Normal wear and erosion also affected whether a tombstone was attributable. Martha Wren Briggs (1990) records the vault carved for Jacob Brandford Old as having been signed by Charles Miller Walsh. Despite returning three times at different times of day and in different lighting conditions, I could not locate the signature leading me to believe that it is no longer present. Since the tomb's top is heavily eroded, it seems plausible that the signature may have been eroded away in the twenty plus years between Briggs' survey and my own.

- Past restorations may conceal signatures. The Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) have an active restoration program in Blandford cemetery in Petersburg. One of their more common restoration techniques is to adhere a backing panel to a broken tombstone. While this definitely prevents the individual pieces of the tombstone from being lost or buried, the plate also covers the signature, if the stone is signed.

- Finally, the riding mowers used in cemeteries can also affect tombstones; in particular, there is often a fair amount of scraping evident on bases. Since these are areas where carvers most frequently chose to sign their work, this too can result in the loss of signatures.

Once a tombstone was recorded, it was entered into an Access database[37] that recorded: the cemetery, the name of the carver, the name of the person the tombstone was carved for, the date of birth, the date of death, the stone style, the material the stone was carved from, the text on the stone, the carver's inscription[38], the decoration, and the condition.[39] A free-text field permitted additional comments. A final field allowed entries to be tagged with keywords (such as infant, child, Civil War death, Civil War veteran, African-American, Yellow Fever victim) so that those populations could be easily isolated and examined. Census records were consulted for each individual and information regarding the individual's profession[40] and, where it was available, their reported property (both personal and real estate), was added to a separate table in the database. Tombstones carved by John Diedrich Couper were compared against his daybooks and any additional information about cost, transport, and purchaser added.

For the reasons listed above, this project makes no claims to be an encyclopedic catalog of any of the carvers' works. However, what it did produce was information about the community (both black and white) that Lucy Ann Dunlop lived in and how it compared to a broader regional population. It also produced information about the men who carved her tombstone and the environment within which they worked. It is with the help of this information that we can begin to answer the questions that her tombstone poses and look at its role in helping to negotiate and express identity, a task Section Two will take up.

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[37] I acknowledge and thank John Watson, Conservator of Instruments at Colonial Williamsburg, and Jim Judson, a volunteer in the Department of Conservation, for their help in constructing the database.

[38] The carvers studied frequently changed their method of signing tombstones. Sometimes initials alone were used, at other times addresses were added and in some cases full names employed. Additionally, some carvers, such as Jacob Vincent, formed temporary partnerships with other carvers and their signatures reflected this.

[39] Dimensions, which are often captured in cemetery recording projects, were not recorded. This conscious decision was based in part on the standardization of the tombstones in the period, the impossibility of accurately measuring the tallest obelisk and pillar monuments and the degree of toppling and resetting that was clearly evident in many of the graveyards. Instead, when headstones or footstones were larger or smaller than the 36-inch high norm, a comment to this effect was added.

[40] In the case of women, or children, the profession of the head of household was recorded. This was generally their spouse, father or, in rare cases, their sibling.

Implementing a Fused Object Biography Microhistory Approach

Having identified the questions that will define a fused methodology and having examined the rich potential **and** the gaps in the datasets, the next item to consider is implementation. How will the thesis structure reflect the use of a fused methodology? If we follow the biographical approach, the key stages in the tombstone's life that offer us the potential for unusual insights are: the point at which it was commissioned, the point it was created, the points at which it was buried and reburied and its excavation and subsequent conservation. At each of these points a microhistorical approach prompts us to explore the individuals and the communities who interacted with the tombstone and the political context within which they interacted with it. Thus the tombstone serves as the center of a series of concentric circles that address its materiality, the individuals involved with it at that moment, the broader community, and the political context.

In the next section, Section Two, we will explore Alexander Dunlop's decision to purchase the tombstone. What did it mean to him and how was it perceived by those around him? I will argue that Dunlop was utilizing the tombstone to comment on the identity of newly emancipated African Americans and to express his hopes for the future. Tombstones for African-Americans remained the exception rather than the rule in nineteenth-century Virginia. While this paucity alone does not point to the fact that Dunlop intended the tombstone to serve as a message, its wording is unusual. The section will consider both Dunlop's personal history of advocacy and leadership within the African American community in Tidewater Virginia and the broader context of African American tombstones in the area.

SECTION TWO

CHAPTER FIVE: Setting the Scene

In a society where power was as one-sided as that of the antebellum South, how blacks presented themselves to others and how they met and/or escaped the expectations of others was a matter of constant negotiation. Presenting the "right" demeanor could be a matter of survival, both literally and economically. Against such a background, it can be tempting to view only a group identity, molded by collective strategies, adopted by all, to promote group survival, and much early scholarship focused on this, in part because of documentary limitations (Stampp 1952; Stampp 1971; Blassingame 1975). However, like their white counterparts, African Americans were individuals who exerted their own agency to mold their circumstances and shape their own identities (Doddington 2015). These identities meant that multiple survival strategies from resistance to accommodation could be, and were, utilized by groups, subgroups and individuals rendering it important to consider not only the circumstances, but also individual identity. In this chapter, therefore, I will examine successful methodologies for studying individual identity in an archaeological setting. I will also outline the growth of the free black community in Virginia, the methods that the white community utilized to attempt to control it, and some of the ways that free blacks manipulated these controls to express their own individuality.

The archaeological study of individuals is complicated by a number of factors.[41] First of all, both the archaeological data and the historical data must survive. The factors influencing the survival of either are complex enough and the likelihood that both will survive in connection with a single individual or site can be small. Natural events, land use changes, and development may impact the archaeological record adversely, while the historic record is vulnerable to both benign neglect and catastrophic events, such as floods and fire. Official records, such as property transfer records, deeds or wills, may be lost, as is the case in both Williamsburg and the adjoining James City County. Although some information can be recovered from family archives not all contain the

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[41] In this context, I am using the term individual in its simplest form to refer to discrete, named humans. Archaeologically, the idea of individuals is much more complex, encompassing concepts of personhood (Fowler 2005; Fowler 2010; Robb 2009) and agency (Dobres and Robb 2000; David 2004).

information that archaeologists may find useful to determine occupancy and chain of ownership. Even when all the stars align and a seamless chain of custody for a site can be achieved placing the individual there at key dates, an argument can be made that what has been found are only the intersections between a person and a place rather than the individual themselves. What is not always evident are the choices that were made and the paths that were not taken - in sum, the everyday decisions that individuate a life. Additional biographical or textual information is needed to begin to flesh out the individual and to connect the archeological data to him or her.

The vagaries of the information families choose to record and keep can introduce an additional bias to the record. Socio-economic factors become important. Families with time to write are more likely to create an archive that may be passed down. This means that much of the biographical information prior to the twentieth century was produced by and focused on middle and upper class families who had the knowledge and skills to write about themselves, and others, **and** the desire to collect and collate that information. Sometimes allusions to the economic status or ethnicity of an individual may be present but may be heavily masked due to the writer's own world view revealing little about the individual who is being discussed. For example, in William Lamb's diary for the year 1855 he records the following obituary for a family slave, Daniel Grimes, who died in Norfolk's yellow fever epidemic:

> An inmate of our home for many many years, he knew our ways and never allowed us to want for anything. He took care of all Father's property when he was gone, and was the first to welcome us on our return. He would not desert his post during the fever and like a Noble soul (as he was) fell at his place guarding his beloved masters (sic) property…Uncle Daniel died on Wednesday at 10 ock (sic) of yellow fever. He was about 45 years" (Lamb 1855: 27).

The motivations attributed to "Uncle Daniel" speak more to Lamb's paternalistic attitudes to slavery, which are explored in greater detail elsewhere in the diary, than they probably do to Grimes' actual circumstances. The Lamb family had the wherewithal (and the liberty) to flee Norfolk and the epidemic, but Grimes did not. He was left to "guard" the house. Although a specific date and time for Grimes' death

(and the loss of family property) is recorded, Lamb is much vaguer about Grimes' age; a matter, presumably, of less concern to him.

We know a little bit about Daniel Grimes because William Lamb achieved considerable fame both for his spirited defense of Fort Fisher, NC, during the Civil War and, later, as mayor of Norfolk and architect of its success during the Gilded Age. As a result, his diaries were deemed worthy of retaining. This fact introduces another bias to the process of collecting biographical information; biographical information associated with famous people is disproportionately more likely to be preserved. In Western culture this statement can be pushed even further and it can be asserted that biographical information associated with wealthy white men has a greater chance of survival than information associated with other genders and ethnicities. Although, in part it was the desire to link material remains to the biographical records of famous men that helped give birth to historical archaeology in Williamsburg and elsewhere, the biases inherent in those studies are also one of the elements that propels modern historical archaeologists away from the search for individuals. If the individuals sought are most likely to reflect only a small portion of the population, is it not better to find ways of aggregating individuals and considering larger populations **or** to tie the individuals encountered to broader social theories? Theresa Singleton's chapter *Class Race and Identity among Free Blacks in the Antebellum South* exemplifies the first strategy (Singleton 2001). Singleton examines the archaeological remains of three well-documented free blacks in order to make broader comments about what is known and not-known about other free blacks, including her own ancestors. An excellent example of the second technique is Laura Galke's study of archaeologically recovered materials from Ferry Farm, George Washington's boyhood home (Galke 2009). She highlights how Washington's mother, Mary Ball Washington, consciously used feminine activities associated with gentility as a way of reinforcing the family's social status at a time of financial stress caused by the death of Augustine Washington. Through this examination of the ways in which Mary Washington devised and implemented these coping techniques, thus challenging a male-dominated social structure, Galke also challenges the negative twentieth-century biographies of Mrs.

Washington and the myth that her son prospered in spite of her rather than in part because of her.

Singleton's and Galke's papers, and others like them, succeed in part because they link the individual with the construction of identity, both personal and collective. No longer just a series of individuated points on a historical timeline the individual becomes animated through their own agency and through a dialogical engagement about identity conducted with their contemporaries, and to a lesser extent with those who come after. Although a deceased individual, or defunct group, may no longer be an active crafter of their own personal identity, it must be recognized that a dialog continues to exist with future generations as individual, or multiple, strands of the identity they have produced are picked up and incorporated into other dialogs.[42]

The Master-Slave Theory and its Limitations

Some accounts of enslaved nineteenth-century African Americans imply that the only important relationship was that between the slave and their master (Edwards 1990). This relationship and the dualities included in it (subordinate and dominant, black and white, free and unfree) are seen as paramount to the creation of identity. Identity is either imposed by the master, and the individual remains nothing more than part of the faceless mass of "the enslaved', or the relationship provides the focal point for action. The individual's identity is then defined by the ways in which they resist domination.[43] Relations with others are frequently downplayed or presented solely as the catalyst that drives an act of resistance. This natural human interest in power-dynamics is compounded by the near invisibility of many African Americans in the historical records of the past. Frequently they show up solely as numerical entries in a

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[42] Shannon Dawdy's call for archaeologists to cease their involvement with heritage based excavations (thus in effect changing an aspect of their identity), because of the misuse of such work by Kossinna and others bent on proving nationalistic theories of identity, is an example of the continued dialog between past and present generations (Dawdy 2009)

[43] This power-based dynamic has become so central to explorations of African American identity that it is frequently inserted where it did not exist. Although the marches at Selma certainly had much to say about the resistance of dominant ideologies, the recent movie of the same name has been criticized for portraying Lyndon Johnson as a reluctant or obstructionist politician instead of as a promotor of civil rights and Martin Luther King's proactive partner, a role many historians and civil rights activists consider him to have held. By portraying him in this negative light, Johnson is effectively made into the 'master' of old, against whom the African American protagonist must act.

tax register (i.e. one female slave between the ages of 12-20) or on a list of possessions and assets belonging to a land owner. Occasionally named individuals, like Daniel Grimes, appear in the accounts of others, but even there, as we have seen, identity is produced in relation to that of their master. Grimes is a "noble soul," because he does not leave his post and continues to safeguard his master's interests even unto death. Emotions and motivations are attributed to the individual that conform to what the master wants (a faithful and devoted servant), what they perceive (a childlike being incapable of caring for himself without aid) or what they fear (an angry and vengeful individual bent on resistance and mayhem). Even for those African Americans who escaped slavery and wrote their own narratives, it has been argued that many of the narratives were formulaic, coached products that served the interests of the anti-slavery movement and the focus was again on the master and slave relationship (or more specifically on ending it).[44]

There are two problems with this focus on the master-slave relationship. First, it obscures the nuanced depths of feelings and motivations that slaves undoubtedly had and expressed, and it imposes a two-dimensionality on the individual. Focusing on a single hierarchical relationship obscures the potential for multiple hierarchies and hides the fluidity of these relationships. In his autobiography, Josiah Henson, a former slave, repeatedly draws attention to points in his life where he felt he had considerable power over his master and/or over other slaves. Speaking of the many times he had to help his master home from the tavern he writes "I knew I was doing for him what he could not do for himself, and showing my superiority to others, and acquiring their respect in some degree at the same time" (Henson 1849: 15). Later still he recounts the potency he felt in transporting his master's sick nephew from New Orleans back to their home in Kentucky. The nephew was incapacitated with fever and Henson was left to sell their boat, make all the travel arrangements, care for him on their return steamer journey and then organize a party of slaves to transport him overland for five miles (ibid: 45-46). In telling this story, as he does throughout his narrative, Henson highlights his power over other slaves. He is able to motivate,

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[44] Although, see Blassingame's 1971 article for a powerful counterargument to these characterizations.

mobilize and provide for them in a way that sets him apart and gives him an elevated position within their society. Henson also notes his own discomfort and feelings of inferiority when his twelve-year-old son offers to teach him to read. He admits that he was "delighted with the conviction that my children would have advantages I had never enjoyed; but it was no slight mortification to think of being instructed by a child of twelve years old" (ibid: 64). Conceptions of masculinity were one way in which different hierarchical relationships were established, contested and maintained (Doddington 2015), but there were also other methods of expressing the fluidity of relationships and identities.

James Scott has highlighted the importance of identifying both the "public" and "hidden" "transcripts" in situations where power is unequal and/or a system of domination is in place (Scott 2009). Public transcripts consist of open interactions between a subordinate and those in power. They may take varied forms including, but not limited to, speech, gesture and expression. Hidden transcripts consist of exchanges that take place away from power holders and are socially produced "among a restricted 'public' that excludes certain specified others" (Scott 1990:14). They may take the form of words (such as rumor, folktale and song) or actions (such as poaching, pilfering, tax evasion or even intentionally shabby work). They serve important functions both in terms of propagating knowledge and communal identity and may simultaneously act to release pressure and calm a situation. For example, the Brer Rabbit stories[45], taught specific survival skills including how to comprehend the power structures in order to find and take advantage of the weaknesses and short-sightedness of those in authority. Listeners were taught not to act rashly, or trust the sincerity of the strong. At the same time, the stories provided a psychic relief in which the world turned upside down and the under-dog (or rabbit) outsmarted and prevailed over those with greater power (Levine 1977). The stories helped African

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[45] Brer Rabbit, a syncope of "Brother Rabbit" is a trickster figure who originated in African folklore but also took on attributes from Native American storytelling. He is physically weak but regularly outwits larger, more powerful animals, such as Brer Fox and Brer Wolf, surviving harrowing situations through his guile and wit. His methods are not always admirable, but his triumphs are generally entertaining. Lawrence Levine, commenting on the importance of the stories to black consciousness, has pointed out that Brer Rabbit, like other trickster figures, was human enough to be recognizable to listeners but exotic enough to permit storytellers the freedom to question "deeply ingrained and culturally sanctioned values" (1977: 104).

Americans to wrest some dignity and triumph from an unequal situation while appearing to whites as harmless and entertaining children's stories.

In order to remain viable, hidden transcripts must be enacted continually and disseminated or they cease to exist (Scott 1990: 119). They are contingent; as circumstances change, different responses may be engendered and certain responses may lose their power. Clearly, hidden transcripts, and the "safe" social relationships that allow them to be fostered are as key to the production of identity as a sense of shared identity is important to their production. However, although the exploration of hidden transcripts is a powerful tool, and one which archaeologists are uniquely equipped to wield since often hidden transcripts are quite literally hidden, we must be cautious in our approach. If we employ this tool uncritically in all situations we risk returning to the two-dimensional realm of the master-slave. In other words, not every shell and ceramic sherd combination found in a quarter is a "magical cache." Some may just be shells or sherds. By really seeking to understand the context (even when it is disappointingly undramatic) we are more likely to return three-dimensionality to the study of the individual.

The second problem with the focus on the master-slave relationship is that it does not leave much room for the exploration of the free black experience.[46] Free blacks existed in an ambiguous position between whites and enslaved African Americans. On the one hand they enjoyed liberties that other blacks could not, but their world was also bounded by laws and restrictions by which other freemen did not have to abide. Their existence was a contradiction of the paternalistic white world view, which held that slavery was a necessary evil and that blacks were child-like beings who needed a white master to care for and guide them. Free blacks were often highly skilled laborers who successfully ran and managed businesses and in some cases amassed sizeable

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[46] In asserting this I do not mean to overlook the very important work that has been carried out by Ira Berlin (1975), and others who have written about free blacks and their experience. I simply mean to point out that proportionately the number of historical and archaeological studies focusing on slavery outnumbers those that consider the free black experience, and this, in my opinion, is in part due to the interest in exploring dominant-subordinate power structures. These are easier to identify, and therefore explore, when one considers master and slave, but become more nuanced and varied as one considers the lives of free blacks.

fortunes.[47] Many of them felt their interests and experiences were more aligned with those of whites than with those of slaves.[48] However, although some free blacks were highly respected and well-liked on an individual basis, collectively they were viewed as a threat to white employment (particularly from the 1830s on, when large waves of European immigrants began arriving) and it was feared that they were colluding with slaves to violently topple the institution of slavery. As a result, increasingly draconian measures were put in place to seek some sort of control over the black community or to remove them entirely from Virginia. Many of these measures severely curbed their rights. Others were petty ordinances designed to root out perceived insolences to whites. Because they rested on perception, their application was arbitrary and dependent on the mood of the white community; at times of stress, they were applied more frequently. Life as a free black was therefore a constant negotiation for identity with ever-changing goal-posts.

Free Blacks and Their World

In Virginia, a small population of free blacks existed prior to the Revolution; however it was after the war and the articulation of Jeffersonian sentiments about equality that the numbers began to grow. Some whites, particularly Quakers and Methodists, found it hard to reconcile these ideals with a society that included enforced servitude (Bogger 1997: 11). They helped draft a 1782 law that significantly eased the manumission of slaves under the age of 45 (Lebsock 1980: 91).[49] Slaves could now be manumitted either by will or by deed. The option of manumission by deed allowed

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[47] Reuben West, a barber living in Richmond between 1830 and 1860, amassed a fortune of $4420 making him one of the wealthiest barbers and businessmen in the state (Mills 2013).

[48] William Johnson's autobiography reflects a sense of ambivalence about slavery. Although he was born into slavery, he does not feel any great sense of solidarity with the slaves he owns and his criticisms of their work habits and discipline often mirror those of the white population (Hogan and Davis 1993). However, Sneed and Rogers (2013) have argued that for some free blacks, such as Thomas Day, owning slaves may have been part of a public transcript designed to assure white slave owners that they (the free blacks) were not interested in working against the system. In Day's case, Sneed and Rogers have uncovered evidence that he attended abolitionist meetings in the North and maintained friendships with dedicated abolitionists, suggesting that he may have held other, more private, views about slavery away from the eyes of Southern whites.

[49] Prior to the passing of this law, a 1723 Virginia law had restricted manumission to only those who could demonstrate meritorious service. Manumissions also had to be approved by both the Governor and the General Council.

African Americans to take an active role in their own freedom by permitting self-
purchase.

Although manumissions tended to be higher when agriculture was depressed and
prices were lower, in general the newly manumitted were skilled artisans and semi-
skilled laborers who carved out a niche for themselves. Certain types of jobs became
particularly associated with the free black population including carpenter, blacksmith,
drayman, and barber for men, and laundress, domestic, boarding house proprietress
and seamstress for women (Schweniger 1989). Initially, free blacks seeking to set up
businesses had access to credit; however after Gabriel's rebellion in 1800 access to
credit was restricted.

Between 1791 and 1820, 151 blacks were manumitted in Norfolk alone (Bogger 1997:
12).[50] Although this number, 151, may seem small it represents nearly 2% of the total
population of Norfolk at the time. More significantly however, the free black
population of Norfolk grew from 61 in 1790 to 592 in 1810, suggesting that migration
from the countryside into the city played a role, as did natural increase (Nicholls 2000:
158). Michael Nicholls (2000: 158) found that these numbers from Norfolk mirrored a
state-wide urban trend where free black populations grew between 251%
(Petersburg) and 1569% (Alexandria). The increased visibility of free blacks concerned
urban white populations. Although, those manumitted locally were often well known
individuals, whose contributions or services to whites were frequently enumerated in
their manumission deeds, the newly arrived were unknown quantities. It was hard for
the local white population to influence and control these in-comers, but more
specifically they worried about the newcomer's influence on the enslaved population.
In an urban environment, slaves often had greater freedoms than in rural settings.
They left the house on errands, or for work when hired-out, and frequently travelled
around cities on their own. They had greater opportunity to mix with others, which
was a matter of concern for whites, who feared that their slaves might be introduced

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[50] Bogger estimates that 36% of these manumissions were due to blacks purchasing their own freedom
and cautions that the rise in the free black population was not solely attributable to manumission but
also resulted from the migration of free blacks from elsewhere in the state into the city (Bogger 1997:2,
11).

to new concepts and attitudes, and might begin to aspire to additional freedoms. Writing about an illicit prayer meeting attended by a small group of slaves, *The Richmond Daily Dispatch* acknowledged these fears

> "Most of the servants in this batch were of the best class and the probability is that led on by bad advisers they were engaged in running off slaves to a free state. Whether this be so or not, their owners would do well to send them from the city to sojourn where fewer temptations to do wrong would be placed before them."[51]

Additionally, as the urban population grew, it became harder to distinguish between enslaved and free; slaves took advantage of this situation by passing themselves off as free or by seeking refuge among the free community (Bogger 1997; Nicholls 2000).

The first laws attempting to control the free black population were passed in 1793. Free blacks were required to register annually with the town or county clerk and to carry their registration papers with them at all times. These registration papers recorded place of origin as well as a physical description of the individual. Additionally, blacks and mulattoes were prohibited from migrating into the state. Gabriel's rebellion resulted in the imposition of new controls. In 1800, Gabriel, a literate but enslaved blacksmith, planned a large slave revolt in the Richmond area. The start was delayed by heavy rain and the details of the plot were leaked. Gabriel escaped to Norfolk, where he was betrayed by a fellow slave. He was apprehended and hanged with 25 "co-conspirators." Although Gabriel's rebellion was ultimately unsuccessful, it created a climate of fear among the white community. The involvement of free blacks was unclear, although they were suspected of inciting slaves to rebel. New laws were passed. In 1801, blacks were required to prove that they had the means to earn a living before moving to a new county. If they failed to, they could be declared vagrants and reenslaved. In 1805, it became illegal to teach blacks (free or enslaved) to read or write. That same year, white lawyers also stopped representing blacks in civil suits against whites. This action effectively closed the court system to blacks, since they were not allowed to testify against whites, and it made them very vulnerable to

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[51] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, April 11, 1860, p. 1

unscrupulous debtors (Bogger 1997: 161). In 1806, a law was passed requiring newly

freed blacks to leave the state. Neighboring states passed laws to prevent them

entering. Options were needed, and whites began to promote colonization in Liberia

as a way of ridding themselves of a perceived problem (Tyler-McGraw 2007). In 1800,

1808, 1811, 1813 and 1816 both houses of the Virginia Legislature met secretly to ask

the Governor to write to the President about entering into a treaty to create an

African home for free blacks (Foster 1953).

Colonization and the Lure of Liberia

Colonization had several advantages for whites. Returning free blacks to Africa was

emotionally rewarding; there was a sense of somehow salving the wounds that the

slave-trade had wrought on the continent by returning westernized and Christianized

individuals who could convert, teach and lead their compatriots. Additionally, it

followed a precedent that had already been established by Great Britain in Sierra

Leone, while also providing consumer advantages. The establishment of a colony in

Africa would provide American merchants with markets on the continent, access to

raw materials and reliable trading partners.[52] One of the American Colonization

Society's (ACS) first colonists, Richmond-based Lott Carey, emigrated in 1821 and

immediately formed a trading company to import tools, flour and molasses in

exchange for wood, ivory and coffee. Formed in 1816, the ACS sponsored the

emigration of 11,000 African Americans to Liberia between 1820 and 1861 (Tyler-

McGraw 2007: 3). However, the society's goals were hampered by racism and plagued

by missteps. Negative descriptions of free blacks at the first meeting of the society,

and a refusal to work with free black organizations alienated blacks, and in 1817, 3000

black Philadelphians met to denounce the colonization scheme (Foster 1953).

Leadership within the ACS was divided between first generation revolutionaries, such

as John Marshall and James Madison (who served as the president of the ACS for

three years), anti-slavery activists and clergymen, such as Bishop William Meade, who

freed his own slaves and spent much of his personal fortune on the endeavor, and

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[52] The American Colonization Society conceived of Liberia as an independent republic of self-governing
people, with a white agent appointed by the Society at its head, thus putting the actual power in the
hands of the Board of Managers of the ACS. The Richmond chapter of the ACS predominantly consisted
of merchants, many of whom were recent immigrants to Virginia.

slave-holders, such as George Washington Parke Custis, whose remarks at the Society's 1831 annual meeting epitomized the attitudes of many of the planter-class.

> What right have the children of Africa to an homestead in the white
> man's country? If as is most true, the crimes of the white man
> robbed Africa of her sons, let atonement be made by returning the
> descendants of the stolen to the clime of their ancestors, and then
> all the claims of redeeming justice will have been discharged… Let
> this fair land, which the white man won by his chivalry, which he has
> adorned by the arts and elegancies of polished life be kept sacred for
> his descendants untarnished by the footprint of him who hath ever
> been a slave (American Colonization Society 1831).

For many slaveholders, slavery was not the core problem, it was an economic necessity and an unfortunate inheritance handed down by their forefathers. Rather, manumission was the problem and colonization represented the best solution to that problem. In its early years the ACS was an uneasy alliance between men who believed that colonization might open a path to emancipation and the eventual abolition of slavery, and slaveholders who feared any interference in their affairs. As the power of the latter group waxed, the abolitionists also lost faith in the ACS, which found it not only hard to secure funding, but also to recruit new emigrants.

The merits of colonization were not always obvious to the African American community. Some saw it as an opportunity to pursue missionary work, trade and political freedom and signed up enthusiastically. Lott Carey and Colin Teague, were characteristic of the first wave of emigrants.[53] Carey, a former slave from Charles City County who rose to shipping clerk and worker supervisor in a Richmond tobacco warehouse and then purchased his freedom and that of his family, emigrated in 1821. He worked as a missionary, established a trading company and eventually rose to be acting Governor of Liberia. Teague, also a former slave who had purchased himself and his family, served as a missionary and his son, Hilary, drafted Liberia's Declaration of Independence, as well as its *Hymn of Independence*, and served as the country's

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[53] Carey's name is sometimes spelt Cary while Teague's name is sometimes rendered Teage.

first Secretary of State. Both Carey and Teague were widely respected and well connected in Richmond. They learned to read prior to leaving for Liberia and wrote enthusiastic letters back to their friends and supporters in Virginia, which were widely disseminated and used as recruiting tools.[54] For men like these, who had personal resources and a support system, Liberia did offer opportunity and freedom. For many others who were manumitted and sent to Liberia with little preparation and few funds, the realities were starker. Fevers and malaria claimed up to 25% of all emigrants in their first year, and the colonization societies found that their funds did not always stretch far enough. Writing to his former master, Townsend Heaton, in 1830, Mars Lucas said

> "I am much deceiv'd, with, this Country the reports is all a lie, mearely
> to Encourage people. to come to this Country. Times is very Hard. out.
> here. every thing is very Dear. and not to be had. They scarcely will
> allow us much provision. as a halfgrown Child can eat, a man can eat up
> all his meat. all in one day. We only draw 1 lb. of meat. per. week. 3
> meal qurts 2 quarts of rice that is weeks allowance. I. realy. think that
> the Socity don't, know, about their Usage here" (Tyler-McGraw 1989:
> 368).[55]

Letters and opinions such as these were also circulated and reinforced black suspicions of the ACS, which had adopted the motto "A friend to the Slaveholder" in an attempt to quell planters's fears that colonization was a ruse to interfere with slavery. Many blacks had spent generations in America and felt that they had as much right to stay as whites did. Africa was a foreign place with which there was no magical bond. Since the postal system was slow, even within the States, letters took a long time to arrive. Letters among whites are quite often filled with imprecations to write

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[54] Lott Cary began his education by learning to read the bible and later attended a small school for slaves run by William Crane, a shoemaker who had moved to Richmond from New Jersey and who was a member of the First Baptist Church of Richmond, which Cary attended. The school met three nights a week and taught reading, writing and arithmetic. For those blacks who learned to read the path was often similar and might include a mix of self-education, aided by friends or family who could read, and some formal education offered through a church or by sympathetic whites. Tyler-McGraw notes that some white women established Sunday schools that taught reading and writing both as a path to emigration and as a way of undercutting the institution of slavery, which many white women felt degraded white men (2007:91).

[55] Marie Tyler-McGraw, who transcribed the letter, posits that the excessive use of periods in Mars Lucas's letter was a device designed to add gravitas to his writing (Tyler-McGraw 1989: 364).

more and with greater frequency. For a population where literacy was limited at best, relocating could quite literally mean cutting the ties with one's family and friends. Although Mars and his brother Jesse were able to write to Townsend Heaton and his brother Albert, their letters display a deep sense of frustration not only because they have not heard from family members, but also because the letters they received did not contain the news they were interested in (Tyler-McGraw 1989). For free blacks, both in the US and Liberia, who could not read or write the separation and lack of contact may have felt more like a death. Many who did emigrate waited to do so until family members could accompany them.

Although many blacks did not necessarily want to go to Liberia, black churches supported missionary efforts there and gave generously to schools and churches in the country. In part this support may have been because Liberia afforded blacks with yet one more tool that they could employ to their advantage. A willingness to go to Liberia could hasten decisions about manumission without actually committing anyone to go. The ACS agent in Norfolk complained frequently that it was hard to know how many would actually leave on a given date, because the promises and the numbers did not always match up (Bogger 1997: 44).[56] It is telling that despite George Washington Parke Custis's enthusiasm about colonization, only six of his slaves emigrated to Liberia.

African American Agency

In 1831, Nat Turner's rebellion raised white fears again. Nat Turner, a slave, was born in Southampton county on the plantation of Benjamin Turner. He was taught to read and write as a child and later became a self-styled Baptist preacher. He was prone to visions and, on August 13th, guided by one of these, he led four men armed with farm implements to kill the family of John Travis (the white man to whom Nat Turner was hired out). Moving on from the Travis home, Turner and his followers freed slaves on other plantations while acquiring guns, horses and additional followers. By Aug 22nd,

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[56] Similarly the members of the First African Baptist Church in Richmond expressed their frustration after a former slave to whose freedom they had contributed chose to move North instead of emigrating to Liberia as promised. (Minutes of the First African Baptist Church of Richmond 1841-1930, on Microfilm in the Library of Virginia, Misc. reel 494)

when State and Federal troops met Turner's band in a final skirmish, his followers had grown to 40, and 55 whites had been killed. Turner escaped but was captured on October 30th. He was tried, hanged and then skinned. 55 blacks were executed, including three free blacks; others were banished, but more than 200 blacks, many of them free, were murdered by white mobs angry that free blacks had been implicated in the rebellion. Free blacks felt so threatened that in December 1831, 245 chose to emigrate to Liberia from Southampton county alone. The Virginia Legislature briefly debated abolishing slavery, but instead decided to strengthen the existing Black Codes. It became illegal for blacks to gather without a white person present. Preaching by either slaves or free blacks was prohibited and the already extant law forbidding teaching blacks to read or write was restated.[57] Free blacks could no longer purchase or otherwise acquire permanent ownership over any black who was not their wife, husband or child, except by descent. These laws were designed to make it hard for information to be passed between groups and to stop free blacks from aiding in the manumission of others. At the same time, additional funds were voted to support the Liberian colonization efforts.

Nat Turner's rebellion coincided with the start of large waves of European immigrants. Many of these were skilled artisans, who began to move into the occupations that had been traditionally reserved for free blacks. Others were laborers who resented the fact that cheaper African Americans were often hired over them. Increasingly hostile, they drove the passing of petty laws[58] and even attacked blacks and their property (Bogger 1997: 157). The passing of the Fugitive Slave Act, in 1850, added one more complication to the already fraught lives of blacks. This law, which allowed slave hunters to seize alleged slaves without due process, made every state less secure for

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[57] At times when whites felt most secure, this law was allowed to lapse. Upper class white women often ran Sunday schools designed to teach black children to read. Their status within the gentry generally protected them from any repercussions (Tyler-McGraw 2007:88). Many of these women, who were uncomfortable with slavery or active in the colonization effort, saw education as the key to self-sufficiency. Stonewall Jackson, a devout Presbyterian, sponsored a school for African American children prior to the war, which taught them to read the Bible. As a result of this, he was remembered favorably by some African Americans (Blair 2004: 119).

[58] Both Petersburg and Norfolk passed laws forbidding blacks from smoking in public, a crime that became punishable by 39 lashes (Bogger 1997: 159).

free blacks. Kidnappings and claims of ownership of free blacks became commonplace in Virginia and the Upper South (Tyler-McGraw 2007: 76).

The periodic restating of some of these laws suggests that they were enforced unevenly. It is probable that they were more heavily enforced in times when whites felt stressed or fearful, and that they were more heavily enforced in urban centers where larger populations brought greater conflict. Enforcement, particularly of the local ordinances designed to prevent "insolence," could be decidedly arbitrary; one man could choose to be amused by something that offended another. Despite this uncertainty, it is clear that the existence of the laws, and the restrictions placed on their lives, put free blacks in a precarious position. Some free blacks chose to emigrate to Liberia; others took advantage of cheap land in rural areas and set up free black communities that were largely self-sufficient and allowed them to limit their contact with whites (McCartney 2000). Others stayed where they were, but developed individualized techniques that allowed them to survive. For example, Charles Gilliam, a free black living in Prince George County in Virginia, deliberately maintained an unfashionable wooden chimney long after others in a similar economic bracket might have expected to convert to brick. This stylistic choice may have been part of an external show designed to reassure white neighbors that Gilliam's success was not surpassing their own. Interestingly, within the house, Gilliam indulged in a private show of his success by employing fashionable and expensive ceramics, which would have been visible to other blacks visiting his house, but would not be seen by whites (Ryder 1991).[59] Similarly, in an urban setting, free African Americans created spaces to resist municipal control. Although it was illegal for free blacks in Richmond to own cook shops, many did while claiming that they ran them for whites. *The Daily Dispatch* summed up the situation at one such restaurant by writing that

> These negroes have for some time back been to all appearances
> proprietors of the "Bragg" saloon on Governor St., and if the truth

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[59] It should be noted that although Gilliam's ceramic assemblage and tax records clearly indicate his financial success, his brother who immigrated North and was able to pass as white, enjoyed success on a far greater scale (Ryder 1991). While it is possible that this was due to personal drive, it is more likely that it was related to the many new doors that opened to him as a "white" man. For example, he was able to study to be a doctor, a profession that blacks could not pursue in the South.

could be known no one but themselves have ever had any interest in it,

unless it is to go there and drink 'on the free'-a privilege which negro

fellows might well afford to, and often do, grant any white man who

will stand master for them and claim ownership, thereby shielding

them from the law.[60]

The Daily Dispatch estimated that over 50 restaurants were run in Richmond on similar terms. Small deceptions such as these allowed free blacks a measure of self-determination and protection, even as whites sought to constrain them.

The stresses that racism can exact, and the need to maintain a hyper-vigilance against it, has been cited as one of the reasons that modern African American women of all economic classes have unusually high infant mortality rates (Parker Dominguez *et al*. 2008; Parker Dominguez 2008).[61] Although there are clear pitfalls in comparing the health of modern populations to historic ones, the need to be continually on-guard and to either resist or accept, but potentially internalize, perceived slights has been shown to heighten both the exposure to and impact of other stressors (Parker Dominguez 2008). Oral histories, collected from both free blacks and slaves in the early twentieth century, speak to the necessity of dissembling, exhibiting the face that was required, and of holding one's emotions in check at all times (Perdue *et al.* 1976; Duke 1995). Whites noted and wrote about the practice and, while it provided a valuable safety valve for one community, it was viewed with distrust by the other. Writing in 1848, Charles Colcock Jones[62] stated:

Persons live and die in the midst of Negroes and know comparatively

little of their real character… The Negroes are a distinct class in

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[60] Daily Dispatch, Saturday June 18 1864, p1.

[61] The risk of pre-term birth and low-birth weights are twice as high in the African American population as in other American populations (Parker Dominguez 2008). Genetic and economic factors alone are not sufficient to explain this higher risk. Interestingly, first generation African immigrants to the US enjoy better outcomes although the infant mortality rates among their American born daughters (second generation immigrants) begins to approximate those of African American women suggesting that there is a factor that is unique to the American social context at play. Parker Dominguez believes that this factor can be attributed to the institutionalized racism endemic in the country (2008).

[62] Charles Colcock Jones (1804-1863) was a planter and Presbyterian minister who helped establish the "Liberty County Association for the Religious Instruction, Orally, of the Colored People." He also published "The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States," which was influential in the establishment of other oral religious instruction programs (Tyner 1985).

community, and keep themselves very much *to themselves*. They are

one thing before the whites, and another before their own color.

Deception towards the former is characteristic of them, whether bond

or free, throughout the whole United States. It is habit--a long

established custom, which descends from generation to generation.

There is an upper and an under current. (Jones 1842: 110).

Jones's upper and under currents are very reminiscent of Scott's discussion of

public and hidden transcripts and both speak to the desire to create safe

spaces for self-expression and the need to create them as a safety valve.

Clearly in a social environment that was as imbalanced as that of the antebellum

South, the negotiation of identity was constantly at play and was of critical

importance. It is against this background that a consideration of who was purchasing

tombstones and for what reasons becomes important to better understand how both

collective and individual identities were being crafted and negotiated. In the next

section, I will argue that purchases of tombstones by blacks for blacks were part of a

larger campaign to counter white narratives and to show that black lives mattered.

CHAPTER SIX: Manhood and the Negotiation of Identity in the South

Dominant ideologies tend to succeed when they manage to convey a sense of unanimity among the members of the ruling class and an appearance of consent among subordinates (Scott 1990: 55). The former is achieved by teaching the elites to wield power and to *be* elite. New members may be indoctrinated through ceremonies, sustained linguistic choices and through careful iconographic selections that reinforce the dominant ideology. Consent is achieved by convincing the subordinate groups that the social order in which they live is natural and inevitable (ibid: 72). Often the mechanisms utilized to do so are very similar to those used to train the elite. The exact form of the ceremonies, wording and iconography may vary from one dominant entity to another; their form may also evolve and alter with time and external developments. However, at the heart of each are key themes which are continually invoked and revisited. Within the Southern slave owning system, the concept of "manhood" was one of these themes. This concept helped to shape both white and black identities, real and perceived, and is therefore worthy of further consideration.

Figure 5: Anti-slavery medallion, Josiah Wedgewood, Staffordshire England ca. 1790, white unglazed stoneware with black clay, accession number 1982-202 (courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

Beginning with the Revolution and building on the powerful anti-slavery campaign that asked "Am I not a man and brother?"[63] whites increasingly debated what it meant to be slaveholders, to be enslaved and to be freedmen (Figure 5). Key elements of this dialog coalesced around conceptions of manhood - what were the attributes of a man and were these attributes inherited or learned? Although written and spoken texts were the primary media, the

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[63] Part of the slogan for the Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade founded in 1787, the phrase was popularized in the same year by Josiah Wedgewood who issued a Jasper-ware medallion bearing the phrase above a chained black supplicant (The British Museum n.d.). The seal and phrase served as popular anti-slavery icons throughout the early nineteenth century and were reissued in numerous forms, including on broadsheets. (Library of Congress n.d.)

debate also took place in a number of other media, including art and architecture, and even found expression in terms of how the dead were remembered.

For Southern whites, being a "man" required attaining certain standards of behavior as well as financial and intellectual achievement, in exchange for which freedoms, particularly the freedom to vote and to participate politically, were granted. Manhood was defined by community standing and financial well-being, but was also tied to individual assertions of honor and masculinity. For Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, a law professor and Williamsburg resident, men were "bold, hardy, enterprising, contentious, delighting to struggle with difficulty, delighting in contests with his fellows and eager to bear away the prize in any strife" (Tucker 1844a: 4). In Tucker's mind, the ideal man should own enough property to make him immune to corruption, and to sufficiently free him from daily pursuits in order to allow him to engage in the pursuit of wisdom. Equally ideally, he should not own so much property that he could no longer sympathize with the poor and make beneficial decisions on their behalf (Tucker 1844b: 8). Manhood was a status that was reserved for white males and was tied to intellect, honor, public service and civic achievement. Black males were not considered to be men and were often given childlike attributes by Southern writers. For example, Charles Colcock Jones asserted that "they neither can nor will plan and execute their work by directions alone" (Jones 1842: 105). He pairs this dependence with a child's love of pleasure and of show, writing that "all kinds of amusements, except those which involve labor or reflection, possess great attractions for them and their indulgence is limited only by their means of access to them" (ibid: 146). Similarly Daniel Hundley, a pro-slavery lawyer from Alabama, wrote that "a great many of them are even too indolent to strive to make any money for themselves, but spend their holidays sleeping, fishing, or playing like so many children; while the evenings are devoted almost wholly to dancing, banjo-playing, singing, chit-chatting, or to coon-hunting and night-fishing" (Hundley 1860: 357).[64] African Americans were portrayed as needing guidance, managing and even parenting in order to survive and, in period

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[64] The last two activities are added to the list as if they were purely carried out for entertainment and served no social value yet it must be recognized that hunting and fishing were activities that African Americans frequently undertook to augment meager rations. In some cases, the products of these excursions were also sold or traded as part of informal economies, thus belying Hundley's argument.

letters, white men frequently sent messages via the recipient (often their wives) to both their genetic and enslaved "family". This device affirmed the white male in the role of *pater familias* and placed slaves and retainers in the role of dependent or child.

Although male, African American men were not referred to as "men" unless doing so did not threaten the social structure. Returning to William Lamb's note regarding Daniel Grimes' death, it is worth noting that he refers to Grimes as a "noble soul" rather than a noble "man." In the context of Grimes' death and of Lamb's own writings about the 1855 yellow fever epidemic, one is left to wonder whether the "manly" thing to do is to stay and brave the epidemic or to flee. Lamb writes that "death makes us cowards, not the battle death, when glory leads the van, but death when it comes like a thief and teares us away unprepared, unreckoned and unannaled."[65] Lamb consistently refers to the nobility and the *manly* attributes (such as, generosity and intelligence) of whites like Hunter Woodis, the Mayor of Norfolk, who stayed to fight the disease and tend to the sick. For the many whites who fled, the attribution of similar qualities to African Americans who stayed would have threatened the natural order. For Albert Heaton, Jesse and Mars Lucas become men only when they leave America and embark for Liberia. Writing to them he says "In going to Liberia, you will I hope secure it to yourselves and your children, the prize I mean is the prize of Liberty the dearest right of man, the strongest passion of the soul, you have shewed the true dignity of man by immigrating to Liberia, separating from parents, relations and friends" (Tyler-McGraw 1989: 367). By removing themselves to Africa, and thus placing themselves beyond any potential to compete with white men, Mars and Jesse, have symbolically matured and can now tentatively be called men. However, Heaton goes on to lecture them about how men must deport themselves "No man can expect to do much for himself or others unless he is industrious, saving and correct and fair in his conduct. Any man who thinks he will prosper without such qualities will find his mistake from bad experience and when it is to {sic} late to make amends" (ibid: 367). He lectures them from a pinnacle of attainment that returns him

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[65] Lamb, W. 1855. Mss. 39. 1L 16.002. William Lamb's Diary July 6th 1855 to Dec 31 1855. Unpublished Manuscript on file at The College of William and Mary, Special Collections. Quotation is taken from entry on August 9th 1855.

to the role of *pater familias* and places the two brothers in a position of inferiority or subordination again. In doing so, he retains a measure of superiority.

Heaton's willingness to grant an elevated status to the Lucas brothers upon their departure for Africa was in keeping with much of the recruiting material for Liberia. Emigration was sold as an opportunity for African Americans to engage in political conduct and to be men. They were to win back a toe-hold on the continent and put to use all the lessons that they had "learned" in America. This benign vision of the slave state cast the white master as an instructor, lovingly preparing his charges for greater things, and was in keeping with the narrative that Southern whites were creating about slavery as a benevolent institution designed to educate and uplift the African race. Whites increasingly used euphemisms for the term "slave," such as servant and domestic, as a way to blunt the edge of slavery and to imply that the slave's status was to some degree consensual. The use of these terms sought to convey the notion that slaves were offering their service in exchange for their protection, sustenance and intellectual and moral improvement.

Depictions of Manhood and Race in Nineteenth-Century Arts

This propensity to view blacks as less than men or child-like individuals carried over into the visual arts as well. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the belief that intellectual and moral capabilities could be scientifically determined by studying differences in body type—skin tone, facial structure and hair type—was beginning to evolve (Orser 2004). Emerging contemporaneously with the birth of classical archaeology and the exploration of Pompeii and Herculaneum, these studies found inspiration in the examination of classical statuary. The physical attributes and mastery embodied in classical sculpture were seen to exemplify the white phenotype. Blacks, when depicted artistically, especially sculpturally or in popular art, were frequently shown in poses that challenged canonical norms (Savage 1997: 12). They were depicted with splayed limbs, projecting buttocks, swayed bodies, and other caricatured attributes. Savage has highlighted how these depictions sought to place slaves and other blacks in a liminal state between the order of white society and the chaotic natural world of which they were seen to be a part (Savage 1997: 15). Cigar

store figures representing blacks, often referred to as "blackamoors" or "pompeys,"

Figure 6: *Knowledge is Power,* Edward Valentine, 1868, painted plaster maquette, (photo by author).

typify many of these depictions of African Americans from this period, as does Edward Valentine's sculpture *Knowledge is Power* (Figure 6).[66] Crafted in 1868, the plaster statue shows a ragged African American boy slumped in sleep, mouth gaping, with an open book on his lap. Intended to satirize post-war efforts to educate African Americans by suggesting that they lack the motivation to learn and apply themselves, the lack of action and energy in the boy's body is as far from the heroic ideal as one can get. Similarly, the age of the subject undercuts the title of the piece, juxtaposing youth and exhaustion with power and placing the viewer in the dominant role. *They*, the viewers, hold the knowledge that is being sought and thus also the power.

Popular images of African Americans, such as Harper's Weekly's *Illustration of a Revival Meeting on a Southern Plantation* (Figure 7),[67] stressed the emotional energy of African American's. Although recognizable religious elements are present, such as the preacher, the outdoor venue, crudely-drawn rapt facial expressions and prostrate forms all serve to separate the revival meeting from the more ordered and refined religious experience of whites. Again the message, underscored by the setting, is how much closer slaves were to their natural impulses. In the nineteenth century, excessive emotionalism tended to be associated with women.[68] Thus, the connection

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[66] Edward Valentine (1838-1930) was born in Richmond to a prominent merchant, Mann Valentine. His brother, Mann Valentine II, was the inventor of Valentine Meat Juices. Although Valentine spent the period from 1859-1865 in Europe studying art he is best known for his statues of Civil War generals. In 1875 he won praise for his over life-size statue, *The Recumbent Lee,* which was commissioned to mark General Robert E. Lee's burial place. Later in his life, he ran the Valentine History Center founded by his brother and dedicated to the history of Richmond.

[67] *Harper's Weekly*: illustration of a revival meeting on a Southern plantation". *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. Available at:
http://www.britannica.com/topic/Harpers-Weekly/images-videos/Revival-meeting-on-a-Southern-plantation-illustration-from-Harpers-Weekly/96851 [Accessed Oct 11 2015].

[68] See for example, Jacques Louis David's 1784 painting *The Oath of the Horatii* (Figure 8), where the rigid, confident, active stance of the males is in opposition to the swooning, slumped, soft, emotionalism of the women, or consider the lengthy and elaborate mourning dress demanded of nineteenth century women and the much shorter period (six weeks for a spouse) that men were expected to wear crepe arm bands.

between blacks and emotionalism also helped to underscore the "helplessness" of slaves, and their need for protection and guidance, and it served to isolate black males from masculine white society.

Figure 7: *Harper's Weekly: illustration of a revival meeting on a Southern Plantation (*courtesy of the *Encyclopædia Britannica Online).*

When blacks were depicted more realistically, they were often shown in positions where their lack of power is highlighted. John Singleton Copley's painting *Watson and the Shark*, painted in 1819, places a black man, very unusually, in the center of the painting and the center of the action (Figure 9). More typically, blacks were depicted near the edge of a painting and slightly separated from other protagonists. In Copley's painting however, it is clear that, although the man looks on in horror and compassion, he is contributing little to Watson's rescue. The rope in his hand is slack, he is poorly positioned to draw it in, and is in fact holding the rope limply.[69] Equally powerless blacks were frequently shown in positions of supplication, either bound or

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[69] A contemporary critic noted the passivity of the figure, writing that "It would not be unnatural to place a woman in the attitude of the black but he instead of being terrified, ought in our opinion to be busy. He has thrown a rope over to the boy. It is held, unsailor-like, between the second and third finger of his left hand and he makes no use of it." (quoted in Honour 1989a: 39).

on the sales block. The well-muscled individual shown on the *Am I not a Man and Brother*

Figure 8: *The Oath of the Horatii*, Jacques-Louis David, 1784, oil on canvas, The Louvre, Collection of Louis XVI Inv.3692 (courtesy of https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=5510374).

Figure 9: *Watson and the Shark,* John Singleton Copley, 1778, oil on canvas, accession number 1963.6.1 (courtesy of the National Gallery of Art).

medallions and pamphlets poses no threat to white mastery because he is not only heavily chained, but also begs for a favor that only the white audience has it in their power to grant. Returning to the idea of emasculation, although the subject of the medallion is clearly physically masculine, his pose of supplication is one that is more commonly reserved for women in art of the period.[70]

African Americans were not passive recipients of these characterizations. They contested them, asserting their manhood when the opportunity presented itself. Slave narratives were one of the few literary media, in the antebellum period, in which they could uphold their own identity. Examining just one of these narratives, that of Leonard Black,[71] the term "man" appears 57 times in the short 61 page text. Most of these occurrences are generic uses of the term, which could easily be replaced with the word individual with no loss in meaning; for example, he describes one of his masters as a "hard-hearted man" (Black 1847: 8). However, Black capitalizes the term six times to indicate that he is imparting additional meaning to the word. These occasions occur in passages musing on the evils of slavery and stress the universal humanity of black men. For example, early in the text Black writes, "I could do nothing; but the all-merciful Father who regards MAN as MAN whatever may be the injustice and oppression to which he is subjected, watched over and guided me with his parental eye through all the soul-sickening, heart-rending trials of a gloomy bondage" (Black 1847: 19). Later, Black writes

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[70] In the fine arts, paintings in particular tended to stress the exoticism and otherness of blacks, even at a time when African-Americans constituted a large part of the American population and were no longer strictly speaking exotic. Frequently they were shown wearing turbans or non-traditional clothing. After emancipation, the dirty ragged clothing in which blacks were often shown, contrasting starkly with the clean, fashionable and well-pressed clothing that whites were portrayed in, continued the depiction of otherness into the twentieth century.

[71] Leonard Black was born into slavery in Anne Arundel County, MD., in 1820. He was separated from his family at the age of six and passed through several owners' hands before eventually escaping North when he was approximately 17 years old. He eventually made it to Portland, ME., where he was baptized. In 1847 he wrote his biography, *The Life and Sufferings of Leonard Black, a Fugitive from Slavery*, with a view to earning money to support his further education and development as a preacher. Black held various preaching positions in Stonington, CT, and Brooklyn, NY, before becoming the Preacher at the First Baptist Church in Petersburg, VA., in 1873; a post he held until his death in 1883. Black's account of his escape from slavery has been critiqued due to material differences between the 1847 version and an 1882 account based on interviews with him (https://peoplescemeteryvirginia.wikispaces.com/Leonard+A+Black [Accessed Oct 11 2015]). It is possible that the earlier version was somewhat dramatized in order to increase sales, however it has been argued that this embellishment may have been a feature of many slave narratives, which aimed to convince readers of the inhumanity of slavery and is not a reason to discredit individual accounts (Blassingame 1975).

> "The slaves are taught ignorance as we teach our children
>
> knowledge…They are not recognized as men! They are made to
>
> undergo everything as a beast. Having a full, perfect undeniable right to
>
> stand out before God as MEN, the cruel, God-defying white man,
>
> without semblance of right, with no pretence {sic} but might, has
>
> prostituted them to the base purpose of his cupidity, and his baser
>
> beastly passions, reducing them to mere things, mere chattels, to be
>
> bought and sold like hogs and sheep!" (ibid: 51).

Finally, he writes "Give us equal rights. Give us justice. Make us MEN. Give us pay for our toil and we will work at the South" (ibid: 57). Clearly for Black, "manhood" is an innate and inbred characteristic that all male humans are endowed with by God although, there is an acknowledgement that *recognition* of manhood may be societally bestowed. Throughout his narrative, Black takes pains to challenge the notion that African Americans lack the intellectual capacity of whites and repeatedly recounts scenarios where he bests white men (either physically or intellectually) and proves himself their equal. His account of his early live in slavery is full of physical abuse. However, his experience as a slave, he argues, is one of *inhumanity*, rather than *unhumanity*. As in the quote above, he highlights instances where whites have succumbed to their "baser beastly instincts", thus turning the white assertion that blacks were somehow less evolved and closer to nature on its head. Black is not alone in espousing these views. Josiah Henson[72], in his autobiography, repeatedly stresses his own manly attributes, highlighting his strength, his prowess as a provider, his intellect, business acumen and honor - in short, all the criteria that southern white males used to define "manhood" (Henson 1849). His success once he reaches Canada is attributed to these qualities and is contrasted with the arbitrary nature of his treatment in the South, where such qualities were not recognized or were only glancingly noted by his owners when it suited their purposes. In 1865, Frederick

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[72] Josiah Henson (1789-1883) was born in Charles County, Maryland. He was sold at a young age to Isaac Riley. While enslaved, he became a preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Although initially determined to buy his freedom, he decided to escape with his wife and four children in 1830 after Riley repeatedly betrayed his trust. He escaped to Canada, where he became a leader of the Afro-Canadian community. His narrative was initially quite popular because many believed him to be the basis for Harriet Beecher Stowe's, Uncle Tom. Stowe refuted this saying she had been inspired by the narratives of multiple individuals but that Henson demonstrated that the experiences attributed to Uncle Tom were not fantastical (http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/henson49/summary.html [Accessed 2/13/16]).

Douglass wrote "the fact of my being a negro is far less important in determining my duty than the fact that I am a 'man' and linked to mankind as a man and a brother" (quoted in Savage 1997: 103). For African Americans, clearly, establishing their manhood was not only key to demonstrating their own willingness and ability to participate in American society, but it was also key to leveling the playing field and counteracting white control.

Manhood equated to mastery not only of men, but also of nature and the physical world. White men, according to emergent doctrine highlighting American exceptionalism, had "won" America both through their martial prowess and industry, and improved on nature through their political acumen, taste and erudition.[73] Not only did this have implications for their stature and place within the world, it also had architectural implications and manifestations in the mortuary landscape.

Delineating Manhood in a Mortuary Context

Both James Garman and Angelika Krüger-Kahloula have explored the ways in which antebellum white elites utilized tombstones to support their own political and social agendas. Garman, who based his observations on a study of the African American section in Newport's Common Burying Ground, has argued that the physical size of tombstones purchased by whites for blacks underlined notions regarding social standing (1992; 1994). During the antebellum period, black tombstones were diminutive. Substantial size differences separated them from those erected for adult white males or even adult white females. The tombstones purchased for blacks most closely resembled those purchased for white children, underscoring the idea that African Americans required the paternal guidance and care of their masters.

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[73] See for example George Washington Parke Custis's comments to the American Colonization Society discussed earlier in Chapter Five in which he uses these arguments to advance the resettlement of free blacks in Liberia. While Custis and others highlighted the arts and industry of white men, little recognition was made of the fact that much of the work of winning the land agriculturally and of building the homes and public buildings that were seen as adornments was done by African Americans.

Krüger-Kahloula (1989) has demonstrated that "tributes in stone"[74] helped to reinforce white authority and hegemony while nominally commemorating African American lives. Choices about where blacks could or should be buried, helped to create and reinforce a "natural" order in which white primacy was advanced. In contrast to the well-marked, carefully tended and partitioned spaces in which whites were buried, which proclaimed their rights to land and their role in winning over the land, deceased blacks were often relegated to marginal spaces and unmarked graves, a practice which stripped their identity and removed them from the landscape (Krüger-Kahloula 1989). Christopher McPherson[75], a free black clerk residing in Richmond, described the "burying ground for negroes" as a "disgustful" place (1855: 21) and noted that "it is very much confined as to space, inaccessible to a carriage by a steep hill, and it is on the margin of the Shockoe Creek, which has already washed away some of the graves, and will continue to wash them away" (1855: 28-29). McPherson noted that graves had been dug on land adjoining the cemetery due to both a lack of proper fencing and overcrowding and that these could be displaced at any time if the landowner sold the property. To further compound the inhospitable landscape, the space was shared with the city's gallows, sending a clear message about the comparative values of those whose final remains came to rest in this place. McPherson petitioned the City Council to do something about the burial ground in 1810. His petition was ultimately successful and in 1816 Richmond's City Council authorized the creation of a new burying ground for African Americans. In the 1830s a new city jail was built on part of the original burying ground site.[76]

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[74] In her 1989 article, *Tributes in stone and lapidary lapses: commemorating black people in eighteenth and nineteenth century America,* Krüger-Kahloula argues that we need to look not only at how African Americans are memorialized on tombstones but also what is not said on their tombstones in order to understand the ways in which race was constructed and racial separation was maintained during the period.

[75] McPherson was born ca. 1763. The son of a Scottish merchant, Charles McPherson, and an enslaved woman named Clarinda, he served in the Revolutionary war, stopped a riot, and was later manumitted by David Ross in Yorktown. He was educated and served as a clerk in Richmond and appears to have advocated for African Americans in the city, including petitioning the City Council for a new burial ground for the enslaved and free black populations of the city. He was clearly eccentric and appears to have been inspired by visions to declare himself the "son of Christ" and the subject of Chapter 19 in the book of Revelations. He wrote to a number of world leaders instructing them in the pursuit of justice and peace, and sharing with them the prophecy of Nimrod Hughes, which foretold the destruction of the world on June 4th 1812. He was sent to the Williamsburg Insane Asylum in 1811 and published his memoirs after being released. The memoir includes a number of letters and petitions written by him.

[76] The construction of the jail again signaled the marginality of the space and of the graves in it. It is unlikely that a similar action would be taken on a white burial ground within 20 years of its closure. Unfortunately, the repurposing of African American cemeteries was quite common in the nineteenth century. In Petersburg, the 1794 "colored burying ground" had been repurposed by 1856 and another black cemetery was purchased by the city to

Richmond was not alone in granting marginal spaces for African American burial sites. Ywonne Edwards-Ingram has noted that although African Americans comprised more than half of the population in eighteenth and nineteenth century Williamsburg there is little evidence of their burials. She notes that the few grave sites that have been located archaeologically tend to be isolated spaces, near fence lines and property boundaries, and in "common" areas such as near the City's College Landing (Edwards-Ingram 2015). In many towns, ordinances barred the burial of African Americans in city cemeteries until well into the nineteenth century. In 1837, Petersburg passed an ordinance stating that African Americans could not be buried in Blandford cemetery, which was repealed in 1851, although new burials were restricted to a separate lot in the back of the cemetery (Peters 2005: 27). Similarly in Norfolk, a Common Council ordinance limited the burials of African American's to potter's fields within the city until the formation of a dedicated burial ground in 1873.

It was not just in urban centers that African lives and deaths could disappear. On plantations, the family plots, often ornamented with highly carved stones that assert and lay out the genealogy of those interred and their connection to the land, contrast starkly with the slave cemeteries, where depressions in the ground and/or a profusion of field stones may be the only indication that burials have occurred. The family plot is generally cleared, easily accessible by walk ways or other paths and frequently located near the core of the property within the line of sight of the main property underscoring yet again the connection between people and place. Lynn Rainville notes that nineteenth-century descriptions of slave cemeteries frequently mention the wooded nature of slave cemeteries (2014: 13). Whether this is because slaves particularly sought out these areas, or because slaves were granted these sites for burials due to their location on less-desirable or non-cultivable land remains a matter of debate (Brooks 2011; Rainville 2014: 13). Both Ruth Little and Lynn Rainville suggest that the decision about where to site a graveyard was most likely made by the

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use for fill dirt for street repair projects (Trinkley et al 1999: 22). Rainville (2014) notes that the practice continues and a disproportionate number of African American cemeteries are repurposed and developed today in comparison to white cemeteries.

master (Little 1998: 38; Rainville 2014: 13). Rainville notes that the majority of the plantation cemeteries she visited during her survey work lay within a quarter of a mile to a mile from the main house and could often be seen from it (2014: 13), implying that the master retained a level of control over the activities in the cemetery and over those buried there. This is a viewpoint that Peter Randolph's slave narrative would seem to support.[77] He writes that "when several of the slaves die together, the others go to their owner, and ask him to let them have a funeral. Most of the owners will grant their slaves this privilege" (Duke 1995: 7). Randolph also notes that a white preacher is asked to preside "because they (the slaves) are not allowed to meet together, except a white man be present" (Duke 1995: 7). The sense of being regulated and observed is palpable in Randolph's account, suggesting that the visibility of a slave cemetery from the main house was not understood to reinforce the connection between people and place but rather to reinforce the idea of a slaveowner as "master" both of the land and the people who worked on it and were buried within it.

Despite the observation and oversight inherent in the siting of slave cemeteries, enslaved African Americans used both the cemetery site and the funeral service to reinforce communal identity, and to counter the control inherent in their everyday lives. Peter Randolph noted that "all the slaves from the adjoining plantations obtain passes from their overseers, and come so this is really a great day for the poor blacks to see each other. If their hearts are sad, they are happy to see their friends…" (Duke 1995: 7). Friendships could be reaffirmed, families could visit and messages could be passed between individuals. Coded messages could be passed between groups. One method may have been in the selection of songs. Frederick Douglass recalled that certain songs had double meanings; they could suggest the passage of the soul heavenward or they could suggest a slave's escape to freedom (Douglass 2003: 204).

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[77] Peter Randolph (1852-1897) was born in Prince George County VA, at Brandon, the home of Carter Edloe. Randolph began preaching at age 10. Edloe freed all his slaves in his will and left a provision that they each receive $50. The will was contested by Edloe's relatives and after a three year legal battle, which Randolph helped lead, 66 slaves were given their freedom and $15. Randolph led them to Boston where he became a minister and a member of the Anti-Slave Society. He returned to Virginia after the Civil War to become the first black pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church in Richmond. He is noted for creating opportunities for women within the church, a focus on education and helping to grow the prominence of the Baptist church among the African American Community (http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/randol55/summary.html accessed 2/13/16).

Some spirituals such as "Wade in The Water", "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot" and "Moses, Moses" transmitted knowledge that might be useful to slaves seeking to escape (Jones 1993).[78] Other spirituals served as reminders of humanity and equality. Songs such as "I got a robe" served as a reminder not only of the basic equality of all humanity, but also that God would be judging individuals on their actions rather than their skin color.[79] This is not to imply that every funeral was a carefully constructed act of resistance, but rather to show that funerals and the cemeteries in which they were held were places where enslaved African Americans could come together, meet and pass information to each other and thus they became important sites for creating and reinforcing collective identities[80] even when, in the absence of epitaphs, it may have been difficult to maintain and reinforce individual identities.

Cemeteries as an Assertion of Collective Worth

In urban environments, cemeteries were similarly used to maintain and transmit collective identity and to more explicitly challenge white perceptions of the African American community. African Americans utilized a number of strategies to reinforce their humanity and to promote their own dignity. Faced with limited and/or unappealing burial options free blacks often banded together to purchase burial grounds that they could control and maintain. In 1815, Christopher McPherson, who had railed against the condition of Richmond's "burying ground for negroes," sold a piece of property to the "Burying Ground Society of the Free People of Color in the City of Richmond." The lot formed part of a one-acre cemetery known as the Phoenix Burial Ground. For a subscription of $5-20, any free black living in Richmond could

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[78] "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot" is believed to have been used to let slaves know when underground conductors (or "chariots") were coming through the area. Harriet Tubman used "Wade in the Water" to remind escapees to wade through rivers and streams in order to throw any bloodhounds out of the scent. "Moses, Moses" invoked Harriet Tubman's code name of Moses, and referenced both the escape of the Israelites from slavery in Egypt and an occasional stop on the underground railway "a lonely graveyard."

[79] The lyrics begin "I got a robe, you got a robe/ all God's children got a robe/ When I get to Heav'n, gonna put on my robe/ Gonna shout all over God's Heav'n, Heav'n Heav'n/ Everybody talkin' bout heav'n/ Ain't going there/ Gonna shout all over God's Heav'n." As the song progresses it references shoes, crowns, harps and wings (instead of robes) and the singer says that they will walk, talk, and play all over heaven, suggesting a heaven where all resources are equally distributed and everyone is free to act as they wish without any external restraints. The line "everybody talkin about heav'n/ ain't goin there" may be a reference to the way in which whites professed faith in the Bible and often invoked it in order to control slaves and yet frequently acted against its precepts in order to maintain and perpetuate slavery.

[80] The persistence of West African funerary practices in many African American folk burial traditions highlights just how effectively communal identities were maintained and reinforced in this setting (Nichols 1989).

purchase a plot in the cemetery. The phoenix is a mythological bird, believed to have an unusually long life and to be reborn after its death; it is associated with immortality, with life in a heavenly paradise, with the life of Christ and with "the exceptional man" (Van den Broek 1971: 9).[81] The choice of name for the burial ground may therefore not only be viewed as symbolic of a desire of resurrection for those buried in the cemetery, but may also have served to remind Richmonders that whites were not the only denizens of the city to appreciate classical mythology and the finer things of life.[82] The Union Burial Ground Society, which founded a cemetery next to Phoenix in 1840, was more explicit in drawing a connection between the provision of a proper burial and the advancement of colored people. In its constitution Union Burial Ground Society proclaimed a "deep interest in the welfare of our race" and its belief that "the formation of a society for the interment of the dead will exert its due weight of influence" (Lester 2000).

Richmond's black community was not alone in its desire to provide a decent burial for its members. In Petersburg, the closure of Blandford cemetery to the burials of African Americans and overcrowding at the "Colored Burying Ground" prompted a group of free blacks to band together as the Benevolent Society of Free Men of Color (BSFMC) and purchase an acre of land for use as a cemetery. Additional land purchases were made in 1865 and 1880, and today the cemetery, known as People's Memorial Cemetery, is over eight acres in size. In Norfolk, no city-owned cemetery was available to African Americans and both free and enslaved blacks appear to have been buried in potter's fields. In 1873, the black community exercised its new political power and pushed the city council to establish a cemetery for the black inhabitants of the city. The cemetery originally named Calvary was renamed West Point in 1885 when a portion was set aside for the burial of black Union soldiers. The establishment of these cemeteries and others throughout Virginia and the South speak to the desire among the African American community to ensure that whenever possible its members were

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[81] Seneca equates the Phoenix with the truly good man (Van den Broek 1971: 67)

[82] Phoenix was later renamed Cedarwood. Five additional burial grounds were established in the vicinity of this one between 1840 and the late nineteenth century. Today they are collectively referred to as Barton Heights cemetery.

buried with dignity, as well as to their belief that creating cemeteries was one avenue for countering white narratives and promoting their own advancement.[83]

Although the erection of tombstones memorializing African Americans remained uncommon during the nineteenth century, the numbers appear to have risen throughout the century. As described earlier in Chapter Four, a survey was conducted of public cemeteries, both black and white, in Richmond, Petersburg, Norfolk, and Williamsburg in order to study the types of memorialization that the African American community utilized. Within the area under study, there appears to have been a sudden rise in the use of tombstones in the 1850s compared to in previous decades (Table 1). Interestingly, this rise coincides with the passing of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850 and may have been a way for the free black community to assert its own ties to the land and to attempt to establish genealogical ties to specific places. At this time, race relations were at a particularly low ebb, and thus reminders of shared humanity and the universality of death and grief may have seemed especially desirable. Peter Randolph's slave narrative has been particularly noted for the devices he uses to place the humanity of slaves in the forefront and his attempt to undermine the contemporary view that enslaved African Americans lacked the emotional range of whites.[84] Within this context it is noteworthy that one of the sketches he does share is that of the slave funeral, and that he stresses the griefs that slaves feel at these occasions, and the need to share that grief with others and seek comfort from friends and family.

Although it is very tempting to tie the upsurge of tombstones in the 1850s to a response to the Fugitive Slave Act and other environmental factors, it must be noted that fewer cemeteries were open for the burial of African Americans in the earlier decades and that several of the earliest cemeteries available to people of color, such as Richmond's and Petersburg's burying grounds were actively destroyed in the 1830s

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[83] Williamsburg is the only town where African American agency does not appear to have contributed to the establishment of a burying place for African Americans. Cedar Grove Cemetery was established as the city's burying ground in 1859. It was an integrated cemetery because both blacks and whites could be buried there; however, the African American section is segregated from the three originally white sections.

[84] See for example http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/randol55/summary.html [Accessed 7/23/2017].

through the 1850s, a process that may have obliterated early memorials, if they existed.[85] In order to contextualize the tombstones better, therefore, it is worth considering who is being memorialized and how.

Decade Range	Male	Female	n/a
1830-1839	1	1	
1840-1849	5	3	
1850-1859	21	23	
1860-1869	22	21	
1870-1879	18	19	
1880-1889	29	34	
1890-1899	46	42	1
1900-1909	23	32	
No date	0	6	

Table 1: Distribution of African American tombstones by date in the survey area (total n=352)

There is some debate about the degree to which deeper meanings may or may not be attributed to the text on African American tombstones. Angelika Krüger-Kahloula, in her study of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century tombstones, notes that whites often used specific language when memorializing enslaved African Americans in which she argues "affection substituted for respect, sentimentality for justice" and that a slave's deprivation of autonomy was masked in a welter of generally positive good will (1989: 89). The language on many tombstones purchased by whites echoes the language in deeds of manumission, which tended to use phrases like "love and affection" or to talk about "divers good causes" to obscure the fact that cash had often been exchanged for manumission and to make the manumitter appear to be a magnanimous friend or benefactor (Bogger 1997: 7).

In the case of tombstones, idealized depictions of the master-slave relationship were literally carved into stone and used as rebuttals to the anti-slavery crusaders who

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[85] Of additional interest is a trend noted in church cemeteries within the survey area that the first dated gravestone typically appears about 10-20 years after the formation of the church. It would appear that this phenomenon may be linked to the first deaths among those most actively involved in the establishment of the church and therefore most tied, emotionally and perhaps financially, to the space. It is possible that a similar trend took place in the African American cemeteries. The earliest dated stone in the Barton Heights cemetery complex noted during the survey dates to 1827 (the stone commemorates Benjamin Wythe). In People's cemetery the earliest stone dates to 1846 (for Jane Duglis) and then there is a five year gap until a small cluster of stones occurs in 1851 and 1852. West Point is the exception to this trend however, a number of stones predate the formal formation of the cemetery and most likely date to its use as a potter's field.

argued that the institution of slavery was based on cruelty. Adjectives such as "faithful", "honest" and "zealous" were often used, suggesting a willingness to serve the master on the part of the enslaved rather than any coercion. Daniel Grimes, whom we met earlier in Chapter Five, is memorialized with a small unadorned stone at West Point Cemetery (Figure 10), which reads:

DANIEL GRIMES

Died Sept 12 1855

Aged 46 years

He was a most faithful

and beloved domestic and

had obtained the com

mendation of the com

munity by his modest

and correct deportment.

Figure 10: Daniel Grimes' tombstone, West Point Cemetery, Norfolk VA (courtesy of Donna Bluemink).

The term "domestic" is used instead of the word slave, softening the nature of the relationship he had with those who presumably erected his stone. Similarly Lucy Lockett, who was enslaved in Petersburg and died in a fall from a window, is memorialized in Blandford Cemetery (Figure 11) as follows:

In

Remembrance

of

LUCY LOCKETT

A slave

Yet not less the FRIEND

of her master's family

by whom is offered this

testimonial of their es

-teem for her excellent

virtues & true piety;

gratitude for her affec-

tionate and faithful

Figure 11: Lucy Lockett's tombstone (photo by author).

services and of grief

for her death

Born July 15 1771

Died Jan'y 29 1836.

In both instances, the violent or unpleasant nature of the individual's death is ignored and the atmosphere conveyed is one of mutual affection, although in each case there is also a sense of distance that is conveyed by the stone. At a time when slaves, as members of the masters household, were increasingly being included in the term "family" it is of interest that Lucy Lockett's tombstone notes she is "a friend of her master's family", while the community referred to in Daniel Grimes's memorial is a diffuse entity that does not specify who is included and who is excluded, thus distancing Grimes and further marginalizing him.

Both Daniel Grimes's and Lucy Lockett's tombstones are unusual because they do not mention the name of the family to whom the deceased was enslaved. Perhaps a more typical tombstone is the one erected for Hagar in West Point (Figure 12). It reads:

ERECTED BY

H. ALLMAND

to the memory of

his faithful servant

HAGAR

who died Feby 1850

Aged about 100 years.

Figure 12: Hagar's tombstone, (photo by author).

Krüger-Kahloula argues that tombstones similar to Hagar's reflect glory back to the master (1989). His name is highlighted and appears first and the stone displays the fact that he too can be faithful and reward long service. In Hagar's case, she is denied any identity beyond her service and age. At a time when even enslaved African Americans were increasingly adopting last names, her memorial isolates her from any relatives or off spring she may have had and reduces her relationships. Savage, Mills and other authors are agreed that in the post-bellum period similar motives, particularly the desire to down play the evils of slavery and to depict whites as

compassionate care-takers, motivated the commissioning of a spate of "faithful slave"

and "mammy" monuments from the late 1880s on into the twentieth century (Savage

1997; Mills 2003; Johnston and Wise n.d.)

In general there appears to be a feeling that, at least in the nineteenth century,

Virginia's African Americans were satisfied to exert their newly won buying power and

to participate in the Victorian "consumption of death" rather than to create

something new (Trinkley *et al* 1999; Rainville 2014). For example, the *National Historic

Register Nomination for People's Memorial Cemetery* states that "the presence of a

number of Victorian styles indicates that the African American Community was

influenced by these late nineteenth and early twentieth century designs" (Klemm

2007). Occasionally, these observations rely on a desire for African Americans to craft

for themselves something uniquely different from the tombstones of their white

counterparts.[86] Trinkley *et al.* who surveyed People's Memorial Cemetery for the

Virginia Department of Historic Resources suggest three criteria that set the

tombstones apart as African American (1999). These measures include: the use of a

number of lodge insignia and initials, unusual concrete tombstone forms (including

what they call a "barbed spear"), and the use of the term "Mizpah" on five stones.[87]

All of these criteria occur only on tombstones dating to the twentieth century and are

therefore of little help in regards to the nineteenth-century stones. James Garman

(1994) noted in his study of the African American tombstones in the Common Burying

Ground in Newport, RI, that the period between 1810 and 1830, during which time

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[86] This attitude may be based on comparisons between African American cemeteries in the rural Deep South where painted tombstones and grave goods are more common. If any of the cemeteries in the survey area contained grave gifts and ornaments, they have long since been removed, either by the urban populations that live near the cemeteries or by the various clean-up campaigns that have taken place as the various cemeteries came under city control.

[87] Trinkley *et al.* posit that this biblical term refers to the pillar established as a treaty marker between Laban and Jacob, after Laban mistreated Jacob. Both men vow not to pass the pillar to the other's lands with evil intent. Trinkley *et al.* suggest that the term may indicate the division between the land of the living and the land of the dead, but they also suggest that it may refer to past white injustice and be a call for truce (1999: 81). The term only appears on African American stones erected between 1928 and 1950, during the height of Jim Crow, so it is of course very appealing to believe that it is a coded message or act of defiance. However, there is precedent for the word in other Virginia cemeteries. Nannie Euphemia Caskie's tombstone in Shockoe Hill Cemetery (dated 1893) also contains the word, spelled "Mizpeh." It has been suggested by historian Alyson Taylor-White that in this case the term denotes an emotional bond between people who are separated and is significant because Caskie died while visiting friends in Italy (personal communication 2017). The friends returned her body to Virginia and commissioned the tombstone to mark the grave.

blacks began to purchase their own tombstones in larger numbers, was marked by pronounced homogenization of forms. He attributes this to two factors: a desire to reinforce the fact that African Americans were also participants in the culture of the time and/or fear of racial backlash as Newport fell on increasingly hard times.

Were similar factors at play in Virginia? The second half of the nineteenth century saw more standardization of tombstones as a certain degree of mass production began to enter the market, and pattern books quickly publicized and spread new designs and decorative motives. However, if the form and decoration of the tombstone was dictated by the market, perhaps the content of the tombstones, the epitaph and any additional inscription, set tombstones purchased by blacks apart from those purchased by their white contemporaries?

To test this idea, Lynn Rainville analyzed the data from five cemeteries that made up a portion of her central Virginian cemetery survey to determine whether the language employed on tombstones was a defining factor in separating African Americans tombstones from other ethnicities (Rainville 2014). The six cemeteries she selected included two church cemeteries, a segregated public cemetery, two rural adjacent neighborhood cemeteries and a cemetery associated with a black funeral parlor. She divided the inscriptions on the stones into categories and used broad sets of words to define the groupings. The categories, with their identifying words, included: pessimistic ("died" or "dead"); religious ("Jesus," "God," "angel," "heaven," "shepherd," "thy," "faithful," "crown," "blessed," "praise," "gate(s),"); emotional ("loving" "love" "heart (s)" "gone but not forgotten" "sorrow" "children" "baby"); euphemistic ("at rest," "rest in peace," "asleep," "slumbers," "resting," "weep not," "in memory of," "departed," "victory") and poetic (these included epitaphs that directly quoted poetry). Epitaphs could fit into two or more categories depending on their contents (Rainville 2014: 40). Using these groupings, Rainville was not able to identify any trends that marked the tombstones as a particular ethnicity, however it

must be noted that the categories are broad and there is some confusion between them that may have influenced the data she was analyzing.[88]

Of the 359 African American tombstones recorded in the current survey, 135 had language that clearly indicated they had been erected by a specific individual or group.[89] In some cases the tombstone contained the phrase "erected by" followed by an individual name or a group; in other instances a personal pronoun was employed indicating that the tombstone was erected for "my mother" or "our father." All tombstones must be erected by someone, whether it be the deceased (or their executor), their family and heirs, beneficial society or community. However, the reason for focusing on the erection language in this instance is that it allows us to clearly establish the ethnicity of the individual doing the commemorating. Twelve of the tombstones were put up by beneficial societies, 13 were erected by whites and 110 were erected by blacks. There are differences between the three sets in both the decoration and the length of the inscription. None of the tombstones established by a beneficial society is decorated and they tend to be smaller than the average tombstone; most were only 18 inches tall. Interestingly they were all confined to West Point Cemetery, and there were no indications of tombstones erected by beneficial societies in other cemeteries during the period under study. With one exception, all the beneficial society tombstones were put up during the period that West Point was a potter's field.[90] The text is sparse limited only to name, year of death, age and an erection statement, for example:

CHAS W. HILL

Died

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[88] For example, the phrase "weep not" is counted as euphemistic when it might be better categorized as emotional and the terms "children" and "baby," while definitely capable of provoking a wide range of emotions depending on the circumstances, are not in and of themselves emotional terms. If one is considering the immediacy of grief manifested by a child's death it would be equally appropriate to include the terms "son" and "daughter" or the husband's or wife's grief at the loss of a spouse.

[89] 205 tombstones did not contain any language referencing an erector and 20 of the 359 stones were too fragmentary to make a determination either way.

[90] Although I am assuming that these individuals are African American, I have only been able to confirm this in two instances. US census records prior to 1850 only list the name of the head of the household and do not list members of the family. Three of the deaths predate 1850. Additionally, since many of the names are not distinctive (e.g. Mary Webb or John Foster) and there is little information other than the death date and age, it can make it difficult to identify the correct individual, particularly in a mobile seaport. It is therefore possible since West Point was a potter's field that one or more whites may also be commemorated on these stones.

Apr. 10 1864

AE 40 yrs

Erected by the

B.M.S.

The average number of words per stones is 17.36. With only one exception, the beneficial tombstones all commemorate men and the age at death ranges from 21 to 63.

Epitaphs erected by whites are less uniform in length. There is an average of 23 words per stone, however, epitaphs range from 13 words long to 52 words long. Of the 13 stones erected by whites, seven are erected for women and six for men. Basic biographical information (surname, age, date of death) is not a given on these stones, particularly those commemorating women. Of the markers erected for women, in three instances a last name is withheld and in four instances although a date of death is recorded, no age is given. All the tombstones set up for males include a surname and all but one includes birth and death dates. All the tombstones commemorate adults and where the ages are given, almost all are over 35, suggesting that the longevity of service and the relationships formed as a result is part of what is being commemorated. Like the beneficial society tombstones, the tombstones erected by whites tend to be undecorated, although there are two exceptions to this trend. The inscriptions on both Isaac Ferebee and Eliza Gallee's tombstones are placed in a raised shield. Gallee's name also appears on a furled ribbon above the tombstone.[91] None of the tombstones contain any information about family members, social connections (beyond the deceased's relation to their white benefactor) or any of the ancillary biographical details, such as place of birth or death, that are often included on stones.

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[91] Both Gallee and Ferebee had unusual relationships with their benefactors. In the 1860 US Census, Gallee, a 58 year old mulatto, appears as the head of household for a house that includes herself and two white men, William Robertson and Henry Badger. She clearly owned the house, valued at $1500, and also owned personal property valued at $1500. Henry Badger had personal property valued at $2000. He commissioned her tombstone and signed it as "her friend." Isaac Ferebee began working for John Diedrich Couper in 1841 at age nine, possibly as Couper's slave. After the Civil War he remained in Couper's employ. Although listed as a "cutter" in the 1900 Norfolk City directory, he also travelled ahead of tombstones to ensure their successful installation. When he died in 1906, Couper commissioned the tombstone to commemorate their 65 years of working together.

The tombstones erected by blacks for blacks represent a departure from those erected by whites or by beneficial societies. They tend to be significantly wordier, with an average of 33.62 words per stone. The range is also greater: the shortest epitaph only has 11 words but the longest has 160 words.[92] 65 of the tombstones are erected for females and 45 are erected for males. There are three for children under the age of ten. Almost all are erected by family members, although two are erected by congregations, one by the Ladies Auxiliary of the Attucks Guard and two by friends.[93] Eleven mention the individual's membership in a specific church while six tie them to a professional or other community. Table 2 shows the breakdown of the different African American tombstones, divided by those that highlight a black erector and those which do not mention an erector, as compared to the total white population. By analyzing these groupings, can we see patterns that set the African American tombstones apart from the white ones?

In general the answer is no. However, this finding is significant. I do not believe that it is because market forces were so strong that African Americans felt compelled to participate rather than to exercise their own choice;[94] rather I would contend that, as we have seen in both the slave narratives and the act of purchasing cemeteries and providing dignified burials, blacks were not seeking to create an identity that was separate from that of whites, but rather are choosing to stress their shared humanity. Where white memorialization of blacks strips associations away and turns African Americans into socio-cultural isolates who only matter in terms of their service and relationships to whites, the tombstones erected by African Americans stress the relationships between the deceased and others. They emphasize strong family connections and use the same phrasing employed by whites to remind viewers that this was someone's loved one who will be missed. Tombstones erected by African American men are more likely to contain a reference to the church that the deceased

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[92] There are three tombstones that have over 150 words and a number with 70 or more. This is interesting since the cost per word is often mentioned in relation to African American tombstones, but rarely in discussions of purchasing white tombstones (Rainville 2013: 34; Little 1998).

[93] It is not possible to determine the exact connection on three of the stones since the inscription is partial or consists only of initials.

[94] There is evidence of choice in the patronage of carvers, particularly in People's Cemetery and Barton Heights. In both cemeteries, local African American carvers have been patronized and promoted even when the type of monument suggests that the decision was not being made on cost alone.

	African American No erector noted				African American Erector identified				White			
	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%	M (n=584)	%	F (n=499)	%
Erector					45	100	65	100	153 (n=575)	26.6	112 (n=483)	23.18
Family	31 (n=94)	32.97	61 (n=104)	58.65	39 (n=45)	86.66	63 (n=65)	96.92	342 (n=579)	71.18	438 (n=496)	88.3
Church Membership	9 (n=95)	9.47	6 (n=103)	5.82	8 (n=43)	18.6	4 (n=65)	6.15	43 (n=576)	7.46	34 (n=488)	6.96
Community	9 (n=95)	9.47	2 (n=103)	1.94	4 (n=43)	9.3	1 (n=65)	1.53	82 (n=577)	14.21	2 (n=486)	0.41
Place of birth	7 (n=95)	7.36	7 (n=105)	6.66	4 (N=43)	9.3	2 (n=65)	3.07	134 (n=576)	23.26	87 (n=487)	17.86
Place of death	4 (n=95)	4.21	5 (n=105)	4.76	0	0	1 (n=65)	1.53	105 (n=576)	18.22	72 (n=487)	14.78
Method of death	0	0	2 (n=105)	1.9	0	0	0	0	36 (n=570)	6.31	5 (n=478)	1.04
Baptism	1 (n=95)	1.05	0	0	1 (n=43)	2.32	0	0	0	0	0	0
Date of marriage	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3 (n=574)	0.52	10 (n=485)	2.06

Table 2: Comparison of affiliation information on African American and White Tombstones

was a member of than white tombstones are. This trend may be in part because whites had other avenues to demonstrate religious affiliation for example, burial in a cemetery belonging to a particular denomination. However, it may also be due to the fact that for many African American males, holding church office was one of the few socially approved authority roles available to them (Engs 1979; Bogger 1997). Highlighting their role in the church demonstrated their connection to a community but also their willingness and ability to lead. White males had greater access to community leadership positions (in terms of political office, professional memberships and particularly, considering the period and location under study, military service) and this is reflected in a slightly higher percentage of their tombstones. It is also interesting to note that the word "man" appears more frequently on African American tombstones than on white tombstones.

The word man appears most commonly on tombstones that quote Psalm 37 verse 37 "mark the perfect man and behold the upright for the end of that man is peace." In the context of nineteenth-century white perceptions about manhood and authority, use of this phrase represents a challenge. Similarly, Leonard Black's tombstone, erected ca. 1883 in People's Memorial Cemetery in Petersburg, Virginia, continues the dialog about manhood that his slave narrative began (Figure 13). The tombstone features, a three-quarter length bust carved in high relief (unusual for most nineteenth-century tombstones). Dressed in fashionable, well-maintained contemporary clothing the portrait depicts a successful man. He emerges from an ovoid niche or roundel, which imparts a sense of gravitas and authority by creating a visual link with the portraiture of emperors and prophets. Black's eyes do not meet the viewers but rather angle to the proper right and upward as if he were contemplating something that is unknown to the viewer, thus suggesting a power that the viewer may not share. Black's figure fills and inhabits the roundel, his shoulders make contact with the edge of the space, giving him a sense of potency. The upper limits of the roundel are more deeply carved than the lower limit suggesting forward movement and energy as if the sitter is freeing himself from the stone and moving towards the viewer. Through these mechanisms, the portrait conveys a sense of charisma and intelligence. However the fact that the image is carved in white marble,

a material frequently reserved in the nineteenth century for depictions of whites, due to both its associations with classical antiquity and the color itself (Savage 1997), is noteworthy and creates a visual play on both Black's name and his race. Black's tombstone is placed near the front of the cemetery and is oriented so that the portrait faces Blandford cemetery, a predominantly white cemetery, located across the road.[95]

Although Black's tombstone challenges white artistic norms, it also reminds us of the complex relationships between whites and blacks in nineteenth-century Virginia. His epitaph, which describes him as a man of God makes no mention of his slavery or escape but rather focuses on the success he had as a minister in Petersburg, where he baptized nearly 2200 people. Commissioned by Black's congregation, the tombstone is carved and signed by Charles Miller Walsh, Petersburg's preeminent carver. In her 1990 article about Walsh, Martha Wrenn Briggs highlights Walsh's artistic approach to his carving and the individuality with which he often approached discrete tombstones; this tombstone definitely stands out among his *oeuvre*. There is only one other portrait that is attributed to him to date and it is an unsigned angel that was erected over the grave of Walsh's grandson who died in infancy.[96] Similarly, tombstones in Blandford and the other historic cemeteries in Petersburg are largely devoid of portraiture of this type, in fact the nearest parallels I could locate were located in Shockoe Hill Cemetery in Richmond dating to 1835[97] and 1846[98] respectively. That this is a close portrait is unquestionable. It is possible that Black, who notes in his biography that he trained as a stone-cutter, may have formed a connection with

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[95] Crater Road separates the two cemeteries and in its modern form has been deliberately built and banked up so that both cemeteries slope away from the road disrupting any line of sight between the two. Given the topography it seems unlikely that the slope of the road was as drastic in the nineteenth century as it currently is and topographic maps suggest that both cemeteries are located on the same ridge. Therefore, Black's tombstone may have been visible to people travelling along Crater Road and entering or exiting Blandford by one of its entrances.

[96] Although the angel is similar to countless others that could be purchased pre-made for the tombs of children, Briggs speculates that Walsh himself may have carved it because of the familial connection. The angel could equally likely have been carved by Charles Ritchie Walsh, the boy's father and a stone mason who would inherit his own father's business nine years later.

[97] A tablet on base style tombstone dedicated to Sebastien Delarue (Figure 14). The tombstone depicts a male who is facing the viewer directly and is in a circular roundel. The tombstone is very worn making it difficult to discern too much about the individual details but the ratio of the bust to roundel removes the sense of impact and power that one feels looking at the Leonard Black tombstone.

[98] An obelisk dedicated to Sally Magee Warwick (Figure 15). She is depicted in profile, facing to the proper left, on the obelisk shaft. Her image is placed in an arched niche that springs from a scrolled acanthus leaf, and is surmounted by a garland of flowers. Although great attention has been paid to her hair and the small fraction of her dress that is visible, the profile floats unconvincingly in the niche giving it a sense of disconnection.

Walsh, a fellow Baptist, but it is equally possible that the church may have asked Walsh to carve the portrait from a photograph of Black. The epitaph, states:

(Side 1): REV. L.A. BLACK

BORN

March 1820

DIED

April 28, 1883.

(side 2): Elder L. A. Black

took charge of the First Baptist Church

Harrison St., Petersburg Va.

Nov'r 15, 1873

and was installed as Pastor

Nov 19th 1873.

Exercised by Elders:

Henry Williams Jr, Henry Dickerson

Jefferson Branch

During his ministry in this city

he baptized

more than 2200 persons.

(Side 3): Yes! Lay him down to rest; The man of God

whose feet so long earth's pilgrimage have trod

Wearied at length, he sinks in

slumber blest,

Lay him, and leave him in his peaceful rest

Yes! Lay him down to rest

All that is dust

To the safe keeping of the grave entrust

He cannot die, his spirit soars above

His memory lingers here

Embalmed in love.

Figure 13: Tombstone for Leonard Black, People's Memorial Cemetery (photo by author).

Figure 14: Sebastien Delarue tombstone, Shockoe Hill Cemetery (photo by author).

Figure 15: Sally Magee Warwick tombstone (detail), Shockoe Hill Cemetery (photo by author).

Taken as a whole, the tombstone is a powerful individual affirmation of identity and worth that reinforces Black's manhood and his connections with others. He, God's own man, touched the lives of over 2200 in one city alone, and was loved by many. Taken as part of a group, Black's tombstone, advances the idea that black deaths matter and that they are integrally tied to black lives and black identities. Blacks, although shackled in part by "the peculiar institution" (as slavery was often referred to), were not passive recipients of identity. They created their own identities and expressed them through both public and "hidden" transcripts (Scott 2009). They contested the imposition of identity in the same media that sought to define them - literature, art, architecture - and even through mortuary practices. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that for those blacks wealthy enough to afford them, mortuary monuments could become a way to define the identities of loved ones and to reinforce their own position. In the next chapter, we will consider how both Alexander Dunlop and the extended Hill family participated in this process, and finally we will consider Lucy Ann's tombstone and the way in which memorialization was tied to messaging.

CHAPTER SEVEN: Alexander Dunlop's Tombstone Purchases and Their Role in Promoting Personal and Communal Identity

As we briefly observed in Chapter Four, much of the early American scholarship on tombstones focused on those markers carved in the seventeenth and eighteenth century and particularly on their artistry (Forbes 1927; Ludwig 1966; Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966; Tashjian and Tashjian 1974). This scholarly strand has continued into the present (Luti 2002; Blachowicz 2006 and 2015) and has tended to focus on the choices made by the carvers and how the tombstones fit into **their** biography (i.e. at what point in their career did they carve the stone and what were their influences?). Within this research framework, nineteenth century tombstones are largely overlooked because of a perception that they were mass produced.[99] If the artistic imagination was absent and forms were frequently repeated, what is left to study? A second strand of tombstone scholarship has focused on tombstones as demographic data using the biographic data of those commemorated as a way to examine a range of subjects, from changing attitudes to death to such topics as mortality rates and ethnicity (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1967; Stone 1991; Hamscher 2003; Mallios and Caterino 2011; Napoli and Owoc 2014). These two approaches, focusing as they do on the identities of the carvers and the deceased, often overlook the roles that those who commissioned the tombstones play, and the fact that they bring their own histories, aspirations and intentions to the process and may use it to craft and express their own identities.

The act of commissioning and erecting a tombstone is one that often tells us as much about the living as it does the deceased. In some cases, individuals may commission their own monument during their lifetime or leave detailed instructions as to how they wish to be memorialized in their will; however, more frequently, tombstones are commissioned by those who survive the dead. As such, grave markers speak to the

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[99] Although it is true that during the nineteenth century, catalogs were printed and circulated illustrating common decorative schemes and offering wording selections to customers, this characterization is somewhat unfair. Regional differences as well as individual differences do exist. For example, it is very easy to pick out a tombstone produced in Philadelphia when one is visiting cemeteries in Virginia. There is a higher level of ornamentation and a tendency to carve in higher relief. Similarly, in Virginia, the high relief that Charles Miller Walsh utilized, his sense of playfulness (Briggs 1990) and the motifs he chose, permit easy identification of his work.

esteem in which the living held the dead, and to the status they bestowed on them (McKillop 1995; Abousnougga and Machin 2010), as well as to the emotional response the survivors had to loss (Tarlow 1999), and the ways they construct their own identities (Nichols 1989; Mytum 1994; Little 1998; Buckham 2003). Each choice that is made in terms of whether to buy a stone, what material and style to purchase, where to erect it and what to place on it represents a deliberate act designed to create and convey meaning. Sometimes this meaning is easy to parse; for example, even though Hebrew may not be readily legible to all, its inclusion on a tombstone quickly conveys the fact that the deceased was, most likely, Jewish.[100] Sometimes the meaning behind a decision is less easy to decipher. In some instances, this is because the factors influencing the decision are too intensely personal for others to readily recognize[101] but in other instances it may be because modern usage has diverged from historic usage.[102] Each act of commissioning a tombstone is therefore not only shaped by the identity of the dead and the living, but it is also shaped by temporal events, as well as linguistic and societal norms, which can impose constraints and also provide opportunities to redefine roles.

Alexander Dunlop's decisions to purchase tombstones for both his father-in-law, Robert F. Hill, and his wife, Lucy Ann Dunlop, are broadly reflective of the desire to mark African American lives and to assert their worth. However, the two purchases were also shaped by Dunlop's choices and his own personal history as well. They reflect the careful manner with which Dunlop signaled his own changing status while at the same time taking care not to unsettle others, or to be seen as having aspirations above his station. By making conscious choices about the language, imagery, form and placement of the tombstones, Alexander Dunlop utilized the memory of his family in

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[100] Similarly, Harold Mytum has shown that the decision to include Welsh on nineteenth century tombstones in Pembrokeshire had greater meaning for certain groups of individuals than for others (Mytum 1994).

[101] For example, the caretaker at a local cemetery related a story to me of a mother, who had come to visit her daughter's unmarked grave daily for fifteen years, telling him that she knew she "should" purchase a tombstone but she did not want to because that represented to her the moment that her daughter was "really" gone. For many, marking a grave is a way of presencing the dead or remembering them, and it would be hard for them to understand the mother's decision without an explanation.

[102] For example, the use of the word "Mizpah" in People's Cemetery, Petersburg, discussed in Chapter Six.

order to assert his own identity and to participate in group discussions about race and identity. Examining these choices individually also provides insights into the ways in which external factors acted to both permit and constrain the expression of identity during the 15 year period in which Dunlop erected these memorials.

Robert Hill's Tombstone and Creating a Sense of Place

In 1851, when Robert Hill died, the choices for burial locations for African Americans in Williamsburg were limited. Research by Ywone Edwards-Ingram suggests that many blacks were buried on marginal land near College Landing (Edwards-Ingram forthcoming).[103] If these graves were marked, it is likely that they were marked with perishable materials. A handful of eighteenth century burials of African Americans, most likely enslaved individuals, have been located archaeologically on properties in Williamsburg and on neighboring plantations, including Utopia and Richneck (Fesler 1996; Muraca *et al* 2003). These burials were almost certainly unmarked. Most were on peripheral lands abutting fences or pathways; spaces that Edwards-Ingram terms "unquiet" places (Edwards-Ingram forthcoming). Whether similar places were utilized in the early to mid-nineteenth century or whether College Landing was the only available area remains to be explored; however, what is obvious is that none of the available options appealed to Alexander Dunlop. Instead, Dunlop opted to bury Hill on his property and to erect a tombstone over his remains.

At the time of Hill's death, Dunlop was in the process of moving back to Williamsburg after a protracted residency in Richmond. The reasons for his residency are not entirely clear although they may have had to do with familial matters. One possible explanation is that he may have moved to Richmond to be nearer to Lucy Ann. In 1845, Jesse Cole, the second husband of Lucy Ann's mistress, Elizabeth Travis Edloe Cole, passed away and there is the possibility that Elizabeth may have moved to Richmond, taking Lucy Ann with her and forcing Alexander Dunlop to move to the city

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[103] Excavations carried out in 1976 in preparation for the South Henry Street expansion located 20 graves thought to be African American, and to date to the period between 1790 and 1820.

in order to keep his marriage intact.[104] Dunlop returned to Williamsburg as soon as he was able to complete his purchase of Lucy Ann, lending some merit to this theory. The decision to bury Robert Hill on the property and to provide a stone for him, thus may have been designed to signal Dunlop's permanency. He had returned to Williamsburg and was declaring that this would be his home and the place where his family would live and die. Seen in this light, there is a dynastic quality to Dunlop's decision. He was staking a claim to a piece of land. In making this claim, Dunlop also asserted a degree of equality for his family. Not only was Robert Hill, worthy of a dignified and remembered burial, but also the extended Dunlop/Hill family was placed on a similar footing to other established local families, such as the Maupins, Coles, Galts and Wallers, who had familial graveyards on their own properties. The burial, and more particularly the marker, demonstrated that the family had a connection with the land and acted as an anchor linking them to a specific home-place.[105]

In addition to signaling his return to Williamsburg, Dunlop may also have been using the burial and the tombstone to make a statement about colonization, a proposal that he, like many other African American political leaders, staunchly opposed. The issue was personal for the Hill family. In 1848, Lucy Ann's brother, Robert F. Hill, Jr.,[106] had purchased his freedom and in 1849 he had departed for Africa as a missionary in the company of two white missionaries, Harvey Goodale and Thomas Bowen. Three months after landing in Liberia, Goodale died and Bowen announced plans to head to Yoruba (modern Nigeria). Hill opted to stay in Liberia. He moved to Bexley in Grand

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[104] I have been unable to confirm or disprove this notion and it remains pure speculation at this point. Another potential is that Lucy Ann was hired out to someone in Richmond. Her brother, Robert Hill, was hired out prior to purchasing his freedom.

[105] John Robb has written about how stone anthropomorphic stelae may have been perceived as existing in a different temporal scale from humans. Their mass, immobility and durability reinforced notions of permanence and "anchored landscapes in which people moved" (2009: 173). This is a useful notion that can be extended to tombstones, particularly those erected within familial plots. Like the stelae, tombstones typically endure beyond the lifespans of those who erect them and generate connections between both the living and the dead.

[106] Hill sometimes signed letters to the Foreign Mission Board as Robert F. Hill, Jr., however he did not do so consistently. I have adopted this designation to help distinguish him from his father due to the similarity in their names.

Bassa and aided in the mission there ultimately becoming ordained in 1857.[107] Noted as a skilled orator (American Colonization Society 1868: 278), Hill was an enthusiastic proponent of colonization and life in Liberia. He wrote letters back to the States singing the praises of his new homeland and, in 1867, returned to the States to raise financial support for Liberian missions and to recruit new immigrants. An excerpt from one of his letters to the Reverend William Mclain, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, dated May 2nd 1851, demonstrates the enthusiasm with which he viewed his new land:

> Liberia is in my estimation, preeminently congenial both to the physical and mental constitution of the colored man; physical because it is the land of our forefathers, and for that reason the climate ought and must inevitably be conducive to the health of its production…..Liberia indeed seems to have a transforming influence upon the minds of those who return to her shores, by rousing up those latent powers of the mind which slavery has kept inert. Here then is the home of our race. Here we find ourselves no longer doomed to look upon men of every grade and complexion as our superiors. Here we daily see ignorance, superstition and vice, disappear before us like the mist which rolls up the mountain side before the rising glory of the morning sun. Here talent can attain the summit of perfection. If this be the true state of Liberia who would not say "let the man of color go to his native clime, where he will be free from oppression the bane of human happiness."[108]

Despite Hill's affection for Liberia and his excitement about the potential it held, Dunlop himself felt that, once freed, blacks should be allowed to stay in the cities, states and places that they had formerly inhabited rather than be forced to emigrate. This notion was one of the planks of the platform put forward at the National Equal Rights Association meeting that Dunlop attended in Washington, DC, in February

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[107] In addition to Hill's service to the Baptist Church in Liberia, and his work as a missionary, he also served for ten years in the Liberian Congress representing the area of Grand Bassa (American Colonization Society 1868: 277-279).

[108] Letter from Robert F. Hill to Rev. William McClain, written May 2, 1851 and published in *The African Repository and Colonial Journal* volume 27, pages 231-232.

1866[109] and was also asserted in the local meetings held on the Peninsula. It is likely that Dunlop held similar views at the time he purchased the tombstone, particularly since, after purchasing his wife, he was forced to keep her as a slave in order to prevent her being sent out of the state; a fact he spoke about with some bitterness during his congressional testimony in 1866 (United States Government 1866: 57).

During his Congressional testimony, while speaking of white efforts to drive blacks out of Virginia in the wake of emancipation, Dunlop noted that "I tell them that I was born in Virginia and that I am going to die in Virginia" (United States Government 1866: 57). The synonymous nature of a home-place and a place of death or burial were clearly established in Dunlop's mind, and it is therefore important to view the decision to tie the elder Robert Hill's burial to the establishment of a Dunlop homestead in this light. This is not the only time that Dunlop drew this connection. When Lucy Ann died in Norfolk, Dunlop went to the trouble and expense of arranging for her body to be shipped back to Williamsburg for burial there, despite the fact that alternate burial options existed in Norfolk. By the time of her death, Cedar Grove Cemetery had opened its gates to both the burials of whites and blacks, yet Dunlop again chose to bury Lucy Ann on his property; most likely due to the presence of her father's (and possibly her mother's) burials there and the belief that family, home and identity are all interconnected. Interestingly, Dunlop is not the only member of the extended Hill/Dunlop family to make this connection between place and identity. At his death, during a recruitment and fundraising trip in the States, the younger Robert F. Hill is reported to have asked that his body be returned to Liberia saying that "I love her soil and I wish my bones to bleach there" (American Colonization Society 1868: 279). Accordingly his body was embalmed and sent back to Liberia along with a "neat tombstone…with a suitable inscription" (American Colonization Society 1868: 279).

Dunlop's Use of Tombstones as a Signaling Device
Dunlop may have been using the tombstone not only to root his family and to establish his local connections, but also to bolster his own identity within the town. As

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[109] *The True Southerner*, February 8 1866, p 1.

a free black living in Williamsburg he existed in an ambiguous position. Although there were larger communities of free blacks in neighboring James City County, Charles City County and York County (McCartney 2000; Schumann 2013), few free blacks appear to have lived within Williamsburg itself judging from the city tax records and the 1850 census.[110] It is not until after the war that any other African American in Williamsburg begins to equal Dunlop's standing financially.[111] As a successful businessman, Dunlop may have been interested in highlighting the attributes that linked him to the white community, financial success, industry and intellect, and that established him as a leader within the African American community and someone with whom others could deal fairly and well. Although demonstrations of prosperity had their potential pitfalls and some African Americans adopted strategies to downplay their wealth and deflect attention (Ryder 1991), Jillian Galle has convincingly shown how others used their access to luxury items as a way to convey social information about themselves that might not be readily apparent otherwise (Galle 2010). It is possible that Dunlop viewed an investment in a tombstone as a way to highlight his success.

Alexander Dunlop was a successful businessman, who appears to have established his business quickly; by 1843 (at the age of 25), he held property in Williamsburg and was moving between Williamsburg and Richmond, conducting business in both locations. In the nineteenth century, apprenticeships tended to begin in the mid-teenage years and end on the 21st birthday. Although apprentice blacksmiths may have made some of their own tools, such as tongs, anvil tools, screw dies and taps, a newly fledged blacksmith, with no resources, would have faced a challenge to accumulate the capital necessary to assemble or purchase a business (Gill 1965: 102). Blacksmithing, like other metalworking trades, required higher capital costs than some of the other skilled trades, such as barbering, tailoring or shoemaking, due to the number of tools needed, as well as the need for a forge, anvil and bellows.[112] The speed with which

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[110] However, these records must be approached with some caution as they focus primarily on heads of households. Free blacks living within white households, as servants or retainers are harder to isolate.
[111] Shadrack Tucker, a shoemaker, and Samuel Harris, a grocer, both experienced similar financial success during Dunlop's life.
[112] I am grateful to Ken Schwartz, Master Blacksmith, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, for providing me with background information on establishing a smithy.

Dunlop was able to establish himself may hint at some familial support[113] or a patron who was willing to loan money for a share in the business[114] but it also speaks to initiative, work ethic, entrepreneurial ability and reliability. These likely would have been attributes which Dunlop wished to highlight.

Through her work, Galle highlighted two classes of materials that were used for signaling among individuals in enslaved communities in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake: buttons and refined ceramics. The ability to purchase both materials showed that slaves had access to additional resources and was viewed as a marker of their ability to work hard as well as to be resilient in the face of slavery (Galle 2010). However, both classes of materials had drawbacks. Fashionable buttons, and the clothing to which they attached were very public, while ceramics were often too private. Although the ability to partake in fashionable displays remained an important means of signaling in nineteenth century black life,[115] as the century progressed it became something that whites noticed and repeatedly mocked African Americans for. Newspapers frequently carried satirical stories or cartoons mocking African Americans for sartorial displays of wealth and for inadequately or imperfectly following white fashion. Similarly, white writers frequently penned negative comments about lavish spending on clothing. Charles Colcock Jones, wrote about free blacks that "with a passion for dress, they frequently spend all they make, in fine clothes; their appearance on the Sabbath and on public days, is anything else but an index of their fortunes and comfort at home" (Jones 1842: 145-146). Accounts such as Jones's suggest that whites may have viewed fashionable displays not as access to additional resources, but rather as an inability to husband resources, which may have made them problematic investments if one was seeking to convince whites of one's business

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[113] I have been unable to trace Alexander Dunlop's father. His name is given as Robert Dunlop on Alexander's marriage certificate. Alexander is uniformly referred to as "mulatto" in official records suggesting a white father may have been a possibility. No Robert Dunlop is listed in the Williamsburg tax records for the period 1817-1820 however there were well established Dunlop families in Petersburg and Richmond at the time.

[114] I am grateful to Harold Gill for discussing his research into eighteenth-century blacksmithing with me. He found that, as soon as an apprentice finished his apprenticeship, he tended to go directly into business on his own with backing from a patron who then took a percentage of the profits for a number of years.

[115] One of the features of life in Liberia that was repeatedly noted was how well-dressed and fashion-forward the former slaves living there were (Tyler-McGraw 2007).

acumen. Similarly, refined ceramics had potential limitations. Since they were typically used and displayed inside a home, the individual with whom one was interested in communicating needed to be part of one's social circle (Galle 2010: 27). This limited the utility of ceramics as a signaling mechanism between blacks and whites.[116] Other luxuries, such as walking sticks and carriages, which might also have been used to signal success, were viewed as challenges to white ascendancy and local ordinances were passed prohibiting African Americans from owning or displaying them (Lebsock 1980).

Erecting a tombstone may have offered a way for Dunlop to signal some of the social attributes that made him a worthwhile business partner. Under the Black Codes of the 1850s, it was illegal to teach African Americans to read or write (although this ordinance was often disregarded by both blacks and whites (Tyler-Mcgraw 2007), suggesting that the primary audience for both reading and understanding the text on Robert Hill's tombstone were local whites, and that in order for them to appreciate the stone it needed to be noticeable. In this instance, the tombstone would have been highly visible. The exact location of the tombstone on the Dunlop property is unknown given the later disturbance to the property, however, a photo taken in the 1860s from the Wren Building looking down the Duke of Gloucester Street shows the Dunlop property surrounded by a low picket fence (Figure 16). Between the slats of the pickets and extending slightly above the fence, at a height consistent with that of a tombstone die on a base, is a white shape that may indicate the presence of a tombstone. Anyone visiting the Dunlop house or business, or even walking past the property on either of the streets abutting it would have been likely to note the tombstone. They would also likely, have been able to read it, despite the presence of the fence as the fence appears to be only about three feet high.[117] The location of this

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[116] It should be noted that in terms of signal value between the races, whites were more likely to be able to utilize the potential of the ceramics as a greater number of African Americans might enter white houses (as slaves, servants and workmen) than the other way around.

[117] The tombstone itself is 36 inches tall and was mounted in a 12 inch high base, suggesting that if I am correct in my supposition that it is the tombstone we can see over the fence, the fence must be less than four feet tall as the tombstone is visible above it. When freshly carved, or in excellent condition, marble tombstones are much easier to read than when weathered or soiled, as the interplay between the bright white of the stone and shadow created by the carved elements is more pronounced. It is therefore probable that someone walking past the fence would be able to read the stone.

tombstone, near the intersection of four major roads (Richmond Road, the main road connecting Williamsburg with the capital, Jamestown Road, Boundary Street, and Main St, the modern Duke of Gloucester Street) made it visible to local whites in a way that a tombstone placed in a black cemetery might not otherwise have been, since few whites would have reason to visit a black cemetery regularly.[118]

Figure 16: Photographic image taken from the Wren Building at The College of William and Mary, looking down the Duke of Gloucester Street. The Dunlop house is the white clapboard one on the left (courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

The stone's high visibility was an attribute that worked in its favor as a signaling device. A second favorable trait was that tombstones, by their very nature, allow individuals to engage in fashionable displays without necessarily drawing attention to themselves. Unlike other forms of material consumption, when one buys a tombstone the focus of the expenditure is often external rather than internal; one is seen to be buying the stone for another person rather than for oneself. As with gift giving, the purchase of a tombstone allows an expense that might otherwise be ridiculed as extravagant or self-aggrandizing, if focused on oneself, to be seen as a generous act of filial, fraternal or neighborly devotion because it is directed towards another. By purchasing a tombstone for his father-in-law and erecting it in a highly visible location,

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[118] It is important to remember that when Hill's tombstone was erected there was no integrated public cemetery in Williamsburg, which people of both colors might visit. Whites were buried either in family plots or in Bruton Parish Churchyard and blacks appear to have been buried near College Landing.

Dunlop was able to demonstrate his ability to participate in a fashionable pursuit, the Victorian celebration of death, thus asserting his industry and financial acumen, without challenging whites with it.

Dunlop also used this purchase, and later that of Lucy Ann's tombstone, to highlight other attributes that could strengthen his desirability to whites as a business partner, and as a community leader. Although, as we have seen, it was increasingly common for African Americans in urban centers, such as Petersburg and Richmond, to purchase tombstones for family members, Dunlop was the first to do so in Williamsburg.[119] This act (as well as the carver's signature and location prominently visible on the face of the tombstone) helped to emphasize the influence of his time in Richmond. He may have been seeking to underscore the urbane nature of his time in the city. His selection of a carver is an interesting one in this regard. Jacob Vincent immigrated to Virginia in 1847. He appears twice in the 1850 census. In one entry he is listed as a Frenchman and in the other he is listed as a German, suggesting that he may have been from the area of Alsace-Lorraine or a similarly contested border area. He appears to have established himself in Richmond quite quickly, and by 1854 had entered a partnership with another carver, named William Miller. When their partnership dissolved in 1859, Vincent retained the site, on Main St, suggesting that he had been working there prior to the partnership.[120] Dunlop may have been familiar with Vincent's firm because it was located across the street from the Second Baptist Church (Scott 1950: 186). Second Baptist had both white and black members until 1846 when the African American members withdrew to found the Second African Baptist Church. Dunlop served as a trustee in this church and would have had dealings with the mother church.[121] The choice of Vincent as the carver for this stone can

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[119] This statement is based on surviving tombstones in the town. It is possible although unlikely, given the financial considerations, that a stone was erected to memorialize an African American prior to Robert Hill's, but no longer survives.

[120] Miller moved to a lot next door and opened up a partnership with John T. Rogers, which, under the name of Rogers and Miller, became one of the most productive Richmond marbleyards in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1860, a fire in a portion of their yard resulted in $4000 worth of lost stock, suggesting a sizeable organization (*The Daily Dispatch*, Monday May 7 1860, p.1).

[121] Until the Civil War, white churches retained a degree of control and management over their black sister churches. Generally, the pastor of the mother church served as pastor for the descendant church and had voting rights and some prominent white members of the mother church might also serve as financial trustees, although African American deacons and lay trustees did much of the day to day

therefore be seen to underscore Dunlop's own leadership role within the Baptist community. One can imagine that a carver's signature on a stone acted not only as an advertisement for his business, but also as a conversation starter about how the client had met him. Dunlop would have been able to use the opportunity afforded to speak of his experiences and the role he played as a trustee of the church. Given the increasing competition between immigrants and free blacks (a competition that Dunlop refers to in his testimony) selecting Vincent as the carver also demonstrated Dunlop's willingness to build broad partnerships. Consideration of the role of the carver's signature in reinforcing identity is therefore an important reminder that it is not just the placement of the tombstone, but also all the component parts, epitaph, decoration, form and material type that contribute to the meaning of a tombstone and to any statement it makes.

Epitaphs, Emancipation and Equal Rights

When Lucy Ann died, Dunlop chose the Richmond based firm of Wallen and Wray to carve the tombstone. Despite the fact that Lucy Ann died in Norfolk and her brother, Richard, was living there, Dunlop again turned to his own Richmond experience and contacts to find a tombstone. What is interesting about this choice is that there are two other existing examples of Wallen and Wray's work in Williamsburg: an obelisk erected for Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, and his wife Lucy Ann, and a monument for John Millington. Tucker, the son of St. George Tucker, a Revolutionary War soldier and Founding Father, was a law professor at The College of William and Mary who had a national reputation for his defense of States Rights. Millington, a professor of Chemistry and Natural History at the College, had an international reputation as a scientist and engineer. The carvers' signature on these three monuments serves as a subtle reminder of Lucy Ann's ability to stand alongside these men and be counted as an equal, despite her race and color. This is a notion that Dunlop developed more fully in his choice of epitaph.

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running of the church and the management of the congregation. The minutes of the First African Baptist Church of Richmond, available on microfilm at the Library of Virginia, provide an excellent record of how this model worked.

Lucy Ann's tombstone reads:

<div align="center">

SACRED TO THE

MEMORY OF

LUCY ANN

The beloved wife of

ALEXANDER DUNLOP

for 27 years

Who Died July 20th 1866

Aged 49 years.

Born a slave in the Travis family by her

consistent Christian conduct and faithfulness

She won and retained through life their

friendship and esteem.

"Blessed are the dead which die

in the Lord"

</div>

As was the case with the other epitaphs commissioned by African Americans we examined in Chapter Six, this one takes care to present Lucy Ann as an individual with a context and with connections. She was not a nameless individual, but rather a woman with a husband, by whom she was beloved, and who had friends who esteemed her. She was a woman of faith and she was a woman with a history. It is interesting that Dunlop chose to highlight that history. It is not uncommon for tombstones to refer to the enslaved status of individuals (Tashjian and Tashjian 1974 and 1989; Krüger-Kahloula 1989; Veit and Nonesteid 2011), however most of these stones date to the ante-bellum period. As has been discussed in Chapter Six, many of these tombstones sought to mute the human impact of slavery and convey the idea of a mutually accepted compact. Others sought to advance an abolitionist agenda and again generally served the interests of the whites who erected them.[122] A very few

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[122] By this I do not mean to argue that arguments for abolition did not serve the interests of the African American community but rather that the motivations and political interests of the white erector were generally served first. A good example of this is the John Jack tombstone in Concord, MA. The epitaph on this tombstone was penned by Daniel Bliss, Jack's executor and a Tory, who on the eve of the American Revolution sought to highlight the hypocrisy of one people demanding their own freedom

may have been erected by the deceased or their family to assert their achievement, such as the tombstone of David Allen Drake in Scotch Plains, New Jersey, which proclaimed "Born a slave, died free" (Veit and Nonesteid 2011). However, as we have seen most African Americans chose not to highlight differences in class or race but rather to emphasize shared humanity. Why then did Dunlop choose to highlight Lucy Ann's former status?

It is possible that he was seeking to communicate a message of reassurance and encouragement: encouragement to the African American community about what was still to be achieved; and reassurance to the white community about how it could be achieved. The end of the Civil War and the ratification of the thirteenth amendment did not magically equalize the population. Although former slaves were now free, blacks were still denied the rights to citizenship, equal legal protection and the vote. It was easy for many (particularly those who had been free prior to the war or those who had self-manumitted) to feel that the pace of change was not rapid enough. That Dunlop believed in the necessity of obtaining these rights and was willing to put himself at personal risk to advocate for and secure them is unquestioned. In his testimony before the Joint Congressional Committee, Dunlop spoke of his work for the Union army and of being targeted by Confederate soldiers during Wise's Raid.[123] Dunlop managed to escape as the raid was beginning, but his wife was told that if found he would be hanged (United States Government 1866). His shop and house were damaged during the war and he spoke of his fear of reprisals even after its end (United States Government 1866). Despite this persecution, Dunlop served as the president of the Union League of Hampton and the president of the Colored Union League of Williamsburg (Foner and Walker 1979: 132). These were positions that implied personal risk as members and leaders were frequently targeted by white

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from another country while at the same time denying other people their freedom. While it is probable that Jack would have agreed with the sentiment of the tombstone, it is Bliss's goals that are served by the epitaph. Although not named on the stone, his memory is forever linked to it (see for example Tolman 1902).

[123] Henry A. Wise was a former US representative and Governor of Virginia whose handling of John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry is credited with precipitating the Civil War. Wise, an ardent secessionist, served as a General in the Confederate army. In April 1863, he led a raid on Williamsburg that briefly liberated it from Union control. The Union Army regained possession of the city by the end of the day and burnt the Wren building, opposite the Dunlop house, in retribution.

supremacist groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan. Despite Dunlop's willingness to advocate for civil rights, it is clear that throughout his life, he felt that the most effective path to securing equality (whether financial or civil) was through building supportive and respectful relationships with whites rather than through radical action.[124]

In early December 1865, a series of mass meetings was held across the Peninsula led by several of the men, including Dunlop, who would be part of the Washington delegation in February 1866. At each meeting "the most emphatic testimony was given that no insurrection or rebellion or any riotous proceedings whatever were in preparation or contemplation by any of the colored people and every individual at each meeting made solemn pledge rising to their feet and other expressions to ever stand ready to aid the civil and military authorities in the preservation of peace and order."[125] *The True Southerner* reported that the meeting in Williamsburg was different from those in Norfolk, Hampton and Yorktown. Several "extensive land holders were present by invitation and had friendly and satisfactory intercourse with the meeting in relation to the purchase and lease of lands and the working it upon shares and to the supply of labor."[126] A committee, headed by Dunlop, was appointed to negotiate on behalf of the African American community in Williamsburg. The other men on this committee either were not deeply rooted to the area or were very young[127] and it is likely that it was Dunlop who invited the land owners and served as the committee's spokesman.

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[124] Sneed and Rogers (2013) have demonstrated that Dunlop was not unique in this. Other free people of color relied on their ability to build similar relationships in order to protect the advancements they had made and to challenge restrictions placed on them.

[125] *The True Southerner*, December 14, 1865, p.2

[126] Ibid. The report finishes with an editorial comment that appears to be aimed at the proceedings of the Williamsburg meeting stating that "these proceedings on the part of the colored people show that they are in earnest and fully awake to their rights, interests and duties."

[127] According to census record, Edward Whipple although born in Virginia, had recently returned from Illinois and would return to Illinois by 1870. By 1880 he had moved on to Denver, CO. Edward Parsons, a farmer in York County was only 25 and does not seem to have owned a sizeable amount of land, although he appears to live near an extended group of family members. I have not been able to find specific information for either George Washington or Richard Robinson, the other two members of the committee.

Dunlop's connections were important to him and he sought to highlight and foster them when possible. During the period when Dunlop was moving between Richmond and Williamsburg he had demonstrated an ability to call on established and well-respected white men from a broad spectrum of political positions to vouch for him and his extended family, including: William Crump,[128] Henry Bowden,[129] and Adam Empie.[130] Similarly, during his testimony before the Joint Congressional Committee on Reconstruction he speaks with some pride about having been considered a "leading man" (a phrase he repeats twice in his testimony) prior to the war (US Government 1866: 57).

This status may have been one of his motivations for highlighting Lucy Ann's connections to the Travis Family. The Travises were an established family with ties to the area dating back to 1624. At one point, the family had been one of the major land owners on the Peninsula, owning 838 acres on Jamestown Island and land connecting the James and York rivers (Omohundro Institute 1909). Although the death of Samuel Travis in 1821, leaving five daughters to inherit, and the sale of family land in the 1830s, meant that the Travis name no longer showed up on tax rolls and other documents, the family remained connected to many of the important local families. Samuel Travis's daughters married members of the Maupin, Cole, Edloe, Armistead, Southall and Bright families. By highlighting Lucy Ann's status within the Travis family (even as an enslaved member) Dunlop drew attention to his own connections to the

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[128] William Wood Crump (1819-1879) was a wealthy Richmond-based lawyer who was a student at The College of William and Mary between 1835 and 1838. He studied law under Nathaniel Beverley Tucker and was a proponent of States rights. He served as a Circuit Court Judge from 1851-1852, was on the Board of Visitors for The College of William and Mary and served in the Richmond City Council. During the war, Crump served as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for the Confederacy.

[129] Henry Moseley Bowden (1819-1871) was a farmer and builder who served as sergeant at arms for the Virginia Senate from 1851-1853. He opposed secession and was forced to flee the Williamsburg area in 1862 after his house was stoned and he was shot at. He moved to Norfolk where he was elected a delegate to the Virginian constitutional convention in 1867, receiving 1815 votes from African Americans and only 62 from whites. In 1869 he was elected to the Virginia House of Delegates (http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Bowden_Henry_Moseley_1819-1871#start_entry. [Accessed 8/21/2016]).

[130] Adam Empie (1785-1860) was a New York born clergyman who served as rector of Bruton Parish Church and President of The College of William and Mary from 1826-1836. In 1836 he resigned to become the rector of St. James Episcopal Church in Richmond. Empie was an outspoken opponent of slavery. While at Bruton Parish Church he baptized, married and buried African American parishioners, undertakings which although not unusual for clerics at the time, allegedly brought him into conflict with the white parishioners and led to his departure for Richmond (Block 2004:56).

family and to other eminent families within Williamsburg. The "friendship and esteem" that Lucy Ann enjoyed was equated to and also reinforced Dunlop's own status as a "leading man."

At the same time, Dunlop also sought to allay any fears that emancipation might have raised of "insurrection or rebellion or any riotous proceedings"[131] among these white allies by reminding them of Lucy Ann's "consistent Christian conduct and faithfulness." The point here is that Lucy Ann was not unique in bearing these qualities. Dunlop himself shared her Christian values; he like many other African Americans was active in the church, many of whom also shared her faithfulness to people who treated her with friendship and esteem. By co-opting phrasing generally employed by whites to memorialize African Americans, Dunlop sought to share his optimism about emancipation and to share his view of the attributes needed to craft a new and more equal society. His choice of both the decorative motif (a dove) and the biblical verse below the main textual block reinforce this theme. The dove is a relatively common decorative element on tombstones, although within the stones covered by the broader survey it seems to be used most frequently on children's tombstones (42% of the time).[132] Its use was associated with Genesis 8: 11 "and the dove came in to him in the evening; and lo in her mouth was an olive leaf plucked off: so Noah knew that the waters were abated from the Earth." The dove and the olive branch were viewed as a sign of peace with God. Noah had kept faith with God, and God had pitied him, and had allowed the waters of the flood to recede. For African Americans, the story of Noah, like that of other Old Testament heroes, held particular resonance, because it spoke of God's allegiance to the oppressed or ridiculed (Levine 1977: 50). Although Noah was laughed at for building the Ark, he found favor with God who rewarded him. On Lucy Ann's tombstone the image of the dove had a special relevance because like all other slaves whether born in Africa or in the States, her enslavement began with a ship voyage (in her case an ancestor's). The dove and the olive branch therefore symbolized emancipation and the peace to be found at the end of a long and troubled

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[131] *The True Southerner*, Dec 14, 1865, p. 2.
[132] The survey only identified six other doves carved by Wallen and Wray. Three of these hold banners, two of them hold no branch and only one of them holds an olive branch, suggesting this was not a stock design that they regularly held pre-carved in their marble yard.

voyage.[133] Similarly the biblical passage that Dunlop chose for the tombstone underscores the idea of peace at the end of prolonged struggle. Taken from Revelations 14: 13, it follows a description of apocalyptic destruction (which may have resonated in the aftermath of the Civil War)[134] and ends with "Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them." The idea of resting after labors is one that is especially popular on African American tombstones[135] and speaks to the physicality of work that most African Americans found themselves doing, the conditions under which they were forced to do it, and the need to work harder than whites in order to enjoy the fruits of that labor. However, like the imagery of the dove, this passage from Revelations also celebrates the joy to be found at the end of a long test, and the idea of coming through that test with one's values intact.

Slavery, Silence and Signals

Lucy Ann's tombstone differs dramatically from her father's in terms of the choice of language on the epitaphs, although the concepts being expressed are very similar. Race is almost entirely hidden on Robert Hill's tombstone (Figure 17):

<div align="center">

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF

ROBERT F. HILL

Born in the year 1776

And departed this life

The 11th of June 1851

Age 75

I have fought the good fight

I have finished my course

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[133] Parrington and Roberts (1984) note that ethnographic studies of African American graves in the southern US indicate that associations between the grave and the sea were not uncommon. Shells and objects with connections with water were often placed on or near graves. It is possible that the choice of the dove and its associations with the story of Noah may also be a nod to these folk customs.

[134] Of the 50 instances of this verse found during the larger survey 27 date to the period between 1862 and 1875; the time frame when either the Civil War was actively being fought or the memory of the war and the destruction it caused was most powerful.

[135] Although "rest" and "sleep" were commonly used in place of the word death, 35.75% the African American tombstones in the larger survey invoked these terms and the interrelated concept of respite as opposed to 22.72% of the white tombstones surveyed.

Figure 17: Robert Hill's tombstone, Jacob Vincent, ca 1851, marble (courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

I have kept the faith.

Dearest father thou hast left us

Here thy loss we deeply feel

But tis God that hath bereft us

He can all our sorrows heal.

Reading it without any additional knowledge about who Hill was, one would not be able to tell that he had been enslaved. All that one might glean was that he had been a father and had lived a considerable amount of time. Compared to Lucy Ann's tombstone with its explicit references to race and political change, it seems oddly mute. However, reading it more closely and comparing it to other tombstones in the area one begins to see that it too has a message to send.

Robert Hill's birthdate is given as 1776. This may well have been the case, although in

Figure 18: *Portrait of Yarrow Mamout,* Charles Wilson Peale, 1819, oil on canvas, accession number 2011-87-1 (courtesy of the Philadelphia Museum of Art).

the 1850 Slave Schedule the oldest slave that Samuel Bright owns is listed as 63 years old.[136] It is also possible that Dunlop selected this date for its significance. The ages of slaves (as we saw with Daniel Grimes) were not always precisely recorded. There was also a tendency to view older African Americans as even older than they were (perhaps because physical work had prematurely aged them). When Charles Wilson Peale began his well-known portrait of Yarrow Mamout in 1819 (Figure 18), it was because he believed that Mamout was 140 years old.[137] In this environment it would be relatively easy to stretch a birthdate and to suggest that someone was born earlier or later than they were. Ordinarily there might not have

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[136] It is possible that Hill may have secured his freedom at some point previous to 1850, although given the loss of City records it is difficult to ascertain whether this is the case. Alternately, he may have been younger than the date on the tombstone would suggest.

[137] Mamout (c.1736-1823) was 83 at the time; venerable, but not as aged as Peale believed him to be.

been a significant benefit to this,[138] however, for Dunlop, there was a point to be made in the selection of the date. The Declaration of Independence written in 1776 declared that the American people held "these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness." The phrasing was one which abolitionists and African Americans immediately fastened on. If **all** men were inherently equal and endowed with the right to liberty than on what grounds could slavery be justified? Dunlop may have been drawing an allusion to the document and to the argument against slavery. It is not the only time that Dunlop utilized this date. When Nancy Hill died in 1866, her birthdate was recorded as 1776, and Alexander Dunlop was recorded as providing the information.[139] If this date was correct, it would have meant that Nancy was 55 years old when her son Richard was born in 1831. This near biological impossibility lends credence to the idea that the date had special significance to Dunlop.

As was the case with both Lucy Ann's tombstone and the other African Americans tombstones we examined in Chapter Six, the epitaph focuses on Robert Hill as a person; through the inclusion of the verse directed to a "dearest father" we are given the impression of Hill as a father, husband and family man, and the idea is conveyed that this is a person who will be missed. [140] However, the tombstone goes further and also conveys the sense that this is a victor, who has mastery over his life. This is achieved both through the biblical passage taken from 2 Timothy 4: 6-8 and through the decoration. The passage with its reference to "fighting a good fight" and "finishing my course" is reminiscent of the acts of physical domination that we saw as an important part of the fugitive slave narrative. In those narratives physically besting another male helped to demonstrate that the narrator was a "man" himself. It demonstrated his strength, his determination and his ability to direct his own fate and

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[138] Although one might imagine that some slave owners seeking to make additional money on a sale might round a slave's age down to give the impression that they might be productive longer.

[139] City of Williamsburg, Register of Deaths, 1866. Ann Hill (also known as Nancy Hill) is listed as being 90 years old and having been born in Williamsburg.

[140] This verse was common on tombstones within the survey area and could easily be altered for a mother, sister, brother or daughter. It was included in books of stock epitaphs such as the "Epitaphs Original and selected produced in 1889 by the J.S. Clarke Company of Louisville, KY.

presaged the moment when he would take matters into his own hands and escape. The idea of victory is further underscored in the passage from 2 Timothy that ends "I have kept the faith: Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing." Although the tombstone itself does not finish with these lines, they are suggested in the use of a wreath as a decorative device. The wreath is used in this context as an allusion to Christ's own crown and to the crown that Hill will receive. Hill's enslaved status is inverted and he becomes the victor not the vanquished.[141] Following the passage further we see that not just Hill, but all people of faith will gain a crown underscoring the equality of all men before God. Although initially less voluble than Lucy Ann's, a careful reading of Robert Hill's tombstone suggests that Dunlop did have a point to make, not just about Dunlop's own desirability as a business partner but also about equality. Dunlop's choice of text on the epitaph reinforces the statements he made with regard to the siting of the tombstones.

Meaning Making and the Absence of Tombstones

It is important to think about text and writing in the context of these tombstones. In a society where the vast majority of the population is literate we have a tendency to take epitaphs for granted. They serve the primary function of memorialization and are the reason for the stone. Without an epitaph, a stone would merely mark a grave, but not remember an individual. However for Dunlop, who could read but not write, there must have been a certain sense of gratification in commissioning an epitaph and a certain sense of power in being able to communicate in this format. Dunlop, who advocated for educational opportunities for African Americans and rented the first site to be used as a post war school for blacks to the City of Williamsburg, touched on this power in his testimony before the Joint Congressional Committee. Asked about education, he said that blacks in Williamsburg "want it and they have a desire to get it" (United States Government 1866: 58). The appeal of educational opportunities is

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[141] 2 Timothy 4: 6-8 is a particularly interesting inscription in terms of the larger tombstone survey. Although the total number of instances recorded was not high (only 10 total), its use was only associated with two groups of individuals: African Americans and Confederate Veterans.

something that each of the Virginia delegation spoke about in their testimony. Richard Hill said that the African American inhabitants of Hampton were "anxious to go to school. We have schools there everyday that are very well filled and we have night schools that are very well attended both by children and aged people. They manifest a great desire for education" (United States Government 1866: 56). The ability to read and to write was clearly viewed not only as a means of communication, but also as a way to gain power. A literate individual was not reliant on others to construct or interpret their world for them, but rather could mold and shape it themselves. A literate individual could transmit their own needs and wants as well as impart their own sense of identity.

Of equal importance to the question of who Dunlop chose to commemorate and how he elected to commemorate them is the question of who he chose **not** to commemorate. In addition to Robert Hill and Lucy Ann, Dunlop paid for or planned the burials of at least four other people, and in each case chose not to mark their burials with a tombstone. On November 28, 1860, Richard Manning Bucktrout records that Dunlop paid towards the manufacture of a "lined and trimed raistop (sic) coffin for a woman by the name of Rachel belonged to Doctr Coleman and belonged to the society that your wife belongs to {the Christian Baptist Sisters Society} and you had the coffin made to a case for same."[142] Coleman had already paid $5 towards the construction of a coffin and Dunlop contributed a further $4 suggesting that the aim may have been to aid in the acquisition of a better and/or more dignified coffin in which to place Rachel. In February 1866, Bucktrout records that Dunlop paid $35 "to makeing (sic) a fine coffin and case by agreement for an old Colord (sic) woman by the name of Nancy Hill his mother in law."[143] Other entries on the same page give us a picture of the relative quality of this coffin. It is not as fancy as the "first rate coffin and case" that Richard Wynn's estate purchased for $45,however it is considerably more elaborate than the "fine raistop (sic) coffin" that John Bryant, a black man,

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[142] Daybook of Richard Manning Bucktrout, Mss.Ac 1997.15, Swem Library Special Collections, The College of William and Mary, p.128

[143] Daybook of Richard Manning Bucktrout, Mss.Ac 1997.15, Swem Library Special Collections, The College of William and Mary, p. 274. The location of Nancy Hill's grave is unknown. If she was buried with Robert Hill and Lucy Ann Dunlop, as seems likely, her grave was likely destroyed during construction of the Methodist Church in 1925. Without a marker, it may have been hard to recognize.

purchased for his mother, Polly Bryant, for $15. Dunlop clearly appears to be trying to

honor his mother-in-law with an attractive and worthy coffin, and to provide dignity

for her burial but it does not appear that he choose to mark her burial with a stone. It

is possible that he planned to purchase a stone and then Lucy Ann's death caused him

to change his plans; however, it seems likely that had he planned to buy Nancy a

tombstone, he would have done so when he was ordering Lucy Ann's. Cost may have

been a factor, however, the range of products available at the time and the different

costs associated with those products, suggests that this may not have been the

determining factor.

In 1875, after the death of Lizzie Dunlop, his second wife, Dunlop again makes the

decision not to purchase a stone. Lizzie is buried in Cedar Grove Cemetery, but there is

no marker to distinguish her plot from those around her. The final life that Dunlop

chose not to mark was his own. His will, written in 1877, stipulates that "I wish to be

buried with as little parade and expense as decency will permit."[144] Additionally, he

wanted his funeral charges paid "as soon after my decease as convenient."[145] Both

Lizzie's death and Dunlop's own come at a point when he seems financially best-

placed. He owns multiple properties and a successful business.[146] While other

circumstances may have played a role, such as suddenly needing to care, or arrange

care, for two young children and potentially an extended illness prior to his death, in

the light of his past tombstone purchases, the lack of a provision for permanent

markers appears to be the product of conscious decision making.

Studying the linguistic choices on the two tombstones, the means through which

Dunlop chose to invoke the memory of his family, gives us insights into the ways in

which the construction of identity was both permitted and constrained during this

period. For Dunlop constructing identity meant eliding Robert Hill's slavery while

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[144] Williamsburg Deed Book, vol 2. p. 332-333.

[145] Ibid. It is not known where Dunlop was buried. There is no record that he was buried at Cedar Grove. If he was buried at the Dunlop property it is likely that the grave was destroyed during the construction of the church.

[146] Although there are several claims against the Dunlop estate for debts owed that ultimately resulted in the sale of the bulk of its property in 1889, these claims appear to have been largely opportunistic ones, designed to take advantage of the fact that the two beneficiaries were still too young to contest them.

highlighting Lucy Ann's. In 1851, when Robert Hill died, race relations in Virginia were in a tenuous position. White insecurity about slavery as an institution was mounting and fear of an uprising was rife. Free blacks were viewed with distrust because of their suspected roles in fomenting rebellion and aiding runaway slaves. An influx of European immigrants in the 1840s and 1850s was putting pressure on free black communities. The new immigrants wanted jobs and saw free blacks as an impediment to that goal and as competition. Protesting circumstances or openly agitating for change in the South was not an option that was available to African Americans. Messaging had to be more coded and constrained. Robert Hill's tombstone does not mention race, but rather makes its points obliquely. When Lucy Ann died in 1866, the political situation was different. Circumstances were still fraught; the *True Southerner*, the Peninsula's black newspaper, recounted numerous stories detailing abuses against the black community. However, there was a growing sense of optimism among the African American community. Freedom had been won and there was hope that additional rights, such as the ability to vote, would also be granted. Dunlop could be more direct, although constraints were still in place. Why Lizzie Dunlop was buried in Cedar Grove and not in the Dunlop plot, and why she did not receive a tombstone may be one of those personal decisions that we touched on at the start of the chapter that are hard to parse, because they are so personal that their meaning becomes lost over time. It may have been due to concerns about lack of space in the Dunlop plot, or it may have been at the request of her family, or it may have been reflective of a sense of political disillusionment and a lack of willingness to continue engaging in the form of dialog he had begun with Robert Hill's tombstone.

John Moreland has written about the scholarly propensity to believe that only elite objects (i.e. objects containing written text) can embed memory and to forget that more mundane ones can as well (Moreland 2001). This is important to think about in a funerary context. The movement of a coffin through town, the mourning or the ceremony that accompanies it can create a memorial "landscape"[147] within the community. That this is the case is illustrated by an incident reported in the minutes of

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[147] In this context, I am employing the term landscape less literally to talk about a physical landscape and more in the virtual sense.

the First Baptist Church. In the case, which has to do with a question of paternity, a key event in someone's testimony is offered as having occurred "on the evening of the burial of Bro. Alex Dunlop's wife."[148] A tombstone does not give this memorial landscape more immediacy, but it may appear to give it a greater permanency. However, what is important to remember is that our ability to access that landscape is contingent on a number of factors that impact our ability to perceive the landmarks and to recognize them.

Impact

Alexander Dunlop's use of both Lucy Ann's and Robert Hill's tombstones to communicate information about his identity and that of his family, and to leverage social relationships, had mixed results. On a personal level, the message conveyed by the stones helped to successfully reinforce Dunlop's social status. Certainly, throughout the late 1860s and 1870s, Dunlop was viewed by Williamsburg's white community as a political partner with whom they could work. In 1869, he was appointed as a registering officer for the 3rd registration district in James City County.[149] In January 1872, he was serving as a Justice of the Peace for Williamsburg,[150] and in May 1872 he was elected to the Williamsburg City Council.[151] In 1928, nearly 50 years after his death, he was remembered as a "respected colored man" in John Charles' memoir of Williamsburg on the eve of the Civil War.[152] Charles's use of the sobriquet "respected" to describe Dunlop and the fact that he remembered him so long after his death speak to the way in which the tombstones preserved the memory and promoted the identity, not only of Robert Hill and Lucy Ann Dunlop, but also of Alexander Dunlop, himself.

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[148] First Baptist Church, Book 1, p. 111, December 13, 1875. The burial referred to is the burial of Dunlop's second wife, Lizzie.

[149] Black Families papers 1866-1874, Swem Library Special Collections, Mss.394 v82ci, Williamsburg Box 7, Folder 5.

[150] City of Williamsburg, Deed Book. Justices of the Peace were elected positions after 1851. They were not required to have formal legal training and generally handled small claims type cases. The case that Dunlop is recorded as acting in has to do with the Schooner *Enterprise*, owned by Sarah Jones, which sank in College Creek damaging goods belonging to John C. Tilford.

[151] *Daily State Journal*, Richmond, Va. May 27 1872, vol IV no. 184, p. 1

[152] Charles, J. Recollections of Williamsburg: as it appeared at the beginning of the Civil War and just previously thereto, with some incidents in the life of its citizens. Unbound handwritten memoir. Rockefeller Library, the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

On a broader social and political level, however, the message of reconciliation and equality that Dunlop encoded into Lucy Ann's tombstone was less successful. Williamsburg's African American community was divided about how to achieve their political and social goals, and Dunlop was frequently caught in these divisions, either due to his own beliefs or due to his close personal friendship with John Dawson, the pastor of the First Baptist Church. In October 1872, Dunlop was deputized by the congregation of the First Baptist Church to look into slanders that Daniel Norton was spreading about Pastor Dawson. The slanders are not specified in the Church's minute books; however, Dawson and Norton were competing for the same seat in the Virginia Senate so it is likely they were political in nature.[153] This was not the first time that differing political opinion divided the church, on May 29th 1869, Shadrack Parmer, a member of the church, reported that "It was publicly talked round that Brn Dunlop, J.M. Dawson and others were engaged in drawing up resolutions to enslave the rising generation of the South."[154] Similarly, on June 7th 1869, the minutes record that Sam Wallace "was heard on the slavery question who stated that he heard it in the street in passing that Mr Ed. Hill was working to enslave the rising generation."[155] That same day, according to the minutes, David See testified "that he heard that A. Dunlop, J. M. Dawson & Ed Hill were engaged in trying to enslave or bind out the rising generation until they were 21 years of age. All of which was proved to be false and the talebearers covered with shame and then the case was dropped leaving them scuffling in their own confusion."[156] The last sentence of the entry is a piece of uncharacteristic editorialization inserted by Dawson and speaks to the depth of feeling the accusations

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[153] Dawson ultimately won the contest. He served in the Virginia Senate from 1873-1877, ran for Congress in 1882, and was a conservative, supporting first the Conservative party and then later the Straight-out Republican Party (http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Dawson_John_M_1829-1913#start_entry Accessed 7/1/2016). The Straight-out republicans were unallied republicans who did not support William Mahone's Readjuster party. The Readjusters advocated renegotiating Virginia's pre-war debts on the basis that paying them off in full was too onerous and cost money that could be put to supporting public education. The Readjusters appealed to African Americans by promising to end the poll tax instituted by the Conservatives, which disproportionately disenfranchised blacks.

[154] First Baptist Church, Williamsburg, Book 1, p. 188.

[155] First Baptist Church Williamsburg, Book 7, p. 54. Ed Hill was married to Lucy Ann's sister Mary Jane, who was closely aligned with both Dunlop and Dawson and served as one of the leading women within the First Baptist Church.

[156] Ibid

evoked. Later that summer, on August 14th 1869, the minutes include a lengthy entry

recounting dissension during an election:

> "On motion, we heard Sandus Taylor who stated that it was told him
>
> that J.M. Dawson voted against him and that he voted for Mr G.C.
>
> Walker.[157] And if that be true he was not willing to support any men
>
> who would vote against his interest etc … On motion, we heard Bro
>
> Primas Jackson who testified that the dispute between the white &
>
> colored people about the right of voting ended before Bro J.M. Dawson
>
> came into the Courthouse & that Harris Gooden came to him and
>
> wanted to see his ticket and he refused to let him see it and thereupon
>
> told him that he considered it an ungentlemanly act to look at or
>
> examine a man's ticket against his wishes. On motion Bro. Harris
>
> Gooden was heard who stated that he and others were appointed as
>
> officers of election to superintend round the polls and while there in
>
> the discharge of his duties Bro. J.M. Dawson came into the Court House
>
> and got some tickets from Mr. Jones (white) and Bro Dawson asked me
>
> when had I been to Ch, I told him not for some length of time. His reply
>
> was you had better be getting along that way. After which a dispute
>
> about the right of voting arose between the white & colored people
>
> and he heard Bro Dawson say that it was an ungentlemanly act in any
>
> man to examine another man's ticket without his permission, and he
>
> considered <u>that</u> a public offence. Therefore he was not going to pay his
>
> money to support any man who thinks him not a Gentleman etc…"[158]

The implication in the accusations appears to be not only that Dawson voted against

the interests of the African American community by voting for Gilbert Walker, but also

that he may have voted at the bidding of the white Mr. Jones from whom Dawson

received the tickets that he was reluctant to let others see. There is a gap in the

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[157] Gilbert Carlton Walker (1833-1885) was elected in 1869 as Virginia's 36th Governor. He served first as a Republican (1869-1870) and was then elected as a Democrat (1870-1874). He was originally from Pennsylvania and had moved to Norfolk in 1864. He was in favor of funding Virginia's pre-war debts. He put an emphasis on public education. He served in Congress from 1874-1878 and was Chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee from 1875-1877. He moved to New York in 1879 and eventually died there.

[158] First Baptist Church, Williamsburg, Book 1, p. 195-196.

Church's records between February 1873 and March 1884; therefore, it is impossible to determine how long the political dissension within the group continued. However, given the rapid changes in Virginia's political scene throughout the 1870s and 1880s, it is unlikely that the divisions that Dunlop was investigating in 1872 were the last. The rise and fall of William Mahone's Readjuster Party[159] and the resurgence of the Democratic Party and white political supremacy led to dynamic changes in local political beliefs and attitudes.

Although African Americans had a tendency to vote Republican in national elections, there was a tendency to craft other alliances in state and local elections and for individuals to look for the best set of allies to advance their own goals (Blair 2004: 5). While this was not only understandable and also deeply human, it made it hard to find a unified political ground and led to heated local struggles between neighboring factions. African American interests began to lose out first locally, then regionally and ultimately nationally. In this environment, the cooperative, cautious, even conciliatory, approach that Dunlop promoted on Lucy Ann's tombstone was viewed with distrust by those African Americans who felt that radical change was necessary and could not happen fast enough. Although Dunlop and Dawson clearly continued to be influential local leaders, other political leaders emerged.[160]

While the role of local politics undoubtedly played a part in the long-term social and political success of the message that Alexander Dunlop encoded onto Lucy Ann's tombstone, the rise of reconciliationist sentiment and the role of the "Lost Cause"

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[159] William Mahone was an unlikely leader for a political party that drew its support primarily from a coalition of poor whites and African Americans. A former Confederate General, he enlisted early in the war and fought in a number of battles, including Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, the Wilderness and Spotsylvania Court House. At the Battle of the Crater in 1864, he led a successful counterattack that resulted in the massacre of surrendered black Union troops. In the post war years, Mahone became a railroad tycoon amassing considerable wealth and power.

[160] In 1877, Daniel Norton reclaimed the Senate Seat he had lost to Dawson in 1873. Norton, who had been part of the group which testified before the Joint Congressional Committee on Reconstruction in 1866, was a controversial and divisive figure. His political career was marked by a number of confrontations; first with the Freedmen's commission in 1866, followed in 1874 by an incident where he brandished a pistol during a fight between rival republican parties and culminating in an 1886 rift with Mahone, which ended Norton's political career. Norton exercised his greatest influence between 1877-1886 when he served as a member of the Readjuster party. He was supported by his brother Robert Norton, a member of the House of Delegates from 1877-1883, but was frequently at political odds with his older brother, Frederick Norton, with whom both Dunlop and Dawson were aligned.

narrative in promoting that sentiment as well as its influence on both regional and national politics played a more profound role in blunting his message. Tied to both funerary tradition and monumental art in highly visible and evocative ways, this narrative would not only reframe the memory of the Civil War, but also redraw the memorial and political landscape of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century South, and would ultimately contribute to the burial of both Lucy Ann and Robert Hill's tombstones. In the next section, we will explore the creation of this narrative and the way in which the stone carving industry helped to redefine social memory.

SECTION THREE

CHAPTER EIGHT: Setting the Scene: the Civil War, Mourning and Reconstruction

Alexander Dunlop's name is one of four names, in addition to her own, that are carved on Lucy Ann's tombstone. These four individuals or groups of individuals, all played a role in crafting her memory and communicating it to others. Alexander Dunlop, as we have seen, commissioned the stone and authored the inscription. The Travis family was invoked to testify to Lucy Ann's character, her "consistent Christian conduct and faithfulness."[161] In addition to these two names, two others, those of the stonecarvers, "Wallen and Wray," also appear on the tombstone.

Between 1865 and 1890, James A. Wallen and Andrew J. Wray ran a successful stone carving business together in Richmond. After their partnership dissolved in 1890, each continued to run his own outfit for at least an additional fifteen years. In 1866, when Lucy Ann's tombstone was carved, Wray was a 22 year old war veteran who had fought for a losing cause, and had just entered into a partnership with his step-father. In 1918, his obituary proclaimed that he was "one of the leading monument men in the South, having had charge of the erection of a large number of Confederate monuments. He was a close friend of Mrs. Jefferson Davis and besides having charge of the erection of the base and supervising the work of erecting the Winnie Davis Monument, he erected monuments to all the members of the Davis family in Hollywood. He was one of the first members of Lee Camp of Confederate Veterans."[162] There is a stark transition between the hopefulness of the message he inscribed on Lucy Ann's tombstone and the elegiac celebration of the cause that had sought to limit her freedoms and that would ultimately contribute to the erasure of her memory, when her tombstone was buried in 1925.

At the same time that Alexander Dunlop was hiring carvers and crafting his assertion of both his own identity and that of his wife, Southern white society was embarking on a communal project to recraft the memory of the Civil War and of those who

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[161] It must be noted that in this role, they play a similar role to the one that William Crump, Adam Empie, and Henry Bowden were asked to perform when they testified to character and to the free status of Alexander Dunlop and his siblings.

[162] *The News Leader*, Richmond, VA. October 24 1918.

fought in it. Initially prompted by grief over the war's heavy casualties, its impact on the cultural landscape, and its eventual loss, the movement increasingly became more and more political. It also spanned two distinctive periods. The first period (1865-1880) focused on mourning and many of its activities were centered within a mortuary context. The second period (1890-1920)[163] focused on what is generally described as the "Celebration of the Lost Cause" (Foster 1987; Sedore 2013). Together, both phases had a profound impact on redrawing Southern identity, reinforcing concepts of inclusion and exclusion, and defining race relations and gender roles for decades to come. It would also have repercussions for the way in which both Lucy Ann and Alexander Dunlop were remembered and the long-term efficacy of the message that Dunlop had commissioned.

Jan Assman (1995) has noted that collective memory is typically focused on a fixed point on the temporal horizon. This point does not change with the passing of time and provides a framework within which each generation can find relevance and apply the memory to its own situations. The Civil War has provided just such a point for many generations of Southerners as we will discuss in the following section. They have transfigured the memory of the war gradually, turning a crippling defeat into a celebration of white Southern manhood and values. Assman has also noted that one of the components in the creation of collective memory is the identification of specialized bearers of cultural memory who are relied upon to help craft, safeguard and explicate memories. Wray's obituary holds references to three of the key groups that took up this role in the South: elite women, such as Varina Davis and her daughter Winnie; monument men; and Civil War veterans. In the following chapter we will examine the roles that each played in refashioning the memory of the war, and in contributing to the Lost Cause Mythology.

The Politics of Mourning and Memory

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[163] Individual authors define the ending of the first period and the starting of the second slightly differently. I have selected these two sets of dates because it seems to me that there was an interim period between 1880 and 1890 when mourning is no longer the chief motivator, but not all the attributes that are generally taken to categorize the celebratory period are in place yet.

The end of the American Civil War placed the country in a conundrum; how did one resolve deep-seated and bloody sectarian and racial divisions to reunite a country? This question, which continues to resonate in the present day, was actively addressed by the generation who had lived through and fought in the war, as well as by their immediate descendants. Much of this activity focused on how the memory of the conflict should be constituted. A number of issues, including slavery, the rights of states to revolt, regional pride and national unity, all intermingled as groups competed to control what should and could be remembered; which ideologies should be preeminent. These issues were contested through a number of media, including the visual and literary arts, and in all facets of public and private life. Given the unprecedented scale of death during the war, it is only logical that this negotiation was also played out in cemeteries and through funerary commemoration.

From the beginning of the war, burials were used as propaganda and rallying points. On June 10th 1861, Private Henry Lawson Wyatt was killed at the battle of Big Bethel, near Hampton, Virginia. Wyatt was born in Richmond, but had moved to North Carolina as a boy and had enlisted in Company A, 1st North Carolina Regiment.[164] His body was taken to Richmond by train where he was buried with full military honors in Hollywood Cemetery (Mitchell 1985: 48). The celebratory atmosphere associated with the burial of this first, and only, Southern death in a skirmish that had claimed 18 Union soldiers soon gave way to grindingly high death tolls.

Fueled by deadlier, more accurate weapons, the ability to move large numbers of men rapidly from one area to another, poor sanitation and the ease with which disease was transmitted in hospitals and prison camps, the war may have claimed as many as 750,000 lives (Hacker 2011).[165] From the inception of the war, there appears to have been an expectation on the part of all involved, including the military, civilians and

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[164] *Fayetteville Observer,* Fayetteville, NC., June 17 1861, p. 1

[165] This represents a sizeable increase over former estimates, which put the estimate of soldiers' deaths at 620,000 and of civilian deaths at 50,000 (Faust 2008: xi). In part the increase in the number is due to attempts to correct the underreporting of Southern casualties, and the state of Southern record keeping in the last years of the war. However, Hacker (2011) also includes soldiers who died after the war from their injuries, or from the impact of diseases contracted during the war. His estimate is increasingly finding favor with Civil War historians.

politicians, that the living owed the dead, at a minimum, both an accounting and a proper burial.[166] On September 11th, 1861, the War Office issued General Order 75, which set up procedures for the permanent burial of the Union dead. Deaths were to be recorded and, where possible, burials indicated with a marker (Zipf 2003: 27).

In many ways, a strict recording of deaths and burials was easier to mandate than to carry out. As armies fled the field or chased retreating foes, the public was soon shocked to hear about the large numbers of bodies abandoned on the battlefields. More troubling still were the reports of depredations on both sides.[167] Robert Knox Sneden, a private in the Union Army, wrote that Union soldiers had broken open tombs at St. John's Church in Hampton, VA. Coffins had been unearthed during searches for jewelry and/or coffin plates. He reported that "skulls and parts of skeletons are lying among the tombs" (Sneden 2000: 32). Horrified by the sight, he added "this will be stopped," but five days later recorded picking up "half a skull of some infant which I use for a soap dish" at another cemetery (Sneden 2000: 32-34). Although Sneden's soap dish may only have been glimpsed by a few intimates and fellow soldiers, the destruction in the churchyard would have been seen by larger numbers of Virginians who viewed similar acts as emblematic of the way in which the Union Army showed its disrespect for Southerners. Stories of Confederate soldiers disinterring Union bones and making rings and cups as trophies were reported widely in Union newspapers (Harrison 2010). The stories helped to underscore a narrative rife with examples of the savagery and backwardness of Southerners. Similarly, stories about the treatment of Captain André Cailloux's body were reported in many

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[166] This obligation to provide a decent burial was not just felt by Northerners. Southerners also felt they owed the dead a duty. On May 6th 1866, the Ladies' Memorial Association of Petersburg recorded that "All along our lines, yes, on distant hill tops, in valleys and in forests, lie the neglected graves of the slain of our people…these bodies arise a spectre band before us, demanding a Christian burial, an honorable sepulcher" (Record of the Proceedings of the Ladies' Memorial Association of Petersburg, quoted in Peters 2005: 65).

[167] Steve Henry, a member of the Company of Military Historians, recalled a story told him in the 1980s by an elderly gentleman whose grandfather had been present when Union soldier's bodies were collected for reburial from the sites of the battles of Manassas. The grandfather recounted that loyalist farmers in the area sold Confederate remains for bone meal (Henry, 2015, personal communication). That this story was still being recounted over a century after the fact highlights some of the anger and opprobrium felt about the way in which the remains were treated. This story is not unique, and similar stories of farmers allowing pigs to root in fields where the war dead lay paved the way for many of the post-war collection and reburial efforts.

Northern papers. Union troops were forced to leave Cailloux, a black Union soldier, on the field for 47 days after his death, despite a cease fire that allowed them to collect their dead, because Confederate sharpshooters targeted anyone who approached the body.[168] The story highlighted the barbarism and untrustworthiness of an enemy who would not even afford a dead man a decent burial, and who did not abide by their own agreements.

Although, the bodies of officers and of the sons of wealthy men were often shipped home,[169] the numbers of deaths after a battle frequently overwhelmed local capacity. Additionally, the prevalence of disease among the troops also created the need for solutions to the problems of burying the dead.

Remembering the Union Dead and the Creation of the National Cemetery System
In 1862, Congress provided funds to buy land near 14 battlefields and hospitals for burying the dead, thus laying the foundation for the National Cemetery System. By the end of the war, 27 cemeteries had been established (Zipf 2003: 27). On February 22 1867, Congress passed the First National Cemetery Act, funding the addition of new cemeteries and enacting laws to protect the burials contained in them. By 1871, the number of cemeteries had grown to 74 and the remains of 303,536 Union soldiers had been located and reburied, at a cost of over $4 million (Faust 2008: 236).

Although, fundamentally, the National Cemeteries honored the Union dead, those located in the South also served as a permanent embodiment of Federal power, and as a tribute to a triumphant and reestablished Union (Zipf 2003: 27). Enclosed by walls, they represented a piece of Northern soil in the South. Near the main entrance to each cemetery, a six-roomed lodge served as an office and visitor center. Although speeches at the dedicatory ceremony for Gettysburg National Cemetery found precedent for the cemetery in Athenian actions after the Battle of Marathon, the

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[168] *The New York Daily Tribune*, New York City, NY, August 10, 1863, p.4.
[169] Richard Manning Bucktrout, the undertaker in Williamsburg, recorded that in one month, December 1861, he created coffins for 31 soldiers who had died of typhoid. Seven of these soldiers were sent home and the remainder were buried in Williamsburg. Daybook of Richard Manning Bucktrout, Mss.Ac 1997.15, Swem Library Special Collections, The College of William and Mary, p.221-228

Quarter Master General, Montgomery Meigs, deliberately selected the Second Empire style for the architecture of the cemetery lodges, because he felt that it expressed modern architectural practice and provided a break from the classically inspired architecture of the South (Zipf 2003; Grant 2005). The use of the Second Empire style signaled a new era, new ideas, and a break with the past. It was employed for most Federal projects after 1865, including the State, War and Navy building (now the O.E.O. B) in Washington. The style became synonymous with Federal patronage and its use for the lodges helped to remind Southerners of the re-imposition of Federal authority, and allowed the government to assert its influence at a remove (Zipf 2003: 39). Each lodge was inhabited by a keeper, a former Union soldier selected for the office, who served as a living embodiment of Federal power. He was charged with maintaining the graves and lists of the dead, welcoming visitors, policing the cemetery and detaining individuals caught damaging the graves or the grounds.

Within the cemeteries, the graves were typically arranged in a concentric circle or in a semi-circular pattern around a central flag-post. By making the US flag the dominant visual, the arrangement emphasized the loyalty and the devotion of the buried troops to the Federal system. The tombstones themselves subtly reinforced this message.

Figure 19: 1849 United States $10 gold coin (courtesy Erik Goldstein).

Those provided by the government have a simple curved top with a recessed shield in which the deceased's name and company appear. The shape of the shield again connotes Federal power, and reminds viewers of the Federal eagle on the Great Seal of the United States and the many derivations of it embossed on the coinage of the United States, and even on the buttons of Union soldier's coats (Figure 19). Beetham has argued that the well-ordered ranks of graves reflect the discipline of soldiers standing at attention (2014: 8), but they also underscored the human capital available to the government.

Although one of the key ways in which the symbolic meaning of the cemeteries was emphasized was through the compositional function of the entire National Cemetery system (Abousnnouga and Machin 2010: 133), the dominance of the Federal system

Figure 20: The Keeper's Cottage at Glendale National Cemetery (photo by author).

and the extension of its authority over the South were also underscored in diverse ways at a number of individual cemeteries. For example, the roof of the Glendale keeper's cottage, near Richmond, incorporates the letters US in its tiling (Figure 20). In Fredericksburg, the National Cemetery is built on Marye's Heights, a highpoint from which Confederate forces decimated the Union army; its terraced ranks of graves dominate the city below and underscore the eventual supremacy of the Federal Army. Perhaps the most famous National Cemetery, Arlington, began its life as part of a campaign to prevent the Lee family from ever returning to Arlington House.[170] Finally, Richmond, the former capitol of the Confederacy, was cut off from its Southern approaches by a line of seven cemeteries, which symbolically annexed it to the North.

The Civil War era National Cemeteries are entirely secular in their nature. There are no chapels and no crosses or other religious emblems[171] to detract from the allegiance on display. The architecture, the geometric logicality of the graves, even the brevity of the inscriptions and the frequent lack of any biographical details rob the soldiers of any individuality and make them merely components of the greater whole, supporters of the Union and of a Federal system. The Union's Civil War dead were isolated from other individuals and became an entity through whom a message could be

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[170] *The Bellows Falls Times*, Bellows Falls, VT, December 23, 1870, p.1. During a Congressional debate over the merits of returning Arlington House to the Lees, Representative Sumner of Massachusetts reported hearing Secretary of War Stanton state that "his purpose in selecting the place…was to forever prohibit the reinstatement of the Lee family there and if they did come they might encounter the ghosts of their victims" (ibid). Northerners had a special animosity for Lee. Lincoln offered Lee command of the Union forces early in the war but Lee, feeling his first loyalty was to Virginia, opted to serve in the Confederate army. Many Northerners felt that the war might have been less bloody if Lee had accepted Lincoln's offer.

[171] Although crosses and other religious emblems are an optional feature on modern government issue headstones, they were not permitted until after the First World War.

transmitted; a collective that represented something more than the thousands of individual deaths that are commemorated. Drew Gilpin Faust has noted that "the Civil War Dead became both powerful and immortal, no longer individual men but instead a force that would shape American public life for at least a century to come" (2008: 249). Confederate soldiers were generally not allowed in these **National** cemeteries. Burial parties were directed to pay close attention to the clothing and personal effects found with the dead and to leave behind those that suggested Southern ties. The few Southerners who were buried in a National cemetery often had their graves marked with the single word "rebel."[172] By excluding Southern soldiers, or marking their graves as other and deviant, the government sent a message that adherence to the values of the nation as a whole and submission to Federal power were key to enjoying the country's beneficence and to reknitting it (Wright 2006: 33).[173] The Northern traveler and novelist Constance Fenimore Woolson, writing in 1880, was dubious about whether the message was being received. Describing the isolation of her fictitious keeper, Rodman, shunned by the surrounding Southern townsfolk, she wrote: "

> So Rodman withdrew himself…and began the life of a solitary, his island marked out by the massive granite wall with which the United States government has carefully surrounded those sad Southern cemeteries of hers; sad, not so much from the number of the mounds representing youth and strength cut off in their bloom for that is but the fortune of war, as for the complete isolation which marks them. "Strangers in a strange land" is the thought of all who, coming and going… turn aside here and there to stand for a moment among the closely ranged graves which seem already a part of the past (Woolson 1880).

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[172] *The Daily Dispatch,* Richmond, VA., June 2, 1874, p.2, letter from C.P. Culver. Culver's letter details her efforts to ensure that both Confederate and Union graves at Arlington cemetery are decorated and mentions that the Confederate graves are marked "rebel." The Confederates buried in Arlington were limited in number and were largely prisoners of war who had died while in custody.

[173] An op-ed published in the Orlando Sentinel in June 27, 2017 argues for the removal of the Confederate graves in Arlington Cemetery in order to help ease overcrowding in the cemetery. The story highlights the ways in which the graves deviate from those of other soldiers in the cemetery and suggests that the idea that submission to federal power earns federal beneficence still has currency. *The Orlando Sentinel*, Orlando FL, June 27 2017, "As Arlington Cemetery fills up should Confederates make room?" Available at: http://www.orlandosentinel.com/opinion/os-ed-arlington-cemetery-filling-up-move-confederates-20170627-story.html [Accessed July 6, 2017].

In Woolson's novel, Rodman slowly forgets his primary function, tending the memory of the dead, and becomes entangled in Southern life. He befriends a dying Confederate soldier and the soldier's emotional, grieving, and defiant cousin, Bettina. His relationship with the latter is informed by Woolson's perception that the intimate, even collaborative, nature of Southern grief, with its insistent glances towards an imagined past, was more powerful than the ordered political assertion of federal authority focused on an as yet unseen future.

Southern Cemeteries and Enshrining the Confederate Dead

For Southerners, the challenge posed by the war's end was how to rejoin the country without being viewed as a defeated, dishonored and ultimately subordinate entity. Southerners generally accepted the war's outcome, but were fearful of its consequences. They were exhausted, impoverished and stunned by the conclusion of the war; for months after the war, Southern whites were reported to be disconsolate, listless and beaten (Foster 1987: 12-15). High rates of alcoholism and opium addiction in the South suggest that these sentiments and a need for escape prevailed for some time after the war (Foster 1987: 17). Although few Southerners had an appetite for continued fighting and most expressed a willingness to return to a loyal place within the Union, they struggled to understand how a cause that they believed to have been just could have failed. The devastation, poverty and human toll all lent poignancy to this loss. Grief and mourning became part of the cultural landscape. The social theorist Peter Marris has noted that bereavement and grief are intertwined processes that seek to assimilate disruptive change through the identification and preservation of key items of value and import, while simultaneously reestablishing meaningful relationships which incorporate and build on loss (1973: 23). It is therefore, not particularly surprising that Southerners' earliest attempts to rebuild their society and reclaim their losses found expression in the cemetery, and sought linkages with traditional values.

The exclusion of Confederates from the National Cemeteries, which were being built and populated with public funds, outraged Southerners. The *Richmond Daily Examiner* protested that "The nation's dead, as our stricken opponents are called, are

abundantly cared for by their Government. We it is true, poor and needy, have to contribute to the magnificent monuments that enshrine their crumbling relicks (sic). The nation contemns (sic) our dead. They are left in deserted places to rot in oblivion" (quoted in Buinicki 2011: 171).[174] In answer, Southern women created Ladies' Memorial Associations (LMAs) with the goals of creating new cemeteries (or soldiers' sections in existing ones), locating the dead from nearby battles, reburying them and organizing Memorial days.

While the Federal practice was to bury soldiers near the battlefields on which they had died, the LMAs created intimate spaces that tended, where possible, to integrate the Confederate dead within the civilian populace. Although dedicated cemeteries for Confederate soldiers were occasionally created near specific battle sites (such as the Spotsylvania Confederate Cemetery), more frequently, burials were conducted in existing public cemeteries.[175] As reburial efforts began, remains were collected from nearby battle fields, as well as from far flung ones. Both the Blandford and Hollywood LMAs undertook large collection and reburial projects in Virginia. Blandford set out to locate and reinter the nearly 4000 dead from Fort Stedman, while Hollywood vied with other Southern cemeteries to become the final resting place for nearly 3300 soldiers killed at Gettysburg.

Although the names of the dead were frequently unknown, the sense of returning them to a familial environment is palpable in the documentation produced by the Ladies' Memorial Associations and was recognized by others in the community. In 1871, Rev. John E. Edwards, while delivering a Memorial Day speech at Oakwood

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[174] Similar protests were also voiced in an editorial in the *Richmond Dispatch*, May 24, 1873 p. 2, suggesting the longevity of this complaint. The Northern press also commented on the perceived inequity of the Federal reburial efforts. The *New York News* called for a Federal effort to rebury Southern dead, stating "it should be our pride to render tribute to American valor and were not the Confederate dead our countrymen?" (*Staunton Spectator,* Staunton, VA, March 27 1866, p. 2). Similarly the *Press* of Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, suggested that attempts to mark the dead as traitors were poorly conceived (*Staunton Spectator*, Staunton, VA, April 3 1866, p2).

[175] It must be acknowledged that the geography of the war, i.e. where the war was fought, as well as the state of Southern finances after the war, played roles in shaping the differences in approach. During the war, Southerners used existing cemeteries to bury the dead and they continued this practice afterwards. However, cemeteries and localities also competed with each other for the honor of burying particularly prominent Confederates.

cemetery in Richmond, recounted the story of a Confederate soldier who, during a visit to Richmond, located his brother's grave at Oakwood Cemetery. Edwards went on to relate that after purchasing a replacement tombstone made of marble, the soldier "carefully placed that [wooden head] board, with its treasured inscription, in his trunk, and bore it back to his mother, to be kept as a valued memento in the family of the offices of love and friendship performed by the 'Ladies' Memorial Association for the Confederate Dead at Oakwood.'"[176] The act of taking the headboard home to his mother underscores the idea that the women of the Memorial Association played a maternal role in the care of the deceased, standing in for family who might otherwise be unable to play such a part, either due to distance, in the case of those who died far from home, or due to ignorance, in the case of those who died anonymously. It reinforces the connections between the dead and the living that played an important part in constructing the memory of the war, but also highlights the idea frequently expressed in newspapers and speeches, that through their reburial actions, the LMAs in effect gave soldiers a form of second life. By keeping the soldiers' memories alive, the women saved them from an additional demise.

The connections between the living and the dead were further acknowledged through Memorial Day events that included tending and decorating the graves, parades of veterans, speeches and the erection of monuments (Figure 21).[177] On May 31, 1866 (the anniversary of the day Richmond first heard enemy canon fire in 1861), the Hollywood Ladies' Association held a Memorial Day commemoration.[178] For two days beforehand graves were straightened, wooden headboards remade and bodies reinterred from other sections of the cemetery to the soldiers' section (Mitchell 1985:

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[176] *The Richmond Dispatch,* Richmond, VA., May 25, 1871, p. 2.

[177] Similar decoration days were carried out in the National Cemeteries although most reports suggest they were poorly attended. They were usually planned either by the military of the Grand Army of the Republic (a Veteran's organization for Union soldiers) and appear to have lacked the pathos and community engagement of those planned by the LMAs.

[178] A number of southern cemeteries vie for the honor of being the first cemetery to hold a "memorial day," including both Hollywood Cemetery and Blandford Cemetery. However, the impetus to remember the dead and to commemorate them in some manner appears to have been universal and does not appear to be confined to the Southern dead. In May 1865, Charleston's African American community, under the full protection of a brigade of Union troops, honored the Union dead with flowers, processions and speeches (Faust 2008: 228). Similar to the outpourings of emotion and remembrance that Europeans experienced after World War I, it is likely that the desire to remember the dead sprang, in part, from the sheer numbers of war dead and the fact that few families were left untouched.

67-68). On the 31st, an estimated 20,000 people showed up to place flowers on the graves (Kinney 1998: 241).

Figure 21: *Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia – decorating the graves of the rebel soldiers, May 31, 1867*, William L. Sheppard, 1867, print (courtesy of the Library of Congress).

Similar Memorial days were held across Virginia and the South, most commonly on the 10th of May (the anniversary of Stonewall Jackson's death in 1863 and Jefferson Davis's capture in 1865). Other popular dates were April 26th (the anniversary of Joseph Johnston's surrender) and June 3rd, Jefferson Davis's birthday (Kinney 1998: 239).[179] Initially quite plain, a simple procession followed by flower arranging, by the mid-1870s the ceremonies became increasingly elaborate. Hymns, prayers and sermons were added, and in some years, such as 1873 when the Southern dead from Gettysburg were reinterred in Hollywood cemetery, funeral services were added. Memorials were frequently unveiled and speeches were made. These speeches focused on themes that became codified as the "Lost Cause" ideology and helped

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[179] Kinney (1998: 239) and others have pointed out that these rolling sets of dates may also have been tied to the availability of flowers in the different geographic locations within the South. Newspaper accounts of the various Memorial days in Richmond frequently include commentaries on the availability (or lack) of flowers.

Southerners to recast the political and cultural landscapes of the 1880s and 1890s, paving the way for easy Federal acceptance of Jim Crow laws.

Local businesses frequently closed on Memorial Day as a way of encouraging high attendance. The necessity of fund-raising for the reburial efforts and for erecting monuments also served to integrate the dead and the living. Tableaux, plays, lectures and other divertissements were held throughout the year to raise money for memorializing the Confederate dead. These social interactions intertwined the living and the dead so that the identity of each was dependent on the other. No longer merely present in their absence and in the sorrow it engendered, the dead were also present in the day-to-day activities of living. As such, they became emblematic of all that Southerners valued. As a collective, they came to symbolize the attributes that Southerners wished to preserve and build upon. The dead were upheld as paragons of honor, who had fought not against, but for their country in an attempt to uphold the revolutionary ideals and spirits on which America had been founded.[180]

The Role of the Ladies' Memorial Associations in Promoting Memory
The role of Southern women, and particularly the Ladies' Memorial Associations, in crafting public memory and challenging the memory of the war proposed by the Federal Government is noteworthy. Immediately after the war, State legislatures, churches and other public institutions did little to craft the memory of the war. Educational institutions did a little more, but their efforts were mixed. That women took this issue on is therefore interesting, but perhaps not entirely surprising. Within nineteenth century culture, the work of mourning belonged primarily in the women's realm. Strict social rules guided the length of a woman's mourning, her dress while in mourning and how she should incrementally emerge from mourning. Additionally, for many Southern women this role was an extension of one that they had fulfilled during the war. Because much of the fighting occurred in and around Southern towns, women had served as nurses and hostesses for soldiers. They had frequently been the

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[180] During reconstruction, Southern newspapers frequently juxtaposed stories praising the honor, conduct and Christian chivalry of the Confederate dead with stories recounting the misbehavior, disorderly conduct and abuses of the Union soldiers, see for example *The Daily Dispatch*, Richmond VA, May 14, 1866, p.1.

ones to comfort and console wounded and sick men and to advocate on their behalf. In her diary entries written immediately after the Battle of Williamsburg and the occupation of the city by Federal troops, Harriette Cary recounts visiting the hospitals in town, arguing with Yankee soldiers about whether wounded patients are strong enough to be moved down the Peninsula to Fortress Monroe and smuggling treats to imprisoned soldiers (Cary 1928). She also notes that "Nearly every family has one or more of the wounded whom it affords the great pleasure to nurse" (Cary 1928: 112). Women often attended or arranged funerals for those who did not survive. In 1864, as a tribute to these activities, William Washington painted the *Burial of Latané* (Figure 22)*.* Captain William Latané was a Confederate cavalryman who was killed in 1862 near Hanover Courthouse, during J.E. B. Stuart's ride around McClellan's Army in the Peninsula Campaign. When Union pickets refused to allow a priest through to bury his body, women on a local plantation reportedly conducted the funeral service themselves. The funeral

Figure 22: *The Burial of Latané*, William Washington, 1864, oil on canvas (courtesy of the Johnson Collection, Spartanburg, SC).

inspired first a poem and ultimately Washington's painting, which was used as a fundraiser during the war and afterward became a powerful icon of the Lost Cause,[181] symbolizing the ways patriotic devotion to the war effort was manifested through private acts of compassion and remembrance. Women's roles as mourners and as the keepers of familial memory were well defined but what was beginning to emerge and augment those roles was a sense of women as keepers of collective memory and of traditional values.

During Reconstruction, celebrating the Confederacy was actively discouraged by the Federal Government. Displaying Confederate insignia or colors was prohibited.

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[181] Drew Gilpin Faust notes that prints of the image became a common decoration in late nineteenth-century white Southerners' homes (Faust 2008: 84).

However, the Memorial days, often chosen to coincide with key dates in the Confederate timeline, and the erection of monuments to the Confederate dead, or to individual Confederate heroes, were rarely challenged. Federal troops were summoned from nearby Ashland, but the large crowd at Hollywood's first memorial event was not ordered to disband. In other cities, the situation was similar. Although Virginia emerged from Federal Reconstruction in 1870, parts of the South remained under military occupation until 1877 when Reconstruction formally ended. Why were the commemorative activities largely overlooked when other aspects of public life were controlled by the Federal troops and administrators sent to oversee the political and social reconstruction of the South?[182]

It can be argued that, to a large degree, the answer lies in the association of these events with women. Women were regarded as essentially apolitical in nineteenth century America and the connection of the memorial events with the domestic sphere undercut their political nature.[183] Respectfully burying family and friends may be essentially a private act; however honoring men who have rebelled against a National government and the ideals for which they had fought is a public and political decision. For Southerners, who viewed the Confederate dead as particularly heroic since they had never surrendered and thus never been defeated, the defiance represented in honoring these soldiers was readily apparent. The fact that women led this effort allowed some of the political undercurrents to be hidden.

Northern soldiers and writers frequently commented on the passionate support of Southern women to the Confederate cause during both the war and Reconstruction (Foster 1987; Silber 1989). Like Bettina in Woolson's novel, these women were characterized as hostile, unyielding and vindictive. Cartoons, such as a widely published 1862 example entitled "Rebel Lady's Boudoir" showing a Southern matron

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[182] William Blair points out that not all locations were treated as Virginia in this respect. He notes that there were local differences in approach, and that in Raleigh, NC, residents were banned from marching to cemeteries between 1866 and 1871, while in New Orleans residents were prohibited from raising money for monuments or for widows and orphans of Confederates (Blair 2004:62).
[183] The LMAs were organized and run by women, although they did have male advisors who could deliver public speeches on their behalf, and who helped to negotiate with engineers, teamsters and architects.

reading a letter in a room decorated with bones sent as trophies by her soldier husband while her young child plays with bones at her feet (Figure 23), underscored these images and also communicated the idea that it was Southern women whose hostility fueled the war and who were training a new generation to hate.[184] Although Nina Silber (1989) has pointed out that some of these characterizations sprang from a desire to emasculate Southern men and thus promote the inevitability of a Northern victory and the need for Northern leadership in the South, Gaines Foster has argued that Southern women had special reason to be hostile towards Northerners (1987: 33). During the war, Southern women often found themselves without immediate male protection and many were fearful. For women in Virginia in particular, where three in every five battles were fought, these anxieties may have been higher. Familiar landscapes were torn apart. The devastation visible, particularly on the Peninsula and around Richmond and Petersburg,

Figure 23: *The Rebel Lady's Boudoir*, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, May 17 1862, print.

served as a goad, as did the privations that both the general public and the army experienced. The letters and journal entries written by women during the Civil War often speak to their sense of abandonment at the withdrawal of troops, and their sense of disquiet regarding the loss of familiar landscapes and social patterns. Union soldiers became the focus of these fears and Southern women often sought ways to express their hostility. Five days after the occupation of Williamsburg by Federal troops, Harriette Cary noted in her diary that the ladies of the town discussed "instances of courageous retort, for which frequent opportunities have been made by these provoking villains and every opportunity eagerly taken advantage of" (Cary 1928: 112). These "courageous retorts", denying Northern soldiers their hospitality

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[184] This cartoon first appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated* 14, no 342 (1862): 64. Harrison (2010) points out that the image was also designed to highlight the savagery of Southern elites, equating them to primitives from other cultures and suggesting that, despite their claims to cultivation and gentility, they fell far short of that mark.

and an indifference to their toilette when in the company of non-Southerners, were the weapons that the ladies of Williamsburg wielded to show their displeasure with the occupation and their support for their male kinsmen (Cary 1928: 112). After the war, many women found their role within the domestic sphere greatly altered. Without slaves, even relatively wealthy white women now found themselves doing a greater proportion of the household chores than they might previously have done. This reduction in status also served as a goad, although some women found satisfaction in the discovery of new skills. Foster (1987) and others have argued that Southern women harnessed their anger and their grief to present an alternative to the federal message, which both articulated and reflected what would later be referred to as the Lost Cause ideology. However, there is another component of the undertaking that is largely overlooked namely, a sense of empowerment.

For women who may have felt powerless during the war, there was a feeling of power and shared identity in coming together to direct and co-create these new memorial landscapes. Travelers commented on the pride that Southerners took in their cemeteries. Lady Duffus Hardy noted that "the first question you are asked on entering a Southern city is 'Have you been to the Cemetery?'"(Duffus Hardy 1883: 67). In the years directly following the war, the ability to raise funds for memorials in a depressed economy and to engage and inspire the work crews necessary for the reburial efforts was an achievement. The cost of the Federal effort topped $4 million, supported in large part by tax payers. Similar accountings of the Southern expenditure have not been made, because the efforts were more diffuse and there was no central office paying the bills. While it is true that the Northern effort may have encompassed some additional costs, such as the building of the keepers' cottages, the costs of the Southern effort must have been considerable, and it is important to remember that it was largely a private effort, funded by donations as well as by the money earned through fund raisers. Acknowledging the counteracting forces of finances and memory, Lady Duffus Hardy wrote that "no Southern city is so poor but It can afford to lavish its tribute of honour to its loves and its lost" (1883:25).

In contrast with the forward-looking Second Empire-inspired architecture chosen for the National cemeteries, Southern memorials were often classical in design, favoring obelisks, arches and columns: styles that reinforced the idea that the South was looking back to bygone days for inspiration. The monuments drew visual analogies between the ancient democracies of Greece and the republican values of Rome and those of the Confederacy. Most particularly, the stylistic links to early federal period architecture drew allusions to the founding fathers of America and to their ideals, which Southerners saw themselves defending. The Confederate dead thus became not only modern heroes, but also men in the mold of the soldier-statesmen of the past. In this capacity, the monuments also spoke to the new role that Southern women increasingly held, as the keepers of both collective memory and traditional values.

Collective Memory, Traditional Values and Masculinity

In 1858, the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association (MVLA) purchased George Washington's home and began restoring it. This effort highlighted the building's associations with its most famous owner as a means of presenting traditional values that were perceived to be at risk, such as religious devotion, feminine domesticity and loyalty to state (Lindgren 1989: 71). James Lindgren (1996) has argued that this effort and similar nineteenth century women-led preservation efforts were characterized by "personalism," an approach that stressed the idea that human attachments (both material and immaterial) were worth noting and nurturing, and that they provided intimate links to the past, which could be used to teach virtue, refinement and patriotism. For these women, the Civil War marked a dividing line between a traditional agrarian existence and one of urbanization and industrialization. Despite the fact that much of the commemoration took place in an urban framework (Brown 2003), many of the women were reacting to what they saw as the disorder of urbanization.[185] Like the MVLA's efforts, the early work of the LMAs also sought to

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[185] Although written many years after this, Margaret Mitchell's book *Gone with the Wind* is rooted in this tradition. In the book the characters of Melanie and Scarlett can be seen to embody the tensions between the ante-bellum and post-bellum South. Melanie's character represents the old South. She is strong, dignified, patriotic and rooted by a sense of family and duty. Her focus on the domestic realm (place) brings a quiet dignity that enriches all those around her. Scarlett, on the other hand, may be seen to exemplify the New South. She is focused on money and willing to consort with carpet baggers and other unsavory characters, such as prostitutes, arms dealers and captains of industry, in order to

preserve a set of traditional values by connecting them with individuals who had a unique emotional resonance. By endowing the Confederate dead with the sorts of traditional values that the LMAs wished to preserve, both the values and the dead became integrated in the culture of the New South, and its political future, in a way that detractors found hard to assail. They became rooted in the mythos of the Lost Cause, and laid the groundwork for Jim Crow laws and for segregationist policies.

Nina Silber (1989) has highlighted some of the ways in which Southern and Northern visions of masculinity were contested in the period before and after the Civil War. Although Northerners believed that slavery had robbed Southern whites of the work needed to make them men thus rendering them idle, helpless and womanly (Silber 1989), Southern whites promoted a vision of masculinity that revolved around bravery, honor, chivalry and patriotism. The Southern model was rooted in a sense of place; loyalty to one's home, city, state and nation, and the courage to fight for them was also seen as a key component. Within the study area covered for this thesis, a couple of early memorials erected by the LMAs, illustrate these ideas. The central obelisk at Oakwood cemetery, which was erected by the Oakwood Ladies' Memorial Association in 1871, reads in part:

<div align="center">

IN MEMORY

OF

SIXTEEN THOUSAND

CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS

FROM THIRTEEN STATES…

…THE EPITAPH OF THE

SOLDIER, WHO FALLS

WITH HIS COUNTRY, IS

WRITTEN IN THE HEARTS

</div>

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advance her own interests. The further she is removed from the agrarian existence of Tara the more disordered her life becomes, until ultimately the only recourse is to return in order to regroup and center herself.

OF THOSE WHO LOVE THE

RIGHT AND HONOR

THE BRAVE.

The inscription carries the strong implication that if you do not remember and honor these men then you are lessened; you do not value or honor the right things. Similarly, the "Pyramid" in Hollywood Cemetery, a ninety-foot tall structure made of James River Granite, erected in 1869 by the Hollywood Memorial Association reads:

NUMINI ET PATRIÆ ASTO

TO THE

CONFEDERATE DEAD.

MEMORIA IN ETERNA

The first phrase, which translates as "they stood for God and Country," succinctly conveys the idea of the chivalrous crusader knight, linked in eternal memory to those who have come before and to those who will come after.

Both the Oakwood and Hollywood monuments use scale to interesting effect to reinforce their message. The latter's pyramidal shape and mass[186] echoes those of mountains, with their connotations of immobility, fixity and agelessness, which further accentuate the idea that the memorial was erected to the "eternal memory" of the soldiers (Figure 24). Its individuated blocks echo the tombstones for individual soldiers grouped around it, and seem to suggest that they are all being drawn together to form this single cohesive unit; an idea that is further emphasized by the brevity of the inscription, with its reference to the "Confederate dead." Similarly, the Oakwood memorial moves from the large scale (the 16,000 deaths that are commemorated) to the more intimate (the thirteen states that provided troops) to the most intimate (the single soldier). However, the monument then broadens the scale back out by the reference to the "soldier, who falls **with** his country." It is clear that the monument mourns not only the loss of so many men but also the Southern defeat.[187]

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[186] Timothy Sedore has pointed out that the Hollywood Pyramid, through its size and bulk, is one of the few monuments that successfully conveys the magnitude of the Southern losses (2011: 159).

[187] While these two monuments are the only ones established during reconstruction within the study area, they are not unique. Monuments in Lynchburg, Harrisonburg and other Virginian towns mirror the
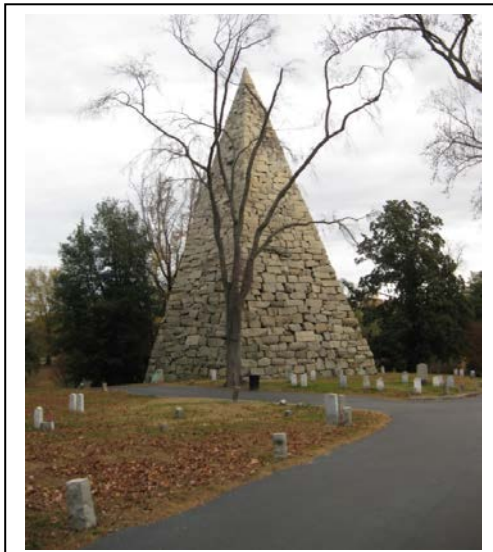
Figure 24: Hollywood Cemetery's Pyramid (photo by author).

Epitaphs and Familial Commemoration of the War's Dead

The work of the LMAs shaped collective memory on a grand scale. In addition to considering the macro-scale, it is also important to consider the micro-scale, such as individual tombstones, and to determine whether themes similar to those that the LMAs were elucidating were also being explored on tombstones. Within the tombstone survey carried out for this thesis, 37 tombstones commemorated Civil War soldiers who died during the war and had epitaphs that were long enough to permit analysis.[188]

Prior to considering the thematic nature of the stones, it is important to note that war time tombstones may be more difficult to date than tombstones associated with a peacetime civilian population. When considering a tombstone for a civilian, it is a commonly acknowledged practice to accept that the tombstone was carved within 1-3 years of the death date, unless there is some indicator to the contrary.[189] The tombstone is therefore taken to reflect the commemorative norms associated with the period of death. However, the attribution of a production date is more problematic for tombstones from the Civil War years, and particularly for those

messages and the form. After 1880, when veterans groups began to take a more active role in monument commissioning, the phrasing becomes more inclusive of those who survived the war.

[188] Although many of the cemeteries included in the survey contain large numbers of war dead, governmentally issued, or similarly standardized, tombstones were not recorded as part of the survey work. Similarly, the survey's focus on a pre-selected group of carvers shrank the numbers even further.

[189] Indicators to the contrary may include the material from which the stone is made, stylistic clues, or text indicating that the marker was erected at a later date. Examination of John Couper's order book for 1887-1890 suggests that the expectation that tombstones were erected within three years of death is a reasonable one. 77% of the 368 tombstones ordered in this period were ordered within three years, and the vast majority was ordered in less than two years. Of the remaining 87 tombstones, the majority were ordered within 10 years of death. 23 were ordered more than 20 years after the deceased passed away. In general, these purchases appeared to be part of a larger group inspired by a recent death. In addition to a marker for the person who had died recently the purchaser bought additional stones to mark other family graves, such as the parents of the newly deceased. Couper Marble Works Records 1848-1942, Mss3 C825a, Virginia Historical Society.

commemorating soldiers killed in the war. During the war, the blockade of Southern ports resulted in shortages of stone. John Couper, a stone carver in Norfolk, wrote several letters during the war bemoaning the lack of stone and/or arranging to borrow stone from carvers who had fled Norfolk, or were unable to return due to progress of the war.[190] After the war, difficulties in locating a loved one could lead to delays in providing a tombstone. Similarly, financial difficulties and/or other complications could defer the establishment of a tombstone. Although the Federal Government began providing gravestones for Union dead in 1873 (Elliott 2011) the provision of tombstones for Confederate dead was not as timely.[191] An article in the *Richmond Times Dispatch* in September 1907 noted an obelisk in Oakwood cemetery that Andrew Wray was commissioned to erect for two Alabaman brothers who had died in the war.[192] The next month, Wray received a commission to place a marker on the grave of Thomas James Scott, who was killed in 1862 at the Battle of Seven Pines (Morgan 1920: 177).[193] Occasionally, families erected multiple monuments to the deceased over a period of time. For example, the Pegram family erected individual marble tombstones to John (killed at the Battle of Hatcher's Run in 1865) and William (killed at the Battle of Five Forks in April 1865) and then at a later date commissioned a granite obelisk commemorating the two brothers. Finally, the eligibility of Confederate soldiers to receive government-issued tombstones after 1906 has meant that often broken or heavily weathered tombstones are replaced with government-issued ones,[194] obscuring the commemorative choices family and friends originally made.

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[190] Couper Marble Works Records 1848-1942, Mss3 C825a, Virginia Historical Society.

[191] *The Richmond Dispatch* recorded that in March 1901, a petition was submitted asking Virginia's General Assembly to appropriate funds for the erection of tombstones over the 16,000 Confederate graves at Oakwood cemetery. *The Richmond Dispatch*, Richmond VA, March 4, 1901.

[192] "Monument to the Yarbrough Bros," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, Richmond, VA, September 1 1907. Andrew Wray was commissioned to create the marker. One of the two brothers, John, died in the siege of Corinth in May 1862 near Saltillo, Mississippi and his grave was unknown. The other, James, died in Richmond and was buried in Oakwood Cemetery.

[193] Scott was born in Virginia but served with the 3rd Alabama volunteers. It is therefore possible that there was a connection between the two commissions, although one is not obvious.

[194] In an article for *The Atlantic,* Stephen Weiss noted that 18,593 government-issue tombstones were provided for the graves of Confederates in the decade between 2002 and 2012 alone (Weiss 2013).

Due to factors such as those discussed above, it can be difficult to determine when exactly a tombstone was erected. As a result, little work has focused on the content of tombstones and whether they follow the same thematic trends as the large scale monuments erected by the LMAs. Without knowing with certainty when a tombstone was established, it can be difficult to determine whether it falls within the period memorializing loss (1865-1880), the interim period (1880-1890) or the period associated with the Confederate celebration (1890-1920). Consequently, analysis of the tombstones identified during the survey focused primarily on whether they were reflective of the values promulgated by the larger commemorative monuments.

Although many of the tombstones that were put up to commemorate soldiers who died during the war are matter-of-fact and speak to the family's sorrow and loss, others echo themes associated with the Victorian ideal of the Good Death (Faust 2008),[195] and yet others celebrate the heroism of the dead and highlight their honor, devotion to duty and faithfulness to the cause, sometimes in quite florid terms. For example, a tombstone erected to Charles McPhail in Hollywood Cemetery reads:

DULCE ET DECORUM EST PRO PATRIA MORI

In memory of

CHARLES HARRIS McPHAIL

A native of Norfolk, Va.,

and a member of Co G 6th Reg Va. Vol

He fell in the battle's front

July 1st 1862

In the 25th year of his age while

gallantly charging the enemy at

MALVERN HILL

A devout and humble Christian

a brave and faithful soldier

he here makes his last bivouac with

Figure 25: Tombstone for Charles McPhail, John D. Couper, ca. 1862, marble (photo by author.)

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[195] Although an anecdote recounted in *The Monumental News* about the disparity between the fine words often attributed to dying soldiers and their actual words suggests that these stones may have been viewed with skepticism by some. *The Monumental News*, 1893, vol 5 (2): 100.

thousands of other martyred sons

of the South who sleep around him.

Rest on embalmed and sainted dead

Dear is the blood ye gave

fear not that impious foot shall tread

the herbage of your grave

Your glory shall not be forgot

While Fame her record keeps

Or honour points the hallowed spot

where valour proudly sleeps.[196]

McPhail, a private in the 6th Virginia Infantry, had enlisted two months prior to the battle of Malvern Hill. He died of wounds to the head and was one of ten members of his company killed that day. Although McPhail's wartime service was relatively short and undistinguished, the reader is left with the impression that he led the charge in a decisive and pivotal battle. Another tombstone from the same campaign, the Seven Days Battle, erected in Blandford Cemetery, commemorates Lt. Col. Joseph Scott:

HE FELL IN A CAUSE AS GREAT AS

JUST AND HE DIED FOR ME AND YOU

SCOTT

LT. COL

JOSEPH V. SCOTT

3rd Va Infantry

Died of wounds received at

Malvern Hill

June 30 1862

Aged 41 years

His last words were

"If I am to die
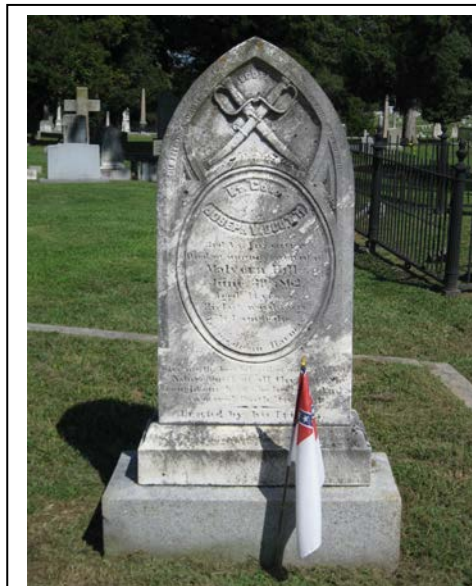
Figure 26: Lt. Col. Joseph Scott tombstone, Charles Miller Walsh, ca. 1862, marble (photo by author).

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[196] The last eight lines of the inscription are taken from Theodore O'Hara's poem "The Bivouac of the Dead." Written after the Mexican war, the poem was popular in the South, but was also chosen by Meigs to decorate Arlington Cemetery. It can still be seen in many National cemeteries.

Let me die in Harness."

Give me the best beloved of men said Death

to Nature. Quick of all thy Sot. She

brought our hero who lies here. And

answered Death "tis Scott".

Erected by his Friends.

Scott had served as the Captain of the Petersburg Grays, a volunteer militia, prior to the war. He enlisted as a Captain at the start of the war and was promoted to Major on November 6, 1861 and to Lieutenant Colonel on April 27, 1862. Apparently, Scott rose from his sickbed to lead his troops in the Battle of Frayser's Farm (Glendale), fought near Malvern Hill. He was shot in the heart during the battle.[197] Both tombstones elevate the service of the soldier to present a heroic vision, and tie the deceased to themes of gallantry, Christianity, duty, sanctity, fame, honor, heroism and self- sacrifice. These two tombstones are not alone in promulgating this vision of the Southern soldier.

The 37 stones identified by the survey were divided into three categories based on tone: "mournful" (those including a direct acknowledgment of grief or sorrow), "laudatory" (those that celebrated the life or manner of death of the deceased) and "matter-of-fact" (those tombstones that were limited to biographical points such as place of death, company, age, name). Each tombstone was categorized by whichever tone seemed to be most dominant and classified in only one category. Since simultaneously mournful and laudatory tones are difficult to achieve within the limited space of an epitaph, there was little difficulty in determining which category a tombstone belonged to. Although the mnemonic nature of a tombstone meant that they all held themes of loss, only three were mournful, 18 were celebratory and 16 were matter-of-fact (Table 3). The greatest numbers of tombstones marked deaths that occurred between 1862 and 1864. In 1862, Union forces captured Norfolk and then progressed up the Peninsula in a campaign that culminated in the Seven Days

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[197] "Lieut. Col. Joseph V. Scott," *The Confederate Veteran*, Volume 7, 1899 p.126

Battle (a series of six engagements fought on the outskirts of Richmond). The battle was very costly, but it forced the Union Army to retreat, and protected the Confederacy's capitol, extending the war by three years. In 1864, a series of battles were fought around Petersburg, including the Battle of Old Men and Boys (Rives' Farm) and the Battle of the Crater. At Rives' Farm, Union forces encountered Petersburg's citizen militia, most of whom were too old or too young for regular service, and were held at bay until reinforcements could arrive. At the Battle of the Crater, an enterprising Union plan to mine a Confederate salient and capture the city was thwarted by Confederate forces. It is possible that laudatory tones are overly represented on tombstones from these two years due to feelings of deliverance on the part of surviving civilians.

	Mournful	Laudatory	Matter-of-Fact
1861	0	0	0
1862	0	8	5
1863	1	2	0
1864	2	7	8
1865	0	0	3
No date	0	1	0

Table 3: Civil War memorials by linguistic category

Examining the epitaphs on the laudatory group more closely (Table 4), the most frequently mentioned attribute is patriotism. References to patriotism include phrases such as "died in defense of his country"[198] or "I die young but I die in my country's cause." The courage or bravery of the individual is often highlighted, as is their exemplary conduct. With the one exception noted above, none of these tombstones mention the "cause" for which the soldiers died. Duty and sacrifice, which are both invoked frequently on the monuments erected by the LMAs, are less explicitly referenced on these stones, however that may be because these attributes are implied by others that are highlighted. For example, a soldier who dies in the defense of his city or family may be seen to be sacrificing himself for them.

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[198] Sometimes the phrase is altered to read "died in defense of his native state" or of "this city." The latter is particularly true for the militia men who died during the Battle of Old Men and Boys.

Most of the "laudatory" tombstones use the words "died" or "fell" to describe the cause of death. Only five use the term "killed," however, this is the only word used to describe cause of death on the tombstones in the "matter-of-fact" category. The word "killed" implies a more aggressive and violent encounter than a more euphemistic term such as "fell" does, suggesting both that the "matter-of-fact" group of tombstones may not be as devoid of commentary on the nature of war or familial loss as they initially seem.

Virtue and Honor	Duty	Sacrifice	Patriotism	Loyalty to Friends & family	Faithful Christian	Valor, Courage & Bravery
7 (38%)	5 (27%)	4 (22%)	10 (55%)	6 (33%)	6 (33%)	8 (44%)

Table 4: The breakdown of the laudatory tombstones by attributes (n=18)

As the 1800s drew to a close, families began to commemorate the war's veterans. The tombstones that they began to erect continued to stress themes of valor, virtue, and faithful Christian duty, but also increasingly contained iconography related to the Confederacy. This trend mirrored a societal movement that Gaines Foster (1987) has dubbed the "Celebration of the Lost Cause" and marked a new way in which Southern identity was recrafted and memory was made. Memorialization began to move out of cemeteries and into the political and legislative hearts of communities. Large monuments were erected on courthouse greens, commemorating not only the Civil War dead, but also the living veterans. As both a veteran and a "monument man," Andrew Wray played an active role in this celebration, which we will examine in the next chapter.

CHAPTER NINE: Transforming Memory: Inclusion and the Creation of Exclusive Landscapes

On November 21, 1900, Andrew Wray stood on the Charles City County Courthouse green, less than twenty miles from Williamsburg, with a group of visiting dignitaries and distinguished locals who had assembled to erect a monument to the county's Confederate veterans and dead. In addition to the Governor of Virginia,[199] a US Congressman,[200] a Federal Judge,[201] a Virginia State Senator,[202] and the Judge of the New Kent and Charles City County Courts[203] were all present. A number of veterans and spectators had also arrived from Richmond on the chartered steamer, *Ariel.*[204] The city and courthouse were decked with red and white bunting and Confederate flags fluttered "at every turn" (Charles City Memorial Association 1901: 7). The morning began with a reception and luncheon and then the group adjourned to the monument. A chaplain delivered an invocation, followed by speeches from the Governor and established local veterans, songs were sung by a children's chorus, and a poem to the soldiers of Charles City County was recited. The culmination of the day's activities was the unveiling of the monument by Miss Susie Harwood, the granddaughter of a distinguished local veteran (ibid: 3). The commemorative booklet produced after the event declared that it was "surely a day never to be forgotten, great and glorious in the annals of this or any other country" (ibid: 7). The monument, "a graceful shaft of Virginia Granite, twenty feet high," (ibid: 6) bore a bas-relief of the Confederate battle-flag and the inscription:

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[199] John Hoge Tyler (1846-1925) had a lengthy political career with a stint in the State Senate and a term as Lieutenant Governor. He was Governor between 1898 and 1902. He was a Confederate veteran; having enlisted at the age of 16, he served as a private throughout the war.

[200] John Lamb (1840-1924), who served in the 3rd VA Cavalry during the war and afterwards became a merchant as well as Sheriff, Treasurer and Surveyor of Charles City County. He served in the US Congress from 1897 to 1913.

[201] Edmund Waddill (1855-1931) who served as a US Representative to Congress 1890-1891 and was then named as a judge to the US District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia

[202] David Gardiner Tyler (1846-1927) was the son of President John Tyler. Although born in New York, he grew up in Virginia and joined the Confederate Army in 1863. He surrendered with Lee at Appomattox and then earned a law degree from Washington College (now Washington and Lee University). He served in the US House of Representatives from 1893 to 1897 and in the Virginia State Senate from 1900 to 1904.

[203] Judge Isaac Hill Christian (1831-1904). In 1861 he ran for the Virginia Senate on a pro-slavery platform.

[204] "Charles City Shaft Shipped," *The Richmond Dispatch*, Richmond, VA, November 15, 1900.

TO THE

CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS

OF

CHARLES CITY COUNTY

1861-1865

DEFENDERS OF

CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY

AND THE RIGHT OF

SELF GOVERNMENT.

ERECTED A.D. 1900

PRO ARIS ET FOCIS

This ceremony was not unique. Similar ones occurred in communities across Virginia and the South between 1890 and 1920. The order of these observances typically paralleled the Charles City County ceremony. What was new about them was the focus on visibility and on the living. These ceremonies were held in the center of communities, in front of courthouses and county seats. They were advertised widely; well-placed stories in State newspapers were designed to attract large crowds. Parades and other *divertissements* were often added to further appeal to spectators. Discounts for travel on trains and passenger vessels were arranged, and businesses nearby closed in order to enable large crowds to attend. The visibility of the monument and the degree to which it spoke for a community's devotion were hotly debated topics (Winberry 1983; Beetham 2014). Although the monuments themselves focused on the past, there was also an emphasis on the present and on the future. Children's groups were invited to participate, speeches focused on the need to ensure that the next generation remembered the principles for which the soldiers had fought, and monument companies promoted the need to erect lasting memorials while veterans could still see them

For at least one of the speakers at the Charles City County ceremony, a local veteran named Thomas Willcox,[205] the fact that the obelisk being erected was carved by a Civil War veteran of stone native to Virginia was an important attribute that bolstered its ability to fulfill its mnemonic function (Charles City Memorial Association 1901: 9). His comments highlight not only the key role that carvers played in helping to realize the memorial aspirations of local communities, but also the increasingly important role that veterans played in the rhetoric of memory and in the rituals associated with it. It is therefore important to consider both of these groups in greater detail.

The Role of Carvers

As has been discussed earlier, scholarship focusing on seventeenth and eighteenth century tombstones often emphasizes the artistry of the carver, and there is little discussion of the role others, such as the commissioner, may have played in co-creating the monument. The exception to this tendency lies in the very high-end sculptural funerary monuments. In those cases, the role of the sculptor is discussed, but the patron's desires are also frequently considered (Llewellyn 1996). In part, this division, at least in the United States, may lie in a tendency to view early tombstones as folk-art and a corresponding, rather romantic, propensity to focus on the singular inspiration of the itinerant artist working in some degree of isolation. Although a number of anthropologists have pointed out that carvers did not work in isolation and reacted to both broad societal trends (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966; Deetz and Dethlefsen 1971) and to smaller group dynamics, such as how individual groups chose to express their ethnicity (Little 1998; Mytum 1994; Mytum 1999), there has been little interest in tying the work of individual carvers to market responses and customer demand. Paradoxically, scholarship focusing on nineteenth and twentieth century tombstones has often focused on broad societal phenomena, such as the Victorian consumption of death, and the emotional responses engendered by the large numbers of deaths associated with the Civil War and the two World Wars. In this model, rather than the buyer being the unseen element, it is frequently the carver

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[205] Thomas Willcox (1832-1913) enlisted in the Confederate Army as a 2nd Lieutenant in May 1861 but resigned in January 1862 to become an enrolling officer. He was a wealthy landowner in Charles City County who served on the County's Board of Supervisor and presided over the County's Court of Magistrates.

who is written out of the transaction. Similar patterns may be seen in the scholarship connected with Civil War monuments. The scholarly spotlight has largely been focused on what the tributes meant to those who purchased and erected them.[206] This emphasis on the authorial role that clients play in the creation of a monument neglects the role that others play in the construction of the piece. Monuments are a form of text. In many cases they incorporate written words, but in all cases they are designed to be read (Aboussnouga and Machin 2013). Like all modern texts, their creation involves a minimum of three individuals or groups: the author, who composes the text, the reader, who consumes and thus gives meaning to it, and the publisher, who shapes and produces the final text. In the context of the Civil War memorials and perhaps even tombstones, it is helpful to think of carvers assuming the role of the publisher. They aided in the shaping of the monuments, gauged the market, and connected the authors with their readership.[207]

The erection of a monument was a large and public undertaking freighted with sentiment for the veterans who had served and the families who had lost members, but it also represented a business transaction for the carver or company that erected it. Not all tombstones carvers undertook the production of Civil War monuments. Although John Couper (Norfolk), Charles Miller Walsh (Petersburg) and Andrew Wray (Richmond) all produced memorials for courthouse greens within Virginia, others working in the same geographic area, including James Wallen, opted not to pursue this line of work.[208] It is important therefore to consider what carvers choosing to create these particular monuments might have hoped to gain. Certainly, these

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[206] Exceptions to this statement are one-off sculptural memorials, such as those erected in large cities or on key battlegrounds. Attribution to a particular sculptor and discussion of the artist's motivations and responses to societal trends is often included in any scholarly treatment of these memorials (Savage 1997; Beetham 2014; Fulkerson 2016). It is important to remember that although these monuments may be more visible, both in terms of their placement and the scholarship dedicated to them, the vast majority of monuments erected in both cemeteries and courthouse squares were more modest affairs that were typically erected by carvers already working on tombstones and other cemetery installations.

[207] Occasionally, there were missteps, as in the case of "Dutchy" in Elberton, Georgia, where a statue of a "common soldier" was deemed too Germanic in appearance to be a true representative of a Confederate soldier. The townspeople pulled it down one night and later erected a second statue.

[208] One reason may have been that by the 1890s, Southern memorialists increasingly desired monuments made of granite because of the visual connections between its gray color and the gray worn by Confederate soldiers. The hardness of granite and the additional effort required to carve it may have acted as a deterrent for some.

commissions represented financial windfalls. They were large contracts and often somewhat formulaic in nature, rendering them easy to produce and reproduce. Andrew Wray created obelisks for the Charles City County Courthouse, the Cumberland County Courthouse (1901), the Botetourt Artillery in the City of Buchanan (1902) and the Fincastle Courthouse (1904). From a distance, they bear a strong similarity to each other. However as one draws nearer, individual details, such as the bas relief on the Charles City County monument, the shape of the plinths and the specifics of the text panels spring into focus, revealing the differences between them. A newspaper article commenting on the commissioning of the Botetourt Artillery obelisk noted the resemblance it bore to one Wray had erected over Hunter Holmes McGuire's grave in Hollywood Cemetery.[209] Prices ranged significantly: the taller but less wordy and more easily delivered Charles City County obelisk cost $600, while the Botetourt Artillery one cost $1100.[210] Charles Miller Walsh created monuments that were erected in Farmville (1900), Orange (1900), Smithville (1900), Marion (1903), Amelia (1905), Virginia Beach (1905), Surry (1909) and Newport News (1909). Generally these consisted of a standing soldier on a plinth. Prices ranged from $1150 for the granite standing soldier in Smithville to $3000 for the bronze soldier erected in Amelia.[211] Comparing these prices against those for tombstones recorded in John Couper's 1877-1878 daybook gives a clearer picture of the size of these contracts. Of the 184 tombstones in the ledger, for which order forms also exist permitting comparisons not only of price, but also of what was ordered, the average price per stone is $43.46. The cheapest stones are for children and cost $1 to $2 dollars while the most expensive is a $440 Italian monument to be delivered to Edenton, NC.[212] The largest monument companies, such as McNeel Marble Company, offered to coach

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[209] "To Commemorate Valor and Service," *The Times,* Richmond, VA, November 28, 1902, p. 6

[210] These prices convert to the following equivalents in 2016 dollars: approximately $16,220 for the Charles City County obelisk and $29,736 for the Botetourt Artillery obelisk. (Currency conversions made using www.in2013dollars.com [Accessed 3/25/2017]).

[211] These prices convert to the following equivalents in 2016 dollars: approximately $31,088 for the Smithville statue and $77,789 for the Amelia statue (Currency conversions made using www.in2013dollars.com [Accessed 3/25/2017]).

[212] Daybook, 1887-1889, Couper Marble Works, Mss3 C825a, Virginia Historical Society. In addition to tombstone work, Couper also created coping, carved man hole covers and did relettering and cleaning of existing funerary monuments.

memorial associations on fund-raising and extended liberal terms to help entice groups to commission monuments.[213]

In the nineteenth century, the carving business appears to have been a lucrative pursuit for good business men. Although capital was needed to purchase tools and stock, demand was high. Couper maintained a sizeable business in Norfolk, owned a large house in Norfolk as well as a country house, and took a couple of trips to Europe in his final years. When James Wallen died in 1905, newspapers covering the acrimonious inheritance battle waged between his seven children and his third wife placed his net worth between $30,000 and $60,000.[214] However, the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century were also periods of change for the stone industry. Consolidation, and the introduction of new tools such as pneumatic ones and sand blasters, made the carving process faster and allowed for less skilled labor (Elliott 2011). Large firms, like the McNeel Marble Company, increasingly put pressure on smaller firms.[215]

In addition to the financial windfall that a single courthouse green installation represented, there were also the promotional benefits it bestowed. Although these memorials were rarely signed, the publicity that accompanied both their commissioning and their unveiling represented valuable advertising. Articles were placed in local and statewide newspapers at key points along the monument's creation. The stories covered the commissioning of a monument, the laying of the cornerstone, the build-up to the unveiling and the unveiling itself. Frequently, the name of the carver was included in these accounts. Although occasional stories mentioned that a contract had gone to the lowest bidder,[216] generally they were

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[213] McNeel Marble Company advertisement, *The Confederate Veteran*, 1910, vol 18, p. 48.

[214] *The Times Dispatch*, Richmond VA, Wednesday April 11 1906; *The Times Dispatch*, Richmond VA, July 16, 1906; *The Alexandria Gazette and Virginia Advertiser*, Alexandria VA, April 30 1909. The size of the estate, as well as allegations of "undue influence" by Mrs. Wallen, ensured that the case was widely reported in both Richmond and across the State.

[215] Although both Wray and Walsh were able to pick up individual monument contracts by 1910, McNeel was advertising that the previous year had seen the erection of more monuments than the preceeding decade had and that McNeel had received 95% of the contracts. McNeel Marble Company advertisement, *The Confederate Veteran*, 1910, volume 18, p. 48.

[216] *The Times*, Richmond, VA., September 17, 1902, p.8

effusive about the artistry and the creator's skills. It is clear that this publicity, as well as word of mouth, was beneficial. Wray benefited from contracts in both Fincastle and neighboring Buchanan, and Walsh was contracted to create memorials for both Farmville and nearby Orange, which were unveiled only a week apart.[217]

For Andrew Wray, the monument business may have brought an additional source of prestige. Wray joined the Ashland Grays, Company E of the 15th Virginia Infantry, on July 5th 1861, and served in it throughout the Civil War. The company saw action around Richmond and on the Peninsula, experienced devastating losses at Sharpsburg (Antietam) and aided in the defense of Petersburg, before surrendering with Lee at Appomattox Courthouse. Throughout the war, Wray served as a private. His military records show that he was absent without leave between October 12th and Dec 30th 1862 and again twice during 1864. There is no indication that he was paroled at Appomattox, although other members of his company were, suggesting that perhaps he did not accompany his regiment there. All told, Wray's military career may not have been an exemplary one.[218] However, Wray was one of the founding members of the Robert E. Lee Camp Number 1 Confederate Veterans' Organization in 1883. He was an active and enthusiastic member and for his services within the group he was granted the honorary title of Captain, as well as honorific roles in key events such as the Memorial Day observances in 1890, and the reinternment of Jefferson Davis in Hollywood Cemetery in 1893. These events, like the Charles City County Courthouse monument's unveiling, allowed Wray to mix with a number of dignitaries, including politicians, leading business men, military heroes and the Davis Family. Although membership in fraternal orders was common for men of the period and was probably also an important way to promote business, Wray's involvement with the Lee Camp, his frequent attendance at veterans' reunions and the involvement of his family[219] in

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[217] *The Virginian Pilot*, Friday Oct 19 1900, p.8

[218] By contrast Charles Miller Walsh, who served in Company E of the 12th Virginia Regiment, was promoted to Corporal in 1864, remained with his company, except for a short hospitalization for dysentery, and is listed among those paroled at Appomattox.

[219] Wray's daughter was selected as a sponsor of the Lee Camp and the Third Virginia District for the 1903 Veteran's reunion in New Orleans (*The Times Dispatch*, Richmond, VA, May 14, 1903, p.9). Sponsors were typically young unmarried women from families with ties to a prominent confederate veteran or who had done a service to the Confederate camp. The role was a social one. The sponsors

these were also ways for Wray to reimagine his wartime service and to tie himself to broader events and a larger community.

Veteran Involvement and the Celebration of the Common Soldier

Wray was not alone in seeking to reimagine his career as a soldier. As the grief for lost comrades and the trauma of the war's loss subsided, and Southerners reestablished themselves financially, former soldiers sought to regain the comradery and fellowship they had experienced during the war. In the 1880s, a number of veterans' organizations were formed, including the Robert E. Lee Camp Number 1 (Richmond, 1883), the Matthew F. Maury[220] Camp (Fredericksburg, 1883) and the A.P. Hill[221] camp (Petersburg, 1887). In 1889, the United Confederate Veterans (UCV) was created as an umbrella organization for these and other veterans' groups. 188 camps initially joined the UCV; in five years the number had swollen to 850 (a 452% growth rate). By 1904, 1565 camps throughout the South were a part of the organization (Foster 1982: 106). The UCV, like its Northern counterpart, the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), was organized along military lines. The head of the organization was the Commander and officers held rank within the group (although not necessarily the same rank they had held during service). Members of the individual camps and the UCV were interested in remembering the soldier's experience during war, and in providing aid for sick and needy soldiers. Fundraising focused on the creation of soldiers' homes, and other activities including providing honor guards for key events, such as the reburial of Jefferson Davis in Hollywood Cemetery, and organizing reunions of veterans. Since Northern veterans could best understand the experience of war and the friendships built during it, the UCV also promoted the idea of sectional reconciliation.

For Southerners, a key component of reconciliation was securing Northern acknowledgment that Southern leaders were heroic and led "inspired armies who

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marched with veterans in parades at the reunion, danced attendance on them and participated in tableaux for their amusement (Foster 1987: 136-138).

[220] Matthew Fontaine Maury (1806-1873) was born near Fredericksburg. He was a US Naval Officer who renounced his commission to become the Chief of Sea Coast, River and Harbor Defenses for the Confederacy. After the war he taught at the Virginia Military Institute in Lexington

[221] Ambrose Powell Hill (1825-1865), was a US Army Officer who renounced his commission to join the Confederate Army. He ultimately became a Brigadier General and was killed on April 2, 1865 in the Third Battle of Petersburg.

fought valiantly in a war over constitutional principles" (Foster 1989: 60). The erection of statues to key leaders[222] highlighted Southern leadership. However, it was equally important to celebrate the individual Private. He was lauded for his heroism, endurance and sacrifice, and his respect for private property (Foster 1987: 122). With this new focus, came a new wave of memorialization. Statues of "common soldiers" were increasingly erected in courthouse squares and in the hearts of towns.[223] These statues take several forms; frequently, the soldiers stand at parade rest, sometimes they are in more combative stances, and occasionally they hold a bugle or flag. They were rarely portraits of individual soldiers. What characterized them as the period progressed was their ubiquity. Communities in both the North and South erected similar statues and although individual details varied from monument to monument at a cursory glance they are remarkably similar.

One point of differentiation is that the Southern soldiers are characteristically of mature appearance, heavily mustached and idealized (Figure 27).[224] The impact of the statues is one of calm and quiet. There is little to challenge the viewer or the citizen who must walk past them every day. Pathos has been excluded from these depictions. The statues depict not the young men who often got swept along in the war and tragically lost, but rather older men who knew the potential costs, weighed them and followed their "consciences."[225] Similarly, although the narratives of the Lost Cause promoted the image of the undersupplied, underfed and ragged soldier fighting for his convictions with the last fibers of his being, these soldiers are generally well-fed, well-

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[222] In 1890, a statue of Robert E. Lee was erected in Richmond. In 1903, a statue of General J.E.B. Stuart joined Lee's. This was followed days later by a monument to Jefferson Davis and in 1919 by a monument to Stonewall Jackson. Foster has written that Lee, Davis, and Jackson each illustrated key components of the Confederate myth (1982: 122). In this reading, Lee's purportedly faultless character and aristocratic style were counterbalanced by Jackson's lower social status, but Jackson illustrated sheer innate ability and the way heartfelt beliefs permit individuals to rise above their origins. Meanwhile Davis, as the only leader to be imprisoned, embodied the "cause" and the suffering that its loss brought (Foster 1982:122).

[223] The terminology for these statues is not uniform. They have been referred to as "Standing Soldiers" (Savage 1997), "Common Soldiers" (Sedore 2011), and "Citizen Soldiers" (Beetham 2014).

[224] This is true of the soldiers created by Southern carvers. However, Sarah Beetham has shown that Northern monument companies sometimes provided statues to both Northern and Southern cities and the details of these vary little (Beetham 2014).

[225] Hacker (2011: 30) points out that although in the later years of the war a high number of older men joined the fight, the median age for a Confederate soldier was 23.5 years and two-fifths of the Southern soldiers who served were 21 or younger at the time of enlistment.

groomed and well-clothed (Davis 2000: 10). The statues do not illustrate the hardships of war or the life of the soldier, but rather they seem to depict the living veterans who, recovered and reestablished, after the war helped to "guard" the Confederacy's memory.

Figure 27: Details of the common soldier erected at Farmville (left) and at Marion (right). Note the mature appearance of both soldiers (photos by author).

The dedicatory text on the statues is more inclusive than that on the earlier cemetery monuments. Like the obelisks erected during this period, the inscriptions on these monuments no longer simply mourn the lost, but also include the survivors as well.[226] They list the names of the companies raised in the county and even the names of individual soldiers who served within those companies. On the one hand these monuments united disparate communities across the country by highlighting shared experiences and by creating similar visual landmarks on both the real and cognitive landscapes; on the other hand, they were also highly individuated and were created by communities, who sought to customize them, and their experience of the war, through their choice of language and form. The connection between the memorials and the living veterans is one that was repeatedly reinforced in the dedication

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[226] The exception to this are the Common Soldier statues erected in cemeteries.

speeches at unveiling ceremonies, in newspaper articles and even in advertisements. In a series of prominent ads placed in *The Confederate Veteran* in 1912, McNeel Marble Company urged memorial associations not to delay planning their monuments "because the heroes of the sixties are fast leaving us and every year's delay denies many of them seeing the memorial."[227]

Politicizing the Common Soldier and Building a Landscape of Exclusion

The sense of nostalgia and of time elapsing were powerful motivators. However Foster (1982) and others (Winberry 1983; Blair 2004) have suggested that in addition to the desire to honor veterans and to create lasting tributes to them, political motivations also underpinned the changes to memorialization patterns seen in the 1890s and the succeeding decades. In the late 1870s and early 1880s, the emergence of radical populist coalitions threatened the established political elite. In Virginia, this movement was embodied by William Mahone's Readjuster party. The Readjusters favored paying off a smaller proportion of Virginia's pre-war debt and investing more money in schools. Their opponents, the Funders, favored paying the full debt at any cost. Mahone built a powerful coalition of poor, often rural, whites, who favored public education, and African Americans, who felt that they had had no part in incurring the debt and were being adversely affected by heavy poll-taxes used to help pay off the debt (Levin 2005: 393). In 1879, the Readjusters won a majority of both the houses in Virginia's General Assembly. They proceeded to cut the debt in half, to remove the poll tax, and to abolish the whipping post, both of which had been used to disenfranchise blacks. In 1881, the Readjusters won all the statewide offices. However, in 1883, three days before an election, a dubious "riot" purportedly started by African Americans occurred in Danville, fanned racial prejudices and allowed the Democrats (the planter class and other political conservatives) to win a majority. In this new political environment, the increasing focus on memorializing the ordinary soldier became a tool that the elites deployed in order to break up radical populist movements, promote a vision of an outwardly classless white society and remind whites of their racial allegiances. Even as the common man and the citizen soldier

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[227]McNeel Marble Company advertisement, *The Confederate Veteran*, 1912, vol 20, p. 592.

were being celebrated, the ceremonies also reinforced respect for society's leaders (Foster 1982: 139). Prominent veterans and businessmen within the county and state took the podium at unveiling ceremonies and frequently headed the dedicatory parades on horseback. Kirk Savage has shown that for Southerners, the relationship between leaders, such as Lee, and horses, such as Traveller, Lee's favorite steed, was read as a metaphor for dominance and control, thus further underscoring the messages of political and racial supremacy embedded in the ceremonies (1997: 133). The imagery, messages, iconography and public spectacle of the unveiling ceremonies reinforced existing hegemonic structures within which white landed and moneyed men reigned supreme.

Monuments and tombstones serve as fixed points on a cognitive landscape, which can endure and be interacted with by numerous generations. Unlike public sculpture, tombstones serve both a semi-public and a semi-private function. They may mark emotions, individual interests or intimate moments that are hard to decipher at a distance, but they are also **meant** to be seen. Both the tombstones and monuments associated with large-scale events, such as the Civil War, also afford unique vehicles with which to examine the ways collective memories are created and contested. Both the Federal Government and the people of the South transformed the Civil War dead into a collective unit that could be used to advance their own ends. In the case of the government, the Union dead symbolized loyalty to the Union and the legitimacy and dominance of the central government. For Southerners, who were trying to assimilate disruptive change, the Confederate dead represented a way in which traditional values could be defined, and a new domestic and political landscape could be created. Within this landscape, both courthouse squares and cemeteries became loci in which "positive" values and memories were given physical form and communicated. What is important to remember is that this also created a "negative" landscape. Choices were made about which attributes should be promoted and valorized and which should not. Alternative truths were proposed. Support for slavery, which had lain at the root of the South's cause, was transmuted into a less charged and seemingly more acceptable defense of state's rights. The large numbers of enslaved African Americans who emancipated themselves during the war by fleeing their masters, often at

considerable risk to themselves, were transformed into "faithful" servants and retainers who were remembered, if female, through the large number of "Mammy" tombstones erected between the late 1880s and 1920, or, if male, through accounts of their service to the Confederacy.[228] Resistance to political oppression was marked as a white man's virtue,[229] while at the same time, African Americans were told that their role was submissive devotion and unquestioning loyalty. The siting of the courthouse monuments, erected in front of the seats of county government and jurisprudence, marked these areas as belonging to Southern whites at the same time that those whites enacted laws that disenfranchised African Americans and eliminated their ability to participate in public life. Individuals who could not vote, could not sit on juries, or run for public office; as a result, their ability to advocate for their interests and influence legislation was not only restricted, but even entirely removed.

As a child, Dr. Ervin Jordan, a prominent African American scholar of the Civil War, recalls being admonished by his mother to avoid Norfolk's Confederate monument, located in the heart of downtown near the public library and municipal buildings, because it was "the white folk's place."[230] What is palpable within this story are the

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[228] In September 2013, the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) Mechanized Calvary Unit commemorated Richard Poplar's Civil War service in Blandford Cemetery. Poplar, a chef at the Bollingbroke Hotel in Petersburg, attached himself to Company H of the 13th Virginia Cavalry near the start of the war. He was imprisoned for 19 months after Gettysburg. During his imprisonment, he reiterated his support for the South calling himself "a Jefferson Davis man" and refusing to take the oath of allegiance (*Petersburg Index Appeal*, Petersburg, VA May 23, 1886). Poplar became a poster boy for the loyal black Confederate and was much celebrated during his life. His funeral was attended by a large crowd and among his pall-bearers were a Confederate General, a Colonel and two Captains (ibid). Although Poplar may have held deep-seated personal convictions, his beliefs, like those of many other African Americans who either chose, or were forced, to accompany Southern whites to war, were glossed over in the narrative that developed around him. He, and others, became symbols for whites who argued that African Americans both desired and needed the guidance that slavery provided. This narrative supported continuing white dominance and allowed Southerners to overlook the atrocities that Confederate soldiers had committed against black Union soldiers at places like Fort Pillow and at the Battle of the Crater, and the ways in which Confederate troops had fallen short of the military ideals frequently invested in them. In his 1995 book, *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, Ervin Jordan has explored the multi-faceted reasons that African Americans may have chosen to support the Confederate Army, and he has attempted to return a sense of individuality and agency to the discussion of these individuals.

[229] A message further reinforced in Virginia by the inclusion of the State seal, which includes the image of the Roman deity Virtus trampling Tyranny and the motto "Sic Semper Tyrannis" or "Thus ever to tyrants"

[230] "Q & A with the Symposium Speakers: Ervin Jordan," comments delivered prior to the "Lightning Rods of Controversy: Civil War Monuments Past, Present and Future" conference, February 25, 2017. Available at https://acwm.org/blog/qa-symposium-speakers-ervin-jordan [Accessed 4/14/2017].

visible ways in which monuments delineated cities in both a geographic and political way. Whether Andrew Wray sympathized with the message on Lucy Ann's tombstone or not, the Civil War tombstones and monuments that he and others created were part of a large communal project, which remade the Southern landscape and the memory of the war. The unanimity with which white Southerners undertook this project and its scale left little room for alternate viewpoints. While there were a number of Virginians who were vocal opponents of secession during the war, there appears to have been little evidence of opposition to the monument building campaign within the South.[231] Within this context, personal memory and differing narratives were soon muted by the much louder, larger and more numerous voices erected throughout the South; each monument with its injunctive to "remember" also demanded that other stories be forgotten. Against this background, Lucy Ann Dunlop's tombstone and the hopeful challenge that Alexander Dunlop had commissioned slowly slipped into decline until it was ultimately buried and forgotten, as we will discuss in the next chapter.

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[231] Northern newspapers did query the erection of monuments in the South, arguing that they memorialized traitors and enemies of the state and also fanned the flames of sectional hatred. As more opportunities for sectional reconciliation developed, even these protests became muted.

CHAPTER TEN: Burial and Forgetting: the Tombstones from 1880-2004

Katherine Hayes (2011) has argued that scholars have historically tended to treat memory as a virtue and forgetting as a form of loss or dysfunction, with the result that they do not spend enough time thinking about how or why social actors enacted forgetting in the past.[232] Forgetting can take place on many levels, individual, familial, social group or nation-state and there is not necessarily a clear division between each. In the article "Seven Types of Forgetting", Paul Connerton (2008) outlined a taxonomy of forgetting. He identified seven specific types and wrote about their function, what their values were and who was responsible. Some forms of forgetting, such as repressive erasure, are typically carried out by a state, government or authorized voice, whereas others, for example, structural amnesia, may be carried out only by individuals or kinship groups seeking to emphasize or highlight parts of their pedigree that are socially useful. The concept that forgetting may be carried out by a multiplicity of actors for differing reasons that may achieve the same end is an important one to think about as we consider the history and the material presence of Lucy Ann's tombstone between 1880 and 2004.

When Alexander Dunlop died in 1880 he left a widow, Elizabeth, and two young children, Mary Leah and Alexander, aged eight and five. Although Dunlop showed his faith in his wife's business abilities by naming her as co-executor to his will,[233] it is possible that either this confidence was misplaced or that she fell victim to predatory practices as was suggested by Dunlop's daughter in a lawsuit brought against John A.W. Jones in 1898.[234] By 1900, most of the Dunlop property had been sold, and

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[232] There are exceptions to this treatment as Pamela Graves' (2008) excellent article on iconoclasm in early modern England and the ways in which the highly targeted destruction of religious imagery reflected contemporary concepts about the body and criminal punishment.

[233] The other executor was Rev. John A Dawson, the Pastor of First Baptist Church.

[234] Jones, who had worked for Dunlop prior to Dunlop's death and was retained by the family after the death, had sued for payment of money owed at some point prior to 1898. Leah Dunlop claimed in her suit that there had been irregularities in the Court's handling of the case, including the fact that after the death of the *guardian ad litum* no replacement had been named to protect her interests and those of her brother, both minors. The case resulted in the sale of most of Dunlop's property, with the exception of the Dunlop home, to John A.W. Jones and John Dawson. Leah Dunlop also claimed that John Jones had disposed of stock owned by Dunlop. Although Elizabeth Dunlop was named as a plaintiff in the suit the complaint seems to have been levelled particularly at Jones and Dawson. (James City County Chancery Court Case 1898-005 available at: http://www.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/case_detail.asp?CFN=095-1898-005 [Accessed 04/01/2017])

although the Dunlop homestead was still owned by the family, they had all moved away from Williamsburg. Alexander was living in New York, and Mary Leah and her step-mother were living in Washington, DC, where Mary Leah was working as a seamstress. In January 1901, she married J. Andrew Jones.[235] In June 1901, Alexander died in New York, leaving a one-year old daughter, Lillie, for Mary Leah and her new husband to raise. By the 1910 census, Mary Leah and her family had returned to Williamsburg, although they were not living in the Dunlop house, which may have been rented out. The family does not seem to have returned to the house and in 1916 and 1918 there were attempts to sell the house.[236] In 1925, a Chancery Court case aimed at permitting the sale of the house to the Williamsburg Methodist Episcopal Church South argued that the property was in need of repairs and that no rents or profits were received from the building.

It is clear from the several law-suits conducted between 1898 and 1925 that the house had been deteriorating, but what can only be surmised is what state the tombstones were in during this period prior to their eventual burial. For Alexander Dunlop's heirs, his third wife and the children from his second marriage, the burial of his first wife and her father may not have held the import it did for him. Similarly, few Hills remained in Williamsburg to tend the grave. Lucy Ann was one of four children. One of her brothers, Robert, emigrated to Liberia, and then died in 1867 on a return visit to the US. Her other brother, Richard, liberated himself from slavery by escaping to Hampton, but shortly after the war moved to Norfolk. He shared in Dunlop's political advocacy, joining him on his trip to Washington and, it is possible that Lucy Ann may have died while visiting him, but there is little evidence to suggest whether the two men had regular contact after her death. During Dunlop's life, Lucy Ann's sister, Martha Jane, was active in the First Baptist Church, filling a number of lay roles and

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[235] I have not been able to determine the degree to which John A.W. Jones and J. Andrew Jones are related. The Jones family is one of the oldest free black families and there were a number of Joneses who lived in the free black settlement called Hot Water near Williamsburg.

[236] James City County Chancery Court Case 1916-013 and 1918-008, Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA. Lillie inherited a half of the property from her father while Mary Leah and her children shared ownership of the other half, ensuring that any attempt to divest themselves of it took place in court. What is particularly interesting about the 1918 case is that although J. Andrew Jones was a carpenter and should have been able to make repairs to the Dunlop property, the Jones family was living in a rental property a block away because the Dunlop property was untenable.

making sizeable donations to the church, and it is likely that she would have been well-known to his family. However in September 1880, both she and her husband were dismissed from the church by letter, suggesting that they may have moved away from Williamsburg.[237] It is possible that the Dunlop family may have begun to lose their sense of connection to the stones and that perhaps the stones, like the house, were suffering from neglect.

Both of the tombstones are tablet-on-base style stones and there is evidence that a tenon projected from the base of each stone (Figure 28). However, only one base was uncovered during the excavations. In addition, a fragmentary transition piece, the
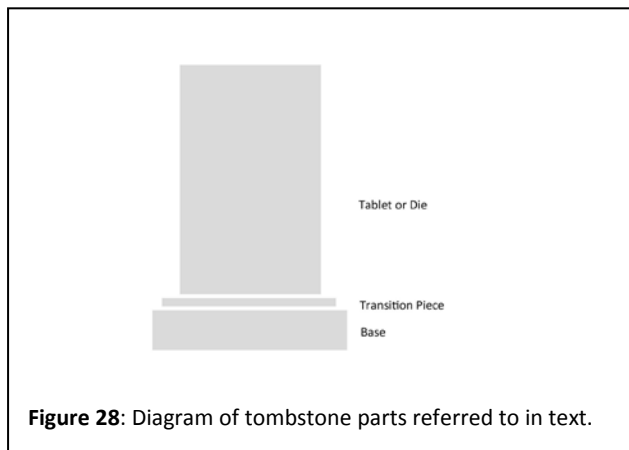
Figure 28: Diagram of tombstone parts referred to in text.

decorative step that often sits on the base block and forms a transition between the base and the die, was also found. Since some degree of effort appears to have been made to locate and move the tombstones and their accessories, this suggests that perhaps the second base and the tombstone had been separated for some time prior to burial and that, within that time period, loss had occurred. It is not clear which of the tombstones might have been associated with the lost base and the fragmentary transition piece. Lucy Ann's tombstone has damage along its bottom that is consistent with a tombstone that has been pushed or knocked over. However, when a tombstone does fall, it often breaks across the die as it hits the ground, but Lucy Ann's is unbroken, suggesting that if her tombstone fell, it either had a soft landing or was caught and eased to the ground. There are some stylistic details that suggest that the extant base may belong to Robert Hill's stone,

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[237] Marriage and Baptismal Register, First Baptist Church, Williamsburg VA. Letters of dismissal were typically granted when church members were moving away from the area and seeking to join another church. The letter formed a sort of introduction, attesting to the good character and standing of the individual. The 1880 census suggests that Martha Jane's husband, Edward Hill, had been unable to work for several months due to "dyspepsia" so it is also possible that they were joining another local church. Martha Jane Hill married Edward Hill, a carpenter and a former slave of Col. Wm Blow, as a result her last name did not change after marriage.

particularly the angularity of both. However the bottom of Robert Hill's tombstone shows evidence of having been chiseled off of its base (Figure 29). The separation of a base and die in this manner suggests two things. First, there were no plans to reunite the two in the future, and second, the mortar holding the tenon and mortise together was still in good condition. Although the first notion indicates that perhaps the tombstone was separated from its base just prior to burial, the second suggests that the stub of the tenon would remain mortared into the mortise. This was not the case. The mortise was filled with dirt, small ceramic sherds, and pebble fragments. Interestingly, although effort went into removing Robert Hill's tombstone from its base, the network of cracks visible in the tombstone and a horizontal break across the tombstone, suggest that the landing was not a soft one.[238] Although the exact chronology of which tombstone was separated from its base first is difficult to reconstruct, what does seem clear is that at least one tombstone was no longer standing prior to the purchase of the lot by the Methodist church.

Figure 29: Base of Robert Hill's tombstone showing remnants of tenon and tool marks made during straightening of base (photo by author).

By the 1890s and during the first quarter of the next century, with no members of the Hill family still living in Williamsburg the connection to that family was no longer helpful to the Dunlops. They began to forget and to replace them in their memory with relatives who might be able to aid or advance them more. In an oral history

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[238] The horizontal break is visible in the 1966 photograph, taken when the tombstones were temporarily uncovered by Colonial Williamsburg's maintenance department. Additional breaks occurred after that and may have resulted from the movement of the heavy machinery used to construct the Corner building.

collected in 1984, Elizabeth Parilla, daughter of Mary Leah Dunlop Jones, admits to not knowing very much about her Dunlop forbearers, but speaks in some detail about her (step) grandmother's Roper connections in Richmond.[239] In addition to the Ropers, it is likely that there was also a focus on any Jones relatives after Mary Leah's marriage. When the Methodist Church purchased the lot in 1925, the Jones family may no longer have felt any connection to the tombstones. Alternately, it is possible that they could not reach consensus about what to do with them. It is also possible that they could not afford to move the stones and the associated burials. Whatever the reason, the burials conveyed with the property. It is not unusual that as families reconstitute themselves, their needs and identities change. Family plots may be abandoned or sold. Mytum (2004b) has pointed out that tombstones are at their most socially active in the years immediately following their erection. As the people who knew the commemorated individual most intimately die or move away, a grave marker loses some of its force. It still asks visitors to remember the deceased, but the ways in which they do may be less potent and more dependent on their own experiences and interests.[240] Although connections may still be made, they are of a different nature than those initially formed and tend to be intermittent and often less stable. The tombstones may become part of a generalized landscape of commemoration, as in the case of a cemetery, or just part of the landscape, as is often the case with family plots.

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[239] Oral History of Elizabeth Parilla, 84-068, Swem Library Special Collections, The College of William and Mary. Elizabeth Dunlop's brother, Alpheus Roper, was a well-established free black in Richmond prior to the Civil War and he was politically active after the war. He served as a delegate to the "Mass State Convention of the Union Republican" party in 1867, was on the organizing committee of the 1869 Colored Convention in Richmond and later served on Richmond's City Council. In addition to his political activism he shared Dunlop's interest in providing dignified burials for African Americans and was one of the founding members of the Union Burial Ground Society in 1848. Constitution of the Union Burial Ground Society, available at http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Constitution_of_the_Union_Burial_Ground_Society_January_23_ 1848 [Accessed 4/5/17]. Alpheus died in 1874, a few years prior to Elizabeth's marriage. In addition to Alpheus, Elizabeth appears to have had at least one sister, Marietta.

[240] For example, in Virginia, the SCV, and other fraternal organizations with military ties, currently decorate the graves of veterans with flags prior to Memorial Day and Veteran's Day. What is commemorated is generalized military service and/or a shared political outlook rather than a known individual. Similarly, as time elapses, families may begin to interact with a memorial more as a historical marker or genealogical document than as a reminder of a particular person.

In 1925, the landscape in Williamsburg was one that included boundaries based on skin color. Although Elizabeth Parilla remembered a happy childhood in which whites and blacks were mutually supportive and there were few racial boundaries,[241] the reality was that Jim Crow laws were in effect in Williamsburg just as much as in other parts of the states. Schools were legally segregated, churches were separated and many social activities took place within the churches, thus reinforcing the separation between communities. Wages for African Americans were lower than those for whites and, just one year later, when John D. Rockefeller, Jr., authorized the commencement of property acquisition that heralded the creation of Colonial Williamsburg, the expectation was that the prices to be paid for properties owned by African Americans would also be lower. As was the case in Dunlop's day, individual whites and blacks might form friendships based on a mutual recognition of worth[242] but in general, relations between the two groups were no better than those elsewhere in the South. In 1924, Virginia passed the iniquitous Racial Purity Act, making interracial marriage illegal. In 1926, the Ku Klux Klan erected "an ornate flagpole" with brickwork at the corner of Jamestown Road and Boundary Street (Meyers 2008: 1158).[243]

Within this environment, the members of the Methodist Church, a white church, had no incentive to preserve the tombstones or the memories associated with them, and the tombstones were moved and buried in preparation for building the church. In the absence of any records about the reinternment it is difficult to know whether other options, such as moving the graves to Cedar Grove Cemetery, were considered and if so why they were rejected. What seems to be evident is that the graves and their markers represented an obstacle to the construction of the church and, in particular, the excavation of the foundation. What is also clear is that the intertwined elements of "respect" and casual violence with which the burial was carried out were symptomatic of many of the interactions between whites and blacks in the period.

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[241] Oral History of Elizabeth Parilla, 84-068, Swem Library Special Collections, The College of William and Mary.

[242] Parilla remembers that her father and the Rev. W.A.R. Goodwin were good friends, and that Goodwin would frequently wander down to sit on the porch and chat with her father. Oral History of Elizabeth Parilla, 84-068, Swem Library Special Collections, The College of William and Mary, p. 7-8.

[243] Had the Dunlop house still been standing the flagpole would have been virtually across the street from it.

Although some effort went into gathering and placing the various components together, as opposed to discarding them, the damage done to the bones and the way in which they were commingled and stacked together suggests that little respect was truly bestowed. Similarly, the fact that the burials occurred in a particularly marginal area of the site that was prone to flooding, and that the tombstones and burials were covered with soil containing large amounts of iron waste suggests a level of expediency rather than care.

The burial by the Methodist Church effectively erased the Dunlop and Hill families from the landscape and began the "whitening" of the historic core of the town, a process that gained momentum the following year when the Williamsburg Holding Company[244] began to purchase houses and land on the Duke of Gloucester Street, and on the two streets flanking it. Some white residents were given the option of life-tenancies (Williamburg Holding Company 1931: 21), while many African Americans found that in order to afford a new home they had to relocate at a considerable remove.[245] What had been a spatially more integrated town took on a new complexion.

In 1965, the tombstones were reburied for a second time. This time by a team from the Foundation's landscaping department who were working on regrading and expanding the parking lot behind the Church. At the time, the Foundation was just beginning to engage with the topic of slavery through sponsorship of Thaddeus Tate's 1965 book *The Negro in Eighteenth Century Williamsburg* and through the installation of "repeater" stations (an early audiovisual aid) in the George Wythe Laundry and the Brush-Everard Kitchen (Ellis 1989: 154). However the effort was tentative at best. There was little pressure to be very vocal on the topic and there was fear that both visitors and staff would be discomforted by discussions of slavery (Ellis 1989: 261).

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[244] The Williamsburg Holding Company is an early and short-lived name for the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. In 1934, the name Williamsburg Restoration was adopted, and in 1970, the Williamsburg Restoration, Inc., and the Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., merged to form the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. The terms Colonial Williamsburg and the Foundation are often adopted to refer to the earlier manifestations of the organization.

[245] According to the 1930 census 30% of Williamsburg's population was African American. In the 2010 census, only 14% of the population was African American, reflecting the historic impact of land sales, rising property prices and outward migration.

Although race probably played a factor in this second burial, the underlying reason
was most likely rooted in the perception that the dates on the tombstones were
outside the Foundation's temporal focus.[246] Rodney Harrison has written that due to
the "heterogeneous piling up of disparate and conflicting pasts" contemporary
viewers risk becoming overwhelmed by memory and can become unable to form new
memories and invest them with value (2013: 579). This concept was also central to the
Foundation's view that the accretions of the present and the recent past did not allow
visitors to see, experience and appreciate the Revolutionary period and its ideals fully.
The tombstones clearly belonged to a period beyond the Foundation's eighteenth
century focus, and therefore there does not seem to have been an attempt to involve
the Foundation Archaeologist in their assessment.[247] What is notable about this
interaction with the tombstones is that they were clearly recognized as historical
documents, photos were taken and a map of the find spot was added (albeit
belatedly) to the block files in the Foundation archives. This action transformed the
act of burial from an act of disposal to one of preservation *in situ* similar to that
undertaken on many archaeological sites, where a determination is made that
development activities will not threaten the site. It also ensured that the visibility of
the tombstones was slowly restored. Although the tombstones themselves were no
longer positioned ***on*** the landscape, the photo and the memory of their existence
were accessible and could be retrieved by others.[248]

The tombstones had begun to take on a new phase in their biography. No longer tied
to Dunlop's own assertion of identity, they nevertheless began to be seen as historical
documents, and although invisible their presence had been asserted. This sort of
transformation is not uncommon for artifacts, especially those made of durable
materials and suggests that forgetting is not necessarily a death (although it may be

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[246] The temporal focus established for the restoration work was 1699-1840 (Williamsburg Holding
Corporation 1931: 10), the Foundation's accession policy largely follows this date range with exceptions
for folk art, Colonial Revival materials and archaeological materials.

[247] There is no mention of any monitoring visit to the site to look at the tombstones in the Department's
monthly reports although similar monitoring excursions occurred frequently and were reported on.
Department of Archaeology monthly reports, unpublished, on file Department of Archaeological
Research, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

[248] "The Silence of the Graves," *The Virginia Gazette*, Williamsburg, VA, May 20 and 27 1998. This article
originally written by Terry Meyers has been reprinted multiple times.

viewed as one). Objects may in fact be "forgotten" and then resurface to be re-remembered and then be forgotten again. Each time this occurs additions are made to their biography. It also speaks to the contingent nature of the connections that we form with objects and the ways in which those connections impart value. In the next section we will examine this concept in greater detail through a consideration of the most recent phase of the tombstone's lives and the conservation campaign associated with it.

SECTION FOUR

CHAPTER ELEVEN: A Link Among the Days

In 2013, Tom Mayes wrote a series of blog posts entitled "Why do old places matter".[249] He identified fourteen reasons why they do matter and teased out the interconnections between them, demonstrating that no single reason stood alone. As we have seen in this thesis, memory, individual identity and collective identity (i.e. civic, state or national identity) are all tied together and mutually inform and support each other. However, Mayes also pointed out that the way in which places (and it could be argued artifacts) connect us to ancestors and to a sense of continuity also has a role in helping people to feel a greater sense of balance, stability and health. Places and things allow us to see the slow process of history clearly, and to participate in time in a way that surpasses the narrow scope of our own individual lives. This sense of connection in turn fosters a greater sense of community engagement, which helps to inform both individual identity and communal identity. This concept is important as we consider the final phase (for now) of the tombstones' biographies. As we have seen in Section Three, what we preserve and how we preserve it has the potential to underline certain historical narratives; in effect to privilege certain identities and to obscure others.

Although archaeologists, historians, anthropologists and heritage managers have been grappling with the social implications of their work for considerably longer, conservators have only recently begun to think about the repercussions of their work for others (see, for example Clavir 2002; Sully 2007.) For the conservation field, which has historically framed its work as a material science, focused on technical issues relating to the chemical deterioration, stabilization, and the aesthetic reintegration of objects and works of art, embracing the intangible values associated with material culture and their social implications has been a slow process that has largely focused on materials produced by indigenous/world cultures (Clavir 1998). As yet, little work

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[249] Available at http://forum.savingplaces.org/blogs/forum-online/2016/03/30/blog-series-why-do-old-places-matter [Accessed 5/21/17].

has focused on the capacity for conservation to reinforce or undermine historicized narratives relating to slavery and racism.[250]

For over a century, the idea that the significance of any cultural property can be quantified by exploring its values has been at the heart of cultural heritage management. A number of formal and informal typologies have been promoted that help heritage managers to assess and weigh their approaches. They remain key to decision making about preservation, but are not without their shortcomings. As Laurajane Smith has pointed out, values-based typologies and measurements of significance are often utilized by archaeologists and other heritage professionals to reinforce their authority and their place within the heritage management process, often at the expense of the communities with which they hope to work (Smith 1999; Smith 2000).

Values-Based Typologies and Their Uses

Alois Reigl is widely credited with first introducing the concept of values to the discussion of art and its preservation. In *The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Essence and Its Development* (1903), Reigl identifies several values connected to memory and their implications for the restoration of artistic or historic works. The first, age value, is based on what Reigl describes as a universal emotional appreciation for the way in which all things age. In this model, all works may be perceived as if they were natural organisms which have a natural life span. Some, such as ruins, have progressed considerably along this span, and it is their decay that we appreciate and find picturesque and worth noting. Halting the decay is therefore not desirable, because it halts a natural process; although, Reigl does sanction preventive measures aimed at slowing decay. The second value that Reigl discusses is historical value. Objects with historical value represent precise moments in history and may, as such, be read as historical documents. Thus it is the original form, rather than any damage or

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[250] There are some important exceptions, such as the multi-year project focused on photographic preservation at historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation (Norton *et al* 2012).

accretion, which is of the greatest import and worth preserving.[251] Reigl's third category is that of deliberate commemorative value, which aims to keep a moment perpetually alive and to prevent it from becoming history. Age must be combated and therefore, full-blown restorations may be undertaken. Reigl also adds two qualifying values to the three already described: use value and newness value. Objects or monuments may be valued because they continue to be useful and it is possible that their value may increase as a result of continued use. Restoration or other intervention may be necessary to maintain their utility. Objects that are new, modern or fashionable may also be valued for these qualities. In this case, renovation, restoration and even modification may be necessary to maintain these qualities.

William Lipe (1984) further refined these values, dividing them into four primary ones, which when supported by governmental and public action lead to the preservation of cultural heritage as a resource. For him, these key values are:

1) Associational/symbolic value - the ability of cultural resources to form tangible connections with the past. These links depend in part on associations that the viewer has been preconditioned to hold (1984:4).

2) Informational value - objects and other cultural resources may contain information about their manufacture, use, and disposition, which can be mined through formal research.

3) Aesthetic value - of all of Lipe's values this is the most subjective because it is conditioned by societal preferences and by standards that may vary from one culture to the next.

4) Economic value - Utilitarian attributes as well as both informational value and aesthetic value may cause a resource to be commoditized.

Since Lipe's typology was published a number of additional value-based typologies have been outlined (for examples, see Stephenson 2008; Gomez Robles 2010;

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[251] It is also important to recognize that sometimes it is the damage that gives an object its historical value. For example, the Ladder Co. 3 Fire Truck displayed in the National September 11 Memorial Museum derives much of its historical value from the severe damage sustained when the North Tower of the World Trade Center fell. Crushed and covered in dust from the collapsed buildings, the truck also bears evidence of the "damage" it incurred as it began to be seen as a memorial to the first responders who died on September 11, 2001. This later damage includes graffiti and the removal of parts for display elsewhere.

Fredheim and Khalaf 2016). Indeed Mayes' fourteen reasons for why old places matter could just as easily have been phrased as fourteen reasons we value old places. Although some newer typologies rely on Lipe's "associational/symbolic value" category as a mechanism for assessing the social value of resources, increasingly typologies include at least one additional category that considers this value more directly. The utility of such typologies lies in their ability to help clarify why we preserve what we preserve, and to create a statement of cultural significance, which has become one of the primary tools of modern cultural resource management (Mason 2001).

Values-based typologies are not without criticism. They have been critiqued for their inability to accommodate change over time (Walter 2014: 635) as well as for being relativistic and mutable (de la Torre and Mason 2001). Despite frequently being presented as quantifiable, values are in fact only semi-quantifiable and are often assessed using words such as "significant" and "important" and their qualifiers. Values can also be misused. Nigel Walter notes that conservation and conservatism (opposition to change) are frequently mistaken for one another by the broader public and that when this occurs values systems may be used as a scaffold on which to erect arguments in favor of stasis (2014: 635). He also notes that there is a tendency among heritage professionals to decide on an approach and then retroactively use a discussion of values to bolster that decision (ibid). Additionally, although values may be identified individually and linked to a particular preservation approach, as Riegl does, there can be difficulties in resolving situations where multiple competing values are present and then in determining a course of action. Geoff Carver (1995) offers an important example of how the assessment of the value of unexcavated archaeological deposits led to two radically different approaches to the management of archaeological resources.[252] Similarly, Gable and Handler (1996) demonstrate how the

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[252] Carver examines the different approaches taken in two reports initiated in 1989, PPG 16 and *The York Development and Archaeology Study*. Both reports sought to place values on the informational content of archaeological deposits and then recommend the best course of action for managing the site. PPG 16 recommended that sites of the greatest importance, those with National Importance, should be preserved and secondary sites should be subjected to rescue archaeology. National Importance was defined by the rarity of the site's survival. On the other hand, the York report suggested that sites with the greatest importance were those with immediate research interest to the

complex interplay between competing values may lead each value to be devalued rather than reinforced.[253] Thus, the recognition and assessment of a set of values does not guarantee resolution, but rather offers a mechanism for negotiation and a strategy by which disparate stakeholders (such as subject matter specialists, developers and local communities) may be given a voice in complex decision making processes.

Although older conservation paradigms frequently present the process of conservation as one designed to reveal absolute truths inherent in objects, scholars have increasingly demonstrated the ways in which conservation decisions alter objects, and privilege one reading over another. Caple (2000) has demonstrated that each conservation action is a delicate balance between Revelation, Preservation and Investigation. Each gain in any of these categories results in a potential loss in another category. For example, the decision to remove surface dirt from an archaeological object may reveal the object's surface morphology, but it may also remove chemical information that might provide information about the object's deposition or even its use. Similarly, Kathy Walker Tubb (1994) has demonstrated that the conservation and analysis of looted artifacts may result in a gain in the aesthetic and economic valuation of a piece, but is inevitably connected to loss of historic value and may result in long-term loss in economic value to locales or countries that might be reliant on tourism revenues. Cutajar *et al* (2016) have suggested that in order both to be more cognizant of and to better document changes to values caused by conservation practices, conservators should record elements of evidentiary, associative, sensory and functional significance, the values associated with them and the ways in which

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community. The report suggested that sites tied to defined and well-articulated research agendas should therefore be excavated immediately, while secondary sites should be preserved (Carver 1990:53-54).

[253] Using Colonial Williamsburg as an example, Gable and Handler (1996) argue that historical sites base their authority on the authenticity with which they present history. As a result, authenticity becomes an area of vulnerability for these sites. Those who wish to attack the historical interpretation at the site often attack the authenticity of the presentation, pointing out the flaws, large and small, in an effort to use one value (authenticity) to undermine others (informational value and symbolic value). As each of these values is undermined, the historic site typically bolsters visitor confidence by reaffirming its commitment to authenticity; thus leaving it open to a fresh round of attacks.

treatment impacted them so that future generations will better understand the decision-making involved.

Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of a values-based approach is the idea that differences in values can and should be resolved (Stephenson 2008; Fredheim and Khalaf 2016). This is understandable from a management perspective. After all, how can anything be managed successfully if consensus cannot be reached? However, it may not always be socially desirable. Chidester and Linenthal (1995) have argued that contention is a necessary component to our understanding of "sacred" spaces and is necessary to the fulfillment of their function as places in which we can ask "crucial questions about what it means to be human in a meaningful world" (1995: 10). Museums, historic houses, and some public spaces, such as the Mall in Washington, DC, or Monument Avenue in Richmond, have become "sacred spaces" within modern society in which both meaning and power relations can be negotiated and contested. It is the "surplus of signification" that these places have acquired and the debate engendered that give them their value.[254]

Civil War Statuary in Context

On June 25th 2015, the Jefferson Davis monument in Richmond, Virginia was "tagged" with the phrase "Black Lives Matter."[255] Not an isolated incident, this action was one of a number that occurred across the Southern United States in the wake of the killing of nine parishioners at Emmanuel African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church in Charleston, S.C. The shooting prompted a national discussion about the intersection between identity, memory and preservation and the role that each plays in creating and reinforcing national narratives.[256]

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[254] It is important to remember that things may also have a "surplus of signification" and serve as focal points for discussion and reinterpretation.
[255] "Jefferson Davis statue on Monument Avenue vandalized" *Richmond Times Dispatch*, Richmond VA, June 25 2015. Available http://www.richmond.com/news/local/city-of-richmond/jefferson-davis-statue-on-monument-avenue-vandalized/article_251992bb-cf9a-58e6-9bcd-ec4d50dede87.html [Accessed 9/12/2015].
[256] The shooter posted pictures of himself posing with the Army of Northern Virginia Battle flag (frequently, and erroneously, referred to as "the Confederate flag"), as well as with other flags associated with white supremacist regimes, prior to the shooting. These images, as well as outrage that the Confederate flag continued to fly at full-mast on South Carolina's Capitol grounds after the

According to the Southern Poverty Law Center, which conducted a study to determine the number of Confederate memorials in public spaces, there are over 1503[257] memorials including 718 monuments, 109 schools and 80 counties or cities named after prominent Confederates. Ten US military bases are also named for Confederate generals (Southern Poverty Law Center 2016). Many of the memorials are located in Southern or Border states, but there are also some in Union states and in places that were not even part of the United States at the time of the war, for example Arizona and Washington state, suggesting that these commemorations were not simply motivated by a desire to remember fallen comrades and shared service. As has been discussed in Section Three of this thesis, many of these memorials were created either between 1890 and 1920 or during the Civil Rights era to advance white supremacist agendas.

Since the Charleston shooting, civic leaders across the country have increasingly been fielding calls to remove statues of Confederate generals from public venues and to rename streets and parks that are named after prominent Confederates. This is not the first time that the presence of Confederate statues has sparked debate and calls for removal.[258] What has marked the current debate as unusual is the number of localities that have begun to consider the fate of these statues. At the time of writing a number of cities have removed statues or are considering their fate including, among others: Gainesville, FL; Memphis, TN; New Orleans, LA; St. Louis, MO;

shooting, led to the removal of the flag from many civic and public areas and led many mainstream retailers to announce that they would no longer sell products with the flag on them.

[257] This list does not include Confederate monuments on publicly owned battlefields or in city-owned cemeteries and does not include a full listing of all highways and street names. Some monuments, such as the one in Charles City County, VA, are not included in the list.

[258] For example, the monument commemorating the Battle of Liberty Place in New Orleans has a history of removal and recontextualization. The monument celebrating a post-war action by a white-supremacist paramilitary group was erected in 1891 and in 1934 an inscription was added celebrating white supremacy. In 1974, a marker was added that stated that although the monument was an important part of New Orleans history the "sentiments in favor of white supremacy expressed thereon are contrary to the philosophy and beliefs of present day New Orleans." The monument was removed from its position on Canal Street in 1989 to facilitate road construction. Although the intent was to move it to an indoor museum, it was ultimately reerected in a less prominent location slightly off of Canal St. The 1891 and 1934 inscriptions were recarved to read "In honor of those Americans on both sides who died in the Battle of Liberty Place…a conflict of the past that should teach us lessons for the future" (Levinson 1995). The monument was again removed in April 2017.

Charlottesville, VA; Baltimore, MD; and Portsmouth, VA. As groups successfully

advocate for and against the removal of individual statues, it is likely that additional

locales will also begin to debate their presence. This raises several issues that are

important to consider from the point of view of how the preservation of material

cultural impacts memory and the way in which we talk about history.

Since both identity and meaning are contingent and are subject to change, it makes

sense that communities may want to periodically reassess public art and to confirm

that it still aligns with communal values. For this to be successful there must be a

robust process in place to allow public opinion to be heard and to be considered. Each

city or town has adopted a different method for decision making and in some cases,

conflict has arisen because additional constituencies, at the regional, state and even

national level have staked claims to monuments. For example, the City of

Charlottesville announced a Blue Ribbon Commission on Race Memorials and Public

Spaces in May 2016. The Commission was tasked with providing the City Council "with

options for telling the full story of Charlottesville's history of race and for changing the

City's narrative through our public spaces" (Blue Ribbon Commission 2016: 4). The

Commission's most controversial task was to consider whether two large equestrian

statues, one of Robert E. Lee and the other of Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson, should be

allowed to remain in their eponymous parks in the center of the city. As part of the

Commission's work they held two community forums at which residents of

Charlottesville and Albemarle County were invited to present their opinions.[259]

Seventy-seven opinions were offered over the course of the two forums although six

of the speakers spoke twice reducing the number of unique opinions to 71. Of these,

55% of the speakers favored leaving the statues in place and/or recontextualizing

them, 31% felt that the statues should be removed, and 17% did not offer an opinion

either way.[260] In addition to these public forums, the Commission held fourteen other

working meetings in which limited public comment was sought. At the end of the

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[259] The two forums were recorded and can be accessed at http://www.charlottesville.org/departments-and-services/boards-and-commissions/blue-ribbon-commission-on-race-memorials-and-public-spaces along with recordings of all of the Commission's other public meetings.

[260] Those who did not offer opinions about the fate of the two statues were largely addressing other parts of the Commission's charge by advocating for other aspects of the city's history.

year, the Commission submitted its recommendations to the City Council. The nine-member commission recommended that the Council consider either moving the Lee statue to McIntire Park, a larger park in the city where the sculpture would not be so dominant, or leaving it in its current location but recontextualizing the statue there either by repositioning it or by adding additional components to the park. The committee had a slight preference for the relocate option, although they identified more potential pitfalls with it (Blue Ribbon Commission 2016: 10). In terms of the Jackson statue they had a stronger preference for leaving it *in situ* in a renamed park and adding additional interpretation (Blue Ribbon Commission 2016: 11). The difference in approach appears to have been in part due to the artistic merit of the Jackson sculpture, considered to be one of the finest equestrian statues in America, and the fact that Jackson was viewed as less of a lightning rod than Lee, as well as fear that placing both statues in the same park would change the nature of that park. Having received the Committee's recommendations, the City Council voted 3-2 to move the Lee Statue to McIntire Park.[261]

Following the decision to remove the statue, the Virginia Division of the Sons of Confederate Veterans joined forces with the Charlottesville Monument Fund, a local group, and sued the City Council claiming that the removal violated both State law and the terms of McIntire's gift. State gubernatorial hopeful, Corey Stewart, campaigned, in part, on his opposition to the statue's removal.[262] Both the SCV and Stewart essentially argued that the identities of larger constituencies than the people of Charlottesville were at stake and that these identities should take precedence in the decision-making process. This rhetoric was amplified to a national level when the statue became a magnet for demonstrations by white supremacist and white nationalist groups. On August 12th 2017, after violent skirmishes between protestors

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[261] "Historic Vote: Lee statue to be removed from Charlottesville's Lee park" *Richmond Times Dispatch,* Richmond VA Feb 6 2017. In April 2017 the City Council announced that they had voted to sell the monument instead (Charlottesville City Council votes to sell Robert E. Lee statue." *Richmond Times Dispatch*, Richmond VA, April 17, 2017. http://www.richmond.com/news/virginia/charlottesville-city-council-votes-to-sell-robert-e-lee-statue/article_c45667e1-6b00-5bd8-880d-c4a6b60a6a0d.html [Accessed 5/25/2017]).
[262] "Corey Stewart's Lost Cause," *Politico*, May 15, 2017, http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/05/15/why-corey-stewart-thinks-the-lost-cause-is-a-winning-strategy-215138 [Accessed 8/21/17].

and counter-protesters, the "Unite the Right" rally ended in tragedy when a right-wing protestor from Ohio drove his automobile into a crowd of counter-protestors, killing one, wounding 19 and transforming the discussion about commemoration both in Charlottesville and across the country. Cities, university campuses and other institutions have been racing ever since to divest their public spaces of not only Confederate statuary[263] but any statuary that may be deemed a "symbol of hate." [264]

This haste is problematic on several levels. It overlooks the fact that "Confederate and other civic monuments are not inert vessels of abhorrent values but the culmination of complex social and artistic engagement at the community level"[265] and as mayors, such as Baltimore's Mayor Pugh and New York's Mayor De Blasio, have acted unilaterally, the speed with which decisions are being made also threatens to separate today's communities from the discussion and decision-making processes. Furthermore, this alacrity is based more on emotion (repugnance at the violence and hatred on display in Charlottesville, anger over President Trump's ambivalence, as well as fear of the political ramifications of not acting) than on social justice or community values. To truly engage with the inclusivity and democratic goals at the heart of the mayors' actions, local communities need to be included, to participate fully in the decisions, and to explore the ways in which the presence of the statues have contributed to systemic racism and its impact on present -day communities, in terms of educational levels, wealth distribution and other aspects of daily life. Communities must be allowed to assess for themselves how best to bridge the chasm between the complexity of history and the consensus and clarity that is required of community values (Williams 2015). Large sums of money are being spent on removal but little

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[263] "Citing 'safety and security' Pugh has Baltimore Confederate monuments taken down", *Baltimore Sun*, Baltimore MD, August 16 2017. Available at http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-ci-monuments-removed-20170816-story.html [Accessed 8/26/2017]. "Confederate Symbols face new resistance after violent protest," *The New York Times*, New York, NY, August 17, 2017. "UT-Austin removes 4 Confederate statues," *The Washington Post*, Washington DC, August 22, 2017.

[264] "De Blasio, pols clash over historical statues symbolizing hate in NYC" *New York Daily News*, New York, NY, Aug 22, 2017. Available at http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/de-blasio-pols-clash-statues-symbolizing-hate-nyc-article-1.3433680 [Accessed 8/26/2017].

[265] "In defense of 'racist' monuments: these are works of public art with complex and specific histories," *New York Daily News*, New York, NY, August 24, 2017. Available at http://www.nydailynews.com/opinion/defense-racist-monuments-article-1.3436672 [Accessed 8/25/2017].

thought is going into what will happen once the statues are removed and what will replace them.[266] Will this be a real moment of change or a fleeting moment where politicians compete to demonstrate how "woke" they are, but from which little long-term action results?

Bandaging Historical Wounds: Relocating and Reinterpreting Civil War Statues

Removing and/or reinterpreting Confederate statuary speaks to our evolving ideas on the subject of what they represent. It acknowledges that "histories hurt" (McDavid 2002). However, the attempt to balance competing intangible and tangible values also raises questions. The decisions made by the Charlottesville City Council suggest that some public lands may be more "public" than others and some statues are more controversial than others. Like Lee Park, McIntire Park is a city-owned park. Both were donated to the city by the philanthropist Paul Goodloe McIntyre. McIntyre Park is a much larger park, at nearly 130 acres, than the one-acre Lee Park, and proponents of a move to the park felt that the statue's impact could be more easily diluted in the larger space. They were concerned that the 26 foot high and 12 foot long statue dominates the smaller park, and would be nearly impossible to recontextualize in that space. However the Jackson statue, which is very similar in its dimensions,[267] sits in a 0.4 acre plot (less than half the size of the Lee Park) and both the Commission and City were confident that additional materials could be added to the site to reinterpret the statue and its context successfully. Similarly, although Charlottesville has at least two other Civil War memorials on public property - a common soldier outside the City Courthouse, and another in the University Cemetery - so far there has been no discussion of removing them. Both of these monuments are as much a product of their time and articulate the Lost Cause ideology, just as volubly as the Lee or Jackson statues do.[268]

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[266] The removal of the four statues from New Orleans cost $2.1 million, which does not include the costs of long-term storage until another venue may be found or the costs of replacing the statues (http://www.nola.com/politics/index.ssf/2017/06/confederate_monuments_removal_2.html [Accessed 8/26/2017]).

[267] The statue is approximately 24 feet tall and 12 feet wide.

[268] Particularly since the inscriptions on both the Lee and Jackson statues are sparse and limited largely to biographical information whereas the Courthouse sculpture contains a verbose inscription (Sedore2011: 180).

Many of the speakers at the public forums who identified their ethnic make-up as Anglo-American and who advocated for the statues to remain supported their arguments by talking about "my culture, my heritage," "my ancestor's memory and legacy," and of their own personal connections to the monuments, particularly the Lee statue. In the context of the discussion, these phrases served to exclude others in the room who might not share their background, and were offered by the speaker as the mark of their authority and the reason that their opinion was worthy of more weight.[269] Although African Americans also offered personal reminiscences, the aim was explanatory; they sought to illustrate why they felt a particular way rather than to promote their ownership of any position. In fact, many African Americans spoke in favor of the statues remaining citing their desire to see more stories on the landscape, not fewer.[270] They wanted to see the stories augmented and counter-narratives added; although several cautioned that it was important to truly think about how those narratives might look. One woman pointed out that the visual appeal of the statues needed to be counteracted by something equally powerful instead of the discrete plaques that had been erected in the past to mark former African American sites. Other speakers pointed out that placement was important, noting that a plaque to Henry Martin, an enslaved individual who worked at the University of Virginia, had been placed on the ground, where everyone walked over it,[271] and that the plaque marking Vinegar Hill, a historic black neighborhood in Charlottesville that was torn down and redeveloped in the 1960s, had been hidden by a trashcan that had been sited directly in front of it blocking it from view.[272] Visibility is a key function of any memorial; if the memorial is not well placed it has no hope of serving its mnemonic function.

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[269] Similar speech patterns were noted during community conservations held by the Remembering Slavery and Emancipation project (Barrett et al 2015).

[270] A highly vocal group that opposes the removal of any statues has tried to paint any discussion of the fate of these statues as one where the sides are predetermined by race. The Charlottesville forums suggest this is not necessarily the case. Many African Americans spoke of their desire to see the statues remain but with added context, while a number of self-identified white speakers said they wished to see the statues removed because they found them offensive and felt they were not reflective of the type of city Charlottesville aspired to be. The more noticeable divide in opinion was between those who lived in Charlottesville and those who lived in the surrounding county.

[271] Charlottesville Blue Ribbon Commission on Race, memorials and Public Spaces, Community Forum-Jefferson School, July 27 2016. Available at https://soundcloud.com/cvillecitygov/blue-ribbon-commission-community-forum-july-27-2016. [Accessed 5/20/17]

[272] Ibid.

Visibility, Invisibility and the Future of Monuments

For those wishing to take down or relocate the Civil War statues, visibility has been central to the discussion. **Where** they will be seen has been the focus, rather than **how** they will be seen. Mitch Landrieu, the Mayor of New Orleans, has stated that the mixed legacy of slavery and white supremacy represented by Confederate statuary is "one that we should never again put on a pedestal to be revered."[273] Other locales have expressed similar sentiments, but beyond literally taking the statues off their pedestals, little thought appears to have gone into how to prevent them being venerated in any future incarnation. In Charlottesville, one of the elements that recommended McIntyre Park as a potential site was that it already contained a memorial to the Vietnam War. Like the Civil War, the Vietnam War is one that Americans find hard to contextualize. The atrocities committed during the war and the inequalities of the struggle are difficult to square with our national self-image. Within that context there is scope for a very interesting exploration of both conflicts. As Christy Matthews has argued "when an informed populace understands and accepts this nation's shortcomings and the sacrifices made to inspire an ideal, a greater sense of empowerment often emerges" (1997: 107). One of the legacies of the Vietnam War, and the treatment that many of the returning veterans received, is a veneration of all things military. Is it possible that moving Lee to this McIntyre Park would simply elevate "Lee, the General" and mute any discussion of what he fought for?

In New Orleans, Mayor Landrieu, like officials in other towns, has expressed interest in a museum taking the recently removed statues. Indeed the city has announced that it will seek proposals from both non-governmental and governmental sources about where to display the statues. The two stipulations are that they are not to be displayed outdoors on public land and that the city may review the interpretation. The appeal of placing these statues in a museum is apparent. Museums have traditionally been locations in which nations, local governments and private individuals impart

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[273] "Read Mayor Mitch Landrieu's speech on removing New Orleans' Confederate monuments", *Times Picayaune,* New Orleans, LA, May 22 2017. Available at:http://www.nola.com/politics/index.ssf/2017/05/mayor_landrieu_speech_confeder.html [accessed 5/22/17]

lessons of a civic and social nature. They are one of the venues in which active
negotiation of "what it means to be human in a meaningful world" is encouraged
(Chidester and Linenthal 1995: 11). Materials in museums can be contextualized not
only through explanatory text, but also through association with other objects,
photographs, installations and even performance pieces. However, museums will
likely struggle to interpret the statues due to the sheer numbers of extant statues, not
to mention their size. Originally scaled for open spaces, New Orleans' statue of Robert
E. Lee is 16.5 feet tall. For many museums and historic sites, accommodating a statue
of that size would be difficult. It might mean either placing it in a lobby, or other entry
area or constructing a purpose-built gallery for it.[274] Both choices have the potential
to place a visual emphasis on the statue that is likely to undercut other
interpretations. In his discussion regarding the controversy over the use of the *Enola
Gay* to help commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of World War II's ending, Linenthal
writes that the size and visual impact of the plane overwhelmed the other materials in
the exhibit and instead of reflecting on the difficult choices made to end the war
ended up almost glorifying the use of the atomic bomb (1995: 1095). Similarly, as will
be discussed in greater detail later, Gable *et al* (1992) have shown that the richer
material culture associated with elite whites often subverts messages about slavery
and even Reconstruction within a museum environment. There are more examples of
Civil War militaria with which to contextualize the role of men like Lee and Jackson as
soldiers, than perhaps there are objects relating to slavery and resistance. As a result,
easier themes that appeal to a broader visitor base, such as leadership and battle
acumen, may be favored over other themes that visitors may find emotionally harder
to engage with.

Simon Cane has pointed out that museums contain collections of objects that have
been placed beyond the commoditized, mercantile constructs of the market economy.
By placing artifacts in museums we invest them with a value that transcends everyday
transactions. Their new value lies in how they augment existing collections, what they
teach us about our world, and in their ability to connect and engage with others (Cane

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[274] Height is not the only factor to consider. Large-scale bronze and stone statues weigh a tremendous
amount and many museum floors may not be engineered to accommodate such a load.

2007: 167). This last is particularly problematic in terms of Civil War statuary. How do we ensure that the veneration we sought to prevent elsewhere does not occur in the museum setting, and that those who were hurt by the statues in other locations are not wounded by their interaction with them in a new setting? An interesting example of this is embodied by Jackson Park in Charlottesville. It abuts both the Albemarle County Courthouse and the Commonwealth Attorney's Office. Following the City Council's decision to rename the park, it was rechristened Justice Park, a moniker that accomplishes the Council's desire to decentralize Jackson and that makes a certain sense in relation to the park's proximity to legal offices. However, the name also raises questions. Is Jackson receiving justice by being symbolically removed from his pedestal? Or is Jackson, like the standing soldiers in Courthouse greens, symbolic of the justice that may be meted out in the courts?[275] This is an important question in a country where faith in the impartiality of the criminal justice system is at an all-time low. Similarly, within the museum environment it is important to consider what assumptions are being made about what constitutes the museum-going public. Are these assumptions valid? It can be tempting to view museum-goers as a cohesive unit, however museums are increasingly seeking to appeal to diverse constituencies and to provide multi-cultural experiences. It is also true that individuals arrive with different experiences and interests, and consequently interpret the same exhibit materials differently.

Using Colonial Williamsburg as a case study, Gable, Handler and Lawson (1992) highlighted the ways in which history museums in the United States privilege the stories of elite white men (and to a lesser extent white women), even when they are not attempting to. The richer documentary resources associated with elites allows them to be presented in a multi-faceted manner. Small details are recounted from their biographies that convey a sense of individuality. For example, we may learn

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[275] The importance of word choices has been similarly underscored elsewhere. In April 2017, the University of Mississippi erected a panel designed to recontextualize the Confederate statue on its grounds. The panel produced by the University's Contextualization Committee went through several iterations. However the final wording was still criticized as being vague and obscuring the exclusionary role played by the monument, as well as focusing too much on an accidental act of inclusion during the Civil Rights period (Neff *et al.* 2016). Examples such as this one demonstrate the difficulties that may be encountered even during very sincere efforts at recontextualization.

about George Washington's dental troubles or that he favored a particular type of dog. Alternately we may be told of the romantic adventures of other founding fathers or learn their height, weight and hair color. Minutiae such as these give depth to their stories and create a rounder, fuller person whom we can begin to picture. Their curated possessions help us imagine them even more clearly. We can begin to "see" them wearing the jacket or holding the pen that is displayed, and at sites with first-person interpretation this tendency is underscored even more. By contrast African Americans are often aggregated together and treated as numbers or statistical sets. This may be the only means available given the extant documentation at some sites, but it can create a sense that these individuals are less real. This imbalance has also been cited as a hurdle for K-12 educators where teachers find generic approaches to slavery as part of world history less engaging than the biographical information available on "great men" (Barrett *et al.* 2015: 23).

Compounding the problem, Gable *et al* (1992) argue that traditional approaches to material culture create an additional imbalance in history museums. According to the authors, the attribution of ownership with artifacts which were used by both whites and blacks, creates difficulties in understanding how both groups intersected with the material culture of the time. To use their example, a tea table, although possibly used more by the enslaved population of a household, who would set the table, serve from it and eventually clear it, is understood as belonging to the white residents of the house and therefore representing white culture and taste (Gable *et al.* 1992: 797). The authors write:

> "Thus the identity of the object is defined, however unconsciously in terms of the same ideology and property laws that constructed Virginia's African Americans as a separate "race"…The fact that the material - cultural environment of both slaves and masters was often shared is recognized, but this recognition is negated by definitions of cultural property, which privilege bounded group differences. Thus researchers seeking "Black material culture" are sent outside to excavate "outbuildings" where they will find broken ceramics, fish bones and the odd bead and button" (Gable *et al.* 1992:797).

This is an important point and it should be noted that the preservation of the two sets of materials may also serve to reinforce unfortunate conceptions regarding the worth and durability of the two sets of material culture. The tea table, recognizably antique and well-cared for, and therefore easily associated with both monetary and evidentiary value, manifests its presence in a different way from broken, stained and possibly corroding archaeological fragments, which require the visitor to work harder to conceptualize their value.

Biography, Values and the Preservation of African American Cemeteries

There are of course other ways to recontextualize statues than just as museum exhibits. Text-panels and the juxtaposition of other monuments with them are just two ways. In 1993, Richmond added a statue of Arthur Ashe, the African-American tennis champion and human rights advocate, to the five statues of Confederate leaders already on Monument Avenue. Although controversial at the time, the addition both desegregated the street and added new visions of heroism (Black and Varley 2003). Ashe, depicted in athletic wear with both a racket and book in hand, was portrayed as both an athlete and a teacher, but moreover as an everyman. Since the addition of the Ashe monument, Richmond has added other monuments to the cityscape celebrating people or themes associated with its African American past. These include: a statue to Maggie Walker (the first female bank president of any ethnicity), a monument to Henry "Box" Brown (an enslaved man who escaped Richmond by posting himself to Philadelphia in a box and who then became an anti-slavery advocate), a memorial to the Emancipation Proclamation, a sculpture of a group of Kanawha Canal bateau men, and *The Headman* statue, which celebrates the African American boatmen of the James River. In her comments during a daylong symposium entitled "Lightning Rods of Controversy: Civil War Monuments Past, Present and Future," Christy Coleman, CEO of the American Civil War Museum, credited this commitment to telling other stories throughout the city as one of the reasons that there had not initially been a more vocal discussion about removing the Confederate statues on Monument Avenue (Coleman 2017).[276] The on-going debates

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[276] In their discussion of the Arthur Ashe monument, Varley and Brown (2003) detail numerous past calls for the removal of the avenue's other monuments. Recently one of the mayoral candidates running for election in Richmond specifically called for the monument to Jefferson Davis to be removed

over how to memorialize both Lumpkin's Jail, a holding pen for slaves that was also known as the "Devil's half-acre," and Richmond's African Burial Ground illustrate that the process of adding new narratives is not always an easy one. However, both the comments made before the Charlottesville Blue Ribbon commission and those collected by the Remembering Slavery and Emancipation project stress the importance that the African American community places on adding to the stories already on the ground. Echoing the critiques made by Gable *et al*. (1992), the participants in the Remembering Slavery and Emancipation project expressed a desire to develop additional biographical resources that "tell the full histories of enslaved men, women and children, recognize their humanity and restore dignity to their memory, honoring their roles in creating the nation" (Barret *et al.* 2015: 29).

The African American cemeteries within the study area covered by this thesis offer a ready means to explore these sorts of stories. In Chapter Five, we explored the story of Leonard Black, who was born a slave, escaped to the North, wrote an autobiography and became a very influential church leader in Petersburg prior to his death. Also in Chapter Five, we explored the story of Daniel Grimes, an enslaved man, who died in Norfolk during the Yellow Fever Epidemic when he was left to guard his owner's possessions, and who was memorialized not only with a tombstone, but also through diary entries and an obituary in *The New York Times*. In Richmond, Barton Heights Cemetery contains the burials of several notable men, such as Gilbert Hunt and Richard Forrester. Hunt, a blacksmith who was born enslaved, won renown for saving nearly a dozen victims of an 1811 Richmond theater fire and for saving inmates from an 1823 penitentiary fire. Hunt purchased his freedom in 1829, emigrated to

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(Kruszewski 2017). The current mayor, Levar Stoney, initially announced his support for the idea of adding text panels near each of the statues to help contextualize to their presence. He established a commission to look into ways of doing this headed by Ms. Coleman and Gregg Kimball, a historian. The commission recently came under fire for its limited remit and for the fact that none of its members were on public record as favoring removing the statues. Critics have demanded that commission members be replaced with individuals who are in favor of removal (http://richmondfreepress.com/news/2017/aug/04/real-context-behind-monument-avenue/ [Accessed 8/7/2017]). Following the events in Charlottesville, Mayor Stoney announced that he had asked the commission to begin considering removal or relocation of some or all of the statues. A meeting scheduled for September 13, 2017 was postponed due to public safety concerns and to allow the commission time to reconfigure itself (http://www.richmond.com/news/local/city-of-richmond/mayor-stoney-s-full-statement-on-monument-avenue/article_a6cd40c3-60ea-5209-81be-dcd9f87d98d2.html [Accessed 8/20/17]).

Liberia briefly, and then returned to Richmond where he became an outspoken lay leader in the First African Baptist Church. Hunt's biography was published in 1859 and he died in 1863. Richard Forrester, also interred in the cemetery, was the son of Gustavus Myers, a scion of one of the wealthiest Jewish families in Richmond, and Nelly Forrester, a free woman of color. He was raised and educated by his father's aunts and sent to Canada to be educated. He married Narcissa Wilson, a distant cousin, there and they returned to Richmond. Due to their color, family members claimed them and their children as servants to keep the family together and worked carefully to ensure that both money and property were conveyed to them on the death of Richard's great-aunts.[277] After the Civil War, Richard was elected to the Richmond City Council, where he served for 11 years and was noted for his advocacy efforts on behalf of public education.[278]

Like Alexander Dunlop, each of the men above found ways to resist white domination and to create lives full of dignity and meaning that contributed to the society of which they were a part. I have highlighted each of them not because they were unusual, but because their stories are indicative of the wealth of biographical data and storytelling to be explored in African American Cemeteries. However, each of these stories is also in jeopardy. Gilbert Hunt's tombstone, if it existed, has disappeared. Richard Forrester's has been toppled and broken and, if not conserved soon, will also be lost (Figure 30). Leonard Black's tombstone has suffered badly from weathering and, although the portrait is legible, the wording on two of the sides has nearly been lost.[279]

Preservation issues are endemic in African American cemeteries (Wesler 2015). With one exception (see Appendix One), all the cemeteries visited for this project were accessible, but many cemeteries suffer from overgrowth, illegal dumping of trash, lack

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[277] Due to inheritance laws that were not favorable to African Americans, the family was forced to exercise some creativity to ensure that Richard Forrester did inherit the funds in question.

[278] http://www.eyesofglory.com/ [Accessed 5/25/16]

[279] Luckily the inscription was captured by a Works Project Administration (WPA) recording project.

of long-term maintenance and vandalism.[280] These problems speak to a host of historic factors including the inadequacy of the original maintenance accounts established for the perpetual care of cemeteries, the severing of connections between the local population and the deceased as a result of the Great Migration,[281] as well as the priorities of local governments and their perceptions about what constitutes history and of what is worthy of preservation.

Figure 30: Photo courtesy of www.findagrave.com (left) of Richard Forrester and Narcissa Forrester's joint tombstone as it appeared in 2009. Photo (right) of the tombstone in 2016 (photo taken by author).

Funding is clearly a hurdle to the physical preservation of many African-American cemeteries and the tombstones within them. Equally problematic, however, has been how to frame the discussion of preservation needs. If history, and control of the historical narrative, is a privilege of whiteness, as has been asserted by the Civil War monuments and by state and national preservation policies for much of the last century, then some might argue what does it matter who these cemeteries contain? Discussions of values have not always proved helpful to black cemeteries, because the values were designated and controlled by whites to reinforce their hold on history. As a result, white cemeteries, such as Hollywood in Richmond, Blandford in Petersburg, and Elmwood in Norfolk, were deemed more significant and thus worthy of greater support. White cemeteries generally acquired National Register of Historic Places

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[280] "For the Forgotten African-American Dead" *The New York Times*, New York, NY, January 7, 2017. Available at https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/07/opinion/sunday/for-the-forgotten-african-american-dead.html?mcubz=3 [Accessed 2/20/2017].
[281] The Great Migration took place in two waves between 1916 and 1970 and resulted in the movement of 6 million African Americans out of the rural South and into urban areas in the Northeast, Midwest and West.

designations well before African American cemeteries, making them eligible for certain preservation grants. Similarly state legislators often voted to assist white cemeteries financially. In 1914, Hollywood cemetery was granted $8,000 (a large sum by the day's standards) for a perpetual maintenance fund. To this day, Virginian legislators appropriate funds annually to support the preservation and maintenance of Confederate graves; yet, attempts to extend the program to African American graves have repeatedly died in committee. House Bill 1547,[282] passed recently, provides funds to historical African American cemeteries in the state for maintenance but only lists two cemeteries, Evergreen and East End in Richmond. The bill provides a mechanism for other cemeteries to apply for funds. However, recognition may be a slow process, and it will be difficult for some of the neediest cemeteries to qualify, since cemeteries must be owned by a governmental entity or an established and vetted non-profit. Many black cemeteries that were started as for-profit businesses or family cemeteries, have been abandoned, and now suffer from tangled ownership, which complicates the process of acquiring the land and establishing a non-profit (Wesler 2015). In his remarks announcing the signing of the bill, Virginia Governor Terry McAuliffe noted the disparity between the long support for Civil War era graves and those of African Americans, stating that the new law would remedy a "long-standing injustice."[283]

If a consideration of values has not always proved helpful to articulating the significance of African American cemeteries, are there other tools that might do a better job? Narrative has been proposed as one such tool (Walter 2014). According to Nigel Walter, narrative has several features that recommend it (2014: 645-646). Firstly, it helps to explain change and continuing identity and provides a rootedness that is important in countering modern relativistic understandings of the world. Secondly, narrative is fundamentally communal. It is important to our understanding of who we collectively are and to how we form communities. We tell and retell our

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[282] The full test of the bill is available at https://lis.virginia.gov/cgi-bin/legp604.exe?171+ful+CHAP0270+pdf [Accessed 8/20/17].
[283] "State will help clean up historic black cemeteries" *The Virginia Gazette,* Williamsburg, VA, May 31, 2017. Available at http://www.vagazette.com/news/va-vg-cns-cemeteries-0531-20170531-story.html [Accessed 8/1/2017].

foundation stories and through that recitation we negotiate and incorporate change. Thirdly, narrative has a broad societal appeal. Individuals and groups who are alienated by theory and/or theoretical applications, such as values systems, engage with the process of building narratives and often discuss what they value and believe through a narrative structure, as the testimonies before Charlottesville's Blue Ribbon Commission demonstrated. Narrative allows us to incorporate non-human agency in a way that values systems and other tools do not always permit. This is an important aspect within a preservation framework because how objects act on us often determines how we think of them and the world around us. For example, the relative paucity of gravestones in many historic African American Cemeteries, as opposed to the density of stones in white cemeteries, was a feature that allowed whites to advance an interpretation of history in which they were responsible for winning the land and therefore were deserving of greater rights and privileges.

Narrative forms, such as biography, object biography and microhistory are important because they allow us to develop and propose alternative narratives that disrupt historicized accounts. Cemeteries are repositories for biographies and particularly in the case of African American cemeteries, we must develop better techniques not only for preserving the physical landscapes and objects within them, but also for capturing and utilizing these stories. A number of digital initiatives have focused on recording and preserving information found on tombstones.[284] In general, these initiatives have been successful at fulfilling the goals they set out to meet, but they have been less successful at capturing and conveying biographical information, although each has attempted to do so in some manner. Similarly, social media forums, such as Facebook groups and blogs,[285] have explored individual biographies in very engaging ways, but have not tied them back to physical spaces well, resulting in a slight diminution of the power of these stories.

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[284] For example, the *African-American Cemeteries in Albemarle and Amherst Counties* website (http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/cem/About.shtml [Accessed 8/20/17]) and the People's Memorial Cemetery website (http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/cem/About.shtml [Accessed 8/20/17]) and Find a Grave (www.findagrave.com).

[285] Such as *African American Cemeteries of Tidewater Virginia and North Carolina* Facebook page (http://www.facebook.com/virginiablackcemeteries [Accessed 8/20/2017]) or the *Sacred Ground, Sacred History* blog (https://sacredgroundsacredhistory.wordpress.com/ [Accessed 8/25/17]).

It is important to begin to think of creative ways to merge biography and place better. It is possible that augmented reality may be one technique for this. An example of the potential uses of this technology can be found in a project entitled "Border Memorial: Frontera de los Muertos,"[286] which is designed to memorialize the thousands of migrant workers who have died in the Southwestern deserts along the US/ Mexico border. The app uses geolocation software to superimpose individual augments, Oaxacan skeleton effigies or *calacas*, at the precise GPS coordinates of each recorded death, enabling the public to see the objects integrated onto the physical location, and to powerfully reinforce the scale and isolation of the deaths along the border. One can imagine that a similar project linking photos, biographies and documents with tombstones might be equally powerful. For example, looking at Leonard Black's tombstone, one might be able to call up not only a short biography but also a copy of his autobiography. Alternatively, for Richard Forrester, one might be able to compare his tombstone with that of his father, see extant family photos and/or bills he had a hand in drafting while on the City Council. It is to be acknowledged that it might not be possible to locate such a wealth of biographical information for everyone in the cemetery, although census records may reveal smaller details, such as professions. Similarly, the dearth of tombstones in many historic African American cemeteries diminishes the sense of the total population and makes it difficult for modern populations to visualize the role that African Americans played in settling and developing the country, but tools, such as augments highlighting the number of burials in a cemetery, could be used to address this.

Integrating newer technologies with more traditional approaches, such as biographical text panels and/or walking trails[287], may be one way to "people" these spaces with the rich and diverse biographies of historical African American figures. Biographical details

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[286] https://bordermemorial.wordpress.com/border-memorial-frontera-de-los-muertos/ [Accessed 8/25/17].

[287] A particularly effective version of such a tour is that of the Bolton Street Cemeteries in Wellington, New Zealand. The brochure leads one through an admittedly stunning cemetery by focusing on a subset of gravesites, which includes the graves of individuals from varied socio-economic backgrounds as well as diverse ethnicities, and highlighting the lives of the deceased through short biographies http://boltoncemetery.org.nz/app/uploads/2015/04/Memorial_Trail.pdf [Accessed 8/29/2017].

help to flesh out the individuals buried in the cemeteries, adding dimensionality to their lives and enabling a better understanding of their contributions. Similarly they help to counter the narrative advanced throughout slavery and Jim Crow that only whites have history.

Conclusions

Returning to the question that began this thesis, does a single individual or object matter? My answer would be a resounding yes. Exploring Lucy Ann's tombstone, its history, and Alexander Dunlop's possible motives in commissioning it, demonstrates forcefully that objects do not stand alone. They form connections with and between people. In the case of tombstones, these connections may include the agentive rectangle between the commissioner, the commemorated, the carver and the stone itself. Or the connections formed may center on the relationship forged between the authorial client, who composes the text on the stone, the viewer/reader who consumes it, and the carver who publishes and shapes the text. In each case, the ability of the tombstone to facilitate the transmission of memory and through it the maintenance of both individual and collective identities is important.

As we have explored, objects, especially textual objects, such as tombstones and civic monuments, are not inert. They have the power to create and reinforce communities. They draw people to them and encourage the formation of emotional, spiritual and intellectual bonds, often with political ramifications. Alexander Dunlop exploited this characteristic when he erected both Lucy Ann's and Robert Hill's tombstones. He used the stones to pull himself closer to leading figures within the community and to assert his own worth and that of his family. Similarly, in the modern context, the coalescence of communities around the Civil War statues is important. Who will get to guide the process of remembering? Which communities will have a voice in decision making, whose values are embodied in the works, and how the fault lines between divergent communities can be negotiated are as much a matter of discussion as what to do with statues themselves. Objects, particularly textual ones, confer the power to control narratives and to shape them in particular ways. The memories embedded in objects are not static; they are frequently redefined and contested. They may either be

reaffirmed or repudiated. But again it is important to remember that the object itself is not inactive in this process. The associations of monuments with specific places work to create cognitive landscapes that have specific emotional values tied to them. Positive values, such as inclusion, diversity and the celebration of achievement, may be embedded in these landscapes but it is equally important to remember that negative values, such as exclusion and racism, may also be encoded into such spaces. Recognizing that fact may be troubling or uncomfortable for some, but the discussion and negotiation that occurs at that point of tension is also important to how we construct communal identities and negotiate what it is to be human.

In the beginning of this thesis, I noted that all history *is* local history. An action occurs in one place and is manifested there. From that point, the ramifications and repercussions of that action ripple outward. These ripples allow the action to intersect and interact with other actions, and to be augmented or cancelled out by them. These intersections occur not only along a horizontal, or geographic plane, but also along a vertical plane that includes time. Objects represent temporal links between generations. They represent actions and decisions that may predate their manufacture, but they also represent actions and decisions with the potential to influence the future. As such, objects represent both deliberate and subconscious communications between generations. Although the past is the past and it is rarely successful to attempt to remove or excise it (as the recovery of Lucy Ann's tombstone and the present discussion about Civil War monuments demonstrate), the power of objects can be used to help create a history that is useable and useful in the present. Exploring object biographies and the different meanings that objects may have had through time, can help us to understand their role in the present day. This exploration may also furnish alternate narratives that can in some cases help to disrupt stereotyped, negative or racialized readings of history.

CHAPTER TWELVE: "…to knit the generations each with each"

Tennyson's poem *In Memoriam* contains two lines that were much beloved by
Reverend W.A.R. Goodwin. They are

> A link among the days to knit

> The generations each with each

Taken entirely out of the context within which they were penned, the lines were used
by Goodwin as a metaphor for Williamsburg's ability to serve as a connective tissue
between the country's Revolutionary past and its present. These words also speak
powerfully to the final phase (to date) of the tombstones' biographies and their ability
to connect with, to teach, and to provide continuity for a new generation.

It is rare for Colonial Williamsburg's Department of Archaeological Research to
encounter objects that can be attributed to named individuals as tightly as the
tombstones can be. Due to this, and to the presence of human remains at the site,
members of the First Baptist Church were asked to engage with the project as a
descendant community.[288] An initial idea, bruited about while the stones were still
being excavated, was to re-erect the tombstones over the reburied remains. However,
once the stones were in the conservation lab and it was possible to assess their
condition, this option became less feasible. Although the lettering and surface details
were still sharp and distinct in most areas, as a result of exposure to acidic conditions
in the burial environment, the marble had begun to "sugar" due to the loss of binding
materials. There was concern that, if placed in an outdoor environment, erosion of the
surfaces would occur very rapidly. This was difficult to reconcile with Williamsburg's
preservation ethos and harder still to reconcile with the historical value of the stones
as we were beginning to understand them. Tombstones are impermanent artifacts
created to commemorate the life of the deceased for as long as the stone can tell its
tale, and although a case can be made that the limitations of their lifespan should be
honored, in this instance it was felt that deterioration would occur at an unnaturally
accelerated pace. Re-erecting them under such conditions would be irresponsible.

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[288] The church was approached in part due to Alexander Dunlop's known connections with the
community. We worked initially with the church's History Committee, consisting of Ethel Hill and Liz
Coleman, and chaired by Opelene Davis, and later with the chairman of the church's Board of Trustees,
Robert Braxton.

Having rejected the possibility of re-erecting the tombstones outside, the discussion then turned to the alternatives. The primary one was to move the tombstones inside - either into long-term storage or into an exhibit environment. There is legitimate controversy with regard to this approach and for many tombstones it would not be an option. Separating a stone from the burial it marks alters the stone's function, and disrupts geographic and familial relationships that might once have been evident due to its proximity to other stones or landmarks. In this particular case, however, the decision to move the tombstones had already been made, nearly 80 years previously.

There was a strong desire on the part of both the Foundation and the church members for the tombstones to be both accessible and on exhibit, so that the story of the Dunlop and Hill families could be shared more broadly. Although Colonial Williamsburg had reburied the tombstones in the 1960s, attitudes have changed dramatically since then. In 1979, Colonial Williamsburg began to interpret African American life in the eighteenth century town and specifically to educate visitors about slavery. To begin with, African American actors were hired to play both free and enslaved people in a series of street scenes (Edwards-Ingram 2014), leading to the eventual establishment of the Department of African American Interpretation and Presentation (AAIP). Although AAIP led the front-line interpretive efforts, there was also a concerted behind-the-scenes research focus on peopling the past in a more inclusive way, and on telling the story of Williamsburg's "other half."[289] Curators, historians and archaeologists, among others, began to return to previously examined sources with new insights and to tease out new information. Archaeological work on the Polly Valentine house (Edwards 1990; Edwards-Ingram 2015) in the late 1980s pushed these stories into the nineteenth century, paving the way for a fuller consideration of the Dunlop and Hill stories.[290]

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[289] This phrase was utilized as a reminder that the eighteenth century population of the town was evenly divided between blacks and whites.
[290] Polly Valentine was an enslaved woman who served as a nursemaid to Nathaniel Beverley Tucker's children. Her house, built on Tucker's property to his own specifications, was destroyed in 1862 or 1864 (Edwards 1990).

For the members of the First Baptist Church, the tombstones represented a connection of another sort. The church is one of the oldest black religious communities in America. Although the exact date of its foundation is unknown, due to missing records and the congregation's need to meet in secret, it is generally accepted that worshipers were meeting by 1776 (Tate 1965; Bogger 2006; Rowe 2012). In 1804, Jesse Coles[291] gave the members a carriage house on Nassau Street in Williamsburg in which to hold their meetings. In 1855, the congregation built a larger purpose-built church, referred to as the "old brick church" by current church members. The church was relocated to Scotland Street in 1956, after Rockefeller purchased and razed the older church. In 2003, church members collaborated with the Foundation to create two exhibits on African American religion in Williamsburg: one in the reconstructed Taliaferro-Cole stable, near the site of the Nassau Street church, and the other in the narthex of the new church.[292] The exhibit in the church focuses on the church's history from 1818 to the present. It juxtaposes furniture and photos from the old church with text including excerpts from Alexander Dunlop's testimony to the Joint Congressional Committee on Reconstruction, which mentions his involvement with the church. Additional exhibits in the community building attached to the church also focus on John Dawson's pastorship and the twentieth-century history of the church, including the active role it played during the Civil Rights Era. For members of the church, the tombstones, like the furniture retained and displayed in the narthex provided a tangible connection with the past. As one of the parishioners expressed it to me, much later, during the dedication ceremony following the tombstones' installation, these things (the stones and the furniture) afforded a sense of communal ancestry for the church and the community that genealogical searches could not always provide for individual members.[293]

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[291] It is not clear whether this Jesse Coles was Jesse Coles Sr. or Jesse Coles, Jr., who later married Elizabeth Travis (Rowe 2012).

[292] "Colonial Williamsburg Opens New African-American Religion Exhibit," Press release issued by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Public Relations Department, December 9 2003. The exhibits were funded by a grant from the Lilly Endowment, Inc.

[293] Unknown church member, personal communication, January 31, 2016.

For both the Foundation and the Church, the common ground lay in the historic value of the tombstones and all other decisions were negotiated from there. Three options were discussed:

1) storing them in Colonial Williamsburg's bulk archaeological repository. Although logistically the least complicated option, this option incorporated a loss of visibility that neither party found desirable.

2) erecting the tombstones outside, possibly on the church grounds, but under a cover that would help to protect them from the elements. Although feasible, this option was never really popular and beyond its identification as an option there was little discussion of its further merits.

3) exhibiting the stones within the church building. This option was by far the most desirable from a preservation point of view, given the ability both to control environmental deterioration and to provide security. It was also the most popular with the committee members. They proposed that the tombstones be installed in the church and it was agreed that a long-term loan would be negotiated whereby Colonial Williamsburg would continue to be responsible for the conservation and maintenance of the stones.[294]

Additional aspects of the treatment were also discussed. Both tombstones had incurred significant damage during their burial in the form of extensive iron staining on both the face and backs of the stones. Embedded dirt had also altered the stones' appearances giving them a beige limestone-like appearance. Robert Hill's tombstone had also been broken into five pieces and there were numerous line chips and small losses along the break lines. Discussion centered around the potential treatment limitations and was designed to ensure that everyone shared the same expectations as to how the tombstones might eventually appear. Dirt removal was possible, as was reduction of the iron staining. However, since the deepest iron stains were also associated with areas where the marble was the most degraded, it was felt that aggressive stain removal might lead to losses. Also, since some of the deepest iron

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[294] Colonial Williamsburg has arranged similar long-term loans with other organizations, including The College of William and Mary. Over the years, between the tombstones' excavation and their installation in the church, the location in which they were to be placed changed several times.

deposits were in key areas of the inscription, loss in these areas would be undesirable. Although Robert Hill's tombstone could be mended, it was agreed that filling along the break line should not be undertaken. The committee members felt that the breaks were an important part of the tombstones' past history and should be visible. It was also agreed that the fragments of the footstones and the pieces of the bases would be stored in Colonial Williamsburg's bulk archaeological repository rather than exhibited with the headstones. These early discussions helped to lay a ground work for the treatment approach that focused on minimal intervention and maintaining a balance between revealing the intended appearance of the tombstones and also respecting the damage that they had incurred as part of their history.

During the twelve years that the stones were in the archaeological conservation laboratory there was a focus on promoting their visibility.[295] They featured heavily in the twenty or so regular lab tours delivered each year, as well as in special behind-the-scenes tours offered to donor groups, allied professionals and field schools. In 2006, two of Colonial Williamsburg's decorative arts curators asked if they could include Lucy Ann's tombstone in an exhibit entitled *In Memoriam,* which focused on decorative and folk art approaches to funerary art. The request was related to

Figure 31: Lucy Ann Dunlop's tombstone in the *In Memoriam* exhibit (courtesy of The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

the First Baptist Church's History Committee, which approved it, and the tombstone was exhibited in the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum from February 2007 to December 2008 (Figure 31). As part of the programming support for the exhibit, PowerPoint presentations focusing on the tombstones were given on a bi-monthly

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[295] Although this represents an unusually long time between excavation and installation, it was due in part to a desire on the part of the committee to fundraise for a small museum to be built on the church's ground. This undertaking was eventually deferred indefinitely.

basis. Additionally, talks were presented to local history groups, antique collectors guilds and conservation organizations. Initially the tours and presentations focused on the archaeology of the tombstones and their on-going conservation; however, as more was learned about the Dunlops and the Hills and the local free black community in the nineteenth century, these topics were increasingly discussed. People formed connections with the tombstones during these programs. Visitors returned repeatedly, specifically to see what had been done since their last visit or to hear what new aspects of the Hill and Dunlop histories had been uncovered. More noticeable still were the number of people who asked to touch the stones or who just, surreptitiously, reached out and placed their hands on them. This was remarkable, since one of the key rules of conduct that the volunteer tour leaders impart is the importance that visitors not touch anything in the lab. This rule is generally so well-ingrained that I have from time-to-time had problems getting visitors to interact with mock-ups or items that I am willing for them to handle. The desire therefore to connect tangibly with the tombstones, in effect to touch the past, speaks not only to their material presence, but also to the power of the biographies with which they are connected.

The tombstones were installed in the church in January 2016, just six months shy of the 150th anniversary of Lucy Ann's death (Figure 32). On the last day of the month, they were unveiled and dedicated. Julia Grace, Alexander Dunlop's great-granddaughter, was one of the officiants at the service and many of his other descendants were also present. The following day, another service occurred in the church. It marked the start of a month long campaign to "Let Freedom Ring." Visitors were invited to ring the church's bell, which was purchased in 1886 by women from the church and used until the 1950s when structural issues caused it to fall silent. The bell, like the tombstones, was conserved and reinstalled in the church, and the campaign celebrated the fact that the bell's voice could be heard for the first time since before segregation ended. The campaign offered, and encouraged, participants to reflect on freedom, on race relations and on the country's future. Participants were

invited to record their reflections as they registered to ring the bell.[296] Although not all did, many recorded short stories about families and loved ones. Reading them, I was struck by how perfectly they complemented Dunlop's own intentions; these biographical details helped to bridge the generations and connect past and present identities with aspirations for a better and more equal future.

Figure 32: The tombstones installed in the First Baptist Church, Williamsburg, VA (photo by author).

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[296] These reflections are archived at https://www.letfreedomringchallenge.org/ [Accessed 5/28/17].

APPENDIX 1: List of Cemeteries Visited

Ettrick

Ettrick is a small town located just across the Appomattox River from Petersburg. In 1882, the first state supported black college, Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute (now Virginia State University) was founded here.

Ettrick Cemetery

Address: Chesterfield County, VA.

The 3.86 acre cemetery was established in the 1830s by the Hadley C. Cotton Mill as a free burial place for the mill-workers. Only a small number of marked graves survive. After years in private hands, the cemetery is maintained by the Dearing-Beauregard Camp 1813, Sons of the Veterans of the Confederacy. It is still open for burials.

Hopewell

Hopewell is the largest continuously inhabited English settlement in the US. It was first settled in 1613 under the name Bermuda Cittie. This name was later changed to Charles City Point and finally shortened to City Point. It is located on the confluence of the James and Appomattox Rivers, and was a busy port city. It is approximately five miles away from Petersburg. In 1838 a railroad was built between it and Petersburg, and during the Civil War Ulysses S. Grant used Hopewell as his headquarters for the Siege of Petersburg.

Methodist Cemetery

Address: Pierce Street, Hopewell, VA.

The cemetery was originally associated with Trinity Methodist Church founded in 1750. The church was destroyed by fire in 1937 and there appear to have been no burials since. Today the cemetery is a small lot located in a residential neighborhood. There are a handful of gravestones, many carved by Charles Miller Walsh.

Norfolk

Norfolk was established in 1682. It is noted for its deep water port. In 1855, a two-month long Yellow Fever epidemic killed a third of the City's population. At the height of the epidemic 80 burials a day were being made in local cemeteries. Mass graves were required and bodies were buried two to a coffin when coffins could be found (Parramore et al 1994: 179). Martial law was imposed and donations arrived from around the country to help alleviate the threat of starvation that faced the city as people fled and fell ill and civil order broke down. On May 10, 1862, Norfolk surrendered to Union forces and was once again under martial law, this time until 1869, when Virginia was permitted to reenter the Union and the Federal troops withdrew. Norfolk had a small, but active, free black community prior to the war. Once the Federal troops arrived in Norfolk and neighboring Hampton, thousands of African Americans flocked to the area to escape slavery and the Confederate army. Many African Americans joined the Union army. After the Civil War, Norfolk shook off a somewhat staid demeanor and became a cosmopolitan business center, which attracted new wealth.

Cedar Grove

Address: 238 East Princess Anne Road, Norfolk, VA.

Established in 1825, Cedar Grove was Norfolk's first municipal cemetery. It covers 14 acres and is laid out on a grid pattern. It is characterized by a preponderance of vault tombs, as well as individual graves. Numerous victims of the 1855 Yellow Fever epidemic are buried in the cemetery. Cedar Grove is maintained by the City of Norfolk and a volunteer organization. An effort is currently underway to add Cedar Grove to the National Register of Historic places.

Elmwood

Address: 238 East Princess Anne Road, Norfolk, VA.

Elmwood was established as a municipal cemetery in 1853 to relieve crowding in Cedar Grove. It comprises 50 acres and continues to be actively used. There are a number of fraternal and memorial lots in the cemetery as well as individual family lots and mausoleums. Approximately 400 civil war dead (both Union and Confederate) are

buried in the cemetery. Elmwood was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 2013. It is maintained by the City of Norfolk.

Hebrew Cemetery

Address: Princess Anne and Tidewater Drive, Norfolk, VA.

Founded in 1850, it was the second Jewish cemetery to be established in Norfolk. Tombstones from the earlier cemetery at Powder Point were moved to the new location. Between 1859 and 1880, there was a contentious debate between various Jewish groups in the city as to which one actually owned the cemetery. The debate was resolved in 1880 by the formation of the Hebrew Cemetery Corporation, which ran the cemetery until 1957 when the City of Norfolk took it over. Many of the Jews buried in cemetery in the nineteenth century were of German extraction, although starting in the 1880s Russian Jews began to arrive in Norfolk and made use of the cemetery. The Jewish community of Norfolk maintains the cemetery on a volunteer basis. The cemetery is open for burials.

Magnolia Cemetery

Address: Berkley and Lancaster Avenues, Norfolk, VA.

Magnolia was established in 1860 in what was then Berkley. Nineteenth-century Berkley was a shipbuilding and naval community that also had rail connections. Berkley became an independent town in 1890, but was annexed by the City of Norfolk in 1906. The City of Norfolk acquired the cemetery in 1911 and has managed it ever since. The cemetery has two sections, one with older stones and one that is newer. It remains open for burials.

West Point

Address: 238 Princess Anne Road, Norfolk, VA.

Located adjacent to Elmwood Cemetery to the West, West Point was established in 1873 as a burial ground for Norfolk's black community. Some burials predating the establishment of the cemetery suggest that the site had already been in use as a potter's field. Initially called Calvary Cemetery, the cemetery was renamed West Point in 1885. Section 20 of the cemetery was dedicated to the burial of black Union

veterans, of which Norfolk had a sizeable population, many of whom had served with distinction. The cemetery contains numerous marble tombstones and several zinc ones; however, they are not as densely placed as in Elmwood or Cedar Grove giving the cemetery a deceptively underpopulated appearance. The cemetery contains a monument to the city's black Union soldiers erected in 1920. The cemetery was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 2007. West Point is maintained by the City of Norfolk.

Petersburg

Petersburg is located approximately 23 miles south-west of Richmond on the fall line of the Appomattox River. Petersburg was incorporated in 1784 from several smaller settlements. By 1790 it was Virginia's third largest town. After 1830, Petersburg became a major transportation hub; rail lines linked it to the East and West and also North and South. Cotton mills and tobacco factories employed large parts of the population, but it was also a manufacturing hub. Prior to the Civil War, Petersburg had one of the oldest and largest free black communities in the State. By 1860 nearly 3000 free blacks lived in the city, a third of the total African American population. With the arrival of the Civil War, Petersburg's rail connections and proximity to Richmond quickly identified it as a prime target. Between 1864 and 1865 a brutal form of trench warfare was waged around the town before it finally surrendered March 25, 1865, paving the way for the Confederacy's final surrender at Appomattox Courthouse. The fighting around Petersburg was notable because it involved the largest concentration of African American troops used anywhere in the war. They suffered particularly heavy casualties at the Battle of the Crater and at Chaffin's Farm, both near Petersburg.

Blandford Cemetery

Address: 319 South Crater Road, Petersburg, VA.

The earliest grave dates to 1702, although a church was not built on the site until 1735. The church was abandoned after the Revolution. In 1819, the City of Petersburg bought the church and the four acre churchyard to use as a public burying ground. In 1843, an additional 30 acres were added, and in 1854, 20 more acres were added to

the cemetery. Additional land purchases were made in 1866, 1920 and 1927, 1953 and 1963. In 1851 a section was designated for the burials of blacks. Prior to this, a few individual slaves or servants were buried in family plots. During the Civil War the cemetery and church were just inside the Confederate siege lines and were deeply contested land due to their elevation; burials were halted and some existing tombstones bear scars from shelling. After the war was over the Ladies' Memorial Association oversaw the reinterment of 30,000 Confederate dead in the cemetery. In 1888 the church was restored, and between 1904 and 1912 fifteen Tiffany windows were installed in the church commemorating the eleven Confederate states, as well as Maryland and Missouri (whose loyalties were divided) and the Ladies' Memorial Association. Today the cemetery encompasses 189 acres and there are an estimated 30,000 gravestones. The cemetery is particularly noted for its surviving ironwork. Blandford was added to the National Register of Historic places in 1992.

Brith Achim/ Rodof Shalom Cemeteries

Address: 545 South Crater Road, Petersburg, VA.

Rodof Shalom was established in 1865 and Brith Achim in 1909. The two cemeteries share an entrance and adjoin St. Joseph's Catholic cemetery to the South.

East View Cemetery

Address: South Crater Road, Petersburg, VA

East View first began use around 1855, although the earliest markers date to the period between 1866 and 1880. It may originally have been several separate parcels that were consolidated in 1911 by J.M. Wilkerson. Unlike People's Memorial Cemetery and Little Church Cemetery, which were initially developed by benevolent societies, East View appears to have been begun as an entrepreneurial enterprise (Trinkley *et al* 1999: 123). East View is distinguished by an unusual collection of concrete markers. The cemetery is still actively used and is in private hands.

People's Memorial Cemetery

Address: 334 South Crater Road, Petersburg, VA.

People's Memorial Cemetery was established in 1840 with the purchase of a single

acre of land. In 1865, and again in 1880, the cemetery was enlarged. Each tract, while used for burials, was called by a separate name; for example, the original tract was called Old Beneficial, the 1865 addition was called Beneficial Board and Scott's Cemetery at various times, and the 1880 tract was referred to as Providence or Jackson Cemetery. The name People's Memorial Cemetery was not adopted until the early twentieth century and then it was used for all three tracts. The cemetery was acquired by the City of Petersburg in 1986 and is maintained by the city.

Little Church Cemetery

Address: Mingea Street, Petersburg, VA.

The cemetery was established in 1880. It was owned and maintained for many years by James M. Wilkerson, a local undertaker. Wilkerson and his family had ties to Gillfied Baptist Church; however, the cemetery contains the burials of members of most of Petersburg's historically black churches.

St Joseph's Catholic Cemetery

Address: 319 South Crater Road, Petersburg, VA.

St Joseph's adjoins Blandford cemetery to the South. It was consecrated in 1877.

Portsmouth

Portsmouth is an independent city located directly across the Elizabeth River from Norfolk. Although technically separate, the lives of its nineteenth-century inhabitants were so intertwined with those of their neighbors that banking, commerce, entertainment and family caused them to cross the river repeatedly. Similarly, burials appear to have been carried out in cemeteries on both sides of the river, blurring the boundaries between the two cities. Portsmouth was established as a town in 1752, although shipwrights and others had inhabited the area for longer. In 1767, the Gosport shipyard was established there. This shipyard later became an important Naval shipyard, and during the Civil War passed between Union and Confederate hands before being recaptured by the Union. In 1855, Portsmouth's population was decimated by the same Yellow Fever epidemic that struck Norfolk.

Cedar Grove Cemetery

Address: 301 Fort Lane, Portsmouth, VA.

Cedar Grove was established in 1832. It comprises 5.25 acres. There are over 400 burials within the cemetery including a number of Yellow Fever victims and civil war veterans. Burials in the cemetery were available to whites only in the nineteenth century. By the early 1990s the cemetery had fallen into disrepair. A large cemetery restoration project was carried out between 1995 and 1998 by the Stonewall Camp #380 Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) with help from the Portsmouth Sherriff's work release program. The SCV remain active in the cemetery, resetting stones and hosting tours and memorial events. Cedar Grove was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1992.

Richmond

Richmond, located at the falls of the James River, was founded in 1737. In 1780 the State Capitol was moved from Williamsburg to Richmond due to fears regarding Williamsburg's vulnerability to attack by British troops. Richmond quickly became a leading manufacturing and industrial center relying on the James, the Kanawha Canal and various rail lines to ship products to far-flung markets. When Virginia seceded and joined the other Confederate states, in May 1861, the capitol of the Confederacy was transferred from Mobile, Alabama, to Richmond. As the Confederate troops abandoned the city on April 2nd 1865, they started a fire that ultimately consumed nearly 25% of the city's buildings leaving large portions of it in ruins. Richmond quickly rebounded and by the 1880s was once again an industrial center. The tobacco industry played an important part in the city's recovery. Despite the fact that Richmond had a large African American population between 1860 and 1900, many of the cemeteries used by them have either been relocated or vandalized; others were established without perpetual care provisions, and are now heavily overgrown in places and difficult to visit. The City of Richmond has not intervened to care for these cemeteries, although local volunteer efforts are slowly reclaiming portions of some of the cemeteries.

Barton Heights Cemetery

Address: Between St. James and Lamb Streets, Richmond, VA.

Barton Heights Cemetery is the collective name for six contiguous African American cemeteries: Cedarwood, Union Mechanics, Sycamore, Methodist, Sons and Daughters of Ham and Ebenezer. In 1815 the Burying Ground Society for the Free People of Color of the City of Richmond purchased land just outside the city limits in Henrico County for the creation of a cemetery. This cemetery, originally called Phoenix, and later renamed Cedarwood, was the first of the six cemeteries that would be established between 1815 and 1865 on the 12 acre site. Originally separate, these cemeteries were founded by black benevolent and/or fraternal societies. Although the cemeteries housed many of Richmond's elite African Americans, by 1900 they were in decline. Wealthy African Americans began to look toward other more-fashionable and less-crowded cemeteries, and the cemeteries of Barton Heights experienced pressure from the white town of Barton Heights, which had grown up around them. In 1899, the town successfully attempted to regulate the cemeteries imposing new requirements regarding record keeping, burials and funerals. In 1934, the City of Richmond purchased the cemeteries. The last burial occurred in the 1970s. The cemetery was added to the National Register of Historic places in 2004. Today, the cemetery is moderately maintained. The grass is mowed, however many of the tombstones have been toppled and are slowly being buried, and others are broken and at risk of losing elements. The iron fences that once enclosed some lots are in disarray, and downed limbs litter the site. There does not appear to be any conservation efforts aimed at the tombstones and many are at risk of being lost.

Evergreen Cemetery

Address: Evergreen Road, Richmond, VA.

In 1891, the Evergreen Cemetery Association formed with the goal of creating a cemetery for blacks that could equal Hollywood cemetery. Forty-seven acres of land were purchased and an architect, John T. Redd and Sons, was selected. The lots sold quickly - Maggie Walker, the nation's first black bank president, purchased one. However, by the 1940s, the cemetery began to fall into disrepair because provisions had not been made for perpetual care. By the 1960s families were exhuming relatives

and moving them to cemeteries that did provide perpetual care. The cemetery became a dumping ground and there were several incidents where graves were vandalized (Davis 2003: 31). Today the cemetery is privately owned and an active volunteer core is trying to recover it, although progress has been slow. There is a "new" section that remains an active burial ground. Most of the older graves are heavily overgrown and inaccessible. Although the cemetery was visited for the survey, it was impossible to access and record tombstones of the period of interest.

Hebrew Cemetery

Address: 400 Hospital Street, Richmond, VA.

Founded in 1816, the cemetery was expanded in 1871, 1880, 1886, 1896, 1911, and 1994 and currently encompasses 8.4 acres. The first interment, made in 1818, was that of Benjamin Wolfe, the city councilman instrumental in securing the cemetery land for the community. Richmond's small but active Jewish population grew dramatically in the 1840s, due to an influx of new immigrants from Bavaria and Poland, and many of the gravestones from the latter half of the nineteenth century reflect this. There is a small soldiers' section containing the remains of 30 Jewish Confederate soldiers who were killed in battles around Richmond and Petersburg. They were reinterred in the cemetery by the Hebrew Ladies' Memorial Association in 1866. Hebrew cemetery is significant as the oldest active Jewish cemetery in the South. It is laid out in a block and grid pattern, and has a minimal number of plantings in keeping with Jewish tradition. Hebrew cemetery was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 2006.

Hollywood Cemetery

Address: 412 South Cherry Street, Richmond, VA.

Hollywood opened as a private cemetery in 1847. It was conceived as a rural cemetery and was inspired by Mt. Auburn in Boston. The cemetery was designed by John Notman, the designer of Laurel Hill in Philadelphia, who also suggested the name because of the number of Holly trees already on the site. The first burial was in 1849. In 1858, the body of President James Monroe was reinterred in Hollywood cemetery, an event that helped to establish the cemetery as a socially desirable resting place. It

boasts the largest number of Civil War notables in any one Southern cemetery. These burials include those of J.E.B. Stuart and Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy. An estimated 18,000 Civil War soldiers are buried in the cemetery; a large dry-stone pyramid commemorates them. Hollywood Cemetery was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1969. It is maintained by the Hollywood Cemetery Company.

Maury Cemetery

Address: 2700 Maury Street, Richmond, VA.

Established in 1875 as the white cemetery for Manchester, VA, the cemetery developed side by side with Mt. Olivet, a black cemetery. Both served the town of Manchester, which was annexed by the City of Richmond in 1910. The cemetery is now managed by the City of Richmond.

Mt. Olivet Cemetery

Address: 3501 N. Hopkins, Richmond, VA.

Established in 1875 as the black cemetery for Manchester, the cemetery developed side by side with Maury, a white cemetery. Both served the town of Manchester, which was annexed by the City of Richmond in 1910. The cemetery is now managed by the City of Richmond. There are a number of tombstones made of cement. Mount Olivet is one of the only black cemeteries in Richmond with detailed records of the burials (Davis 2003: 27).

Oakwood Cemetery

Address: 3101 Nine Mile Road, Richmond, VA.

Oakwood cemetery was opened in 1855 by the City of Richmond to alleviate crowding at Shockoe Hill cemetery. With the start of the Civil War, land was set aside for the burials of soldiers who died in the hospitals and camps located on Richmond's west side, particularly the Chimborazo and Howard's Grove hospitals. Between September 1861 and September 1862, 5483 soldiers were buried in the cemetery. During the war, Southerners and Northerners were buried in separate sections. Between 1865 and 1866 the Union dead were relocated to Richmond National Cemetery. Estimates

of the number of Confederate soldiers buried in Oakwood vary between 16,000 and 17,000, making it one of the largest Confederate burial grounds in the South. The Confederate section is poorly marked and maintained and one author has speculated that this is in part because the soldiers buried here were generally not local boys, in contrast to Hollywood cemetery (Kinney 1998: 239). There is a large municipal section that continues to be used. Today the cemetery is 176 acres in size and is maintained jointly by the city of Richmond (municipal section) and the Sons of the Veterans of the Confederacy (Confederate section).

Shockoe Hill Cemetery

Address: Hospital Street at 2nd Street, Richmond, VA.

Prior to 1820, St John's Churchyard had served as the primary burial ground for inhabitants of Richmond. In 1820, realizing that St. John's was nearing its capacity, the City Council purchased four acres on Shockoe Hill for use as a public cemetery. The first burial was made in April 1822. Additional land purchases in 1833, 1850 and 1870 brought the cemetery to its current size of 12.7 acres. Most of the lots were sold to families; however, the city retained a section for the burial of poor and indigents. The cemetery is laid out on a grid plan and enclosed by a brick wall. It contains approximately 36,000 burials. Famous interments include: Supreme Court Justice John Marshall (1755-1835), Virginia Governor William H. Cabell (1772-1853), Union Spy Elizabeth Van Lew and the foster parents of Edgar Allan Poe. 220 known Confederate soldiers and 577 known Union Soldiers are buried in the cemetery as well as hundreds of unknown soldiers. Shockoe Hill Cemetery is neighbored by Barton Heights cemetery (an African American Cemetery) and Hebrew Cemetery. Signed tombstones date from the 1840s to 1890s. The cemetery was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1995.

Westover

Westover Church Cemetery

Address: 6401 John Tyler Memorial Highway, Charles City, VA.

Located on the main plantation road along the James River between Richmond and Williamsburg, Westover church is five miles from Charles City Courthouse. The current

church was built in 1731, was abandoned in 1803 (and used briefly as a barn). The church was restored in 1833. It was heavily damaged by Union troops and restored again in 1867. The majority of the tombstones in the churchyard postdate 1867.

Williamsburg

Williamsburg was founded in 1632 as Middle Plantation. In 1693, the College of William and Mary was founded in Middle Plantation. Together with the presence of Bruton Parish church, several wealthy planters' homes, and the more salubrious climate, the presence of the College made Middle Plantation a desirable location. In 1699 the capitol moved from Jamestown to Middle Plantation and the site was rechristened Williamsburg, in honor of King William III. In 1780 the capitol of Virginia was again moved, this time to Richmond. During the Civil War, the College was used first as a Confederate barracks, then as a Confederate hospital and later still as a Union hospital. On May 6, 1862, the city fell to Union forces following the Battle of Williamsburg. After the war, Williamsburg became a somewhat sleepy hamlet, until in 1928 Rev. W. A. R. Goodwin convinced John D. Rockefeller, Jr. to invest in the reconstruction of the town.

Bruton Parish Church

Address: Duke of Gloucester Street, Williamsburg, VA.

Bruton Parish was founded in 1660. The present church was constructed in 1715; construction was financed by a tax on liquor and slaves. During the Civil War the church was used as a hospital and there are approximately 40 Confederate burials in the cemetery. The graveyard contains tombstones from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. New burials are severely limited. Although maintained by the parish, the church is today in the middle of Colonial Williamsburg's Historic Area and is an active tourist site.

Cedar Grove Cemetery

Address: South Henry Street, Williamsburg, VA.

Cedar Grove opened as a public cemetery in 1859. It was open to burials of both blacks and whites, but the two areas were segregated until well into the twentieth

century. Two hundred and fifty Confederate soldiers are buried in a separate section.
The cemetery is still open for burials and encompasses 20 acres. It is maintained by
the City of Williamsburg.

A Note about the Availability of the Survey Data

The records of the over 1500 individual tombstones surveyed as part of this project
were recorded in an Access database. The database remains in the author's
possession and is also on file in the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's archaeological
conservation lab.

APPENDIX TWO: Alexander Dunlop's Biographical Information

Alexander Dunlop's early life is scantily documented. He was born around 1818 to Leah and Robert Dunlop,[297] and little is currently known about his parents or his place of birth. He was one of at least three children since his will mentions his sisters, Judith and Julianna. Throughout all the census and tax records compiled during his life time, he is uniformly described as a mulatto, a status that may have given him some advantages in early life since some research has suggested that mulatto children tended to mature in households with greater access to food, healthcare, housing and clothing (Bodenhorn 2002: 31). In 1839, he married Lucy Ann Hill, an enslaved woman.[298] The first public record in which his name appears is a notice in the Richmond Husting Court Minute Book dated May 11, 1841, stating that "it appearing to the court by a register from the clerk of Williamsburg Husting Court, that Alick or Alexander son of Leah sometimes called Leah Dunlop was born free, it is ordered that he be registered in the office of the court."[299] In 1842 he was assessed for taxes in Williamsburg and in the following years it appears he moved between the two cities, living for extended periods in each locale and re-registering in each city.[300] In 1847, he purchased a piece of land in Henrico County "near and adjacent to the City of Richmond"[301] and in 1849 he acted as one of the trustees of the Second African Baptist Church in Richmond in a land deal. In December 1848, Dunlop purchased his wife, Lucy Ann Dunlop from Samuel F. Bright for $425. He borrowed $350 to be paid in three installments over three years and against which he offered a property in Williamsburg as collateral.[302] Lucy Ann's brother, Robert F. Hill, Jr., purchased his

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[297] Although Alexander Dunlop's name is repeatedly linked to that of his mother, Leah, the only reference to his father's name is when Alexander's marriage to Mary Elizabeth Henderson is registered in Winchester, VA., on December 7th, 1871.

[298] This date is inferred from the inscription on Lucy Ann's tombstones which states that she was the beloved wife of Alexander Dunlop for 27 years.

[299] Richmond Hustings Court Minute Book 14 (1840-1842), p.329

[300] He registered again in the Richmond Husting court on Oct 13 1845 (Richmond Hustings Court Minute Book 16 (1845) p.256), suggesting that he had registered, most likely in Williamsburg, in the years between 1841 and 1845.

[301] Richmond Hustings Court Deed book vol. 52.

[302] Richmond Hustings Court Deed book vol 55 p 97-99. At the time the deed was issued Dunlop is noted as "a free negro, of the City of Richmond." The property in question is on the "South Back Street" (Francis St.) and is bounded by the lots of Mrs. Ware, Frances (last name is blank), William Durfey, and Betsy Davis and is most probably in the area of Williamsburg now known as Block 14. Both Lucy Ann and her brother Robert Hill were sold in 1848 by Samuel F. Bright. Bright had married Elizabeth Travis Edloe Cole between 1846 and 1848 and was looking to reduce the number of slaves he held. Bright kept

freedom at the same time and emigrated to Liberia shortly thereafter. He became a missionary in Liberia and also served as a representative to the Liberian Congress. Robert returned to the States in 1867, and served as a recruiter for Liberia. He is credited with recruiting a large group of emigrants from both Eufuala and Columbus, Alabama, who arrived in Liberia aboard the *Golconda* in May 1868. Hill was literate (several of his letters extolling the benefits of Liberia were published) and in December 1867 he contributed $2.33 to the First Baptist Church in Williamsburg "to assist us in putting glass in the windows of our house"[303] suggesting he had visited Williamsburg during his trip to the States. It is therefore possible that Dunlop's connections during the 1850s and 60s extended beyond the Tidewater and Richmond.[304]

In the 1850 Federal census Dunlop is listed as a "laborer" (normally used to denote an unskilled worker), which may reflect either a mistake or prejudice on the part of the census taker (McCartney 2000: 3) or may signify that Dunlop was ready and willing to take all forms of work, even those below his skill level in order to stay in Richmond. If the latter is the case, it is tempting to think that perhaps his residence in Richmond is tied to familial business, such as Lucy Ann's presence there. It is interesting to note that it appears Dunlop returned to Williamsburg as soon as Lucy Ann's purchase was finalized. In April 1851, Dunlop is again assessed for taxes in Williamsburg and this time he claimed a slave (Lucy Ann). It is highly likely that he was already living on the Duke of Gloucester Street property, where he would eventually bury Lucy Ann, and had some expectation of owning it, because when Lucy Ann's father, Robert Hill, died

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an account book detailing the value of his slaves between the period 1826 to 1861(William and Mary Swem Library Special Collections Mss.MsV Ap4-5). Lucy Ann's price seems low when compared against the value of other women and may reflect the fact that during July 1848, Dr. Williamson was called to visit her four times,on the 1st, 9th 13th and 25th of the month (Southall Family Papers Swem Library Special Collections Mss. 39.1.508 Series 4, subseries 3, Folder 7, loose piece of paper).

[303] First Baptist Church, Williamsburg, VA., Book 1, p.162, starting on page 142 there are "rewritten" minutes from 3/17/1866-2/13/1873.

[304] Robert F. Hill died in Philadelphia on July 16th 1868. After preaching in New York, Boston and Philadelphia he was on his way back to Virginia. He requested that his body be sent back to Africa saying that "I love her soil and wish my bones to bleach there" (American Colonization Society 1868: 279). The body was embalmed by John Goode, Esq., placed in a metallic coffin and sent on the *Thomas Pope*, a regular packet ship. A "neat tombstone with a suitable inscription" was also ordered (American Colonization Society 1868: 279).

in June 1851 he chose to bury him there.[305] Dunlop worked as a blacksmith and Lucy

Ann apparently took in sewing.[306] Dunlop sold his property in Richmond in 1854 for a

considerable profit.[307] On April 29,1859 *The Daily Dispatch*, a Richmond newspaper

reported that "Alexander Dunlop, a free negro has been arrested and imprisoned for

having in his possession a lot of old iron, brass and lead supposed to have been

stolen."[308] There is no record of the incident in the Husting Court records or in the

Richmond Police records and it may have been a case of harassment or mistaken

identity. However it suggests that Dunlop was continuing to trade in Richmond,

and/or to acquire materials there, while living more permanently in Wiliamsburg. In

1860, he rented a house to the College of William and Mary when it was rebuilding

after a fire and also advanced the College money to pay for carpentry work.[309]

In 1865, Dunlop served as the president for both the Union League of Hampton and

the Colored Union League of Williamsburg (Foner and Walker 1979: 132).[310]These

were not the first leadership positions he had held. As we have seen, he had been a

trustee of the Second Baptist Church while he was living in Richmond, and it is likely

that when he moved back to Williamsburg he served a similar role in the First Baptist

Church. The church's oldest minute books date to 1866, at which point Dunlop was a

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[305] It is worth noting that the property formerly belonged to John M. Maupin. Maupin committed suicide December 26, 1850, leaving unexpected debts. Maupin was married to Catherine Travis, the younger sister of Elizabeth Travis Edloe Cole Bright (Lucy Ann Dunlop's former owner), and it is possible that Dunlop learned of the property's availability through these connections.

[306] Undated letter from Julia Johns sent to Cynthia Washington between 1852 and 1858, Cynthia Beverley Tucker Washington Coleman Papers, Swem Library Special Collections MS0007, Box 1, folder 24.

[307] Henrico County Deed Book volume 65, p.77

[308] *The Daily Dispatch*, Vol XV-no 102, April 29, 1859, p.1.

[309] William and Mary Bursar's Book, 1850-1875, part 3; January 14, 1860 p. 26; College of William and Mary, Faculty Minute book 5 1846-1883, p. 36. I am indebted to Dr. Terry Meyers for drawing my attention to both these references.

[310] Union League Clubs were formed in the North from 1862 on. They tended to be highly partisan and to focus on raising money for soldiers' relief, distributing war literature and recruiting white and black volunteers for the Union forces. After the war, they spread to the South where they developed into a powerful Republic political organization that helped to mobilize black voters and encouraged them to vote for the Republican ticket (Foner and Walker 1979:401). Southern whites feared the power of the Union Leagues and organizations like the Klu Klux Klan attempted to intimidate the members and leaders. By the end of reconstruction, few Union Leagues remained in the South, although in the North they continued as Conservative social clubs largely patronized by upper middle class males.

deacon and was one of two church members (including the pastor, J.M. Dawson[311]) whom the church voted to send to Richmond for a large convention to be held there in March 1866. Leadership roles within churches were one of the few positions of any power open to free blacks in the antebellum era (Bogger 1997; Engs 1979). Lay leaders exerted discipline over the community, investigating reports of disorderly conduct, brawling, drunkenness and infidelity or promiscuity and determined the appropriate punishments.[312] These men served as community organizers and developed links with other churches and other lay leaders through their work. Richard Lowe notes, that given this background, it is not surprising that in the post-civil war period, many of the African American leaders on the Peninsula had held such positions prior to the war (1995: 192). The regular regional meetings within each Baptist Association offered ways for church leaders (both clerical and lay) to meet and share news and views, as did the meetings that were called between individual churches to resolve disputes.

In January 1866, Dunlop travelled to Washington accompanied by a delegation of six African Americans (including Dunlop's brother-in-law, Richard R. Hill) and two white activists.[313] The seven African Americans, a physician, dentist, clergyman, blacksmith, house servant, laborer and farmer who rented land, were typical of the types of black leaders who emerged after the war. Richard Lowe (1995) has studied the 87 African Americans identified by the Freedman's Bureau as local leaders who had the

[311] John Montgomery Dawson (1829-1913) was born enslaved in Alexandria, Va. He escaped to the North, worked as a barber, attended a preparatory school attached to Oberlin College and served in the Union artillery. He was invited to be the pastor of First Baptist Church in Williamsburg in 1866 and served for 45 years. Additionally, he served as the moderator of the Norfolk Virginia Union Baptist Association from 1871-1882, held offices in other Baptist organizations including the Foreign Missions Board, completed a term in the Virginia Senate from 1873-1877, and ran for Congress in 1882. He was politically conservative and opposed the powerful Readjuster party supporting first the Conservative party and then the Straightout Republican party (http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Dawson_John_M_1829-1913#start_entry Accessed 7/1/2016).
[312] See for example, Minute Books 1-7 of the First Baptist Church of Williamsburg, Microfilm, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and/or Minute Books of the First African Baptist Church (Richmond, VA) 1841-1930, Microfilm, The Library of Virginia. I am indebted to Mrs. Opelene Davis for first making me aware of the existence of the First Baptist Church minute books and for sharing the church's copies of the books with me.
[313] Calvin Pepper, a lawyer from Massachusetts was a judge on the Freedmen's Court. He was accused in March 1866 of defrauding African Americans of their savings, although the *True Southerner* maintained that Pepper was being persecuted by the government for speaking against the Freedmen's Bureau's Florida resettlement scheme (*True Southerner* 3/24/1866: 3). Colonel D.B. White was a Union Officer from New York who settled in Norfolk at the end of the war. He was the owner of the *True Southerner* newspaper.

confidence of both races and who held the most influence in their locale (1995: 183).

He found that 35.4% had been free prior to the war, and 62.2% were literate to some

degree (as opposed to 9.1% of the general black male population). A larger proportion

of the leaders were of mixed race than the average population (35.4% as opposed to

14.2%). Those who had been slaves were able to hire out their time and had had the

ability to move a little more freely and to develop management skills (Lowe 1995: 193-

195). The seven Virginian delegates could all read, although three, including Dunlop,

could not write. Three had been free prior to the war.[314]

The delegation attended the National Equal Rights Association meeting, where Dunlop

served as the temporary chairman and four members of the group, including Richard

Hill, were elected as officers in the permanent organization. The convention asserted

its loyalty to the Union, its desire for equal rights and its opposition to foreign

colonization. The Virginia delegation went to the Freemen's Bureau and presented the

cases of Edmund Parsons, who had been evicted from his own land by the late Provost

Marshal of Williamsburg, and of Daniel Norton, who had been unanimously elected as

a representative to the Freemen's Court but had not been allowed to take his seat due

to color.[315] Additionally, they requested that Confederate veterans should not be

allowed to serve as judges in the Freemen's Court. On February 3rd, the entire

delegation went to the Capitol and testified in front of the Joint Congressional

Committee on Reconstruction.[316] Additionally, they met with both the Secretary of

State, William Seward, and Thaddeus Stevens, a senator from Pennsylvania who was a

staunch abolitionist and who fought for African American rights. On February 7th,

Dunlop accompanied Frederick Douglass to the White House to meet with President

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[314] These facts about the Virginia delegates are drawn from their testimony before the Joint Committee on Reconstruction (United States Government 1866).
[315] *True Southerner*, Feb 1, 1866, p.1
[316] Richard Lowe (1996) points out that the Joint Committee took the testimony of 137 witnesses from 11 states, only seven of whom, Dunlop and his associates, were black. All seven were interviewed in one day and their entire testimony took less time than that of some individual whites, such as Robert E. Lee. Lowe felt that the committee's approach to the testimony reflected a common feeling among White Republicans that: African Americans were not important players in the reconstruction of the postwar South; that they could best be protected by white Republicans; and that their role was to vote for better (white) leaders (1996:386). Despite this near dismissal, he also points to the importance of the testimony highlighting its unprecedented nature; blacks had not previously testified in front of Congressmen (Lowe 1996: 386). It is interesting that it is these men who were chosen to speak, out of all those attending the Convention, and suggests connections and stature within the group.

Johnson.[317] The meeting did not go very well and Johnson argued against universal suffrage. Although recorded in several ways the most informative source of information about all these meetings is the *True Southerner*, a black newspaper owned by Colonel D.B. White, a white man, but edited by Joseph T. Wilson, a free black from Massachusetts. The newspaper, printed first in Hampton and later in Norfolk on presses owned by Dunlop's neighbor E.H. Lively, gives a detailed and sympathetic view of African American politics on the Peninsula and agitated for equal rights. Dunlop served as an agent for the paper in Williamsburg. The paper was, unfortunately, short-lived; in April 1866 a white mob attacked the newspaper's offices and threw the presses in the Elizabeth River (Engs 1979: 94).

Returning to Williamsburg, Dunlop faced personal sadness. His mother in law, Nancy Hill, died in January[318] and on July 19th, Lucy Ann died of cancer in Norfolk, Virginia.[319] In 1869, Dunlop served as a registering officer for the third registration precinct in James City County.[320] In 1871, he married Mary Elizabeth Henderson, also known as Lizzie, in Winchester, Virginia. In January 1872, he served as a Justice of the Peace but it is unclear when this office began, and in May of the same year he was elected to the Williamsburg City Council.[321] On September 1st, 1872, his daughter Leah, also known as Mary Leah, was born.[322] On December 7, 1874, his son Alexander Dunlop, Jr., was born. Dunlop's wife Mary Elizabeth died on May 3rd, 1875, at the age of 27. She is buried in Cedar Grove cemetery in Williamsburg, but her grave is unmarked.

It appears that, sometime in 1877[323] Alexander Dunlop married Elizabeth Roper, a seamstress from Richmond.[324] On December 29, 1877, Elizabeth Dunlop was received

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[317] *True Southerner*, Feb 8, 1866, p.1
[318] City of Williamsburg, Register of Deaths, Jan 19, 1866.
[319] City of Williamsburg, Register of Deaths, June 19, 1866.
[320] Williamsburg Black Families papers 1866-1874. Swem Library Special Collections MSS.394 V83ci Box 7 Folder 5.
[321] City of Williamsburg, Deed Book, Jan 20, 1872; *Daily State Journal*, Richmond, Va., May 27 1872, vol 14 no. 184, p.1
[322] Her name is registered as Leah Dunlop in the City of Williamsburg Register of Birth but in later records she is referred to as Mary Leah.
[323] On June 11th 1877, Dunlop drew up his will and in it he named his wife Elizabeth and his "highly valued friend Rev. J.M. Dawson" as his executors. Designating someone as one's executor is a sign of

by letter into the First Baptist Church of Williamsburg.[325] Alexander Dunlop died in May 1880 of "cancer of the abdominal."[326] His death is recorded in the First Baptist Church's minute books on May 30th with the following inscription:

> "Bro (Deacon) Alexander Dunlop
>
> The above Bro. was at his death the Treas. of the Ch. Trustees and Vice
>
> Moderator & Deacon (All of which he filled with honor). Age 65
>
> years"[327]

In the 1880 Federal Census, Elizabeth Dunlop is listed as the stepmother of Mary L. Dunlop, age 8, and Alec Dunlop, age 5. In addition to the three of them, a blacksmith, John A.W. Jones, a blacksmith's apprentice, James Canady, a servant, Catherine Jackson, and a 68 year old woman, Elsie Washington, were all living in the Dunlop house on the Duke of Gloucester St. At the time of his death, Alexander Dunlop had acquired a fair amount of property in Williamsburg. In addition to the house on the Duke of Gloucester Street, he owned three lots in town (two on College Landing Road and one adjacent to J. Hillman[328]), fifteen acres in James City County and a half share in a property known as the "Old Free School Property." Dunlop and F.S. Norton, the co-owner of the property, rented this property to the City for use as a school for African Americans.[329]

Between 1880 and 1890, Dunlop's property was slowly sold off. In 1882, F.S. Norton bought Dunlop's half of the "Old Free School Property" and the money appears to have been spent satisfying debts that the Dunlop estate had incurred with John A. W. Jones. The nature of these debts are not spelled out but it is possible that they are tied

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trust, not only in their personal honesty but also their business acumen, and suggests that Alexander Dunlop may have known Elizabeth Roper for some time prior to their marriage.

[324] The Roper family was an established free black family in Richmond prior to the War. Elizabeth's brother Alpheus, a plasterer and mason, served on the Richmond City Council from 1871-1872 (Foner 1996:186).

[325] First Baptist Church Record books, Volume 1, p. 34.

[326] US Federal Mortality Schedule.

[327] First Baptist Church, Williamsburg, 1875-1885 Deacon minutes book, p.20.

[328] Williamsburg Deed book, vol 2, p323-333.

[329] Frederick Norton was the brother of Daniel Norton, one of the men who had accompanied Dunlop to Washington in 1866. Both Daniel and another brother, Robert had escaped to the North in about 1850 leaving Frederick still enslaved. All three men were politically active and served in State government.

to the blacksmithing operation. In 1889, John A.W. Jones purchased the land in James City County and two of the lots in Williamsburg.[330]

By 1900, Elizabeth and Mary Leah had moved to Washington where Elizabeth worked as a nurse and Mary Leah worked as a seamstress. Alexander Dunlop, Jr., had moved to New York City. On June 6th 1900, his daughter Lillie Dunlop was born. On January 16th 1901, Mary Leah married James A. Jones, the son of John A.W. Jones, in Washington at the First Baptist Church, Dumbarton.[331] They returned to Williamsburg soon after the wedding to live in a property owned by James' father. James, a carpenter, would later build the family home on Braxton Court.

Alexander Dunlop, Jr. died in Manhattan on June 14th 1901, and Lillie was sent to live with Mary Leah and her husband, who raised and educated her. The family appears to have been very close; Mary Leah's own daughter, Elizabeth, described Lillie as "just about a sister."[332] Despite the close family ties, the Dunlop property may have been a source of contention. In 1915 Mary Leah sued Lillie in an attempt to change the division of the property (Lillie had inherited half of the property from her father, whereas Mary Leah and her four children shared the other half of the property). In a deposition during that case, Mary Leah described the Dunlop property on the Duke of Gloucester Street as being in poor condition and stated that it was not possible to rent it for more than $1.75 a month. The city Treasurer, Robert Spencer, deposed at the same time, stated that although the lot was desirable, the buildings were "no

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[330] In 1895 Mary Leah Dunlop sued John A. W. Jones on behalf of herself and her brother saying that the sale was improperly forced and that Jones had not been owed money by the estate, that all debts had been paid in full previous to the sale. Further, she alleged that she and her brother had not been well represented as their *guardian ad litum* had died during the proceedings and had not been replaced so that there was no one working on their behalf. James City County Chancery Court Case 1898-005. Available at www.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/case_detail.asp?CFN=095-1898-005 (Accessed 7/21/2016).

[331] This information is taken from a wedding certificate in the Dunlop family possession. I am deeply grateful to Alexander Dunlop Jones for sharing it with me. Interestingly, the officiant is James H. Hill, the assistant pastor. Hill is a common last name and I have not been able to establish a direct connection to one of Lucy Ann's known siblings, however it is possible that there was a familial connection.

[332] Elizabeth Parilla Oral History, Unpublished Manuscript #84-068, Swem Library Special Collections.

good."[333] In 1925, another round of litigation led to the sale of the house to the Williamsburg Methodist Episcopal Church South.[334]

In 1928, Mr. J. Charles, a lifetime resident of Williamsburg, remembered that "on the front part of the lot on which the new Methodist Church now stands, there was up to a few years ago, a small two story frame house, owned by the heirs of a respected colored man who was a blacksmith. It is said that he worked and accumulated sufficient money and bought his first wife, who was up to that time a slave."[335] And, with that final epitaph, the memory of the house and its inhabitants began to dim.

[333] James City County Chancery Court Case, Mary Leah Jones vs. Lillie Dunlop, Case no 1916-014. Available at http://www.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/case_detail.asp?CFN=095-1916-014 (Accessed 7/21/2016).
[334] James City County Chancery Court Case, Gdns of Alexander D. Jones,Etc. vs Lillie Dunlop Green Etc., Case no 1929-011. Available at http://www.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/case_detail.asp?CFN=095-1929-011 (Accessed 7/21/2016).
[335] Charles, J. 1928, "Recollections of Williamsburg as it appeared at the beginning of the Civil War and just previously thereto, with some incidents in the life of its citizens" Unbound handwritten memoir, Rockefeller Library, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

APPENDIX THREE: Dunlop Family Tree

Leah Dunlop
b. unknown d.?

Julia Ann Dunlop
b. unknown d.?

William Henry Dunlop
b. ca. 1840 d.?

Judith Dunlop Weedon
b. 1825 (?) d. ?

Alexander Dunlop
b. ca. 1840 d.?

Alexander Dunlop
b. 1815 d. 1880
m (1) Lucy Ann Hill (1839)
m (2) Mary Elizabeth Henderson (1871)
m (3) Elizabeth Roper (1877)

Alexander Dunlop
b. 1874 d.1900

Lillie Dunlop Jones
b. 1900 d. 1966
m. Lewis T. Green

Mary Leah Dunlop
b. 1872
m. J. Andrew Jones (1901)

Julia Elizabeth Jones
b. 1903 d. 1987
m. Pedro Parilla (1926)

Alexander Dunlop Jones
b. 1906 d. 1975
m. Minnie Eliza Kidd (1930)

Mary Leah Jones
b. 1909 d. 2009
m. 1. Arthur Rutledge (?)

Frances Jones
b. 1911 d. ?

APPENDIX FOUR: Hill Family Tree

Robert F. Hill
b. 1776
d. 1851
m. Nancy ?

Richard R. Hill
b. 1831
d. 1906
m. Mary Whitehead (1865)

Robert F. Hill
b. 1826
d. 1868
m. Catherine ?

Martha Jane
b. ?
d. ?
m. Edward Hill

Lucy Ann
b. 1817
d. 1866
m. Alexander Dunlop (1839)

Martha Hill
b. 1870
d. by 1880

Anna Elizabeth
b. 1873

7 children names unknown
all born in Liberia
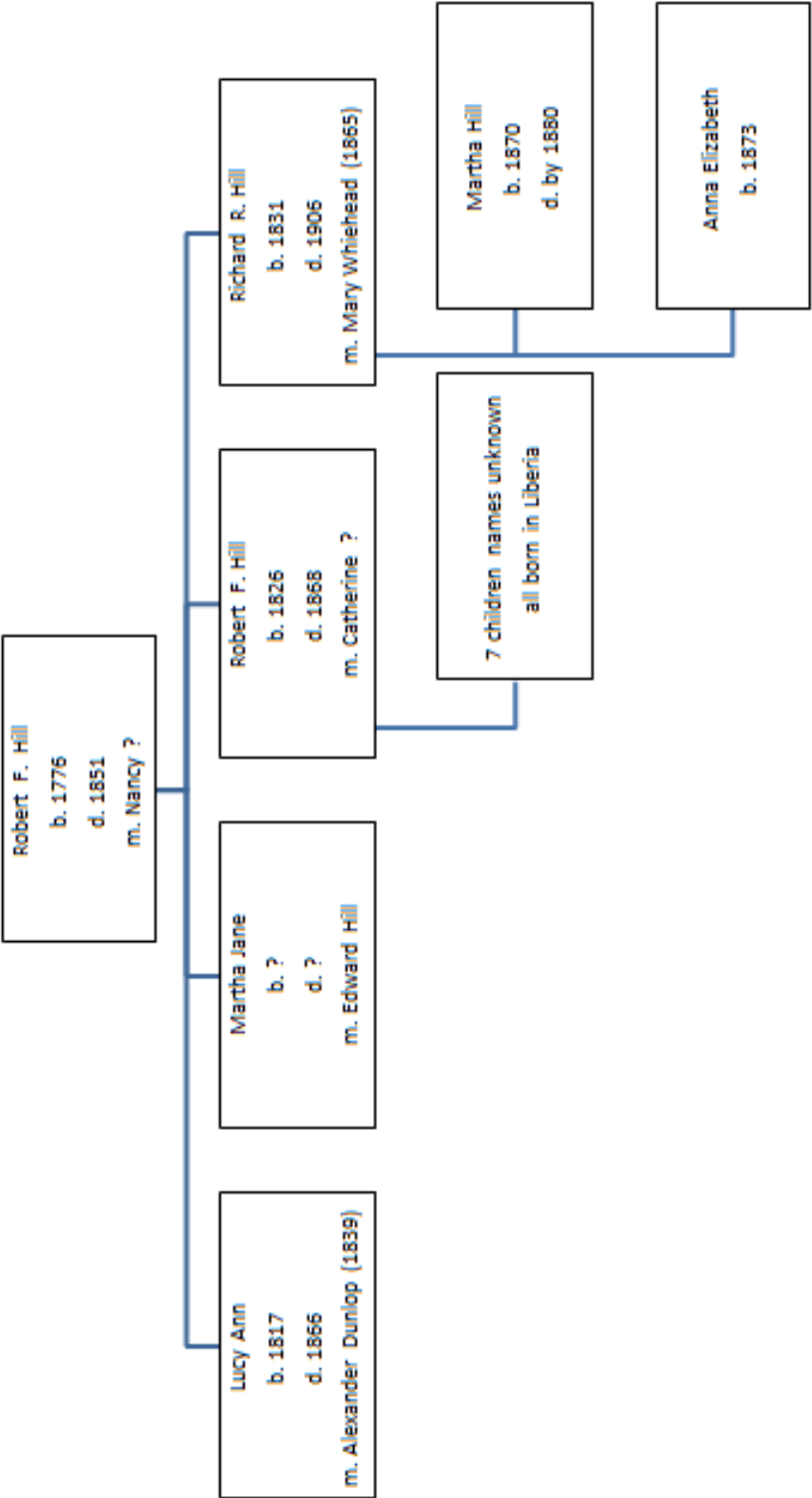
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