

RUN from the Subscriber's plantation in *Albemarle* county, a tall slim Negro fellow, named **GEORGE**; he is marked in the face as the *Gold Coast* slaves generally are, had the usual clothing of labouring Negroes, and is supposed to be harboured at some of the plantations on *Cary's* creek, in *Goocland* county. Also run away from the subscriber's quarter called *Westham*, in *Henrico* county, another Negro fellow, named **ROBIN**; he is very slim, and of a thin visage, having lost some of his teeth; formerly belonged to Col. *Benjamin Harrison* of *Berkeley*, and is supposed to be gone in the neighbourhood of his plantation on *Nottoway* river, where he formerly lived. Whoever convey the former Negro to Mr. *Lucas Powell* in *Albemarle*, and the latter to *William Walker* at *Westham*, shall receive **FORTY SHILLINGS** for each of them, besides what allowed by law. As I have been always tender of my Negroes, and particularly attentive to the good usage of them, I hope wherever these fellows may be apprehended that they will receive such moderate correction as will deter them from running away for the future; and wherever any of my Negroes are taken up as runaways, I desire the favour of the Magistrate, who may be applied to for a certificate, to order them back to their respective overseers, instead of sending them to me in this city.

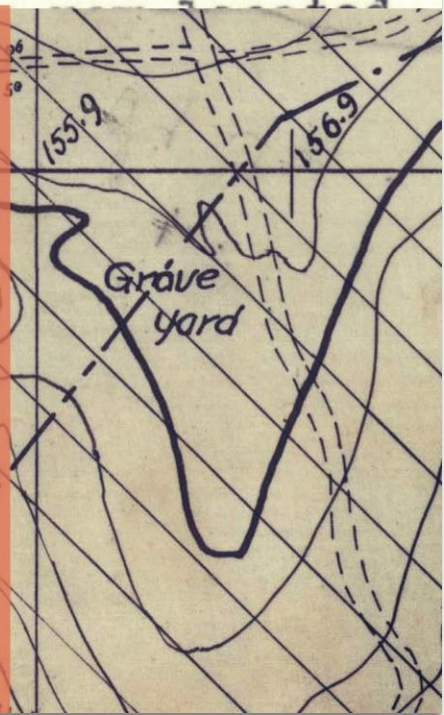
RO. C. NICHOLAS.



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*“Knowledge of This
 Cannot Be Hidden:”*

A Report on the Westham Burying
 Ground at the University of Richmond



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Submitted by Laurant L. Lee, PhD and Shelby M. Driskill, MFA
 December 28, 2019

Cover Images

1. [Advertisement: "Ro. C. Nicholas"], *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), January 15, 1767, 3, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, <https://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/va-gazettes/VGSinglePage.cfm?issueIDNo=67.PD.04&page=3&res=LO>
2. Henry Williams, formerly Henry Ferguson; Enslaved by Benjamin W. Green, the final Westham landowner in the enslavement era (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration via [East End Cemetery](#)). Williams' parents and siblings were all enslaved by Green. In his explanation of why he could not provide his precise date of birth to the Pension Commission in 1908, Williams stated, "There is no public record of my birth for the reason that I was[,] prior to the Civil War[,] a slave." He described being kidnapped from the plantation as a seven-year-old child and remembered the name as "Mill Pond Plantation." In a document supporting Williams' widow's request for his pension benefits, his sister, Patsy Lee, called the land "Roselawn," the name associated with Green's house during the antebellum era (*Daily Dispatch*, June 26, 1852, 2, col. 4). Both Williams and Lee named Benjamin Green as the man who enslaved them and their family.
3. Olmsted Brothers and H.V. Hubbard, "January 14, 1902," *Olmsted Associates Records: Job Files, Westhampton Park Railway Co.; Park; Richmond, Va., 1901 to 1902*, <https://www.loc.gov/item/mss5257100204/>
4. "WESTHAMPTON PARK, RAILWAY COMPANY PARK TRACT; SCALE 1"=100'," United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site. https://www.flickr.com/photos/olmsted_archives/30907298654/in/album-72157676416609001/
5. [Road Grading on the Richmond College campus], Photograph by Charles F. Gillette, 1912-13, Virginia Baptist Historical Society.

Quotation

"Knowledge of this cannot be hidden."

Warren H. Manning, Richmond College landscape designer, after relating the description of foreman A. H. Smith of "at least twenty" graves in the path of a proposed road on the new Richmond College campus, July 20, 1912 letter to J. Taylor Ellyson, President of Richmond College Board of Trustees and Chairman of the Committee on New Buildings and Grounds (Virginia Baptist Historical Society)

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

As part of a one-year study of University of Richmond history, this report considers a site near Westhampton Lake where human remains were discovered multiple times in the early to mid-20th century. It provides the recorded encounters with the site assembled from previous research and recent archival discoveries. The report also details the centrality of enslavement during at least a century of the land's history when hundreds of people were enslaved on plantations that at various times contained all or part of the current campus.

In Fall 2019, as a response to the June 30, 2019 *Making Excellence Inclusive Report and Recommendations* and supported by findings of the Presidential Commission for University History and Identity, the University of Richmond engaged a current visiting faculty member, Dr. Luranett L. Lee, as a history consultant. During the 2019-2020 academic year, Dr. Lee is leading institutional history efforts that reassess parts of the past that have been forgotten or excluded. Her team for this study includes University of Richmond undergraduate students, an SPCS alumna, and an SPCS graduate student, Shelby M. Driskill, whose work is focused on public history and who is the researcher for the Westham Burying Ground study. Between September 2018 and August 2019, Ms. Driskill conducted extensive research that used as its starting point the limited knowledge of exhumations at a site on campus: information contained in a 1935 monograph, two 1947 news items, and an oral history describing a 1955-1956 utilities project. Her graduate student research, supported by many members of the university community, provided additional evidence related to that site as well as details of the land's use in the enslavement era and in the early 20th century. The university commissioned this research and report to further engage the study of these subjects as well as additional questions of land history.

The report is divided into two sections: **The Westham Burying Ground**, which details the history of graves and exhumations at a location on the southeastern side of Westhampton Lake, and **Land & Lives**, providing historical context: information on the enslaved people bound to the land's owners during the era of enslavement and the uses of the land before and after emancipation.

Section I: The Westham Burying Ground provides the 20th century history of descriptions of graves at a site on the current campus and reports of multiple uncoverings of human remains there.

- In 1901, when land adjacent to the burying ground was owned by the Westhampton Railway Park, the streetcar company included it on a topographic map of its property in the hopes of acquiring it for development. On that map, a promontory is marked with the words "Grave yard." Internal documents from the landscape design firm in charge of the project described the same site using the words "negro burying ground."
- Newly located correspondence between J. Taylor Ellyson, President of the Board of Trustees at Richmond College (later the University of Richmond) and Warren H. Manning, landscape designer and advisor for the new campus, indicates institutional awareness of graves in 1912 and suggests their visibility at the time. This correspondence also provides a minimum threshold for the number of graves at the site. Manning was concerned about a report that "at least twenty" graves would be in the center of a road once the planned excavation was complete. In a letter to Ellyson, Manning proposed moving the graves that were in the line of the proposed road to "some cemetery" and also suggested the college

remove all human remains for fear of future “student pranks.” Evidence indicates that this planned road is at the location of what is now Richmond Way.

- A survey sketch from the spring of 1912 shows two lines indicating boundaries of the site, each marked with the word “Graveyard.”
- In 1935, a University of Virginia doctoral candidate studying a nearby African American community included an undated account of laborers working in close proximity to the site who uncovered a “pile of bones and skulls.” He linked that discovery to the land’s history of enslavement.
- In 1947, during the widening of a portion of road now called Richmond Way, between the Steam Plant and Puryear Hall, the remains of two people were reported to have been uncovered by workers. A photograph of the site and a news account that detailed this exhumation and connected the remains to the history of enslavement on the land appeared on the front page of the *Richmond News Leader* on the day of the discovery. The article describes the University of Richmond reburying the remains “a few hundred feet away.” The following day an editorial by Douglas Southall Freeman (*Richmond News Leader* editor, historian, and University of Richmond Rector) mentioned the discovery of graves and did not contest the earlier article’s link to the enslavement era.
- Between 1955 and 1956, while expanding the steam tunnel system between the Steam Plant and Richmond Hall, workers uncovered what the supervising engineer referred to as a “series of graves.” In his oral history, he describes the university “arrang[ing] to have the bodies buried someplace else.”
- The results of a ground penetrating radar (GPR) survey conducted at the site on September 16, 2019 were inconclusive, though those findings may have been compromised by the impenetrability and acidity of the clay soil and a history of ground disturbance, including the reported removals of remains in previous years.

Section II: Land & Lives

The land history section begins with the indigenous people who lived in the area prior to their displacement by British colonists. This early history is followed by a study of the years between 1753 and 1865 when owners of the land that contains the current campus enslaved women, men and children as part of their forced labor operations.

Significant periods of land ownership on the current University of Richmond campus and the landowners' enslavement of others¹

Known Number of People Enslaved	Section of Campus Owned	Date Span	Landowners/Enslavers
30-132	Richmond College and Westhampton College	1765 - post-1791	Nicholas-Ambler Partnership
50	Includes Westhampton College and a 1.5-2 acre triangle of land on the eastern side of Little Westham Creek	1811-1821	Graham Ownership ²
56	Includes Westhampton College and a 1.5-2 acre triangle of land on the eastern side of Little Westham Creek	1821-1833	Shapard Ownership
116	Includes Westhampton College and a 1.5-2 acre triangle of land across Little Westham Creek	1839-1855	Read Ownership
118 enslaved, 58 "hired" from other slave holders	Richmond College side of campus (1843-1901); Westhampton College and a 1.5-2 acre triangle of land on the eastern side of Little Westham Creek (1855-Emancipation)	1843-Emancipation	Green Ownership

Post-Civil War land ownership included the 1897 purchase of the former Westham plantation by an African American mutual benefit association, the Grand Fountain of the United Order of the True Reformers. The organization's land included a former plantation house and a section of the property that members intended to develop into 130 homesites for African Americans. During a brief period, one side of the current campus land was home to a portion of the True Reformers' farm while the other was an amusement park owned by Westhampton Park Railway Company, which owned part of the Richmond area's early 20th century streetcar system. In 1909, the True Reformers sold the farm to members of a local land syndicate and, along with the former amusement park land, the newly consolidated property was rapidly subdivided and 251 acres were transferred to Richmond College, later the University of Richmond. The institution began developing the campus in 1911 and, in 1914, it moved to its present location.

Findings

Though it is unlikely that precise identifying information will be located for those whose remains were interred at the burying ground, and it cannot be stated with absolute certainty that those individuals were enslaved, the significant history of enslavement on the land; the dismissive approach to the graves by those who controlled the property; the results of research into possible competing explanations; and the position of the burying ground at low ground and at a significant distance from antebellum landowners' homes all point to the likelihood that the site held, and may still hold, a burying ground for enslaved people.

¹ Robert Carter Nicholas and Edward Ambler, "Agreement, 1765 January 5, with Edward Ambler concerning the farming of 5,000 acres in Henrico County, Va.," *Ambler Family Papers, 1638-1810*, Mss1 Am167 b, Virginia Historical Society; P.R. Gratten, "Cary et al, Executors of Ambler v. Macon et al," *Virginia Reports: Jefferson — 33 Gratan: 1730-1880* (Michie: Charlottesville, VA, 1902), 840; While Nicholas' management extended to the Ambler family's Jamestown plantation, the details of this section of the case are focused on the finances at Westham. More research that seeks additional information on the Nicholas-Ambler era at Westham is warranted; John Graham (estate) and William Dun (executor) to William Shapard, Deed Book 22: 464, Henrico County, VA, January 4, 1821, Library of Virginia; Henrico County Chancery Court, *Lewis Nicholas v. Robert Carter Nicholas ext. etc.*, Manuscript Collection (1791-012), Library of Virginia; 1860 U.S. Census, Henrico County, VA, slave schedule, Tuckahoe, p. 49-50, B.W. Green, slave owner, image from ancestry.com, accessed November 16, 2018, National Archives Records Administration M653; 1860 U.S. Census, Henrico County, VA, slave schedule, Tuckahoe, p. 35, B.W. Green [Jr], slave owner, image from ancestry.com, accessed November 16, 2018, National Archives Records Administration M653. The Green family's large plantation was the likely location of the majority of the people they enslaved. Some enslaved people are also known to have been forced to labor at Green's downtown Richmond stables, his Goochland County coal pits, and other locations in the area. While some enslavers maintained plantation censuses that can provide details of where they placed those they enslaved, no such records for Green have been located thus far, making it impossible to know precisely how many people were bound to the Westham Land at any given time.

² There were a number of other enslavement era landowners of the Westham property who are not represented in this table. Details of their ownership and the ways in which their land control and overall wealth linked to enslavement appear in **Section II: Land and Lives**.

“KNOWLEDGE OF THIS CANNOT BE HIDDEN”: A REPORT ON THE WESTHAM BURYING GROUND AT THE UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND

Introduction

Following the July 8, 2019 release of *Making Excellence Inclusive: University Report and Recommendations*, the University of Richmond established a research initiative led by Dr. Laurantt L. Lee, which was tasked with the study of three historical subjects. The first phase of this initiative is focused on exploring the history surrounding a site, which for the purposes of this report is being referred to as the Westham burying ground, where human remains are reported to have been uncovered multiple times in the early to mid-20th century.

The study of the Westham burying ground has drawn on recent archival research to answer two questions:

What records and accounts are available that detail the location and nature of the burying ground?

In what ways does the history of the land that includes the Westham burying ground intersect with the history of enslavement?

This report provides the findings from research conducted between September and December 2019. It is built upon portions of the research of two students in the University of Richmond School of Professional and Continuing Studies, Shelby M. Driskill and Douglas Broome. Their work — Ms. Driskill’s research on the history of the land and the burying ground and Mr. Broome’s use of Geographic Information System (GIS) technology to create georeferenced maps and overlays — has been compiled in a digital narrative, *Paths to the Burying Ground: Enslavement, Erasure & Memory*, which can be viewed [here](#). Ms. Driskill is the research coordinator for the 2019-2020 UR History Study led by Dr. Lee and she was the researcher for this study of the Westham burying ground.

Important evidence and insights related to the University of Richmond campus land and the Westham burying ground as well as critical support for the research process have also been provided by other members of the University of Richmond community including Dr. Elizabeth Baughan (Classical Studies), Dr. Sylvia Gale (Bonner Center for Civic Engagement), Darlene Herod (Virginia Baptist Historical Society), Dr. Amy Howard (Bonner Center for Civic Engagement, Office of the Provost 2019-2020), Robbie Jones (Virginia Baptist Historical Society), Lynda Kachurek (Boatwright Library), Justin Madron (Digital Scholarship Lab), Dr. Derek Miller (Bonner Center for Civic Engagement), Dr.

Nicole Maurantonio (Rhetoric and Communications Studies), Dr. Robert Nelson (Digital Scholarship Lab), Dywana Saunders (Boatwright Library), Dr. Elizabeth Sheehan (School of Professional and Continuing Studies), and Dr. Nathan Taylor (Virginia Baptist Historical Society). Many members of the City of Richmond and Henrico County communities have also shared their expertise and resources, and among them are Lisa Denton (Henrico County Museum System), Brenda Dabney Nichols (educator and author of *African Americans of Henrico County*), Erin Hollaway Palmer (Friends of East End Cemeteries) and staff members of the Library of Virginia and the Virginia Historical Society.

THE UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND ON THIS LAND

In 1910, the University of Richmond, then known as Richmond College, paid ten dollars for two large tracts of land totaling 251 acres.³ This property still forms the heart of our campus. The land development syndicate later known as the Westham Land Corporation effectively donated the land to the institution as part of a plan to draw public attention and prospective buyers to the area. At the time, Richmond College was located in Clay Ward in the present day Fan District, five miles to the east. The new campus was opened to students in 1914, with Richmond College on the eastern side of Westhampton Lake and Little Westham Creek, and Westhampton College on the west. In 1920, the institution achieved university status and was thereafter known as the University of Richmond.

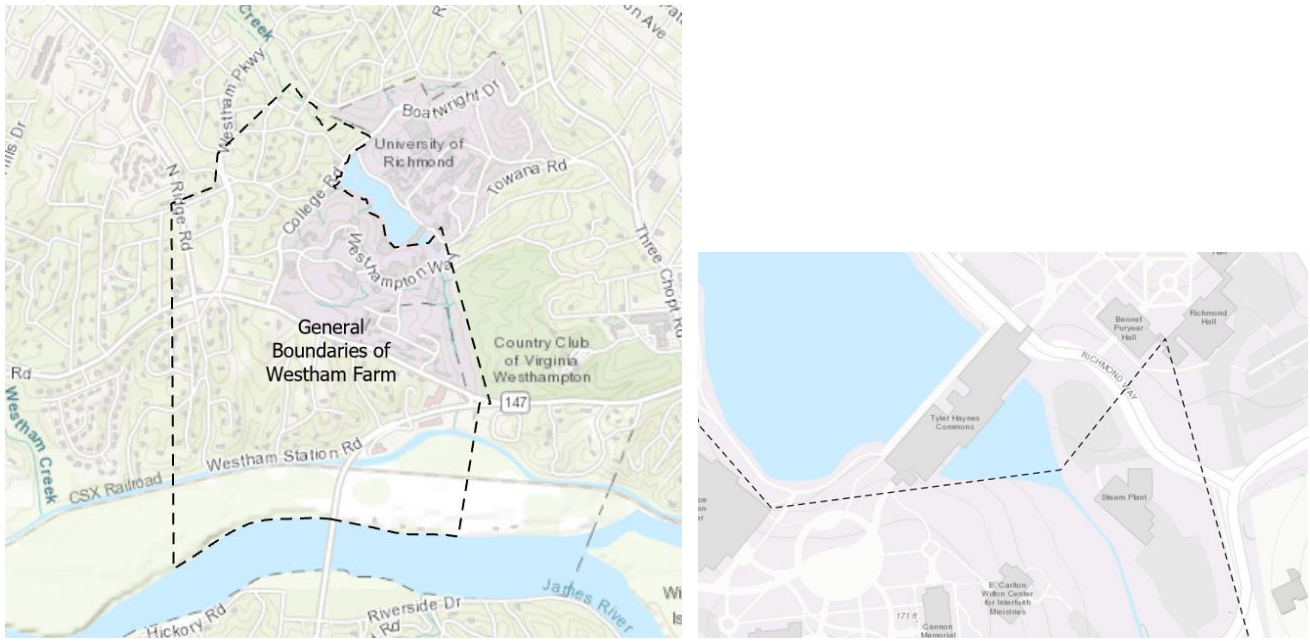
NAME & LOCATION OF THE WESTHAM BURYING GROUND

“Westham” was the name of the large 5,000-acre plantation that contained the current campus property beginning in the 18th century (Figure 1) and as that plantation’s boundaries changed through eras of land ownership, a number of variations on the name — Westham Farm, Big Westham Farm, Little Westham Farm, Westham, Westham Cottage — were used to describe different portions of that large tract. While divisions and reconsolidations of the original plantation property occurred between 1765 and 1865, the majority of the Westham burying ground site remained within the confines of the land consistently known as Westham or Westham Farm. Details of these changes through time and various landowners can be found in **Appendix A**.

Using the two original colleges of the University of Richmond campus — Westhampton College and Richmond College — as reference points, the acreage containing the burying ground site crosses Little Westham Creek from the Westhampton College side to the Richmond College side (Figure 1). In the 19th century, this triangle of land and Westhampton College were contained in a property then known as Westham Farm.

³ These two large tracts were exchanged between members of the Westham Land Corporation and Richmond College for a total of ten dollars through two deeds: Thomas A. Smyth, Annie N. Smyth, James C. Smyth, Ethel M. Smyth, John Landstreet, Elizabeth Marshall Landstreet, Abram L. McClellan, Mary D. McClellan and Julien Gunn to Richmond College, DB 188B: 338, Henrico County, VA, March 28, 1910 (100 acres on former Westham Farm property); and Julien Gunn to Richmond College, DB 188A: 231, Henrico County, VA, April 29, 1910, Henrico County Records (151.5 acres on former Westhampton Railway Park property).

All descriptions of the burying ground and all reports of exhumations of intact graves occur in and around the triangle of land from the former Westham Farm which is located in the area between Puryear Hall and the Steam Plant.



Figures 1 and 2: Boundaries of Westham Farm, also known as Westham, 1833-1909, and location of the Westham burying ground as indicated by sources and discoveries of human remains between 1901 and 1956 (D. Broome) ⁴

The site considered by this report was referred to as a “burying ground” by two sources and that term is also consistent with 19th century references to places of burial on private property.⁵

For the purposes of this report, “Westham burying ground” has been selected as the clearest way of referring to the site and distinguishing it from other area burial places such as the Sons and Daughters of Ham Cemetery, located adjacent to the university campus between its northwest boundary and Three Chopt Road. The Sons and Daughters of Ham Cemetery has a rich and important history of its own, and members of the descendent community and concerned citizens are engaged in ongoing efforts to preserve and protect it.

⁴ Esri, "World Topo Map" [basemap], scale not given, "World Topographic Map," December 15, 2019, <https://www.arcgis.com/home/item.html?id=30e5fe3149c34df1ba922e6f5bbf808f> (January 5, 2020); Smyth et al to Richmond College.

⁵ Olmsted Associates and Hubbard, "14th January, 1902," *Olmsted Associates Records*; Howard H. Harlan, *Zion Town — A Study in Human Ecology* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1935), 14.

INDIGENOUS NATIONS

While this report is meant to provide information related to the Westham burying ground, any consideration of the land must begin with an acknowledgement of those who lived in this region for thousands of years before the arrival of Europeans.

In the Woodland Period (1000 BCE-European Contact), a number of tribes and linguistic groups overlapped in the area around what would be named Westham by British colonial landowners. At the time of British arrival, the land was the territory of the Powhatan people. The fall line of the James River marks the divide between the territories of the Powhatan and Monacan tribes,⁶ and the upper portion of the line was the eventual location of Westham. This section of the fall line, where a geological scar and the resulting exposure of rocks in the river mark a stopping point in navigation, is within two miles of the university campus. Eastern Algonquin Powhatan, Siouan Monacan, and Siouan Tutelo-Saponi languages were spoken at this point of cultural overlap.⁷ Regional tribes traveled to and through the area as part of vital trading movements, as did others who, like members of Erie region tribes, were seeking a new home after being forced out of their territories by European activity and subsequent conflicts.⁸

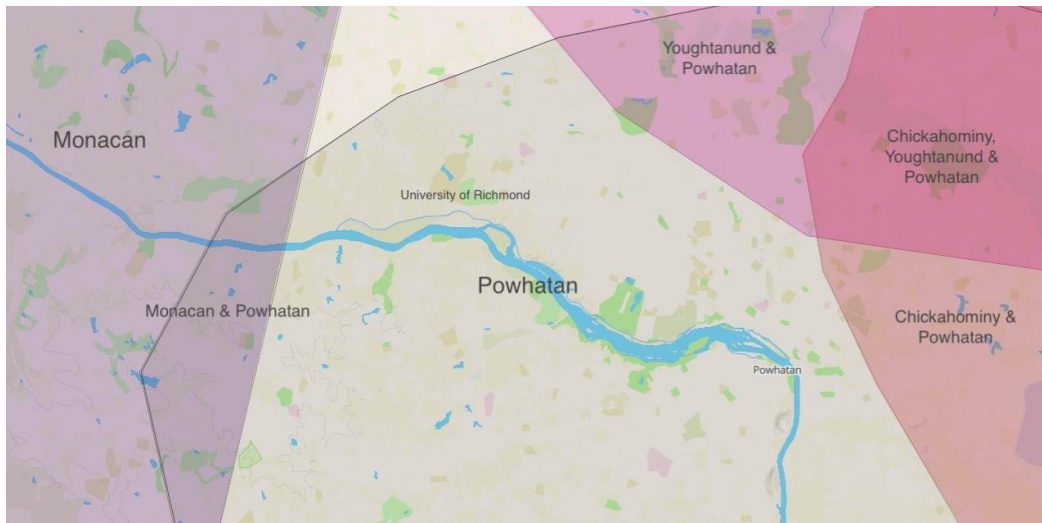


Figure 2: Native American Tribes in the Area of the University of Richmond⁹

⁶ April Lee Hatfield, "Spanish Colonization Literature, Powhatan Geographies, and English Perceptions of Tsenacommacah/Virginia," *Journal of Southern History* 69, no. 2 (2003): 251.

⁷ Encyclopedia Virginia editors, "Monacan Indian Nation," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Virginia Humanities, last modified March 11, 2019, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Monacan_Indian_Nation; Blair A. Rudes, "Giving Voice to Powhatan's People: The Creation of Virginia Algonquian Dialogue for The New World," *Southern Quarterly* 51, no. 4 (Summer, 2014): 29; R. L. Rankin, "Siouan Languages," in *Encyclopedia of Languages and Linguistics*, (Boston: Elsevier, 2006), 397-398.

⁸ Madeleine Gunter Bassett, Christopher M. Stevenson, and Laure Dussubieux, "Re-Examining Trade Networks in Late Woodland Virginia (900–1600 CE): An LA-ICP-MS Analysis of Copper Artifacts," *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 27, (2019): 1; Helen C. Roundtree, *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 29; Robert Steven Grumet, *Historic Contact: Indian People and Colonists in Today's Northeastern United States in the Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries*, Contributions to Public Archeology (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995).

⁹ [University of Richmond area], Native Land, native-land.ca, 2018.

We acknowledge and honor the first people whose lives and cultures were linked to the land and whose displacement was occurring in the early years covered by this report.

Resources related to area indigenous cultures can be found in **Appendix B**.

ARCHIVAL ABSENCES

While research has yielded many details of the land and those linked to it through enslavement, it is important to approach any exploration of the enslavement era and its aftermath with an understanding that documentary evidence detailing the lives of enslaved people does not exist in proportion to their numbers.

In antebellum records, the biographical information that is available is most often an outgrowth of the enslavement system itself. Many references to specific people have been located in newspaper notices declaring a man or woman a “runaway,” records that detail the passing of individuals or groups of enslaved people between landowners in deeds, “hiring” agreements, and “slave insurance” policies. Because present knowledge of the names of enslaved people and details of their lives often depend upon the records kept by those who enslaved them, women, men and children could go from birth to death to burial and never appear in the historic record. In this report, the lives of enslaved people are often traced through owners of the land. As a result, the names of less than twenty people dominate the history of hundreds. Future archival discoveries may yield information that sheds more light on the lives of those whose enslavement built the wealth of the land’s owners.

This report, *“Knowledge of This Cannot Be Hidden:” A Report on the Westham Burying Ground at the University of Richmond*, presents evidence related to the location and nature of the Westham burying ground and presents the findings of research on the land to date.

We recognize that many of those whose lives were most connected to this history may never be named or known again.

Section I: The Westham Burying Ground

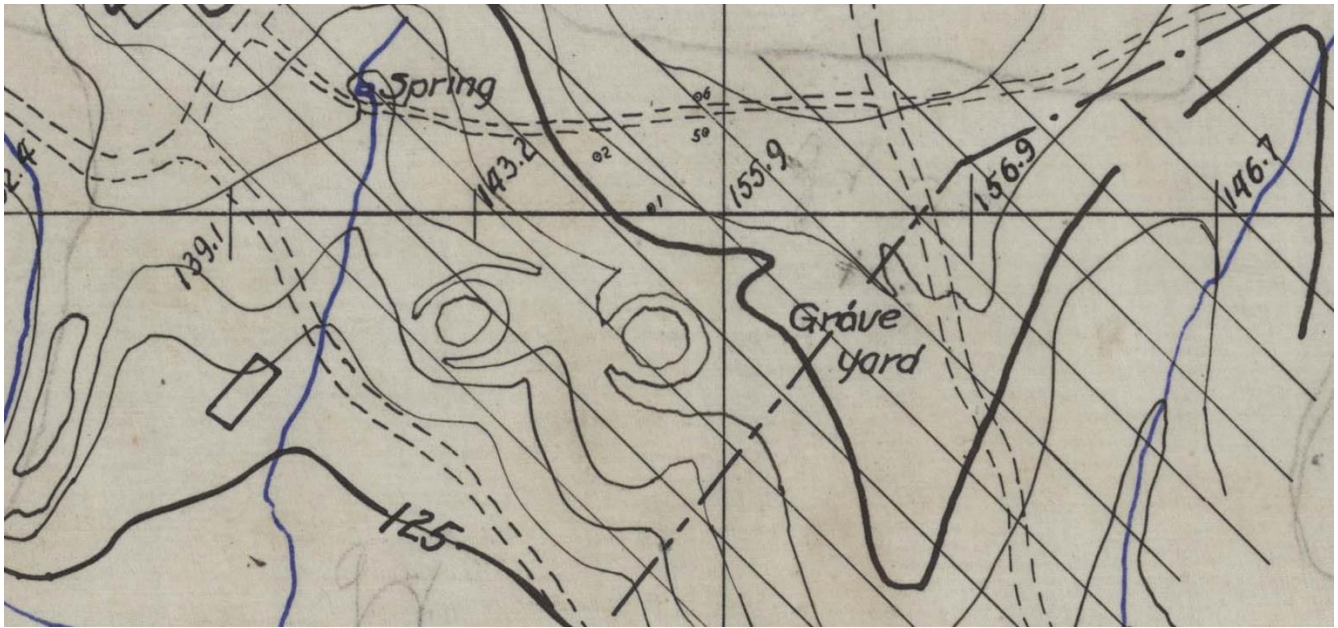


Figure 3: Detail, "Westhampton Railway Park Track," Olmsted Associates, 1901
https://www.flickr.com/photos/olmsted_archives/30907298654/in/album-72157676416609001/

This research is in response to reports of accidental exhumations of graves near the foot of Westhampton Lake in the 20th century. Further evidence located in 2018 and 2019 includes a 1901 topographic map, 1902 business notes, and a 1912 surveyor's sketch showing a marked graveyard at the location. Recently located correspondence of J. Taylor Ellyson, President of the Richmond College Board of Trustees, details his awareness of graves in 1912.

Below is a chronology of all known encounters with graves at the burying ground site and descriptions of the site that appeared in notes, a map and survey sketch, letters, an academic study of a neighboring African American community, news items, and the oral history of a former engineering site supervisor.

1901: OLMSTED TOPOGRAPHIC SURVEY AND BUSINESS NOTES

At the turn of the 20th century, Westham Farm, containing the land to the west of Little Westham Creek and the small additional triangle of land that crossed the creek and encompassed most or all of the burying ground (Figure 1), was owned by the Grand Fountain of the United Order of the True Reformers, an African American mutual benefit association which had held the property since 1897.¹⁰ Beginning in 1901, another tract of land on the lake's northeastern side was being developed by the Westhampton Park Railway Company as an event and excursion site at the end of the Westhampton

¹⁰ W.C. and Jesse McDowell to William Washington Browne, Henrico County, Virginia, Deed Book 154A: 40, August 30, 1897, Library of Virginia.

streetcar line.¹¹ Additional information on both the True Reformers and Westhampton Railway Park appear in Section II of this report, “Land & Lives.”

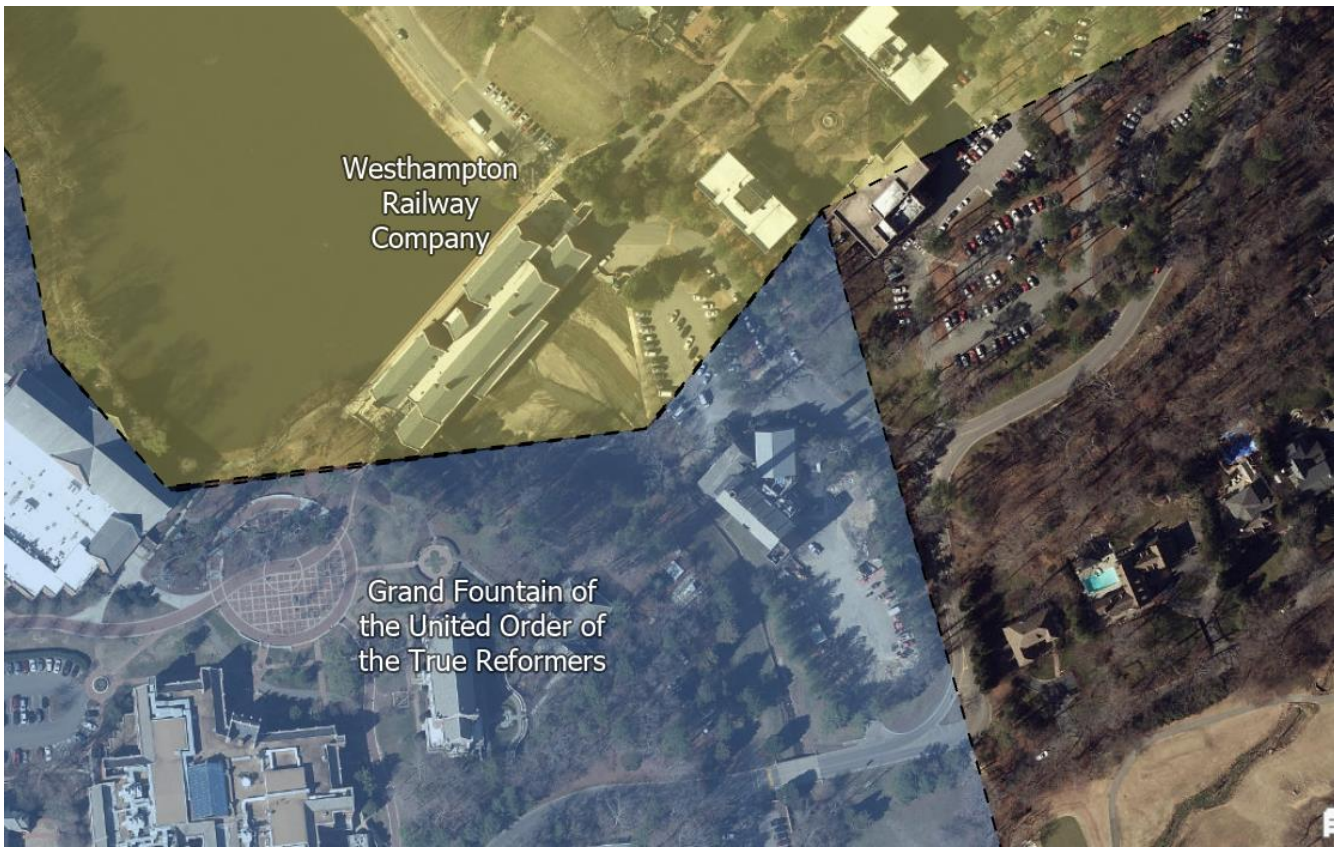


Figure 4: Grand Fountain of the United Order of the True Reformers' shared boundary with Westhampton Park Railway Company with contemporary features¹² (D. Broome)

As part of the preparations for the railway park, Olmsted Brothers designed structures and the landscape. A highly detailed topographic survey was created that included both the park’s property and land Westhampton Park Railway Company hoped to acquire from the True Reformers. On that property, at a promontory close to the foot of what became known as Westhampton Lake, the words “Grave yard” were written (Figure 3).¹³ Apart from designations for springs, this indication of the burying ground is the only precisely noted location on the map.

In his notes between October of 1901 and January of 1902, Olmsted Brothers representative Henry Vincent Hubbard referred to the True Reformers’ land that the park hoped to obtain several times, first describing its acquisition as necessary to the Olmsted design and then detailing the nature of the graves:

¹¹ Westhampton Park Railway Company Minute Book, 1901-1902, Virginia Electric and Power Company Records, 105, Business Records Collection, Library of Virginia.

¹² Esri, "World Imagery" [basemap], scale not given, "World Imagery," December 15, 2019, <https://www.arcgis.com/home/item.html?id=10df2279f9684e4a9f6a7f08febac2a9> (January 5, 2019).

¹³ "Westhampton Park, Railway Company Park Tract," Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site.

1. “The land just back from the south shore of the pond, coming to the pond at its west end and running over to the brook, has not as yet been obtained from the “True Reformers” who ask a large price. On being asked, I said that I considered the acquisition of the land to the south very desirable [this included the triangle containing the burying ground], and the acquisition of that touching the pond on the west [the shore opposite the planned park development] necessary to the proper carrying out of the scheme.”¹⁴
2. After describing the Westhampton Park Railway Company plans to condemn land belonging to the True Reformers rather than pay the price of “\$80 or thereabouts per acre for 50 acres” that the True Reformers set, Hubbard wrote, “Furthermore, the land of the True Reformers runs in a little triangle onto the property of the park, passing just back of the present spillway, including the negro burying ground, and returning along the line of the old road down the hill just to the east of the burying ground. This land has not been acquired, and if it should be it would be impossible to run a road through the graveyard as [the proposed road] is now located. There is, it appears, a very stringent law in Virginia forbidding the disturbance of a graveyard for any purpose if any relative of persons therein interred shall object.¹⁵ This prevents even condemnation by a RR [here Hubbard is referring to the streetcar railway company]. I have asked Mr. Marshall to send Olmsted Brothers a sketch showing the extreme limit of the ground actually occupied by graves so that [the road] may be relocated as soon as we are informed as to the ownership of the above mentioned triangle.”¹⁶

While Hubbard requested a sketch assuming that the park would eventually acquire the burying ground site, property plats before and after the effort to gain control of the land indicate that Westhampton Railway Park abandoned the condemnation plan and that the triangle remained in the hands of the True Reformers. Despite requesting and receiving a change to the company’s charter that would allow it to condemn land for the purposes of a private park, the company may have altered its plans due to the effects of its being incorporated into Virginia Passenger & Power Company as part of a railway consolidation in April of 1902.¹⁷ No sketch showing the extent of the graves has been located in Olmsted Associates’ records (Library of Congress) or those of Westhampton Park Railway Company (Library of Virginia).

¹⁴ Olmsted Brothers and H.V. Hubbard, “Westhampton Park Railway Company,” *Olmsted Associates Records: Job Files, Westhampton Park Railway Co.; Park; Richmond, Va., 1901 to 1902*, October 17-25, 1901, Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/resource/mss52571.mss52571-02-011_0075_0097/?sp=16&r=-0.293,-0.005,1.618,0.721,0.

¹⁵ James M. Matthews, *Digest of the Laws of Virginia of a Criminal Nature* (Richmond, VA: J.W. Randolph & English, 1890), 111.

¹⁶ Olmsted Brothers and Hubbard, January 14, 1902, 2.

¹⁷ “All Are In One,” *Richmond Dispatch*, April 24, 1902, 1, Virginia Chronicle, <https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=RD19020424.1.1&e=>.

1912: RICHMOND COLLEGE LANDSCAPING CORRESPONDENCE & SURVEY SKETCH

In late November 1911, after Richmond College's acquisition of the property in 1910, Warren H. Manning, a Boston landscape designer known for his "wild gardens" style, accepted the role of landscape advisor and began the designs for the new college location. Manning's approach to landscape architecture had already shaped the campuses of Mount Holyoke College, Massachusetts Agricultural College (University of Massachusetts at Amherst), and Cornell University.¹⁸ His innovative use of map overlays and tracings using light tables became part of his design process in 1911 and are considered to be among the early foundations of Geographic Information System (GIS) technology. GIS mapping has been instrumental in much of the burying ground research.¹⁹

Manning began working with the original site plan created by the architectural firm of Cram, Goodhue and Ferguson, shaping the designs to his vision for the campus while also responding to Richmond College's financial constraints. The first year of active campus development saw an entwining of work by Manning, Cram, Goodhue and Ferguson; the Richmond architectural firm Carneal & Johnston; and unnamed day laborers hired directly by the college for clearing and road grading. Charles F. Gillette and A.H. Smith were Manning's representatives in Richmond and coordinated the work of the men and mule teams.

During research for this report, letters between Manning and Richmond College Board President and Chairman of the Committee on New Buildings and Grounds, J. Taylor Ellyson were located that reveal their awareness of graves before the first campus buildings were completed. The graves in question appear to be at the same location described by H.V. Hubbard nine years before.

Landscaping work at the campus had begun in earnest in late winter and early spring of 1912. In April, a local surveying company, W.W. LaPrade and Brothers, conducted a site study to aid in the planning of new roads. A sketch from the study, found in a field notebook held by the Library of Virginia, shows a spur line (a rail line that extended off the C&O railroad along the James River)²⁰ and, roughly parallel to it, a section of proposed road. Perpendicular to both are two lines that appear

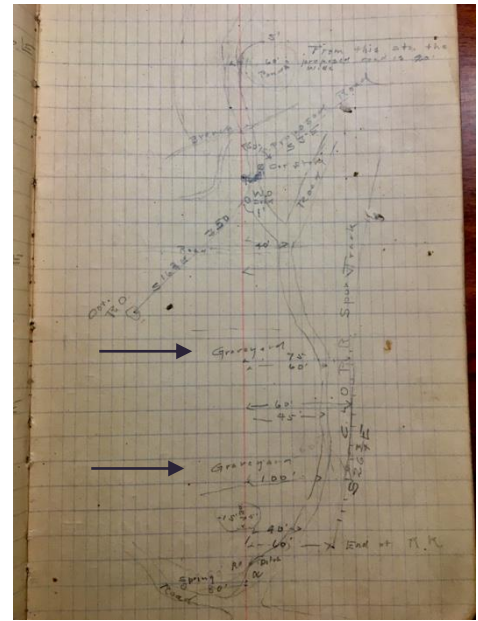


Figure 5: [Road Study], Field Book 14, Library of Virginia, study number 21 with "Graveyard" notations indicated by arrows

¹⁸ Robin S. Karson et al., *Warren H. Manning: Landscape Architect and Environmental Planner* (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 2017), 118, 208.

¹⁹ Karson, et al, *Warren H. Manning*, 4; William R. Miller, *Introducing Geodesign: The Concept* (Redlands, California: Esri, 2012), 7.

²⁰ "Survey for Richmond College at Westhampton," *Field Book: No. 14* [April 18, 1912], 21, W. W. LaPrade and Brothers. Records, 1803-2001 (bulk 1900-1970). Accessions 40031, 43183, Business Records Collection, The Library of Virginia.

to indicate boundaries, each marked with the word “Graveyard.”

Data from the series of proposed road sketches is included on three sheets of drawings located in the Charles F. Gillette papers at the Library of Virginia on which proposed roads for campus appear in sections A, B, C and D. At a May 24, 1912 meeting of the Committee on New Buildings and Grounds, the minutes refer to the committee’s decision to proceed with three areas of road construction, “A, B and part of D.”²¹ The portion of road alongside the burying ground location, now called Richmond Way, is in section D.²²

On July 20, 1912, Manning wrote to Ellyson, and began by quoting his head foreman, A.H. Smith, who had recently encountered “at least twenty” graves during the clearing and removal of tree roots in preparation for road grading and construction:

Dear Mr. Ellyson:

I quote below portion of letter dated July 17 from Mr. A. H. Smith:

“I have a crew of men grubbing [removing tree and shrub roots after initial clearing] along road, which runs on over the old cemetery, and now that the under brush has been cleared away, we find that there are at least twenty graves that will come in about the center of the road. The cut [removal of material to achieve grade, shorten road length or both] in some of these places is four feet. We are not quite ready to put teams in there, but will be soon. Shall we go on regardless of these graves or are they to be moved?”

I think an arrangement ought to be made to have these bodies removed to some cemetery, because any of the necessary excavation will break into graves. Furthermore, it would be better if this spot were cleared from all human remains as they will be an incentive to students’ pranks which it will be well to avoid. Knowledge of this cannot be hidden.

I have instructed Mr. Smith to make a temporary road around this cemetery in his work until Mr. Gillette returns, as I prefer to have him take up this question. Mr. Gillette will be there I expect near the first week in August.

*Yours very truly,
Warren H. Manning²³*

Ellyson replied to Manning on July 23, 1912. After a brief response to an issue raised in an earlier letter, he wrote, “I also note your letter of July 20th in regard to the road-way through the grave yard [sic]. Our Virginia law is very strict in its requirements in regard to private grave yards. I do not know

²¹ Committee on New Buildings and Grounds, Minutes, May 25, 1912, *For the Centuries*, Boatwright Library, University of Richmond, <http://centuries.richmond.edu/files/original/483a80e40781e556f20b31f707d62ca0.pdf>.

²² [W.W. LaPrade and Brothers], [Layout plans (early)] [3 sheets], “928-53, Sheet 1” [Road Study], Charles F. Gillette, Papers, ca. 1880-1985 (bulk 1918-1969), accession 34472, Business Records Collection, The Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia; No date appears on this set of drawings, however the data from the April and May 1912 LaPrade road study has been transferred to it. It was also initialed by William Waverly LaPrade, and road sections are marked A, B, C, and D as they were described in the minutes of the Richmond College Board Committee on New Buildings and Grounds on May 25, 1912.

²³ Warren H. Manning to J. Taylor Ellyson, July 20, 1912, Virginia Baptist Historical Society.

that we will have any trouble in regard to this grave yard, but we will be careful to look into the matter by the time Mr. Gillette returns.”²⁴

While the July 20th letter does not indicate the section of road being considered, it appears that Manning and Smith were referring to the development of the road that is now called Richmond Way. An examination of three topographic maps indicates that the slope at this location would have required the cutting in described by Smith to achieve grade. During this research, consideration was given to the possibility that Manning and Smith were describing a small dirt road on the other side of the burying ground shown on the 1901 topographic map in an area that Cram initially considered for development. By spring 1912, however, a portion of that road shown on a drawing in the LaPrade field book was described as “abandoned”²⁵ and it is not included in the drawing of road options that appears to have been provided by Manning to the Committee on New Buildings and Grounds. Only the road at the location of Richmond Way appears on known maps and plans after February 1912.²⁶ This road follows the coordinates in the field book from LaPrade Brothers and those on the maps marked A, B, C and D in the Charles Gillette Papers at the Library of Virginia.

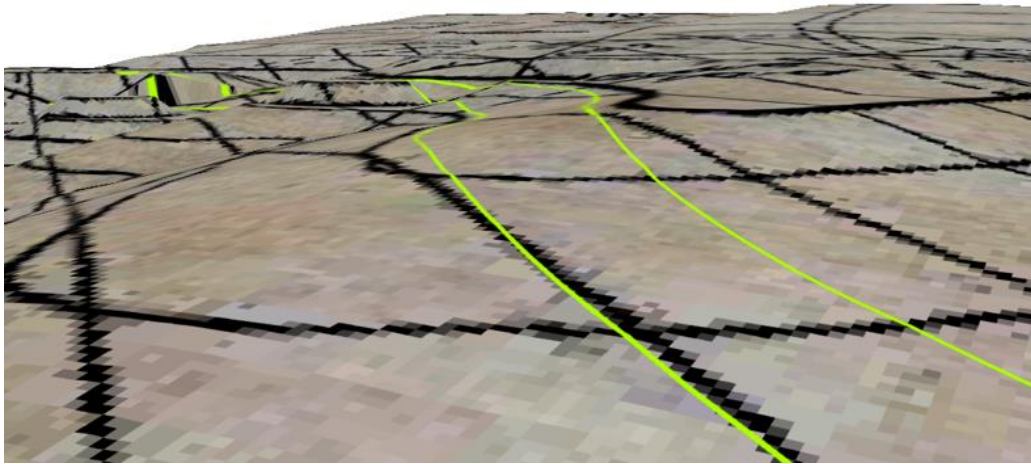


Figure 5: Topography in area of road that corresponds to current Richmond Way before cut for road (1901 topographic map); green lines indicate the placement of the road (Plan for road, 1912) and the necessary cut to achieve grade (D. Broome)

Searches of the minutes of the Richmond College Board of Trustees’ meetings and minutes of meetings of the Board’s Committee on New Buildings and Grounds have not yielded any information to supplement the letters regarding the burying ground. While significant subsequent correspondence between Ellyson and both Manning and Gillette has been located during this research, no additional direct mentions of graves appear there. Between June 18, 1912 and September 6, 1912, no records of meetings of the Committee on New Buildings and Grounds are included in the bound collection of

²⁴ J. Taylor Ellyson to Warren H. Manning, July 23, 1912, Virginia Baptist Historical Society.

²⁵ W.W. LaPrade and Brothers, “Survey of extension of road from Lake towards Three Chopt Road,” *Field Book: No. 14* (May 30, 1912) 32.

²⁶ Items in the W.W. LaPrade, Charles F. Gillette, and T. Crawford Redd collections at the Library of Virginia, and topographic maps and plans in the collection of the Virginia Baptist Historical Society have been included in this research.

minutes. Two documents, the November 6, 1912 minutes of a meeting of the Committee on New Buildings and Grounds, and a November 7, 1912 letter from Ellyson to Gillette, do mention a particular need to fence what each refers to as the “Lost Acre.” This may have been a reference to the burying ground but without additional information the association between the two cannot be confirmed. After describing the need for fencing for the entire campus to prevent trespassing, the minutes state that the committee needed to have “the piece of land known as ‘The Lost Acre’ in the vicinity of the stadium...enclosed within the College property.”²⁷ In his letter to Gillette, Ellyson wrote, “At the meeting of the committee yesterday, I was requested to notify you that it might be well to put up all fences around the Westhampton property without further delay, especially it is desirable that this should be done around what is known as the Lost Acre. If you cannot exactly place this, call and see President Boatwright. He will be glad to locate it for you.”²⁸

At the time of this letter to Gillette, the adaptation of Ralph Adams Cram’s plan for the campus was still in development and proposed campus structures were changing form and location, however the stadium as it was constructed is close to its position on the original plan and is 700 yards from the burying ground site. “In the vicinity of the stadium” offers only a vague indicator of placement. It is possible that “The Lost Acre” may refer to an untitled portion of property at the boundary of tracts or it may refer to the burying ground. Further research is warranted.²⁹

Images of the correspondence and minutes referred to in this section appear in **Appendix C**.

1935: ZION TOWN: A STUDY IN HUMAN ECOLOGY BY HOWARD H. HARLAN

In 1933, a University of Virginia doctoral candidate in sociology, Howard H. Harlan, began research on the African American community of Zionsville, which occupied what is now the Ridge Road area to the northwest of the campus.³⁰ The community was begun by those formerly enslaved on the plantation of the Green family and that of Elmslie Higgenbotham, who owned the adjacent property.³¹ In the years that followed Emancipation, the community grew and at the time of Harlan’s research, it had a population of 233. In the study that was published in 1935 as *Zion Town: A Study in Human Ecology*,

²⁷ University of Richmond, Committee on New Buildings and Grounds, Minutes, November 6, 1912, *For the Centuries*, Boatwright Library, University of Richmond, <http://centuries.richmond.edu/files/original/483a80e40781e556f20b31f707d62ca0.pdf>.

²⁸ [J. Taylor Ellyson] to C[harles] F. Gillette, November 7, 1912, Virginia Baptist Historical Society.

²⁹ While an additional piece of period correspondence mentions graves in the area of campus, it is likely that this letter refers to an established post-Civil War graveyard three-quarters of a mile from the Westham burying ground site. On November 27, 1911, Manning wrote to Carneal & Johnston and requested a copy of a map mentioned on another document already in his possession. In describing the location it featured, Manning wrote, “I notice on the white print which you have sent me that there apparently is another sheet which takes in that part of the ground toward the cemetery up the valleys which are sources of streams that are tributaries of the lake” (Manning to Carneal & Johnston, November 27, 1911, Virginia Baptist Historical Society). “[U]p the valleys” is consistent with the location of a graveyard belonging to the Sons and Daughters of Ham, an African American organization. That cemetery is located in close proximity to significant lake tributaries. Manning forwarded a copy of this letter to J. Taylor Ellyson.

³⁰ Howard H. Harlan was later Professor of Sociology at Birmingham Southern College in Birmingham, Alabama from 1946 to 1963. His professional research was published in *Social Forces*, *American Sociological Review*, and the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology of Northwestern University*.

³¹ Brenda Dabney Nichols, *African Americans of Henrico County* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2010), 7.

Harlan provided details of the community's beginnings, when Henry Pryor, its founder, was forced to repurchase the land that started Zionsville. It was first bought from the Green family by "a number of emancipated slaves led by Henry Pryor."³² After an initial payment, "the balance was to be paid for in labor and service."³³ A second purchase by Pryor was required when the initial agreement was disputed after Green's death in 1872.³⁴

Harlan also relates a description of the uncovering of a "pile of bones and skulls" near the former Green millpond that is now called Westhampton Lake:

*Westhampton Lake, in the center of the University campus, was [Green's] millpond, and the dam marks the site of his mill. Some few years ago, a gang of laborers digging in the hollow just below this dam uncovered a pile of bones and skulls that are considered to mark the site of the old burying ground for Ben Green's slaves.*³⁵

While there is no date provided for this discovery of human remains and the information is not attributed to a named individual, the location Harlan describes is near the site marked "Grave yard" on the 1901 topographic map in the Olmsted Associates collection and "Graveyard" on the 1912 LaPrade Brothers survey sketch for the development of Richmond College. Harlan's awareness of the exhumation may have come from one or more of his Zionsville sources or from common knowledge in the neighborhood since, in his introduction, he describes his home as being within two miles of Zionsville and thus in close proximity to the University of Richmond.³⁶

Apart from the general location of the exhumation in relation to the lake, another detail in Harlan's description raises the possibility that the uncovering of a "pile of bones and skulls" could indicate that the laborers discovered a collection of remains that had been uncovered previously, relocated nearby, and reburied since communal burial is inconsistent with the burial practices of enslaved and free people in Virginia.

According to Dr. Lynn Rainville, whose 2014 book *Hidden History: African American Cemeteries in Central Virginia* details the funeral practices of those who were enslaved on plantations in the region, the process of mortuary ritual began with a "death watch... singing and praying and 'keep[ing] the spirit company'" followed by the cleaning of the body: "[O]n larger plantations only certain individuals, often older women, were entrusted with this task."³⁷ As word of the death was shared beyond the boundaries of the plantation, a coffin was often made, though in some circumstances the body would be wrapped in a shroud.³⁸ At the time of interment, enslaved people on the plantation and those from nearby who were able to receive "passes from their overseer" would process with the body

³² Harlan, *Zion Town*, 14.

³³ Harlan, *Zion Town*, 15.

³⁴ Harlan, *Zion Town*, 16; Nichols, *African Americans of Henrico County*, 119.

³⁵ Harlan, *Zion Town*, 14. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, "some few" is defined as "some but not a considerable number of" ("few, adj., pron., and n." OED Online. December 2019. Oxford University Press).

³⁶ Harlan, *Zion Town*, iv.

³⁷ Lynn Rainville, *Hidden History: African American Cemeteries in Central Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014), 54.

³⁸ Rainville, *Hidden History*, 55-56.

to the burying place.³⁹ Following burial, a grave was often marked with objects – shells, broken pottery and other items that, while beautiful or distinctive, would not be considered useful by a potential thief or to the enslaver.⁴⁰ The burial site might be visited again weeks or months later for a “second burial... which celebrated the departure of the soul or ‘spirit’ and ensured the deceased ‘a place in the company of the ancestors.’”⁴¹ Considering the history of these practices, the discovery of a “pile of bones and skulls” as described in Harlan’s work may indicate an uncovering of relocated remains rather than the site of their original interment.

³⁹ Rainville, *Hidden History*, 55.

⁴⁰ Rainville, *Hidden History*, 62; Ross W. Jamison, "Material Culture and Social Death: African-American Burial Practices," *Historical Archaeology* 29, no. 4 (1995): 50.

⁴¹ Rainville, *Hidden History*, 52

1947: EXHUMATIONS OF HUMAN REMAINS, ROAD WIDENING

Twelve years after the discovery of a “pile of bones and skulls” was mentioned in Harlan’s study, workers uncovered what was described as a “small pile” of human remains between Puryear Hall (then the Chemistry Building) and the Steam Plant.⁴² Like Harlan, or his source, the writer of a newspaper account published on the day of the discovery linked the uncovered remains to enslavement.



Figure 6: *Richmond News Leader* (October 31, 1947). Library of Virginia

The article that appeared on the front page of the *Richmond News Leader* on October 31, 1947 begins, “A small pile of bones, believed to be the skeletons of slaves buried more than 100 years ago, were unearthed at about noon today by a crew of workmen on the University of Richmond campus.” It also described the remains of two people and the remnants of a coffin. While the article’s writer describes the location generally — on the “road which borders the university lake on the Richmond College campus” — a building in the background of the accompanying image allows for a more precise location of the uncoverings. Distinctive roof vents make it clear that it is the Faculty Building, a structure that was destroyed by arson in 1970.⁴³ On the newspaper image, the mark locating the place of discovery relative to the known location of the Faculty Building align the site with all of the previous encounters with remains and descriptions of the burying ground in the area between Puryear Hall and the Steam Plant.

The article also describes the reburial of the remains: “The bones were reinterred almost immediately a few hundred feet away.” While no details have been located regarding this reburial, the location of the exhumation is a “few hundred feet away” from a portion of the university’s property line.

The following day, university rector, historian, and editor of the *Richmond News Leader*, Douglas Southall Freeman referred to the exhumations in an editorial called, “Forgotten Graveyards.” In it, Freeman does not contradict the description of the graves as being those of enslaved people. He describes the graves as “forgotten” and follows with an argument that such graves should not hold up development of real estate: “Were every grave left forever undisturbed, the globe would be a cemetery in which there would not be room for men to till and to harvest.”⁴⁴

A week after the publication of the *Richmond News Leader* article, the UR student newspaper, *The Collegian*, published a piece that featured the exhumation: “Unearthed Bones Bring Local Wits To

⁴² “Human Bones Unearthed at U of R,” *Richmond News Leader*, October 31, 1947, 1.

⁴³ “Vandalism Causes Damage, Injuries,” *Collegian* (University of Richmond), May 22, 1970, 1, <https://collegian.richmond.edu/?a=d&d=COL19700522.2.7&srpos=1&e=>

⁴⁴ [Douglas Southall Freeman], “Forgotten Graveyards,” *Richmond News Leader*, November 1, 1947, 4. While editorials are not signed, Freeman is traditionally credited with those appearing in the *Richmond News Leader* during his tenure as the paper’s editor.

Scene" (November 7, 1947). In it, the unnamed writer links the remains to enslavement and describes the disinterment as happening "by the Faculty Building." The rest of the article appears to use the event as a frame for humor. Most of the quotes and observations appear to be invented by the writer and the article ends with a reference to the school's rivalry with the College of William and Mary.

A search of the minutes of the University of Richmond Board of Trustees minutes has revealed no record of the exhumations during the road widening project in 1947.

1955-1956: EXHUMATIONS OF HUMAN REMAINS, STEAM TUNNELS

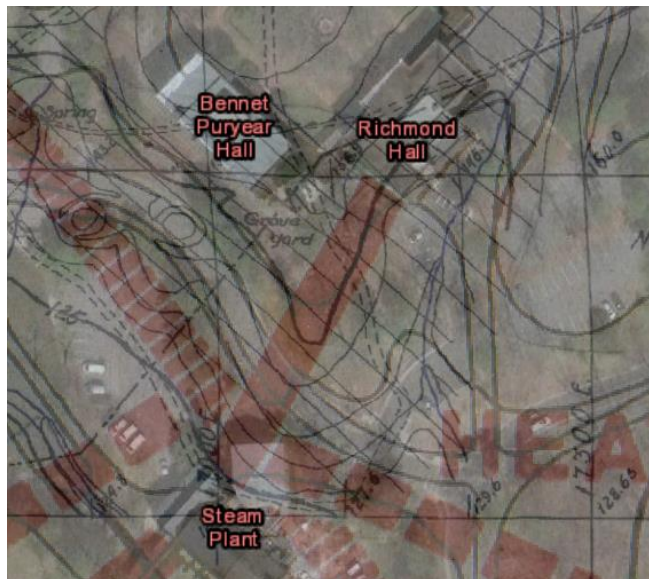


Figure 7: Contemporary structures overlaid with 1901 topographic map and details from the 1973 campus plan showing existing steam tunnel corridors in red; Esri, "World Imagery" [basemap], scale not given, "World Imagery;" *University of Richmond Campus Plan Report*, Perkins & Will, Planning Consultants, 1973. (D. Broome)

Beginning in 1949, the Wiley & Wilson Company began a multiyear series of engineering projects at the university, including the updating of the campus steam distribution system. During excavation for the installation of sections of steam lines between what was then called the Power Plant and the Science Group, which included what is now Puryear Hall, workers uncovered more human remains.⁴⁵ This site corresponds to the 1947 exhumation. A 2002 *Collegian* article focused on the history of the steam tunnels isolates this portion of the Wiley & Wilson work between 1955 and 1956.⁴⁶

In an oral history interview in 1993, supervising engineer Ed Boynton detailed the uncovering of graves when he was asked if there were any “unique or unusual discoveries” during the steam tunnel project:

Yes! When we were digging the tunnel from the power plant toward Richmond Hall we discovered a series of unmarked graves. In fact it stopped the work and the University arranged to have the bodies buried someplace else. I had heard that, when the road was installed that leads to the Commons, that graves were also discovered at that time, but I do not know any of the details of those graves.

A search of the minutes of University of Richmond Board of Trustees meetings has revealed no record of the exhumations during the steam tunnel project between 1955-56. Additional research of any available construction records of the time could yield additional information.

⁴⁵ Ed Boynton (supervising engineer, Wiley Wilson Company) oral history with Neil Bromilow, February 19, 1993, Boatwright Library, University of Richmond.

⁴⁶ Margaret Morris, “What Lies Beneath,” *Collegian*, April 18, 2002, 13; Esri, "World Imagery" [basemap], scale not given, "World Imagery," December 15, 2019, <https://www.arcgis.com/home/item.html?id=10df2279f9684e4a9f6a7f08febac2a9> (January 5, 2019).

2019: GROUND PENETRATING RADAR STUDY

In September 2019, the university used the services of NAEVA Geophysics Inc. to determine if ground penetrating radar (GPR) would reveal the locations of additional graves. The results of the survey were inconclusive. This may be due to a number of factors:

1. GPR is limited to relatively flat ground, so the survey was only conducted in the area of the site that would allow for readings. In the *Richmond News Leader* photograph, the location of remains was shown on a slope that was inaccessible to the 2019 GPR survey.
2. The site has been disturbed a number of times and in ways that may have further compacted the soil, most recently by the installation of a temporary driveway for the movement of heavy equipment in 2017.
3. Dense clay is the predominant soil type at the site and is considered a poor environment for GPR. Clay soil significantly limits the depth of radar penetration.⁴⁷
4. Over the last century an unknown number of bodies have been removed from their previous burial locations.

⁴⁷ James D. Hansen, Jamie K. Pringle, and Jon Goodwin, "GPR and Bulk Ground Resistivity Surveys in Graveyards: Locating Unmarked Burials in Contrasting Soil Types," *Forensic Science International* 237, (2014): e15.

OTHER EXPLANATIONS

Significant consideration has been given to questions regarding explanations for the presence of graves that are not linked to enslavement.

Could these be the graves of former landowners?

The burying ground is at a slight rise at very low ground when compared to the location of the landowners' houses on River and Three Chopt roads. This would not be a likely place for wealthy antebellum and postbellum landowners to bury their dead. It is consistent with locations where burying grounds for enslaved people are often sited, on land that is not optimal for cultivation but is above the water table.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, it is still important to consider whether the remains discovered were those of former landowners and their families as well as any connection the graves could have to families who owned the land during the Reconstruction period and the period of ownership by the True Reformers organization.

Graves of all former landowners have been traced to other locations. Details of these locations can be found in Appendix A.

The True Reformers organization had owned the property for just four years when a graveyard was noted on the 1901 topographic map and in Hubbard's notes. While he refers to it as a "negro burying ground" he does not link those interred there to the organization.

During the twelve years of True Reformers ownership, there are no published accounts of burials occurring on the property nor were burial sites mentioned in the extensive descriptions of the farm that appeared in advertisements and publications.⁴⁹ William Washington Browne was not buried there following his death in 1897. No note of graves or a plot appear in the 1909 deed between the True Reformers and the members of the land syndicate later referred to as the Westham Land Corporation, nor is there a mention of graves in any previous or subsequent deed. Were the graves at the burying ground those of free people, it is likely that the site would have been noted in deeds, preserving a right of entrance for descendants of those interred there.⁵⁰ The absence of such a provision is consistent with older graves and a burying ground for enslaved rather than free people.

⁴⁸ Rainville, *Hidden History*, 14.

⁴⁹ "The Grand Fountain. United Order of the True Reformers," *Colored American* (Washington, D.C.), October 27, 1900, 12, *Chronicling America*, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83027091/1900-10-27/ed-1/seq-12/#date1=1900&index=7&rows=20&words=Reform+Reformers+True&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=District+of+Columbia&date2=1900&proxtext=%22true+reformers%22&y=14&x=15&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1>; William Taylor Thom, "The True Reformers," in *Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1902), 807-814; W.P. Burrell and D.E. Johnson, *Twenty-Five Years History of the Grand Fountain of the United Order of True Reformers, 1881-1905* (Richmond, Va.: [Grand Fountain, United Order of True Reformers], 1909; W.E.B. DuBois, ed., *Economic Co-operation Among Negro Americans* (Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1907) 97.

⁵⁰ Such rights are found in numerous deeds in the antebellum period, including one of Green's purchases in the Patterson Road area adjacent to his homesite property (George F. Guy and Sarah E. Guy to Benjamin W. Green, Henrico County, VA, DB 63: 385, December 6, 1853, Library of Virginia). The deed included a description of two burying grounds in the area between Green's house and present day Horsepen Avenue. In the deed, the family of those interred preserved rights of ingress and egress to their family graveyards.

Could these be the graves of Union soldiers killed during the Dahlgren-Kilpatrick Raid?

There are recorded references to soldiers who were killed during a brief Civil War skirmish near what is now the campus being buried in the vicinity.

On March 1, 1864, a group of approximately 500 Union soldiers led by Col. Ulrich Dahlgren moved toward the area from the west as part of what was intended to be a “two-pronged strike on the Confederate capital” with the goal of freeing Federal prisoners.⁵¹ Most or all of Dahlgren’s column of men made their way down Three Chopt Road with a plan to turn east at the Westham Road (now Cary Street Road) and approach the city.⁵² Their progress was interrupted by Confederates near the home and farm of Benjamin W. Green, who controlled hundreds of acres of land in the immediate area and thousands to the west, including the current campus of the University of Richmond. After brief action close to the Green house the fighting moved off of the road and away from what is now the university, briefly intensifying again at Hicks’ Farm (now a residential area and the campus of St. Catherine’s School). Following a powerful volley from the Confederate side, Dahlgren’s men began their retreat, retracing their steps and following Three Chopt Road past Green’s home and his farm.

While the initial reports of the numbers of Union soldiers killed in the fighting varied, most range between ten and eighteen.⁵³ A news account describes local people burying the dead,⁵⁴ and bodies were likely interred on one or both farms. The land known specifically as “Green’s Farm,” the location given by Union and Confederate soldiers who fought there,⁵⁵ was at a distance of approximately a mile from the burying ground site at Green’s mill. Both military maps from the time showing ground features and descriptions of the landscape from those who fought there indicate that both Green’s and Hicks’ farms had significant cleared and wooded acreage for burials. A property Green had added to his farm property in 1853, which extended his holdings to Horsepen Road, was known to have two existing burying grounds.⁵⁶

Despite the farm being on the opposite side of Three Chopt Road and at a distance from the University of Richmond, an assumed association between the campus and fighting at “Green’s Farm” is natural since no evidence of Green’s significant farm property remains. A brief portion of the skirmish did take place near the eastern portion of the campus, but given the hundreds of acres of available land in the immediate area near the reported locations of bodies it appears unlikely that they would have been removed and brought to land beside Green’s mill site.

⁵¹ Bruce M. Venter, *Kill Jeff Davis: The Union Raid of Richmond, 1864* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 197, 55.

⁵² Venter, *Kill Jeff Davis*, 202.

⁵³ “The Yankee Losses In Killed and Wounded,” *Daily Dispatch*, March 4, 1864, 1, Virginia Chronicle, <https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=DD18640304&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN----->; Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States of America: A Memoir* (New York: Belford Co., 1890) 465.

⁵⁴ “The Raid on Richmond,” *Richmond Whig*, March 3, 1864, 1.

⁵⁵ Samuel Harris, *Personal Reminiscences of Samuel Harris* (Chicago: The Rogerson Press, 1897), 102; J.R. Haw, “That Fight at Green’s Farm,” *Confederate Veteran* 9, no. 17 (September 1909), 452.

⁵⁶ Guy to Green Deed, Henrico County DB 63:385, December 6, 1853.

Neither Douglas Southall Freeman, noted Civil War historian, nor Howard H. Harlan, author of the Zionsville study and resident of the neighborhood in the early 1930s, made connections to the Civil War when they addressed the discoveries of remains at the burying ground.

Could these graves be those of laborers on the property in the years between Emancipation and the purchase by the True Reformers in 1897?

Two significant periods of land use at Westham Farm — its ownership by the Polk family (1868-1876) and Dr. William A. McCandliss of Philadelphia, PA (1876-1894) — are reflected in the 1870 and 1880 Non-Population Agriculture Schedules of the Federal Census.

The 1870 Agriculture Schedule shows \$1,600.00 being paid to laborers on the property (this amount could include wages or the amount of board; no distinction is made).⁵⁷ By using the average amount paid to laborers at the time, this total would be the equivalent of approximately 10-15 people working full-time.⁵⁸

In 1879, William A. McCandliss paid for 400 weeks of hired labor on the farm.⁵⁹ To date, no information has been located that provides the names of any permanent residents of the property in 1880. Because McCandliss was an absentee landlord who remained in Philadelphia during his ownership of Westham, he does not appear in the 1880 Population Schedule for Henrico County, and therefore tracing the farm and those associated with it is difficult. Most 1890 population census records were destroyed by fire in 1921.

Burials of free people on property owned by their employers appear to have been increasingly unlikely in the years after Emancipation. Among African Americans, church graveyards within a few miles of Westham Farm, family plots, and cemeteries operated by burial societies and groups such as the Sons and Daughters of Ham in Henrico and in the Richmond area are the known locations of many graves from the period.

Additional information on the Polk and McCandliss period of land ownership can be found in Section II: Land & Lives.

⁵⁷ United States, *Federal Census Non-Population Agriculture Schedule*, 1870, "William R. Polk," Tuckahoe Township, Henrico County, VA, 5, ancestry.com, accessed November 26, 2019.

⁵⁸ George K. Holmes, "Table 11: Wages of Farm Labor," *Wages of Farm Labor, Bulletin 99* U.S. Department of Agriculture (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1912) 29, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=njp.32101050723756&view=1up&seq=745>

⁵⁹ United States, *Federal Census Non-Population Agriculture Schedule*, 1880, "McCandliss, William A.," Tuckahoe District, Henrico County, VA, 2, ancestry.com, accessed November 26, 2019.

SECTION SUMMARY

Between the early to mid-20th century, numerous encounters with graves and human remains have occurred at the same site on the University of Richmond campus. Two sources have linked remains at the site to people of African descent. The apparent willingness to dismiss the graves on the part of J. Taylor Ellyson, Richmond College Board President, may have reflected the status of those interred there. The 20th century disinterments that have been documented make no mention of landowners, other individuals, or soldiers when describing the graves.

The most significant potential link between the burying ground and enslavement is the documented period of forced labor on the land surrounding it, which lasted more than a century. In 1765 the site where bodies have been uncovered and graves described was positioned in the center of a 5000-acre colonial plantation, and beginning in 1817, it sat at the edge of a farm that maintained a consistent boundary there until it was consolidated with another tract of land by Richmond College in 1910.

The following section details this history of land use and transfers and the lives of those who were linked to the property, whether through land ownership or enslavement.

Section II: Land & Lives

The information that follows has been drawn from an array of primary sources. Deeds and court documents have yielded a timeline of landowners, from which further research of newspapers, wills, receipts, insurance policies and other documents has grown. This section draws on census documents — the *U.S. Federal Census Slave Schedules* (1850 and 1860), the *U.S. Federal Census Non-Population Agricultural Schedules* (1850-1880), and the *U.S. Federal Census Population Schedule* (1840-1880) — manuscript collections at the Virginia Museum of History and Culture and the Library of Virginia, a transcription of the *Daybook of the Richmond Police Guard: 1834-1844* by Dr. Leni Ashmore Sorenson, newspaper databases including *Virginia Chronicle*, *Chronicle of America*, and *Early American Newspapers*; data compiled by Lisa Denton of the Henrico County Museum System; Henrico County deeds and plats held by the Library of Virginia and the Henrico County Land Records Office; Henrico County Tax Records, Henrico County Free and Slave Records 1789-1865, and the Death Index of Virginia 1853-1896. Sources were also located in the collections of the Library of Congress, the Huntington Library, and the Valentine Museum.

These archival documents have allowed this examination of the land's history to extend beyond its last owners in the enslavement era, Benjamin W. Green and his family. While the Greens were significant enslavers and landowners, the period in which they owned land that included the current campus was only the last link in a chain of ownership that connected enslavement, land, and wealth.

In the case of all of the owners of the property, the boundaries of their holdings and operations extended beyond the contemporary property lines of the University of Richmond. This section describes plantations that included the 350 acres now occupied by the institution and to the landowners' overall operations that hinged on enslavement. While it is understandable that those approaching this history from an institutional perspective would like information on events known to have occurred on land now owned by the university, the nature of enslavement — the likely movement of enslaved people across sub-farms on the large plantation and to enslavers' other known holdings in the area — requires consideration that includes, but is not limited to, the precise boundaries of the institution.

18TH CENTURY HISTORY

1702-circa 1715: Giles Webb Ownership

On October 28, 1702, Giles Webb acquired 1,797 acres of land as part of the Virginia Colonial Land Office patent system.⁶⁰ This method of land distribution was designed to incentivize wealthy planters to import Europeans and captive Africans to the colony to add to the labor force. Planters received vast tracts of land in exchange for paying the transportation costs for groups of people, some of whom remained associated with the property, some of whom did not.

Giles Webb had already received significant holdings through the patent system, importing both Europeans and those described as “negroes” in 1692 and 1697.⁶¹ The 1702 patent for land that contained the university campus provided him an additional 1,797 acres of land on the north side of the James River, “at a place known by the name Westham.” The perimeter of the land was identified by its relation to “Lower Westham Creek,” an early name of what is now called Little Westham Creek.⁶² In the Ambler Family Papers (1638-1810) at the Virginia Museum of History and Culture, a circa-1765 plat shows the former Webb patent before it was incorporated into a larger property. The campus of the University of Richmond is close to the center of Webb’s land.⁶³

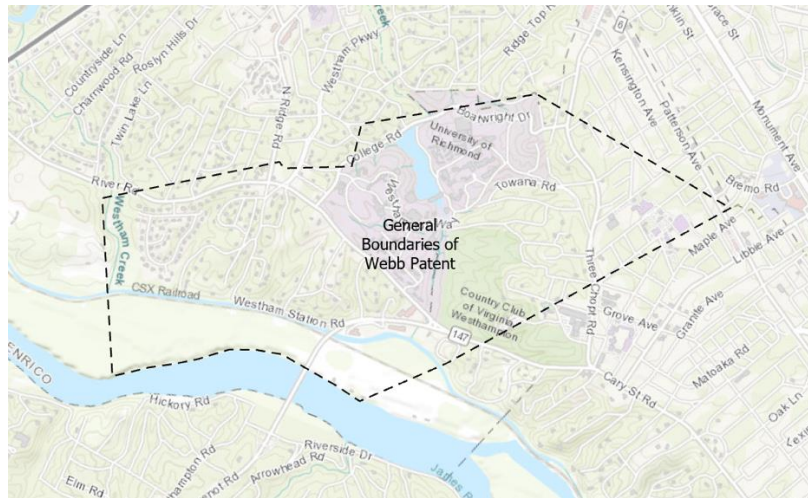


Figure 8: General boundaries of Webb patent using contemporary features overlaid with boundaries from 18th century plat⁶⁴ (D. Broome)

⁶⁰ Giles Webb, “Land Grant 28 October 1702,” October 28, 1702, Library of Virginia, http://image.lva.virginia.gov/LONN/LO-1/009/009_0523.tif.

⁶¹ Giles Webb, “Land Grant 29 April 1692,” April 29, 1692, Library of Virginia, http://image.lva.virginia.gov/LONN/LO-1/008/008_0266.tif; Giles Webb, “Land Grant 28 October 1697,” October 28, 1697, Library of Virginia, http://image.lva.virginia.gov/LONN/LO-1/009/009_0149.tif.

⁶² The creek name designation changed over time. Initially called Lower Westham Creek to distinguish between the creek and a smaller waterway to the west known as Upper Westham, the waterway was later referred to as Greater Westham because it was larger than that to the west. At times, the creek is known simply as Westham Creek. Then, over time, “Lower” likely became conflated with “Lesser” and “Little” and the larger creek became known as Little Westham Creek, resulting in “Big Westham Farm” being located on what is now known as Little Westham Creek in 1832.

⁶³ Giles Webb, “Webb, Giles, d. 1713? Plat, n.d., of land at Westham, Henrico County, Va.,” Ambler Family Papers, 1638-1810, Virginia Historical Society.

⁶⁴ Esri, “World Topo Map” [basemap], scale not given, “World Topographic Map.”

Like other land patents of the time, the language of the 1702 document details the location of the land, the acreage, and the names of those whose importation formed part of the agreement. In the case of Webb's Westham patent, twenty-four individuals were listed with both first and last names, which generally indicates those of European descent. Following that list, however, are the words, "and twelve rights more." This additional dozen "rights" may reflect the importation of indentured Europeans or captive Africans.

In his will dated August 5, 1709, Webb stated his wish to divide the population of what he referred to as "all my slaves that I have in Virginia," giving half of them to his wife, Sarah Swann Randolph Webb, upon his death.⁶⁵ It is not yet known if, during Webb's era of land control, enslaved individuals labored on the Westham property acquired through the patent. Webb's acquisition of the Westham land, his importation of those referred to as either "negroes" or by only their first name, and his enslavement of others as reflected in his will do provide the first example of the connection between those who controlled the Westham land and their accumulation of wealth derived from or increased by enslavement.

December 15, 2019, <https://www.arcgis.com/home/item.html?id=30e5fe3149c34df1ba922e6f5bbf808f> (January 5, 2020); "Webb, Giles, d. 1713? Plat, n.d., of land at Westham, Henrico County, Va.," *Ambler Family Papers, 1638-1810*, Virginia Historical Society.

⁶⁵ Giles Webb, "Will of Giles Webb of County and Parish of Henrico, Gent.," *Henrico County Wills and Deeds 1710-1714*, 218, Library of Virginia; also in Benjamin B. Weisiger, *Colonial Wills of Henrico County* Athens, GA: Iberian Publishing Company, 1998), 124.

Unknown-1763: Randolph and Byrd Ownership

After Giles Webb's death (circa 1713),⁶⁶ the property transferred to the ownership of the Randolph family.⁶⁷ Research is ongoing to determine the uses of the land over the next forty years and the ways in which those uses intersected with enslavement. During this period the Randolphs consolidated the land with a number of parcels, forming what ultimately became a 5,000-acre tract.⁶⁸ In William Randolph's 1842 will he bequeathed what he described as "all my land at Westham with sixteen negroes" to his son, Peter Randolph, though the will does not provide additional location information.⁶⁹ Peter Randolph attempted to develop a town on a portion of the Westham property in 1751, then sold the land to his brother, William Randolph. On April 3, 1753, William Randolph sold the entire 5,000 acres of "Westham" on the north side of the James River to William Byrd III.

Details in the deed which transferred the land between Randolph and Byrd reveal that the Westham plantation was already being worked by enslaved people. Randolph and Byrd agree that those enslaved there by Randolph will remain on the land until the harvest: "the servants and slaves of William Randolph shall be suffered to continue on the written lands until the 20th of October next ensuing to finish their crop."⁷⁰

Both the Randolph and the Byrd families were among the largest slaveholders in the colony. Peter Randolph enslaved 250 people, and at the peak of his wealth, William Byrd III enslaved over 1,000 women, men and children.⁷¹ There are no known records that provide the total number of people enslaved by either family on the Westham plantation.

⁶⁶ Giles Webb, "Inventory of Capt. Giles Webb," *Henrico County Wills and Deeds, 1710-1714*, 240, microfilm, Library of Virginia.

⁶⁷ As of this writing, the specifics of the shift to the Randolphs is unclear. Webb's Westham Creek property may have been part of the transfer of a number of tracts of land from Thomas Webb, Giles Webb's brother, and William Randolph on September 8, 1716 (Thomas Webb to William Randolph (September 28, 1716), Deeds, Wills, Etc. 1714-1718, reel no. 7, 157, Library of Virginia.) Another possibility is that the land came to the Randolphs through their connection to Webb's widow, Sarah Swann Randolph Webb, also the widow of Henry Randolph (circa 1665-1693).

⁶⁸ William Randolph to William Byrd, January 17, 1753, recorded April 3, 1753, "Deeds, Wills, etc. 1750-1767." Microfilm. Library of Virginia.

⁶⁹ W. G. Stanard, "Major Robert Beverly and his Descendants," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 3, no. 3 (January 1896), 263.

⁷⁰ [Peter Randolph to William Byrd, January 17, 1753, Virginia Lee Hutcheson Davis and Gary Murdock Williams, *Henrico County Deeds: 1750-1774* (Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 2007), 39-40.

⁷¹ Marc R. Mantrana, *Lost Plantations of the South* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2009), 26; Trevor Bernard, *Planters, Merchants, and Slaves: Plantation Societies in British America, 1650-1820* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 134.

Nicholas and Nicholas-Ambler Ownership (1763 to post-1791)

Robert Carter Nicholas (1728-1780) purchased the Westham land from William Byrd III in 1763 and spent significant time clearing titles from older land patents.⁷² When this process was complete, Nicholas had cleared many, though not all,⁷³ of the titles for the 5000 acres of land, approximately eight square miles.

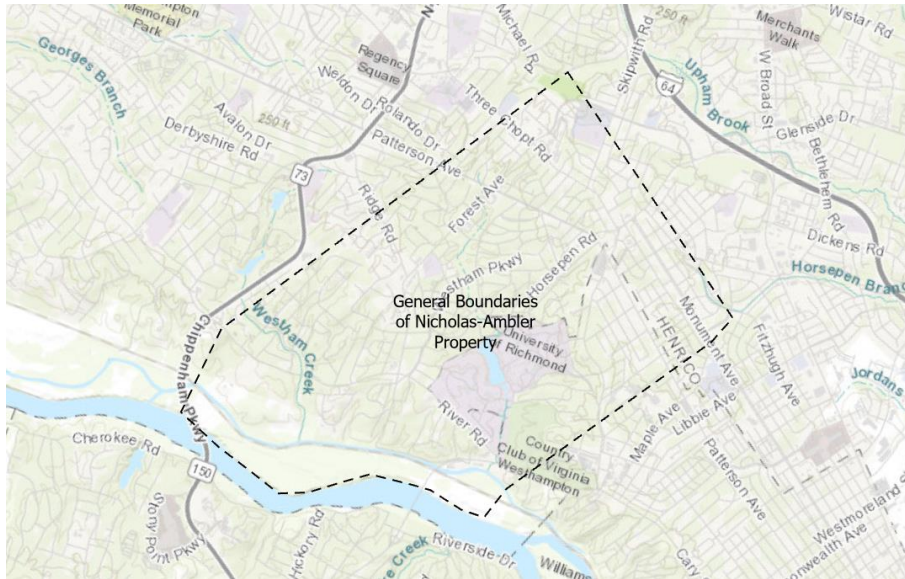


Figure 9: General boundaries of Nicholas-Ambler property, from plat circa 1765⁷⁴ (D. Broome)

On January 5, 1765, Nicholas entered into an agreement to share ownership with Edward Ambler of Jamestown.⁷⁵ Nicholas and Ambler agreed that “at their joint expense” they would “sufficiently stock the said land with Slaves, Cattle, Horses, Sheep, and Hogs, and likewise provide all necessary Houses, and Implements of Husbandry, and annually divide the whole Profits of the said Estate equally between them.” Neither man appears to have intended to live on the property. Instead it was to be an active investment and those enslaved there were to be treated as part of the working of the property. Nicholas and Ambler each committed to “constantly keep Thirty working Negroes on the said Land during the Term of Twenty Years next ensuing, and if any of the said Negroes should die within the said Term, that their places as the like equal Expense shall be, so soon as may be convenient, supplied with others.” Both men also agreed to share the expense of “maintain[ing]” the enslaved population, and both would own any children born of those they enslaved: “[t]hat the said Robert and Edward shall be equally

⁷² Victor Dennis Golladay, “The Nicholas Family of Virginia: 1722-1820” (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 1973), 92.

⁷³ “George Jefferson to Thomas Jefferson, 1 August 1811,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, accessed September 29, 2019, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-04-02-0060>.

⁷⁴ Esri, “World Topo Map” [basemap], scale not given, “World Topographic Map,” December 15, 2019, <https://www.arcgis.com/home/item.html?id=30e5fe3149c34df1ba922e6f5bbf808f> (January 5, 2020); Ambler Family Papers: 1638-1810, Mss1 Am167 b, Virginia Museum of History and Culture.

⁷⁵ Nicholas and Ambler, “Agreement,” Virginia Historical Society.

IMPORTANT TO THE OWNERS AND HIRERS OF NEGROES.—We lay before our readers a petition to the Mayor of Richmond, numerously signed by merchants and other business men, on a subject of great interest, not only to the petitioners themselves but to the owners of negroes, who hire their servants in this city; and we are permitted to add, that the ordinance alluded to will be rigidly enforced by his Honor and the police generally. The ordinance alluded to, is to prevent the obstruction of the principal streets of the city by slaves, brought here to be hired out. For years past, it has been almost impossible for ladies to pass along Main street, from 12th to 17th streets, between the 25th of December and 10th of January, for the hundreds of servants that literally jammed the sidewalks. Those having negroes for hire, have no more right to obstruct the street with them than a merchant has with his goods; and if they persist in doing so during the approaching season, we have very little doubt that they will be made to pay for it. The sixth section of the ordinance, alluded to, reads thus:
 “Not more than five negroes shall at any one time stand together on a sidewalk, at or near a corner of the street. And negroes shall never stand on a sidewalk to the inconvenience of white persons having to pass by.”

Daily Dispatch [Richmond, VA], Volume 5, Number 314, 8 November 1854, 2

“HIRING OUT”

At least three owners of the Westham land were participants in the “slave hiring” system, leasing those they enslaved to others through individual agreements or hiring agents. B. W. Green also “hired in” significant numbers of men and women while he owned the Westham land.¹ In Richmond and other cities and towns, “Hiring Days” between Christmas and mid-January resulted in the exchange of hundreds of enslaved people for the year.²

Owners of coal pits enticed agricultural enslavers with the promise of the earning

potential of sending “field slaves” to pits in the area and many non-slave owning households would “hire” one or two enslaved people for a year at a time.³

The system formed a significant part of the Richmond economy and, “bestowed power over hired slaves to numerous white men whose tasks moved slaves from owners’ to hirers’ possession.”⁴

¹United States, *Federal Census Slave Schedule*, 1860, “B.W. Green,” Tuckahoe District, Henrico County, VA, p. 50, ancestry.com, accessed October 4, 2018

²“Important to the Owners and Hirers of Negroes,” *Daily Dispatch*, November 8, 1854, 2.

³“Pit Hands Wanted,” *Richmond Enquirer*, February 26, 1845, 3; “Coal Pit Hands Wanted,” *Richmond Enquirer*, December 19, 1845, 3.

⁴“Negroes for Sale and Hire,” *Daily Dispatch*, January 11, 1864, 2.

⁴John J. Zaborney, *Slaves for Hire: Renting Enslaved Laborers in Antebellum Virginia* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012), 3

interested in all the said Slaves and their Increase, and shall cloath [sic] and maintain them at their joint and equal expense.”⁷⁶

To compensate Nicholas for clearing up questions of previous ownership — his “extraordinary trouble... in purchasing and surveying the land” — Ambler agreed that Nicholas could build “one or more Houses for the Reception of his Tobacco and other commodities that may be brought down from his upper plantations” and that once a year, Nicholas would be permitted to use the enslaved people at Westham to transport his tobacco to warehouses for required inspection: “employ[ing] any of the Slaves, Waggons [sic] carts, Horses, and Oxen belonging to the said Estate, in carrying his Tobacco and other Commodities to the public Warehouses appointed for the inspection of Tobacco.”

Within the first two years of Nicholas and Ambler forming their partnership, a man named Robin freed himself from enslavement on the Westham plantation. In January of 1767, Robert Carter Nicholas placed an advertisement detailing Robin’s escape and that of another man named George who had escaped from Nicholas’ Albemarle plantation. In the advertisement, Nicholas states that he treated those he enslaved well, writing, “I hope wherever these fellows may be apprehended that they receive such moderate correction as will deter them from running away for the future.”⁷⁷

In 1771, a devastating flood, known as the Great Fresh, resulted in the washing away of a significant amount of Westham estate topsoil and the destruction of a number of buildings. That year, Nicholas writes, “The Losses I sustain’d by the Fresh have obliged me to look out for more Lands to work my Negroes on.”⁷⁸ It is possible that Nicholas was referring to moving enslaved people to one of his other plantations in Albemarle or Hanover Counties, but his choice of words points to the possibility that this is the first known account of the “hiring out” of enslaved people linked to the Westham property.

⁷⁶ Nicholas and Ambler, “Agreement,” Virginia Historical Society.

⁷⁷ [Advertisement: “Ro. C. Nicholas”], *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), January 15, 1767, 3, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, <https://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/va-gazettes/VGSinglePage.cfm?issueIDNo=67.PD.04&page=3&res=LO>.

⁷⁸ John Norton & Sons, *John Norton & Sons, merchants of London and Virginia : being the papers from their counting house for the years 1750-1795* (New York: A.M. Kelly, 1968), 301; Golladay, “Nicholas Family,” 147.

Following Edward Ambler's death in 1768, Nicholas managed the Westham estate, a Jamestown estate, and the interests of Ambler's widow and sons.⁷⁹ While the initial Nicholas-Ambler partnership indicated that thirty enslaved people were to be placed on the property during their period of ownership, an account of a dispute between Ambler's heirs regarding the purchase of shoes introduces the possibility that the number was higher. In the record of *Cary et al, Executors of Ambler v. Macon et al* (1803), amid other contested charges in a section dealing largely with the Westham plantation, are numbers that indicate that there may have been far more people, up to 132, enslaved there:

October 1770, 70 pairs of shoes charged to John and none to Edward Cary, when it was presumed they were for the whole slaves.⁸⁰ The commissioner states that Edward had forty-two, and John ninety. One third part, therefore, should be charged to the former, and two thirds to the latter. The same occurs in May 1771, in November 1772, in November 1773, in November 1774, and in January 1776.⁸¹

In the years after Nicholas' death in 1780, the Westham land was divided among his heirs and those of Edward Ambler. The section managed by his son, Philip N. Nicholas was sold to John Harvie of Richmond after 1791.⁸² Details of this transfer appear in a subsequent deed and John Harvie's will, though the precise sale date is not yet known. Following Harvie's death in 1807, the land transferred to his son, Edwin Harvie.⁸³ His death in the Richmond Theatre fire of 1811 preceded his widow's sale of the property to Thomas Taylor and his partner John Graham.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ Golladay, "Nicholas Family," 329.

⁸⁰The term "whole slaves," appears to denote all of the enslaved people in question. The term appears in a number of Colonial and Early Federal legal documents and letters, including Thomas Jefferson's letter to Rufus King in 1802 (Thomas Jefferson to Rufus King, 13 July 1802," *Founders Online*, National Archives, accessed September 29, 2019, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-38-02-0052>).

⁸¹ Graten, "Cary et al, Executors of Ambler v. Macon et al," 840. While Nicholas' management extended to the Ambler's Jamestown plantation, the details of this section of the case are focused on the finances at Westham. More research on the Nicholas-Ambler era at Westham is warranted.

⁸² John Harvie, Will, November 26, 1806, Accession 23531b, Personal papers collection, Library of Virginia.

⁸³ John Harvie will, November 26, 1806, Library of Virginia; Henrico County, VA, Chancery Court, *Lewis Nicholas v. Robert Carter Nicholas (executor). et al.*, Henrico County, Chancery Court Collection (1791-012), Library of Virginia.

⁸⁴ "Edwin James Harvie," *Enquirer* (Richmond, VA), January 4, 1812, 3, Virginia Chronicle, <https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=EN18120104.1.3&srpos=5&e=>; Thomas Taylor and John Graham partition deed, Henrico County, VA, DB 16:37, August 5, 1817, Library of Virginia; John Graham estate via Walter Dun, executor, to William Shapard, DB 22: 464, Henrico County, VA, January 4, 1821. Library of Virginia; John Graham, Will, Henrico County (Va.) Circuit Court. Records, 1766-1879, Robert Alonzo Brock Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Library of Virginia.

19TH CENTURY HISTORY

John Graham Ownership (1811-1823)

John Graham, originally from Scotland, was an absentee land speculator in what is now Ohio, where he controlled over 35,000 acres of land.⁸⁵ In central Virginia, he was the owner of the Dover Coal Pits in Goochland County nine miles from Westham and a coal yard on Cary Street.⁸⁶ After returning to Scotland during the Revolutionary War period, Graham returned to the area in 1784⁸⁷ and by 1811, was the co-owner of the Westham land that included the current campus.

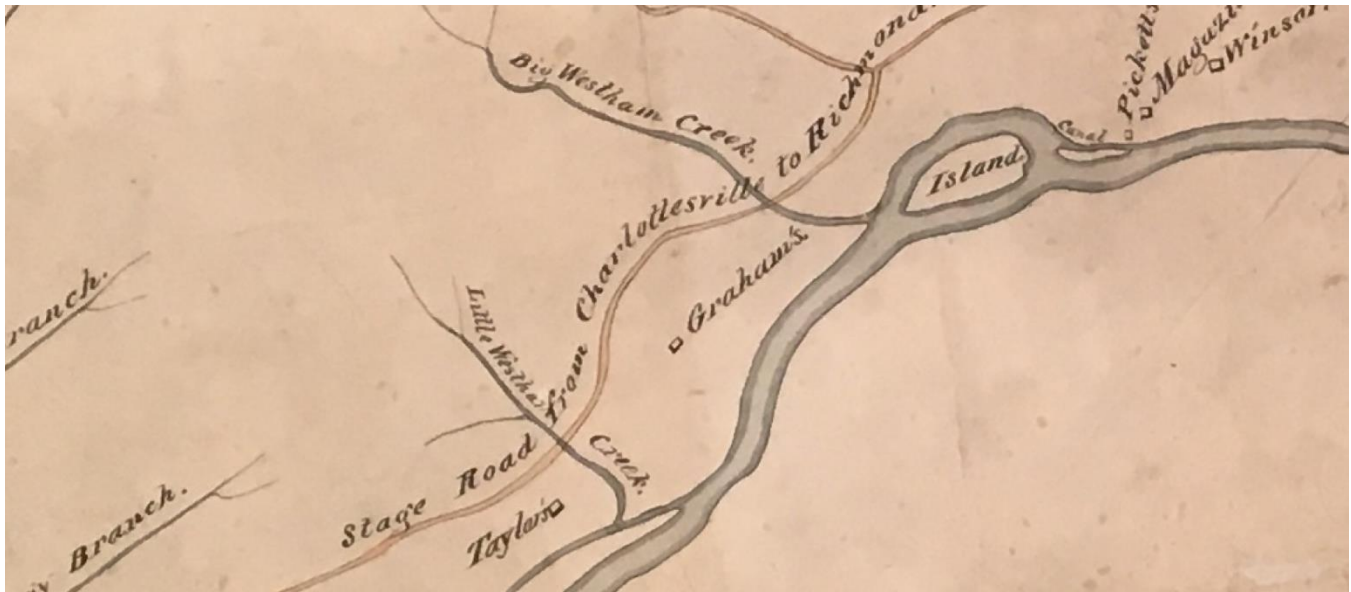


Figure 10: Partitioned properties of Thomas Taylor and John Graham ("Henrico County: surveyed and drawn under the direction of John Wood," 1819, Library of Virginia). At this time Little Westham Creek was known as Big Westham Creek.

Graham and Thomas Taylor purchased 1400 acres of the original Westham tract from Martha Harvie in 1811 and the two men partitioned the land in 1817.⁸⁸ According to the partition, Graham then controlled the eastern portion, approximately 700 acres of land that would retain the name Westham. While an 1819 map shows Graham's name beside a mark that generally indicates a house it is not known whether he resided at Westham during his ownership. Graham had extensive holdings and what was described as a "comfortable dwelling house" in the city of Richmond.⁸⁹ His Westham land was actively worked by

⁸⁵ Hanno Sheerer, "For Ten Years Past I have Constantly Wished to Turn My Western Lands into Money: Speculator Frustration and Settlers' Bargaining Power in Ohio's Virginia Military District, 1795-1810," *Ohio Valley History* (Spring 2014): 7.

⁸⁶ [Advertisement], *Richmond Commercial Compiler*, June 13, 1817, 1.

⁸⁷ Sheerer, "For Ten Years Past," 24.

⁸⁸ Thomas Taylor and John Graham partition, Henrico County, VA, DB 16:37, August 5, 1817, Library of Virginia.

⁸⁹ Sheerer, "For Ten Years Past," 24.

THE GRAHAM AUCTION, 1821

At the time of his death in 1820, John Graham enslaved fifty people on his Westham farm and at least 100 people at the Dover Coal Pits in Goochland County.¹ In his will, Graham stipulated that his land and those he enslaved be sold.

Graham's will also listed a group of people who would be given the chance to select their next enslavers. This group would be allowed to keep their children who were under the age of four. In 1821, those who were four and over were sold with the rest of the people that Graham enslaved.²

A letter describing the auction appeared in several national and international publications. It details the sale of "a man, a woman, and two small children, whom the auctioneer said he was instructed not to separate." The writer quotes the auctioneer who "disposed" of "more than a hundred" that day as well as several enslaved people who resisted being sold away from the area.³ The letter notes that the enslaved people hoped to avoid being sold to "two or three negro speculators from the southern and western states."

The account closes with the letter writer's return to the auction site later that day, where he discovered that thirty additional people had been sold through "private contract, with the privileges of choosing their own masters." The writer describes this as a way young women might attempt to avoid the threat of sexual exploitation and violence:

The ch[oo]sing their own masters... is a liberty of determining who they will not go to. Should a pretty mulatto woman be offered at public auction, the sale is generally well attended by bachelors, by one of whom she is usually purchased, and taken into keeping.

The family of four people was purchased for 840.00 by a resident of Petersburg, VA and someone named Jacob was sold to a buyer in the area. A man named Ponto is described as insisting that he was ill to avoid being sold to James Grant, a "negro trader from New Orleans." Grant purchased a man named Billy. No more is known of those who were sold at auction that day.

¹ "Land and Slaves for Sale," *Daily National Intelligencer*, November 24, 1820, 4

² John Graham, Will (codicil), Henrico County (Va.) Circuit Court. Records, 1766-1879, Robert Alonzo Brock Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Library of Virginia.

³ "American Civilization," *Galignani's Messenger*, May 1, 1821, 2-3.

forced labor, however. At Graham's death, an advertisement placed by his nephew and executor described "fifty prime slaves" at the property, "among whom are some valuable tradesmen."⁹⁰

As dictated in Graham's will, at his death in 1820, the majority of his wealth was to be divided among his relatives in Scotland following the liquidation of all of his property, including the sale of the Westham land and the majority of the men, women and children he enslaved there and elsewhere. The fifty people bound to Graham at Westham were scheduled to be auctioned with the land on January 4, 1821.⁹¹ The property did not transfer to its next owner until 1823, however, and it is possible that those enslaved there were included in the large auction in Richmond in 1821. An account of the Graham auction appeared in numerous national and international publications. It describes the sale of "more than a hundred" people and "about thirty more, male and female negroes, who would be disposed of at private contract with the privilege of choosing their own masters."⁹²

These details are consistent with the language of Graham's will which makes special provisions for a handful of enslaved people among the scores he enslaved. A few — Jasper, Mary, and Rachel — were emancipated and provided payments from Graham's estate. Others were allowed to select their next enslaver or, in the case of William, to have his father make that selection: "[I]f the said William behaves well... he may be sold to the person he chooses or his father Jasper may recommend."⁹³

⁹⁰ "Land and Slaves for Sale," *Daily National Intelligencer*, November 24, 1820, 4.

⁹¹ "Land and Slaves for Sale," November 24, 1820.

⁹² "American Civilization," *Galignani's Messenger*, May 1, 1821, 2-3.

⁹³ John Graham, "Will," Henrico County (Va.) Circuit Court. Records, 1766-1879, Library of Virginia.

The site of Graham's coal pits in Goochland County, which were described as running on the labor of hundreds of enslaved people in 1796,⁹⁴ was the location of still more enslaved people. On November 17, 1820, Graham's executor, Walter Dun, had attempted to liquidate the Dover coal pits, the nearly thousand acres of land surrounding them, and the one hundred people enslaved there.⁹⁵ In the advertisement for the sale, Dun writes that "one hundred prime slaves" would be auctioned, "among whom are some valuable carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers & tanners." This auction was either unsuccessful or rescheduled for other reasons. On May 21, 1824, three and a half years after Graham's death, another advertisement for an auction of the coal pits, the land, and the people appeared in the *Richmond Inquirer*. The Dover pits would later form part of the wealth of another Westham owner and enslaver, Benjamin W. Green.

On January 27, 1821, Graham's Westham land was sold to William Shapard.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Ronald L. Lewis, "The Darkest Abode of Man": Black Miners in the First Southern Coal Field, 1780-1865," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 87, no. 2 (1979).

⁹⁵ "Coal and other Lands, and Slaves for sale," *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.), November 17, 1820, 3.

⁹⁶ Graham estate to William Shapard, January 4, 1821.

Shapard Ownership (1823-1832)

What is described by deed as Graham's 700 acres of land at Westham was sold through his executor to William and Catherine Shapard in 1823. The couple combined the former Graham land with additional acreage and remained at Westham for over a decade, calling their farms "Big Westham," formerly the Graham land, and "Little Westham." They enslaved at least fifty-four people on their overall plantation.

In 1832, as part of what William and Catherine Shapard described as an effort to secure the financial future of their daughter, Willianna Shapard, they began liquidating their holdings. This process included the sale of their land, divided into two tracts, and all of the people they enslaved on their property.⁹⁷ An 1832 Chancery Court document provides details of the planned sale of the land as well as the names of the enslaved men, women and children held there:

*Charles, John Hindru, Big Davy Lunsford, Spy, Jack, Isaac, Freeman, Abram, Bob, William, Tom, Edmund, Caesar, John Holmes, Anderson, Ewin; Dick and Cloe his wife; Jesse and Betty his wife and one child [no name provided]; Stephen and Lavinia his wife and their children, Denniss, Patsy, Rosetta, Matildianna, and Andrew; Ned and Maria his wife and one child [no name provided]; Emanuel and Lucy Mead his wife and their children: Little Davy and Albert; John Allen and Lucy Allen his wife; Harrison, Ralph, Jim, Nancy, William; Children of Jenny (deceased) [children not named]; Dianna and children: Susan and Fanny; John Baker and wife Amelia and children: Maria, Godfrey, Claiborne, Eliza, Agness, and Edward*⁹⁸

An advertisement that appeared in the *Richmond Whig and Commercial Journal* on December 8, 1832

BOB, who was purchased for me last winter at the sale of Mr. Wm. Shapard's negroes, left my house last Easter, and is still a runaway. He is about fifty years old, bends forward when he walks, and limps, in consequence (as he says) of a fall which he had some years ago when at work in the coal pits belonging to N. Mills.
On the day that he left home, he was seen with the blacksmith, who was likewise sold by Mr. Shapard. I have been told that the blacksmith lives on or near Elk Island. I will pay the legal fees, and no more, to any person who will deliver him to me in Manchester, or give me such information as will enable me to get him again.
jy 27—c2awtf W. C. DAY.

BOB AND THE BLACKSMITH

Bob was among the more than fifty-five people William Shapard enslaved at Westham who were sold at auction on December 27, 1832. He was purchased by W.C. Day, who at the time ran a small school in Manchester, across the James River from downtown Richmond.¹

Three months later, Bob escaped Day's enslavement and what is known of him is drawn from an advertisement seeking his "deliver[y]."² Day suspected that Bob was with a man, also formerly enslaved by Shapard, whom he only referred to as "the blacksmith." Rumors placed the blacksmith "on or near Elk Island" in the James River above Westham.

Bob is described as having been injured during his former "hire" to the owner of the Midlothian coal pits, resulting in a pronounced stoop when he walked. His escape from Day is the last known account of his life and that of the blacksmith. Nothing more is known of the other people enslaved by the Shapard family and auctioned in 1832.

¹ "Education," *Daily Richmond Whig & Public Advertiser*, December 17, 1833, 3.

² *Daily Richmond Whig & Public Advertiser*, August 8, 1833, 3

⁹⁷ "Valuable Property For Sale," *Richmond Whig and Commercial Journal*, December 8, 1832, 2.

⁹⁸ *John Sheppard and Lewis Webb v. William and Catherine Shapard*, Henrico Chancery Court, no. 1835-015, Manuscripts Collection, Library of Virginia.

describes the pending auction of “[t]he Negroes belonging to the Farms” including “a first rate boot and shoemaker.”⁹⁹

Following the sale of the portion then called Big Westham Farm, which contained what is now the Western side of campus, the property passed through the joint ownership of three brothers — Thomas, Robert and John Crouch.

Crouch Ownership (1833 - 1839)

Westham farm was purchased by the Crouch brothers from the Shapards’ trustees on July 1, 1833. Less is known of the Crouches’ land use during this period but some specifics of the brothers and details of those they enslaved emerge from newspaper items during the years before and during their ownership of the land.

Prior to their purchase of Westham, Richard and Thomas Crouch were engaged in a number of business operations. The two were partners in a fabric store which sold luxury and “common” goods.¹⁰⁰ Richard Crouch owned several properties in Richmond including a hotel close to the Capitol.¹⁰¹ Most significantly, the brothers owned coal pits and yards throughout the period that were described as among the “principal” mining operations in the area.¹⁰²

During their ownership of the Westham property, several “runaway slave” advertisements and notices provide glimpses of those who were enslaved or held by the Crouch brothers, and they offer additional details of the brothers’ business interests. According to an 1834 advertisement placed by Thomas Crouch, offering a reward for the return of an enslaved man named Billy who had escaped from Westham, Richard Crouch “reside[d] in Richmond” while it appears that Thomas Crouch was more closely associated with the workings of the farm¹⁰³:

RUNAWAY from Westham farm, one week since, a negro man by the name of BILLY lately the property of Mr. Edmund Walls of Richmond. Billy is a short black fellow, about 21 years of age, with a blemish in one eye. He was sometimes employed at the coal yard in Richmond. A suitable reward will be paid for his apprehension and delivery to me, or to my brother, Mr. Richard Crouch, who resides in Richmond.

THOS. CROUCH

Westham, June 24, 1834

Although the majority of what is known of the life of Billy is contained in just three sentences, the listing for his escape in the *Daybook of the Richmond, Virginia Police Guard 1834-1844*, transcribed by Dr. Leni Ashmore Sorenson, provides two additional details about his enslavement and the effort to

⁹⁹ “Valuable Property For Sale,” *Richmond Whig and Commercial Journal*, December 8, 1832.

¹⁰⁰ [Advertisement,] *Virginia Patriot* (Richmond, VA), December 28, 1816: 2.

¹⁰¹ [Advertisement,] *Virginia Argus* (Richmond, VA), July 28, 1809, 4.

¹⁰² “Mineral Wealth and Resources of Virginia,” *Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser*, June 5, 1846, 1.

¹⁰³ [Advertisement,] *Richmond Whig & Public Advertiser*, July 1, 1834, 3; [Advertisement,] *Richmond Whig*, January 3, 1845, 3.

recapture him. While Billy was hired out to the use of one or more of the Crouches, he was still owned by Edmund Walls, and for his return, Thomas Crouch offered to pay twenty dollars.¹⁰⁴

During the Crouches' ownership of Westham Farm, a number of other enslaved men freed themselves from their control and appear in the *Daybook*. A man named Berkley (also called Burkley) who was "25 or 26 years old" despite being referred to as Thomas Crouch's "boy," escaped in April of 1836 and was recaptured by a police captain. He escaped again five months later and there is no record of his recapture.¹⁰⁵ A man named Lilytand escaped in 1837. There is no description of where he was held by Thomas Crouch and no indication in the police record that he was reenslaved.¹⁰⁶

The *Daybook* also contains several descriptions of enslaved men escaping from both direct enslavement and "hire" by the Crouches' coal company, Crouch & Snead. It is highly likely that the Crouches' coal pits in Goochland County, which were operated under several business names including Crouch & Snead, depended upon the work of enslaved people.¹⁰⁷ Among those who escaped forced labor at the pits was a man named Gabriel who remained free for six months until he was recaptured and "committed to the City Gaol [jail] as a runaway."¹⁰⁸ In August of 1837, three men escaped and are listed together in an August 27th entry in the *Daybook*. All three — Richard, Tom Jones and Ben Mines — were enslaved by others and "hired out" to Crouch & Snead.¹⁰⁹

In March of 1839, two men escaped from Crouch & Snead: Fitzland on the 2nd and another man named Richard on the 26th. Six months later, following the death of John G. Crouch and in an effort to pay his debts, Thomas and Richard Crouch sold Westham Farm to Clement H. Read and William D. Sims on September 20, 1839.¹¹⁰ There is no known record of the total number of people the Crouches enslaved or held at Westham Farm, their coal pits, or their other area properties.

¹⁰⁴ Leni Ashmore Sorensen, "Absconded: Fugitive Slaves in the 'Daybook of the Richmond Police Guard, 1834-1844" (PhD diss., College of William and Mary, 2005), 100.

¹⁰⁵ Sorensen, *Absconded*, 130.

¹⁰⁶ Sorensen, *Absconded*, 63.

¹⁰⁷ Virginia General Assembly, "An ACT to incorporate Runnymead coal mining company in the county of Henrico," *Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia Passed at the Session of 1836-37* (Richmond: Thomas Ritchie, 1837), 208-209; "Steam Engine and Saw Mill For Sale," *Daily Dispatch*, January 8, 1853, *Virginia Chronicle*, <https://viriniachronicle.com/?a=d&d=DD18530108.1.3&srpos=9&e=-1830--1856--en-20--1--txt-tx|N-crouch%27s+pits----->.

¹⁰⁸ Sorensen, *Absconded*, 133.

¹⁰⁹ Sorensen, *Absconded*, 157.

¹¹⁰ Thomas Crouch and Richard Crouch to Clement H. Read, DB 43:138, Henrico County, VA, September 20, 1839, Library of Virginia.

SOLOMON & AILSY'S FAMILY

Solomon, Ailsy and their eight children were among the 116 people enslaved by Clement Read on the Westham land.¹ While Read's family relocated to Roanoke County, Virginia after his death in 1845, most or all of those he enslaved at Westham remained on the land for another four years.

At the marriage of Read's son, Thomas, in 1849, the enslaved community was moved to Roanoke and the men, women and children were divided between Thomas Read and his brother, David.²

Traces of Solomon and Ailsy's family emerge from records of the Reads' subsequent battle over the cost of their care. Their names and the ages of the children appear on an undated document labelled "Westham Negroes." In another, they are described as being in a "class of servants" that included "old and infirm negroes + children." A mention of a coffin for Ailsy in May 1857 is the only indication of her death. By 1860, Solomon's oldest children, George, Royall, and Parthena, are no longer listed with the family. They may have been "hired out" by the Reads or sold away.

The last known description of Solomon's family appears in the 1860 document, when the widow of Thomas Read and her new husband sought financial compensation from Clement Read's estate commissioner: "Solomon, Minna, Brenda, Nelly, Pomfrey and Hodge were supported three months + clothed for the winter of 1857 +/58."³

¹ Clement H. Read, [Estate Property Appraisal,] Henrico County, VA Will Book 12: 145-146, Library of Virginia.

² *Read et al vs Read et al*, Roanoke County, VA, Chancery Court, Index no. 1872-020, document p. 3, Library of Virginia, https://www.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/case_detail.asp?CFN=161-1872-020

³ *Read v. Read*, document p. 84.

A handwritten list titled "Solomon and Ailsy his wife" with a circled "family" written vertically to the left. The list includes names and ages: George (nearly grown), Royall (16), Parthena (13), Minna? (11), Brenda? (11), Pomfrey (6), Hodge (2), and Nelly (9).

Name	Age
George	nearly grown
Royall	16
Parthena	13
Minna?	11
Brenda?	11
Pomfrey	6
Hodge	2
Nelly	9

Read Family Ownership (1839-1855)

Clement H. Read and William D. Sims purchased the Westham Farm property from the Crouch family for \$18,795.93 on September 20, 1839. At his death in 1845, Read was described as being "of Westham,"¹¹¹ indicating that he and his family, like the Shapards, resided on the property during at least a part of his period of ownership. According to Read's will, it was Sims who provided the funds for the purchase, with Read planning to repay him. The terms of Read's will dictated that the land was to be sold upon his death with the proceeds going to Sims and half of the people that Read enslaved at Westham were to be given to Sims "at valuation, that is to be valued as the prices negroes sold for when we purchased the land." The other half of the enslaved population were to be transferred to Read's wife, Betsy Sims Read.

This resulted in an appraisal of the 120 people enslaved by Clement Read at Westham. Their names were recorded on two lists, a primary one containing 98 people and a second list with 22 people and assorted furnishings and "plantation tools." It is probable that this second list, described as Read's "interest," was part of a settlement of the property between William Sims' and Read's estate:

Despite the plan dictated by Read's will, Betsy Read and William Sims reached an alternative agreement and all of those enslaved by her husband shifted to her ownership. She and her sons relocated to Roanoke County, Virginia. Most, if not all of those she enslaved remained on the Westham property

¹¹¹ "Deaths," *Richmond Enquirer*, October 31, 1845, 4, *Virginia Chronicle*, <https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=RE18451031.1.4&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN----->.

until her son Thomas Read's marriage. At that time the community of enslaved people was divided between he and his brother, David Read.¹¹²

Throughout the Read family's subsequent intrafamily legal battle, references to the people once enslaved at Westham Farm and the phrase "Westham negroes" appear in numerous documents, particularly those focused on the contested cost of caring for those who could not work.¹¹³ The Chancery Court documents in *Read v. Read* are comprised of hundreds of pages documenting the family's dispute over the financial requirements related to those they enslaved.¹¹⁴ Were it not for those legal battles and the division of a group dictated by Read's will, details of the men, women and children the Reads enslaved at Westham may not have appeared in any record.

Following the removal of the enslaved population from Westham, Betsy Read and William Sims sold the land in 1855. Its purchaser, Benjamin W. Green, had been established in the neighborhood for a dozen years by the time he purchased Westham, and during that period he had rapidly increased his landholdings and the numbers of those he enslaved. Green and his family were the last enslavement-era landowners of what became the University of Richmond campus.

Name	Value	Name	Value	Name	Value	Name	Value
Stephen	50	John	350	George	150	Joe	400
Nancy	50	Betsy	150	Luby	250	Charles & Clay	00
Lewis	500	Emily	100	Isabel	300	Simon	200
William	200	Conner	150	Nancy	175	Abraham	350
Thomas	400	Phil	50	George	100	William	350
Isaac	200	Henry	400	Abraham	100	James	350
London	150	Oliver	300	Paul	00	Paul	350
Ann	100	Charlotte	125	Judith	50	Judith	300
Ben	75	Sally	400	Samuel	350	Samuel	300
Oliver	400	Shelby	50	Isaac	350	Isaac	450
Thomas	400	William	100	Nancy	100	Cathy	450
John Grinnel	00	Amy	175	Betsy	100	James	400
Lily	00	Henry	75	Nancy	200	James	400
Ed	400	Charles	200	Sam	350	Sam	350
David	500	Lewis and	300	Ron	300	Ron	300
Francis	350	3 Children	600	Sally	350	Sally	350
Isak	500	Betsy	300	Lydia	350	Lydia	350
Eliza	400	Henry	325	Oliver	500	Oliver	500
Abel	300	John, Amanda	1300	John, Amanda	1300	John, Amanda	1300
Major	250	John, Leonard	1300	John, Leonard	1300	John, Leonard	1300
Clarissa	125	Carl	125	Carl	125	Carl	125
...	...	Jacob, Milly	...	Jacob, Milly	...	Jacob, Milly	...
...	...	Annah	...	Annah	...	Annah	...

Item	Value
The List of appraisement of the	
interest of the Late C. H. Read in	
Westham estate -	
Negroes	
17. Solomon	350
21. Betsy	550
42. Dennis	550
44. Bessie	400
133. Hall	250
120. Susan	450
30. Mulford	450
35. Mary	400
350. Mary & Children	700
1000. George & Royal	700
655. George & Children	600
250. David, etc. etc.	250
60. Marshall & Betsy	500
30. Annah & Children	600
210. Lydia	150

Figure 11: Lists of those enslaved by Clement H. Read ([Estate Property Appraisal,] Henrico County, VA Will Book 12: 145-146, Library of Virginia.)

¹¹² *Read v. Read*, 3.

¹¹³ *Read v. Read*, 84.

¹¹⁴ *Read et al vs Read et al*, Roanoke County, VA, Chancery Court, Index no. 1872-020, Library of Virginia,

https://www.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/case_detail.asp?CFN=161-1872-020.

Green Family Ownership (1848-1901 and 1855 -1865)

In 1843, the Green family purchased the first portion of their West End holdings, part of which included the Richmond College side of campus.

Among the other parcels that were consolidated for the purchase were the locations of the family's homesite on the eastern side of Three Chopt Road and a farm that extended to the east and away from what is now the campus.¹¹⁵ A mill property, containing what was once known as Gamble's Mill and then Moncure's Mill, was added to the Greens' holdings five years after their initial purchase on Three Chopt Road.¹¹⁶ Previously, the land which had belonged to Robert Gamble was sold to John Ambler and Christopher Thompkins in 1816. Following Ambler's death it transferred to his heir, Catherine Moncure, and her husband Henry. The Moncures controlled the land for approximately twelve years before it became a part of the Green family's Henrico holdings.

On July 1, 1848, the mill and surrounding 66.25 acres adjacent to the Westham estate and on the shore of what was then called Great Westham Creek, was purchased in Julia A. Green's name by her trustees. It became known on contemporaneous maps and surveys as "B. Green's Sawmill" and "Green's Mill."¹¹⁷

These properties were both purchased in trust for Julia A. Green and the Green children, not her husband Benjamin (B.W.) Green. This may have been structured to protect their home and some interests from lingering legal uncertainty related to accusations that B.W. Green

1 good many	360
1 man Joe Taguwa wife Hannah	80
1 Girl Louisa	470
1 woman Betsy	110
1 woman Annica	5
\$ 351 70 00	
Charges.	
Commission 1/2%	533 50
Cost of 23 for articles as furnished at once	67 90
	601 45

ANNICA

Before she was sold to B.W. Green in 1847, her name was written *Annica*. On the day she was auctioned, someone spelled it *Anaca*. John Wickham, the man who enslaved her for over twenty years, once described her as being among the "Field Women & girls" on his plantation, Middle Quarter.

Annica was wife to Phil, mother to at least four children — Cloe, Fanny, Billy and Betsy — and grandmother to young Phil and Sally. Both Phil and Betsy had disappeared from Wickham's plantation censuses between 1825 and 1835, but until December 1847, the rest of her family had remained together.

At age forty-three, Annica was sold for five dollars to Benjamin (B.W.) Green, the owner of land that, in the 20th century, would become part of the University of Richmond campus. She was the only member of her family to be sold away. The appearance of her name beside that of B.W. Green on the 1847 auction list is the last known record of her life.

¹ Wickham Family Papers. John Wickham. "A/c Sales of Slaves at Ellerslie December 29th. 1847, by order of Messrs. B. W. Leigh and Wm. F. Wickham Executors of John Wickham decd.," Mss1 W6326 c FA2 Box 3 Series 1 Folder 8. Virginia Historical Society.

² John Wickham Papers, Mss1 W6326 c, Virginia Historical Society.

¹¹⁵ Warner W. Guy and Mary P. Guy to Alexander Grant, Jr., Hamilton A. Crenshaw, Julia A. Green and children, DB: 47: 48, Henrico County, VA, July 28, 1843, Library of Virginia.

¹¹⁶ Spotswood Lipscomb and Elizabeth Smith to Robert Gamble, Henrico County Deed Book 9: 375, July 18, 1811, Library of Virginia; Robert Gamble and Letitia Gamble to John Ambler and Christopher Tompkins, July 28, 1816, Henrico County Deed Book 14: 277, Library of Virginia; Catherine Moncure and Henry Moncure to Alexander Grant, Jr. and Hamilton A. Crenshaw, Trustees for Julia A. Green, Henrico County, VA, Deed Book 53: 506, Library of Virginia.

¹¹⁷ Peter Smith Michie and N. Michler, *Richmond - 1865*, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/99446363>; "Smith's Map of Henrico County, Virginia From actual surveys by James Keily," (Richmond: Robert P. Smith and C. Carpenter, 1853), Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2006626060/>; "Robert Polk and Bro[.] Westham," Plats and Surveys 1786-1952, T. Crawford Redd & Bros., Tuckahoe Section, Business Records Collection, Library of Virginia.

embezzled a half-million dollars from the Bank of Virginia in 1840. Green spent parts of the next two years in prison, awaiting trials for multiple crimes, but eventually the charges against him were dismissed. The money he was accused of embezzling was never recovered.¹¹⁸

Over the next two decades, Benjamin W. Green, Julia A. Green and their son, B.W. Green, Jr., acquired at least forty individual properties in the Richmond and Henrico area. Some of these were rental tenements in Richmond and others were large tracts of land adjacent to their original West End homesite and farm, increasing their overall plantation holdings to at least 2,353 acres in 1865.¹¹⁹

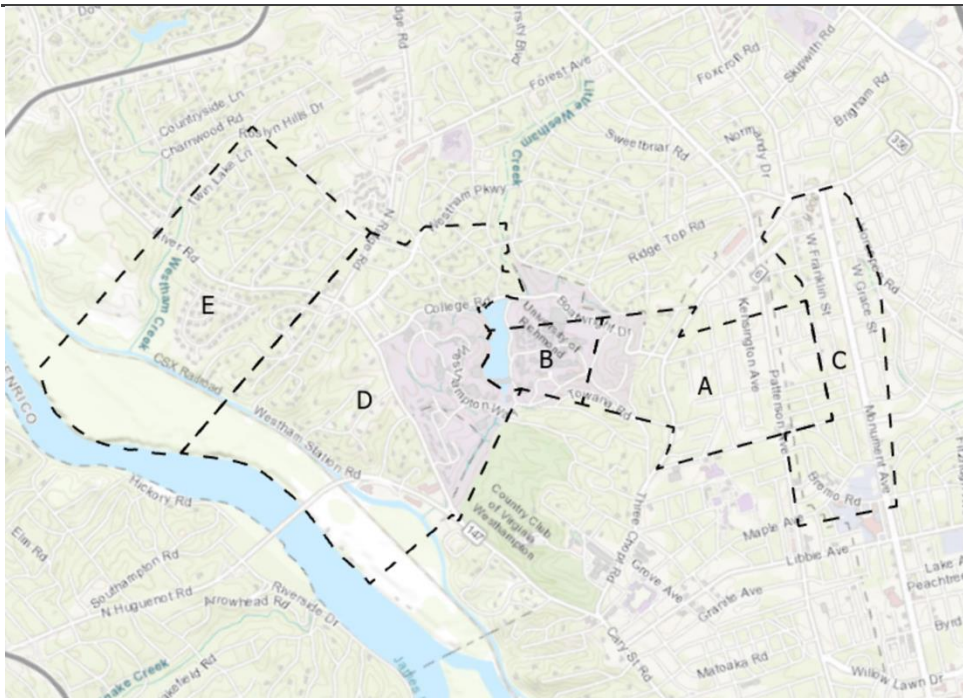
¹¹⁸ "Gigantic Bank Robbery," *New-Yorker* 9, no.5 (April 18, 1840): 74; "Extraordinary Defalcation in the Bank of Virginia," *Richmond Enquirer*, April 14, 1840, 2, Virginia Chronicle, <https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=RE18400414.1.2&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN----->; "Benjamin W. Green," *Sun* (Baltimore, MD), December 14, 1842, 2.

¹¹⁹ "Smith's Map of Henrico County, Virginia," 1853; Michie and Michler, *Richmond – 1865*; Guy to Green, 1853; Julia Peyton to John Wickham, Benjamin W. Green and Edwin Walker, DB 70:361, Henrico County, VA, October 1, 1857, Library of Virginia.

Green's West End Plantation, five major acquisitions¹²⁰

	Deed Date	Details	Location	Previous Owner(s)	Cost
A	July 1843	275 acres	Homesite, known as Roselawn, farm and a portion of what is now the Richmond College side of campus; sold to the trust of Julia A. Green	Warner W. Guy assembling land from George F. Guy, Samuel Cottrell and the Commonwealth of Virginia	4,500.00
B	July 1848	66.25 acres	Mill site; sold to the trust of Julia A. Green	Catherine and Henry Moncure	3,000.00
C	December 1853	240 acres	Adjacent to home site and original Green farm on opposite side of Three Chopt Road from current campus; sold to Benjamin W. Green	Property and former home of George F. Guy; Green installed his overseer, James Anthony in the former Guy home	7,200.00
D	August 1855	687 acres	Westham (626 acres) and adjoining 61 acres; Westhampton side of campus	Betsy Read and William Sims (Westham) and William Sims (61 acres)	30,000.00
E	October 1857	1151 acres and 27 enslaved people	Adjacent to Westham and west along James River; purchased by Benjamin W. Green in partnership with John Wickham and Edwin Walker; Green sole owner in 1861; 15 of the enslaved people become a part of Julia A. Green's wealth	Julia Peyton, widow of Bernard Peyton	20,000.00

Figure 12: General boundaries of major Green holdings in Henrico County's West End¹²¹ (D. Broome)



¹²⁰ Guy and Guy to Grant, Jr. and Crenshaw (Julia A. Green); 1843; Moncure and Moncure to Grant, Jr. and Crenshaw, (Julia A. Green); George F. Guy and Sarah E. Guy to Benjamin W. Green, Henrico County, VA, DB 63: 385, December 6, 1853, Library of Virginia; Betsy Read and William Sims to Benjamin W. Green, DB 67: 523, Henrico County, VA, August 8, 1855. Library of Virginia; Julia Peyton to John Wickham, Benjamin W. Green and Edwin Walker, DB 70:361, Henrico County, VA, October 1, 1857, Library of Virginia.

¹²¹ Boundaries on this map are approximations based on plat images, contemporaneous property maps, and language in deeds that refers to landmarks and adjacent owners. Esri, "World Topo Map" [basemap], scale not given, "World Topographic Map," December 15, 2019, <https://www.arcgis.com/home/item.html?id=30e5fe3149c34df1ba922e6f5bbf808f> (January 5, 2020).

Through numerous purchases, the Green family reassembled at least half the acreage of Nicholas and Ambler's 5,000 acre Westham Plantation, and like the previous owners of the land, the Greens exploited the forced labor of a population of enslaved people.

Agriculture, Milling, Livestock & Other Green Businesses

While the Industry Schedule of the 1850 Federal Census indicates that Benjamin Green owned a grist mill¹²² and a 1901 corporate document referred to there being a "country grist mill" at the site, two contemporaneous maps describe the mill at Westham Creek as a saw mill.¹²³ At times between 1843 and 1865, Green also maintained a stable in downtown Richmond, an implements shop, a granite quarry, a dairy, his home on Three Chopt Road, coal pits, a mule and horse breeding and dealing operation, and at least four sub-farms that made up his estate that surrounded and included the current University of Richmond campus. Data compiled by Lisa Denton of the Henrico County Museum System allows for the comparison of Green's 1860 farm yields to those of other landowning producers in the county: tobacco (first), wheat (second), butter (second), peas and beans (second), oats (third), and Irish potatoes (third).¹²⁴ The production attributed to Green was the result of work performed by a multigenerational enslaved labor force.



Figure 6: Detail of "Survey for Mr. Robt Polk and Brother" (1868), T. Crawford Redd Business Papers, Library of Virginia

The Green family's enslavement of others predated their arrival in the area in 1843,¹²⁵ but it was as western Henrico County landowners that the numbers of those they enslaved increased sharply.

Enslavement by the Green Family

According to the Federal Census Slave Schedules of 1850 and 1860, in just a decade the Green family's enslavement of others rose from 28 people to 118, with an additional 58 people "hired" from other

¹²² United States, Federal Census Non-Population Industry Schedule, 1850, "B W Green," 1850 Census, Henrico County, VA, 139, image from [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com), accessed June 11, 2019, National Archives Records Administration T1132, roll 4, 139; Olmsted Brothers and Reuben Shirriffs, [Letter to "Olmsted Bros." from "R. Sherriffs" of Westhampton Park Railway Company], June 8, 1901, *Olmsted Associates Records: Job Files, Westhampton Park Railway Co.; Park; Richmond, Va., 1901 to 1902*, Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/resource/mss52571.mss52571-02-011_0075_0097/?sp=2.

¹²³ "Smith's Map of Henrico County," Library of Congress; Peter Smith Michie and N. Michler, *Richmond - 1865* [Map]. Library of Congress. <https://www.loc.gov/item/99446363>. Green is known to have owned a sawmill in partnership with Edwin Walker near the present day Lakeside area (Benjamin Green and Edwin Walker [Plat], Plat Book 5: 267, Henrico County, VA, Library of Virginia).

¹²⁴ Lisa Denton, Compiled Datatables from Federal Census 1860 (unpublished), Henrico County, VA, Henrico County Museum System.

¹²⁵ Before Green's purchase of his Three Chopt Rd. property, a number of documents provide names of those he and his family enslaved. Dabney Family, William Watson Michie, [and Benjamin W. Green], [Claiborne hire] Papers, 1742-1928 (bulk 1825-1891), Section 118, Mss1 D1124 b 3927-3936, Virginia Historical Society; Richmond, VA, Hustings Court, Benjamin W. Green and Julia A. Green to Anthony Robinson and James Lyons (2nd) and the Bank of Virginia (3rd), DB 41: 64, April 6, 1840, Library of Virginia; Richmond, VA, Hustings Court, Benjamin W. Green and Julia Green to Alexander Hamilton, Jr. and Hamilton Crenshaw (Trustees for Julia Green), DB 42: 72, February 19, 1840, Library of Virginia; United States, Federal Census Population Schedule, 1840, "Benj. Green," 1840 Census, Henrico County, VA, 232, image from [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com), accessed October 25, 2018. National Archives and Records Administration M704. At the time of enumeration in the 1840 census, the Green family enslaved ten people including two boys under the age of ten.

enslavers.¹²⁶ In 1860, the movement of enslaved people between father and son is indicated in the slave schedule by the fact that Green, Jr., who, after 1861, was the nominal owner of “Westham Cottage,” adjacent to the western side of Westham, “hired” enslaved people from his father.¹²⁷

At this writing, no private papers of the Green family that might contain information on those they enslaved have been located. Through deeds, news items, police documents, court records, and insurance policies, however, a number of names of those enslaved by the Greens or hired to their use by other slaveholders have been determined. Some names are recorded on the lists below. Because many people have no recorded surnames it is impossible to know if, for example, there were three men named William enslaved by Green, or if the same man or men appear in different records.

The people below are known to have been enslaved or held by the Greens prior to their move to Three Chopt Road in 1843.

1835: *William (age 16); Sygh and Betty, parents of a young man also named Sygh (age 16) who escaped his enslaver and was suspected of trying to rejoin his mother and father; the unnamed husband of Isabella, a woman who escaped her enslaver and may have been seeking him; 1836:* *Betty, mother of Harry who escaped his enslaver and may have been seeking her; Dabney who escaped enslavement by Green; 1838:* *Betty and her son Zachareah, “hired” to Green; Isham, the husband of Mary Ann who escaped her enslaver and was suspected of trying to locate him at Green’s property; Claiborne, “hired” to Green as a laborer in his blacksmith’s shop; 1839:* *Sam, Jefferson, Frederick and John, escaped from Green’s coal pits; 1840:* *Nellie and her sons Tom (8) and Jim (10), Neany, Isham, James, Albert and Sally, listed in a transfer to Julia Green’s trustees and described as those enslaved in the Green household; list of enslaved people John, David, Maria, Phillis, William, Carter, Billy, Jimmy or James, Frank, Ann Sussy, Daniel, Bob, and their future children provided to trustees during Green’s settlement with the Bank of Virginia; Amy, described as “likely” in a police report,¹²⁸ escaped Green’s enslavement; Ceasor, formerly “hired” by Green and escaped from another hirer the following year; Dick, formerly enslaved by Green and purchased by “Mr. Paton,” escaped enslavement but was found dead; Hill, formerly enslaved by Green but was transferred to his creditors, escaped enslavement; Richard Vaden, formerly enslaved by Green then sold, escaped enslavement and was found dying; John Marshal, formerly enslaved by Green then owned by his creditors, escaped and was thought to have been seeking his wife; 1842:* *Tom, a 14-year-old boy enslaved by Green who escaped and was thought to have been seeking his mother who was enslaved in Church Hill*¹²⁹

¹²⁶ United States, Federal Census Slave Schedule, 1850, “B.W. Green,” slave owner, 1850 Census, Slave Schedule, Henrico County, VA, 425, image from [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com), accessed November 16, 2018, National Archives and Records Administration, M432; United States, Federal Census Slave Schedule, 1860, “B.W. Green,” slave owner, Henrico County, VA 100-101. Image from [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com). Accessed November 16, 2018. National Archives and Records Administration M653.

¹²⁷ United States, *Federal Census Slave Schedule*, 1860, “B.W. Green [Jr.],” slave owner, 1860 Census, Slave Schedule, Henrico County, VA, 93, image from [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com), accessed August 31, 2019, National Archives and Records Administration M653.

¹²⁸ “Likely” could mean able-bodied, but could also denote sexual attractiveness.

¹²⁹ Leni Ashmore Sorenson, *Absconded: Fugitive Slaves in the “Daybook of the Richmond Police Guard, 1834-1844”* [dissertation], College of William & Mary, 2005, 111, 114, 120, 133, 144, 168, 173; [Claiborne, “hiring” bond, Benjamin “B.W.” Green to William W. Michie],

The following individuals appear in deeds, news accounts, and other sources following the Green family's 1843 purchase of their first tract of land containing the current campus:

1843: John Wright, "hired" to Green, escaped along with his wife Lucy Roan who was "hired" to a boarding house; 1847: Annica, purchased by Green at auction; 1854: Washington, Stephen, Abram, William Pilcher, Edward, Monroe, Sam, Obey and Sugar Billy, named in the trial accounts of Washington, accused of burning down Green's barn and straw rick; 1856: Joshua, enslaved by Green and accused of being in Richmond without a pass; 1857: John, Dilcey, Eliza, Molly, Obey, Billy, Sugar Billy, Harry and Charles Carter, passed to Green's sole ownership after dissolution of his partnership with Edwin Walker; 1858: Polly Thomas or Polly and Thomas, in a death record appear as the parents of an unnamed infant, enslaved by Green; 1859: Letty, enslaved and insured by Green; Issac, enslaved by Green and died of pneumonia in Powhatan County; 1861: Moses, James, Silas, Paul, George Holmes, Albert, Anderson, Ben, Henry, Jefferson, Willis, Noah, David, Little Joe, Cary, Lucien, Mima, Maria, John, Old Joseph, Young Joseph, Frank, William, Joseph (child), Louisa, Ned, Charlotte Kitty, transferred to Green and three others along with 1,151 acres of land; Moses, hired out by Green to William Conner; 1864: William, attempted to escape his enslavement by Green by following the retreating Union soldiers after Dahlgren's Raid; Sam and Curtis, both enslaved by Green, and Jacob, hired to his use, accused of theft from a store adjacent to Green's Richmond stables; George and Peter, enslaved by B.W. Green, Jr. and escaped his portion of the Green holdings at Westham; William, accused of theft and sentenced to thirty-nine lashes and thirty-nine more the following week; and Isaac, "hired" to Green and escaped from the Green farm¹³⁰

These one hundred and one people are only some of those enslaved or held by the Green family before and during their ownership of the land that includes the current University of Richmond campus.

Dabney Family and William W. Michie, *Papers 1742-1928 (bulk 1825-1891) Section 118*, Virginia Museum of History and Culture; Sorenson, *Absconded*, 181, 182, 186; Richmond, VA, Hustings Court, Benjamin W. Green and Julia A. Green to Anthony Robinson and James Lyons (2nd) and the Bank of Virginia (3rd), DB 41: 64, April 6, 1840, Library of Virginia; Richmond, VA, Hustings Court, Benjamin W. Green and Julia Green to Alexander Hamilton, Jr. and Hamilton Crenshaw (Trustees for Julia Green), DB 42: 72, February 19, 1840, Library of Virginia; deeds also appear in Louise Adamson's, "The Old Brick House," *Richmond Quarterly* 10, no. 4 (Spring 1988), 18-19; Sorenson, *Absconded*, 197, 204, 207, 209, 214, 245, 273.

¹³⁰ Sorenson, *Absconded*, 294; "A/c Sales of Slaves at Eilerslie December 29th. 1847, by order of Messrs. B. W. Leigh and Wm. F. Wickham Executors of John Wickham decd.," Wickham Family Papers, Mss1 W6326 c FA2 Box 3 Series 1 Folder 8, Virginia Historical Society, Image in Virginia Untold; The African American Narrative, Library of Virginia; Edwin Walker to Benjamin W. Green, Henrico County Deed Book 74: 4, April 4, 1861, Library of Virginia; Commonwealth v. Washington (A Slave), Executive Papers of Governor Joseph Ellis Johnson (1852-1856), Miscellaneous Reel 5407, November 13, 1854, Library of Virginia; "Execution of Washington," *Daily Dispatch*, November 18, 1854, Virginia Chronicle, <https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=DD18541118.1.2&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN----->; "Suspicious," *Daily Dispatch*, December 30, 1856, 1, Virginia Chronicle, <https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=DD18561230.1.1&srpos=1&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN-%22slave+to+B+W.+Green%22----->; [Enslaved Infant.] "B W Green's," *Henrico County Register of Births and Deaths*, 1858, 135: line 53, Library of Virginia; "Insurance on the Lives of Slaves," *Chronicle: A Weekly Insurance Journal* LV, no. 17, April 25, 1895, 206; "Isaac," *Henrico County Register of Births and Deaths*, 1859, 137, line 31, Library of Virginia; Benjamin W. Green to John Wickham, Deed Book 75: 515, Henrico County, VA, February 21, 1861. Library of Virginia; "Recaptured from the enemy," *Daily Dispatch*, March 7, 1864, Virginia Chronicle, <https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=DD18640307.1.1&srpos=19&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN-%22ben+green%22----->; "Commonwealth v. Richard Drew," Richmond, VA, Ended Causes, 1843-1866 (bulk 1860-1866), Library of Virginia, virginiamemory.com/transcribe/items/show/569; "200 Dollars Reward," *Richmond Dispatch*, July 29, 1864: 1; Commonwealth vs. William a slave," November 3, 1864, Virginia Untold: African American Narrative Digital Collection, record number 000517660, Library of Virginia; Two Hundred Dollars Reward," *Daily Dispatch*, January 28, 1865, 2, Virginia Chronicle, <https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=DD18650128.1.2&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN-two+hundred----->.

Post-Emancipation-1897 History

B.W. Green's property was seized on December 5, 1867 and a news item appeared the following day announcing his bankruptcy.¹³¹ While the portion of the Green property that included most of the Richmond College side of campus and the Greens' holdings on Three Chopt Road remained in the family until the turn of the century,¹³² Westham Farm was sold by trustees in 1868 after Green defaulted on his payments for the land.¹³³

In the years immediately following emancipation, those enslaved by the Greens appear to have moved off of the family's property. The 1870 census shows the Green family living at their Three Chopt Road and no African Americans are enumerated in the household.¹³⁴ Some of those once enslaved by the family purchased land in the area and helped to build communities of newly freed African Americans, neighborhoods then referred to as "settlements."¹³⁵ Zionsville, Burrell Town, Westwood and a number of other communities within one to five miles of the former Green plantation were developed by those formerly enslaved by the Greens and their neighbors.¹³⁶

The Westham Farm property, which contained what is now Westhampton College and the burying ground site, transferred through four phases of ownership between 1868 and 1897: the Allen and Winston families (1868), the Polk family (1868-1876), Dr. William A. McCandliss (1876-1894), and the McDowell family (1894-1897).

On May 5, 1868, Mary Ann Stetson Allen and Edmund Winston purchased Westham Farm at auction for \$20,988.77 following Green's default on payments. In the deed the property is described as being the same "626 acres two rods and five poles" that were conveyed to Green from Betsy Read and William Sims.¹³⁷

Allen and Winston sold the property just twenty days later to Robert and John Philip Reybold "J.P.R." Polk, both of New Castle County, Delaware.¹³⁸ The Polk family had an array of business and land interests in Delaware, North Carolina, and Virginia.¹³⁹ Beyond his co-ownership of the land with his brother, J.P.R. Polk does not appear to have had any significant connection to Richmond or Westham Farm.

¹³¹ "Seizures by United States Officers," *Daily Dispatch*, December 6, 1867, 1, Virginia Chronicle, <https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=DD18671206.1.1&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN-seizures+green----->.

¹³² Henrico County, VA, Chancery Court, *Lawton v. Buck*, Manuscript Collection (1950-001), Library of Virginia.

¹³³ Henrico County, VA, Wellington Goddin and James L. Apperson [Green trustees] deeded to Mary Ann Allen and Edward Winston, Deed Book 84: 304, Henrico County, VA, May 5, 1868, Library of Virginia.

¹³⁴ United States, *Federal Census Population Schedule*, 1870, "Benjamin W. Green," Tuckahoe Township, Henrico County, VA, p. 34, lines 33-40, image from [ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com), accessed February 3, 2019;

¹³⁵ Harlan, *Zion Town*, 6.

¹³⁶ Nichols, *African Americans of Henrico County*, 99, 119.

¹³⁷ Green Trustees to Allen and Winston, May 5, 1868.

¹³⁸ Robert Polk and J.P.R. Polk to William A. McCandliss, Henrico County, VA, Deed Book 97: 339, May 16, 1876, Library of Virginia. This 1876 deed contains the transfer information from Allen and Winston to the Polk brothers in 1868.

¹³⁹ "An Act to Incorporate the Salem, Delaware and Philadelphia Steamboat Company," *Acts of the Legislature of the State of New Jersey* (Trenton: William Boswell, 1836) 37; William Harrison Polk, *Polk Family and Kinsmen* (Louisville, KY: Press of Bradley & Gilbert, Co., 1912), 509.

Robert Polk did have some Richmond associations before the purchase. In 1867, while still living in Wilmington, he entered into a brief partnership with a local businessman, W.G. Webb, with whom he formed a candle and soap business. The partnership ended just three months after it began.¹⁴⁰ After the Westham purchase, both Robert Polk and his younger brother, William, were associated with the farm at various times. Robert Polk judged a “trial of reapers,” an agricultural contest in the area in 1869 and his name appears on a survey of the Westham property in 1872.¹⁴¹

William R. Polk was described as being “of Westham” in an 1872 news item,¹⁴² and the 1870 Agriculture Schedule of the Federal Census lists him as owner of the land. Before the Civil War, Polk ran multiple businesses in Richmond and was described in a family history as a Confederate sympathizer who made a fortune as a blockade runner.¹⁴³ Under his control, the Westham land was producing Indian corn, oats and barley. Livestock on the property included horses, cows, and pigs and Polk paid \$1,600.00 in wages to laborers he hired. No African Americans are described as living in the household as servants in 1870.¹⁴⁴ In 1876, the Polks defaulted on their payments for the land and it was sold for \$18,000.00. As part of the transfer, a new survey clarified the acreage of the Westham property, shifting it from 626 acres as it had appeared on earlier deeds acres to 634 and one quarter acres.¹⁴⁵

Dr. William A. McCandliss of Philadelphia purchased the property on May 16, 1876. He continued to reside in Pennsylvania for the length of his ownership. During that period, the land was still actively used, either by people leasing the property or running it for McCandliss’ profit. In 1879 there were 150 fruit bearing trees on the property, and 150 bushels of apples were produced. Additionally, corn, wheat, barley and potatoes were grown there. McCandliss listed 400 weeks of hired labor paid for in 1880.¹⁴⁶

McCandliss died in Philadelphia in 1892 and two years later the land was sold to W.C. and E. Jessie McDowell. Little is currently known of this period of ownership. The McDowells held the land for three years before selling it in 1897.

The Grand Fountain of the United Order of the True Reformers at Westham Farm

The United Order of the True Reformers began as a fraternal organization committed to the temperance movement and became one of the leading African American mutual benefit associations of the post-

¹⁴⁰ “Limited Partnership,” *Daily Dispatch*, July 23, 1867, 3, Virginia Chronicle, <https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=DD18670723.1.3&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN----->.

¹⁴¹ “Robert Polk and Bro[.] Westham,” Plats and Surveys 1786-1952, T. Crawford Redd & Bros., Tuckahoe Section, Business Records Collection, Library of Virginia.

¹⁴² “The State Agricultural Fair,” *Richmond Whig and Advertiser*, November 1, 1872, 1.

¹⁴³ Mary Winder Garrett, “Pedigree of the Polk or Pollock Family,” *American Historical Magazine* 4, no.2 (April 1899): 152-154

¹⁴⁴ United States, *Federal Census Non-Population Agriculture Schedule*, 1870, “William R. Polk,” Tuckahoe Township, Henrico County, VA, 5, ancestry.com, accessed November 26, 2019. National Archives and Records Administration T1132.

¹⁴⁵ Polk and Polk to McCandliss, May 16, 1876.

¹⁴⁶ United States, *Federal Census Non-Population Agriculture Schedule*, 1880, “William A. McCandliss,” Tuckahoe District, Henrico County, VA, 2, line 7, ancestry.com, accessed November 26, 2019. National Archives and Records Administration T1132.

Reconstruction era. The Richmond-based headquarters, the Grand Fountain of the United Order of the True Reformers,¹⁴⁷ operated under the leadership of William Washington Browne.

Browne was born in 1849, escaped enslavement as a teenager, and served on a Union gunboat before becoming a teacher and organizer for the temperance movement. In his early career, he argued that the mass incarceration of African Americans for crimes attributable to alcohol abuse was leading to disenfranchisement and the use of free prison labor was driving down wages for those who were not imprisoned.¹⁴⁸

While maintaining the hallmarks of its fraternal beginnings, Browne led the organization toward his ideal of racial self-improvement, described by historian Donna Tyler Hollie as “an all-African American economy of goods and services, independent of government assistance.”¹⁴⁹

The group’s influence and power expanded rapidly between 1883 and 1909. Under Browne’s leadership, the True Reformers opened the first bank in the United States entirely owned and operated by African Americans. The organization’s headquarters, True Reformer’s Hall, was constructed in Richmond in 1891. The building was designed by Daniel J. Farrar, Sr., noted African American architect and built with African American labor hired by African American contractors.¹⁵⁰ It also housed a large theatre, the newspaper, *The Reformer*, and the offices of the organization as a whole, which employed 296 people in 1896.¹⁵¹

On August 30, 1897, Browne purchased what was then called Westham Farm. His intention was to create a home for the elderly, a place that would house what a later advertisement called “the aged and decrepit of the whole race.”¹⁵²

In a 1909 history of the Grand Fountain, written by the organization’s secretary, W.P Burrell, and D.E. Johnson, Westham Farm was described in detail:

[It contained] *splendid water facilities, a pump, well, several springs, creeks, canal and river; excellent transportation facilities, county road passing through and railroad likewise; rich soil, well cultivated, with crops standing, and good woodland; with good location, having three prominent rises, giving splendid views of heavy lowlands and water courses; five ice ponds, two*

¹⁴⁷ The national organization was called the United Order of the True Reformers, with chapters, known as Fountains and Subfountains, located in cities and towns across the country. The Richmond headquarters was called the Grand Fountain of the United Order of the True Reformers. For the purposes of this report, the name “True Reformers” will be used to designate the Grand Fountain of the United Order of the True Reformers.

¹⁴⁸ W.P. Burrell and D.E. Johnson, *Twenty-Five Years History of the Grand Fountain of the United Order of True Reformers, 1881-1905* (Richmond, Va.: [Grand Fountain, United Order of True Reformers], 1909), 24-26.

¹⁴⁹ Donna Tyler Hollie, “Grand Fountain of the United Order of the True Reformers,” in *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Virginia Humanities, last modified October 27, 2015, accessed February 17, 2019,

https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Grand_Fountain_of_the_United_Order_of_True_Reformers

¹⁵⁰ *African American Architects*, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/pdf_files/newdominion/AfricanAmericanArchitectsinVA.pdf, 139-141; David M. Fahey and D. Webster Davis, *The Black Lodge in White America: “True Reformer” Browne and His Economic Strategy* (Dayton, Ohio: Wright State University Press, 1994), 21.

¹⁵¹ David M. Fahey, “William Washington Browne: Fraternal Society Leader,” in *Portraits of African American Life Since 1865*, ed. Nina Mjagkij (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 2003), 45.

¹⁵² “The Grand Fountain. United Order of the True Reformers,” *Colored American* (Washington, D.C.), October 27, 1900, 12, *Chronicling America*, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83027091/1900-10-27/ed-1/seq-12/#date1=1900&index=7&rows=20&words=Reform+Reformers+True&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=District+of+Columbia&date2=1900&proxtext=%22true+reformers%22&y=14&x=15&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1>.

ice houses, stable, barns, and all appurtenances for model farming, and with splendid dwelling thereon.¹⁵³

Following Browne's death from cancer just four months after the purchase of the farm, ownership eventually transferred from his name to the organization itself. The former plantation home, which still stands on the south side of River Road, was put to immediate use. An 1897 image of the annual meeting of delegates of the United Order of the True Reformers shows hundreds of people gathered there (Figure 13).

In the dozen years the organization controlled the property the land was used as a working farm¹⁵⁴ and an excursion site.¹⁵⁵ A large section of the property was subdivided into 130 lots with the intention of creating an African American

community called Brownsville, in honor of William Washington Browne. The farm often appeared in the organization's advertisements and newspaper articles and was featured in descriptions in *The Story of the Negro: The Rise of the Race From Slavery* by Booker T. Washington (1909), *The Bulletin of the U.S. Department of Labor* (1902), and *Economic Co-operation Among Negro Americans*, edited by W.E.B. du Bois (1902).

In an analysis of the work and achievements of the True Reformers that appeared in the 1902 *Bulletin of the U.S. Department of Labor*, William Taylor Thom wrote that, in December of 1901, Westham Farm "was being improved gradually; fruit trees had been planted; [and] arrangements were being made to test the feasibility of establishing a dairy farm to sell milk in Richmond."¹⁵⁶

In their 1909 work, Burrell and Johnson wrote that the farm was "a thing of beauty."¹⁵⁷



Figure 13: Grand Fountain, United Order of True Reformers (U.O.T.R.), Virginia Museum of History and Culture (1997.59)

¹⁵³ Burrell and Johnson, 267-268.

¹⁵⁴ "Henrico County Briefs," *Richmond Dispatch*, July 27, 1902, 3, Virginia Chronicle, <https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=RD19020727.1.3&srpos=1&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN-westham+%22true+reformers%22----->; Thom, "True Reformers," 811; "Mango's Message," *Richmond Planet*, January 15, 1898, 1. <https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=RP18980115.1.1&srpos=19&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN-taylor+%22true+reformers%22+westham----->.

¹⁵⁵ "News of the Railroads," *The Times* (Richmond, VA), September 7, 1901, 7, <https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=T19010907.1.7&srpos=22&e=-1896---1911--en-20--21--txt-txIN-%22reformers%22+westham----->; "Around Town: Social and Otherwise," *Richmond Planet*, November 5, 1898, 2, Virginia Chronicle, <https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=RP18981105.1.2&srpos=8&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN-%22westham+farm%22+church----->.

¹⁵⁶ William Taylor Thom, "The True Reformers," in *Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1902), 811.

¹⁵⁷ Burrell and Johnson, 341.

20TH CENTURY HISTORY

The True Reformers and Westhampton Railway Park

In 1901, just two and a half years after William Washington Browne purchased Westham Farm for the True Reformers, much of the land on the opposite shore of Westhampton Lake was transferred from Green heirs to the Westhampton Railway Company. As part of a streetcar system that then connected much of Richmond and the surrounding area, a number of “railway parks” were constructed at the turn of the century to prompt ridership. The company’s plan, in addition to the construction of the Westhampton rail line, was to develop a park on the land that was once part of Green’s plantation.

The Westhampton Railway Company hired Olmsted Brothers to design the park.¹⁵⁸ The landscape design company was operated by the sons of Frederick Law Olmsted, the famed designer of Central Park and numerous other private and public landscapes. In a letter to Olmsted Brothers describing the land and the stockholders’ ambitions for it, Reuben Shirreffs, chief engineer for the park, wrote that the land was “admirably situated for artistic treatment.”¹⁵⁹

Olmsted Brothers began to develop plans for the park, which eventually included a dancing pavilion, an arcade, a bandstand on an island constructed in the lake, and a lakeside stage and amphitheater. The designers requested a complete topographic survey of the property to facilitate their work, and the resulting drawing, which can be viewed [here](#), also included the survey of both the triangle of property owned by the True Reformers on the park’s side of the lake and a significant portion of the organization’s land across the lake. The park company initially planned to acquire the land on the opposite shore to ensure the sightline from the primary park sites, to protect against the possibility of a competing rail interest running a line to the park, and to provide a location for a “hall of reflections” ride.¹⁶⁰

The True Reformers’ land that wrapped around the bottom of the lake was to be acquired and developed as a road in the original park plan but, as Olmsted’s project representative, H.V. Hubbard, wrote in his project notes, “the land of the True Reformers runs in a little triangle onto the property of the park” and includes a “negro burying ground.”¹⁶¹ Evidence points away from the burying ground being affiliated with the group, who had owned it for just a short time. Unlike other African American organizations in the Richmond area, the Grand Fountain of the United Order of the True Reformers did not offer cemetery plots. Browne himself was buried at Sycamore Cemetery, then reinterred at Woodlawn Cemetery. According to Thom’s 1902 description of the True Reformers, the farm was not housing residents in 1901. No quarters had been built for them and organization was “waiting wisely for a

¹⁵⁸ “Olmsted Brothers” was later referred to as “Olmsted Associates.”

¹⁵⁹ Olmsted Brothers and Reuben Shirreffs, [Letter to “Olmsted Bros.” from “R. Sherriffs” of Westhampton Park Railway Company], June 8, 1901, *Olmsted Associates Records: Job Files, Westhampton Park Railway Co.; Park; Richmond, Va., 1901 to 1902*, Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/resource/mss52571.mss52571-02-011_0075_0097/?sp=2

¹⁶⁰ Olmsted Brothers, [Memo to Reuben Shirreffs], September 11, 1901, *Olmsted Associates Records: Job Files, Westhampton Park Railway Co.; Park; Richmond, Va., 1901 to 1902*, Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/resource/mss52571.mss52571-02-011_0075_0097/?sp=10

¹⁶¹ Olmsted Associates Records, “Westhampton Park Railway Company,” January 14, 1902.

sufficient contribution of funds by the charitable public” before building the planned structures to house the elderly.¹⁶²

According to Hubbard, the True Reformers expressed a willingness to sell the land desired by the park for “\$80 or thereabouts per acre for fifty acres.”¹⁶³ Rather than pay for the property, Westhampton Park Railway Company officials planned to condemn it, going so far as to change the company’s charter through the General Assembly to provide them the right to take the land.

The charter was changed by the legislature and signed into law on March 11, 1902, giving the park the right to condemn thirty acres of the True Reformers’ land, but property maps indicate that the park’s plan to take the “little triangle” was never executed.¹⁶⁴ This may have been due to the railway consolidation that dissolved the Westhampton Park Railway Company in April 1902, bringing its holdings under the Virginia Passenger and Power Company.¹⁶⁵

According to Hubbard, even if the acquisition had been completed, the location of the graves, indicated by the words “Grave yard” on the topographic map, complicated the park design and the planned road because, as Hubbard wrote, “a very stringent law in Virginia forbid[s] the disturbance of a graveyard for any purpose if any relative of persons therein interred shall object.”¹⁶⁶ This appears to refer to a portion of the Virginia Code that dictates that “any cemetery, grave-yard, or place of burial” was protected from “injuries.” No distinction is made between the graves of enslaved and free people in the language of the law.¹⁶⁷

The burying ground remained in the hands of the True Reformers until the organization sold Westham Farm to land developers in 1909.

Westham Land Corporation to Richmond College

In 1909, a land syndicate known as the Westham Land Corporation began the process of consolidating large sections of land for the development of “villa sites.”¹⁶⁸ In a deed dated December 7, 1909, the syndicate purchased the True Reformers’ Westham Farm for \$93,412.50. As a way to meet its financial obligations, the organization had been encouraged to sell the property by State Insurance Commissioner Joseph R. Button after mismanagement under the leadership of William Lee Taylor had led to its financial instability.¹⁶⁹ At least twenty-three Brownsville lots had been purchased in deeds dated

¹⁶² Thom, “True Reformers,” 811.

¹⁶³ Olmsted Brothers and Hubbard, January 14, 1902.

¹⁶⁴ “An ACT to amend and re-enact section 7 of an act to amend and re-enact an act entitled an act to incorporate the Westhampton Park Railway Company, approved March 7, 1900, approved February 15, 1901,” *Acts Passed at a General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia* (Richmond, VA: Commonwealth of Virginia, 1902), 149; “Map of 100 Acres in Henrico Co., Va, sold by Westham Land Co., to Richmond College. Feb. 25th, 1910,” Henrico County Plat Book 9: 118.

¹⁶⁵ “All Are In One,” *Richmond Dispatch*, April 24, 1902, 1, Virginia Chronicle, <https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=RD19020424.1.1&e=>

¹⁶⁶ Olmsted Brothers and Hubbard, January 14, 1902.

¹⁶⁷ James M. Matthews, *Digest of the Laws of Virginia of a Criminal Nature* (Richmond, VA: J.W. Randolph & English, 1890), 111.

¹⁶⁸ “Villa Sites Near Greater Richmond,” *Times Dispatch* (Richmond, VA), April 17, 1910, 2, Virginia Chronicle, <https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=TD19100417.1.30&srpos=9&e=---1910---1910--en-20--1--txt-txIN-%22westham%22----->.

¹⁶⁹ “Negro Officials Sued for Big Sum,” *Times Dispatch* (Richmond, VA), May 5, 1911, 12, Virginia Chronicle, <https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=TD19110505.1.12&srpos=1&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN----->; “True Reformers Truly Reformed,” *Evening News* (Roanoke, VA), September 16, 1910, Virginia Chronicle, <https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=TVN19100916.1.5&srpos=2&e=-----191->

between 1902 and 1909, and this complication required the True Reformers and the Westham Land Corporation to complete a title clearing process for the former Brownesville location.¹⁷⁰

Despite the delay related to the Brownesville titles, another section of the land was rapidly transferred to Richmond College, which had been seeking a new location for its campus. One hundred acres of former Westham Farm land and 151 acres of the former Westhampton Railway Park property were sold to Richmond College for ten dollars. Westham Land Corporation hoped to use the placement of the institution at the center of the planned development as an enticement to potential buyers of lots.

Richmond College purchased several small properties in the area over the following months, but the bulk of what is now the University of Richmond campus came from the former Westhampton Railway Park on the Richmond College side of the lake and the True Reformers' Westham Farm. That tract consisted of land on what is now the Westhampton College side of campus and the triangle of land on the Richmond College side of Little Westham Creek that contains most or all of the Westham burying ground site.

en-20--1-byDA-txt-txIN-: %22true+reformers%22+commissioner+-----; David M. Fahey, "Why Some Black Lodges Prospered and Others Failed: The Good Templars and the True Reformers," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36, no. 2, 348.

¹⁷⁰ Thomas A. Smyth, James C. Smyth, Abraham L. McLellan, John Landstreet, and Julian Gunn to LeRoy E. Brown, Josiah C. Robertson and W.K. Matthews, Henrico County, VA, Deed Book 188B: 81, December 7, 1909, Library of Virginia.

Report Summary

This report has examined the documented history of the Westham burying ground and the history of enslavement on the land that is now home to the University of Richmond.

The history of descriptions of the burying ground is significant. On a highly detailed 1901 topographic study of land that had a century-long history of large-scale enslavement, a graveyard is indicated at a location distant from the homes of known landowners. The same site is described in 1902 documents as a “negro burying ground,” a place so distinct that it threatened to upend major plans for development. In the spring of 1912, the burying ground, then referred to as a “graveyard,” appeared in another document, this time on a surveyor’s sketch that detailed graves in relation to a proposed road and a railroad spur track. Later that year, correspondence between landscape architect Warren H. Manning and J. Taylor Ellyson laid out the concerns of Manning and his foreman that a proposed road which required four feet of cutting into rises in the landscape could “break into graves,” and that the planned cutting of the road would mean “at least twenty” graves would be at its center. Manning recommended the relocation of the remains from those graves and possibly others to a proper cemetery to prevent possible desecration in the future. In 1933, a doctoral candidate in sociology who was familiar with the neighborhood described “a pile of bones and skulls” uncovered at the site as indicating the location of the “old burying ground for Ben Green’s slaves.” On October 31, 1947, the exposure of the remains of two people on the same hillside that appears to have been cut in by earlier roadbuilding and the reburial of those remains by the university were documented in a front-page news article that connects the remains to the history of enslavement. In his consideration of the exhumation the following day, historian Douglas Southall Freeman did not alter that connection to enslavement. During work performed on the steam tunnel system between 1955 and 1956, what were referred to as a “series of graves” were uncovered and again the institution was described as “arrang[ing] to have the bodies buried someplace else.”

While gaps in the historical record prevent an absolute answer to the question of whether those who are or were interred at the burying ground were enslaved people, the records pertaining to the Westham burying ground and the land’s history provide strong links to enslavement. For more than a century, landowners used the forced labor of hundreds of people on the land that held the current University of Richmond campus. These people were used in the cultivation and harvesting of crops as well as milling, animal husbandry, domestic labor, and other activities. Our ability to know the full scope of their lives and experiences is limited by absence and erasure but given those constraints, an extraordinary amount *is* known regarding their presence. The reliance on the labor of a large population of enslaved people on the plantations that consistently enfolded or included the campus raises the likelihood that these graves, which have no apparent relationship to landowners, are those of enslaved people.

Appendix A: Owners of Westham pre-1901

Owner name(s)	Period of Ownership	Property name; area in relation to current campus	Burial locations(s)
Giles Webb ¹	1702- circa 1715	Westham; entire campus	St. John's Church, Richmond, VA
William Randolph and Peter Randolph ²	Circa 1715-1753	Westham; entire campus	Wilton, Henrico County, VA
William Byrd, III ³	1753-1763	Westham; entire campus	Requested burial at Old Westover Church
Robert Carter Nicholas, John Ambler and heirs ⁴	1763- post 1791	Westham; entire campus	Robert Carter Nicholas, Farrington (Hanover County); Edward Ambler, Jamestown; John Ambler, Shockoe Hill Cemetery
John Harvie and Edwin Harvie ⁵	Post 1791-1811	Westham; Westhampton College*	John Harvie, Belvidere Estate family plot; Edwin Harvie, Monumental Church Crypt
John Graham and estate ⁶	1811-1822	Westham; Westhampton College	Dover Coal Pits
William Shapard ⁷	1822-1832	Big Westham Farm; Westhampton College	Shockoe Hill Cemetery
Thomas, John and Richard Crouch ⁸	1833-1839	Westham; Westhampton College	Thomas Crouch, Hollywood Cemetery; Richard and John Crouch, Shockoe Hill Cemetery
Clement H. Read and heirs ⁹	1839-1855	Westham; Westhampton College	Clement H. Read, Watts Family Cemetery (Roanoke County, VA), reinterred at Fair View Cemetery; David and Thomas Read, Bellevue Cemetery (Hollins, VA); Betsy Sims Read
Benjamin W. Green ¹⁰	1855-1868	Westham; Westhampton College	Hollywood Cemetery
Mary Ann Allen and Edmund Winston ¹¹	1868-1868	Westham; Westhampton College	Mary Ann Allen, Hollywood Cemetery; Edmund Winston, unavailable
Robert, J.P.R. and William R. Polk ¹²	1868-1876	Westham; Westhampton College	Robert Polk, Riverview Cemetery (Wilmington, DE); J.P.R. Polk, Elmwood Cemetery (Charlotte, NC); William Polk, Riverview Cemetery (Wilmington, DE)
William A. McCandliss and estate ¹³	1876 - 1894	Westham; Westhampton College	Laurel Hill Cemetery (Philadelphia, PA)
W. C. and E. Jesse McDowell ¹⁴	1894 - 1897	Westham; Westhampton College	Hollywood Cemetery
William Washington Browne ¹⁵	1897	Westham Farm; Westhampton College	Sycamore Cemetery, reinterred at Woodlawn Cemetery

* The Westham land included Westhampton College and a 1.5-2 acre section of land on the Richmond College side of Little Westham Creek. This section contains most or all of the Westham burying ground site.

¹ Giles Webb, "Land Grant 28 October 1702," October 28, 1702; "Giles Webb," Find A Grave, accessed October 20, 2019, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/155952001/giles-webb>.

² William Randolph to William Byrd, January 17, 1753, recorded April 3, 1753, "Deeds, Wills, etc. 1750-1767;" "William Randolph, III," Find A Grave, accessed October 20, 2019, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/186173575/william-randolph/>; "Peter W. Randolph," Find A Grave, accessed October 20, 2019, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/186594775/peter-w-randolph>.

³ W. G. Stanard, "Major Robert Beverly and his Descendants," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 3, no. 3 (January 1896), 263.

⁴ Mary A. Stevenson, *Robert Carter House Historical Report, Block 30-2 Building 13 Lot 333, 334, 335, 336*, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series - 1604, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1990, <https://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/View/index.cfm?doc=ResearchReports%5CRR1604.xml>; Courtney Williams, "The Dead Yet Speak: 17th and 18th Century Gravestones in the Virginia Colonial Triangle," (undergraduate honors thesis, College of William and Mary, 2012), 28, <http://scholarworks.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1471&context=honorsthesis>; "Col. John Ambler," Find A Grave, accessed October 19, 2019, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/57091683/john-ambler>.

⁵ "Col. John Augustine Harvie," Find A Grave, accessed October 20, 2019, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/6886068/john-augustine-harvie>; "Edwin James Harvie," Find a Grave, accessed October 20, 2019, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/22846925/edwin-james-harvie>.

⁶ "Died," *Richmond Enquirer*, September 26, 1820, 4, 5.

- ⁷ "William Shapard," Find A Grave, accessed October 20, 2019, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/76885766/william-shapard>; "Catherine Condie Shapard," Find A Grave, accessed October 20, 2019, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/100842197/catherine-shapard>.
- ⁸ "Dr. John G. Crouch," Find A Grave, accessed October 20, 2019, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/8848928/john-g-crouch>; "Richard Crouch," Find A Grave, accessed October 20, 2019, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/8848915/richard-crouch>; "Thomas Crouch," Burial Records, Hollywood Cemetery, accessed October 20, 2019.
- ⁹ "Clement Haskins Read," Find A Grave, accessed October 20, 2019, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/26389759/clement-haskins-read>; "Thomas C. Read," Find A Grave, accessed October 20, 2019, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/86112125/thomas-c-read>; "David Simms [sic] Read," Find A Grave, accessed October 20, 2019, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/86037673/david-simms-read>.
- ¹⁰ "B.W. Green" (d. 1872), Burial Records, Hollywood Cemetery, accessed October 19, 2019; "Julia A. Green," Burial Records, Hollywood Cemetery, accessed October 19, 2019; "Benjamin Green" [Jr.] (d. 1878), Burial Records, Hollywood Cemetery, accessed October 19, 2019.
- ¹¹ "Mary Ann Stetson Allen," Find A Grave, accessed October 20, 2019, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/92667943/mary-ann-allen>; research has not revealed Edmund Winston's burial information.
- ¹² "Funerals Yesterday," *Morning News* (Wilmington, DE), January 23, 1896, 2; "Funeral of Mr. Polk," *Charlotte News* (NC), September 25, 1899, 1; "Death of William R. Polk," *Middletown Transcript* (DE), December 28, 1907, 3.
- ¹³ "William A. McCandliss," obituary, *The Times* (Philadelphia, PA), August 1, 1892, 5.
- ¹⁴ "W.C. McDowell," Burial Records, Hollywood Cemetery, accessed October 20, 2019, <https://www.hollywoodcemetery.org/genealogy/burial-records>; "E. Jesse McDowell," Burial Records, Hollywood Cemetery, accessed October 20, 2019.
- ¹⁵ "The William W. Browne Memorial," *Richmond Planet*, June 28, 1919, 2

Appendix B: Links to a Selection of Central Virginia Indigenous Organizations, Museums & Resources

POWHATAN

The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture (1992) and *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia Through Four Centuries* (1996), both by Helen C. Roundtree, provide significant information on the Powhatan tribe and confederacy. The National Museum of the American Indian provides educational material related to the Powhatan people, including an examination of the history surrounding Pocahontas at the 400th anniversary of her death.

MONACAN

The website for the Monacan Indian Nation contains historical information as well as details of tribal governance: <https://www.monacannation.com>. In October 2019, University of Virginia Professor of Anthropology Jeffrey L. Hantman published *Monacan Millenium: A Collaborative Archaeology and History of a Virginia Indian People.*

PAMUNKEY

The Pamunkey Indian Tribe website includes historical tribal information and current information on tribal membership, government, and the Pamunkey Reservation, located in King William County, Virginia. The Pamunkey Indian Tribe Museum & Cultural Center, located on the reservation, is a resource for Pamunkey history and current educational events.

CHEROKEE

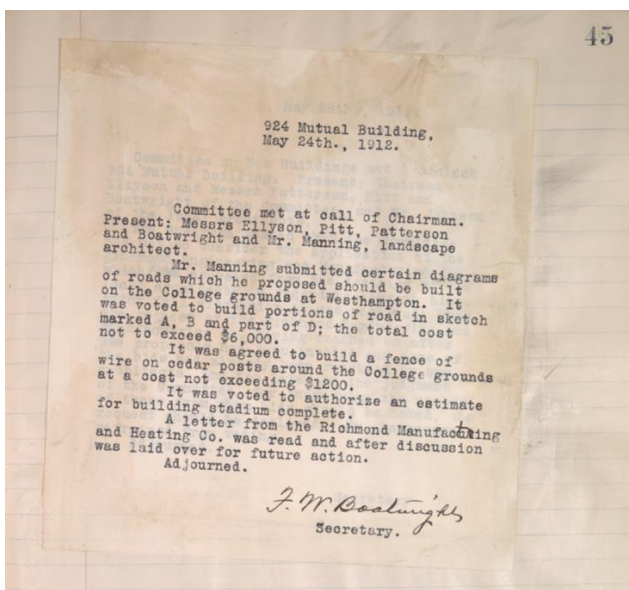
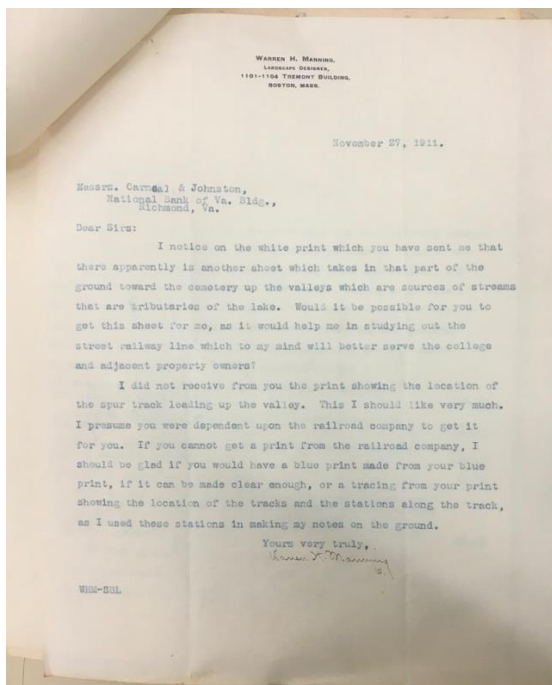
The Wolf Creek Cherokee Museum is located in Henrico County and provides exhibits of tribal artifacts, genealogical information, and educational offerings. A recent article in the *Virginia Mercury* details the ongoing work of the Wolf Creek Cherokee people to become the first Cherokee tribe recognized by the Commonwealth of Virginia.

NANSEMOND

The Nansemond Indian Nation maintains a website containing tribal history, information on tribal enrollment, the development of Mattanock Town, and a schedule of educational events. The Virginia Department of Education provides information about the Nansemond, including displacement of non-Christianized members of the tribe in the 18th century.

Appendix C: Correspondence & Committee Minutes

Warren H. Manning's original letters and unsigned office copies of the replies of Board President and Chairman of the Committee on New Buildings and Grounds, J. Taylor Ellyson, are housed at the Virginia Baptist Historical Society. The minutes of the Richmond College Board's Committee on New Buildings and Grounds were digitized as part of the 2015 *For the Centuries* exhibit and can be found [here](#).



WARREN H. MANNING,
LANDSCAPE DESIGNER,
1101-1104 TREMONT BUILDING,
BOSTON, MASS.

July 20, 1912.

Hon. J. Taylor Ellyson,
Richmond, Va.

Dear Mr. Ellyson:

I quote below portion of letter dated July 17 from
Mr. A. H. Smith:

"I have a crew of men grubbing along road, which runs on over
the old cemetery, and now that the under brush has been cleared
away, we find there are at least twenty graves that will come in about
the center of the road. The cut in some of these places is four
feet. We are not quite ready to put teams in there, but will be
soon. Shall we go on regardless of these graves or are they to be
moved?"

I think an arrangement ought to be made to have these bodies
removed to some cemetery, because any of the necessary excavation
will break into graves. Furthermore, it would be better if this
spot were cleared from all human remains as they will be an incentive
to students' pranks which it would be well to avoid. Knowledge of
this cannot be hidden.

I have instructed Mr. Smith to make a temporary road around
this cemetery in his work until Mr. Gillette returns, as I prefer to
have him take up this question. Mr. Gillette will be there I expect
the first week in August.

Yours very truly,

Warren H. Manning

100-251

Belmont Colley

July 23, 1912.

Warren H. Manning, Esq.,
1101 Tremont Building,
Boston, Mass.

Dear Mr. Manning:-

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of
July 19th and also the tracing of plan to show the land that we
need from the Benson property, for which please accept my thanks.
I also note your letter of July 20th in regard to the road-way
through the grave yard. Our Virginia law is very strict in its re-
quirements in regard to private grave yards. I do not know that we
will have any trouble in regard to this grave yard, but we will be
careful to look into the matter by the time Mr. Gillette returns.

Yours very truly,

Chairman Committee New Buildings.

924 Mutual Building,
November 6, 1912.

Committee on New Buildings met on call of chairman at 1 o'clock. Present: Messrs. Ellyson, Patterson, Pitt and Boatwright, and Messrs. Carneal and Johnston, supervising architects.

The Secretary of the Committee called attention to the fact that he had brought with him the minutes of recent meetings for approval.

The Chairman read extensive correspondence with the College architects, Messrs. Cram, Goodhue and Ferguson, of Boston, in regard to payment of architects' commissions on plans for Stadium. The Chairman had asked the architects that payment might be made upon basis of work actually to be completed at the present time, rather than upon basis of plans as drawn for complete Stadium. After going over the amended contracts with the architects, and after reading the correspondence, it was voted that the fee of Messrs. Cram, Goodhue and Ferguson reckoned on basis of five per cent. on total cost of Stadium, be paid.

Mr. Pitt called the attention of the Committee to the fact that Dr. George W. McDaniel was willing to sell his property adjoining the new college site, and expressed the opinion that Richmond College should purchase this property as promptly as possible. He also called attention to the sewer pipes being laid under College Avenue from the Westham acreage, and also to the injury to shrubs and other College property by trespassers. The Chairman stated, in regard to the trespass matter, that he had just posted the College grounds and was having notices put up to this effect.

It was agreed that the Chairman and the Secretary of the Committee should have the piece of land known as "The Lost Acre" in the vicinity of the Stadium enclosed with the College property.
Adjourned.

F. W. BOATWRIGHT, SEC'Y.

Nov. 7, 1912.

Mr. C. F. Gillette,
Box 175, City.

My dear Sir:

At the meeting of the Committee yesterday I was requested to notify you that it might be well to put up all fences around the property at Westhampton without further delay, especially is it desirable that this should be done around what is known as the Lost Acre. If you cannot exactly place this, call and see President Boatwright. He will be glad to locate it for you.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Pitt called the attention of the Committee to the fact that Dr. George W. McDaniel was willing to sell his property adjoining the new college site, and expressed the opinion that Richmond College should purchase this property as promptly as possible. He also called attention to the sewer pipes being laid under College Avenue from the Westham acreage, and also to the injury to shrubs and other College property by trespassers. The Chairman stated, in regard to the trespass matter, that he had just posted the College grounds and was having notices put up to this effect.

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Adjourned.

F. W. BOATWRIGHT, SEC'Y.

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