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## Buried Beneath The River City: Investigating An Archaeological Landscape and its Community Value in Richmond, Virginia

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Buried Beneath the River City: Investigating an Archaeological Landscape and its  
Community Value in Richmond, Virginia

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A Dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty of The College of William &  
Mary in Candidacy for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

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## APPROVAL PAGE

This Dissertation is submitted in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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## COMPLIANCE PAGE

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## ABSTRACT

Richmond, Virginia, located along the fall line of the James River, was an important political boundary during prehistory; was established as an English colonial town in 1737; and was a center of the interstate slave trade and the capitol of the Confederacy during the nineteenth century. Although Richmond holds a prominent place in the narrative of American and Virginia history, the city's archaeological resources have received incredibly little attention or preservation advocacy. However, in the wake of a 2013 proposal to construct a baseball stadium in the heart of the city's slave trading district, archaeological sensitivity and vulnerability became a political force that shaped conversations around the economic development proposal and contributed to its defeat. This dissertation employs archival research and archaeological ethnography to study the variable development of Richmond's archaeological value as the outcome of significant racial politics, historic and present inequities, trends in academic and commercial archaeology, and an imperfect system of archaeological stewardship. This work also employs spatial sensitivity analysis and studies of archaeological policy to examine how the city's newly emerging awareness of archaeology might improve investigation and interpretation of this significant urban archaeological resource. This research builds upon several bodies of scholarship: the study of urban heritage management and municipal archaeology; the concept of archaeological ethnography; and anthropological studies into how value should be defined and identified. It concludes that Richmond's archaeological remains attract attention and perceived importance in part through their proximity and relation to other political and moral debates within the city, but that in some cases political interests ensnare archaeological meaning or inhibit interest in certain archaeological subjects. This analysis illuminates how archaeological materiality and the history of Richmond's preservation movements has created an interest in using archaeological investigations as a tool for restorative justice to create a more equitable historic record. Additionally, it studies the complexity of improving American urban archaeological stewardship within a municipal system closely connected with city power structures.

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# 1 Investigating the Many Facets of Archaeological Value in American Cities

## 1.1 Introduction: The Genesis of this Research

This dissertation emerged from the 2013-2015 controversy in Richmond, Virginia over whether to build a baseball stadium in the oldest neighborhood of the city. Shockoe Bottom, a name believed to have derived from the Algonquian name for a creek in the area, was the site of the city's original town plan, the nexus of the city's bustling interstate slave trade, and the heart of the tobacco trade that had helped define Richmond since its eighteenth-century inception. Over the course of the first six months of this debate, there was an awakening of the city's engagement with archaeological questions; in the tense and confrontational public meetings about the proposal, archaeologists and advocates began to ask questions that had not been often directed at city staff: *Isn't this just more paving over of black history by white economic interests? Why are we building a stadium instead interpreting the historic area? Wouldn't a restored historic neighborhood be better for economic development than a stadium? If our tax money is being used for this project, why is it being used to destroy an archaeologically sensitive area? Do you have an archaeological plan? Wouldn't this project be eligible for Section 106 consultation, since part of the land parcel was sold to the city from the Federal Transportation Agency?* The questions were both outraged and specific; informed and pointed; disbelieving and weary. It was clear that for some these debates were just the latest battle in

an old struggle, while others could not believe that this project was conceived in a city as historically significant as Richmond.

This was a major point of entry for me into these questions and this city, as a graduate student at the time struggling to articulate why I was doing what I was doing, and whether this sort of academic work was ever going to be useful to enough people to make it worthwhile<sup>1</sup>. Through one such informative and energetic public forum about archaeology in the city, I found myself helping to form a community archaeology group, RVA Archaeology, to coalesce archaeological viewpoints about the stadium project and to make the public statements about archaeological risk that many commercial archaeologists were unwilling or unable to make. This process was complex and nuanced; the history of Shockoe Bottom itself has complexity enough to write ten more dissertations, and the modern politics of heritage in Richmond similarly. At the same time, I realized when I started delving into the archaeological knowledge of the city through this advocacy, that this was one element of a larger series of questions: *Why, in a city like Richmond whose identity is wrapped in historic interpretation, was the archaeological record so fertile yet so hidden? What resources make up*

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<sup>1</sup> This question of anthropology and archaeology's responsibilities to local communities, particularly descendant communities, was substantially shaped by my initial graduate work performed at the Institute for Historical Biology under the guidance of Dr. Michael Blakey. Blakey's theorization of the ethical client model has stressed the investigation of research questions developed in collaboration with descendant communities and has emphasized the potential of research to either reproduce ideologies of inequality or to challenge them (LaRoche and Blakey 1997). My participation in the Remembering Slavery, Resistance, and Freedom Project to investigate the meaning of the Sesquicentennial of Emancipation in Virginia provided me with early context regarding the perspectives and challenges of heritage and memory in the city. In addition, I first learned aspects of the Richmond archaeological stewardship story, particularly the East Marshall Street Well Project whose community engagement he helped to design, from him in early conversations about the work.

*Richmond's archaeology, and how should we understand Richmond's archaeological potential and archaeological loss? More broadly, what is it about archaeology that engaged citizens and groups tend to value? How do city politics affect perceptions of archaeology's value? How does the story in Richmond reflect the condition and challenges of urban archaeology nationwide, and what elements of the Richmond situation have grown out of Richmond's particularly ambivalent relationship with its history?*

This dissertation seeks to address these questions. It grew out of a desire for public engagement with the city's archaeological resources, public contribution to the research questions and themes addressed in the city, and as an act of advocacy to raise awareness about this problem of urban heritage unrecognized and neglected. It studies the variable development of archaeological value as the outcome of significant racial politics, historic and present inequities, trends in academic and commercial archaeology, and an imperfect system of archaeological stewardship. This study also has a practical focus designed to describe the particular history and spatial landscape of Richmond's archaeological investigations, and how these resources might best be preserved and allowed to contribute more towards Richmonders' understandings of their city. In addition, however, it examines the power archaeology has to affect how people understand history; explores the politically and racially-fraught subject of American urban archaeology generally; interrogates how we assign and display our values towards historical and archaeological remains; and puts some of the trends in Richmond into context

with nationwide cultural resource law, heritage management approaches, municipal archaeology programs, and preservation planning. It concludes that in Richmond, the materiality of archaeology; the history of archaeological and historical analysis on the city; and the political life of archaeological and historical significance have created a narrative that embraces archaeology as a potential tool for restorative justice in the city. It also examines how power dynamics and political disagreements paralyze historical interpretation of the city's archaeological remains or inhibit truly collaborative community interpretation programs. Through combining spatial and ethnographic understandings of the city's archaeological potential and loss, it explores areas of the city that might be most effective for fruitful, publicly-engaged research, and studies how presumptions of archaeological loss sometimes subdue interest in potentially-significant areas.

## 1.2 Theorizing Value and Defining Landscape in Richmond's Archaeology

Because of its multiple methods, this dissertation project takes both a spatial landscape perspective and an ethnographic perspective on archaeological value when analyzing and interpreting Richmond's archaeological resources and their community value. This uses an expansive definition of Richmond's archaeological landscape: it is "the backdrop against which archaeological remains are plotted" (A. B. Knapp and Ashmore 1999, 1); and also the subjective impressions of that landscape and its potential (Chapter 6). It is the known prehistoric and historical record of the city and history of how this



landscape has been investigated and understood by various scholars, and also factors that have inhibited this understanding (Chapter 3). It is the economic, social, racial, and political landscape that influences how archaeological remains are perceived and valued by various constituencies (Chapters 4 and 5). It is also the landscape of possibility that exists for these resources to be better managed, investigated, and interpreted in the future (Chapter 7).

Richmond's potential and recognized archaeological resources are placed within the context of the city as an archaeological landscape, recognizing that especially in urban contexts, archaeological deposits exist as a continuous layer or potential rather than as discrete sites. While the core of this dissertation focuses on broadly examining the city's archaeological resources, this work has been undertaken with the ultimate goal of allowing a wide variety of stakeholders, including those frequently excluded from the process of determining historical significance, to better access the city's archaeological resources and to contribute to deciding how these resources should be used and preserved. In order to ensure that this analysis remains connected to community goals and values, I employ archaeological ethnography, discussed further in Section 1.5, to examine how archaeological value is defined and which groups consider archaeology to have value. Additionally, I examine narratives about archaeological sensitivity and consider the uncertain nature of value with relation to archaeological potential at a given site – when a location is known to be of “archaeological risk” or “high sensitivity,” but has not yet been investigated, how do different individuals and groups interpret this as valuable?

A major focus of this research is the way in which political affiliations and the legacy and current reality of race relations in Richmond influence how and when groups find archaeology valuable. The concept of 'value' has been explored anthropologically and archaeologically in a variety of ways combining financial and moral, tangible and intangible, but with few exceptions these studies have defied synthesis or unification (Kluckhohn 1951; B. Little, Mathers, and Darvill 2005; Darvill 1995; Eiss and Pedersen 2002; Graeber 2001). Among theories more explicitly associated with the value of archaeological resources and cultural heritage, scholars define value in a combination of material and more symbolic terms (for greater detail see Chapter 4). Of particular use to this analysis are the conclusions made by Kathryn Samuels regarding the creation and demonstration of values in heritage. Samuels traces a genealogy of archaeological theories of value and describes them as distinguishing between archaeological resource management (with an intradisciplinary focus on resource significance) and heritage, which derives its significance from meaning in the present. She avoids making this distinction, and instead uses Mauss' theory of the gift and Annette Weiner's concept of 'inalienable objects', to argue that these objects' value derives from their social histories and the amount of effort used to halt their circulation (Samuels 2008, 75–81). Samuels' concept of value is heavily based on that of David Graeber and Nancy Munn, who describe value being created substantially through the investment of actions (Graeber 2001, 47–53; Munn 1986). With reference to archaeological heritage, Samuels concludes that this means value is created through actions related to the management and

development of heritage and through archaeological practice. Furthermore, she asserts that by studying the trajectory of archaeological heritage we can gain an understanding of different regimes of value acting upon that archaeological heritage, since “archaeological studies on ‘the past of the past’ have explored how the unique properties of material can form certain modes of tradition, memory and the failure of memory” (Samuels 2008, 84).

While these concepts produce a good framework for explaining archeological worth in cross-cultural anthropological context, they are substantially based on work in Melanesia and other small-scale societies (Samuels 2008, 80). There is not much considerations of contested value in a modern nation-state, and little acknowledgement that most individuals, including preservationists, understand archaeological value in relative terms – in relation to economic development, essential goods and services, etc. (but for an exception see Glassow 1985). Therefore, this ethnographic work employs theories of values to explore how the value of archaeological resources is defined across power hierarchies in the city, and whether participants in Richmond perceive conflicts between archaeological value and other systems of value. In the next section, I will discuss how the form of this dissertation will provide conclusions regarding Richmond’s archaeological landscape and how the value of this landscape is expressed, contested, and in some cases unrecognized within the city.

As I will argue in this dissertation, the development of archaeological value is the product of a complex combination of local fortune, unshakable national

trends, and the persistent investment of actions (or the inhibition of actions) through actions and projects over many decades. There are many factors that distinguish Richmond from other cities – the pervasive Lost Cause mythology that valorizes the Southern Confederate past; the influence of the state’s political and business communities; and the particular legacy of Virginia Commonwealth University as both a vehicle of and barrier to archaeological investigations in the city. I conclude that in Richmond, archaeology as a discipline has value currently in part because archaeological materiality is seen as a way of countering a history of preservation neglect related to non-dominant historical narratives, particularly the legacy of the slave trade and histories of African-American resistance. I also illustrate how Graeberian concepts of value-making as the investment of actions, when applied to Richmond’s archaeology, do not tell a particularly positive narrative about how a variety of institutions and stakeholders have valued archaeological remains at various points during its archaeological history. Examining this history through a lens of race, politics, and political economy illustrates the restrictions that these actions operate within, particularly the contribution of recent city political and preservation history to current tensions regarding archaeological interpretation. My spatial and policy analysis argues that despite a substantial history of archaeological loss and disinvestment, Richmond retains considerable areas of archaeological sensitivity, several of which could be powerful sites of community archaeology research, interpretation, and memorialization.

This study has broader implications for American urban archaeology and for examinations of the development of value, particularly with reference to how the histories of race relations and contemporary race relations in American cities continue to influence how archaeological materials are interpreted and the extent to which they are seen as valuable. It raises questions regarding the tensions that develop when municipal archaeology initiatives coordinated by dominant city power structures attempt to create community-engaged projects. It also provides an examination of the potential of archaeology for restorative justice initiatives and explores how emphasizing these narratives may increase the resonance of community archaeology projects among often under-engaged groups.

### 1.3 Cities and Archaeology: A Description of the Problem

In the United States, archaeological research in urban environments is most commonly conducted to comply with Section 106 of the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act or the National Environmental Policy Act. In addition, several state laws and local ordinances also require archaeological mitigation as part of certain types of construction projects in many jurisdictions. Federal and state governments have a complex architecture of archaeological departments, historic preservation offices, and legislation dedicated to ensuring that shared cultural patrimony will not be unilaterally destroyed by government projects. However, these safeguards have very finite and limited scope; as Appendix 10.1 indicates, most of the regulations governing archaeological stewardship in Richmond are particular to state or federal projects, while city mechanisms are

few and poorly applied. The goal underlying these structures is for governments to be good stewards of the cultural resources of their citizens, but a lack of effective public engagement and research interpretation frequently leads to poor public awareness of archaeological and historical sites. Particularly with reference to urban contexts, this absence marks an unmet promise to American citizens and an investment of taxpayer resources with uncertain and unclear benefits. Twinned with a political environment that prioritizes individual property rights and deregulation, the largely unheralded nature of compliance archaeological management and research also threatens existing cultural resources protections. This research combines archival analysis, sensitivity assessment using Geographic Information Systems (GIS), and archaeological ethnography to explore the archaeological potential of the city of Richmond, Virginia, and what places hold the most value for the city's community members, archaeologists, state and municipal government, and historical organizations.

By reviewing previously recorded sites, surveys, historical maps and narratives, oral histories, field reports, and media stories, this research has developed a first longitudinal examination of archaeological investigation in the city. More critically, however, this dissertation addresses the under-considered problem shared by all American cities and many other municipalities: to what end are we collecting and recording federally-mandated archaeological information, and in what ways is it developing or failing to develop any relevance to local communities and other stakeholders?

#### 1.4 Urban Heritage Management and Municipal Archaeology

This dissertation builds upon several important bodies of scholarship: the study of urban heritage management and municipal archaeology; the concept of archaeological ethnography; and anthropological studies into how value should be defined and identified. Early urban archaeology in the 1930s-1950s centered on the recovery and restoration of important buildings, such as forts and buildings associated with the Revolution and early Republic, to develop their public interpretation (Rothschild and Wall 2014, 23). After the environmental and preservation movements of the 1960s, the passage of the National Environmental Policy Act and National Historic Preservation Acts required archaeology in cases where the excavation was not driven by concern over specific resources but a requirement to assess whether important resources existed in a place endangered by a development. As I will discuss in Chapter 3.3 and 3.4, however, this requirement was unevenly applied during the first several decades after the 1966 passage of the National Historic Preservation Act. Well into the 1970s and 1980s, urban archaeology scholarship focused substantially on convincing Americans, and often even other archaeologists, that there was some archaeology left to study in urban spaces (Salwen 1978). Despite the progress made on that front, this is still a common misconception to be addressed when discussing archaeological sensitivity and preservation in cities. Some early urban studies were predominantly methodological, focusing on the challenges of archaeology in urban areas where excavations were expensive, specialized tools and approaches were needed, and interactions with the public

were more common and unpredictable (B. Powell 1962). From its origins, some early scholars recognized the intimate relationship between urban archaeology and the politics and planning of the city; Powell attributed much of the rise of urban archaeology to increased emphasis on preserving historic sites and the urban renewal and city planning being carried out at the time, and noted that tactful handling of the public was one of the essential elements necessary for a project's success (B. Powell 1962, 581–82). This approach recognized the political volatility of urban work, but implied that political factions and concerned communities were something to be managed rather than stakeholders to be consulted. Other early urban archaeologists examined the concept of urban archaeology and described the discipline as either “archaeology in the city,” the study of any archaeological remains that happened to be located within a city, and the “archaeology of the city,” the systematic study of city development (Foley 1967; Ingersoll 1971; Salwen 1973). This continues to be a relevant distinction, with some urban archaeology studies (Cressey and Stephens 1982a; Cressey 1978; Cantwell and Wall 2003) focusing on city evolution and expansion, while others providing more emphasis on the prehistory or early settlement of future urban landscapes (Staski 1982). In many ways this distinction derives from the archaeological resources themselves or the way in which certain resources are emphasized by the city itself – while in Alexandria the key story is the city itself, the program in Phoenix arose because of the critical Hohokam sites in the area, which have resulted in the excavation of 35 Hohokam sites and included the disinterment and repatriation of 2200 burials in the last twenty years (Bostwick



2017, 294). Other early urban archaeology studies in the U.S. followed a quantitative approach that examined the unique challenges of urban contexts and the specialized skills and approaches needed for their pursuit (Staski 1982; Staski 1987). What many of these early archaeologists shared was an understanding that urban archaeology bloomed from public interest and that the archaeology of a city had the potential to shift the experience of people in the city. Staski underlined the uniquely “specific and powerfully influencing material setting of cities,” due to their especial relevance to the study of urban ethnic enclaves, high potential for public significance, and emerging legal requirements for their mitigation during federal construction projects (Staski 1982, 127–32).

During the 1980s and 1990s, several archaeologists developed municipal archaeology ordinances or programs within cities; those in Phoenix, Arizona (1985); Alexandria, Virginia (1992); and St Augustine, Florida (1987) are particularly well-known because they succeeded and persisted while several others were eventually shuttered. Most of these municipal programs were successful and long-lived in part because of their involvement and embeddedness within city communities; Carl Halbirt of St. Augustine has described a layered approach to public engagement that includes passive types of involvement with a broader base of community members but active and generative ‘owning’ and ‘leading’ levels of community-driven projects when specific groups have a committed interest (Halbirt and Miller 2017).

These early city archaeologists, especially Pamela Cressey, also developed considerable scholarship on how North American city archaeology

could be managed and interpreted. During the 1980s, the emphasis on a “core-periphery” model greatly influenced the Alexandria focus on studying the urban landscape of Alexandria as it grew (Cressey and Stephens 1982b; Cressey 1978; Stephens and Cressey 1981). The core-periphery approach developed from the study of ancient city-states, and focused on understanding these regions as urban power centers surrounded by more marginal or subordinate outlying communities (Wallerstein 1974; Champion 1995; Rowlands 1998). Within Alexandria, this approach emphasized the city writ large as the site, with individual neighborhoods, ethnic enclaves, rural related industries, and other components considered in relation to the urban historic core of the city, the city’s center of power, population, and wealth (Cressey and Stephens 1982b, 48–51). Cressey similarly emphasized the critical role the public plays in determining how the significance of urban archaeological deposits should be assessed, arguing for a role in local values in the process (Henry and Cressey 1989). Cressey and her Alexandria colleagues Fran Bromberg, Steven Shephard, and others, have studied Alexandria from within the city’s governmental structures since the late 1970s, and have published much more than other archaeologists engaged in compliance review have managed to. At the same time, much of their research is either particularist site examination or reflections on the city archaeology program itself: the need for engaged volunteers and the significance of having archaeology in the city planning code being especially common topics. The program has had successes of considerable power: the creation of the Contrabands and Freedmen Cemetery Memorial and the African-American

Heritage Park especially. The very applied and city-tied qualities of this work, however, have made it less anthropologically-engaged – and less critical – than other approaches.

On the other hand, work by Shannon Dawdy in New Orleans has explicitly considered the archaeology of the city, and in the city, from a vantage point embedded in the academy and anthropological thought. In *Building the Devil's Empire: French Colonial New Orleans*, Dawdy uses an archival study of New Orleans' founding and early years to explore the concept of 'rogue colonialism' and the interplay between colonial government bureaucracies, capitalist ventures, and the extra-legal activities of pirates, con-men, and mercenaries (Dawdy 2009, 237–42). Her *Patina: A Profane Archaeology*, builds on years spent excavating in New Orleans on academic, state, and federal projects from contexts including anything from field schools to emergency mitigation through FEMA after Hurricane Katrina. Dawdy mixes archival research, recollections of her archaeological practice, ethnographic interviews, and examinations of contemporary discourse about the material past in the city to examine the "patina" symbolizing both New Orleans' relationship with its distant past and how it has chosen to engage with the physical signs of Katrina's destruction (Dawdy 2016).

The very unevenness in terms of city archaeological protections, political dynamics, and the frequent unpredictability of archaeological discoveries has meant that even as municipal archaeological programs have been developed in some cities, major sites have still been hastily and poorly handled in others or in

city neighborhoods lacking protections. Undoubtedly the most prominent example of this is the New York African Burial Ground, excavated in 1991 in advance of construction for the Ted Weiss Federal Building of the United States General Services Administration in New York City. After a year of poor project management by the original cultural resource management company, a coalition of concerned citizens, municipal staffers, the New York City Landmarks Commission, New York State Senator David Patterson, and others developed a city task force dedicated to the question of how the site should be handled (LaRoche and Blakey 1997, 85–87; LaRoche 2011) . After several Congressional hearings and public debate regarding the matter, black anthropologist Michael Blakey, then at Howard University, was selected to lead a predominantly-black team of researchers that developed research questions in collaboration with the activist community and interpreted the remains and providing African Diaspora and biocultural frameworks to interpret them (Blakey 2010, 62). This site remains a model for community-led scholarship.

A series of archaeologists between the 1980s and today have set out to make particular studies of certain cities: Rebecca Yamin in Philadelphia and New York, Nan Rothschild, Joan Geismar, and Diana diZerega Wall in New York, Kathleen Deegan and Carl Halbirt in St. Augustine, Todd Bostwick in Phoenix, Joe Bagley in Boston, and Shannon Dawdy in New Orleans, among many others (Yamin 2000; Yamin 2008; Rothschild and Wall 2014; Janowitz and Dallal 2013; Dawdy 2009; Dawdy 2016; Deegan and Koch 1983; Cantwell and Wall 2003). However, in many cities, including Richmond, information on urban

archaeological resources remains trapped in gray literature. In writing their 2015 book *The Archaeology of American Cities*, authors Nan Rothschild and Diana diZerega Wall called upon colleagues to help by combing through State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPOs) for essential sources that still only exist in unpublished compliance report format. While this approach was effective for cities where current researchers or scholars responded to the call, it meant that the urban archaeology of many places was left out entirely, and the research was skewed towards places with active programs. For the state of Virginia, the only cities whose archaeological resources contributed to the book are Alexandria and Williamsburg (Rothschild and Wall 2014, 231).

Today, almost 70 different municipalities across the country have enshrined archaeological protections, which can include historical commissions; archaeological ordinances; predictive models; staff archaeologists; survey programs; special statuses for protected areas; and partnerships with federal agencies or tribes (Deur and Butler 2016). In recent years the connection between urban archaeology, heritage management, and city planning has been more explicitly investigated. A critical addition to the consideration of urban municipal archaeological studies has been Douglas Appler's work at the intersections of municipal archaeology and urban planning. Appler's dissertation examines the municipal archaeology programs in Phoenix, Alexandria, and St. Augustine, investigating their origins, structure, challenges, and assets through archival research and interviews (Appler 2011). Appler has investigated the community value provided by city archaeology programs, noting that

archaeological resources and information can be a very effective base around which to develop community assets and amenities (Appler 2012b). He has also emphasized the ways in which municipal archaeology programs must be engaged with citizens' sense of place and local government structures if they are to be successful (Appler 2012a; Appler 2013a). A recent edited volume (Baugher, Appler, and Moss 2017b) investigated this question in theory and in several cities in the Americas, Britain, and the British Commonwealth. The editors recognize the deep importance of connecting local archaeology better within local government systems, writing "Improving and expanding the relationship between archaeology and local government represents one of the next great challenges facing archaeology. Not only does local government have access to powerful legal tools and policy mechanisms that can offer protection for archaeological sites, but because local government exists at the grassroots level, it is also often closer to people who have deep knowledge about the community itself, about its values, and about the local meaning of the sites most in need of protection" (Baugher, Appler, and Moss 2017a, 2). Many of these articles make similar arguments and connections – that archaeological resources can be critical for a city's sense of identity, that archaeologists must emerge from their academic and cultural resource management bubbles to engage with local politicians and community groups, and that archaeological resources can become lynchpins and seeds for innovative urban design when these types of collaborations occur (Appler 2017; Baugher, Appler, and Moss 2017a). They also seem to define the local government as inherently "grassroots" and ascribe local

government with an equitable benevolence in terms of their priorities, an assumption that seems worth interrogating and questioning.

Exhortations for greater archaeological engagement within municipal archaeology contexts sometimes underplay the significance of race, power imbalances, and the use of historic preservation as a tool for gentrification or political gamesmanship. These investigations emphasize the importance of locating archaeological programs and requirements within municipal structures without much acknowledgement that such official city power structures can in some cases be indifferent (or opposed to) communities within the city that place significant value upon certain archaeological sites. These works on municipal projects do not much problematize the political capital provided to city officials and politicians through the spectacle and public relations implications of archaeological site investigations. There is not much explicit consideration of the decisions inherent in some of these municipal projects: that to recognize and highlight some city histories valued by some groups often creates the alienation of others. Richmond's archaeology, especially its last twenty years, cannot be considered outside of a context that recognizes these challenges and understands the deeply unequal way historical research has been divided along racial lines. It is for this reason that urban anthropological methods, and archaeological ethnography, have also been an important element of this study.

## 1.5 Urban Anthropology and Archaeological Ethnography

American cities, where over 80% of its population now lives, are deeply neglected by anthropologists in contrast to remote communities in far-flung parts of the world (US Census Bureau 2010). Additionally, when city populations and issues are examined by anthropologists, the topics and groups of people selected for these studies tend to still emphasize the other within urban ethnography: the groups studied might be the most disenfranchised of the urban poor, reside in public housing, are involved in drug or sex trades, or are portrayed as pathologized in some other manner (e.g. Bourgois and Schonberg 2009; McRoberts 2003; Duneier 1992; Liebow 1967; Klinenberg 2002; Venkatesh 2006; Goffman 2015; Lewis-Kraus 2016; Fennell 2015). Stephen Gregory's 1998 ethnography *Black Corona: Race and the Politics of Place in an Urban Community* critiqued the myopic focus of ethnographic analysis on poverty and pathology of black urban life:

“Narratives of black urban life in the mass media and scholarly research have tended to focus on poverty and its impact on the culture and social organization of the black poor. In pursuing this line of inquiry...history, political organization, work and leisure, and other everyday dimensions of urban life that de rigeur have guided and informed the research of social scientists working elsewhere face from view within the epistemological frontiers of the black inner city” (S. Gregory 1998, 5).

There are exceptions of course, like Shannon Dawdy's aforementioned *Patina* that studies post-Katrina New Orleans and how the hurricane shaped and represents New Orleansians' relationship with their past (Dawdy 2016). However, *Black Corona* is a remarkable and useful study in part because the subject



matter – urban black middle-class activism associated with crime and gentrification during public government meetings, social gatherings, and neighborhood life – mirrors in certain ways the context I examine in this story of Richmond’s archaeological resources and the public life they have lived since 2013. Although still focused on starkly-poor urban communities, Catherine Fennell’s ethnographic work uses a similar combination of ethnographic observations, public meetings and public relations campaigns, and policy assessments in her work on Chicago’s Near West Side. Fennell examines how shifts from public housing projects to a multi-income mixed use neighborhood shifted the sensory landscape and power dynamics, exploring who takes responsibility for Chicago’s urban poor and how these shifts contributed to the development of “sympathies” towards them (Fennell 2015, 2–15).

Ethnographic and oral history analyses of the meanings of the Richmond past for various groups has been addressed by several researchers and disciplines, from semiotics (Walker 2009), rhetoric (Cynthia Fields, in prep), cultural anthropology (Barrett 2014), journalism (S. C. Davis 1988), and historic preservation groups focused on preserving recollections of elderly residents (Historic Richmond Foundation 1982; VCU Libraries Digital Collections 2012). Walker examined the difference in symbolism and use of underground historical spaces including Hollywood Cemetery, the Richmond African Burial Ground, the Church Hill tunnel, and Lumpkin’s Jail, pointing out that the treatment of Richmond’s buried past allows the city to “use the underground as a metaphor, as a way to talk about justice, as a means to wipe away Otherness. The buried

past can be used strategically to unsettle accepted hierarchies” (Walker 2009: 433). Barrett compared the meanings and uses of Richmond’s African Burial Ground with those that developed in Rio de Janeiro around the Cemitério dos Pretos Novos, emphasizing that at both sites activists invested in the historical narratives sought to participate in reclaiming the meaning of these sites and recognizing the importance of black resistance in both histories. Fields studied commemorations of the Sesquicentennial in Richmond, Appomattox, and elsewhere to interrogate the competing narratives of memorialization around the Civil War in Virginia.

The value of ethnographic information has long been recognized within anthropological archaeology, albeit in many cases predominantly as a way of extracting specialized knowledge or expertise from an indigenous population in order to better understand the meaning and function of archaeological artifacts (e.g. Binford 1987; Jacknis 1996; Kramer 1979). A more recent theoretical framework for understanding the importance of ethnographic approaches in archaeological research is archaeological ethnography (Castaneda and Matthews 2008; Hamilakis 2011; Castaneda 2008), which emphasizes contexts in which the ethnographer seeks both information about the archaeological past and about the contemporary meaning of this past from their collaborators. Important characteristics of archaeological ethnography for this project include consideration for how the material (or ‘sensuous’ as per Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos) nature of archaeological objects affects the interlocutors, that it emphasizes the production of a multi-temporal and multi-sited ‘total’

ethnography, and its focus on producing politically-sensitive scholarship that is aware of hierarchies of power associated with the project (Kus 1997; Kus 1995). Archaeological ethnography embraces the study of contemporary ideas about the past and heritage disputes that arise over archaeological materials. While substantive ethnographic scholarship is in no way new to archaeology, archaeological ethnography includes an explicit consideration of power, political economy, and positionality (as Hamilakis puts it, “*who sponsors you, and why do they pay for all this?*”) in a way that understands that these issues are fundamental to how archaeology now operates in the world rather than an inconvenient distraction or complication (Hamilakis 2011, 403–7).

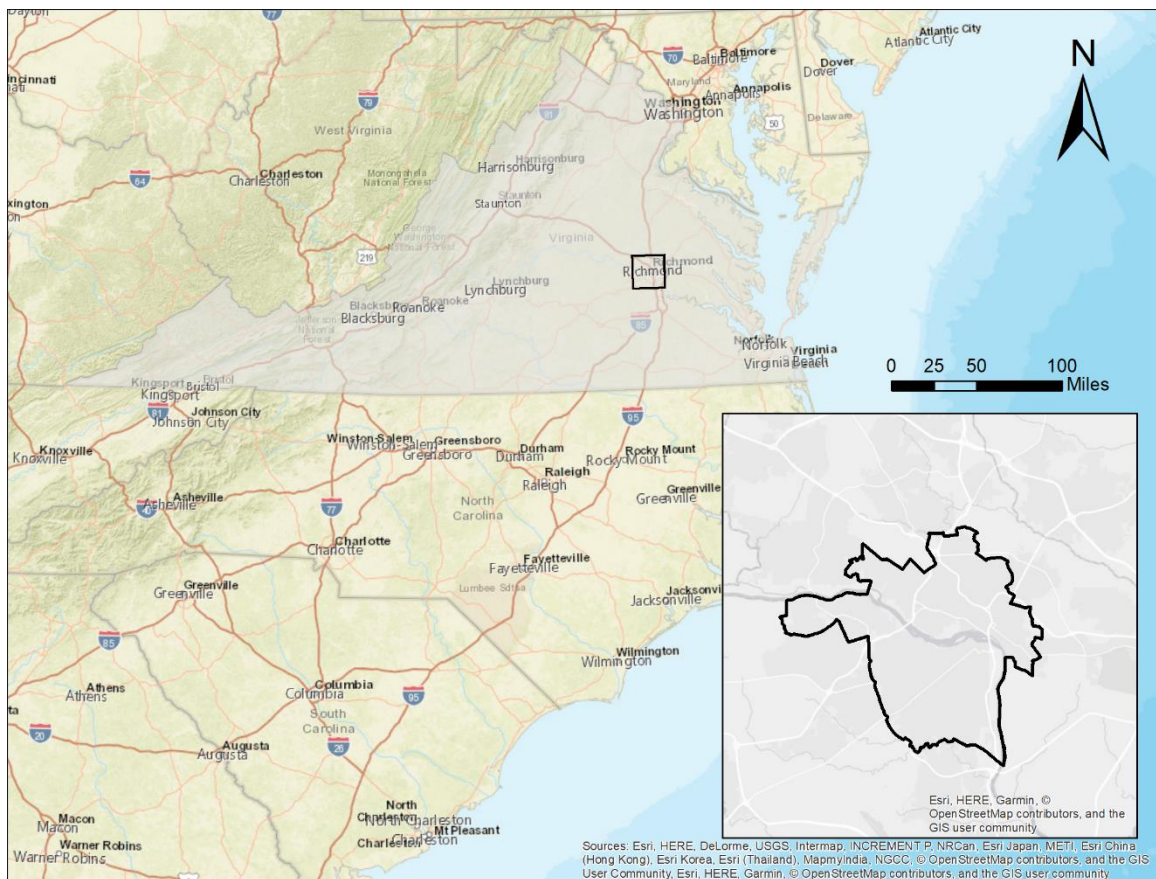
Archaeological ethnography is well-suited to the Richmond context for several of these characteristics: as this dissertation will examine, archaeological resources are highly politically-laden in Richmond, and many diverse groups – with very different relationships to official and unofficial power structures – lay claim to them. Ethnographic observations based on both the processes active in public meetings and official city decisions, and personal conversations by some of those engaged in the political discourse around archaeology, are critical for teasing apart the politics and value of Richmond’s archaeological resources. Within an archaeological ethnographic framework, I have sought in this project to explicitly examine how various communities engage with Richmond’s archaeological resources; how this engagement is informed by the other political positions that they express; how archaeology is altered by and intersects with official and unofficial power centers in Richmond; and how ethnographic data can

inform our understanding of Richmond's archaeological history and its spatial sensitivity (Chapters 4 and 5). Because of the inherently subjective nature of this type of investigation, this approach will also include an explicit recognition of how my own positionality (especially race, academic background, recent arrival in Richmond, gender, and profession as an archaeologist) influences the way I see the city and its resources, who I have access to, and what topics people feel inclined to bring up with me (Section 4.1). Additionally, on a more pragmatic level, the history of Richmond's archaeology is basically unwriteable without the action of interviewing and the use of less formalized social knowledge than is common in archaeological research. So many reports and projects remain unfinished that grasping the histories of archaeological resources here is out of reach without a myriad of conversations with former field archaeologists, curators, state review and compliance experts, and the many scholars and community members who have taken ownership of parts of this history over the years. Beyond that, however, collecting ethnographic observations and anthropologically-grounded reflections (on how archaeological materials contribute to the city's narratives about race; powerful institutions; and respect for burial grounds and sites of conscience) are used in this research to interpret the position of archaeological topics within a web of wider tensions and concerns.

## 1.6 Introducing the Richmond Context

The environs of the city of Richmond have been a significant and long-term locus for human habitation, likely since at least the Paleoindian period (15,000–

10,000 BC). Geographically, Richmond is located in the Virginia Coastal Plain in the watershed of the Chesapeake Bay, at its intersection with the Piedmont physiographic province at the falls of the James River (Figure 1). The east side of the city is on the Atlantic Coastal Plain, whereas the western section is on the Piedmont Plateau. Along this boundary, the oldest sediments in the region, Precambrian Petersburg Granite from the Piedmont Plateau, is exposed by the river erosion and along the bluffs (P. Thomas and Harper 2009, 1–3). According



*Figure 1 - Location Map of Richmond, Virginia*

to the Natural Resource Conservation Service (NRCS), the majority of Richmond soils are comprised of the Urban land complex soil types, with 0 to 4 percent slopes. Subsoils on Richmond hilltops are generally ancient formations like Bacon's Castle and Yorktown, as well as underlying Miocene clay marl (Mullin

and Rupnik 2004). The temperature in the City of Richmond varies between an average daily summer high of 89 degrees Fahrenheit (31.7 degrees Celsius) and the average daily winter low of 29 degrees Fahrenheit (-1.7 degrees Celsius).

Colonial contact occurred early in the seventeenth century in the region, when John Smith sailed up the James River in 1607 and came ashore where the river became unnavigable. Probably relieved to be far from the humid, bug-infested Jamestown, Smith is recorded as having described the Algonquian village of Powhatan thusly: “No place we knew so strong, so pleasant and delightful in Virginia for which we called it Non-such” (Potterfield 2009). At that point, the Fall Line of the James River had been an important boundary for centuries between the Powhatan chiefdom and the Monacan lands to the west. Once the town was settled in the 1730s, by British colonists and their enslaved laborers of African descent, Richmond expanded as a critical trade and industrial location, especially for tobacco, milled wheat flour, and ironworking. The pre-Richmond site of Warwick, now partially or mostly destroyed by a City of Richmond Port Deepwater Terminal, was founded because it was the furthest west along the James River that some ships (250-ton ones according to a reference in a letter by Thomas Jefferson) could easily pass (Jefferson 1801, 8).

Richmond was partially sacked during the Revolutionary War by Benedict Arnold but expanded rapidly during the earliest decades of the New Republic as the Virginia capitol was moved to Richmond. During this period, the city’s importance to regional and national trade routes grew, as Richmond became the dominant trading center for a burgeoning inter-state trade in enslaved people

sold from Virginia plantations to the cotton plantations of the Deep South. Post-Civil War, Richmond became the epicenter of a fractious and incomplete Reconstruction, the reassertion of Lost Cause mythology with the rise of Jim Crow legislated inequality, and a battleground over massive resistance and the Civil Rights movement. As with most American urban centers, this struggle was heightened by the considerable successes carved out by Richmond's black community, most notably in the prominent Jackson Ward neighborhood.

Although Richmond holds a prominent place in the narrative of American and Virginia history, the city's archaeological resources have received incredibly little attention or preservation advocacy. In many chapters throughout the city's history, the most effective advocates have come from fields far outside archaeology, such as psychology, interior design, or architecture. A mid-size city, comparable to Buffalo or Louisville, Richmond's current narratives seem to emphasize that it is under-recognized on the national stage but has a rising amount of (often coded as white) millennial cachet, is a unique and enjoyable place to live, and has many entrenched structural problems that some emphasize as legacies of an invalorous past rather than representing current tensions. It has a small-town feel, as most conversations will meander in short order to questions regarding where each interlocutor grew up, what high schools they attended, and which neighborhoods they've lived in. These conversations carry with them the unspoken premise that people whose parents, grandparents, and perhaps great-grandparents didn't grow up in Richmond, then they are not "from Richmond." Traditionally, the city has been seen as a conservative place where the Civil War

continues to be enshrined in local significance, where business interests (particularly the power of Virginia energy, tobacco, and increasingly residential and commercial development) are placed first, and where state politics casts a long shadow.

While these factors continue to be in the mix, Richmond is swept by the same tides as most other American cities. In the last decade Richmond has seen substantial immigration of rural Virginians and folks hailing from other cities further afield. At the same time, it has been affected by the recession of 2006-2008 and subsequent halting recovery; during the 2008-2010 economic crisis the city of Richmond had a slight net outward migration rate, whereas the surrounding counties of Chesterfield and Henrico enjoyed net inward-migration and somewhat higher average wages (Bruner 2010). However, since that time Richmond has led Virginia cities in its population growth, increasing in population by over 9% in a six year period, and topping the net migration rate among Virginia cities according to U.S. Census estimates (Greater Richmond Partnership 2017; N. Oliver 2018). This has driven considerable construction and renovation in the housing industry, especially in the historic urban core neighborhoods popular with well-heeled millennials, such as Shockoe Bottom, Church Hill, Jackson Ward, and Scott's Addition. A significant factor in the financial model for these renovations is the federal and state historic rehabilitation tax credit, which offers developers tax abatement in exchange for renovating historic structures according to historical standards established by the state historic preservation office, the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.



Richmond has the largest number of these developments in the state, which have preserved the city's historic fabric for new uses even as they has contributed to gentrification and neighborhood transition (Kutner 2017).

Another major contemporary demographic shift altering Richmond's local outlook and political climate is the end of legal voter disenfranchisement and the emergence of a majority black<sup>2</sup> voting population in the city. Despite the best efforts of the white city leadership of the 1960s and 1970s to maintain a white voting majority through selective annexation, Richmond has regularly elected a majority black city government since 1977 (Moomaw 2015). The gerrymandering of city district lines and annexation tactics resulted in a seven year period during which the city was enjoined by a federal court from holding elevations, a General Assembly ban on annexation in Virginia cities, and a voting population that is substantially racially polarized (B. Campbell 2011; Moeser and Rutledge 1982). The recent demographics and politics of the city has influenced the conditions of Richmond's archaeology in several direct and incidental ways. When they rose to power in 1977, black politicians in the city swiftly began to advance the preservation and interpretation of local sites with particular significance to the history of African-descended people in Richmond. Henry Marsh (the first black

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<sup>2</sup> As I discuss further in Chapter 5, I try to use naming conventions that reflect what interviewees, community members, and groups have told me they wanted and how they commonly identified themselves. When I asked their personal self-identification, most individuals said African-American. However, when speaking more broadly and casually in public events most people discussed city political issues along a black/white divide and identified white history vs black history. In addition, some individuals shared an opposition to pre-suffrage (and especially pre-Emancipation) African-descended people from being identified as "Americans" of any sort, because they were being denied the basic rights of citizenship. I therefore use a mixture of black (to identify an ethnicity's political and often historical race affiliation) and African-American to identify specific ethnic self-identifiers and populations post-Emancipation.

mayor of Richmond and subsequently a long-serving state delegate) and others advocated for the home of Maggie Walker to be designated as a National Historic Landmark to preserve and interpret the history of Richmond's Jackson Ward neighborhood, the thriving center of black capitalism in the early twentieth century. The Maggie Walker National Historic Site was only the fifth national park unit dedicated to an African-American figure nationwide when it was created in 1978, and was created in the face of significant National Park Service resistance by some within the agency (Weber and Sultana 2013). The transfer of this land to the National Park Service and its subsequent transition to operating museum and visitor's center has been the cause of the only archaeological research so far pursued in Jackson Ward, and led to the excavation of several front yards along Quality Row, a particularly upscale part of the neighborhood (Gigante, unpublished blog written for RVA Archaeology). In 1998, city councilman Sa'ad El-Amin patroned a resolution creating the Richmond Slave Trail Commission devoted to the creation of a historic walking trail to commemorate and acknowledge the city's involvement in the slave trade. The history of this commission is one of the most contentious and divisive issues affecting representation and interpretation of the city's history and will be discussed in much greater detail later. In terms of the visibility and public value placed on archaeology, however, the commission's relationship with the sites of Lumpkin's Jail and the African Burial Ground has resulted in a sea change in consideration of archaeology by many subgroups of city residents. The history of Richmond's archaeology seems driven by a few key factors: the actions and motives of a few

well-positioned or persistent individuals; actions and perceptions regarding a few key institutions, particularly VCU and the city (or city bodies like the Slave Trail Commission); and shifting attitudes regarding how history should be explored and what history is meaningful or relevant.

## 1.7 Format of Study and Dissertation

This dissertation conducts its examination of Richmond's archaeology from several vantage points and with several methodological tools. This first introductory chapter has introduced the problems with which this scholarship grapples and provided my theoretical foundation for this research. Chapter 2 will introduce some of the broad patterns of Richmond's history with an emphasis on topics that have become archaeologically relevant or define ways in which Richmond is widely historically significant. Chapter 3 provides a chronological archival review of how Richmond's archaeological resources have been uncovered, lost, struggled over, and regulated. In Chapters 4 and 5, I explore the narratives around archaeological value and archaeological politics, as derived from my archaeological ethnographic approaches and participation in the RVA Archaeology community archaeology organization. Chapter 6 provides the results of my spatial and geographic sensitivity analysis into Richmond's archaeological potential. Responding to the priorities, challenges, and opportunities identified by my spatial and ethnographic analyses, Chapter 7 provides my perspective on what various stakeholders could and should do to respond to the condition of Richmond's archaeological resources and the needs

and interests of the city's communities. Finally, in Chapter 8, I use my exploration of Richmond to tackle broader themes of the value and politics of American urban archaeology and place this city into national context. Following the main chapters are a Bibliography and a series of Appendices. Within these Appendices are a series of resources useful for further study into the topic, including some digital tools I created during my research and writing.

## 2 An Archaeological and Historical Context of Richmond, Virginia

Although there are several substantial academic archaeological research projects nearby Richmond (e.g. Curles Neck, Jordan's Journey), archaeological study of the city has overwhelmingly been through either volunteer survey projects led by the Archeological Society of Virginia; salvage projects, and cultural resource management. Chapter 3 will describe this scholarship and how it has developed in detail. Understanding of the Richmond past has been more substantially driven by historical scholarship (e.g. Kimball 2000; Sidbury 1997; Tyler-McGraw 1994; Chesson 1981; Ezekiel and Lichtenstein 1917; Nelson 2006). It is impossible in a dissertation such as this, where the topic is so broad, to do justice to the history of Richmond and the substantial scholarship that underpins our understanding of it. However, this literature review aims to characterize the broad trends and events critical to understanding the Richmond landscape through time. To align this dissertation with studies in cultural resource management and statewide archaeological scholarship, this history is organized within the stages required in the standard *Guidelines for Conducting Cultural Resource Survey in Virginia*, a 2001 VDHR publication used as the standard for cultural resource management in the Commonwealth (Virginia Department of Historic Resources 2001). Virginia prehistory is generally subdivided into three major periods: Paleoindian, Archaic, and Woodland, which are characterized by subsistence patterns, material culture types, and settlement organization. This summary diverges from the stages established by the Virginia Department of

Historic Resources slightly with the inclusion of the Pre-Clovis period, for which there is increasing evidence.

## 2.1 Pre-Clovis (Pre-15,000 B.P)

Although a controversial theory for decades, archaeological scholarship is gradually coalescing in agreement that native Americans were present in North America prior to the end of the Pleistocene (Pitblado 2011; Prasciunas 2011). Nationally sites with the best claims to Pre-Clovis occupation are the Topper Site (South Carolina), Meadowcroft (Pennsylvania), Cactus Hill (Virginia) and others in Texas and Missouri (Snow 2015, 44). Excavations at Virginia's Cactus Hill site 45 miles south of Richmond have found native artifacts in a strata dated to 15,000 years ago (McAvoy and McAvoy 1997; Johnson 2012). Similarly, the Saltville site in southwest Virginia has been the subject of several decades of investigation and appears to contain modified animal bone tools, chert flakes, and simple hand axes in layers dating to at least 14,500 BP (Goodyear 2005). Given that Pre-Clovis sites appear to lack a characteristic toolset like the Paleoindian fluted point, it is possible that a substantial number of Pre-Clovis sites have been mischaracterized and overlooked (Klein and Proper 2016). There are currently no identified Pre-Clovis sites in the Richmond area, nor in adjacent Chesterfield and Henrico Counties. Since Pre-Clovis site identification requires stratified deposits, undisturbed organic materials for C-14 dating, and characteristic assemblages, urban contexts are especially challenging for their identification. Due to their limited signature, Pre-Clovis sites are challenging to

identify reliably, but some of the approaches discussed in the Paleoindian section below may also assist in identifying Pre-Clovis sites, especially in stratified deposits along the James River floodplain.

## 2.2 Paleoindian (15,000 – 10,000 BP)

During the Paleoindian stage in Virginia, the climate was still heavily influenced by the receding Ice Age at the end of the Pleistocene geological epoch. Populations during this period were very low and tended to be nomadic, following animal herds and moving to pursue other resources on which their hunter-gatherer subsistence was based. Major Paleoindian sites in Virginia include the Williamson site in Dinwiddie, and an unnamed site in Hanover County. Henrico County immediately north of Richmond has been the site of numerous recovered Paleoindian points (Turner 1989, 80). Artifacts that are diagnostic for Paleoindian sites are stone lanceolate spear or dart points, often thinned with a distinctive channel flake. Types of Paleoindian points include most famously Clovis and Folsom projectile points, but also Hardaway-Dalton and Hardaway Side-Notched styles (Barber and Barfield 1989). High quality lithic material, such as jasper, chert, and crystalline quartz, also distinguishes early lithics from those of later stages, and tools such as end scrapers and graters are also found in higher proportions in these assemblages. Evidence related to Paleoindian subsistence in Virginia, but interpretations based substantially on discoveries outside the state suggests that the earliest Virginians depended on the consumption of large terrestrial game, such as mastodon, giant beaver, musk

ox, stag moose, ground sloth, mammoths, and horses (Boyd 1989, 147–50; Boyd 2012). This is supported by elements of Paleoindian site distribution and the emphasis on large spear projectile types necessary for taking down large game.

Within Richmond, there is one identified site with a recorded Paleoindian occupation: 44HE0579, the island of Belle Isle. The published reports on this site focuses on investigations of the island's POW camp for enlisted Union soldiers during the Civil War and the history of a "The Stone Building" (likely an oil house) on the island, and the VDHR site record does not provide any further details on its ostensible use during the Paleoindian period (Browning 1995). It is likely that Belle Isle would have been used whenever it was first discovered – it's quite possible that under lower sea level conditions, that the landmass was part of the southern coastline of the James River, and the gradual slope away from the granite bedrock that makes up the island would have made the area a sought-after fishing spot. It is not, however, clear that diagnostic Paleoindian artifacts have been recovered at the site confirming this.

One major challenge to identifying Paleoindian occupation and activity sites is that urban contexts are particularly unfriendly to identifying such sites, and research projects specifically seeking out these sites are uncommon in urban areas. Evidence from elsewhere in Virginia illustrates that substantial Paleoindian sites are most likely to be found around large interior wetlands in proximity to high-quality lithic sources, which are present in some areas south of the James River (Dent 1995, 135–39; McAvoy 1992). Additionally, the high



concentration of Paleoindian sites in Henrico County also suggests that the James River was a powerful attractant for these ancient peoples.

Given the ephemeral and deeply-buried nature of Paleoindian resources in this area, the absence of archaeological research specifically investigating Paleoindian resources in this area may be a major reason such sites are seldom located. In eastern Virginia and Maryland, geomorphological analysis at four sites have identified late Pleistocene loess deposits, particularly the Paw Paw Loess, which overlay paleosols (deeply buried soil horizons). Such paleosols have contained Paleoindian lithic artifacts such as quartzite anvils and hammerstones, bifacial lanceolate projectile points, and quartzite and chert bipolar and polyhedral cores (Lowery et al. 2010). Work pioneered by the District of Columbia HPO has illustrated that geoarchaeological testing in urban areas with such loessial deposits can provide risk assessments regarding the likelihood of encountering Paleoindian remains, which can guide regulatory requirements for archaeological work in compliance with Section 106.

### 2.3 Archaic (10,000 - 4200 BP)

The Archaic period is marked by the transition to the modern Holocene climatic era. The stage is divided into Early (10,000–8500 BC), Middle (8500–5000 BC), and Late (5000–3000 BC) Archaic sub-periods, which delineate a series of responses to shifting environmental resources but also a progressively more diverse lithics toolkit and the development of more substantial and repeatedly-used base camp sites. Like the prehistoric periods preceding it, the

Archaic Period's human habitation is characterized by transhumance among small bands of people, but with greater levels of specialization and more specialized resource procurement. Settlements were likely based in base camps for some parts of the year and split off during other periods when particular types of subsistence were practiced and resource allocation worked differently. A large survey of the Naval Weapons Station in Tidewater Virginia found that in that area, sites dating to before 1000BC were often found further away from the York River and tidal creeks (Gallivan 2016, 74; Underwood, Blanton, and Cline 2003). However, within the (extremely opportunistically excavated) Richmond context, most identified Archaic sites are within a few hundred feet of the modern river bank.

While many Archaic material culture signatures are more similar over large areas of the Mid-Atlantic region than they become in later stages, Sassaman has cautioned against having a monolithic understanding of the Archaic in eastern North America, pointing out that interaction networks and differences in ritual, social structure, and economics can be seen from the Archaic material record (Sassaman 2010). Background histories of the Archaic Period within cultural resource management, however, generally fail to center human behaviors and cultural practice, focusing instead on the diagnostic lithic shapes that will help verify that an Archaic site has been found (and thus have implications for CRM projects). This period in human habitation is still fairly murky especially within Virginia – the current State Archaeologist has noted that Virginia is “almost completely devoid of archaeofauna and/or ethnobotanical data”

required to make judgments about the subsistence approaches of Archaic peoples, and that most of the characterizations about the Virginian Archaic are based on surrounding regions (Barber 2003).

During the Early Archaic, Virginia underwent significant environmental change. The Chesapeake estuary was beginning to form, and the climate became warmer and drier (Dent 1995, 147). This is thought to have shifted hunting approaches away from a focus on large cold-weather mammals (elk, caribou, moose) towards smaller prey. Accordingly, the lithic technology during this time shifted from large fluted points to corner and side-notched points, as Paleoindian spears were replaced with spears with smaller spearheads that were likely being propelled with the assistance of atlatls (Klein and Proper 2016). The Early Archaic is also the first period that ground stone artifacts, such as celts and atlatl weights, are seen in the archaeological record. Analysis of Archaic site distribution state-wide suggests that, although site density around Richmond is low, that Early Archaic sites did generally cluster along the fall line separating the Piedmont and the Inner Coastal Plain (Barber 2003, 126–27). Currently, there are no archaeological sites within the Richmond city limits with diagnostic artifacts supporting an Early Archaic designation – although Belle Isle is also listed as having an Early Archaic occupation, it has a similar lack of concrete evidence for this as it does for the Paleoindian one.

The Middle Archaic may have been shepherded in by a milder environmental change that covered the state in an oak-mixed deciduous forest vegetation, perhaps with an increased seasonal variation and a slight warming of

the climate due to the Atlantic Episode (Tolley 2003, 134–35; contra Custer 1990). New projectile points in this period include a variety of stemmed point forms, which point to shifts in hunting and technological toolkits. In the state archaeological site database, we see an increase in the number of recorded sites associated starting with the Middle Archaic. This is the case for the Richmond region, and is likely the result of larger Middle Archaic populations, the intensity of survey in the area, and number of diagnostic artifacts for this period (Tolley 2003, 134-135-143).

It was possibly during the Middle or Late Archaic that the Falls of the James River gained its liminal and significant identity in prehistory as a boundary zone between the Coastal Plain tribes to the east and the Piedmont interior groups, which persisted until the contact period (Hantman 1990). The Cactus Hill site (44SX0202), located about 45 miles south of Richmond, has a significant Middle Archaic occupation, as it seems to have been an important lithic quarrying and reducing site. Typologies of the Middle Archaic points found at the site suggest the site was especially intensively used in association with Morrow Mountain artifacts (Tolley 2003, 139).

There are two sites, 44HE0057 and 44HE0678, within Richmond with a Middle Archaic period component. Both were located just north of the James River within a few hundred feet of the modern river's edge and both were diagnostically assessed by the presence of Morrow Mountain points. The former is a temporary camp site in the Fulton neighborhood, whereas the latter was less

clear in terms of occupation type given the site's discovery after extensive disturbance.

By the Late Archaic, the total population in Virginia is estimated to have been in the tens of thousands (Virginia Department of Historic Resources 2017). Hunting and gathering practices became intensified, and populations settled along floodplain regions. After 2000BC, soapstone started being used to carve out cooking pots created and vessels, illustrating a change food processing practices that would eventually lead to the development of ceramic technology (Luckenbach, Holland, and Allen 1975; Klein 1997). Some scholars have noted that the Chesapeake especially exhibits transient increases in social complexity that start in the Late Archaic Period and occur discontinuously until contact (Gallivan 2011, 286; Custer 1994).

Currently identified within Richmond city there are three sites (44CF0004; 44CF0608, and 44HE1079) with Late Archaic period occupations listed at VDHR, all described as camps, some with additional trash scatter components. Site 44CF0004, first identified by Howard MacCord in 1983, is located along the eastern edge of the Rattlesnake Creek approximately a mile south of the James River. Site 44CF0608, identified by shovel test pit survey in 2001 by Thunderbird Archaeology, is located within one hundred feet of the south bank of the James River, between two small creek drainages. Site 44HE1079, discovered in 2007 during a CRM excavation, is located around a thousand feet east of the northern bank of the James River in the floodplain of the Gillie's Creek drainage. Although the archaeological work here was limited to shovel testing, the site was identified

as potentially eligible for the National Register and was described as a large, recurrent basecamp active from the Late Archaic through Late Woodland periods, with fire-cracked rock, ceramics, and a variety of lithic tools (including a Late Archaic Savannah River Stemmed projectile point) recovered. In addition, the Maury Street site (44CF0123) has only Woodland components listed in the DHR database currently but investigations into the site have supported evidence of Archaic use as well. This site is located along a floodplain south of the James River in eastern border of the city and unlike most Virginia Archaic sites, is in a highly stratified riverine context. It was likely a tool manufacturing site during the Archaic, but considerable deposits of fire-cracked rock suggest that it may have been a fishing camp and fish smoking and processing site during the Woodland. The Maury Street site was recorded in 1979, and underwent some limited investigation then by Stephen Perlman at Virginia Commonwealth University, before it was investigated in a data recovery as part of the Army Corps of Engineers Floodwall project in 1990 (see Chapter 3.5.2). As a result of the challenges experienced by this project, the potential value of this site for research into native habitation in central Virginia has been substantially limited.

#### 2.4 Woodland (3200 – 400 BP)

The Woodland period, like the Archaic, is subdivided into Early (3000 to 2550 BP, Middle (2550 to 1250 BP), and Late (1250 BP to 1607 AD) periods. It is characterized by the development of ceramic production technologies, the development of sedentary village life, and the emergence of state-level political

organization, particularly among the Coastal Virginia Indians. At the falls zone, Richmond sits along a deeply-uneven scholarly divide between the Virginia Tidewater, which has been the subject of extensive archaeological and historical analyses of late prehistory and native-colonial contact interactions, and the Piedmont interior, which was much less documented by European arrivals, has been the subject of much less historical and archaeological investigation, and likely had a lower population density during this period. While Richmond is at the boundary of these two interaction spheres, our understanding of the Richmond landscape has more in common, with its limited extent, to the Piedmont context than to the Tidewater one. While this is partially a problem of documentation (and early settlement in Richmond potentially disturbing much of the surficial native sites), the position of the Falls as a boundary zone across the entire region seems to have deeply influenced the patterns of native landscape use in the area. In her Masters thesis, Jessica Taylor described the extent of the Fall Line geopolitical boundary thus: “There are some indications in the archaeological record that on the eve of the colonial era the fall line was prehistorically marked by twenty-five to fifty kilometers of unoccupied land,” citing Mouer (Taylor 2009, 5). Longtime Richmond archaeologist Dan Mouer has suggested that these boundary zones were maintained through centuries of skirmishes and warfare over control of the Falls, possibly spurred on by differences in language and culture, competition over resources, and Powhatan military expansion (Mouer 1983b). Similarly, Helen Rountree has characterized the political relationships between the Monacans and Powhatan chiefdoms as “usually hostile” (Rountree

1993). Just east of the southern tip of the Richmond municipal boundary, investigations at the Redwood Field Site (44HE0497) have indicated that settlement along the interior near Richmond peaked in the Middle and Late Archaic Periods, declined in the Early Woodland, and increased again during the Middle Woodland (Bowden, Bradley ASV QB 2001 56(1)). Keith Egloff has suggested that archaeological ceramic evidence suggests this divide may extend back to around 200 AD, but soapstone sourcing analysis by Luckenbach and colleagues argued that this geopolitical divide can be seen as far back as the Late Archaic or Early Woodland (Gallivan 2003, 128; Egloff 1985; Luckenbach, Holland, and Allen 1975). Therefore, this section will focus on introducing the specific context at the falls in Richmond, while referencing Tidewater and Piedmont scholarship as they can be tied in with habitation along the James River. However, given the lack of sustained scholarly focus on the James River Falls Zone, many of these details should be understood to be tentative and in need of further examination.

During the Early Woodland, the Virginia population grew, and sedentary lifeways developed. Subsistence practices among Coastal Indians can best be described as estuarine foragers in the Early and Middle Woodland periods, with substantial exploitation of oyster and development of substantial shell midden deposits further east than Richmond. The first ceramics in the area were crafted, with the earliest ceramic types in Central Virginia being Marcey Creek and Croaker Landing ware (Egloff and Potter 1982).



The Middle Woodland is characterized by an increased population size again, increased exploitation of marine and riverine resources, and larger sites, especially at transition zones containing a mixture of freshwater and saltwater resources (Turner 1992). Recent scholarship by Martin Gallivan (2016, 70–78)

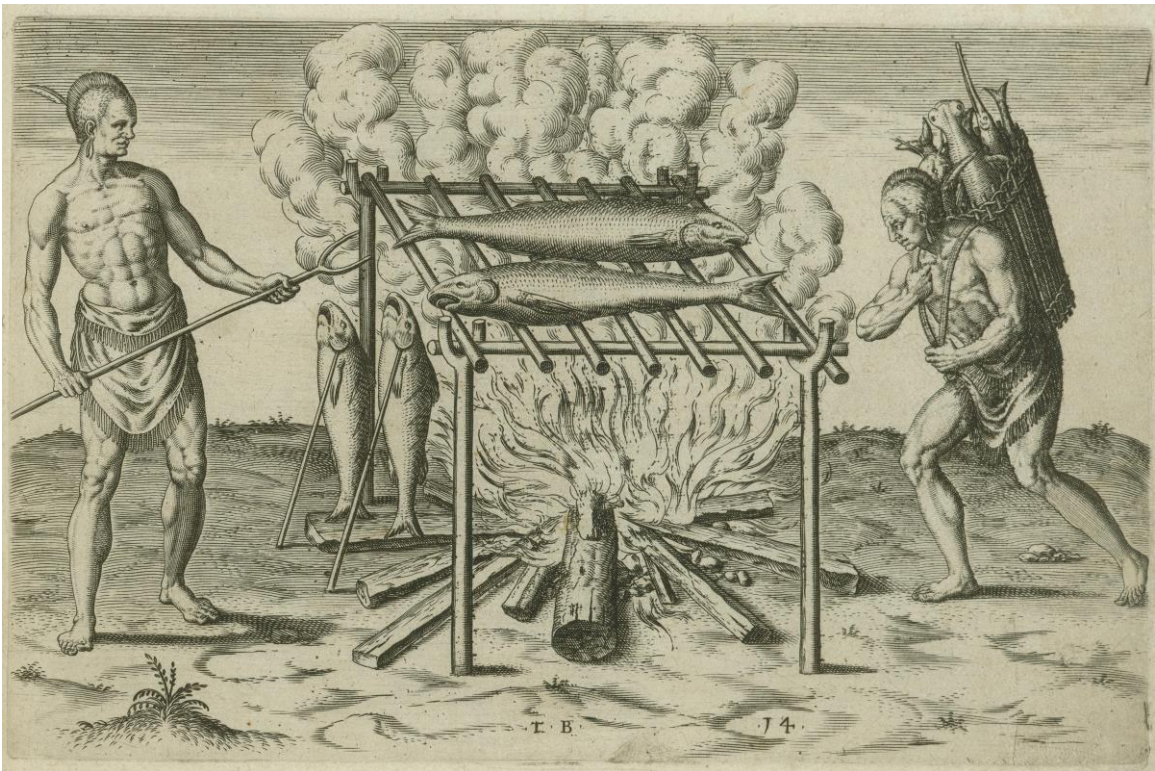


Figure 2 – Theodore de Bry c. 1588 engraving 'The brovyllinge of their fishe ouer the flame' (Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University)

has explored ways in which aggregations of hunter-gatherer and forager-fisher Coastal Indians interacted amongst themselves at large estuarine settlements around shell middens, or at interior camps along tributaries of the James and York Rivers. These gatherings and meetings encouraged cultural exchange and influences on ceramic styles, as well as the arrival and development of an Algonquian speech community especially at sites involved with shellfish harvesting and foraging, and during the fishing runs of anadromous fish. During

exploration of the Carolina Outer Banks and the Chesapeake Bay, Thomas Hariot and John White described native practices and culture, including a depiction of native peoples smoking fish to preserve them along the river's edge (Figure 2).

The Maury Street site and site 44HE1079 are likely examples of similar patterns of settlement behavior, and possibly the most western extent of this type of large riverine processing site at the western border of the Virginian Coastal Plain. Like in the Chesapeake sites described by Gallivan, Maury Street contains examples of Mockley and Varina ceramics – an unusual inclusion for a site so far to the interior. Egloff's 2011 ceramic study of these materials has overall assessed that the ceramic cultural affiliations visible in the Maury Street collection suggest a greater interior Piedmont interaction than Coastal, but also notes that Richmond is the only place along the Virginia Fall Zone where these types of Tidewater influences are seen (Egloff 2011).

The Late Woodland period (divided by some scholars into the Late Woodland I (AD 900-1200); Late Woodland II (1200-1500); and Protohistoric periods (1500-1607)) was a time of intense upheaval and transformation in eastern Virginia, especially in the Tidewater. These shifts were characterized an increasing reliance on agriculture; larger village sites; increasing social complexity and inequality; and a shift from open interaction networks to ones that were localized and geographically identifiable (Turner 1992; Gallivan 2003, 152–54). An analysis of 22 sites in the James River Valley in the Middle and Late Woodland periods has indicated that there was a steady increase in sedentism in

large floodplain sites between 500BC and 1500 AD (Gallivan 2002). In the years before the British arrived at Jamestown, this social change crystallized into the Powhatan chiefdom, which united many tribes in the Lower Tidewater into a loose confederacy built of allied tribes with territories made up of networks of seasonal camps and semi-permanent villages (Phelps 1983). West of Richmond, interior Siouan peoples along the Rappahannock and James Rivers are not nearly as well-documented or frequently archaeologically investigated as the Powhatan landscape, but evidence suggests a similar coalescence of Monacan identity around the year 1000AD, illustrated by the beginning of the burial mound tradition and similar settlement changes as are seen in the Tidewater (Gold 2004, 20; Hantman, Gold, and Dunham 2004; Gallivan 2003, 34). Similarly, Hantman has defined certain areas of Central Virginia, in earlier periods inhabited by the Lewish Creek Mount culture and Dan River cultures, to have a specifically Monacan archaeological signature during the last four hundred years of the Late Woodland (Hantman 2006, 110).

The crops most critical for native Chesapeake subsistence during the Late Woodland were maize, beans, and squash, which in the Tidewater were cultivated in garden plots along terraces. Archaeological evidence for such cultivation in the Chesapeake has historically been limited, but radiocarbon analysis by McKnight and Gallivan has illustrated that corn horticulture was a relatively recent development at the time tribes first encountered European colonists. Their radiocarbon analysis suggests that plant domestication first appears west of the Blue Ridge, then spreads to the Piedmont, before finally

arriving on the Coastal Plain around 1100AD (Gallivan 2016, 132–33). Stable isotope analysis of carbon and nitrogen stable isotope analysis of skeletal populations in Virginia and North Carolina has suggested that Piedmont Indians, especially in the north, had the largest dietary range and were the least reliant on maize. Coastal Indians seem to have relied most substantially on maize (around 50% of their diet) and marine resources. Both groups appear less dependent on corn than the furthest interior Ridge and Valley groups, where maize comprised 50-75% of the diet (Trimble and Macko 1994; Trimble 1996; Gold 2004, 87–89; Masur 2013, 76–78). Population increases among Coastal Indians and climatic fluctuations between 800 and 1000AD may have been the driving factors that led to the development of maize agriculture among the coastal Algonquian tribes (Gallivan 2003).

During these shifts in subsistence and lifeways, Virginia Indian groups made changes to the designs and forms of their ceramics. Around 200AD, coastal ceramics become largely shell-tempered whereas lithic and sand-tempered ceramics were found in the interior. By the terminal Late Woodland, ceramic traditions had become more tightly geographically bound, differentiating the lower river drainages from upper ones, and between the drainages (of the James, Rappahannock, York, and Potomac Rivers) themselves (Gallivan 2003, 34–35). These shifts likely represent greater sedentism and greater emphasis on external symbols of social differentiation. In cases where ware types are seen for long time ranges, like the Townsend ware in the Coastal Plain between 950 and

1600AD, their distinctive styles make it possible to considerably seriate these designs (Egloff and Potter 1982).

Richmond currently has 16 sites defined as Woodland period, and an additional 32 sites listed as Prehistoric/Unknown, many of which are likely associated with the Woodland period. Most of these sites are defined by previous researchers as camp sites, especially temporary camp sites, with significant numbers also of trash scatter and lithic quarrying sites. The Falls was the easternmost area along the Lower Peninsula where granite bedrock was available, and the landscape's use during prehistory reflects the importance of this resource. One of the most significant of the Woodland sites within the city limits is likely to have been 44HE0077, a site located on the bluff north of the James River in the neighborhood now known as Shockoe Slip just west of the Shockoe Creek drainage (see Figure 3). This site was discovered in 1977 during the excavation of the Richmond Metropolitan Authority's Downtown Expressway.



*Figure 3 - Image of Salvage Excavation at Shockoe Slip (44HE0077) on file at VDHR*

Although the site is recorded simply as a collection of four graves, with

associated Archaic and Woodland period points and ceramic fragments, it is likely that this was simply the one identifiable element of a much larger village site destroyed in the expressway construction.

At contact, there were a few known Indian settlements in the Richmond area, but perhaps far fewer than we could expect given the desirability of the land. The substantial village of Powhatan, often stated as the birthplace of the werowance Powhatan, was located barely east of the modern city boundary at what is now Tree Hill Farm in eastern Henrico. A smaller Powhatan planting village appears to have been located to the southeast in Fulton Bottom (Potter 1993). The village later occupied by Smith's English settlers and named Nonesuch was perhaps this planting village, or perhaps another settlement in Shockoe Bottom or Shockoe Slip proper, further west past the beginning of the Falls. Based on historiography into the accounts of early English settlers, it appears that Powhatan allies of the English were extremely reluctant to cross the fall line of the James toward the Piedmont interior during the years around the first colonial encounters, due to previously-discussed hostile tribal relations with the Siouan Monacan tribe in the Virginia interior. In fact, these uneasy relations may have induced the Powhatan Confederacy to develop their initially cordial relations with the Jamestown colonists, whose European copper was a convenient replacement for an important symbolic material only otherwise obtainable through trade with the Monacans (Hantman 1990, 685–86).

## 2.5 Settlement to Society (1607-1750)

The year after Jamestown was founded by English colonists led by John Smith, he and Christopher Newport conducted explorations up the James River, identified the falls of the James River, and met with Chief Powhatan at the village of Powhatan. They quickly negotiated ownership of a small native village in the area, which John Smith renamed Nonesuch Place. Poor relations, including a partial mutiny against John Smith, resulted within a year, and the subsequent injury of Smith and his return to England likely ended early settlement at the falls of the James (Dabney 1990). Thus began the Contact period in the Richmond area, often described as those early decades of tentative native-European engagement between 1607 and 1646.

Another early settlement in the area included the British defensive outpost of Fort Charles, which was initially located north of the James River following the end of the Second Powhatan War in 1645. It was only active for a short period of time before being dismantled and relocated to a more fertile area south of the James. Around a decade later, a group of Indians referred to as the Rockahecrean settled at the falls north of the James (Dabney 1990). This settlement resulted in the Battle of Bloody Run, in which a combined force of a colonial militia and allied Indians unsuccessfully attempted to dislodge the Rockahecrean from the area. Historical evidence for this battle is somewhat muddled but suggests that it may have occurred somewhere near the intersection of Marshall and 31st Streets. The Rockahecrean appear to have voluntarily relocated to the west several years later (Manarin and Dowdey 1984).

The first land grants given out in this area were granted to Thomas Stegge, an Englishman who received 1800 acres, established a trading post in the vicinity of the fall line, and constructed routes into the interior of the state. Much of the land remained undeveloped, and passed to his nephew, William Byrd I, and later Byrd's son William Byrd II. A warehouse belonging to Stegge and the Byrds was located somewhere at the fall line.

Between 1675 and 1676, the region was rocked by Bacon's Rebellion, in which Nathaniel Bacon Jr. (of Curles Neck Plantation, a short distance east along the James River) rebelled against Governor Berkeley's authority and against peaceful relations with several Indian tribes in Maryland and Virginia. The rebellion and conflict was widespread; while most of it was located east of Richmond, the trading post of Bacon's Quarter owned by Bacon is located somewhere in the north of the city of Richmond, and was the site where Bacon's allegiances changed against the Indian tribes when a native raid resulted in the death of one of his overseers (Rice 2012; Rice 2014; Wiseman and Oberg 2005). Subsequently, Bacon conducted a devastating assault against the Susquehannock and the Occaneechi on the Roanoke River without approval of Governor Berkeley of Virginia. Bacon eventually conducted open rebellion



against the House of Burgesses and the Governor, taking Jamestown several times before taking ill and dying suddenly.

The most considerable of these early settlements at the Falls along the



*Figure 4 - View of "Rocketts" on James River below Richmond, 1865 (Matthew Brady; National Archives NAID 529957)*

James River emerged in 1730, when Robert Rocketts established a ferry landing at the intersection of Gillie's Creek and the James River. Rocketts Landing (see Figure 4 for an image of the town after the Fall of Richmond) quickly developed as Richmond's port, as well as a center of industry and trade (Ward and Greer 1977). This town was partially excavated in advance of a Virginia Department of Transportation road expansion in the early 1990s, and Mouer has described the community of Rocketts thus:

“Chroniclers speak clearly about the heterogenous character of Rocketts in this period: Cherokee Indians on trading missions, foreign sailors in the street markets and taverns, Germans, Jews, Irish, Scots and newly-immigrated English all formed important elements in the community. Women like Susanna Lewis and Sarah Lester were freed to some extent from the heavy-handed patrimony of plantation culture. Less visible in the documents, but certainly a substantial presence at the time, was a large community of free African Americans... [there were] many free blacks and an even larger community of hired-out slaves living under minimal white supervision. These slaves were typically hired out to merchants and artisans at the port, sought their own housing, and otherwise lived as free men and women, paying a percentage of wages to their owners. In this period the cosmopolitan character of Rocketts, and much of Richmond for that matter, separated the city from the mainstream of Virginia culture that had developed around plantation patriarchy.” (Mouer 1992, 79).

To the west, the town of Richmond was first developed under William Byrd II, who had surveyor James Mayo develop a town grid consisting of urban lots closer to the river with a few “urban plantation” lots to the north. The city grid was laid out in 1737, and in 1742 received town status due to the number of settlers, which according to the act of incorporation had bought most of the lots laid out as Richmond from Byrd and had built improvements on them (Reps 1972, 269). This initial plan represents, intentionally or unintentionally, Byrd’s desire for a proper British town: the original plan contains the regular geometric shape, lot types, and use of commons areas to demarcate city from rural land that was then in vogue in eighteenth-century British town planning (Cook 2017, 31). Tobacco economy was a major impetus for the creation of the town; whether due to its location on the Falls or political dealing, Virginia had recently passed an act of legislation requiring a major tobacco quality inspection warehouse to be

established at Shockoe (Cook 2017, 28–29). The town developed slowly and experienced its next major expansion in 1768, when a large land grant west of Shockoe Creek was sold off in a lottery to pay the gambling debts of Byrd II's son, William Byrd III. At the same time, a second land sale south of the river led in 1769 to the founding of Manchester, a separate town closely connected with Richmond that was not incorporated into the Richmond city limits until 1914 (Reps 1972, 269). After Richmond was founded, the political center of Henrico County slowly shifted from Varina to Richmond and the town's importance to political leadership and the tobacco trade expanded (Manarin and Dowdey 1984).

## 2.6 Colony to Nation (1751-1789)

During the late colonial period, Richmond continued to be somewhat peripheral to the Virginia power center, and grew somewhat haphazardly as later annexations softened the original rigid rectangular town shape (Cook 2017, 58). It was nonetheless a very vibrant port and market town, bustling with river trade and sale. During the 1770s, Indian traders often worked along the Richmond waterfront or frequented the marketplace, and in the 1780s the Shawnees and Catawbans are recorded as having visited Richmond for goods from public stores (Mouer 1996, 175). In 1779, the state capital was relocated from Williamsburg to Richmond, leading to considerable expansion. While Benedict Arnold burned sections of Rocketts Landing during the Revolutionary War, much of the town was unaffected and it grew tremendously after the war. Settlements on the

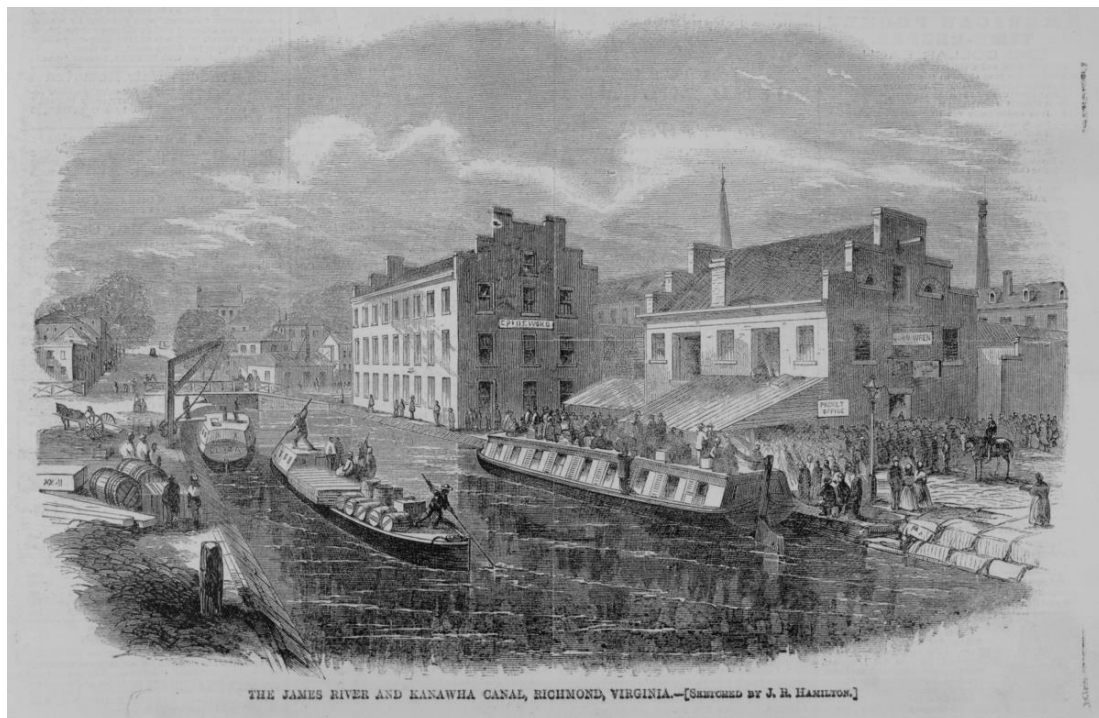
outskirts, now incorporated within the city limits, did not fare as well. The town of Warwick, then a significant upper James seaport with a substantial state military depot surrounding it, was also burned by Arnold. However, unlike Rocketts Landing Warwick was never rebuilt and 1781 represents the end of the town's occupation (Woodson 1968). The colonial town of Westham, established in 1751 at the point of the falls' upper navigability, housed a foundry that was important for the colonists during the Revolutionary War until neutralized by a British raid (Hendricks 2006). South of the river, a port town called Manchester was laid out in 1769, by William Byrd III.

As the revolution raged, the General Assembly passed an act relocating Virginia's capitol to Richmond, with specific instructions regarding public buildings that were to be erected, including a Capitol for both houses of the General Assembly, a Hall of Justice for the courts, two buildings for the Governor, a public jail, and a public market (Reps 1972, 269). Despite these grand proclamations, and the substantially larger city post-Byrd lottery, the British Simcoe's map from 1781 when the city was invaded shows only occasional houses on the lots, with almost all the buildings on the east side of Shockoe Creek. Virginia's General Assembly met in tobacco warehouses in Shockoe, one which was the subject of archaeological investigations in 2004 before the construction of a proposed religious freedom museum (Reps 1972, 271; McDonald 2004). This act also shifted the layout of Richmond, as a road scheme that previously gave no thought to the area's extensive and challenging topography were supplemented by those that gave a somewhat less harrowing

path up the hills that surrounded Shockoe Valley. Thomas Jefferson, corresponding part of the time from Paris, contributed heavily to the city layout and design of the Capitol (Reps 1972, 271–75).

## 2.7 Early National Period (1790-1829)

After the Revolution Richmond's centers of tobacco trading and industry, Shockoe Bottom and Rocketts Landing, continued to gain prominence and develop as the explicit design of Richmond as a seat of governance was brought to fruition. The plan to develop the James River and Kanawha Canal (seen in Figure 5 in the 1860s), to make the falls navigable and to connect the James with the Kanawha River in western Virginia, gained traction and increased the centrality of Richmond to state and national commerce (Dabney 1990). Between



*Figure 5 - The James River and Kanawha Canal, Richmond, Virginia, 1865. Harper's Weekly, sketched by J.R. Hamilton. (Library of Congress)*

1790 and 1830, the city annexed several land parcels to the west and north of

the 1769 expansion from the Byrd lottery, and the city's population increased from 3,700 to 16,000 (Gibson 1998). The relocation of the Virginia capitol drove extensive building in the city, introducing new building styles and innovation (Cook 2017, 69). The river also became an important driver of industrial power and transport during this period. Between 1730 and 1830, the river was dammed up with flimsy timber and granite block contraptions, which often failed but helped to divert water towards wheels and turbines that dotted the river (Potterfield 2009).

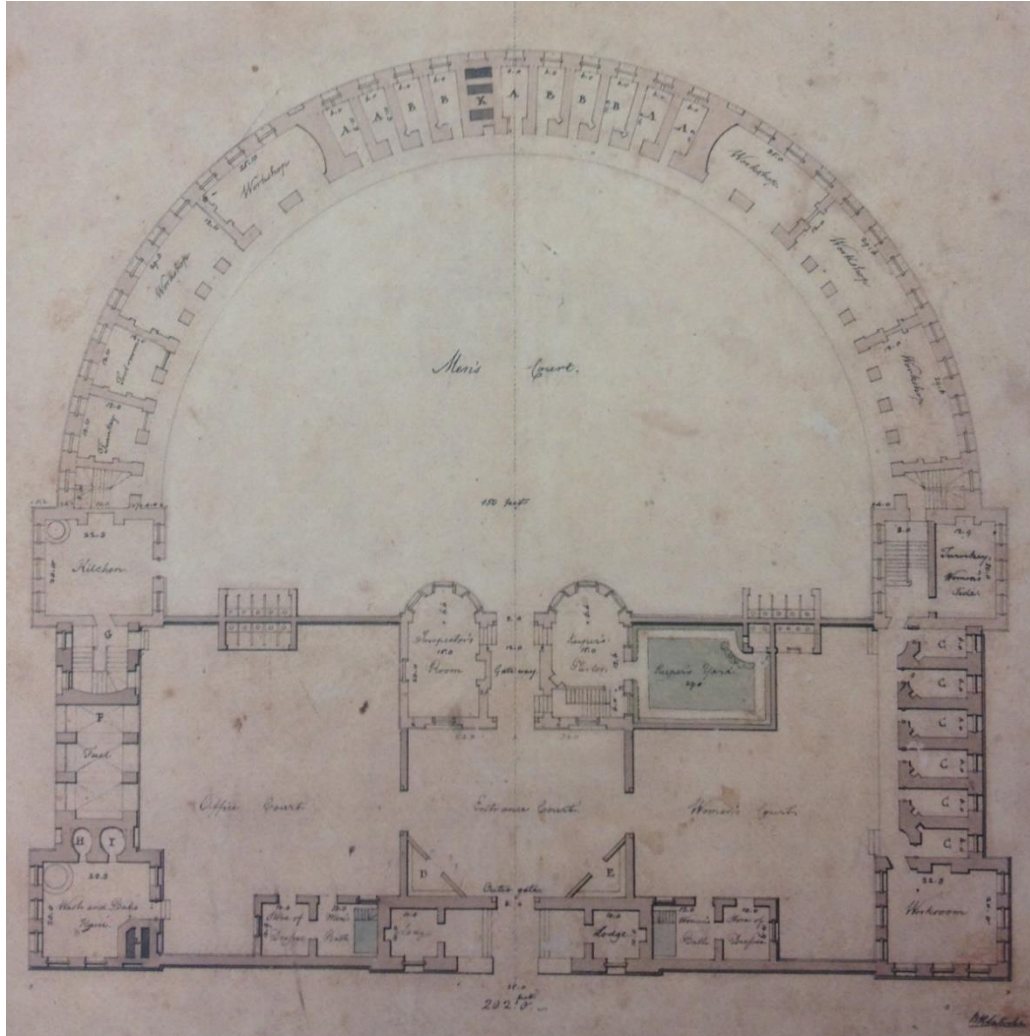
In 1800, there was a substantial attempted rebellion by Gabriel, a blacksmith enslaved by Henrico plantation owner Thomas Prosser. Gabriel, along with his co-conspirators from adjacent plantations in then-Henrico County (including enslaved men living on land belonging to the Gregory, Mosby, Sheppard, Owen, Allen, Storrs, and Wilkinson families) planned to kill certain plantation owners and march on Richmond, where fellow conspirators had a plan to capture arms and munitions from the capitol, armory, and powder magazine (Nicholls 2012, 15-17-58). According to some versions of the story, the plan was inspired by the Haitian Revolution and sought to take Virginia Governor James Monroe hostage and force him to abolish slavery in the state (Egerton 1993, 50–65; Nicholls 2012, 16–29). Ultimately the rebellion was thwarted by inclement weather and the confession by a couple of the involved enslaved men. Over several weeks after the event in late August 1800, Gabriel and around 40 other enslaved conspirators were hunted down. Twenty-five of the male conspirators, including Gabriel, were executed at the “usual time and place,” most likely the

public gallows just north of Broad Street adjacent to the then-called “Burial Ground for Negroes” marked on the Richard Adams map of Richmond (Schwarz 2012, 151–53).

This event was seminal for Virginia and other Southern planters’ fears over slave resurrections and resulted in an increase of transportation sentences for enslaved convicted criminals from Virginia to southern states. However, scholarship and analysis of the incident was sluggish before the 1990s, as the importance of this event (and the considerable ingenuity and planning it required) was considerably forgotten and suppressed by white historians. A novel based on the event by Harlem Renaissance author Arna Bontemps was written in 1936, but academic analysis of the event by white historians was rare until the 1990s (Sidbury 1997; Nicholls 2012; Schwarz 2012; Bontemps 1936). More recently in Richmond, particularly due to attention raised to the topic by Ana Edwards and other members of the Virginia Defenders for Freedom, Justice, and Equality, areas with potential association to the events of the rebellion (like the African Burial Ground where members of the rebellion may have been executed or interred) have become the focal points of events dedicated to commemorating and grieving Richmond’s challenging racial history (Edwards and Wilayto 2015; A. R. Barrett 2014).

Also in 1800, a penitentiary, designed by Benjamin Latrobe (who more famously designed the U.S. Capitol and the White House in Washington D.C.) was opened on the outskirts of Richmond between Byrd, Spring, Belvidere, and First Streets. Constructed according to emerging ideas in Europe regarding silent

penitence and reflection as a route to rehabilitation, the Virginia Penitentiary was



*Figure 6 - Latrobe's [1796] Ground Plan of the Penitentiary (Courtesy of the Library of Virginia)*

the first in the United States and anticipated the rise of institutional confinement and penitentiary theory by almost three decades. The institution was built for considerable solitary confinement, with separate men's and women's areas, exercise courts, baths, workshops, and rooms for staff to observe inmates (Figure 6).

However, the construction method of cells and overcrowding meant that in practice prisoners had ample opportunity to socialize with each other and prison



staff were often not able to observe them. Efforts to make the prison financially sustainable were slightly more successful, and from early on considerable labor in the form of shoe and nail production was raising thousands of dollars for the penitentiary. This emphasis on designing incarceration in order to develop offenders into productive members of the labor force became a model for later penal institutions across Virginia (Keve 1986). Besides the penitentiary, there were few Richmond institutional organizations until after the Civil War, a common characteristic of Southern states while the more densely-populated northern states saw more considerable changes during the Jackson Reform Era. The Richmond Male Orphan Society (1846) was one notable exception.

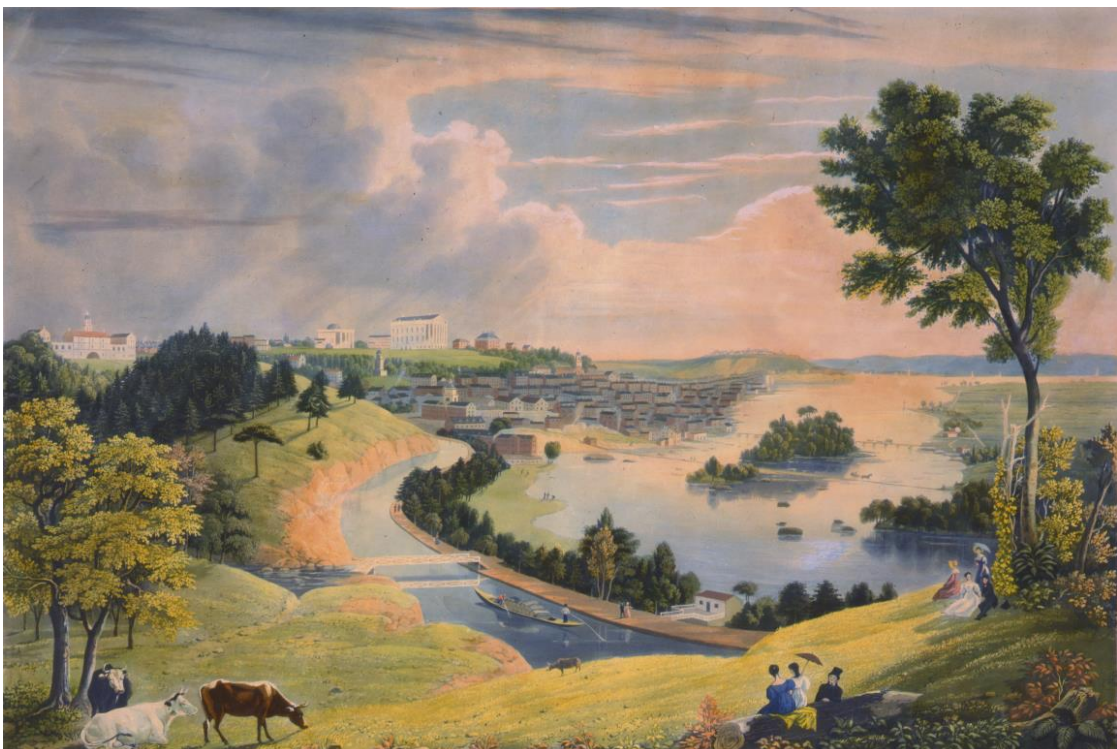


*Figure 7 -Portrait of Gilbert Hunt, blacksmith and hero of the Richmond Theatre fire (Photographer unknown; image courtesy of Virginia Memory)*

Another major event in the Early National Period was the Richmond Theater fire, in which theatergoers attending a benefit on December 26, 1811 were trapped inside when a lit chandelier caught the scenery on fire. Seventy-six people, overwhelmingly members of Richmond's upper classes, perished in the blaze – including Virginia's sitting governor, George William Smith. The event was commemorated by a substantial church erected on the spot, Monumental Church, which also contains a crypt for most of the fire's victims (Baker 2012). A freed black blacksmith, Gilbert Hunt, gained significant fame for his heroism in saving people during the blaze – as he did similarly in an earlier Richmond penitentiary fire during his time working there as a blacksmith (P. Barrett 1859).

This event precipitated considerable introspection on the part of prominent Richmonders seeking to find a reason for a tragedy so dramatic it must have been a sign of God's displeasure, and resulted in attempts to crack down on the extensive interracial sex trade operating at that point in the city (Rothman 2003).

The Early National Period (Figure 8 shows the town from the west at this time) was a time when Richmond's institutions became formalized and the city as a seat of state government matured. There was also significant industrial intensification, especially in wheat processing, foundries, tobacco processing, and cotton goods production. Between 1800 and 1840, the number of enslaved



*Figure 8 - "Richmond, from the hill above the waterworks" (1834); engraved by W.J. Bennett from a painting by G. Cooke; Published by Lewis P. Clover (New York) (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)*

people in Richmond increased from 2293 to 7509, driven substantially by the use of enslaved, hired-out workers in industries such as the tobacco warehouses and

Tredegar Iron Works (Takagi 2000, 17–18). Richmond’s overall population grew by one-third between 1850 and 1860, and these gains were particularly northern workers, European immigrants, and hired-out slaves (Tyler-McGraw 1994, 104–5).

## 2.8 Antebellum Period (1830-1860)

By 1830, Richmond had a population of just over 16,000 and was well-positioned as one of the few Southern cities with a substantial industrial base; over the next three decades the population increased to almost 38,000. Although considerable, this size increase was dwarfed by that in other American cities, and Richmond slipped from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 25<sup>th</sup> largest U.S. city during the same period (Gibson 1998). Tobacco and grain sales were major components of the city’s economy, despite a moderate decline in their importance to the American economy in favor of the Deep South product, cotton. In Richmond the flour milling operations, which in earlier periods were performed at a variety of small local mills, were centralized in the massive Haxall and Gallego flour mills – the largest and most technologically advanced in the world (Rood 2010, 175). By 1850, U.S. wheat flour imports provided over 90% of Brazilian flour commodities, almost all of it coming from Richmond or Baltimore (Rood 2014). The Haxall mill was trenched in the 1990s during the Richmond floodwall excavations, but as will be discussed in Section 3.5, this work was left incomplete and is highly inaccessible as a result. The demand for flour in the Richmond area was so intense that it resulted in the rise of a wheat monoculture; farms especially west of Richmond along canal and rail lines became so focused on wheat production

that some areas began importing other foodstuffs from other regions (Rood 2014, 37). This economy was also the basis for the increasingly-important fertilizer trade; ships carrying flour south to Brazil returned packed with South American bat guano, which became the first largescale agricultural fertilizer. First imported into the U.S. during the 1840s, guano fertilizers became one of Richmond's most substantial industries by 1885, along with flour; drugs and patent medicines; iron-working, tobacco; and leather goods (Reizenstein 1897, 404–8). The greatest of these, however, continued to be tobacco, which employed over 6,000 individuals in that year and was responsible for over \$8 million in annual sales (Wood 1886, 11–13).

Between 1840 and 1860 the city's industrial base and its slave system, inextricably entwined, grew and matured (Takagi 2000, 71). In addition to the expansion of the flour market, Richmond during this period also developed another robust trade to the south: the sale of enslaved men, women, and children from the Virginia and Maryland plantations to the brutal cotton plantations of the Deep South, where enslaved populations had such high death rates their populations were not sustained by natural increase. In 1832, Thomas Roderick Dew (a prominent pro-slavery Virginian and future President of the College of William & Mary) commented on enslaved people as though they were another major Virginia crop: "Virginia is in fact a negro *raising* state, she produces enough for her own supply and six thousand for sale" (Dew 2016). Richmond's industrial strength was made possible on the back of the urban rented-out slave

market, which, similar to Baltimore, provided a flexible low-cost labor option and artificially depressed wages for free black and white workers (Rockman 2010). At Tredegar Iron Works, the use of enslaved workers in skilled positions led to a strike in 1847 (Kimball 2000, 167–74). In 1853, Charles Dickens and Eyre Crowe visited Richmond slave auction sites, and the latter drew sketches he later used to paint scenes of enslaved people waiting for the auction and loaded onto the trains for passage south (see Figure 9, McElroy 1990).

Throughout Richmond, many businesses and industries were underpinned by slavery, but the material signature of the trade was most visible in Shockoe Bottom. Wall Street, now largely buried under the I-95 Franklin Street offramp,



*Figure 9 - "Slaves Waiting for Sale, Richmond, Virginia" by Eyre Crowe (1861). Heinz Family Collection. Reprinted in McElroy 1990.*

was ground zero for this trade in humans because of its proximity to city hotels and other necessary amenities (Laird 2010, 8–9). The densest area of the city

slave trade was located in Shockoe Bottom between Cary, Broad, Fourteenth, and Seventeenth Streets, in an area of the city that was bustling but nonetheless relatively separated from the more genteel finance and state government functions (Chen and Collins 2007; Gudmestad 2003).

As the business of slavery became a greater and greater influence on Richmond's financial situation and the landscape of commerce in Shockoe Bottom, so too were concepts of urban contagion and propriety shifting how and where populations lived in the city. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, Rocketts Landing had a certain international port *mélange* feel: "At Rocketts, whites, free blacks and mulattoes, along with slaves who experienced little oversight, recent European immigrants, and Cherokee and other Virginia Indians commingled, living and laboring together, as sailing ships heading to and from world ports docked and exchanged goods" (Gottlieb 2005, 39; Mouer 1992). By the 1850s, however, this loose social distinction became suspicious and the area was targeted by a gang of white men calling themselves the "Rocketts



Regulators,” who harassed and assaulted mixed race couples who lived in the area (Rothman 2003, 128).



*Figure 10 - Cropped detail of an Alexander Gardner photograph of the Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond, Va., taken after the fall of Richmond in April 1865, focusing on the iron work structures (Courtesy of the Library of Congress).*

## 2.9 Civil War (1861-1865)

The Civil War is the foundational moment in Richmond history, and no justice can be made of Richmond’s place in these events in a brief literature review. Based on a number of factors, most prominently because it was the home of the Tredegar Iron Works (the largest iron foundry in the south) and held a strong position along railway transportation, Richmond was selected as the Capitol of the Rebellion after Virginia’s secession in April of 1861. Confederate



reliance on Tredegar, the only foundry capable of producing sufficient Confederate munitions (see Figure 10 for an April 1865 view), ensured that fighting between Washington D.C. and Richmond remained fierce throughout the war, and the city was only abandoned to Union occupation in the conflict's very last months.

Between 1861 and 1865 the city was transformed; the tobacco warehouses of Shockoe Bottom and Shockoe Slip became used for storage of Confederate food and equipment supplies. Across the city, homes, warehouses, factories, and public buildings were transformed into more than twenty hospitals. Defensive star forts and fortifications were constructed in a circular series of defenses around the city. The city's geography made it very complicated to attack; swampy areas by the river made it hard to approach, and the five rail lines servicing the area made troop movements unpredictable (W. G. Thomas 2011, 93–96). The city jail and Customs House were soon overflowing with prisoners of war, leading to the creation of Libby Prison in a former supply and grocery warehouse for Union officers; an isolated and poorly-sheltered tent prison for enlisted men on Belle Isle; and another warehouse prison coined Castle Thunder (Zombeck 2014; Furgurson 1996, 120–58). As the war got underway finding secure places for all the captured Union men was a struggle, and National Park Service Interpreter Mike Gorman has identified 25 buildings where prisoners were incarcerated within the city (Gorman 2017).

During investigations carried out in 1996, Lyle Browning found that along the northeast edge of Belle Isle the double-ditch enclosure of Belle Isle was still

intact when exposed by mechanical test trenches (Browning 1996). These ditches had apparently still been visible at least ten years after the war in historical photographs, and happily the ensuing water, steam, and electrical power production on the island had occurred at points far enough removed from the prison site that they were still preserved. Based on the information from this work, Richmond Parks and Recreation restored versions of these prison banks, which remain visible and somewhat-interpreted today along with a more recent metal tent-outline providing insights into the size and type of tents the prisoners may have occupied. Limited archaeological investigations have also been carried out at the housing for free and enslaved workers at Tredegar Iron Works nearby.

By far, the largest hospital in Richmond (or the Confederacy, or the world) during the Civil War was located on Chimborazo Plateau, located overlooking the James River northeast of the city. Land on Chimborazo Hill was initially used by the Confederate government as a military camp at least by July of 1861, and had been described as an artillery placement as early as May of that year. By October, an extensive description in the Richmond Enquirer describes the hospital's 109 buildings, which were initially built as a military camp capable of housing up to 10,000 soldiers. Over the course of the war, Chimborazo had an impressively low mortality rate (7-10% according to reports) and its impact on the city was considerable. Despite the efficacy of its medical treatment generally, the volume of soldiers brought to Chimborazo meant that approximately 6,500-6000 soldiers died there over the course of the war, most of them buried at the Oakwood Cemetery to the north of the hospital (Green 2004, 81–82).

Archaeological investigations at Chimborazo have been large monitoring, salvage of incidental disruptions by the City of Richmond, and responses to sites exposed by erosion (Mullin and Rupnik 2004). However, testing performed by myself and the 2016 Urban Archaeology Corps, a National Park Service youth program, has shown that intact deposits dating to Reconstruction are present at the site, and that the area remains archaeologically sensitive (Chapman 2017).

Wartime industry outside Tredegar was also intense. At the furthest upstream extent of the navigable James, just down the hill from Chimborazo, was the Confederate Navy Yard. Located both sides of the river even with Lock 1 of the James River and Kanawha Canal, the Navy Yard was where boats were constructed and from which the James River Squadron was based. On Brown's Island, Richmond working-class women and girls worked to produce cartridges and munitions for the Army of Northern Virginia, and in 1863 at least forty five of them died in a calamitous explosion at one of the laboratories (Whittenburg 2012).

Between 1861 and 1863, Richmond's population doubled, causing extreme overcrowding and resulting in intermittent conflicts and famines over the course of the war (McPherson 1988, 617). The most substantial civil unrest of the war, the Richmond Bread Riots on April 2, 1863, began when a group of predominantly-white women of various social stations marched in the streets after receiving inadequate responses from Virginia governor John Fletcher regarding their concerns over lack of food for the civilian population (Chesson 1984).

Richmond's position in the war was defensible until April 2<sup>nd</sup>, when Robert E. Lee's army at Petersburg suffered a crushing defeat. In response, the Confederate government under Jefferson Davis made the decision to evacuate the government along the Richmond and Danville Railroad. At 11pm on April 3<sup>rd</sup>, Davis left on the last train to Danville, leaving behind a small skeleton of Confederate troops under Richard Ewell (Furgurson 1996, 324–29). In the power vacuum that resulted, desperately hungry Richmond citizens came into the streets to drink liquor running from casks ordered smashed by City Council; officials opened commissary warehouses to allow them access to remaining Confederate provisions. Ewell's forces ordered controlled burns of railroad bridges and of storage buildings on Cary Street and Eighth and Byrd Street, to destroy goods the Confederacy did not want in Union hands (Furgurson 1996, 328). Perhaps escaped from these controlled fires, or from blazes set by looters, the city caught alight, starting near the river's edge but eventually extending as far north as the Capitol. The explosion of the armory, still packed with a good deal of Confederate munitions, did not help matters.

On April 4th, 1865, the Union Army moved into Richmond to find areas of the city's downtown and military installations ablaze. The city then entered a period of extended occupation by the Union. The specific spatial distribution of the blaze was captured by a map by Charles Ludwig that was published in the Richmond Whig a few days after the fire (see Figure 29). The Mayo Bridge, the Richmond & Petersburg Railroad, and the Richmond & Danville Railroad bridges were all destroyed in the conflagration, as was most of the industrial riverfront

(most of Tredegar Iron Works survived partially due to the efforts of the workers there). The fire spread in part because of a lack of fire-fighters present in the city and willing to battle the blaze during the unrest. This fire was a critical factor in the development of the city's downtown and modern financial district area, and (as will be reviewed later) has some significant implications for archaeological preservation in the city. Over 900 buildings were lost in the fire, including all of the city's saloons and banks, two railroad depots, 90% of the business district, and 40% of the food suppliers (Hoffman 2004, 4). New buildings of cast iron, concrete, and steel construction rebuilt the city's skyline to a modern late-nineteenth century style, and factories and commercial buildings went up swiftly over the next three decades in those areas (Potterfield 2009).



*Figure 11 - "Ruins in Richmond" Damage to Richmond, Virginia from the American Civil War by Andrew Russell (1865). (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)*

## 2.10 Reconstruction and Growth (1866-1916)

From the departure of the Confederate Army until 1870, the city of Richmond was held under martial law during Reconstruction. The immediate and long term need for relief was profound in a city that had been struggling with food insecurity throughout the war, and the movement of people through the city in the months and years following the Confederate defeat was massive. Ex-Confederate prisoners decamped to Chimborazo Hospital to get their ration and transportation tickets before departing to their hometowns (Duggan 1965, 46). The Union Army provided food rations to the desperate, but recently freed men and women of color were required to have work passes and gainful employment, and freedmen found without were sent to Chimborazo in the early days after the war's end. The rubble of the evacuation fire, which had claimed twenty blocks of prime city real estate including important industrial and financial buildings and

considerable state and local records, was almost immediately cleared to allow rebuilding (Tyler-McGraw 1994, 164–65).



*Figure 12 - An illustration in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper shows the freedman's school that operated from a former ward building at Chimborazo Hospital (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)*

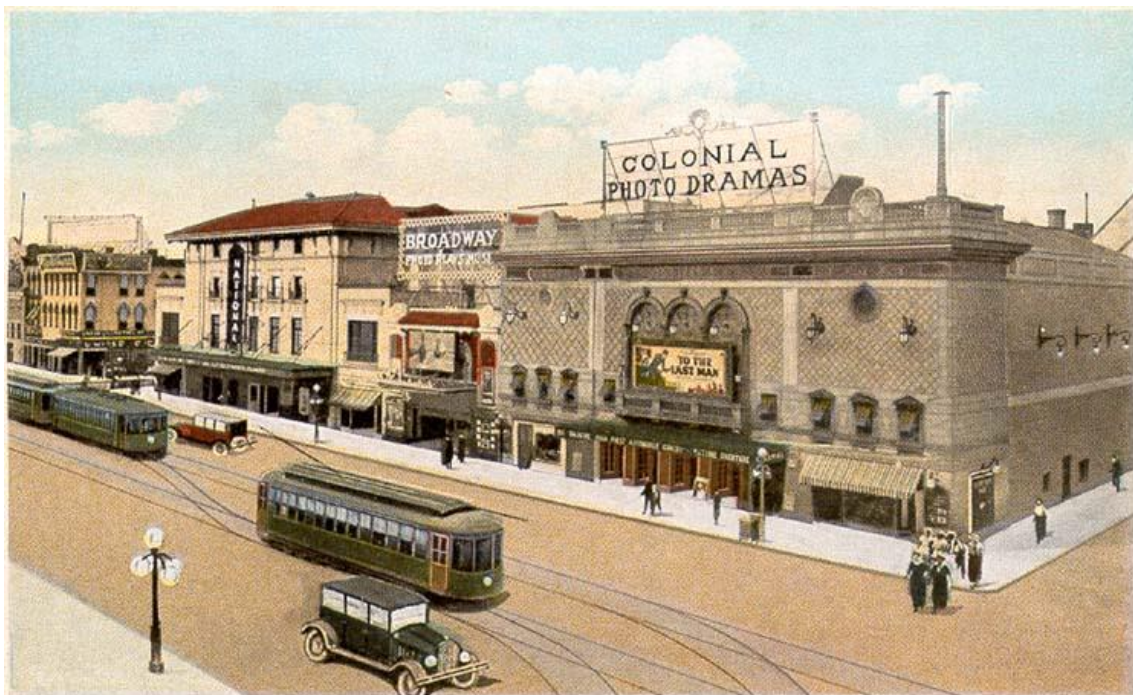
A major logistical challenge in the years after the war was where freed people lived in Richmond, what they ate, and how they supported themselves. In the days and weeks after Richmond fell, newly-freed men and women from the surrounding area flocked to freedman's camps on Brook Road, at the former Chimborazo Hospital, and in the city's West End. By 1866, Chimborazo remained a common location for some of the many destitute freed men, women, and families, and military and civil police were tasked with keeping order. Other sites around the city also became permanent black communities. Zion Town, located just outside the west city boundary, west of the University of Richmond campus,

had been a site where freed people gathered in the months and years after the war and later established a permanent neighborhood (E. Brown and Kimball 1995, 304). But not all stayed – hundreds of thousands of black Virginians left the Commonwealth between 1865 and 1877, in reaction to the controlling economic conditions that led to a stevedore’s strike in 1867 and a strike on the Richmond and Danville Railroad in (Du Bois 2017, 480–81; Rachleff 1989, 42–43). For those that did, the regulations under Union control were onerous and limited the reality of black freedom – especially that of black men. While in some cases free black Richmonders had enjoyed a degree of status in the antebellum era, Reconstruction laws and bureaucracy limited their ability to start and run businesses and their free movement, although the initial years of Reconstruction



also provided unparalleled opportunity to seek political power (Latimore 2005, 1–10).

In 1880 a major change to the city was the transition away from the use of the canal system for navigating freight around the river falls. The purchase of the canal company by the C&O Railroad resulted in the filling-in of the Turning Basin of the James River and Kanawha Canal between Canal, Cary, Eight, and Eleventh Streets, the use of canal towpaths as new railroad beds, and the gradual abandonment and filling in of sections of the canal (W. E. Trout, Moore, and Rawls 1995, 44). The arrival of the electric streetcar in Richmond – the earliest fully electric streetcar in the world – also transformed the region (Figure 13). With this form of reliable public transportation in 1888, an early streetcar suburbia developed with new neighborhoods like Battery Park, Barton Heights,



*Figure 13 - Postcard view of "Theatrical District, Broad Street, Richmond, Virginia" 8th & Broad Streets, Richmond, Virginia, 1923 (Courtesy of VCU Cabell Library)*

Westhampton, Highland Park, Bellevue, Forest Park, and Ginter Park within easy commute of the city (Kollatz 2004). Through annexations in 1906, 1914, and 1946, many of these neighborhoods were annexed into the city (Potterfield 2009). Richmond annexed additional land including the separate city of Manchester south of the river in 1914.

Black Richmonders made early gains in electoral politics immediately after the war. Lindsay Lewis and Joseph Cox were elected as two of the five Richmond representatives to the constitutional convention, and advocated for policies supported by their communities like an end to miscegenation laws, investment in public schools, and disenfranchisement for Confederate veterans (Rachleff 1989, 46). Increasingly common too, in the years after Emancipation, were racially-motivated attacks on the Chimborazo free black community, religious centers like the Second Baptist Church, and groups planning Emancipation Day celebrations planned annually around the April 4<sup>th</sup> Emancipation anniversary (Rachleff 1989, 40–41). Segregation within the city, already very spatialized starting in the 1850s, also increased with Reconstruction. By 1923, the city's black population was substantially restricted to the area north of Broad St, including the neighborhoods of Carver and Jackson Ward (Hoffman 2004, 98–99).

Between 1870 and World War I, there were considerable industrial changes to the city's economy. The tobacco industry, which had employed mostly enslaved men prior to Emancipation, shifted to employing a greater number of African-American women in the tobacco processing and cigarette

rolling factories of the New South (Kerr-Ritchie 1999, 19). Jobs were highly segregated by race and gender in the city, with white men occupying most of the salaried jobs (i.e. salesman, agents, bookkeepers, clerks); white women occupying most of the box making factory jobs and the better-paid cigarette rolling positions; black men employed considerably as laborers; and black women employed mostly in laundry, domestic service, and as laborers (Gerteis 2007, 80–81). Richmond also developed an extensive financial services sector led by firms like Davenport and Company. In 1873, a Richmond Stock Exchange was formed by some of these financial institutions, which enabled companies more ready access to investor capital (Davenport and Company 2014, 9–12). In 1913, the Federal Reserve Bank system was established, and after an intense competition in part won by Richmond's central importance to many Southern businessmen, Richmond was chosen as the location of one of the nation's Federal Reserve Banks (Gerena 2007, 2–3). This was a major win for Richmond, and resulted in an effervescence in the money, investment banks, and financial talent within the city (Tyler-McGraw 1994, 240).

Major themes in Richmond history between 1866 and 1917 were the rebuilding of the city (considerably funded through Northern investment); the rise of the modern sanitation; efforts to organize a multiracial working class labor movement by a national organization called the Knights of Labor; the dedication of the Lee Monument and the beginnings of the Lost Cause veneration of the Civil War; the rise of wealthy black neighborhoods and economies like that of Jackson Ward; and continuing efforts to disenfranchise and marginalize the

developing black communities (Tyler-McGraw 1994, 205–17; Kollatz 2008; Alexander 2002; Hoffman 2004). While early efforts to develop an interracial labor movement were intentionally disrupted and unions were segregated, Richmond also saw more interracial labor movement collaboration than any other city in the nation, particularly by coalitions of the Knights of Labor (Gerteis 2007, 78; Rachleff 1981). While Richmond was prioritizing improvements to sanitation in the city, like has been identified nationally neighborhoods comprised of black or poor white residents were deeply neglected by planned improvements. As a result, endemic typhoid among poor neighborhoods caused Richmond to have one of the highest mortality rates of any U.S. city (Hoffman 2004, 95–105). Similarly, unwanted necessary city improvements like a trash incinerator were planned for neighborhoods like Jackson Ward, and in 1901 Jackson Ward was divided and split between the remaining five districts, deeply undercutting black political progress (Randolph 2003, 104–5).

## 2.11 World War I, World War II, and the New Dominion (1917 to the present)

As a somewhat arbitrary cutoff, and in recognition of the explosion in the creation of urban maps post-1900, this dissertation focuses on Richmond's pre-1900 history. However, there are a few major sites already identified in the VDHR archaeological database that date to this period, and a few city events/trends from its twentieth-century history that hold considerable archaeological promise. This section on post-1916 history focuses on Richmond's historical trends most

important for understanding the condition of the city's archaeology and how it intersects with twentieth-century city politics.

Starting in roughly 1916, the Great Migration, the early twentieth-century relocation of African-Americans from the south to northern cities and to industrial centers like Appalachian coal fields, considerably shaped the city's makeup (Trotter 1991; Wilkerson 2010). Its cumulative population effects are not yet fully clear in Richmond, although some existing research suggests the proportion of Richmond's population that was African-American declined 1910-1945 and began substantially increasing after World War II (Lombard 2015). While many Richmond families and individuals did migrate north, so too did rural southern African-Americans move into the city for jobs as domestics and factory workers as they did in Norfolk and other major southern cities (E. Lewis 1991). This population shift, in addition to those caused by the white flight of the 1950s-1960s and the current in-migration to the city, have contributed to a wide range of sentiments and associations between how the city's population, whether white, black, or another identification, relate to the city's history and the extent to which they consider it personal.

Between 1917 to 1970, Richmond annexed 13 parcels of land, an increase in area of over 47%, to its modern extent of 62.5 square miles (Figure 14). The impulse behind these land annexations was increasingly racialized, the result of ongoing efforts to increase Richmond's white voting populations as white city residents relocated in considerable numbers to county suburbs (Hayter 2014; Moeser and Rutledge 1982). The intent of the last of these annexations, in

1970, was so egregious that the annexation was challenged in federal court, ending in 1975 when the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the land annexation but mandated that Richmond implement a district election system that immediately resulted in a majority-black city government (Moeser and Rutledge 1982; Hayter 2014). Virginia's General Assembly placed a moratorium on Richmond's annexation and eventually made permanent changes to state law, heavily limiting the ability of cities to annex county land without county approval (Silver 1984;

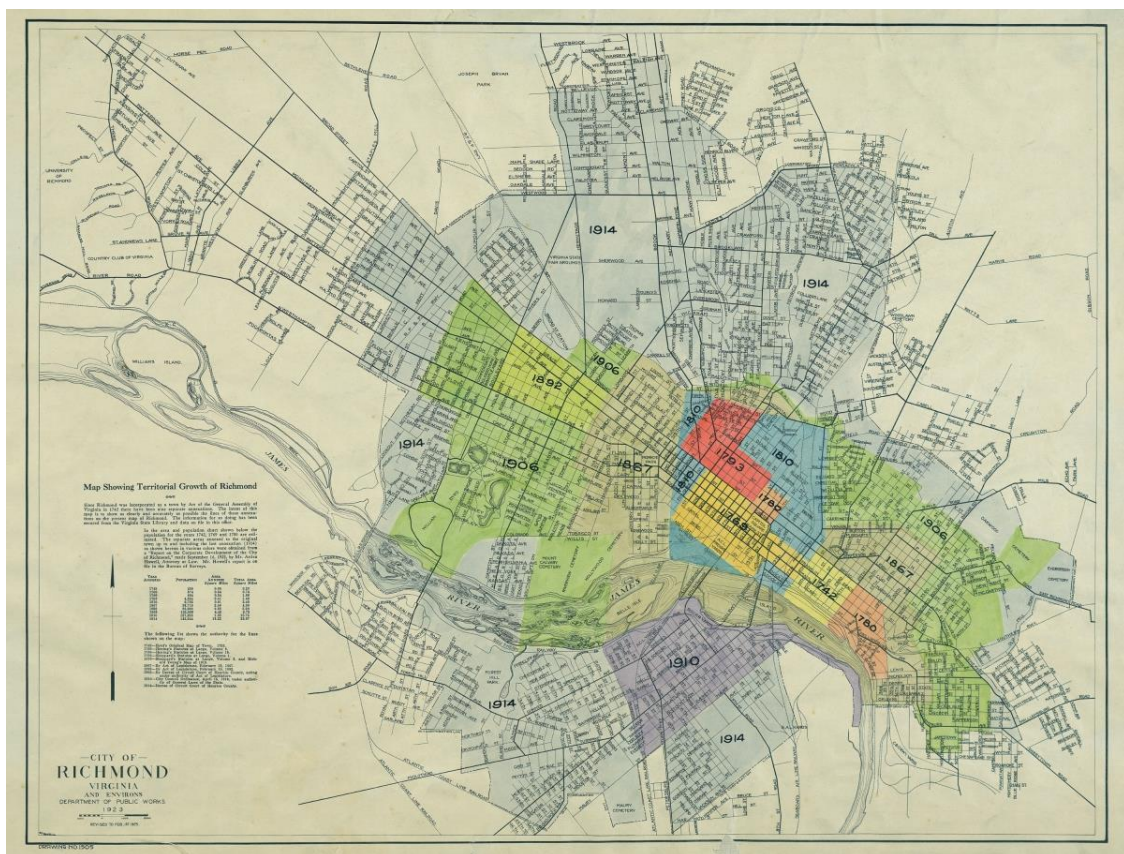


Figure 14 - Map Showing Territorial Growth of Richmond, Department of Public Works, 1923. (Courtesy of the Library of Virginia)

Spicer 1982, 822–25). Richmond and all other Virginia cities became landlocked, an unusual situation in other states, and this geographic fact has limited the growth of industry within Virginia cities and exacerbated the city population collapse of the 1970s and 1980s. This situation with land annexation is relevant



to the current study in a few major ways. First, it created a majority black city government, which set the stage for the last forty years of tumultuous city politics and adjusted the city's attitude towards historical resources, especially those associated with non-white Richmonders, immediately (see Chapter 3.4 for more detail). Second, the pressure to raise the city's tax base through attracting industry, migration of high-income residents into the city, or raising the income of city residents is directly spoken of when discussing the challenges of city finances and what should be invested in. Third, the city borrowed heavily in the waning years of white political control, resulting in a city that has struggled to adequately fund its public schools, encourage economic development, maintain city roads and public spaces, rehabilitate its combined sewer overflow (which continues to flush raw sewage into the James River during heavy rains), and sufficiently staff city departments. Many of these priorities and needs, as well as the legacy of mistrust in a municipal government that fought so hard to disenfranchise black voters, continue to influence the city conversation around topics of money and where to spend it.

Planning trends such as the development of the interstate highway system, urban renewal, and economic development efforts also damaged Richmond's archaeological record substantially. In the late 1940s to 1960s, urban renewal was a series of national initiatives aimed at reducing urban blight in city cores, demolish deteriorated buildings, and encourage a return of (white) suburban residents to city centers. In many cases, the impacts, and often intent, of urban renewal was the displacement of urban black communities (M.

Anderson 1964; Avila and Rose 2009). As Christopher Silver has observed, after World War II “unrestrained growth constituted the shared goal of public policy throughout the urban South, engendered, in large measure, by lingering feelings of inferiority” (Silver 1983, 33). Bit by bit, projects to build Interstate 95 (1958), the city Coliseum (1971), and the Convention Center (1986) carved up Jackson Ward, the upscale black residential and commercial district home to national black leaders such as Maggie Lena Walker.

The construction of the Richmond-Petersburg Turnpike (later part of I-95) was planned and implemented between 1946 and 1958, and has been described by Christopher Silver as an especially contentious political struggle (Silver 1984, 196). The road was constructed through the city’s downtown, including areas of Carver, Jackson Ward, Shockoe Bottom, and Manchester. I-95 would have led to the destruction of the 1887 Sixth Mount Zion Baptist Church, but prolonged protest eventually moved the highway just barely around the building, which was the home of an African-American congregation dating to 1867 and founded by the famous enslaved preacher Jasper Johns (Rogers 2011; Potterfield and Ross 1979). Regardless of this small victory, Silver has estimated that 10% of Richmond’s black community was displaced and moved by the highway construction. The highway went directly through Wall Street, the historic locus of the city’s slave trade, and also likely considerably overlaid the Burying Ground for Negroes that has been the topic of so much recent discussion in the city (see Chapter 3.6). Similar to the Turnpike, the Richmond Metropolitan Expressway (State Route 195), a toll road completed in 1976 by the Richmond Metropolitan



Authority, also substantially disturbed archaeological resources – in this case, sensitive resources along the James River, along with sections of Randolph, Byrd Park, Oregon Hill, and Gambles Hill neighborhoods (Potterfield 2009).

Like over 500 other American cities, Richmond hired comprehensive planner Harland Bartholomew to design the city's 1946 Master Plan. This plan observed that "the Negro population has located in districts which are among the most accessible in the city to downtown business, which is to be expected since these districts are old and depreciated and were among the first to be deserted by the expanding population" (Commission 1946). This plan served as the basis for racialized urban clearing projects, especially focused on neighborhoods like Fulton (the new neighborhood name for Rocketts Landing), Randolph, Carver, and Jackson Ward. As described by Scott Davis, urban renewal in Fulton was couched as community improvement but pitted homeowners against tenants in the town and failed to plan adequately for how to retain the community fabric as residents were relocated (S. C. Davis 1988, 73–75). The land clearing in Fulton destroyed hundreds of houses in the area and likely significantly disturbed much of the material record of Rocketts Landing, although a study by Virginia Commonwealth University in 1992 illustrated that substantial elements of the port town survived the largescale clearing process (Mouer 1992). The damage to black community cohesion and historic fabric caused by twentieth-century histories of planning and construction continues to be a thread in conversations

about city development initiatives and the city's historical legacy, as will be discussed in Chapter 5.

In terms of the archaeological legacy of the twentieth century, the city's known archaeological record contains five sites associated exclusively with the twentieth century, and an additional 22 sites with twentieth-century components. These sites include farmsteads, railroads, cemeteries, factories, seats of government like the State Capitol Building, commercial establishments,



*Figure 15 - An image of the flooded eastern entrance to the Church Hill Tunnel (Public domain, by Wikipedia user Jkmscott)*

dwellings, Chimborazo hospital, the Virginia State Penitentiary, and riverine industrial components like dams and canals. A site with considerable local lore and meaning associated with it is the Church Hill Tunnel, a tunnel for the C&O Railroad under Church Hill and Chimborazo that was begun in the 1870s (Figure 15). Dug through a blue marl clay that shrank and swelled with changes in rainfall, the tunnel construction led to the deaths of several workmen during initial

construction and was the site of a dramatic collapse when being rehabilitated in 1925, trapping the bodies of several workers inside. The existence of the tunnel has continued to be a safety hazard, as it travels under the neighborhoods of Union Hill, Church Hill, and Chimborazo and has caused several collapses there. Efforts by a public-private partnership to pump out the flooded tunnel for assessment were abandoned with much acrimony in 2006, when it turned out that no feasibility studies regarding the safety of this work had been conducted (Walker 2009). Archaeologically, although the site is highly sensitive for human remains and local interest, its logistical complications and ethical questions surrounding the value of excavating mean that it is unlikely to be investigated.

## 2.12 Struggles to Characterize Richmond's History

The politics of public memory remains a hotly-contested, perhaps the hotly-contested, issue in the city. While demands to remove statues have in parts of the country emerged as a response to the domestic terrorist attack on Charleston's Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church (and later, after the one at the 2017 Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville), in Richmond debates over the extensive materiality of the Lost Cause mythology have been ongoing since at least the 1970s. Former black Richmond City Councilman Chuck Richardson recalled that when the city council obtained a black majority, white political leaders pressed him and other black council members over whether they

were going to remove the statues.<sup>3</sup> The siting of the Arthur Ashe statue on Monument Avenue alongside Confederate generals has aroused many strong opinions, and most recently in 2017 a debate over the scale and location of a memorial to Maggie Walker drew praise and a variety of objections (N. Oliver 2016). In a February 2017 public forum on race and mythmaking, African-American University of Richmond professor of modern U.S. history Julian Hayter commented wryly that “Every time we start talking about the monuments, it’s like throwing Miracle Gro on the city’s character flaws” (Libby 2017). A few short months later he was even more embroiled in the topic, having been nominated to the Richmond Monument Avenue Commission alongside Gregg Kimball from the Library of Virginia, Christy Coleman from the American Civil War Center, historian and former President of the University of Richmond Ed Ayers, historian Laurant Lee, and several politicians and city officials as the national conversation around removing Confederate statuary has gained steam (N. Oliver 2017).

The debate over Confederate iconography and memory in Richmond is large enough for myriad dissertations, academic projects, and books. But even before the terrorist attack at the Charleston reinvigorated debates over whether to alter Confederate statues, attitudes towards history and public interpretation in Richmond have always orbited back to the question of whether the city’s past is wrapped more in glory or in shame, who to recognize as heroes and who as villains, and who is empowered to tell history of the city. Recounting and

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<sup>3</sup> Comments by Chuck Richardson at the Virginia Defenders’ meeting with the Monument Avenue Commission on March 29, 2018.

characterizing the city's history has been recognized as an explicitly political act, and discomfort with this fact has depressed and warped scholarship on the city going back more than half a century.

It is perhaps for this reason that there is also a lively series of alt-academics, journalists, neighborhood historians, and independent scholars who have developed expertise within some aspect of the city's history but do not have the backing of substantial research institutions. These include members of the Oregon Hill Neighborhood Association, who have a strong history of bringing historical significance to light, perhaps especially when particularly sensitive sites and buildings are threatened by expansions by Virginia Commonwealth University and other entities (Pool 2014). Similarly, Jeffrey Ruggles, formerly of the Virginia Historical Society, has written several white papers on the origins of the "Shockoe Bottom" and "Shockoe Slip" neighborhood names, the African Burial Ground, the Lumpkin's Jail site, and on the significance of Seaboard's Warehouse as a potential archaeological investigation site (Ruggles 2010; Ruggles 2009). The well-recognized study on urban renewal in Fulton, *The World of Patience Gromes: Making and Unmaking a Black Community*, was written by a man who worked at the time in Fulton as a community worker while conscientiously objecting to the Vietnam War, and wrote the book during his journalism career (S. C. Davis 1988).

Several works focus on the pattern of underrepresentation of certain elements of Richmond's past. Veronica Davis wrote a book summarizing the historic black cemeteries in Richmond, years before these efforts were

undertaken among the academic community (V. Davis 2000). Elvatrice Parker Belsches, a documentary filmmaker and writer, researched Richmond's black history and wrote the Richmond, Virginia book in the Black America Series in 2002, just as focus on Richmond's slave trade history was heating up (Belsches 2004). Selden Richardson's *Built By Blacks* chronicles the black craftsmen and architects whose marks are so indelible on the city's material record, as was funded by the Alliance to Conserve Old Richmond Neighborhoods (Richardson 2008). Ana Edwards, a social justice organizer and founder of the Virginia Defenders for Freedom, Justice, and Equality, and has a background in fine arts and non-profit management, has published several pieces on the importance of the Shockoe Bottom neighborhood, on the African Burial Ground, and on the story of Gabriel (Edwards and Wilayto 2015; Edwards 2016). Ben Campbell, a member of Richmond's Slave Trail Commission and ecumenical minister, wrote *Richmond's Unhealed History*, which focuses on the darker side of the city's past and provides a moral charge for Richmond to fully reckon with this past in order to improve the city's spiritual health and racial relations (B. Campbell 2011). Free Egunfemi, a black historical activist, has dedicated herself over the last several years to #UntoldRVA, a tactical urbanism project dedicated to creating portals across the city that provide often black-centered historical interpretations and lift up stories that are often not widely known in the city (Willis 2017; *Richmond Free Press* 2016; National Public Radio 2016).

Similarly, historic preservation topics in the city are covered extensively by local personalities and experts but are somewhat less likely to be discussed in

the academic literature. T. Tyler Potterfield, a longtime Richmond city planner, wrote a landscape history of the city that defines many ways in which the city has grown and reshaped itself since the contact period (Potterfield 2009). Journalist, magazine writer, and actor Harry Kollatz continues to be one of the most frequent writers on archaeological and historical topics in the city, and has produced several pieces about previous archaeological discoveries and their post-excavation lives (Kollatz 2014; Kollatz 2013; Kollatz 2004; Kollatz 2008). Local architect Gibson Worsham and his son Richard maintain a regular blog, Urban Scale Richmond, that reviews the history of the city's development in both overview and hyper-spatial, hyper-local extents (Worsham and Worsham 2017).

I would take two major points from this trend. The first is that Richmond history is vital and relevant to local people to such an extent that many of them, whatever their professional background or careers are, are compelled to bring stories and analysis to light, often in their own leisure time. The second is that history is contentious enough here for populations and individuals to get so frustrated by the exclusion of certain types of history within the halls of academia that they take matters into their own hands. This second point is supported by the evident fact that at times when historical interpretations are most successful, it has often taken the intersession of other significant state actors or independent financial sources – even in the present or recent past. Christy Coleman, CEO of the American Civil War Center, recounted the challenges to the commemoration of the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Civil War:

“It was clear from those early meetings that the state wanted a deeper narrative--so much so, much of its stated goals mirrored

the [ACWC]'s mission and approach. But *Richmond itself was at a standstill about the event despite the fact that half of the War's major battles and three quarters of its casualties occurred between Richmond and Washington*. Community funders and corporations were leery about supporting Civil War history initiatives, labeling them too controversial. It seemed a hopeless endeavor despite the fact that the city and regional tourism entities knew there would be a spike in visitation around the event...A number of cultural and academic leaders came together—first informally—to discuss how Richmond could seize the moment” (Coleman 2017, emphasis mine).

Similar pushback has happened repeatedly, notably in the 1990s when the Museum of the Confederacy produced an exhibit on the lives of the enslaved (E. D. Campbell, Rice, and Faust 1991). The institutional memory about Civil War history blacklashes is long, and these incidents frequently come up in conversations about the type of historical retellings needed in the city and why history in Richmond is a risky business.

This is not to downplay the important and meaningful works of scholarship that deal with Richmond subjects. Edward Ayers has woven Richmond history of the Civil War, Reconstruction, and beyond into his significant studies of southernness and the southern interpretations of history. Critically he was also a major architect of *The Future of Richmond's Past* program that emerged from the state push to commemorate the Sesquicentennial as the anniversary of Emancipation as well as the fall of Richmond (Ayers 1992; Ayers 2003; Ayers 2005; Kunkle 2010). Scott Nelson's research on convict leasing from the Virginia Penitentiary, Gregg Kimball's work on the social history of antebellum Richmond, and Michael Chesson's study of Reconstruction in the city are all rigorous investigations of the city's difficult nineteenth century history (Chesson 1981;



Kimball 2000; Nelson 2006). Recent scholarship has explored Richmond's twentieth-century voter suppression (Hayter 2014); the craftsmen and design of the city Capitol and Penitentiary (Cook 2017); and historical memory and interpretation in the city (K. Levin 2017). Currently VCU professor Ryan Smith is writing a book on Richmond's historic cemeteries (R. Smith 2018); and Kristen Green is studying the story of Mary Lumpkin (Virginia Humanities 2018). Scholars like Phillip Schwartz (*Gabriel's Rebellion*), Scott Davis (urban renewal) and John Moeser and Christopher Silver (twentieth-century annexation and planning) have been publishing on uncomfortable aspects of the city's racial history since the 1980s, but it has largely been in the last ten years that these sorts of analyses have been taken as useful critiques rather than embarrassing attacks. Richmond's historical scholarship continues to unfold and appears to be in a fruitful period, but the discomfort, lack of consensus, and alienation visible in most public meetings about historical topics in the city also has interesting ripples in the patterns of academic and popular scholarship on the city. Additionally, this feeling of historical importance but historical disjuncture has contributed to a narrative, discussed in Chapter 5, that Richmond's history has been so hidden that archaeological investigations are essential to uncover it.

### 3 Richmond's Archaeology: A Partial History

As discussed in Chapter 1, urban archaeological spaces are often in the situation where their disturbance is assumed and their potential needs to be proved over and over again. Even, or possibly especially, when speaking to professionals at the start of this project, I often heard sentiments like “It’s too bad no archaeological work has been done in Richmond,” or “the 1970s, that’s when we really needed to get something going, but now there’s nothing left” or, “yeah, they did a dig, but they didn’t really find anything.” It became clear early on during my research that there were exciting projects that had the potential to rewrite the history of Richmond or add context that historical documents alone would struggle to do. At the same time, many of these potentially significant discoveries were unpublished, incomplete, or under-recognized. While the research held in cultural resource management gray literature is often pointed to as understudied and siloed in SHPOs across the country, several major projects in Richmond had not even made it that far.

The processes that determine the archaeological fate of cities are in turn national and local, individual and shared, unanticipated and predictable. In the histories of most successful municipal archaeology programs it is clear that most such programs live or die on the efforts of just a dedicated few, and even then, success requires a few lucky breaks. The story of shuttered urban archaeology programs like Baltimore demonstrates the fragility of these endeavors, which

have very different histories and structures depending on the context in which they developed (Appler 2013b).

This chapter traces the development and progress of the archaeological study of Richmond and provides insights into archaeological projects whose potential to inform about the city has been strangled by the unfinished, and sometimes suppressed, nature of the work. It investigates how and why these ideas about the irrelevance of Richmond's archaeological record remain despite a clear history of meaningful and surprising insights provided by archaeological study. Finally, it investigates how legal requirements for archaeological research, such as Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, Virginia state laws on human remains and archaeology on state land, and other regulatory frameworks, have alternately succeeded and failed at requiring consideration for archaeological sensitivity in balance with other priorities.

### 3.1 Archival Methods and Approaches

This project conducted a review of previously recorded sites, survey data, newspaper and magazine articles, cultural resource management reports, oral histories, informal conversations by phone and email, and academic literature in order to develop an understanding of the forces and trends that have influenced the city's archaeological resources. Archaeological sites and collections relating to Richmond were identified through databases, archives, site and survey reports, field notes, and interviews. This information was compiled into spatial data using ArcGIS in order to identify landscape and spatial patterns, perform

analysis of the impacts of municipal development and preservation trends on site identification, and to develop archaeological sensitivity maps created using a predictive model for the area. This analysis compared site identification, excavation type, date, and other attributes in different neighborhoods and regions within the city. Spatial organization of this information allowed archaeological site identification to be compared with other city, state, and federal processes, such as the Planning Department’s Old and Historic Districts zoning, historic districts on the National Register of Historic Places, and oversight by federal agencies (for federal land and floodplains, for example).

Materials for this project are curated at a variety of facilities around Richmond and the state. The majority of previously-recorded sites have some documentation available at the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, which serves as the state’s SHPO and is responsible for maintaining a substantial volume of archaeological collections and documentation. V-CRIS is the organization’s spatial database of architectural and archaeological resources across the state, and the DHR also has native ArcGIS data for sites and architectural elements in the area.

*Table 1 - Archives Consulted*

<b>Archive Name</b>	<b>Materials Consulted</b>
Virginia Department of Historic Resources	V-CRIS site database; GIS materials and datasets; digitized and undigitized site photos; digitized and undigitized project reports; field notes; project files; memos; inventories and collections associated with Floodwall, Virginia State Penitentiary; and various other sites; electronic communications; website materials
National Park Service	Memos and notes associated with Chimborazo Park and Maggie Walker Historic Site

Virginia Historical Society	Maps
Library of Congress	Digital images and illustrations
Library of Virginia	Maps; materials in general collection
The Valentine	Reviewed Archaeology folder in archive
The American Civil War Museum at Historic Tredegar	Notes associated with Raber excavation
Virginia Commonwealth University Cabell Library	Maps; digital collections of maps and illustrations; Special Collections materials associated with ACORN and the Slave Trail Commission
Virginia Commonwealth University Storage Facility	Examined artifacts and paperwork from VCU-Archaeological Research Center
Archaeological Society of Virginia	Reviewed all ASV Quarterly Bulletin; reviewed Society archive at Kittiewan Plantation
Council for Virginia Archaeologists	Reviewed old organizational notes and memos in the Ted Reinhardt collection at William & Mary Special Collections
Virginia Canals and Navigation Society	Reviewed archive in Madison Heights, VA; published atlases and materials
Historic Richmond Foundation	Reviewed archive at office; publications on Canalwalk financial and architectural planning
Richmond Times-Dispatch	Archive of news stories and images
Richmond Free Press	Archive of news stories and images
Style Weekly	Archive of news stories and images
Virginia Defender	Archive of news stories and images

Data collection for this project began by assembling all site records, survey reports, and reports of archaeological investigations submitted to DHR for all Richmond sites; many reports were digitally scanned because they had been previously accessible only as paper copies. Other sources of information, including federal and state agencies, cultural resource management companies, museums and libraries, and volunteer and non-profit organizations were consulted and are provided in the table above. Using online databases, card

catalogues, secondary source citations, and assistance from archivists and curators, I have examined these collections for old accounts of archaeological discoveries, city and regional maps, papers, maps, and archaeological collections relevant to the history and archaeology of the city.

Federal and state agencies have also frequently overseen archaeological projects in Virginia and have been searched for records and communications about planned construction projects, reports on critical collections. I have had many conversations with VDHR staff over the last several years about individual sites and projects of note and have reviewed their archive of field notes, database of archaeological collections, and recorded weekly reports of the Regional Archaeologist in charge of the Richmond region for the state. Additionally, collections of regional volunteer and professional organizations are available through the Library of Virginia and Kittiewan Plantation, and have been assessed for documents associated with survey and data recovery projects under the auspices of the Archeological Society of Virginia and the Virginia Canals and Navigation Society, in order to better understand the impact of their archaeological preservation advocacy. The available archive of the *Quarterly Bulletin* of the Archeological Society of Virginia and the newsletter of the Council of Virginia Archaeologists were very useful for gaining details not recorded in published reports and in developing an understanding for broad patterns in Richmond's archaeological investigation.

As per Hill (1993, 58–63) I have analyzed qualitative archival information by dividing it into three general categories of information: a) spatiotemporal

chronologies (timelines and maps displaying what was excavated, where, by whom, and for what client); b) networks and cohorts (understanding the structures and groups performing archaeology over time in the city); and c) backstage perspectives and processes (critically examining the archives for information that might be excluded or written with a particular slant – particularly useful for assessing documents related to federal projects eligible for Section 106 in which it may not have been implemented, for example).

### 3.2 Early Archaeological Exploration in Richmond (circa 1876 to 1963)

As with many archaeological histories, the history of archaeology in Richmond begins in the late nineteenth-century antiquarian tradition. The Valentine family, beginning with Mann Satterwhite Valentine, had amassed considerable wealth through the success of a restorative health tonic (Valentine's Meat Juice), and Mann Satterwhite Valentine instigated a generational interest in collecting ancient objects. The family did not perform archaeological investigations in Richmond, but they were very interested in prehistoric mound-building cultures and paid a collector, A.J. Osborne, to obtain a number of skeletons, funerary objects, and statuary from southern Virginia and North Carolina ("Mann Satterwhite Valentine," n.d.). Based on NAGPRA records of the human remains inventory, these remains were mostly Cherokee in cultural affiliation and were associated with the Pisgah or Qualla phases, if their provenience was established (Davis 1998).

However, the archaeological interests of the Valentine family soured around 1885, when it transpired that a substantial number of figurines they had collected were hoaxes perpetrated by the Appalachian farmers in the Mount Pisgah region (Daura and Perkinson 1950). Beginning in 1898, much of their archaeological collection – minus the fakes – was available to Richmond residents able to visit the Valentine Museum<sup>4</sup>. In the 1930s, under financial pressure, the Valentine transferred much of its collections relating to the history of the state to the Virginia Historical Society and became refocused on the history of Richmond itself. While the Valentine continues to own archaeological collections, they have been the focus of relatively little research or interpretation, and most of them are antiquarian collections from outside the city.

At roughly the same time the Valentines were beginning their collection, the circa-1619 Falling Creek Ironworks south of the James became subject to its first antiquarian investigations in 1876. Interested in the site's history as one of the oldest colonial ironworks, R.A. Brock investigated the creek where the site was believed to have been and identified pieces of furnace cinder and a mining site known as Iron Bottom (R. Brock 1885). Almost fifty years later, in 1925, the site was investigated again by then landowner Roger C. Bensley. He identified considerable evidence for the site including the furnace's original foundations and walls, a charcoal pit, undisturbed sediment deposits, and pieces of furnace slag (Linebaugh and Blanton 1995; T. G. Gregory 1957, 20–21). Just outside the

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<sup>4</sup> The organization has gone through several name changes, from the Valentine Museum, to the Valentine Richmond History Center, to simply "the Valentine," largely as a result of Director Bill Martin's desire to move the entity's image and approach away from that of a museum institution.



city's modern boundary in Chesterfield County, this site would eventually become an undeveloped park owned by the county and has had myriad investigations and interpretive recommendations made for it over the years<sup>5</sup>.

During the 1930s, many archaeological projects across the nation were coordinated through the labor projects of the New Deal, most prominently the Works Progress Administration, but also through the Civil Works Administration, the National Parks Service, and many other groups (Lyon 1996). One prominent figure involved with this process in Richmond was J.C. "Pinky" Harrington, whose colonial pipe chronology remains essential for site dating (Harrington 1951; McMillan 2010). In a rare investigation of a historical archaeological site by New Deal archaeologists, relief workers from the CCC were supervised by Harrington in early investigations at Jamestown. As an archaeologist for the National Parks Service, Harrington lived and worked in Richmond for many years, but does not seem to have taken a particular interest in city resources or projects (G. Miller 1998).

Also during this period, the Archeological Society of Virginia (ASV) was founded in 1940 and in 1942 began publishing their *Quarterly Bulletin*, a journal describing archaeological research being carried out across the state. From 1942 to 1963, research in the *Quarterly Bulletin (QB)* is one of the only most accessible sources on what types of events and research was happening in

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<sup>5</sup> Due in part to the site's early antiquarian investigations, salvage by amateur archaeologists, early historical scholarship, and the multiple periods of metalworking at the site there is considerable debate over whether the site is best described as a furnace, foundry, or forge. Lyle Browning has argued that the site active until the massacre in 1622 was a furnace, and that it was later superceded by a forge run by Archibald Cary 1750-1781.

Virginia archaeology, since the state database of recorded sites was not created until the 1960s. The early decades of research published in the *QB* reflects the organization's focus on collecting prehistoric artifacts. Virginia Indians were in the 1940s in an active battle against their demographic elimination through the 1924 Racial Purity Act, but early articles in the *QB* were full of nostalgia for Indian topics and frequently implied that Indians (or at least "real Indian culture") had long since vanished from the state (J. D. Smith 2002). The first volume of the *QB* shows a combination of mysticism and paternalism present within the interest *ASV* members took in their study of native remains:

"In subsequent bulletins we hope to disclose something of the arrival of the Indian people in this section; we hope to rediscover much of their racial, tribal and communal customs and ways of life -- important facts regarding a native culture, long undisturbed by invading elements, but now dead. Perhaps it was a melancholy necessity that this culture should die. It could not survive in conflict with the relentless tide of colonization and agricultural and industrial development that swept across the continent. Those who helped to destroy it, despised it because they did not take the time to understand it. They had mighty tasks to perform; they were building a new nation. But now in retrospect that culture assumes a different shape -- a form of great historical significance. Old hatreds are buried and the fragments and relics and the dim echoes of American aboriginal life clothe the Indian again in the vestments of his ancient dignity" (J. T. Robertson 1942, 1)

A review of articles in the *QB* shows that archaeological study in Virginia mirrors that of many other areas of the country. Archaeology was predominantly restricted to prehistory; historical archaeology at the time was in a nascent stage, and although early investigations by Jimmy Knight and Ivor Noel Hume at Colonial Williamsburg (E. Williams 2000; Hume 1964; Greenspan 1992; Samford

1999) were a mere 50 miles away, historical archaeology at the time was generally limited to reconstruction and study projects on sites with a central role in the founding of the United States (J. L. Cotter, Roberts, and Parrington 1992; Fowler, Wilcox, and S 2003; Tomlan 1998). Meetings of the society frequently met in Richmond to present research and show artifacts around, and the organization was generally Richmond-focused to the extent that membership in 1947 was more expensive for those in the city and therefore presumably able to be more active.

Although archaeological work in the city was limited, there are some references in these early years of discoveries that illustrate Richmond's native archaeological potential and a fairly active process of archaeological surveying in the region. David I. Bushnell, a researcher from the Smithsonian Bureau of American Ethnology, surveyed an area from the falls at Richmond to Wingina in Nelson County but these results are not present in the Quarterly Bulletin and it's possible he may not have submitted the site survey sheets (Manson 1947)<sup>6</sup>. A site survey for the state in 1941 reported in the same volume identified one site in the Richmond Quadrangle area, although what this site is was not reported (F. Miller 1947). That same year, J.H. Denniston reported finding an "Algonkian type pot just outside the city limits" along the C&O tracks northeast of Richmond "just south of where Laburnum Avenue would, if extended eastward, cross the railroad" (Denniston 1947). Found after a ground fire, many of the component

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<sup>6</sup> It's possible some materials in the Bushnell collection of the Harvard University Peabody Museum may provide a synthesis of his research into native site distribution along the James River (Bushnell, n.d.).

pottery sherds were oddly found on the surface of the area. Otherwise, during the 1940s-1963 the majority of ASV articles were about sites in other regions of the state, or early chronologies of lithic artifacts with no items recorded as being from the Richmond area (though some of them may have been, as some collectors did not specifically geographically identify their material). Research done nearest to the city seems to be at the Powhatan site of Kiskiak in 1958 by Ben McCary and Cotter's work on Jamestown for the National Park Service (J. Cotter 1955). One article by Randolph Owen advocates combing over construction sites in order to hopefully find prehistoric remains in backdirt piles, and claimed to have discovered 47 native sites in this manner -- eight by walking the construction of the Richmond-Petersburg Turnpike in Richmond (Owen 1960). No archaeological sites were registered with the state prior to 1963, and sites discovered in this way often do not appear to have been added to later records, so their exact locations are unknown.

Despite the organization's emphasis on the seemingly-lost Virginia native, there were also occasional studies of contemporary Virginia tribes, especially the Pamunkey and Mattaponi tribes whose reservations are located only a few miles east of Richmond. There are also a few examples of the more pseudoscience, mystical analyses about mysterious mound-builders, or odd faces carved into stones. The oddest Richmond example recounts a dried skin of allegedly-Indian hieroglyphics recounting the first encounters between European settlers and natives in the Tidewater/Richmond vicinity (F. H. Stewart 1949). By and large, the 1940s to 1960s in archaeology of Central Virginia were a time of limited

investigation in the Richmond area, but the themes of antiquarian collectors, construction salvage, and the emphasis on native artifacts are common for this period nationwide.

### 3.3 The Rise of Cultural Resource Management (1963-1977)

A sea change came to archaeology in Virginia, and American archaeology generally, during the 1960s with the rise of state and federal regulations supportive of archaeological conservation. Cantwell and Wall (2003) have argued that this emphasis on conserving the nation's past emerged during the 1960s because broader cultural anxieties and fomented resulted in a reassessment and longing for more material connection to the nation's past. Inspired by the activism of many Virginia preservationists, including Lady Bird Johnson, the National Historic Preservation Act was passed in 1966 and required that federal agencies take into account the impact of their projects on historic properties. Originally this protection only applied to properties that were already on the National Register of Historic Places, but regardless this legislation created a federal mandate for archaeological mitigation of many projects.

Virginia was in many ways at the vanguard of American preservation during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and growing state interest in preserving sites was not, as it was in other states, purely reactionary to the National Historic Preservation Act. In 1965 before the Act was passed, the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council convened a study commission to decide what role government should play in safeguarding historically-sensitive sites (J.

Mark Wittkofski 1988). There was also a growing understanding of the threat posed by indiscriminate metal detectorists; an article in the *Fredericksburg Lance-Star* in 1969 quoted Chief Ranger Don Jackson as saying “Our philosophy is these relics underground are a historic resource and to be properly used have to be dug archaeologically so as to tell the story they are capable of telling” (Mason 1969).

Virginia was similarly atypical in that it had a State Archaeologist position prior to the creation of the state historic preservation office system. In 1963 Howard MacCord, a retired U.S. Army Corps Colonel with a passion for archaeology, convinced the State Library to create a State Archaeologist position and to hire him for the position (Blake 2009). MacCord started a variety of statewide surveys to identify archaeological sites in need of preservation, and eventually also implemented the Smithsonian trinomial system of archaeological site numbering and inventorying. Further federal changes came in 1966 with the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act, which required federal agencies to consider how their projects threatened historical and cultural resources and led to the creation of the first statewide registers of historic sites (T. F. King 2008). Over the next several decades, administration of the state’s historic sites shifted multiple times and archaeological site management developed. The Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, later the Virginia Historic Landmarks Board and subsequently folded in to the independent Virginia Department of Historic Resources, was formed and began recording sites on the Virginia Landmarks Register (J. Mark Wittkofski 1988). In the late 1970s, federal funding

provided to the VHLC allowed Virginia archaeologists to establish regional preservation offices, one of which was started in Richmond by L. Daniel Mouer and became the Virginia Commonwealth University Archaeological Research Center<sup>77</sup>. This began the process of more systematic surveying and recording for the state, although the eligibility requirements for archaeological sites show clear limitations to the types of sites that were considered worth preserving: guidance provided by the VHLC stated that “In order for a site to qualify as an archaeological site, it shall be an area from which it is reasonable to expect that artifacts, materials, and other specimens may be found which give insight to an understanding of aboriginal man or Colonial and early historic and architecture of the State or nation,” emphasizing the prehistoric and colonial Virginia value of archaeology statewide. During the first two decades of the Register, while some sites that were added to the Virginia Landmarks Register are now understood to have archaeological significance (and were likely then as well), none of the Richmond sites on the state register were nominated with their archaeological significance as a supporting element of their nomination (Loth 1986, 359–94).

An examination of Richmond site records in this database shows that relatively few sites, 10 out of the current total of the 159 located within the Richmond city limits, were identified during the 1960s, and only four archaeological reports submitted to VDHR were written in the 1960s and 1970s. The vast majority of the sites that were identified were identified by Howard MacCord, along with members of the Archeological Society of Virginia with which

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<sup>77</sup> Personal communication, L. Daniel Mouer, 11-19-2017.

he worked closely. Site identification projects progressed in short order to excavations. Excavations at the early colonial forge site of Falling Creek Ironworks, located along the modern border between Richmond and Chesterfield County, continued in this period (Browning 2007).

Under MacCord's leadership, the ASV predominantly came together as a group in response to mailed letters of invitation to contribute to specific projects, and excavated large sites in great part directed by MacCord's personal interests. Additionally, starting in around 1973, Bill Trout's interest in the historic remnants of historic Virginia waterways and industrial sites first started appearing in the *ASV Quarterly Bulletin*, in which he specifically references an interest in the Richmond Tidewater lock and Tuckahoe river drainage (W. E. I. Trout 1979).

Other preservation organizations within Richmond also took initial steps towards contributing to archaeological investigation of the city. The Valentine Museum, now no longer focused as closely on archaeology but with an intense interest in the history of the city, occasionally contributed to archaeological research or influenced investigations. In 1974, Alain Outlaw performed a test excavation on the site of the Richmond Glass Manufacturing Company (44HE0236), "following the extensive historical research by James E. Gergat of the Valentine Museum" (Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission 1983). Preservation organizations such as the Valentine Museum and the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities became further involved with archaeological investigations in the city during the 1980s and 1990s, but various factors led to neither organization taking on archaeology as a core component of



their education and research. In the mid-1970s, lecturers at Virginia Commonwealth University are referenced as taking students on archaeological investigations, including Merle Kerby and Errett Callahan, an experimental archaeologist and lithic specialist who did extensive research into projectile point use and created many of the lithic replicas at the Pamunkey Indian Museum and Cultural Center (Kerby 1974; Callahan 1976).

As a result of the professionalization of archaeology in the wake of the NHPA and increasing collegial relationships due to the regional preservation office network, the Council of Virginia Archaeologists was formed in 1975 to foster awareness of Virginia archaeology, publish information on archaeological resources, facilitate interaction between professional and avocational archaeologists, and independently advise the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission and the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology (later the Virginia Department of Historic Resources) (Council of Virginia Archaeologists 2017). While at times the emerging industry was accompanied by increasing professionalization and a discomfort between avocationalists and commercial archaeologists, COVA was also instrumental in the establishment of the ASV Certificate Program for training avocational archaeologists. After 1981, when a budgetary error eliminated funding for the regional preservation offices across the state, COVA also became particularly active politically in relation to archaeological stewardship<sup>8</sup>. Unlike the ASV, membership in COVA required demonstrated expertise in archaeological research through education and

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<sup>8</sup> Personal communication, L. Daniel Mouer, November 19, 2017, also visible through a review of COVA newsletters.

publishing. Starting briefly in the 1970s and later in 1985, COVA published a regular newsletter where archaeological programs provided updates on their research and the organization discussed political and topical developments associated with archaeology in the state.

### 3.3.1 The Impact of Howard MacCord

“I am now working for the Virginia State Library as an archeologist, and my first concern is to salvage the sites which are threatened with destruction by construction of highways and dams. My work will be to find the sites, sample them, and if they are important, to arrange for more complete excavations, I will from time to time call on members in an area to assist me in all phases of this work. I am confident that I can count on your whole-hearted support, and I know that together, we can contribute much to deciphering some of the riddles in Virginia archeology. In the meantime, I wish you Good Hunting and much success” (MacCord 1963).

Howard MacCord casts a long shadow over the archaeology of Virginia from the 1960s to his death in 2009. He was also unparalleled, at least in the Central Virginia area, for his political involvement and advocacy for archaeology. For several generations of Virginia archaeologists, Howard MacCord was often their first supervisor in archaeological research through the salvage projects he conducted all over the state. MacCord is not an uncontroversial figure – he is often described as having a narrow sense of what sorts of sites were archaeologically significant; of destroying sites through over-active data recovery and limited field recording; and of having limited field skills. However, through charisma and drive he was able to coordinate projects between politicians in the General Assembly, academic archaeologists, and the avocational community. He

also had a pragmatic approach to archaeological investigation and a clear vision regarding the challenges facing archaeological resources in Virginia, including urban ones.

When he became State Archaeologist in 1963, MacCord began surveying areas he considered to be particularly sensitive across the state. One of the areas where he surveyed was Belle Isle, which according to him "failed to reveal any indications of significant [prehistoric] occupation" (Browning 1983). However, these surveying expeditions were often not written up, and subsequent archaeologists have often found sites in areas he listed with negative results.

MacCord also participated in an early example of public archaeology in the city. In 1973, Howard MacCord led salvage excavations at the Deshazo site in King George County, and enlisted the assistance of 35 students from the Richmond Math and Science Center and some scouts from Fredericksburg. The use of these volunteers allowed the site, a considerable Archaic and Woodland settlement, to be partially recorded while providing Richmond-area students with an exposure to archaeological excavation they wouldn't otherwise have received (MacCord 1997).

MacCord recognized early on the impact urban shifts were starting to have on archaeological resources in urban contexts and the inability of existing preservation organizations to speak to archaeological risk and significance. In a 1976 *Quarterly Bulletin* article, MacCord wrote,

"In recent years major efforts have been directed toward rejuvenating the older, run-down parts of some of our larger cities. Since these areas are usually the originally settled part of

the cities, they almost always contain standing structures of historic or architectural importance, or they contain buried sites of still earlier buildings and activity areas. In many cases, the waterfront areas of a city also yield evidence of prehistoric Indian habitations. Such urban renewal work has been done extensively in Norfolk, Hampton, Richmond, Alexandria, Staunton, and Roanoke. In Hampton, a last-minute effort was made, using Federal funds, to rescue some archeological data (sort of as an afterthought) in part of the area affected. This was a small step in the right direction. The city of Alexandria for several years employed a part-time archeologist, who recovered much important data. That city is currently seeking to hire a fulltime historic archeologist, and this step is highly commendable. *The other cities mentioned, however, have made no effort to study or evaluate the historic and archeological evidence that they were destroying.* Similarly, other cities and towns along our waterways have ignored the historic potential of their older areas for many years. Recently there has been a movement, largely sparked by concerned individuals, to preserve and study historic sites and districts in Petersburg, Tappahannock, Fredericksburg, Dumfries, Occoquan, Falls Church, Leesburg, Winchester, Lexington, Lynchburg, and Abington. Much more needs to be done, though, in these communities, as well as in others. *This is not meant to criticize such groups as Historic Richmond Foundation, the Association for the Preservation of Petersburg Antiquities, Historic Fredericksburg, Inc., and others.* They are trying hard to do what needs to be done, but they all deserve greater governmental, as well as private, support” (emphasis mine) (MacCord 1976, 96–98).

In the same issue, MacCord used the tenth anniversary of the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act to envision a model for Virginia’s archaeological study moving forward, including important research topics, survey areas, and public archaeology projects. Many of his recommendations – increasing awareness and recording of sites; monitoring construction; improving archaeological education of K-12 students; creating space in a state museum for archaeological exhibits; outreach about the importance of archaeological resources to state political legislators – are similar to those that would be

recommended today to promote archaeological stewardship (see Chapter 0). However, regardless of MacCord's ability to speak to legislators and coordinate salvage excavations with members of the ASV, he does not appear to have implemented solutions to many of the problems he identified in urban archaeology in the commonwealth. With regards to Richmond, MacCord's greatest significance was in the excavations of Falling Creek just outside the city limits south of the river, and in the impact he had on archaeology statewide.

### 3.3.2 Warwick excavation and early public archaeology outreach

The late 1960s also provided an example of early work involving Richmond's youth in excavating archaeological sites and contributing to archaeological understanding. In the summer of 1968, Edward ("Ned") Heite with the Virginia Landmarks Commission conducted an archaeological investigation in Warwick town (44CF0008), a 1746 town ferry town in Chesterfield County where the Deepwater Terminal was about to be constructed (Woodson 1968). Funded by the APVA and assisted by the City, this salvage project used young, likely predominantly black men from the Neighborhood Youth Corps (a federal urban jobs creation program) for additional assistance needed at the site.

Excavations at Warwick revealed at least three colonial house foundations, and found artifacts like colonial earthenware, glass, iron, pipe stems, bricks, and English flint nodules. Heite characterized the site as the best-documented Virginia military institutions during the Revolutionary War, including references to the decisions made to liquidate public property of the town after it was burned by

the British in 1781 (Heite 1970, 2). The completed report he wrote on the town appears to have been a historical analysis prior to completion of the fieldwork, as it does not summarize field results. Artifacts from the project, however, are curated at VDHR and some have been subject to conservation.

The contributions of the Neighborhood Jobs Corps are interesting because of the example they provide of early archaeological education to young urban men, and a different mechanism to archaeological fieldwork than ASV participation. However, records at VDHR suggests that Heite generally had a distrustful opinion of the youth corps, with Heite commenting on May 17, 1968 in a letter to the city department overseeing the program that, "Since the plan calls for using youngsters from your summer program, I want a forceful adult male supervisor on the scene at all times" (Heite 1968a). Subsequent correspondence in July indicates that the program met with qualified success, as Heite reports in another letter that, "The Neighborhood Youth Corps boys have done nicely. About half of them are motivated, and about half of them proved to be troublemakers. Mr. Childrey has been weeding them out...Delays have been caused by discipline problems, our failure to procure the additional supervisor, and the sheer mass of material recovered" (Heite 1968b).

In the wake of the Warwick excavation, there were calls by Heite and the Association to Preserve Virginia Antiquities to consider developing the area as a historical park. The City Manager Alan Kiepper, however, was firm in his response: "It is my understanding that Warwick Town is simply one of my small communities that grew up along the James and that it has no particular historical

significance. We may place an appropriate landmark there, if desired, but it is our intention to offer property in that vicinity to industry” (Woodson 1968). Instead, the land was offered to the Old Dominion Iron and Steel Company, which had been moved from Belle Isle to create another historical city park.

This disinterest is an example of a theme that reoccurs several times in the Richmond context – first, the idea (more common in the earlier periods) that sites should be associated with a ‘particular historical significance,’ perhaps the Civil or Revolutionary Wars, or a president or other notable. Understanding of early non-Richmond occupations of this landscape is actually very limited – a more modern and expanded excavation on some of the site such as Falling Creek Ironworks, Warwick, or a search for Fort Charles would actually significantly develop understanding of the area’s colonial landscape. However, in the contemporary assessment of historical worth, a small trading outpost that had merely been torched during the Revolutionary War was not worth adjusting the industrial plans for the site. This episode is also a good example of the city of Richmond prioritizing industrial uses on city-owned property. However, it also indicates the important role of archaeological and historical advocates in requesting and pressing for urban spaces that reflected the historical significance of archaeological discoveries in the city, and that an emphasis on business and industry did not wholesale raze Richmond’s archaeological landscape from visibility. An optimistic view of the Neighborhood Youth Corps would be that it was an early example of community engagement on an archaeological project; more cynically, the program also provided an excellent source of free manual

labor. It's also a small window into the racial and class issues that existed in archaeology as everywhere else in the 1960s, and likely contributed to the exclusion of some groups from entering the field.

### 3.4 Archaeology and Business in the New Richmond (1977-1989)

During the 1970s and 1980s, archaeological investigations in Richmond continued to be influenced by federal decisions related to the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). During the 1960s and early 1970s, the onus was on the community to identify if federal projects might impact a site on the National Register – and communities were responsible for adding sites to the Register if they were not already listed. However, a 1976 amendment to Section 106 of the Act required agencies to assess the eligibility of sites threatened by their projects for the Act and to consider their effects even when sites were not yet listed on the National Register. This new requirement placed greater responsibilities on federal agencies to survey, inventory, and assess the National Register eligibility of any site potentially affected by one of their undertakings, and it resulted in considerable increases to the total number of archaeological survey projects performed under this legislation. Between 1971 and 1991, the new industry of cultural resource management grew nationally at rates averaging 18-20% annually as federal projects required environmental impact assessment before construction (Dore 2018). Initially, many of the companies producing this type of archaeological work were created by academic archaeologists or were associated with university academic departments, which can be seen in the



Richmond area in the success of the Virginia Commonwealth University's Archaeological Research Center and the William & Mary Center for Archaeological Research. Of the 15 sites identified during the 1970s, most were identified by cultural resource management archaeologists, especially archaeologists at the Virginia Commonwealth University Archaeological Research Center. The number of archaeological sites identified between 1980 and 1989, 81 sites, was twice as much as for any other decade of the site register. While CRM projects accounted for a considerable amount of this increase, avocational and volunteering archaeologists were responsible for even more of these sites being recorded. River surveys by the Archeological Society of Virginia and the American Canals Society, which were predominantly on waterways and industrial sites, accounted for a large number of these site records being produced. Lyle Browning – who was the VDOT archaeologist 1980-1988, coordinated survey and investigations in associated with the ASV and Virginia Canals and Navigation Society, and also had a commercial firm Browning & Associates (1980-present) – was a significant contributor to site recording as well<sup>9</sup>. The significant number of sites recorded by avocational groups may partially account for the small number of archaeological reports relative to sites identified, with only 19 reports submitted between 1980 and 1989, predominantly towards the later part of the decade.

While archaeology was transitioning towards a more structured practice with a limited federal mandate and supported by federal and state funding, in

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<sup>9</sup> Personal communication, Lyle Browning, 11-19-2017.

Richmond there were significant limitations in how much protection archaeological sites received even on projects that should have been eligible for data recovery under Section 106 of NHPA. The construction of the RMA Downtown Expressway in 1977 resulted in the discovery of four Woodland-period burials and associated grave goods, but unfortunately faculty at the VCU Department of Anthropology were given only a few days to remove the burials and the larger project does not appear to have progressed through the Section 106 process (Bustard 1974; Lazarus 1984). During the 1970s especially, attitudes towards archaeology appear to have been fairly guarded or negative even, and not much effort appears to have been made to prevent looting. In 1977, a “button factory” was uncovered during the construction of the Shockoe Retention Basin. While archaeologists and Museum of the Confederacy employees received some limited access to the site, relic collectors appear to have had very successful access to the site and the items recovered by VCU-ARC employees to assess the area were mainly limited to their discards (Saunders 1977). Overall, archaeology in Richmond during this period was highly influenced by early efforts in preservation planning and some salvage projects of considerable importance.

#### 3.4.1 The archaeological study of Richmond becomes more systematic and defined

During this period, several institutions began to identify Richmond’s archaeological resources as valuable and to start investigating potential

important sites and themes from this perspective. Prominent among these was the Virginia Commonwealth University Department of Anthropology, which was created when the school was founded in 1968 and where early anthropologists were adjunct professors. In the late 1970s, L. Daniel Mouer, who was completing his dissertation on York River materials, set up a regional office of the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology at VCU, his old department. The VCU Archaeological Research Center was established through a state grant and with the boost of a multi-year sewer line cultural resource management contract with Henrico County<sup>10</sup>. The VCU Archaeological Research Center became the archaeological research organization most focused on the city of Richmond through any period of time, although it performed many of its projects in other areas of Central Virginia and beyond. A 1981 issue of the ASV's Quarterly Bulletin describes several research interests of the scholars at the VCU-ARC, which appears heavily influenced by the then-popular historical ecology movement. Mouer began investigating Powhatan/Monacan encounters at the Falls of the James River, and discussed the concept of the falls as a buffer zone characterized by political conflict (Mouer 1981; Mouer 1983a). More closely aligned with the cultural ecology movement, Stephen Perlman examined lithic utilization along the James River and compared data on settlement and subsistence to the !Kung bushman through a behavioral ecology model (Perlman 1981). On the whole, the VCU-ARC illustrates an early model of a contract archaeology office whose cultural resource management was engaged with the

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<sup>10</sup> L. Daniel Mouer, personal communication, 11-17-2017.

same philosophical developments as was contemporary academic anthropology. However, the VCU Department of Anthropology also had frequent early challenges with funding and staff turnover, which Mouer acknowledged in 1984 had led to several project reports being left incomplete (Mouer 1984). One example of this was the excavation of four Woodland burials in Shockoe Slip during construction for the RMA Expressway. Salvaged over a few days after bulldozers had disturbed an estimated 95% of the site, the site appears to have included at least four inhumations and a considerable amount of midden material, and represents one of the only examples of a considerable village habitation site so far investigated within the Richmond city limits (Bustard 1974; Lazarus 1984). Assessed as being associated with a Piedmont interior native group due to the ceramics, lithic points, and apparently cultivation of Pepo (a type of squash). Mouer assessed that the site “appears to offer good evidence for dominion over the falls of the James by a Piedmont group at this time” and that most of the identified ceramics were Albemarle Fabric Impressed dating to the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD. He went on to state that the “floral and faunal preservation at the site is the best known from the inner Coastal Plain. The primary economic activity was clearly the harvest of anadromous fish, but domestic plants and remains of avian and terrestrial faunal elements argue, along with the burials, against a simple seasonal fishing camp function. The group which controlled this site probably controlled the entire falls zone, one of the most productive fishing loci in central Virginia” (Mouer 1984, 98–100). This excavation also recognized a colonial stratum at the site and a burn layer associated with the 1865 Evacuation

fire, one of the only times that has been specifically identified during archaeological analysis. Thirty years after this investigation, the human bones at VCU are under analysis by VCU biological anthropologist Amy Verelli and there are some conversations about the final disposition of these remains to comply with NAGPRA<sup>11</sup>. However, there has still been no publication of a field report, and given the disruption that occurred at the VCU Archaeological Research Center in the years around its closure by the university, it is unclear what remains of the field notes and associated materials from this project.

The VCU-ARC collaborated closely with the state historic preservation office, then the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology, and Mouer was the regional preservation archaeologist in addition to his VCU position (University 1981). The VCU-ARC worked on projects all over central Virginia, but one of their major Richmond endeavors was the Richmond Metropolitan Archaeological Area Survey. Over their approximately twenty years of operation, not only was the ARC responsible for excavating many of the significant projects in the city and wider region, but the center also provided an education in archaeological methods and practice to a variety of undergraduate and graduate students in the region. Before its closure in 1998 (discussed in Section 3.5.4), the VCU-ARC continued to struggle with issues of funding and staffing, although according to employees L. Daniel Mouer and Rob Ryder, the unit was profitable during most of its existence.

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<sup>11</sup> Personal communication, Bernard Means, 2015.

Another organization that began to explore Richmond's archaeological period during this time was the William Byrd chapter of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, which was founded in 1935 by Mary Winfield Scott and other prominent society women of the early twentieth century. This APVA chapter for a period of time in the 1980s became especially focused developed an interest in city archaeology, especially that associated with the canal/waterfront and particular historical figures who loomed large in city history. In 1986-1987, they funded an investigation at the Virginia Manufactory of Arms, the armory that had caught fire in the Evacuation Fire and contributed to much of the destruction in the city's downtown (Fisher 1988).

#### 3.4.2 Efforts towards proactive preservation planning

A major trend of the 1980s was an effort to implement largescale preservation planning, both in Richmond specifically and state-wide. This was due to both local and national recognition that the intensity of development and growth was having irreversible impacts on historic resources through urbanization, urban renewal, transportation infrastructure, and numerous other development pressures. During the mid-1980s, investment in industrial space rentals and transportation infrastructure projects were increasing 20% and 130% respectively some years (J. Mark Wittkofski 1988, 3). While Reagan-era opposition to federal spending was already shrinking federal historic preservation funding through the Historic Preservation Fund (HPF), matching grants from the HPF and SHPOs funded a variety of projects, including comprehensive planning

projects dubbed the Resource Protection Planning Process (RP3). The Virginia Division of Historic Landmarks funded the Richmond Metropolitan Area Archaeological Survey (RMAAS), a city-wide archaeological assessment produced in 1984-1985 by the VCU-ARC that will be investigated further in Chapter 6 (Gleach 1988; Mouer, Johnson, and Gleach 1985a; Mouer, Johnson, and Gleach 1985b). Another Richmond-area historic preservation planning effort was a Historic Preservation Plan for South Richmond, although this project was exclusively focused on historic architecture (Indyke, Turner, and Warren 1983).

RMAAS was a project that lasted almost a year, considerable in scope, and included sensitivity analysis based on historic maps and environmental data, archaeological survey, and a review of archival data. The data from this project were very helpful for developing a baseline from 1985 to assess the city's archaeological resources as they were then, and are used extensively in the spatial analysis of Chapter 6. The project clearly understood the embedded nature of city archaeology, explicitly emphasized the importance of reaching out to local planners and developers, and was made up of two volumes, one of which was written in an accessible style intended for non-archaeologists. Two hundred copies of the first volume of the report were printed for distribution to local planners, archaeologists, and developers. The study authors also recognized the unsustainability of the manner in which city archaeological resources had heretofore been rescued and researched:

“The Richmond metropolitan area, with its combination of important archaeological resources and its explosive rate of growth, is an area ideally suited to preservation planning. The

Richmond Metropolitan Area Archaeological Survey has produced a powerful tool for use in the planning process. What is now needed is funding and the organization to perform and/or oversee the planning process. This will not be accomplished by the continued allocation of small amounts of money for further survey or salvage work; an active statewide program of cultural resource management is necessary” (Gleach 1988, 62).

However, the legacy of the RMAAS project is also somewhat limited. The City of Richmond Planning Department does indeed have a copy of the RMAAS report, but few people know of it and fewer still have read any of it.

Conversations with city planning staff suggest that the report has been of little or no influence on what city planners or developers understand about the city’s archaeological sensitivity.

The comprehensive planning approach underlying this project was losing steam at the same time this project was produced, perhaps due to a hostile political climate for federal spending or a lack of effective federal advocacy for historic resources (J. Smith and Chapman 2016; Papazian 1992; Scarpino 1992). While the Department of Historic Resources did eventually assign Regional Archaeologist positions responsible for different areas of the state, one of the advances heralded by Gleach’s review of the Survey, these positions still covered broad areas of the state and there was no guarantee that the regional position for the area including Richmond and the Tidewater was staffed by someone with an interest in Richmond, or urban archaeology generally, or even had a specialty in historical archaeology. Meanwhile, the aim of having proactive historic preservation planning within Richmond was stymied, both from a lack of



city roles that included review of the city's cultural resources, and from widely-observed city resistance to being seen as anti-business or overly regulatory.

### 3.4.3 Maggie Walker House and the impact of a black city government majority

The political shift from having a majority white voting population in the city to having a majority black voting population had a considerable and enduring impact on how Richmond's historical sites were approached. In 1978, city council flipped from being majority white to majority black after a decade-long campaign by the Richmond Crusade for Voters (Hayter 2017, 165–77). Henry Marsh became the city's first black mayor. While on its face this seems unrelated to archaeology, the shift in the racial politics of the city had immediate implications for what history was considered worthy of preserving, and transformed the political landscape in ways that continue to have impacts on archaeological projects and conversations today.

The same year, a feasibility study for a National Park Service site in Jackson Ward including Maggie Walker's house on Leigh Street was conducted, and was accompanied by supportive letters from Marsh and several other black politicians (The Afro-American Institute for Historic Preservation and Community Development 1978). The Maggie L. Walker National Historic site became one of the first historic NPS house sites in the country to be associated with a prominent black figure. While initially this development was more associated with historic preservation than with archaeology, the investigations performed on the Quality

Row section of East Leigh Street in advance of improvements planned for the site are the only existing excavations in Jackson Ward. Given the current climate of interest in the archaeology associated with other early twentieth-century black leaders such as Phyllis Wheatley, W.E.B. DuBois, and Malcolm X, investigations into one of the wealthiest black neighborhoods of the early twentieth century might be an important future project for the city (Agbe-Davies 2010; Agbe-Davies 2011; Paynter, Hautaniemi, and Muller 1994; Marcelo 2016).

#### 3.4.4 Avocational archaeologists and industrial archaeology expands

Despite increasing professionalization within archaeology, the 1970s and 1980s were still a time when considerable amounts of salvage archaeology were being performed to save major sites threatened by development not covered under the NHPA. According to a 1986 report on the state of Virginia archaeology, over 80% of COVA members rated salvage/rescue archaeology the most pressing area of concern for the organization in 1986, along with professional ethics and human burials. During the 1980s, the Virginia Division of Historic Landmarks even had a staff position of Salvage Archaeologist whose responsibility it was to coordinate salvage operations (Division of Historic Landmarks 1986, 17–21). The report also identified the corridor between Richmond and Virginia Beach to be the most in need of salvage excavation due to the considerable amount of development occurring there. Most commonly, these salvage projects were initiated by a private development whose construction did not include a federal hook (i.e. a federal connection that

obligated federal historic preservation review), and often they had an association with the waterfront. The creation of the Virginia Canals & Navigation Society in 1977 by Bill Trout and his subsequent surveys of archaeological sites along the banks of the James River with Lyle Browning and members of the Archeological Society of Virginia led to several of these types of investigations.

By far, the most influential of the salvage investigations of Richmond's archaeology occurred between 1983 and 1985 in downtown Richmond. The construction project for the James Center buildings in the heart of the financial district was directly over the blocks between Cary, Canal, Eighth, and Eleventh Streets, just where the Great Turning Basin of the James River and Kanawha Canal had been. Two members of the Virginia Canals & Navigation Society, entomologist Bill Trout and classical musician Jimmy Moore, believed the investigation would likely impact the basin and any boats that had sunk there. Over days and weeks, they heard of artifacts like anchors and wine bottles coming out of the backdirt piles, and they contacted Lyle Browning, who was then the state archaeologist for VDOT (Kollatz 2014). Browning organized the excavation and contacted the press. The ensuing excavation uncovered over sixty boats, including two iron hulled packet boats. An East Carolina University research report based on some of the boat information recovered found that the construction style of the eighteenth-century James River 'bateaux' was unknown outside of this Richmond excavation (Terrell 1991, 45–69). Less analysis, however, was made of the food remains and cooking utensils which were found in association with the boats and represented the lifeways of the skilled and often

enslaved James River bateaumen who used the shallow-draught boats to transport tobacco hogheads and other cargo up and down the James River. Once the press was involved, there was a considerable amount of visitation and attention paid to the site, but ultimately the political climate of the age was not receptive to using this astonishing discovery as a rationale for creating more extensive archaeological review. Browning recalled, “we had 2,000 people a day looking at us in those canal boats you know, in the summertime when we first did it. And it was finally successful, and I tried to use that as a bully pulpit. And it went nowhere. The city basically said: we have social programs we can't fund. We can't do this, we can't do that, how in the heck can we justify doing archeology? And so I was like okay, that's the way it is, so we'll continue doing our you know, volunteer stuff.”<sup>12</sup>

Ultimately, this excavation lives on in several ways in the city: as a nostalgic tale of derring do on the part of the excavators, who did their analysis in the weeks allotted to them by the property owner over the summers of 1983, 1984, and 1985; the material remains of the few ships hulls that were recovered – many of which are in dire need of restoration and conservation funding, and are dotted around the city and beyond in various storage facilities; in the popular interpretive event of the James River Batteau Festival, an annual pilgrimage by homemade batteaux down the James from Lynchburg to Maiden's Landing near Richmond; and in a collection of artifacts and materials housed at the under-development Virginia Canal Museum in Madison Heights, VA (Renner 1998;

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<sup>12</sup> Interview with Lyle Browning, November 9, 2015.

Steenburgh 2016). Other than the Terrell report, however, much of the materials, records, maps, and details of the investigation remain in private hands and the field report has not been published, a common challenge for salvage archaeology projects. There is commitment from members of the VC&NS and the ASV to retain and preserve the information, but funding, institutional support, and academic partnerships have not so far emerged.

Another remarkable waterfront recovery project occurred in the city in 1989, when a fortuitous dredging of an intact section of the James River and Kanawha Canal just upstream of the Great Ship Lock brought out a variety of collectors and relic hunters aware of the historical import and likelihood of finding artifacts in the canal bottom. During excavations of the bottom, an item believed to be an Archimedes Screw Pump from the construction of the canal was located. Members of the Virginia Canals and Navigation Society (VC&NS), led by Lyle Browning, used a fiberglass tank donated by FedEx for their ongoing canal boat work. Staff at the Valentine Museum agreed to help extract the screw pump, which they planned to store until funds could be raised for its conservation (Galer 1989). The episode developed into a moment of high drama and fiasco for many of those involved, including Gregg Kimball and Greg Galer, then of the Valentine, and Lyle Browning from the ASV and VC&NS. Galer recalled ending up on the phone with a general at the Pentagon, who agreed to send a Chinook helicopter to help move the almost forty-foot artifact into the tank<sup>13</sup>. Unfortunately, the waterlogged wood was too much for the fiberglass container, which cracked as

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<sup>13</sup> Personal communication. September 7, 2017.

soon as the pump was placed into it. Several Richmond area archaeologists mentioned this event with a mixture of relish and chagrin; as rousing of a story as it was, the screw pump remains in dry storage and has never received the conservation treatment it richly deserves. The Valentine Riverside project, an ambitious industrial history center that was intended to house many of these types of massive projects, was forced to close in 1995 when museum visitation proved unable to successfully support the debt the project had taken on (Kollatz 2012).

### 3.5 The Lost Decade: 1990-1999

Perhaps more than any other period in Richmond's history, the decade 1990-1999 was dominated by substantial projects left unfinished or suppressed, important research projects disbanded, and archaeological opportunities squandered. The reverberations of this period have, at least in part, contributed to the relative lack of academic archaeological research on the city and have figured into the decision by several prominent researchers to shelve research or redirect their interests away from Richmond topics. In several cases, substantial institutions who funded cultural resource management projects mandated under state or federal regulations did not ensure that these projects were successfully completed. In some instances, particularly the episode involving human remains excavated from a well associated with the Medical College of Virginia, these projects fell victim to political struggles regarding state regulations associated with developments and intentional avoidance of sensitive historical topics. In

other cases, the reasons for the projects' failure or incompleteness may have more to do with the tenuous financial position of archaeological mitigation projects, personal life trajectories, or challenges to confident archaeological interpretation.

This is not to say that no effective and successful research happened during this decade. The early 1990s was also a time when processes for managing the state's archaeological data and following the mandate of the National Historic Preservation Act were becoming clearer, and during which cultural resource management of routine projects was becoming more systematized. At least nineteen cultural resource reports were submitted to VDHR during this period for the city, covering such central city historic sites as Rocketts Landing, the James River and Kanawha Canal, Belle Isle, and several canal boats (all funded through CRM excavations); Tredegar Iron Works, Falls Plantation, and the Confederate Navy Yard (funded by museums and non-profit organizations); and the street where Maggie Walker lived (produced during National Park Service renovations at the site). A river survey produced for the Richmond Riverfront Development Corporation found considerable levels of preservation, including sunken ships, docks, and the remaining Archimedes screw, intact along the northern side of the James by Rocketts Landing and the first lock of the James River and Kanawha Canal (Rodgers 1996). Compared with the 1980s, archaeological site identification dropped in the city to 30 new sites identified over the decade. According to Lyle Browning, this was due to changes in the flexibility of site recording processes at VDHR, which began rejecting site record submissions that did not conform precisely to the state

format and resulted in a decrease in archaeological sites recorded by avocational archaeologists<sup>14</sup>. Similar to the 1980s, archaeological survey work and review leading to the identification of Richmond sites was driven largely in the 1990s by VCU-ARC, the ASV, Bill Trout, and Lyle Browning.

In 1991, the DHR in conjunction with VCA-ARC, the APVA, COVA, NPS, and the ASV hosted nearly 900 historical archaeologists from the Society for Historical Archaeology and the International Conference on Underwater archaeologists. Former staff member Mark Wittkofski recalled: “With all of this interest in Richmond [from the conference] it is surprising that the city did not realize the value of historical archaeology and establish their own city archaeologist. It may have been their belief that with the DHR situated in Richmond, all matters of archaeology would be handled by that agency. However, the State Archaeologist was more interested in policy and planning rather than developing a robust program of archaeological research. Therefore, an opportunity for seizing the momentum from this gathering of archaeologists in the River City was squandered”<sup>15</sup>.

In 1993, the William Byrd chapter of the APVA continued their interest in Richmond’s archaeological potential when they funded a VCU-ARC investigation to find Byrd’s original Richmond house and to investigate the Confederate Navy Yard (Mouer and Kiser CF-174). This however seems to be the end of their participation in city archaeological investigations. By the mid-1990s, the statewide Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities was focused on

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<sup>14</sup> Personal communication, 2-18-2018.

<sup>15</sup> Personal communication, 1-28-2018.



raising money for the 2007 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of Jamestown, their central archaeological site <sup>16</sup>. More focused on Richmond and with little appetite for the fundraising that was apparently anticipated by the parent organization, this chapter of the APVA chose to recombine with the Historic Richmond Foundation, a mostly-architecture focused historic properties non-profit that had been established by associates of APVA members in order to restore and save historic Richmond properties like the Adam Craig House and sections of Church Hill. Although this maintained the organization's Richmond emphasis, the Historic Richmond Foundation has not involved itself in archaeological projects since this merger and appears to have refocused its efforts on architectural renovation and reuse.

The Rocketts Landing investigation, produced in 1991-1992, stands apart as an extremely successful and detailed investigation of an important site in the city. Prompted by the VDOT expansion of an intersection between Main Street and Williamsburg Avenue, the report details data recovery investigations on an original half-acre lot, where a cobble surface, drains, a cistern, and several hearths and foundations were uncovered. The resulting analysis by Mouer et al sheds light on the eighteenth and early nineteenth century of Rocketts using documentary sources, archaeological features and objects, and a deep use of anthropological theory that was then especially uncommon in cultural resource management reports (Mouer 1992). Through this integrated analysis Mouer portrays a bustling independent port characterized by less ostentation than the

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<sup>16</sup> Cyane Crump, personal communication, September 21, 2017.

Virginia planter classes; social cohesion maintained through a system of mutual debts; and greater racial integration than existed after the Revolution (Mouer 1992, 326–31). The Rocketts report, written accessibly and with a rich documentary history, is a fascinating early example of academic cultural resource management that employs the anthropological training of the staff to create a product more layered than has become typical in today's era of boilerplate reports and greater systemization.

Despite an expansion in archaeological work and some important projects during the 1990s, the substantial legacy of this decade is the lost opportunity represented by particular events and unfinished projects. What is additionally problematic and concerning is how unfinished they remain over two decades later. The Virginia State Penitentiary, the Richmond Floodwall excavations, and the East Marshall Street Well Site are each some of the most significant archaeological resources in the city. The rest of this section examines these projects, and the disbanding of the VCU-ARC, the most active academic archaeological research nexus Richmond has had so far.

### 3.5.1 Excavations at the Virginia State Penitentiary

Richmond's Virginia State Penitentiary, constructed in 1799-1800 just northwest of Tredegar Iron Works at Belvidere and Spring St, was the first penitentiary constructed in the United States and was an active carceral institution until it was closed in 1990. In the early 1990s, Ethyl Corporation bought land that held the defunct prison and planned to use the land as their new

corporate headquarters. Because of the institution's state ownership and the planned demolition of the buildings, the project was required to mitigate the site's historic resources under regulations governing Demolition of State-Owned Buildings (§ 2.2-2402 Code of Virginia) (Resources 2017). The site's historical significance related not only to its significance to the America history of incarceration, but also to Benjamin Latrobe, the designer of the original penitentiary, which was destroyed in 1928. Latrobe later designed the (much better designed and well-received) U.S. Capitol Building and the White House in the District of Columbia. As a result, testing and recovery at the site in 1991-1992, led by D. Katharine Beidleman, focused on relocating the 1800 penitentiary's characteristic horseshoe shape, solitary confinement cells, and workshop areas.

Initial fieldwork, described in a partial field report by Ed Otter, was predominantly testing done in the Courtyard area to the south (Otter 1992). This work identified the men and women's baths, both southern entrances, and identified several differences between the plan and the way in which the prison was eventually constructed. In the north, a more substantial excavation exposed the top of the horseshoe area of the prison, including several solitary confinement cells, parts of workshops, and a series of drains and sewers. During these investigations a variety of artifacts, particularly architectural debris and ceramics, was recovered.

In January 1992 after examination of the site's architecture was complete, construction in an area outside the original penitentiary walls disturbed comingled

human remains, and Katharine Beidleman obtained a burial permit from VDHR. The burial permit, a requirement for excavating human remains which detailed the conditions and goals of the excavation, had just been implemented by VDHR. This discovery developed into a massive excavation that included over a hundred burial features in an area with no recorded historic cemetery. While initially the burials appeared to be comingled reinterments of disturbed graves, as the work progressed it became clear that some areas of the site contained undisturbed single interments. All in all, over 100 individuals were located in these single and multiple interment features. According to Katharine Beidleman's dissertation proposal on file with site paperwork at the VDHR, the cemetery is provisionally dated to 1874-1895, based on the chronology of site development and diagnostic artifacts (Beidleman, n.d.). She also hypothesized that the site might, at least in part, represent burials reinterred at the penitentiary from the black portion of the Shockoe Hill Cemetery that had been disturbed during the construction of the 7<sup>th</sup> St & Franklin Street Viaduct. Douglas Owsley and Katherine Bruwelheide (nee Sandness) from the Smithsonian Institution's Division of Physical Anthropology, were contacted about the unusual Richmond discovery, and shortly after the investigation the remains were relocated to the museum in D.C. for curation and analysis.

The site defied easy analysis or conclusions, in part due to the confusion over what the remains represented, the poor condition of the bones themselves, the challenging nature of the penitentiary story, and the considerable size of the project for the associated contract. While initial collections of human remains

found by excavators were in several disarticulated mass inhumations, further delineation of the site revealed that individual coffin burials were present in relatively orderly rows (see Figure 16 image of field map with disturbed inhumations in green; single inhumations in blue; and double-stacked inhumations in red and blue). Beidleman and Owsley requested an extension for



*Figure 16 - Field map of Virginia State Penitentiary burial excavation (Map on file at Virginia Department of Historic Resource)*

the burial permit, but many of its conditions (especially the required interim and final reports) were never met. Unfortunately, while the researchers at the Smithsonian analyzed much of the skeletal material, a field report was never completed for the archaeological project and the bioarchaeological analysis was never completed either. While Beidleman had initially planned to complete her dissertation on the site at Catholic University specifically on the interpretation of

the penitentiary site, this did not come to fruition and Beidleman became busy with other employment at the Valentine Museum and the University of Richmond. Katharine Beidleman passed away in 2013 after enduring several years of ill-health<sup>17</sup>. A fire at her apartment (shared with her husband, Tim Thompson from the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers) damaged some of the penitentiary paperwork, which remained in her possession until it was donated to DHR after her death. Its extensive paper record includes maps of burials, feature records and drawings, and overview maps assembled after the excavation. It includes few to no photographs that include any sort of context information – most of the photographs presently in the collection were obtained from visiting scholars based at the Smithsonian.

In 2015, a working group was held at DHR by myself, Curator Dee DeRoche, Kari Bruwelheide from the Smithsonian, and several former crew chiefs on the project (Ann Marie Turnage, John Mullen, Joe Sites, and Mark Wittkofski). I also acquired some historic maps of the site from the Library of Virginia through funding from the Council of Virginia Archaeologists in 2015 to help determine where the site map is in relation to the modern landscape. That summer, RVA Archaeology interns Ellen Heberling and Abby Gigante and myself inventoried the artifacts from all phases of the penitentiary, including the burial goods in the VDHR type collection, which had likely not been subject to comprehensive inventory previously.

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<sup>17</sup> Internal VDHR emails provided by Dee DeRoche.

Ultimately, the project of rehabilitating this site will require the interpretation of the burial features, analysis of the late nineteenth-century grave goods, and integration of these analyses with the bioarchaeological evidence to produce a synthetic interpretation. The most likely interpretation of the site is that they do represent a post-Civil War penal population. The bioarchaeological significance of the collection, though heavily mediated by the fragmentary nature of the skeletons, does suggest an institutional demographic profile. Most of the skeletons (85% of the single burials) are male, and when ancestry could be assessed, black individuals outweighed whites by two thirds. There are a small number of children, one child under 6 months of age who may have been born in the prison, and several between the ages of 11 and 15 (Sandness and Owsley, n.d., 5–6). These individuals may well have been incarcerated at the prison after being accused under the Black Codes which criminalized various types of black behavior in the decades after Emancipation (Jordan 1995, 160–72; Sandness and Owsley, n.d.). The penitentiary was known to be a particularly awful place, with early twentieth-century prison historian (and General Secretary of the New York Prison Association) Orlando Lewis describing it thus:

“The Virginia Penitentiary seems to have had little influence upon other States. Indeed, it had little to suggest, save that which should be avoided. Its architecture was faulty. No other prison built upon its design. It was not self-supporting. It made no feature of reformation. It could not successfully conduct a silent system, because of the construction of the prison. Its death rate was abnormal. Its solitary cells and dungeons were places of horror. It maintained no chaplain nor Sunday School. Its Sabbath chapel was at best intermittent. Its location was unsanitary. In comparison with Auburn, Wethersfield, or the Eastern

Penitentiary, it presented by a sorry figure for the State prison of the leading State of the South” (O. F. Lewis 1922, 216).

One of the queries left to determine about the Penitentiary site is why a prison cemetery, not described in any records found so far, with such a poor record of prisoner treatment, should have prisoners buried with the type of grave goods found in association with the human remains. These have included the fragments of numerous rings, buttons, coins, a glass faceted jewel, copper eyelets from shoes, kaolin pipes, and other items. The collection also contains a considerable amount of coffin wood recovered, although there was little evidence of decorative coffin hardware. They are surprisingly fine for a historic prison population, and the evidence suggests that most of the individuals were buried wearing clothes instead of shrouding. In comparison, comparable late nineteenth-century prison and mental hospital populations typically show very little burial goods interred with the deceased, and an abundance of shroud pins indicates that many were interred in simple shrouds instead of taking their clothes to the grave. One of the burial items, an 1865 coin with a hole punched through it has been tantalizingly interpreted as an Emancipation trophy by DHR staff examining the collection. Historian Scott Nelson, who had the collection described to him by Beidleman in 2005, felt some of the items like quartered coins and rings made from vulcanized rubber sounded very much like prisoner-made goods (Nelson 2006, 37–38). In her dissertation proposal, Beidleman proposed to investigate potential West African and carceral spiritual practices that she felt were visible in the collection in the form of inclusion of certain artifacts, such as glass bottles, spirit bundle, homemade mourning jewelry, in the



coffins (Beidleman, n.d.). The tension between the material goods and the prison context and the considerable documentary evidence about prison operations makes this collection a fascinating and important collection for future work in the city, and one that may yet be rehabilitated.

Ultimately, despite the work's association with state regulations and under an agreement with the Department of Historic Resources, a report still has not been completed on a site that may well represent the disinterred human remains of inmates who died in the convict leasing system. This collection represents one of the largest skeletal collections of human remains from Virginia, and one of the few populations from a prison community in the American south. Additionally, it represents one in a series of collections that represents a serious moral quandary for those curating the collection: despite the passage of almost twenty years since NAGPRA was enacted, there is no similar legislation that affords African-Americans or other marginalized communities the ability to decide what should happen to the skeletal remains that represent their ancestors (Dunnavant 2016). Although the Penitentiary collection has not so far aroused the same level of community sentiment as have the remains from the East Marshall Street Well (a difference that will be discussed in Section 5.1.2), the ethical question remains the same.

### 3.5.2 Floodwall excavations

The largest collection associated with Richmond's archaeological resources is the one created during work between 1984 and 1994 associated

with the construction of the U.S. Army Corps James River Basin project, commonly known as the Richmond Floodwall. Consisting of a combination of concrete retaining walls with closure locations, earthen levees, and several ponding areas, the floodwalls extend north and south along the James River for a total of 3.28 miles. The project design including archaeological mitigation is covered by a Memorandum of Agreement and a General Design Memorandum submitted to Congress on February 29, 1984, which included processes for historic preservation needs, an environmental impact statement, and plans for mitigation and implementation (Engineers 1984). In the end, twelve archaeological sites were investigated, eleven through trenching and other Phase II archaeological investigative approaches and one (44HE0123) underwent data recovery. The resulting collection has been described by former DHR curator Keith Egloff thus:

“Outside of Alexandria, the Richmond Floodwall Project represents the best collection of 19th century urban artifacts curated anywhere in Virginia. Also, one Woodland Native American site, 44CF0123, with strata and features was tested. 44CF0123 is the only site of its kind overlooking the Falls of Richmond that was ever tested. This site has potential to provide unparalleled information on Native American occupation at the falls of the James River” (Egloff, n.d., 1).

Rather than hiring an external CRM firm to manage the project, the Army Corps hired a single archaeologist, Tim Thompson, who was later hired in their Norfolk office as an archaeologist, to manage field crew from other companies like Gray & Pape<sup>18</sup>. The most recognized and sensitive site, the Maury Street

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<sup>18</sup> Conversation with Ethel Eaton 11-16-2017.

Late Archaic and Woodland processing site (44CF0123), did employ a more extensive William & Mary Center for Archaeological Research crew, but Tim Thompson was still the principal investigator and held sole responsibility for completing all of the associated site records, reports, and publications

Archaeological mitigation on the project began sometime prior to the publication of a General Design Memorandum in 1984 (Engineers 1984). Starting in 1989, archaeological progress and updates were shared in part via a newsletter called Richmond Floodwall News, which was published quarterly until at least 1992 (e.g. Thompson 1989a; Thompson 1989b; Thompson 1990; Thompson 1992a). From these bulletins, it appears that the majority of the archaeological fieldwork for the project occurred during this time. The publication stressed the importance of the project for the city's archaeological record:

“The recovery of archaeological material will be an important part of the construction of the Richmond Flood Wall...Jim Melchor, Chief of the Environmental Analysis Branch at the Norfolk District, describes the project as a test trench through Richmond. It will be an excellent opportunity to identify and evaluate sites in the oldest parts of Richmond and Manchester. Since the area that will actually be disturbed is a fairly narrow line in most places, sites that are identified during the project will allow for future research at sites that might not otherwise have been discovered. The archaeological and historical work is being carried out under the terms of a Memorandum of Agreement between the Norfolk District, the Virginia Division of Historic Landmarks, and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation in Washington...The results of the Floodwall archaeology will not only insure that the project is completed consistently with the appropriate laws and regulations, it will also provide a collection of materials and data to illuminate the historic of Richmond for the benefit of the citizens of the City and visitors for many years to come” (Thompson 1989: 1-2).

Key elements of the Floodwall's archaeological investigations as described by the Richmond Floodwall News were the data recovery at the Maury Street site in 1989 (Thompson 1989a; Thompson 1989b), the data recovery of a meat canning or similar food processing warehouse on 14<sup>th</sup> St and Byrd (Thompson 1991), the discovery of a post-in-ground warehouse at 14<sup>th</sup> and Main Street, and the partial excavation of a canal boat from below the CSV viaduct (Thompson 1992b). The brief updates discuss finding evidence for a variety of elements of the historic city, including the 1865 burn layer and the original bed of Shockoe Creek, and especially highlights the quality and volume of the artifacts from the collection, which were developed into extensive type collections and were used to highlight the city's archaeology in displays at City Hall, the Floodwall offices, and other locations.

Scans of VDHR slides from the Floodwall projects (scanned by Derek Miller as part of a University of Richmond lab course about the Maury Street site) illustrates a few tantalizing glimpses into the project, some items of concern, and a certain level of lack of focus. One photo from May 23, 1991, illustrates a human femur that appears to have been located from the Maury Street Site (44HE0123), potentially during testing or monitoring (Figure 17). None of the individuals I've spoken to regarding their work on the Floodwall project, including several staff members from the William & Mary Center for Archaeological Research who assisted with the Maury Street data recovery, recalled locating human remains during field work. No one at VDHR has reported knowing that human remains are present in the 400+ boxes of partially-inventoried materials in the Floodwall

collection, so it is unclear where these remains might be and whether there are any more. Currently the site is only recorded as a prehistoric site, so it is possible these remains would be Native American and therefore subject to NAGPRA. However there are a considerable number of historic features in the images and no faunal remains generally appear to have been located in the site collection, so it's also possible there was poor taphonomic conditions for bone preservation and the femur dates to a later historic context.<sup>19</sup> Much of the rest of the photos appear to show events of areas being monitored, or buildings being torn down, views of the river, or unrelated events (a replica of the Golden Hinde passing down the river, or images of a house in the snow from 1996). There's no scale or north arrow in the images, most of which suggest little work was being done on the project to expose or test items like foundations, chimney bases, and other historic fabric and features found during construction. This corresponds concerns over the quality and thoroughness of project methods shared by several respondents from various different contexts (who all asked to remain anonymous). It seems likely be that part of the reason this project has not so far been successfully mediated is due to concerns and fears over the reliability or completeness of some of its data.

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<sup>19</sup> Derek Miller, whose Spring 2018 class is currently analyzing the 44HE0123 collection, observed to me in a personal communication on March 14, 2018 that he has found no faunal remains.

Unfortunately, the public attention garnered by the Floodwall



*Figure 17 - Photo from Maury Street titled "Femur Looking North-northeast" taken by unknown person on May 23, 1991 (Photo on file at the Virginia Department of Historic Resources)*

investigations included a fixation on the potential value of certain artifact classes, especially whole bottles and rare Confederate glass insulators. Examination of Richmond Floodwall archival material at the VDHR reveals that artifacts were stolen from several sites and facilities. In 1990 before the right-of-way was transferred to the City of Richmond from a railroad, “massive theft and vandalism” occurred on the site, and the railroad declined to assist with meaningful protection of the area (Thompson 1993). Circa 1990, the project uncovered a cache of previously-rare Confederate glass insulators, which were then worth hundreds of dollars each. Prominent artifact dealers from California and Chicago descended on the city, hired a backhoe, and conducted illegal night work to uncover large quantities of artifacts. In August of 1993, a break-in

occurred on the federal facility housing floodwall artifacts, and several glass bottles were reported stolen to the Richmond police (Thompson 1994). In response to an inquiry regarding artifact theft on Army Corps sites from Army Corps Operations Chief John Elmore, Thompson described these incidents damningly. He characterized the project lapses in security as “directly caused by the construction of the Richmond Local Flood Protection” and asserted that they “could be considered violations of Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act...The lack of clear regulatory guidance for dealing with this situation, and the reluctance of some parties to act aggressively in the beginning insured that these problems would persist” (Thompson 1993, 3). The reluctance he pointed to was from a combination of sources: the railroad which had ownership of the land; the city, which was the new landowner and did not make these sorts of thefts a priority; and the Army Corps itself, which he alleged mirrored the city in the way in which they saw site looting as a minor issue compared with Richmond’s contemporary violent crime problem.

It is unclear why the site report was never completed following the fieldwork. Tim Thompson remained employed by the U.S. Army Corps until his retirement in 2008, and may well have been busy on other Army Corps regulatory projects. He was described as working at VDHR on the site materials after his retirement, still interested in the collection, but was already in poor health by that point and passed away in 2009 (E. Robertson 2009). While Thompson stressed the Memorandum of Agreement and the agreement between various federal and state agencies regarding the archaeological work, this early

MOA was fatally flawed in that it included no 'duration clause' – that is, no date by which the MOA conditions could be assessed to have not been met. Members of VDHR staff have sent letters regarding this collection to new District Engineers as they are hired, but so far senior management at the U.S. Army Corps has shown very little interest in rehabilitating the orphaned collection<sup>20</sup>. Additionally, copies of the MOA appear to have been lost both at the VDHR archive and at the Norfolk Corps offices<sup>21</sup>. There have been efforts by VDHR over the years to fund investigations into the collections using Threatened Sites funding, but these projects have not been completed and the collection needs rehabilitation and reanalysis that is likely beyond the scope of Threatened Sites funding (which averages only \$50,000 a year statewide) alone<sup>22</sup>. The current status of project remains in limbo; over 400 boxes of artifacts (ordered into material type by which have received little to no review or analysis) are curated at DHR. This includes an embarrassment of urban archaeology riches including 23 boxes of leather items, mainly shoes, and several hundred boxes of historic ceramics and glass. There are also an additional 30 boxes of photographs, paperwork, historic maps and photos, and fieldnotes, which will be essential for rehabilitating the collection.

The U.S. Army Corps responsibility to this project has been acknowledged in conversation by Norfolk Archaeologist John Haynes and the Chief of the Curation and Archives Analysis Branch, Michael C. "Sonny" Trimble, but it remains to be seen what the mechanism would be for rehabilitating such a

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<sup>20</sup> Conversation with Ethel Eaton, 11-16-2017.

<sup>21</sup> Personal communication with Dee DeRoche, 11-16-2017 and John Haynes, 11-19-2017.

<sup>22</sup> Email conversation with Mike Barber, 12-7-2016.



substantial effort involving at least eleven different sites. According to a reference in the Richmond Floodwall News and deeds of gift curated at VDHR, ownership of the artifacts was transferred to the VDHR from the city and railroad company that owned the floodwall land in September 1989 (Thompson 1989b; Tarmac-Lone Star Inc 1989; City of Richmond 1989). The Veteran's Curation Project, a U.S. Army Corps initiative to assist returning and disabled veterans in re-integration, would be a good partner – but the currently-unclear ownership of artifacts and need for substantial review by urban historical archaeology specialists may make this project too complex for VCP alone. Ultimately, the Floodwall appears to have fallen victim to a common theme in cultural resource management projects: after the completion of construction on federal projects, it is challenging to find either the political will or the effective incentive or disciplinary action to compel permit applicants to finish complex research publications.

### 3.5.3 Medical College of Virginia Well episode

By far, the archaeological project that has rightly elicited the most outrage in the city is over the excavation of autopsied human remains discarded as medical waste from a brick-lined well on the VCU campus. The well was discovered during the construction of the Kontos Medical Sciences Building in downtown Richmond in 1994, and set off a flurry of panicked activity that was investigated deeply by Tina Griego's article in the Richmond Magazine in 2015 (Griego 2015). After the site's discovery, VCU archaeologists were given mere

days to excavate the material, were pressured into excavating the well using construction equipment, and university administrators refused to proceed with the typical procedure of applying for a burial permit from the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission (Griego 2015). The bones showed evidence of dissection and autopsy cuts, and were sent to the Smithsonian where they were identified as predominantly African-American (Owsley and Bruwelheide 2012).

The episode points to the ineffectuality of the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission (now VDHR) at the time, which was charged with protecting the state's sensitive archaeological and historical data and had recently enacted a burial permit process that mandated anyone moving human burials had to request a permit before the remains were exhumed. However, due to an earlier court ruling related to archaeological discovery at the College of William & Mary Virginia Institute of Marine Science, the VCU legal team at the time concluded that they were not obligated to comply with requests for oversight from VDHR. While archaeologists from the state argued that no extant historic resources legislation had standing with reference to disarticulated and clearly discarded medical remnants, several archaeologists and members of the Smithsonian team felt VCU had broken laws including the Violation of the Sepulcher statute (Griego 2015).

Many academics, scholars, and community members react to the MCV well situation with horror. In one characteristic quote, Christy Coleman, the Black female CEO of the American Civil War Center at Historic Tredegar, described the situation as "horrific. And no grand surprise, but it's a horrific thing. If nothing

else, it just brings to light another level of disgrace and trauma imposed upon black people.”<sup>23</sup> This sense of horror was mirrored by the archaeologists most directly involved in the mitigation of the site, though white scholars and professionals were in general more remote and detached in how they discussed the implications of the site. As Dan Mouer commented, “At the time I was disgusted, because people when the information started coming out and it became obvious that it was mainly African-American, I mean, I heard educated people say ‘well, that’s not important. That’s just nineteenth century. That doesn’t count.”<sup>24</sup> In the end, the archaeologists were pressured to remove sections of the well (down to construction grade, where the remaining remains were capped inside) using heavy equipment, remove the remains very quickly, and according to several sources were pressured into not completing the site’s report. They did the work under a sense of foreboding about the remains’ historic treatment and how their actions were perpetuating that disrespect, and with a sense that their actions that weekend would determine whether VCU allowed the Center to continue to operate, or whether it would be shut down. Rob Ryder, then Director of the Center, recalled, “[The remains] were partially exposed...At some point [then VCU President Eugene] Trani actually showed up and stood well above us because this was down pretty deep and said, “Do you know who I am? You’re going to be done with this, aren’t you?” We were 100 percent grant funded...So we didn’t have tenure, not one of us.”<sup>25</sup> Several people interviewed who were

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<sup>23</sup> Interview with Christy Coleman, December 11, 2015.

<sup>24</sup> Interview with Dan Mouer, October 27, 2015.

<sup>25</sup> Interview with Rob Ryder, November 24, 2015.

members of the project noticed a chilling in relations of VCU administration to the Archaeological Research Center after this investigation, especially when the remains were sent to the Smithsonian physical anthropologist Douglas Owsley instead of being boxed and forgotten. Within four years the center was ordered closed by senior administration officials (Stroh 1998). The remains remained at the Smithsonian, where no site report or skeletal analysis was completed for almost two decades, until public pressure focused on the site. Further examination of documentary evidence regarding disputes over the well discovery and associated closure of the VCU Archaeological Research Center is currently stymied by the condition of the University Archives collection of the Trani administration's tenure at VCU, which is currently in early stages of processing and is not open for research. According to Jodi Koste at the VCU Tompkins-McCaw Library, the collection does contain a few memos regarding efforts by other senior administrators, particularly the Vice President for Health Sciences, to further research the collection. These memos, as far as Koste has seen, stop a few years after the excavation<sup>26</sup>.

Understandably, this site has been the focus of considerable community anger, particularly in light of a documentary, *Until the Well Runs Dry*, produced by VCU Psychology Professor Shawn Utsey about the situation in 2011. As a result of community activism, the VCU President's Office in 2014 initiated a community-engaged commemoration process, called *The East Marshall Street Well Project* (Griego 2015; VCU 2017). This project, recommended by a steering

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<sup>26</sup> Personal communication with Jodi Koste, March 1 2018.

committee that included William & Mary Department of Anthropology professor Michael Blakey and Sacred Ground Historical Reclamation Project Chair Ana Edwards as well as a variety of VCU faculty and staff, sought to reckon with the university's disrespect and desecration of these bodies both in the nineteenth century and after the remains were rediscovered in 1994 (T. Smith 2015). The project was especially active throughout 2015 and 2016, and created a representative family descendant group charged with determining the future reburial process, directions for future research, and appropriate ways for VCU to mitigate their actions in relation to this site (Kapsidelis 2016). Prior to this resurgence of interest, the remains were left at the Smithsonian for two decades and no bioarchaeological report was completed for them. The final report from the East Marshall Street Well Project, providing guidance regarding plans to rebury the remains and resolve VCU's ethical responsibilities in the matter, has not yet been released.

#### 3.5.4 The disbanding of the VCU Archaeological Research Center

In 1998-1999, the VCU Archaeological Research Center was ordered closed and all its artifacts and paperwork was moved out of its previous home on West Broad Street. At the time, administrators at VCU pointed to the recent unprofitability of the Center, which had started losing money in recent years as larger engineering companies began competing more aggressively for cultural resource management contracts (Stroh 1998). However, many familiar with the center and its work, especially its former director L. Daniel Mouer and staff

members, consider the closure to be a highly political act based also on the history the Center had built up of investigating aspects of the VCU expansion that were unpopular with President Eugene Trani and other senior administrators. One major element of this was the controversy of the MCV well discovery described above, but there were also other elements associated with VCU's wider approach to growth into other Richmond communities.

In the 1980s and 1990s, VCU was receiving increasing pushback from their expansion, especially into Carver, the Fan, and Oregon Hill. In Oregon Hill the Oregon Hill Neighborhood Association had developed an extensive interest in local history and published reports regarding local history that was being endangered by VCU development (e.g. Pool 1995). In 1994, the VCU-ARC performed a Phase I investigation at the MCVAA Alumni House that found deposits with "excellent integrity and discrete stratigraphic relationships;" recommended NRHP inclusion of the building; and recommended further data recovery at the site, which does not seem to have been performed (Mouer, Kiser, and Boxley 1994). Around the same time, a similar type of project occurred with the Pleasants (also known as the Parsons) House in Oregon Hill, which Mouer blamed for deteriorating relations with VCU administration. He recalled:

"[They picked] the house up and moved it across the street and when they did that part of the agreement that they made with the DHR was that I would be there to monitor the movement and to check the remains of the house foundation to see if there was anything left. And of course they moved it and there was an underground cellar, a small cellar like half the size of this room filled in. Immediately the Oregon Hill amateur historians who would do anything to try to keep anything VCU...were pointing out...that the Pleasants family, they were Quakers and they were

very active in the abolitionist cause... So there's always this idea that the underground railroad, there were hidey-holes somewhere. There were secret cellars where people were hidden. That is possible. When I got in to try to research that and make some recommendations, the answer that I found was that nobody's ever really found or identified hiding holes or secret cellars and things like that, that were used for the underground railroad. It doesn't mean they weren't there but there was no hard evidence for it anywhere...My simple request that I submitted into VCU to the president's office and to DHR was that they should do a section through the cellar and we get some idea of its size and shape and date it and so forth but the president got my recommendations and somehow, I don't know what the causation might have been, the contractors came out on the following Sunday night and bulldozed the site away. And then I was called to the president's office and told I was not to show my report to anybody. I wasn't to turn it into DHR. I wasn't to let those people from Oregon Hill see it, etc. Of course, that's bullshit. I have to do it. I mean my professional responsibilities and personal ethics wouldn't allow me to keep it secret. I've been pretty certain that that was the last straw that finally led to VCU being happy to kick us out of our space."<sup>27</sup>

The destruction of this potential Underground Railroad site was interpreted by community groups as yet another indication that VCU held little regard for the shared interest of its surrounding communities. A white neighborhood advocate and member of the Oregon Hill Neighborhood Association Charles Pool asserted of the Pleasants House, "I believe it is the only archaeological site in the whole country that relates to the Underground Railroad. We don't know what will happen to [its hidden basement] now paved over" (Toivonen 2017). He also associated the lack of regard for the house and another associated with a prominent abolitionist with Richmond's general inability to grapple with antebellum histories that didn't uphold the glory of those days: ""It was taboo to

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<sup>27</sup> Interview with Dan Mouer, October 27, 2015.

call yourself an abolitionist. Anti-slavery work has gone unheralded in Virginia. It's taken 100 years to objectively discuss slavery in Richmond" (Toivonen 2017). Other archaeologists and preservationists corroborated this interpretation of VCU's approach. Former VDHR State Archaeologist Catherine Slusser commented "They have done an awful lot of destruction of city history over the years...history is valuable to be dusted off and flown like a flag sometimes but not necessarily to invest in."<sup>28</sup>

In February of 1998, Mouer received an email saying that the center was to be closed and he had to find another location for the center's curated artifacts, equipment, reports, and paperwork (Stroh 1998). The university put pressure on the center for months to find another archive for the material or it would be destroyed, but eventually relocated the artifacts to a VCU surplus storage facility in Shockoe Bottom, where the materials were housed along with bulk rolls of paper towels, old chairs from the School of Dentistry, and cleaning equipment (Heberling 2017). The move happened quickly, without opportunity to save a variety of digital files that were increasingly part of the center's archaeological record. One Richmond archaeologist I spoke with recalled pulling documents out of a dumpster as the move was happening; another recalled that a VCU anthropology faculty member later disposed of additional materials taking up space in her office; another asserted that VCU administrators had computers destroyed before their files could be organized and stored in a responsible manner.

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<sup>28</sup> Interview with Catherine Slusser, November 16, 2018.



In 2004, Hurricane Gaston extensively flooded Shockoe Bottom including the storage facility, and boxes of artifacts and materials were inundated. Staff at VDHR assisted with the collection by cleaning the resulting mold from field maps and rehousing the collection using Threatened Sites funds<sup>29</sup>. While some VCU project field notes were saved and curated at VDHR after the hurricane salvage, it is unclear the extent to which original field materials were lost in this process. None of the archaeologists or former archaeologists I spoke with had any recollection of VCU investing financially in rehabilitating this collection, and barely any curation work has been performed on the collection since Gaston. One researcher who helps to manage the collection currently said that most of the grants available for collection rehabilitation require matching funds, which they did not expect would be on offer from the university. The collections currently remain in a non-climate-controlled space, inaccessible to researchers, with an outdated inventory. The human remains from one collection, the 1977 Expressway salvage excavation, have been placed under climate control and initially assessed by bioanthropologist Amy Verrelli at VCU, but there appears to have been little recent movement on these remains despite the fact that, as human remains curated by a state institution, they likely fall under NAGPRA regulations. While the closure of the VCU-ARC contributed to the several decades of suppression of the MCV well project remains, it is not yet clear whether the increased publicity of the East Marshall Street Well Project has any

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<sup>29</sup> Interview with Jolene Smith, November 17, 2018.

chance of encouraging the new generation of VCU senior leadership to invest in addressing the legacy of these events.

### 3.5.5 Urban renewal leads to new structures regulating archaeology in Richmond

There was one positive step for the city in the 1990s – growing city awareness, both within city government and among its citizenry, about legal obligations towards historical resource mitigation on federal projects in the city. Starting in mid-1970s, urban renewal was used extensively in Richmond to clear large neighborhoods of old, generally poorly-maintained, homes. This process was devastating to many poor communities, especially communities of color, and eventually disrupted close-knit communities in Randolph, Union Hill, Fulton, and Carver (S. C. Davis 1988). Nineteen conservation areas were established, including in Carver and Fulton. HUD funding, Community Development Block Grants, were used, and the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act required that any funded projects must assess and mitigate their impacts on any historic resources eligible for the National Register. Although HUD delegated this responsibility to the City, it doesn't appear that the City understood this, or it chose not to comply. In 1988 demolitions in the Carver neighborhood began, and within months a group of over sixty plaintiffs from Richmond neighborhoods filed a lawsuit against the City, HUD, VDHR, and various other defendants<sup>30</sup>. City

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<sup>30</sup> Staton vs US Department of Housing & Urban Development; City of Richmond. Unpublished United States Court of Appeals Decision for the Fourth Circuit Court. No. 90-2377. Accessed at City of Richmond Department of Planning Archives September 12, 2017.

Principal Planner Kimberly Chen was at this point a part-time intern at the city, and described the mood in the Planning Department as panicked when the lawsuit was filed. Because unlike most others in the department Chen was aware of the basics of Section 106 requirements (although the HUD legislation actually required cultural resources review under NEPA), she found herself promoted within a day to a Senior Planner position, where she communicated with VDHR, the President's Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority, and city attorneys over the quandary<sup>31</sup>.

Although the lawsuit was eventually thrown out, the legal jeopardy resulted in the city developing a Programmatic Agreement for the Carver neighborhood that provided a required structure for how archaeological resources should be assessed and mitigated for City projects that used HUD funding. This original PA, approved in 1993, only required archaeological assessment "if a program is deemed necessary" and stipulated that the extent of archaeological assessment would be commensurate with the proportion of federal funding used in the project area<sup>32</sup>. There's no indication that archaeological resources were ever assessed under this program.

However, this initial Carver PA was eventually, after city compliance was assessed by VDHR, used to develop a city-wide PA for projects using this type of block funding from HUD. This document covers assessment and required mitigation of archaeological resources in greater detail. The quantity of

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<sup>31</sup> Personal communication. September 12, 2017.

<sup>32</sup> Programmatic Agreement: City of Richmond Carver Conservation and Redevelopment Program. January 27, 1993. Accessed at City of Richmond Department of Planning Archives September 12, 2017.

archaeological resources assessed by this document, however, is currently limited by the terms of the agreement, which was established in 1994 and revised in 2004. Sites must be an acre in area before archaeological resources must be assessed, and the current version of it requires archaeological mitigation for larger areas for which the city and/or VDHR determines there is a likely impact, but does not provide guidance regarding how they might come to those conclusions or the types of testing that are required if there is a potential impact (Advisory Council on Historic Preservation 2004). According to Principle Planner Kim Chen, the programmatic agreement has only resulted in archaeological testing being performed over the last four years, with the Armstrong High School renovations and Dutton+Associates excavations at 19<sup>th</sup> St and Grace in Shockoe Bottom being some exceptions.

Recent efforts are underway to revise the PA, however, which is due for renewal in the summer of 2018. The new approach would remove the 1-acre minimum area requirement for sensitive areas in the city, provide a list of protected activities where archaeological review would not be required, and divide the city into three sensitivity levels that could be further modified later and used as a basis to expand archaeological sensitivity within the Planning Department (Chapman 2017a). This allows for considerable improvement in city archaeological management, but the fact that the PA was designed to exempt archaeological projects smaller than an acre has already undoubtedly destroyed sensitive archaeological sites.

Ultimately, the 1990s were a challenging time for Richmond's archaeological resources, and they point to some of the ways in which archaeology has often struggled locally and nationally as a discipline. Timely publication of archaeological reports is a requirement of most major archaeological organizations' ethical codes, but is something archaeologists have struggled with especially in salvage scenarios and from work dating to the 1970s-1990s (R. Thomas 1991). Environmental requirements have been implemented inconsistently, often by agencies and jurisdictions with poor understanding of legal requirements. Enforcement of these regulations has often depended on concerned citizenry knowledgeable enough to know what types of projects require consultation under Section 106 of NHPA or NEPA review and who have the bandwidth to mount a legal challenge if project proponents are resistant. Universities often struggle with acknowledging the destruction of historic fabric that accompanies their urban expansions, and with accepting the ignoble aspects of their institution's history. Remains of African-American descent continue to be poorly treated and unacknowledged by major U.S. institutions. The 2016-2017 controversy at the University of Georgia is a recent example, where the university was criticized for performing little community outreach after 105 African-American burials were disinterred from an enslaved burial ground on campus (Shearer 2017). Projects performed by small consulting companies or individual consultants, as was the Virginia State Penitentiary, can end up unfinished if the project directors leave the industry or disband.

While it is less common for compliance archaeology projects like the Richmond Floodwall Project to be left completely unfinished when performed under a Memorandum of Agreement, the Floodwall was by far the only Army Corps project to require this type of amelioration. The Corps' Veteran's Curation Project and its large laboratory center in St Louis, Missouri, was created to handle the agency's extensive collection, which dated from before the Section 106 requirements to the 1980s (Casselberry 2012; K. Oliver 2014). While archaeological reviews began to be made more consistent during the 1990s, the loss of the VCU-ARC was a considerable blow, and one that led the city's archaeological resources to lack an overall champion (at least one from within the discipline) for much of the next two decades.

### 3.6 A Broadening Conversation (2000-2017)

Between 2000 and 2017, there has been an effervescence in how much the city's archaeology is discussed. This emerges generally out of two major trends: The Lumpkin's Jail excavation initiated by the city's Slave Trail Commission and a grassroots activism response to some of the particularly egregious examples where sensitive archaeological and historical sites have been threatened or neglected. Cultural resource management has continued to be active within Richmond, but these projects have generally been more routine and less substantial than in previous decades. They are also less likely to cause media attention or controversy compared with other types of archaeology or

archaeology-adjacent topics, potentially due to the increasing professionalization and commercialization of the industry.

In some ways, however, cultural resource management in this period has been more productive than in previous decades. Between 2000 and 2009, 22 new archaeological sites were discovered, and 2 new sites have been so far recorded since 2010. However, where these two decades especially distinguish themselves is the high number of reports completed – there are 32 (mostly cultural resource management) reports on file at VDHR written between 2000 and 2009, and 11 so far that have been submitted between 2010 and 2017. These reports, however, are primarily associated with road expansion projects in Chesterfield and southern Richmond and the development of the Bus Rapid Transit line in Richmond. Dovetail Cultural Resources Group and Thunderbird Archaeology (now incorporated within Wetlands Studies and Solutions) have been the major contributors to new site identifications during this period. Additionally, Dutton+Associates, the archaeological consulting firm at the heart of the baseball stadium conversation, has done considerable archaeological reviews of city projects and has identified new sites during reviews of HUD and other projects in the city. Many of the projects in the city outside of the Lumpkin's Jail project, however, have been fairly small reviews and new discoveries have not been as substantial as in previous decades.

Ultimately, however, a few specific topics have garnered most of the archaeological attention in the city, several of which are associated with a political debate in which one or more communities are asserting that some

combination of the City of Richmond administration, the Slave Trail Commission specifically, or Virginia Commonwealth University has been damaging or neglecting areas of archaeological importance. The first is Lumpkin's Jail, a well-known excavation that transformed understanding of the city's archaeological sensitivity through significant media coverage and opportunities to interact personally with the site. The second is the site of the first burial ground for enslaved Africans in the city, now known as the Richmond African Burial Ground. The others are the Shockoe Bottom baseball stadium debate and the VCU East Marshall Street Well Project. These projects involve many of the same players and similar battles, and each has been influenced by entrenched political positions that have been developing since the 1990s and earlier. However, rather than relating to new excavations or known archaeological products, they relate to understandings of archaeological potential or addressing previous inequities in how archaeological and historic sites were studied in the city's past.

### 3.6.1 Richmond African Burial Ground

The creation of an official city commission to study the influence of the slave trade on Richmond is one way in which the majority black city council and shifting perceptions of city history have influenced the ways in which its archaeological record is now investigated. The major two ways the Slave Trail Commission has influenced Richmond's archaeological record and interpretation has been through two very different, though adjacent, archaeological sites: the Lumpkin's Jail slave jail, termed the Devil's Half-Acre, and the former "Burying Ground for Negroes," renamed as Richmond's African Burial Ground when it was



discovered. The Slave Trail Commission was established in 1998 after activism by City Councilmember Saad El-Amin, and came out of an experiential “Night Walk Along the Slave Trail” organized by the Elegba Folklore Society and ongoing racial reconciliation work of Hope in the Cities (El-Amin 1998). While established as a vehicle for telling uncomfortable historical stories, the trail was always also linked with economic development and tourism programs within the city and staffing for the project is provided through the city’s Department of Economic Development, which includes project engineering and management rather than the Department of Planning and Development Review, which is associated with most of the city’s review of historic sites (City of Richmond 2017). The Commission does include a representative from the Department of Parks, Recreation, and Community Facilities, and the James River Parks System contains an abundance of historic sites, but the department does not currently have a position dedicated to historic stewardship.

The main focus of the commission initially was the importance of the Ancarrow’s Landing site in Manchester, along the south bank of the James, as a dock where slave ships would land. The initial resolution referred to a memorial constructed in 1994 “to honor those Africans who died on slave ships and those who landed here as slaves and helped to build the City and the nation” (El-Amin 1998). At the time, the slave trade that the Slave Trail Commission thought it was commemorating was that from Africa or at least the West Indies, rather than the interstate slave trade where ships were most likely depositing enslaved people who had been born and spent their lives on Tidewater plantations. This point, the

confusion around the basic facts of the Richmond slave trade history, is often used in Richmond as an illustration of the intentional negligence of mainstream white historians; of the illegitimacy of the knowledge of the Slave Trail Commission; or simply of how thoroughly Richmond's slave history was wiped from the narrative and public consciousness between 1865 and the present.

While tensions between the city political establishment running the Slave Trail Commission and Richmond historical activists pre-dated this issue, the lack of faith between the Commission and activists like Ana Edwards and Phil Wilayto became especially intense during the rediscovery of and activism to reclaim the Richmond African Burial Ground, the oldest recorded cemetery in the city for enslaved people. The cemetery was identified in the 1990s when Elizabeth Cann Kambourian, an avocational historian, reviewed the 1810 Young map of Richmond and saw reference to the "Burial Ground for Negroes" located between Shockoe Creek and 15<sup>th</sup> Street north of Broad Street in the northwest corner of Shockoe Bottom. Although Kambourian investigated the site over that decade and shared her research, she received little interest in the implications of what she had found until she presented at the Black History Museum and Cultural Center and the Defenders for Freedom, Justice, and Equality began to cite her research (A. R. Barrett 2014, 72–73). Edwards had moved to the city in the 1980s, and formed the Virginia Defenders for Freedom, Justice, and Equality along with many other activists in 2002; this organization was initially created to work on social justice, education, and anti-incarceration projects, but Edwards' growing interest in the Richmond African Burial Ground space after learning of its

existence in the early 2000s led to the creation of the Sacred Ground Historical Reclamation Project, an action group within the Defenders devoted to rehabilitating the area as a memorial space (A. R. Barrett 2014, 73).

The implications of black graves under an active parking lot began to be contested in the early 2000s, when a Juneteenth celebration began ending the Trail of Enslaved Africans history walk at the burial ground site and in 2003 Ana Edwards began an annual Gabriel Forum and began the process to erect a historical marker (A. R. Barrett 2014, 82–90). This was followed by several years of escalating activist actions, chronicled in Shawn Utsey’s *Meet Me in the Bottom* documentary filmed in 2009 and released in 2010 (Utsey 2010) and in Autumn Barrett’s doctoral dissertation (A. R. Barrett 2014, 90–110). Utsey, a native of New York City who had lived near the New York African Burial Ground during its discovery and had worked at Howard University at the same time Michael Blakey was analyzing the skeletal remains from the Burial Ground there, first became aware of Richmond’s unusual relationship to these archaeological sites from Ana Edwards<sup>33</sup>. Since Utsey had an interest in local issues and community concerns and felt somewhat responsible for VCU’s actions towards Richmond sites, he was engaged by Edwards’ description of a local grassroots movement to oppose the continued use of the Richmond African Burial Ground as a parking lot. Utsey already had an interest in documentary film, and quickly realized the potency of this topic. His documentary, *Meet Me in the Bottom*, was released in 2009 and

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<sup>33</sup> Interview on December 15, 2015.

followed the known history of the site and activist efforts to reclaim it (Cooksey 2009).

In response to the growing controversy, the Department of Historic Resources was asked in 2008 to produce a report defining the geographic extent of the burial ground and provide an archaeological assessment. Produced June 25th, the report by Regional Archaeologist Chris Stevenson defined the Burial Ground extremely narrowly on the map, by geo-referencing the map over the modern city and drawing a tight square around where the title “Burial Ground for Negroes” appeared on the landscape. This area was located just west of Shockoe Creek in what had been established in 1737 as the city’s Commons, a largely undefined section of the city available for common use and with few defined boundaries. This narrow delineation of the cemetery’s location characterized the location of the burial ground as extending into the VCU parking lot space by 50 feet, and suggested the burial ground was likely deep enough to be undisturbed by subsequent parking lot alterations. The report did advise an archaeologist monitor construction if major underground work was planned, but did not provide any historical recommendations regarding the appropriateness of parking cars over what was now known to be an enslaved burial ground, or any expert recommendations on how to ascertain the accurate boundaries of the site (Chris Stevenson 2008).

This report was poorly received, according to many archaeologists in the community and to activists opposed to continued use of the site as a parking lot. It was suggested by many interviewed for this project that the report’s limited

scope and atypical cartographic analysis served primarily as political cover to allow continuation of VCU's use of the space for parking. In the fall after this report was released, Michael Blakey, Director of the College of William & Mary Institute for Historical Biology, and Grace Turner, a PhD candidate in the Department of Anthropology, authored a review of the original DHR report (Blakey and Turner 2008). Blakey recalled reviewing the DHR report and having concerns about its thoroughness: "Dr. Stevenson, the archeologist...had not recommended archaeology be done in his report. And in fact, the report ignored this customary procedure as a possibility. So my criticism was that they hadn't done their job and had instead readily and easily directed the community to a very small plot that while it would be part of the cemetery, based on what they'd written, [was unlikely] to be all of what was left. But most importantly, they had never tested it and so that was, to me, cheap."<sup>34</sup> While the Institute report concurred with the DHR report that its documentary evidence confirmed the location of an enslaved burial ground in Shockoe Bottom, it challenged the concept of using a map label extent as a geographic boundary for the cemetery. The report noted that historic map labels often denoted much broader areas than the label itself and that Shockoe Creek and historic 15<sup>th</sup> Street, or historic property lines delineated on a map from 1817, were more likely east-west boundaries of the site (Blakey and Turner 2008, 1–2).

Blakey sent Chris Stevenson a letter to DHR along with a copy of the report on September 20, 2008, and contacted the Slave Trail Commission about

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<sup>34</sup> Interview with Michael Blakey, December 16, 2015.

attending their September meeting and providing a presentation (Blakey 2008). He also presented the Institute findings at a Defenders meeting and was in conversation with members of the Slave Trail Commission to present his findings to the Commission directly. However, after several attempts to find the time and date of the meeting, Blakey was told the meeting “would not happen or could not happen” and the meeting was held without him or his conclusions<sup>35</sup>. This pattern of behavior by the Slave Trail Commission – of changing meeting times or locations, disengagement with interested and relevant scholars, and unpredictability – was mentioned to me frequently by a variety of interested members of the public, and was also acknowledged in private by some Commission members. Ana Edwards also spoke publicly about a lack of transparency in the Slave Trail Commission’s process dating back to 2008 if not before (A. R. Barrett 2014, 92).

Nor was Blakey the only archaeologist to express concern over the cartographic methods employed in the VDHR report. Another archaeologist who had worked for DHR during the period noted “I read that report and I thought that it was a way overreach, you know, with the map label argument, that makes no sense to me as an archaeologist. None at all...it just doesn't compute and there likely was some saving face done at that point because nobody wanted to throw a staff person under the bus, I don't know, but that was no good.<sup>36</sup>” Another defended the approach Stevenson’s report took, but focused on the challenges of writing reports that are intended for a lay public audience and the fact that the

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<sup>35</sup> Interview with Michael Blakey, December 16, 2015.

<sup>36</sup> Interview with anonymous individual, December 2015.

complete extent of the burial ground was unknowable without physical testing. Some, however, were uncomfortable and even hostile about the type of political attention the debate had focused on DHR. The discomfort of one archaeologist at DHR at the time had clear racial overtones: “The activism was very uncomfortable. It was reminiscent of Black Panther Party...Everybody was dressed extremely, expressing cultural identity at the extreme, through clothing, through makeup, through adornment and then just through posture and aggressiveness, aggressive posturing and that kind of stuff. And nobody was happy. In those types of situations everybody’s uncomfortable, especially if the finger’s pointed at you for negligence or insensitivity or whatever.<sup>37</sup>” This respondent expressed considerable suspicion and discomfort that Shawn Utsey had arrived at VDHR with a video camera, possibly without notice, when filming *Meet Me in the Bottom*. Their demeanor and language also revealed a great deal of discomfort in the sensitivity that this publicity created regarding this topic, and seemed to feel Utsey’s activist perspective in wanting to reveal the process of government historic preservation regulation in the creation of the Burial Ground report was somewhat problematic. They were also the only one of my interviewees to appear defensive or suspicious of my own motives in examining these questions about archaeology in the city more generally.

Ultimately, there was a process between 2008 and 2011 by which escalating activist tactics – culminating in the arrest of four protesters who chained themselves to the parking lot gates – provided the political pressure that

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<sup>37</sup> Interview with anonymous individual, December 10, 2015.

resulted in the cessation of parking on the site by August 28, 2008 and the inclusion of the Burial Ground as a site along the Slave Trail in May of 2011. The Slave Trail Commission was largely publicly silent regarding the site and the role of VCU in the controversy. However, the working group selected to decide on the disposition of the site was entirely made up of members of the city government, including the Slave Trail Commission, and a representative from DHR. During this period, the city was extensively analyzed by William & Mary anthropologist Autumn Barrett, who worked at the Institute for Historical Biology at the time and participated in the action to close the parking lot (A. R. Barrett 2014, 82–110). Additionally, the legal struggle and the challenge of finding adequate legal grounds to defend African-American cemeteries was extensively analyzed by Mai-Linh K. Hong (Hong 2013).

The Slave Trail Commission, while it started as an organization devoted to activism and exposing uncomfortable truths, appears to have become hidebound and isolated around this point in a way that has deeply eroded public trust and continues to have implications for public engagement processes associated with the Lumpkin's Jail / Devil's Half-Acre site. The Commission was criticized in 2012 for a lack of transparency and having commissioners who served perpetually on expired terms by the original founder of the Commission, Saad El-Amin, who challenged them in court (El-Amin 2012). They introduced, then withdrew after considerable criticism, legislation that would have provided commission members with unlimited term lengths (Newbille 2011). In the last several years there have been wider complaints about the commissioners' expired terms and that no new



members were being nominated to the commission (M. P. Williams 2012a; M. P. Williams 2012b). Concerns intensified when an alleged non-profit, the National Slavery Museum Foundation, was founded by Delegate McQuinn and the Commission appeared to be gearing up to privatize its workings, a move that would allow the commission to operate with much less public scrutiny (Mosby and Tatnall 2015; Free 2017). The non-profit was shuttered sometime in 2016 due to non-filing of IRS documentation needed to maintain non-profit status (Guidestar 2017). Calls have repeatedly come for a more open process for selecting commissioners, an effort that the Richmond city council members appear to be resisting because of Delegate McQuinn's high local popularity and her mentoring relationship with many city politicians.

Also wrapped up with adjacent political controversies over the construction of a nearby baseball stadium, and ongoing political efforts to design a new commemorative building on Lumpkin's Jail, the burial ground is the archaeological space most meaningful and significant to many groups. The Sacred Ground Historical Reclamation Project of the Virginia Defenders is one of these. The African Ancestral Chamber<sup>38</sup>, a black organization with a focus on ancestor ceremonies, put up a substantial obelisk marker on the burial ground in October 2017 (African Ancestral Chamber 2017). The Elegba Folklore Society, a cultural and spiritual organization, hosts events year-round across the city and was an early group providing tours of the Trail of Enslaved Africans. The common narrative is that the city underinvests in the burial ground because the

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<sup>38</sup> Sometimes spelt Afrikan Ancestral Chamber

site is not as politically useful to the Slave Trail Commission or simply that they are entrenched in an ongoing series of disputes with other community groups. Some archaeologists appear to be skeptical about the burial ground's actual archaeological sensitivity, whether due to expected disturbance or continued doubts about the burial ground's actual location. Research ongoing at the point of writing by Matt Laird and Bryan Clark Green on behalf of Preservation Virginia has found a new plat map in Henrico County records that suggests the burial ground was located further west than it is currently commemorated and mapped, under Interstate-95. However, Laird and many other archaeologists have pointed out the significance of the site as a memorial and sacred space, and have espoused developing the site as a commemorative space even if it does not lie directly on the burial ground<sup>39</sup>.

### 3.6.2 Lumpkin's Jail

Initially tested in April of 2006, the Lumpkin's Jail site was the cause of a sea change in Richmond's archaeology. It was the first archaeological excavation to be partially funded by the City, along with assistance from DHR and the Virginia General Assembly. Located in Shockoe Bottom just east of the now-underground Shockoe Creek, Lumpkin's jail was part of a large complex, including a house, hotel, kitchen, and slave jail, owned by one of the most notorious slave jailers in Richmond. The site featured famously as the jail where Anthony Burns was held in solitary confinement for several months while

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<sup>39</sup> Personal communication, Matt Laird, November 20, 2017.

awaiting trial under the Fugitive Slave Act. Despite concerns that the jail might have been obliterated by a later ironworks on the site, the final days of testing found an intact cobblestone surface that was later expanded between August and December 2008 for a data recovery (Laird 2010; Laird 2006). Although hampered by the high-water table of the historic Shockoe Creek route, the data recovery found that the cobblestones had made up a large yard in the back of Lumpkin's property, and also located a retaining wall, the kitchen foundation, and the foundation of the jail. A variety of artifacts, including faunal remains, household ceramics, and a partial carved bone ring, were recovered. This excavation had left indelible impressions on many I interviewed and met throughout the last three years, and was often residents' first memory of an archaeological investigation in the city.

Additionally, the site and its association with the Slave Trail Commission promoted a narrative that archaeological discoveries might be an economic driver for future city developments. This may have originated from the Slave Trail Commission or the city's Department of Economic and Community Development, which held the Slave Trail Commission, but this concept has spread widely throughout people with other groups, including people whose main interest in the story of Richmond slavery is as racial justice and truth-telling. This perceived economic value of archaeological sites will be discussed further in Chapter 4. Finally, the excavation at Lumpkin's Jail provided a sense within city leadership that archaeological projects could also provide a political win – as VDHR archaeologist Joanna Wilson Green commented, “It was a terrific moment. It was

a great photo opp for a lot of people, and that opened the door to actual discussion, not just lip service. And that took us further, I think, than anything else has.”<sup>40</sup> After the excavation was complete, however, the Lumpkin’s site has had a more checkered political legacy. Since the excavation in 2010, the City of Richmond has initiated two public processes to plan a commemorative and educational memorial on the site, both of which have been marred by allegations of non-transparency and clashes with the public over the scale of the project. Related to the nearby burial ground site and the political struggle to stop baseball proposals from being made on Shockoe Bottom’s sacred ground, these political processes will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

### 3.6.3 Shockoe Bottom: Archaeological Sensitivity and Baseball Proposals

By the point at which I arrived in Richmond, the driver of much of the public awareness and debate about archaeology in the city was the city’s 2013 proposal to relocate the Richmond Flying Squirrels AA baseball stadium from the Diamond on Boulevard to a new downtown stadium. In the fall of 2013, the Dwight Jones mayoral administration announced the proposal for an urban stadium covering around 8 acres of Shockoe Bottom (B. Brown 2013). The idea of a baseball stadium in Shockoe Bottom had already been proposed multiple times before over the last several decades, and the debate increased in urgency when the Braves moved out of the city in 2008 due to gridlock over the question

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<sup>40</sup> Interview with Joanna Wilson Green, November, 2015.

of financing and location for the new stadium they wanted (Reiss and Martz 2008). From earlier debates in 2009 and 2012, there was already considerable resistance to the idea of a baseball stadium in Shockoe on historical, financing, and other grounds (M. P. Williams 2008; Herring 2009; Nyfeler 2009; Woody 2012). At the beginning of January, Ana Edwards and the Sacred Ground Historical Reclamation Project unveiled a proposed alternative to the stadium plan – a historic memorial park concept with some development proposed in the baseball stadium plan, so that the planned baseball stadium would not disrespect the site’s somber meaning or overshadow the potential interpretive focus on the area’s slave trading roots (Moomaw 2014a).

While concern over the neighborhood appropriateness of a large stadium in the last remaining pocket of the city’s slave trading district in the oldest section of the city had previously been in the mix of opposition, in 2014 archaeology came to have a much greater part of the conversation than it had previously. This was due, in large part, to two factors: a) the Lumpkin’s Jail and African Burial Ground controversies had raised awareness of buried sites in the Bottom, and b) specific people in Richmond in 2014 seen as subject matter experts who were willing to speak publicly about the potential archaeological destruction that a large baseball stadium development could create.

Cultural anthropologist Kim Allen, a Richmond native who had received her doctorate in anthropology from the University of Chapel Hill, was in the city when the plan was announced and recalled Delores McQuinn making a statement regarding historic sensitivity. “She made a statement that appeared in

the paper that said something like, 'we can continue with the development of the site of the baseball stadium and in the process, if we uncover something of some significance, we'll stop the construction process and conduct some archeology'... And I just was appalled because my knowledge told me that that's not how you do archeology. You don't do it in the middle of construction. And I felt that she was bamboozling folks because on one hand you're saying we're going to do archeology if we find something, but [on the other you are] knowing that that's not how it's done."<sup>41</sup>

Another local academic with concerns about the archaeological potential of Shockoe Bottom was Terry Brock, then a PhD candidate from Michigan State University who wrote a blog focused on public archaeology. His December 6<sup>th</sup> blog, titled *Below the Bottom: Historical Significance, Archaeology, and Public Engagement at Shockoe Bottom*, provided an excellent summary of why archaeological remains were expected in the area planned for the new development, why archaeology might not be legally mandated even for this very significant part of the city, and recommendations on how to do good public archaeology if the city considered taking that approach (T. Brock 2014). Brock also appeared at public meetings in January and February in which he asked members of city staff, including Chief Administrator Byron Marshall, whether the project was using any federal resources that would result in the project requiring mitigation under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (Moomaw 2014b). Many people read and shared this blog, and the news media picked it up

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<sup>41</sup> Personal communication, December 2017.

so that several pieces ran in the Richmond Times-Dispatch and Style Weekly regarding whether the city was evading its Section 106 responsibilities by shifting the project plan off a piece of city land that had previously been sold to the city by the Federal Transit Administration (N. Oliver 2014; Moomaw 2014d).

In the wake of these emerging archaeological concerns, Kim Allen, who had previously worked for local politicians like Delegate Henry Marsh, worked with former Delegate Viola Baskerville and other historical experts and local politicians to develop a March 2014 symposium that would discuss the archaeological and historical importance of Shockoe, define the risks of a large city project like this with no mandated archaeology, and introduce the audience to the Alexandria archaeological program (Allen et al. 2014). This symposium introduced the history of Shockoe Bottom; regulations surrounding Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act; Alexandria's urban archaeology program; initial hypotheses regarding the archaeological sensitivity of Shockoe Bottom; and the importance of public engagement with the archaeological process in Shockoe Bottom. As the meeting drew to a close, Allen emphasized the importance of organizing and maintaining this momentum and asked for those interested who were assembled to join with her and create a new archaeological organization dedicated to focusing on this issue. As one of the attendees, I agreed to assist Brock and Allen with the formation of the group and we started then to plan additional meetings at the Black History Museum and Cultural Center on Clay Street. Our goal was a community-directed group which would act as a unified voice to provide perspectives on archaeological topics within the

city, at the time especially related to providing archaeological expertise on aspects of the RevitalizeRVA projects germane to the archaeological sensitivity in Shockoe Bottom. During early meetings we agreed on a mission statement (*"To advance the protection and interpretation of archaeological resources in Richmond through discovery, education, advocacy, research and public engagement"*), developed content for an early website (Allen 2014), disseminated news about the baseball stadium debate, and solicited commentary from members of the public and local archaeologists.

Between March and May 2014 there was an active process of providing commentary on the city's planned archaeological review on April 14<sup>th</sup>; soliciting input from local and state archaeologists, which we then submitted to the City Council on April 25<sup>th</sup>; press conference announcing the group's formation and a series of questions to address the city's planned archaeological investigations in the Bottom on May 22<sup>nd</sup>; and a statement expressing concerns over the feasibility of the planned excavation of seven urban acres in four months on May 27<sup>th</sup>, the date the Dutton+Associates results were unveiled at the City Council's Informal Session.

Many other groups were also coming forward to express similar concerns. The National Trust for Historic Preservation sent several letters beginning in January 2014 requesting meetings and the possibility of consultation and stakeholder engagement with the city. Groups including the Defenders, Preservation Virginia, the African Ancestral Chamber, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the RVA Archaeology group, members of the First



Unitarian-Universalist Church, and several other organizations came together as an advocacy coalition to speak about how the stadium idea undermined community desires for the area and that the archaeological mitigation plan was insufficient in time and imprecise on budget. The President's Advisory Council on Historic Preservation wrote a letter of concern recommending that the city use its HUD programmatic agreement to cover the historic preservation and engagement concerns present regarding the site, noting that "the City should consider whether a separate and discrete Section 106 consultation is necessary to involve stakeholders concerned about the redevelopment of a unique location that includes significant archaeological sites important to the history of Richmond" (Vaughn 2014).

In the end, due to concerns over the appropriateness of the project for the historic neighborhood and broader project aspects that led to low overall city popularity, the baseball stadium idea was scrapped. In its wake have come new recommendations and possibilities, including a city-endorsed excavation on the Seabrook's warehouse lot and a proposed (and then withdrawn) archaeological commission idea. City stewardship of archaeological resources is no longer the purview of one or two individuals, but a concern with which multiple groups are engaging. The potential implications for these projects and their impacts will be discussed further in Chapter 7, where I discuss proposals to help develop better, more inclusive archaeological stewardship in the city.

#### 3.6.4 East Marshall Street Well Project

Only a year or so after the Shockoe Bottom stadium debate was at its height, VCU reached the public stage of the East Marshall Street Well Project, an initiative from new VCU President Michael Rao's office that responded to the unacceptable situation laid bare in Utsey's documentary *Until the Well Runs Dry: Medicine and the Exploitation of Black Bodies* (Cooksey 2009; Utsey 2011; VCU 2017). During his research and conversations with many in the community when filming his first documentary *Meet Me in the Bottom*, Utsey became aware of the pervasive rumors surrounding Richmond's black burial grounds with the theft of black bodies for medical practice, and sometimes stories of outright murder of black Richmonders for dissection practice. These stories brought him to the topic of Chris Baker, a black man who worked for the precursor of the VCU Medical School, the Medical College of Virginia, acquiring bodies for them by using his connections in Richmond's African American community and knowledge of where fresh bodies were interred (Koste 2012). Utsey's documentary raised awareness of the archaeological human remains (which, given the lack of completed report, lack of burial permit, and the closure of the VCU Archaeological Research Center, were unknown to many archaeologists as well as the public) to community groups invested in Richmond's African Burial Ground and also the current VCU administration.

Eager to avoid a repeat of the protests that had accompanied the Richmond African Burial Ground debate, VCU in November 2014 began public consultation about what to do with the remains with a somber, spiritual meeting

to open the conversation regarding whether the remains should be reburied, whether the site should be subject to further study, and how VCU should address the community anger and pain over the original graverobbing and the coverup in the 1990s (Richmond Times-Dispatch 2014). In contrast to previous debates over sensitive historical topics in the city, rather than being excluded from conversations, Ana Edwards and Michael Blakey were active on the Planning Committee and helped direct the project's objectives. The public stakeholder meetings, held in May of 2015 to majority-black audiences, informed the public about ways the remains were treated in the past; how the remains might be researched today; and solicited public input on their desires for the decision-making process and the question of reburial of remains. The group submitted a draft report in June of 2016, but the final conclusion of the project is as yet undetermined (Kapsidelis 2016). The sentiments and values expressed through the East Marshall Street Well Project will be further explored in Chapter 5.

Overall, one of the defining characteristics of the 2000-2015 period is the extent to which, when archaeological sites have been made meaningful to the public, the individuals responsible have not been archaeologists themselves. In a great measure, this is the result of the impacts of the sins of the 1990s come home to roost: in the case of the Floodwall, the East Marshall Street Well site, and the disbanding of the VCU-ARC, especially. The archaeological sites most critical in this period have been the Richmond's African Burial Ground, the East Marshall Street Well site, and Lumpkin's Jail. Apart from Lumpkin's Jail, a project that was spearheaded through the City's Slave Trail Commission, these

two sites were highlighted to the public through the documentary films of Professor Shawn Utsey, who himself had been greatly influenced by Ana Edwards' activism work. Other influential proponents of archaeology include David Herring, who serves on the Slave Trail Commission but also founded the Alliance to Conserve Old Richmond Neighborhoods, and expressed his skepticism about baseball development in the Bottom at least back to 2009 (Herring 2009). Members of the news media (especially Harry Kollatz, Michael Paul Williams, Chris Dovi, Catherine Komp, and Tina Griego) have also taken an interest in archaeological concerns and steered them into a more public and political conversation than archaeology has often held in Richmond.

At the same time, trends related to the Slave Trail Commission indicate that hardened battle lines over historic preservation projects and larger debates over how the city sees itself and balances its priorities have become fierce. On the one hand, this divide has hamstrung an effort to develop a substantial interpretive center or museum on the site of Lumpkin's Jail, one of the city's most significant archaeological sites. On the other, this conversation also seeks to wrestle control over how the city is planned and who controls the historical narrative from entities within City government that sometimes appear ahistorical and overly governed by developer interests.

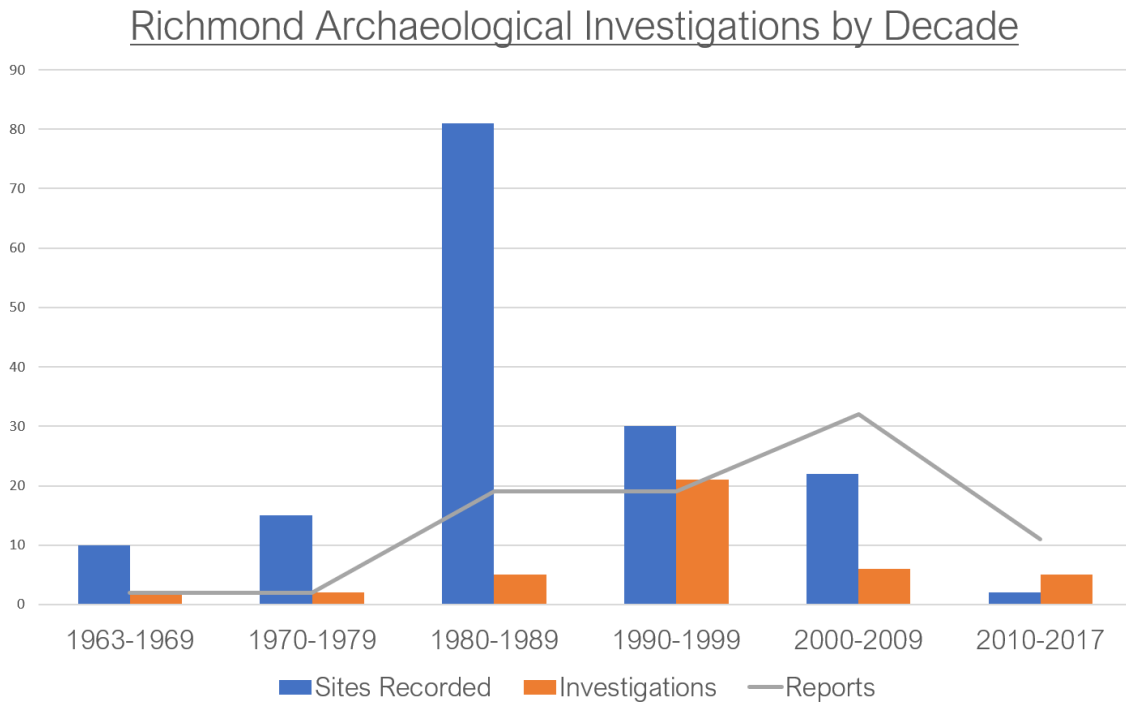
### 3.7 Trends in Archaeological Investigation

As has been discussed, based on data available from the VDHR most of Richmond's archaeological sites were identified and recorded between the 1960s and 1980s, while the majority of the published reports date from the 1990s to the present (see Figure 18)<sup>42</sup>. Despite presumptions to the contrary, archaeological investigations in the city have uncovered meaningful and nationally-significant remains even as studies have been hampered by a highly pro-development and pro-business sensibility in the city; the city has lacked a sustained urban archaeological institution during much of its archaeological investigations; and

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<sup>42</sup> It is likely that Richmond's investigations did not drop precipitously in the 2000s and 2010s, but that instead that these investigations during these decades were not as closely tallied by VDHR once site records became mainly digital.

sites associated with challenging racial narratives have been comparatively neglected.



*Figure 18 - Richmond's Archaeological Investigations By Decade*

Another theme clear already in the sections on archaeology during the 1990s and later is the influence of powerful institutions on archaeological mitigation and stories of archaeological loss. These narratives of loss are messy, subjective, and commonly reveal the raconteur's alliances and perspective. Most archaeologists speak disparagingly of the influence of political power on the opportunity cultural resource management archaeologists have to fully investigate the sites for which they are responsible. Some archaeologists and community members question why the Virginia Department of Historic Resources has not been more able to require a minimum quality of work (and sometimes not

even that), why there are so many incomplete projects with substantial research institutions, companies, federal agencies, or municipalities responsible for them, and why projects of particular community resonance are not always prioritized by VDHR. Community members question what the treatment of archaeological sites represents in terms of the recognition of the humanity of the people represented by these sites and sometimes human remains – especially if the site is associated with Richmond’s African-American inhabitants. While this section has been written as factually and carefully as possible, the question of this truth is often quite messy and highly positional. Issues of community perspectives on the value of archaeology, archaeology’s politically-embedded nature, and the political economy of investigations into Richmond’s past are further discussed in Chapters 4, 5, and 8. In order to address the question of the city’s landscape of current archaeological potential in light of this history of development, loss, and continued potential, Chapter 6 produces a spatial analysis based on patterns of previous archaeological recovery; a particular examination of how the Richmond landscape has been used over time; data concerning development and site conditions in the city; and general patterns of historic and prehistoric site formation.

## 4 Investigating the Value of Richmond's Archaeology

One important question to grapple with to understand Richmond's archaeology is what value it has: the moral and intellectual significance placed upon it for various stakeholder groups and communities, and on a more functional and economic level, what potential financial or psychological value archaeological remains have or could come to have in the city. In approaching understandings of value, this research recognizes that there are a variety of formulations of archaeological value and the benefits of archaeology, discussed previously in Chapter 1.2. This research was especially grounded in Tim Darvill and David Graeber's concepts of value. Darvill approaches archaeological value explicitly, dividing the ways in which people recognize archaeological remains as valuable into distinct categories: use value; option value; and existence value. Both use value and option value emphasize in some way how archaeology has value because it can be used (and sometimes, especially in the context of destructive exploration, "used up") to effectuate various material and moral purposes. Use value focuses on the capacity of archaeological resources to be useful in the present, for purposes such as research, inspiring creative endeavors, educating, supporting recreation and tourism, enhancing social solidarity, legitimating political or social positions, or financial gain (Darvill 1994, 56–57). Option value emphasizes the need to preserve resources in the present in order to bequeath this value to future generations, and is aligned with small 'c' conservative values of selflessness and traditionalism (Darvill 1994, 57–58). In



contrast, Darvill characterizes existence value as closely relating to a desire for social stability or preserving cultural identity. In later work, he broadens his conceptualization of what makes archaeological resources valuable to include interaction with political and social shifts such as the rise of the conservation movement, the memorialization of twentieth-century wars, and better integration with indigenous interests (Darvill 2005, 29–32). Existence value characterizes archaeological remains and spaces as containing value regardless of whether they are ever used or seen, either by the use of archaeological or historical site as an anchor of cultural identity or because of the sense of satisfaction and contentment from certain resources and spaces being maintained in a pristine state (Darvill 1994, 59). As will be discussed, the predominant views of the value of Richmond’s archaeological resources focus on use value, although patterns of place-making and the significance of sacred, burial, and slavery sites also draw extensively on existence value themes.

Graeber’s work on value is more broadly aimed anthropologically at understanding value as a practice-based assessment of how value is determined and expressed, and has been applied in a heritage context by Kathryn Samuels (Graeber 2001; Samuels 2008, 82). His argument that the value of inalienable objects is the sum of “efforts people have made to maintain, protect, and preserve them” has clear implications for how Richmond’s archaeology has been investigated (or not), curated (or not), and supported politically (or not). Samuels has pointed out that archaeological value is located in three interconnected practices: in assessing the value or significance of archaeological findings; as a

means to reconstructing past societies or past events; and as a means by which we examine how and why certain types of histories and archaeological studies are created (Samuels 2008, 71–72). An investment of action is often a combination of investments in time, power, access, mental space, often money, and general wellbeing in order to accomplish any one of Samuels' practices of values. It is important, therefore, to interrogate the types of actions being reviewed and the barriers to action throughout this type of analysis as a means to understanding the types of values that might be being expressed or advanced.

This distinction between action and inaction in these situations helps identify the underlying ideologies that have indelibly shaped the preservation landscape. In some cases, the intensity with which archaeological topics resonate with the communities in Richmond is less visible through overt statements than through their ability or inability to compel actions and attendance at events or meetings; through assessing which archaeological sites have time and study devoted to them and which do not; or examining what institutions say about their commitments to archaeology versus what practical steps they take. *What* inspires *who* to show up, to contribute time and energy, and to publicize? Community activists and RVA Archaeology members convey the value of various archaeological topics through those that generate potent activity and action (especially those in Shockoe Bottom) and topics that receive lip service or expressions of support but for which there is little appetite for direct action or attendance (such as less political topics highlighted by RVA Archaeology events like archaeological sites in on Belle Isle, on rivers and canals, or artifacts from

the Virginia Governor's Mansion). Public meetings, RVA Archaeology events, public and private advocacy, and educational opportunities also have the potential to *create* value, through broadening awareness of resources and through providing a model for the investment of time and energy into their protection. City politicians and officials convey meaning through topics on which they demand action and those they don't, or actions they endorse in theory (like an archaeological commission resolution they proposed or the archaeological excavation at Seabrook's warehouse they passed) but do not pass or do not progress on if they do pass. Organizations, similarly, signal their commitment to various topics and issues by the extent to which they engage, take stands, comment on, and fund projects. As former Clinton advisor Paul Begala said in 2011, a "budget is a profoundly moral document" (Sargent 2011). Examining situations where public statement is belied by actions can be an illustrative tool when particular ideologies – like business power centers, which cast a long shadow but often speak behind closed doors; or unspoken racial inequalities – influence actions in the city.

#### 4.1 Archaeological Ethnography Positioning and Methods

Castañeda has recognized the emic perspective that arises from archaeological ethnography, noting that archaeologists who conduct ethnography "are 'insiders' not simply due to their training and knowledge as archaeologists, but (typically) as participants in the archaeological research that is being investigated" (Castaneda 2008, 36). My case is somewhat different, as I have

engaged with several types of groups through conducting this fieldwork, not predominantly archaeologists, and my archaeological ethnography does not relate to ongoing archaeological fieldwork. Given the importance of describing one's positionality with reference to ethnographic conclusions, I will begin this discussion of methods by unpacking some of my characteristics and associations that alter how I see the communities and perspectives I have attempted to capture here.

I approach the topic of Richmond's archaeology from a few key positions. I am a white, college-educated cisgendered woman, and my background is fairly middle class. I grew up in Charlottesville and Cheshire, England, and I have been fascinated by archaeology since I was three or four years old (a common point of entry for the white individuals I've interviewed and spoken with, but considerably less so for black interviewees). Although this is no longer the case in Richmond, my social group throughout childhood and early adulthood was overwhelmingly white, diverse in terms of economic background and nationality and sexuality/gender identity but not in terms of race. Because of the English echo in my accent, Americans assume I'm foreign even though I spent most of life and almost all of my childhood in central Virginia. My accent does not fool the British, and as a result I'm familiar with being called foreign and assumed to be from elsewhere regardless of where I am and how much at home I feel there.

Having moved to Richmond in early 2014, I'm part of a significant millennial<sup>43</sup> demographic moving to the city in increasing numbers over the past

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<sup>43</sup> Though I'm quick to tell people I'm one of those less-hapless older millennials.

ten years to explore the city's vibrant food, arts, and culture scenes. Richmond is the only place I've moved to simply because I've wanted to, and most of my friends and colleagues know me as an enthusiastic advocate for the city even as I recognize some of its darker sides. I've worked for a variety of historical institutions and I have friends and colleagues at many such places in Richmond, including museums, universities, cultural resource management companies, and the state historic preservation office (VDHR). Not unrelatedly, I have a considerable amount of sympathy for people working in those contexts under difficult conditions, even as these institutions on the whole sometimes replicate processes of power and bureaucracies full of inefficiencies that I find problematic.

I don't have a substantial history of direct action and activism, although in my time in Richmond I have gotten more so and have participated in rallies and public events related to gay marriage, Black Lives Matter, undocumented immigrant rights, and actions opposing the baseball stadium. I learned about the Shockoe Bottom stadium proposal through Michael Blakey and Autumn Barrett at the Institute for Historical Biology, and I thought it was a poor idea on both moral and logistical grounds before the conversation about archaeology emerged. I believe that this is the case for many of the people I've discussed the baseball stadium with – the misuse of a historic neighborhood and a space with such a challenging and profane history is what drives the anger and emotion in the conversation, but it is often twinned with more pragmatic and material concerns associated with the city's debt burden or the traffic pattern. My process of becoming involved in the question of the baseball stadium and helping to found

RVA Archaeology was a new type of involvement for me, an experience of being swept along after getting a request for participation, from Kim Allen and Terry Brock, but also from the clear need and energy that existed when I showed up the symposium on Shockoe Bottom history that initiated the group's founding. Being the only co-founder of RVA Archaeology still active within the group has certainly shaped my perspective of what individuals with historical and archaeological interests I have met; how I see the role of RVA Archaeology within the broader baseball stadium struggle; and the extent to which I see optimism and possibility in the group's future. This is especially the case coming into 2018, when the group has been active as an occasional participant in archaeology education within the city generally (and on the whole much less active in 2017 and 2016 than previously) for longer than it was primarily a political advocacy group. There's an extent to which I fear overstating the impact of the group and its possibilities, and know that while most of my interview data was collected in 2015, the group since then has had a diminished profile.

The position as one of the few archaeologists who has actively engaged city politicians and public officials about its archaeological resources and policy approaches to archaeological stewardship means, as I investigate questions of archaeological value, I am also influencing or impacting these questions as well – though likely more slowly than I'd like. Additionally, through my conversations with interlocutors in formal interviews and casual settings, I have discussed aspects of the city's archaeological record, especially less-known projects like the Floodwall and Penitentiary, which have been so far less recognized by local

communities and less resonant in terms of regimes of value. As a result, though I examine most of these questions as an observer, I am also an active participant and my work has the potential to be value-creating as well as value-identifying. In general, much of my work for the first several years of this project was focused on listening and hearing and exploring as I developed the inductive research format that this study takes, so I interjected my perspective less often. As it has progressed and some of my ideas have developed, my approach in public events and private conversation is more active and oriented towards advocacy.

As can be seen from some of the topics I draw out about the city's archaeological significance, when I first got interested in studying Richmond it was primarily for bioarchaeological analysis, potentially of the Penitentiary remains or even on the East Marshall Street well collection. I have a Masters degree in Palaeopathology from Durham University and my initial studies in graduate school were aimed at better understanding the inequalities of past populations through skeletal analysis of characteristics like metabolic stress, nonspecific infection, and musculoskeletal indicators. I have a longstanding interest in studying the health of marginalized groups of people, especially institutionalized populations. While I was concerned about the increasing frequency with which archaeological human remains are reburied due to community concerns (see Chapman 2012), experiences working on the Remembering Slavery, Resistance, and Freedom Project established by Dr. Michael Blakey and in other contexts have led me to believe that archaeology risks its integrity as a discipline if it continues to prioritize intellectual discovery

over descendant community concerns and participation. The shift in my dissertation research away from bioarchaeological studies was partly initiated by my realization that it is increasingly hard to do significant, ethical research on human remains – and, when people do manage to complete graduate studies in this topic, that there are far fewer jobs than people who want to do them.

I feel strongly about the importance of collections reuse and concerns with some of the overarching challenges faced by archaeology – the lack of digitization and accessibility in the discipline; the curations crisis; and the paucity of research conducted on the gray literature of cultural resource management that now constitutes almost 99% of the archaeological work conducted inside the United States. I also see the limitations of this research, and have observed amongst friends and colleagues the disconnection that can result from months and years spent in the field on various projects, projects passed off to other team members to write up, reports written by supervisors with little background or interest in a specific area, and the disjuncture of working in a client services industry where few of the clients care about the service product.

Since I began this project I have taken on a position in which I am part of the management team of the American Cultural Resources Association, a trade association that represents the interests of cultural resource management archaeologists on Capitol Hill and elsewhere. This has given me insights into how the industry has developed, especially among the larger companies, and it has undoubtedly shaped the research I am aware of and the perspectives I understand. Like many academics and unlike many activists, I am generally most



comfortable interpreting things with a fairly dispassionate (this is not to say unbiased, just emotionally unengaged) eye. I value and understand the emotions of anger and passion and sorrow that emanate from many archaeological topics, but in many cases find it harder to tap into many of these emotions than the people I'm interviewing, likely because I am much less personally invested and these issues are newer to me than to many Richmonders.

In order to explore questions of what archaeological resources or subjects were most meaningful to Richmond communities, I developed a multi-method ethnographic approach. First, I participated in events directly or tangentially related to history and archaeology in the city, including Juneteenth celebrations, presentations at area museums and other institutions, protests, tours, city planning meetings, archaeology public events, civic association events, and meetings of City Council; the Defenders for Freedom, Justice, and Equality; the Richmond Slave Trail Commission; the Archeological Society of Virginia; the East Marshall Street Well Project; and the RVA Archaeology community group. In some cases, these events were co-organized or led by myself, in other cases I was an attendee. Through this participant-observation, I developed an understanding of the individuals and groups who show up during events related to archaeology and history in the city, what common narratives and issues are, and how city historical topics are perceived and spoken about in different settings.

Next and concurrently, I identified a list of around 60 individuals who might act as community hinges, gatekeepers, or leaders of different perspectives within

the city related to archaeology. I selected interviewees from people who regularly attended these meetings; people whom I knew had expertise or had examined some element of the city's history; people who were highly active in projects or activism related to Richmond's archaeological spaces; and I asked each person I interviewed to provide me with recommendations for who should be included. I conducted 31 semi-structured interviews and several additional topic-focused follow-up interviews, including academic and other professional archaeologists, avocational archaeologists, interested community members, activists, city officials, and associated museum and historical professionals. During these interviews, I asked some identical questions of each interviewee, including some semi-quantitative questions to assess their stated feelings on the importance of archaeology, history, and burial grounds in the city (see Appendix 0). In addition, I asked questions that probed the unique participation of each individual with city issues that intersect archaeology, their feelings on local institutions that interact with archaeology, or their past with the city. Interviews ranged from 45 minutes to over three hours, and were conducted in a location of the interviewee's choice, which included their homes, a conference room in my apartment building, their work offices, coffeeshops and restaurants, and outside in sites and spaces associated with the topic. Interviewees were not financially compensated for their interview, but in some cases I did purchase food or drinks at mealtimes when it seemed appropriate.

The demographics of my interviewees varied depending on the community or cohort they were selected from, with the majority of the archaeologists and

museum professionals interviewed being white (and somewhat more men than women) and the group of interested non-specialist community members being more evenly split in terms of ancestry and containing a slightly higher number of women than men. I did not ask questions about social class or finances, but could glean some sense of this through the contexts in which I met individuals, including at their homes often, and personal details they shared. The majority of the archaeologists and museum professionals were fairly senior and therefore appeared fairly comfortable financially, and generally had high social capital. The community members and avocational archaeologists I met had a more varied economic background – some seemed comfortably middle class and lived in middle or upper-class neighborhoods of Richmond and Henrico, but several members of the Defenders lived in public housing or received other governmental assistance. Some folks had fairly high social recognition, career responsibilities, and social capital, but lived strained lives financially. Overall, approximately 70% of my interviewees could be classed as white, while the remaining 30% could be classed as people of color (POC). Among POC interviewees, the majority were of African descent, several of whom also recognized themselves to have native ancestry. The ages of interviewees ranged from 33 to over 80. Interviewees were not specifically asked about their gender identity or sexuality, but 40% present as female and 60% present as male. While the majority of interviewees presented socially as heterosexual, at least two were part of the LBGT community in some way. I did not formally interview any developers or politicians as a part of this project, which is a shortcoming;

however I had several conversations with several City Council members and Slave Trail Commission members over the course of several years, spoke informally to individuals involved with rest estate or development, and attended or watched city council meetings relevant to historic and archaeological topics at which developers also spoke. While I tend to identify participants by a combination of professional/activist affiliation; their age; their own self-described ethnic affiliation; and socioeconomic information when assessable, people are more complicated than this and are members of many overlapping groups and allegiances. While race is often one of the fundamental lenses I use for analysis here, class and educational opportunity infiltrate the anti-racist activism of these groups differently based on individual circumstances<sup>44</sup>. However, since I conducted this research as in-depth conversations with a group of only 31 people, in many cases these other subgroups and communities are harder to tease out with any certainty, and I use these few demographic markers to compare broad patterns as I see them.

Interviewees were not randomly selected from the Richmond populace, and their investment in Richmond history and archaeology reflects this. In initial questions, I asked respondent a series of semi-quantitative questions: *On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being never and 5 being daily, how often do you think about archaeology? On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being never and 5 being daily, how often do you think about archaeology? On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being*

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<sup>44</sup> I was once unexpectedly treated to a discourse on Ayn Rand's *Atlas Shrugged* in the living room of a middle-class black activist (previously arrested as part of an anti-racist action) who decried the concept that people would steal things they didn't have from others, and said she used to carry a gun and was willing to shoot to kill to protect her property.

*completely unimportant and 5 being essential, how important do you think it is to understand Richmond history? On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being completely unimportant and 5 being essential, how important do you think it is to use archaeological research to understand Richmond history? On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being completely unimportant and 5 being essential, how important are burial grounds, cemeteries, and graves to you?*

Interviews were initially recorded with a microphone and a Marantz PDM661 digital recorder. However, this equipment was bulky, conspicuous, and inconvenient. I later purchased an Olympus WS-822 Digital Recorder, which had a much smaller profile and was both more convenient for me and appeared to cause less shyness or discomfort for the people being interviewed. The questions used when interviewing were on a piece of paper on which I also made occasional notes on the conversation. Demographic information, including age, sex, ethnicity, and how long they had lived in Richmond, was also collected at the start of the interview. Participants were provided with a written copy of the informed consent agreement, and it was read out loud to them in accordance with the Institutional Review Board protocols PHSC-2015-07-01-10370 and PHSC-2016-06-21-11280, which governed the project from 2015-08-01 to 2016-08-01 and 2016-08-01 to 2017-08-01, respectively. They selected whether they wanted to provide consent in a written or oral form, and all but one interviewee provided written consent.

I also attended public engagement and educational meetings, protest events, city government meetings, private events (including to plan political

actions or advocacy around the Shockoe Bottom baseball stadium debate), had informal conversations with many additional stakeholders, led RVA Archaeology meetings, and spoke with people via email, text message, phone, and social media. In a few cases, I used online surveys to ask subsets of the Richmond population questions regarding what they wanted to see from the RVA Archaeology group, or what their thoughts on Richmond's archaeology were. As I attended meetings, I wrote up notes describing the individuals who were at events, the crowd demographic makeup and energy, notable events, and connections with similar events. If it was not practical to write about an event at the moment it happened, I would try to summarize it to myself as soon as possible afterwards. The information I gathered and the impressions I formed throughout 2015, 2016, and parts of 2017 forms the basis of this analysis of how archaeological value is recognized and characterized in Richmond during this seminal time for the understanding of archaeological subjects and interpretations in the city.

In the final year of dissertation analysis and writing, I had all my writings transcribed by either a colleague whose name was added to my Institutional Review Board protocol or by a professional transcription service that offered a signed confidentiality agreement as part of its package. I typed up all event notes and data-entered demographic data and answers to semi-quantitative questions into a spreadsheet where I compared answers by race, gender, and age. Using the Microsoft Word comments feature, I reviewed all of the notes and interviews and annotated them with themes that I understood the participants to be

speaking on or representing. This list of categories and points represented the beliefs and concerns that I observed in the events and quotes I was able to collect. I then extracted the most relevant and illustrative quotes and used them to craft my ethnographic narrative. Individuals were identified or not based on their stated wishes on the consent form they signed. Individuals speaking at public events were generally identified if I knew them. If individuals had requested review of their statements before publication, I then sent out the quote and its context within the document to the interviewee for their revision. Requested revisions to quotes were overwhelmingly people adjusting their comments for clarity and grammar and did not change the meaning of their initial statements. The creation of this ethnographic data within a wider study means that there are several elements of the trends within the information that people shared with me that could not be included within this initial publication, so I selected the material most germane to the overall thrust of this research and hope to address other themes in future research.

One of the reasons that so much ethnography on this subject could be done “in public” between 2014 and 2017 is considerable number of individual public meetings and engagement processes linked with archaeological resources occurring at this time. In November 2014 – May 2016, the East Marshall Street Well Project held an opening ceremony, public consultations, and formed a Family Representative Council that studied the ways in which VCU should address remains from the MCV well site. In 2015, Lord Cultural Resources shepherded Richmond Speaks About Lumpkins, the initial planning process for

an amorphous development to be associated with the Devil's Half-Acre site. Starting in October 2016, SmithGroupJJR, the museum development consultant tasked with creating a concept design for the Lumpkins project, has been holding additional public meetings regarding the site as part of designing the site Statement of Purpose and Visitor Experience plan. At the time of this writing, the SmithGroupJJR process is still ongoing and the city's master planning process, Richmond 300, is beginning. The Master Planning process is well understood by anti-stadium activists and historic preservationists as an aspirational document expressing the city's hope for its future, and the venue through which its long-term plans are made. It is likely this master planning effort will include considerably more conversation about archaeological remains in the city, particularly in the Shockoe Bottom area, than previous iterations have done. In short, though the specific Shockoe Bottom stadium debate came to a close almost two years ago at this point, ripples of that period continue to expand outward, through the persistence of many people, to bring up issues of archaeological potential and interpretation in the city.

#### 4.2 The Use Value of Richmond's Archaeology: Its Functional and Moral Value

Through examining direct statements and patterns of community and organizational engagement, this section explores how contemporary Richmonders identify the value of the city's archaeology predominantly in terms of archaeology's capacity to serve as a tool for various endeavors. As a whole,



archaeology in Richmond has a strong stated value among many of its citizens especially for what Tim Darvill termed *use value*, or a utilitarian approach to why something is valuable. Archaeology in Richmond has value because it can be employed to accomplish a task: the goals for this task could be as disparate as bringing in tourism dollars; contributing to racial justice; providing otherwise inaccessible historical facts; and educating young people. The extent to which these functions and values are understood and expressed is also tangled with the power and politics that affect citywide patterns of action and inaction, and this section also describes how these factors have affected archaeological stewardship.

Across the board, white residents and people of color, archaeologists and non-archaeologists, those I interviewed showed a strong interest in the type of municipal archaeology characterized by Appler as the city-site model: that in which the entire city is considered as a site and its research focus is developed to bring attention to under-told stories and topics. The answers to semi-quantitative questions about importance demonstrated considerable interest among most of the (non-random) group of stakeholders I interviewed, although in some cases I was surprised by the intensity of the positive response and wondered if perhaps people were telling me that archaeology was very important to them because they felt it was very important to me. Out of the 27 respondents who answered the question on how often they thought about archaeology (with 1 being almost never and 5 being daily), respondent averages were at least a 3 or higher. The average was highest for white women (4.5) and white men (4.0) and

somewhat lower for male (3.75) and female (3.25) POC. This generally tracks along occupational lines as white women and men interviewed were most likely to be archaeology or historic preservation professionals, whereas POCs interviewed were a more diverse mix of preservation professionals and local activists. Among constituencies with variation in socioeconomic status, there did not appear to be any trends in how people of different financial means or educational attainment answered.

Appler recognizes the potentially-significant benefit of municipal archaeology when he writes, “If a city's archaeologists are given the freedom to develop a research program that is based on the city as a whole, rather than on just a handful of already identified historic sites, the contributions of ethnic or social groups that are less visible in the historical record may be allowed to come to the forefront. This can have very real consequences in terms of how the city's history is portrayed and understood, and it can directly influence who may develop an interest in the city's past” (Appler 2017, 186).

What Richmonders say about how and whether archaeology has value depends greatly on their background and in which contexts they have interacted with city archaeology. There are also many disparate spheres where understandings of archaeological value are expressed. The following table summarizes some of the areas in which archaeological remains were perceived to have use value, and how this value was expressed during interviews, public and private events, and discussions in the city:

<b>Sphere of Potential Value</b>	<b>Traits and features listed by respondents when asked about why archaeology has value</b>
Discipline of archaeology	Public engagement with archaeology; public delight and enthusiasm about the discipline; demonstrates the potential for intact sites and knowledge;
Education and knowledge	Untold history, under-documented people and events, educating the youth, discovering canal boat construction styles, testing historical data, archaeology allows for more layered understanding, about a wide variety of people; understanding historical roots of modern problems (carceral system), specific family/neighborhood history; alternatives to Confederate narrative; addressing historical mistakes (compared with Colonial Williamsburg using the wrong paint colors in Williamsburg), stories of families and communities; iterative research (research can change as our historical and political ideas change); proving the enormity of the slave trade; examining history in a spatial way; urban slavery; slave trade; connecting families with their genealogy
Morality	Racial justice, reconciliation, healing, identifying and addressing historical crimes or inequities, allowing people in the city to decide what history is important to them; exposing who benefitted from slavery;
Politics / Civic life	City identity and pride; physical place in which to study and highlight social issues, city PR, acknowledgement of city's involvement in slave trade; regional identity; develop a rich heritage; contributing facts to our political values
Psychology	Demonstrating to young people that their ancestors were great, increased consciousness, source of ingenuity, power of material remains; increase openness and tolerance; increase pride and self-esteem
Race relations	Equalizing representation of black and white history; reconciliation; abating racial tensions;
Financial (private monetary value)	Resale value of artifacts
Economics (public monetary value)	Tourism driver; sustains community structures

While understandings of archaeological value had been building over several iterations of baseball stadium proposals and processes of activism

surrounding the Richmond African Burial Ground, community narratives of archaeological value burst fairly quickly onto the scene in December 2013 to March 2014, due in large part to the question of what was lost (the loss of the option value) if an 8-acre section of Shockoe Bottom was subjected to development for a proposed downtown stadium. A major instigator to this was the blogpost written by Terry Brock that December, which reviewed the area from the perspective of an archeological review and provided details about the particular ways in which the city could lose archaeological knowledge if reasonable procedures were not followed (T. Brock 2014). Concurrently, Kim Allen, a cultural anthropologist who had previously worked in Virginia politics on Henry Marsh's Senate campaign and had been President of the Richmond NAACP, organized a day-long symposium that educated the 80+ attendees on Shockoe Bottom history; Section 106 regulations; Alexandria's urban archaeology program; and approaches to public archaeology practice (Allen et al. 2014). In the leadup and aftermath of this symposium were considerable public meetings, held to inform the public about the planned development, that were disrupted by displeased stakeholders and where numerous concerns about the archaeological destructiveness of the project were brought up.

At the symposium, titled *Before It's Too Late: An Educational Symposium on the Archaeology and History of Shockoe Bottom*, attendees including myself agreed to help form a community group devoted to protecting the area's archaeological potential. Between fifteen and thirty people regularly attended the RVA Archaeology Saturday meetings organized by Brock, Allen, and myself, and

participants were also showing up regularly to city council meetings, press conferences, city meetings, and fora. Meetings were held at the Black History Museum and Cultural Center due to Allen's connections with their staff, and were devoted to developing how to couch the message of archaeological sensitivity; plan out the organization's aims and events; and solicit local archaeologist comment on the stadium plan. The week of the symposium, potentially in reaction to it, the city announced a plan for an archaeological review of the proposed development. Over March, April, and May conversation in the city was dominated by the baseball stadium pros and cons and the question of whether the archaeological plan (which budgeted a mere 4 months for archaeological investigation of 8 urban acres) was sufficient in its methodology and oversight. The City Council informal session and subsequent meeting on May 27, 2014 when the archaeological assessment results were presented by David Dutton, were well attended and the council meeting included a protest action that reached capacity in the council chambers.

The way in which Brock, Allen, and I and the other RVA Archaeology members began providing archaeological context and requesting actions in regard to city archaeological resources had a role in creating the value of archaeology, as well as identifying or advocating for it. Allen, who was the most experienced with Richmond city politics, designed the symposium as a way of illustrating to interested community members various tools that might be used – including the Section 106 process discussed by Roger Kirchens from the VDHR and a municipal archaeology program, described by Pam Cressey (Allen et al.

2014). Additionally, historians and writers like Harry Kollatz and Phillip Schwartz painted a picture of the types of practices that occurred in the Bottom and the types of information and stories that might be lost without greater archaeological stewardship. The crowd at the symposium was considerably people interested in the Shockoe Bottom topic because they were interested in history, concerned about the baseball stadium project, or (most commonly) both. It is likely that our process of raising awareness of archaeology at this critical political moment enhanced the perception of archaeological resources as a political tool, even after the group stressed in public statements that archaeological work could happen in advance of developments without necessarily preventing them. This perception of archaeological sensitivity as a political tool and of engaged archaeologists as anti-development was widespread among both pro- and anti-stadium groups. Shortly after the stadium debate subsided, I was contacted by a local progressive activist interested in gaining assistance with historic district nominations in the western half of the state, in the hope that more National Register nominations in those areas could bolster opposition to the controversial Mountain Valley Pipeline project.<sup>45</sup> Repeatedly in that and other situations, projects have been discussed with me and recommended to me because of their perceptions of what I might support or oppose politically, in addition to my expertise or scholarly interests.

As will be discussed further in Chapter 5, the variable momentum around archaeological topics can be seen in the shifts to group participation over the

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<sup>45</sup> Personal communication, November 10, 2015.

next six months, as the city administration became bogged down by stadium criticism and the plan was eventually withdrawn. By comparison, later meetings lacked the same sense of urgency once the baseball stadium project resolution was withdrawn and it was clear the project had stalled indefinitely. Although some members in the group continued to find time-sensitive matters related to the vulnerability of the city's archaeology – such as the planned Stone Brewing development in an area of Rocketts Landing thought to be sensitive – there was not the same sense of immediate urgency or the momentum of large numbers of committed members. The loss of urgency was also expressed by us as organizers of the group – during the political process it felt vital to ensure that 8 acres of Shockoe Bottom wasn't subjected to a poorly-financed and rushed excavation performed without independent review. After this process died down, life – which include two dissertations, job searches, moves, and family needs for the three of us – intervened, and gradually Brock and Allen reduced their involvement. Most RVA Archaeology events going forward were collaborations or public engagement events, although we also coordinated an SHA panel at the 2016 Washington D.C. conference to draw new academic attention to the city's archaeology and bring presentations by longtime archaeologists of the city and more recent community voices (Browning 2016; Mouer 2016; Terrell 2016; Laird 2016; Edwards 2016; Allen and Brock 2016; J. Smith and Chapman 2016; Chapman 2016).

The reduction in the politicization of the group saw an immediate change in the makeup of the attendees at group events, which became considerably

more white, either historic preservation professionals or longtime avocationalists, and, to a lesser extent, more predominantly male. The reasons for this are complex, and I would hesitate to assert clarity about all the reasons archaeology derives much of its power from the Bottom. Firstly, because this debate and this movement against the baseball stadium development, which had been the route most RVA Archaeology members had taken towards involvement with archaeology, had been exhausting for many people. After the biweekly attendance at City Council meetings, RevitalizeRVA press conferences and informational meetings, public educational sessions, RVA Archaeology meetings, and a variety of other town forums, people were tired. Next, there is an extent to which the mixed-race group aligned with progressive politics had a different relationship towards archaeological material than did the predominantly but not exclusively white heritage professionals I talked to. Those who were engaged with activism around the baseball stadium and burial ground were more likely to have learned about and become invested in the discipline of archaeology as adults, often only in the last decade or so. Certain sites and considerably developed their understanding of archaeology, predominantly Lumpkin's Jail and the New York African Burial Ground, much more than the classical and Egyptian archaeology white heritage professionals and archaeologists were more likely to mention. Media coverage of the New York African Burial Ground, reinforced by lectures and presentations by Blakey in Richmond subsequently, was an entry point for many black heritage professionals and advocates in their understanding of the importance of archaeology as a discipline. Several non-white RVA



Archaeology advocates when speaking about the importance of Shockoe Bottom, in addition to emphasizing the importance of understanding the history of enslavement, had stories that related Shockoe to their family history or their youth. While the baseball stadium struggle, introduction of archaeology-related ordinances to city council, and involvement of regional and national heritage organizations in the question of how to manage Shockoe Bottom's archaeology has expanded understanding of archaeology's value within Richmond, these factors continue to influence the differential resonance, activity, and participation associated with some topics versus others in the city.

Archaeology's various values, as listed above, are inextricably entangled with the political weight of past fights and the potency archaeology has to inform about the past sins and inequities of the city. In many instances the reason why (or if) a person believes archaeology is valuable suggests their political engagement with archaeology, which then anticipates (or sometimes conflicts with) their political stances on topics associated with urban planning decisions in Richmond. Within archaeological narratives, especially the left-leaning academics and local activists who expressed the most interest in Richmond sites like the African Burial Ground, Lumpkin's Jail, East Marshall Street Well, and the East End Cemetery, it is clear that archaeology's potential to create moral change through justice and reconciliation is powerful (and is discussed further in Chapter 5.1.2). The aspects of this political value – how it resonates around issues of materiality and respect for human remains; how it seeks redress for historic silences; how the potential of archaeology to point towards modern moral

change can cause some, especially conservative-leaning stakeholders, to trust the discipline less; and how it is central to some communities' perception of the relevance of archaeology – will be discussed in the next section and in Chapter 6.

One striking aspect of the political potential and moral value ascribed to archaeology is the disjuncture between the power that many individuals expressed in their interviews about the power and potential of archaeological research versus the cynicism and lack of faith they had in city government. Archaeological research was discussed wistfully as a potential panacea to challenging political topics, while invested stakeholders were also variably cynical about the likelihood that this would come to pass. After the stadium debate, there was widespread acknowledgement that public engagement processes like Richmond Speaks and the SmithGroupJJR meetings were fraught, stuck, and contentious. Participants were worried about losing the moment: city officials and project management because they feared losing funding or political support, and activists because they feared the imminent loss of Shockoe land due to development and believed mishandling of the Devil's Half-Acre/Lumpkin's Jail development would create a product lacking in power and effectiveness. This distrust predated the current mayor Levar Stoney, and even the previous mayor Dwight Jones who had been widely vilified by opponents of the Shockoe Bottom stadium, but was at its core a concern over the functionality and motives of government in the city more broadly. The people I've met and interviewed and talked with over the last two years are considerably unified in their narrative of

Richmond as a city (both as a government and as a place) that was getting in its own way, that was unable to bridge the divides within itself enough to make progress on the city's most pressing issues (particularly schools, finances, transportation, and amenities to bring in visitors and skilled residents). Among many (especially non-archaeologists), the materiality and evidentiary qualities of archaeological investigation were key to a concept that archaeology could undo decades of mis-education and political strife. The rest of this chapter unpacks the values and politics of Richmond's archaeology through several themes: how the material qualities of archaeology influences ways in which it is seen as valuable; how concepts of economics and city finances reveals details about archaeology's perceived costs and value; and how the overarching issues of archaeology's political valence associated with human remains, the history of the slave trade, and other issues of social and economic justice has directed understandings of archaeology's use and value.

#### 4.3 Materiality, Neutrality, and the Historical Record: The Value of Archaeology as a Tool to Address Suppressed or Hidden Histories

The racial politics, current areas of archaeological interest, and the nature of archaeology's materiality interact in Richmond in a way that appears to increase the value that archaeological resources are presumed to have. This is partially because archaeology does have a particular character as a form of speech produced by remains that are historically voiceless. While many document types provide insights into marginalized grounds in various time

periods and contexts, archaeological evidence can be a more direct form since creating archaeological remains does not require literacy or financial means or social dominance to the same extent that authoring historical documents has done. Archaeology can put the lie to written histories: through uncovering inconvenient foundations and roads and food remains and liquor bottles, it can reveal patterns like heavy on-the-job drinking; health disparities associated with inequality. It can show that people didn't do what they claimed to have done in their written documents, and can reveal behaviors that people would prefer their neighbors not know but produce a persistent material trace (e.g. Veit and Schopp 1999; Hartnett and Dawdy 2013). Among many in Richmond, archaeology's value was couched in these terms, or in even more black and white narratives of archaeology as proof, which I found a bit embarrassing knowing the messiness of archaeological interpretation.

To a great extent in Richmond, archaeological research was seen as a forensic discipline, as an approach that provided a necessary check on the document-driven historians who were in many cases portrayed as shaping the historical record due to their bias. Many people mentioned shows like CSI or NCIS when they discussed the importance and potential of archaeological remains. When talking about the potential for losing sites or deposits, one black activist in her sixties commented, "That's the part that makes me sad. We would never know – we will only know what historians so far have told us, and at this point in time the stories that I've heard so far are not so true...or how about, they leave out a lot. They leave out a lot of information that's very valuable." Similarly,

Ana Edwards with the Defenders for Freedom, Justice, and Equality defined their approach thusly: “Coming at it from a perspective of black community’s history in the city of Richmond, is that because we’re missing so many sides to the narratives of Richmond’s history, that we need the archaeology to present us with artifacts that *prove* that black people were here and lived lives at the same time as other people’s lives were lived, that they were interwoven in these histories. The most resonance I feel, in that regard, from all that I talk about in relation to the Memorial Park is when I draw the relationship between Gabriel’s life and that of Patrick Henry” (emphasis mine). These observations parallel those of Autumn Barrett, whose 2014 William & Mary dissertation research also identified a concept of archaeological material as potential “evidence” or “truth” as one aspect of what some Richmond residents perceive as the value of archaeological research, which is as a positivist and forensic revealing of inequalities in the city. Barrett found that activists involved in the struggle to reclaim the African Burial Ground, while divided over the topic of whether to perform archaeological investigations on the sacred site, perceived the importance of a more candid appraisal of history could have today, particularly in terms of encouraging Richmond’s black youth to see themselves as descendants of people who actively resisted enslavement (Barrett 2014). This character of the importance of archaeology has been recognized by other archaeologists working in urban contexts – as Anna Agbe-Davies has recognized, “Archaeology is valuable to the people I work with not only, or even primarily, because it tells us something new about the past. Rather, archaeology points official attention to

silenced stories, it provides necessary analyses of the contemporary environment, it makes connections between the past and the present visible and concrete” (Agbe-Davies 2010, 173).

This powerful materiality was seen as especially useful in its ability to oppose old-fashioned, pro-Confederate, and white dominant narratives about city history. There was widespread awareness of how dominant power centers had suppressed an honest study of city history among many of the people I have met and spoken with. One retired white resident commented to me, “Delores McQuinn has said at a couple of meetings I’ve been at where she was sort of leading, she says ‘I travel all over the world, all over the country, and I go out and I visit, and it’s all very good. When I’m in the plane and I get to Richmond airspace, I have this feeling that a cloud has descended upon me’...I absolutely agree with her about my experience in Richmond before 1990. And I still, there are still time when I’m in rooms where it’s like, ‘Oh, here it comes, we’ve got old Richmond rearing its head’.”<sup>46</sup> This sense of a dominant and controlling city history is likely something that black communities have been aware of and resisted against since Reconstruction if not before. Local newsman and powerhouse John Mitchell Jr., editor of the Richmond Planet, offered up alternatives to this dominant narrative through his reporting and editorials from the Reconstruction period to World War I, and was especially critical about silences around lynchings and the real impetus for the installation of Lost Cause monuments to the Confederacy (Alexander 2002, 41–45.). On the event of the

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<sup>46</sup> Interview 1027. De-anonymize when confirmed.

Robert E. Lee statue unveiling in May 31, 1890, Mitchell commented “The South may revere the memory of its chieftains. It takes the wrong steps in so doing, and proceeds to go too far in every similar celebration. It serves to retard its progress in the country and forges heavier chains with which to be bound” (Mitchell 1890, 1). For white communities less likely to have read the black press with great regularity, it is likely that some of this awareness developed during the Civil Rights struggle. Elements of this narrative are well-encapsulated in Richmond’s *Unhealed History* by Ben Campbell, whose parents were active in the civil rights movement (B. Campbell 2011).

The material elements of archaeology’s evidence become valuable because they are seen as undeniable – like a videorecording of a crime, or physical evidence. The power of the cobblestones uncovered in the jail yard of the Devil’s Half-Acre, or the bones filmed in Utsey’s documentary *Until the Well Runs Dry*, make the white lies or the sins of omission around slavery visible. In 2008 when the Phase II excavation of Lumpkin’s Jail was performed, the cobblestones and foundations of the jail complex were exposed and dozens of community members, officials, archaeologists, and city and state politicians filtered by over the course of the fieldwork. The visceral feeling of seeing the emergence of the very cobbles where jailed enslaved people used to walk was powerful, and in events related to the site both politicians and Richmond residents commented on the emotion created by this potent materiality. Many community members I spoke to referenced early experiences of the power of archaeology due to assisting with artifact washing at the site, site visits, or just

happening to hear about what had been found and being surprised that parts of Richmond's material evidence of slave jails still survived. This was seen too in the media coverage around the New York African Burial Ground, which exposed the reality of northern slavery (which professional historians well understood) to the public in a region where the public education system had not provided enough emphasis to the subject (Dunlap 1991).

To some extent, the faith in archaeology's neutrality and ability to forensically uncover the truths of the past can be compared with perceptions about historians and preservationists, who were commonly characterized as being biased; examining sources that excluded critical information; or of not being interested in the past associated with non-white or non-dominant groups. A significant portion of this is likely to be the influence of Lost Cause Confederate nostalgia and the association of Southern preservation with the preservation of valorized Southerners. However, there are also specific preservation battles associated with the 1970s and later that have also influenced these developments. Most of these came up in conversations with white preservationists and related to the Church Hill neighborhood, where it was almost impossible to get a bank loan into the 1990s because of the legacy of redlining. White preservation-minded families began moving into Church Hill, and attempted to create a historic district (which comes with considerable restrictions on renovations and house exteriors) in an attempt to stabilize and enhance area property values:

“People were financing renovations on credit cards and then the banks were more than happy to refinance the credit card debt



and roll it into a mortgage but they would not give you a loan and it didn't matter what color you were...so you had these people who had invested a lot of money and they wanted some property value protection. So, they...started getting politically active, tried to get a historic district expansion in North Church Hill. It became very ugly. It became very politicized, very racial, and it actually did pass the City Council but it was so ugly. The political machine, the Henry Marsh political machine, I mean it divided everybody. It divided whites and blacks and the whole thing was just so ugly that they got the NAACP involved. There was a big march across the MLK Bridge the night of the vote. It would have been on national news or it would have spread. If social media had been around at the time, it would have spread like wildfire across the country it was so awful."<sup>47</sup>

By contrast, archaeological preservation advocacy did not have much of a publicized history in the city, and the high-profile emergence of the Lumpkin's Jail excavation and the Medical College of Virginia well remains cases especially have led many in the city to regard archaeology as a discipline that inherently has relevance for racial justice. Archaeology was described by many individuals and in many contexts as a discipline with an unusual power to address racial wounds in the city. Because the majority of my interviews were held in the fall and winter of 2015-2016, just after the baseball stadium debate and in the lead up to meetings on what should be constructed on the site of Lumpkin's Jail, this sentiment was largely associated with these archaeological sites and topics. One retired white activist, who belonged to a prominent Richmond family whose roots went back many generations, commented, "I think that archaeology is our ticket to reconciliation. Archaeology can rescue this city from its racial tension. And that's because the black history is underground, most of it, and white history is

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<sup>47</sup> Interview with anonymous individual, November 2015.

above ground. Of course, it was built by blacks but they don't get any credit for it."<sup>48</sup> In this passage he obliquely referenced Selden Richardson's *Built by Blacks*, a book funded by ACORN that reviewed the city's standing architecture and explicitly identified the contributions of the city's black, often enslaved, population in designing and constructing some of the city's most important spaces (Richardson 2008). Archaeology is seen as essential for racial justice and healing in the city because the undeniable aspects of its evidence will provide more insights into black history, will help to level the playing field, will be healing because it will create a larger record of black history. All this is believed despite the fact that archaeology is a much whiter discipline even than history is, and despite archaeology's long history (and in some cases continued practice) of suppressing and misinterpreting non-white narratives (Patterson 1999; Gosden 2006; Epperson 2004; Blakey 2001).

Some in the Richmond stadium orbit were more aware of the realities of the discipline and the need for iterative archaeological work as trends and focuses shift. Ana Edwards emphasized the importance of its option value, of making archaeology available to future scholars as skills and interest advance: "Periodically new archaeology needs to happen. There may have been archaeology done in the 1920s, and there may have been some done in the 1960s. Periodically it needs to be done, or re-done, because we interpret the information differently, we have different kind of experts, and I think that it's

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<sup>48</sup> Interview with anonymous individual, November 2015.

important to bring out, because the archaeology has served different people's purposes along the way.”

In the Richmond context, most community members I talked to expressed less suspicion about the potential motives of (predominantly) white archaeologists than they did for other types of interests, in significant contrast to attitudes of Indigenous groups in other contexts. RVA Archaeology community members expressed a frequent interest in engaging and training youth in archaeological methods, including and especially black youth in city schools, but this was expressed without any overt or implied suggestion that archaeology as a discipline needed to work on this aspect. Most non-heritage professionals I talked with expressed surprise at my characterization of archaeology as overwhelmingly white if and when it came up.

Occasionally, predominantly in the professional archaeologists and historians who had worked closely with archaeological research in the past, there was an ambivalence about the explanatory value of archaeology – or at least, an acknowledgement that archaeological discovery was far from guaranteed. Bill Martin, the Director of The Valentine, commented that he thought archival research prior to excavation was generally more important: “It’s all the research. It’s all the work that goes in, that informs archaeology, that is actually in many ways more valuable than the work itself.” Similarly, archaeologists, especially from the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, sometimes expressed some frustration or concern that the lofty goals of public archaeology are not generally fulfilled: Jolene Smith, Archaeological Data Manager for the state, discussed the

gulf between what archaeologists aspire to in publicly-engaged work and how the reality often unfolds: “In our utopian vision, all archaeologists are creating really amazing interpretations of all these great places and the public is paying attention to them. I mean, I don't know. I feel like that's kind of going down a speculative path...But I'm trying to think of whether there a city where the lay public has in some broad sense come away with a general understanding of the material record that's had a positive, systemic impact? Is this just me being cynical? I don't know.”

A tension that emerged in the narratives and conversations about Richmond's archaeology is that the strong focus on the slave trade history in Shockoe Bottom – a topic that was immensely relevant when I began this study in mid-2014 and remains the dominant focus in 2017 – sometimes created a concern that other stories were being lost. Nominally, even those for whom Richmond's interstate slave trade was their largest focus there was considerable interest in the stories of Native inhabitants of the land pre- and post-urbanization, ethnic enclaves in the city, early Reconstruction black communities, the stories of the non-elites, and other narratives that many felt were missing or had been concealed. This was most intense among white Richmonders and people engaged professionally in archaeology or history, but rang true for many people whose exposure to archaeological research and topics had been limited before getting interested through events run by the Elegba Folklore Society or through learning about the Lumpkin's Jail site. One white historian remarked on the misfortune of the narrative becoming narrowed to solely the city's slave trade

history, and laid some of the responsibility for that reduction at the feet of the Defenders and other Shockoe Bottom activists:

Respondent: There's not just a simple interpretation of [Richmond history]. Back to archaeology, there are so many layers and so many nuances that I think when you draw those hard lines and I think that's what the Defenders have done that you lose some of that shading and that's what concerns me right now about what may or may not happen in the Bottom. Because they've drawn this really hard line in the sand, we may lose out on understanding the full breadth of the history of Shockoe Bottom. They've not made room for it because those voices, they're not acceptable. And they have publicly said those voices are not acceptable. We only want to hear from this set of voices (*this likely references statements by the Defenders that decisions about Shockoe Bottom should be black-led*).

Me: What voices do you see as not being as acceptable?

Respondent: As I said earlier it was one of the first and earliest and largest Jewish settlement in the country.

Me: The identity of Shockoe Bottom gets reduced?

Respondent: It's going to be reduced to this one thing. It was the center of slavery. Well, yeah, it was that. It was home to a great many diverse people and before that it was home to a people that we completely wiped off the planet. It was an industrial center and it was a commercial center and it was a residential center. And I'm afraid that what is going to happen is that understanding the importance of Shockoe Bottom is going to get reduced to this one thing. And I think it needs to be balanced because the converse of it is that we've done a great job until recently of completely ignoring the connection to the slave trade as part of the history of Shockoe Bottom and that wasn't right either."

Several other white historians, historic architects, and archaeologists also expressed this unease about the dominance of the slave trade narrative in the city. Bill Martin, Director of The Valentine, pushed back generally against the concept that Richmond's history was a mostly-negative narrative. After

acknowledging the centrality of the topic of slavery, he continued "...but is our history 90% dark? That discounts these amazing families, the amazing lives and families and part of that is we don't talk about the central role of family.

Because... everything that we do is really centered around what we believe about ourselves, and what we believe about ourselves is rooted, whether we are humanists or not, is based on a set of values that is mired in the muck of our family. Of the fate of those who've come before us. So whether we're Muslim, Christian, or Jewish, there's sets of big ideas." Among people of color whom I interviewed, I did not get the same sense of concern about undeserved negativity regarding the city's history, but there was an enthusiasm about learning more about other archaeological subjects – especially the Native stories. There was a parallel that was drawn, implicitly and sometimes explicitly, between the way enslaved and native history had been hidden from the Richmond landscape and narrative.

Dr. Shawn Utsey, the black African-American Studies and Psychology Professor whose documentaries so vividly publicized archaeological tragedies in the city, defined his feelings of outrage upon first seeing the VCU-ARC collections in the VCU storage facility and suggested that Richmond's avoidance of its slave trade history had precipitated other types of historical suppression:

"But Richmond was significant because of its role in the slave trade. The archaeology that is available in that context makes Richmond like no place in the world. But because of the nature of that, *people won't touch it*. Even Native American archaeological interests are abundant here. When I went to the warehouse in the bottom to get the remains for the African Burial Ground, I saw boxes and boxes of Native American stuff. I mean

literally arrowheads and other kind of artifacts that they had gotten from other digs in the area. In fact, they probably still have it there because there was an archaeologist center that had been very active. When they shut them down, they boxed everything up. That should be illegal too. How do you just like box stuff up because you were defunded and now it's like you've thrown history away? You've thrown information away. It seems criminal. *It seems like you've disrupted the stories that people should be connected to*".<sup>49</sup>

While many people I spoke with from many walks of life embraced the potential of history and archaeology to reveal suppressed histories, for some I spoke with this made scholarly results less trustworthy rather than more. Unsurprisingly, the majority of people I heard expressing this view were white men, predominantly older, and predominantly from avocational history organizations. In a response to a question I asked about whether Richmond understood its Revolutionary War history well enough, a respondent from the Revolutionary War Roundtable commented that: "Apparently the teaching of Revolutionary history has declined in our public schools along the same way that teaching all other American history has declined. The schools teach political correctness very well but kids no longer seem to know anything about the history of their country. Teaching history can require reading and thinking, which takes away precious time from tweeting and playing with smartphones in general. The people who run public education promote their own political agenda and want to turn young people into 'useful idiots' who will one day think and vote the way they do."

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<sup>49</sup> Interview with Shawn Utsey, December 15, 2015.

At this point in the city, recognizing Shockoe Bottom as the most archaeologically sensitive area of the city has become a mainstream view that is shared by a variety of different people with a variety of political perspectives and viewpoints. A belief in the area's significance, or even an interest in studying the history of the enslaved and enslaved labor in Richmond, is no longer (if it ever was) always aligned with a political viewpoint that recognized the modern implications of this exploitation; was anti-racist; or even that was non-racist. In an interview with an anonymous ASV member, he mentioned wanting to see Lumpkin's Jail excavated, but also wanted to see a broader archaeological push in the Bottom because of the extent of the slave trade and its influence there (much as the Defenders do, but with very different implications):

Respondent: Well, I have a very good friend who was a very senior vice president [at Davenport and Company, a Richmond insurance company], and he – if he isn't antebellum, I will eat your hat. If you could snap your fingers, he would go back – poof! – in a minute. In. A. Minute. He spends a lot of time at the Confederate Museum and so forth. I know him very, very well, and I had heard some things, and I always question, "How in the world can a company, an insurance company, a financial company start in the middle of a war and survive? That doesn't make sense. There's got to be something else going on." And this is what happened: they owned slaves, they dealt in slaves, and they rented them out, which is what is so interesting about this... There were not enough cabinetmakers, carpenters, whatever you want to call them who worked in wood, there were not enough of those people here in colonial Virginia to do all that work. Who did it, right? The slaves did it. Very few of them were, in fact, free slaves – they were owned by somebody and rented out. So, to me, when we start talking about the jail, well, you know ... the whole thing of the slave jail, it was terrible and so forth, let's face it. But the thing is, people could go there and rent somebody. For a day, or whatever. And go downtown, some of the street corners right now today, tomorrow morning at 8



o'clock, and see how many black men are standing on the corner waiting to go to work.

Me: Do you think that there's a connection there?

Respondent: I think it's just a long, long spread of people being employed that way over the years. These people, they work one day at a time. And it's one of the – I use the term "fallacy," if you will – of the Negro culture, if you will, that, when they get a payday, they go and they spend almost all the money that they have. Because they get things that they want? How many people on welfare today have cell phones, and they can't buy food? And it's not just the black culture, but the Latinos are the same way. People who have nothing, when they do get something, they, as Grandmother used to say, burns a hole in your hand, or burns a hole in your pocket. Anyway, I think that we need to explore the entire Shockoe Bottom area, if you will, relative to what these people that, again – who were the people working at the shipyards? They weren't all white technicians. They were – you know, who cut the timbers and so forth, this type of thing? Who [held] the logs and all these things? And it all ties in. And it's the same things with – how were these plantation owners so successful? Why were they so wealthy?

Me: What is it you think is so important about knowing the answers to those questions?

Respondent: To prove that the ... that the ... I'm trying to differentiate between black people and slaves, that people of African culture weren't exploited as much as they lead you to believe, because especially when you think about indentured servants, how many Caucasian people came from Great Britain who were indentured servants? Hundreds of them, thousands, and they lived poor. They absolutely lived poor.

This respondent understood the history of what went on in the Bottom, and the particular dynamics of urban slavery, fairly well. However, when asked to grapple with the implications of this system he pivoted to common defensive tropes of white supremacy: a focus on the early history of white indentured servitude and the concept that non-whites needed the structure of enslavement due to their inherent nature.

#### 4.4 Economic Characterizations of Archaeological Material and Spaces

The economic value and economic cost of archaeology is also a topic where archaeology is relatively prioritized, assessed, and in some cases limited. Richmond is well-known among its citizens as a place with substantial financial challenges, both now and over much of the twentieth century. Its school buildings – stately historic buildings with one of the oldest average construction dates in the nation – have been under-maintained and currently need a daunting \$800 million in infrastructural improvements (Mattingly 2017). Despite fairly high per-student expenditures in city public schools, the schools are in perpetual need for greater financial investment because around 40% of Richmond children live below the crushingly-low poverty line, and the proportion of children living in poverty in Richmond public schools is substantially higher (Kleiner and Demaria 2016). For more than 30 years, Richmond has invested money in overhauling its combined sewer-storm water drainage system, which during heavy rains illegally releases untreated sewage into the James River and towards the Chesapeake Bay (Zullo 2017). This combined drainage system was common in historic cities, and Richmond still faces a bill of \$750 million to completely separate its sewage system from storm water drainage, having invested around \$900 million on the project already (Howson 2015a). The city also has a fairly high debt burden, and a financial audit by the State Auditor in 2017 described the city as indicating severe financial stress according to an analysis of the city's revenue, debts, assets, liabilities, and savings (Lazarus 2017b).

In some cases, this concern over the city's financial health has influenced what people are willing or interested in doing with city archaeological remains. Lyle Browning recalled about the canal boat excavation, "we had 2,000 people a day looking at us in those canal boats you know, in the summertime when we first did it. And it was finally successful, and I tried to use that as a bully pulpit. And it went nowhere. The city basically said: we have social programs we can't fund. We can't do this, we can't do that, how in the heck can we justify doing archeology? And so, I was like okay, that's the way it is, so we'll continue doing our you know, volunteer stuff."<sup>50</sup> Commonly, this focus on the city's core economic struggles has been twinned by what observers see as a short-sighted focus on the enrichment of a few private businesses over the long-term economic interests of the whole city as well as over cultural patrimony. Former ACORN co-founder David Herring commented, "Richmond has always been a town that has been run by developers...So we are a town that is the tail wagging the dog as opposed the city taking control of itself and its own identity and saying this is what's best based on economic impact studies and tourism studies and all sorts of studies that could be helpful to see how all that could benefit us."<sup>51</sup>

During interviews I asked a series of questions about what respondents were worried about losing if archaeological research was not done before areas were disturbed and how they felt about the fairness of using city funds to pay for archaeological research. These questions aimed at understanding value by understanding cost, both of performing expensive archaeological research and of

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<sup>50</sup> Interview with Lyle Browning, November 9, 2015.

<sup>51</sup> Interview with David Herring, November 2015.

losing this information if the work was not performed. The majority of my interviewees believed that some public funds should be spent on archaeology, but generally thought holistically about how archaeology should be ranked with other priorities. One common sentiment was that the city government spends so much on so many things (often wastefully or misallocating resources) that funding archaeology is a comparatively good value. Another sentiment was that the function of government was not essentially to run a profit or generate money, but it was to raise the quality of life in the municipality. One quote that sums up the approach of many progressives to this question was Gregg Kimball, Director of Public Services and Outreach at the Library of Virginia and a white historian who now co-chairs the Monuments Commission: “There's the constant drumbeat that we should operate like a business, which is ridiculous, because we are not a business. Government is not a business. Government exists to make citizens lives richer and better, and richer and better doesn't necessarily mean a bottom line. There are certainly core things like education. But, certainly if we can spend \$8 million on a Redskins training camp that gets used what, a month of the year, I think we can probably afford to do some other things, and who's to say those things couldn't coexist?” This closely mirrored (down to the boondoggles mentioned) the comments of a black activist who worked on reclaiming the Richmond African Burial Ground: “I think they should spend funds. Well, like right now, and it's funny like you just said that because the paper was talking about the bicycle race [the 2015 UCI World Road Cycling Championships that the city had spent millions preparing for]...but anything [then-Richmond mayor Dwight]

Jones do, to me, I don't know what kind of business person he is because the Redskin's Training Camp, the training center, anything Jones do, he just give away the whole city. He just give away the keys to the city so he might as well give some keys away to us for archeology. That's how I feel about it."<sup>52</sup>

Others, particularly those who had been in the city for more than twenty years, were more circumspect about the city government's ability to bankroll archaeological or historical research. Bill Bjork, a white avocational archaeologist who had been a Richmond City Schools principal before his retirement, spoke about the difficulty of justifying the expense of archaeology when the school administrators don't have books or chairs, and also commented on the hierarchical distribution of funding if it did come: "When you say well we've got \$10 million to spend on archaeology, where will it go? It will go to archaeology business types, okay. It won't go to the volunteers, or to the guys digging holes, but it will go to people who promote archaeology and firms that make their living doing that, and that's fine-"<sup>53</sup> but he put himself in the shoes of school principals who would have a problem seeing that happening if Richmond students continue to have inadequate school facilities. A retired black Unitarian-Universalist congregant, who had been active in the more recent Shockoe stadium debate, placed her support of a Devil's Half-Acre development as predicated on its economic feasibility. "I'm not really married to the park idea. I just want responsible development that's thinking about the past, and whether it's – for me, it's more a public art kind of thing. The park costs less than anything else you can

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<sup>52</sup> Interview with anonymous individual, November 2015.

<sup>53</sup> Interview with anonymous individual, December 2015.

build, and the people who are putting this forward don't have any money behind them."<sup>54</sup>

This clear concern with the financial feasibility of long-term plans undertaken by the city was threaded through the comments of most of the people I spoke with about any planned development in Shockoe Bottom. Though it would be tempting to characterize the Richmond situation as “big business, development types” against “socialist, abstract value of history types,” most of the activists or protesters who had been most strongly in opposition to the RevitalizeRVA development plan spoke strongly in favor of projects in the Bottom having an economic development component. Their primary concern was *what* the development would be and *who* it would benefit. Folks they did not want to see benefit from the development included Louis Salomonsky, a developer widely perceived to have misused historic tax credits, who had a history of historically-inappropriate projects, and who (few people would let me forget) spent time in prison for bribing a City Councilor in 2003 (Walters 2003). Other city developers were also seen with some suspicion, and opposition to the baseball stadium in the press in 2013-2015 and earlier also substantially focused on the fact that nationwide, these baseball stadium construction projects enrich the developers at the cost of the funders – which in this case would have been the City of Richmond taking on an additional \$80 million dollars of public debt onto an already perilous municipal debt burden (Bell and Wight 2008). Folks many of the stadium opponents would have wanted to see benefit from a Shockoe Bottom

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<sup>54</sup> Interview with anonymous individuals, December 2015.

development included people telling local history, the historical Shockoe Bottom and Church Hill community (traditionally majority black and lower income), black-owned businesses that might have received a portion of the construction proffers, local public school children, and the city government itself (if that translated into more funding for projects related to community uplift, school improvements, and amenities).

Additionally, it is clear that perceptions of the cost of archaeology is what weighs most heavily in the minds of some other stakeholders, especially when their community concerns relate more to getting basic services and support to combat the city's more pressing issues like educational, health, or policing needs. Delores McQuinn, displeased at the question I asked of panel members at a May 2014 Richmond Square forum on a potential slavery museum, listed the cost of the excavations at Lumpkin's Jail as a reason archaeology should not be planned for as a requirement for all history museum plans. At the same event, Juan Braxton linked historical understandings with the need for economic development and expressed frustration with both the opposition to development he perceived among preservationists and the inadequacy of the city's historical knowledge:

"I'm a business owner of a couple of businesses down in Shockoe Bottom. And I think that all business leaders are faced with the burden, whether you want it or not, of being a leader in your community. And being a black businessman, it's kind of hard when we're not taught our history, right here in Richmond. *And it's rather embarrassing when we have to come to meetings, and we find out more about our history in opposition to growing our city.* And we keep hearing the word "collaboration" tonight, which I'm glad that we're hearing, because at some point, history

and development have to learn to work together. Because just like black history isn't taught in our schools, neither is economic development. And we have a lot of history, and we want it to be told. But how's it going to get paid for? I think if anybody's heard me speak at City Hall about the ballpark, I'm not a baseball fan. *But if playing baseball will enlighten me, my son and now my grandson on the history of our people that took place in our city, where we're building our businesses, then play ball.* You know. Play ball. Because economic development and history at some point have to come together" (RTD 2014).

Braxton's frustration here – "we find out more about our history in opposition to growing our city" – echoes some of the racial tensions between preservationists and members of the Richmond establishment politicians discussed in the previous section and in the next chapter. It is representative of a periodic sense that preservation groups, especially predominantly white ones, will show up to stymie a project that might advance black communities while not sufficiently advocating for black preservation interests. This sense was recently explicit in the debate over the Maggie Walker statue in 2017, when on the cusp of the statue's completion a conservation protest arose in opposition to cutting down an old live oak and closing park of historic Brook Road to create the statue's plaza (N. Oliver 2016).

However, even as an incomplete and facile measure of value, the potential of the city's archaeological resources and historical places is clearly a hope and a goal expressed, not only by the City's entrenched and defensive Economic Development program, but also by progressive and independent activists who most want to see sites of slavery publicized and revealed. There is a strong underlying message that the city's archaeology relates directly to histories of exploitation: of native groups, of the working class, and most



especially of enslaved and segregated black laborers. Fundamentally this exploitation has an economic character and a financial legacy. While Shockoe activists and community participants strongly condemned the use of the slave trading district land for the profit of faceless, white-owned entities (the Richmond Squirrels, Hyatt, developers, etc.), they also see any economic development projects in the city as having a responsibility towards small business incubators, entrepreneurial training, community grants, and other tools to encourage black business development.

There are many shades of Maggie L. Walker's strain of black advancement through capitalism, with her multi-pronged focus on standing up to injustice, self-reliance, and community uplift, in the economic arguments swirling around archaeological and historical sites that are of particularly intense focus today. The calls come to pay local community thinkers as consultants for their contributions to the design of Shockoe Bottom, to hire firms with more than a token black representative, to ensure that when companies profit from city investments those firms are commonly black-owned firms, and to recognize and provide reparations for the enslavement and free labor that constructed so much of the city.

These arguments are especially interesting to see emerging from groups led in large part by the Virginia Defenders for Freedom, Justice, and Equality, whose politics are embedded in Graeberian anarchism and The Occupy Movement. This growing request for economic equity has contributed to the fact that some aspects of the city's archaeology are seen in explicitly economic terms

due to its perceived value as interpretive material for museum development. However, this economic value of historic preservation and archaeology has also sprung from the movement's embrace of heritage tourism as a means of providing a sustainable tourism alternative to baseball visitation. Ultimately, questions of archaeological economic value in the city do not seem to center on removing the financial assessment from the equation entirely but in ensuring that the financial costs and benefits are considered in a way that represents activists' feelings of deserving and undeserving groups in the city. Clearly, archaeology's value to contemporary Richmond is inextricable from its political meanings. The next chapter will continue the consideration of the value of Richmond's archaeology, with a focus on its political meanings and values.

## 5 Archaeology's Political Valence and Understandings of Archaeological Value

To some extent, the archaeological values systems identified by previous theorists like Darvill seem to downplay the importance of archaeology as a political tool when they describe how value in archaeological resources can be characterized. Similarly, municipal archaeology scholarship often portrays city governments as being grassroots or representing the will of the people in a fairly uncomplicated way. Graeber, on the other hand, recognizes the political life that academic work leads, and he understands the existential tension of academics like himself who choose to carry out their scholarly work in service to a cause with strong political valence:

“Apparently, it seems difficult within the discipline to conceive of a fellow scholar as both a theorist and activist at the same time, leading to the rather confusing situation (at least it was confusing for me) where my deployment of even quite arcane elements of value theory to political questions, or even to develop them in mass-circulation venues like Harpers (e.g., Graeber 2005a, 2007a) sparked much more interest and debate among a broader public than any of my scholarly essays on similar topics (2005b, 2005c, 2006, 2011) did within the academy” (Graeber 2013).

This theorist/activist discomfort, specifically within anthropology, is represented in certain ways by the Richmond situation. Academic archaeologists have not been so active in the past several decades, and most of the recent work has either been federally-mandated or come out of a city initiative (Lumpkin's Jail). The ways in which archaeological professionals, political figures, and various community constituencies value archaeological research can be quite different

and therefore these stakeholders react to various projects and potentials in very distinct ways.

This section explores the intersection of archaeological value with political goals; with powerful city institutions; with representations of humanity; and with the moral imperatives of truth and reconciliation. It explores the role that archaeologists play in replicating or undermining this value, and the awkwardness that often emerges when archaeologists are asked to be active participants in political debates or to comment on topics that move beyond archaeological questions to those of politics, morality, or urban planning.

#### 5.1.1 Shockoe Bottom: Historical Memory, Urban Planning, and the Value of Place

“It is important to recognize that for the people who live in a community that has an archaeological site, that site is something that may be encountered on a regular basis, long after the excavation itself has concluded. The site is part of their daily experience. As such, for local residents, *the importance of the excavation may be dwarfed by the importance of how the site and its information are subsequently treated.* How do the residents of the surrounding areas use the information gathered through archaeology, and how do they use the site itself? More to the point for this particular research, in what ways and to what effect do archaeological sites cross the boundary into the realm of community amenities, such as public parks, trails, memorial spaces or local museums?” (Appler 2011, 19, emphasis mine)

The neighborhood of Shockoe Bottom resonates deeply in a way that is impossible to reduce to a single site or issue. There are several characteristics of

the neighborhood that I believe contribute to this emphasis: its intimate connection with the slave trade, urban slavery, and human remains; its multivalent significance; and its chronological age and association as the original site of the town of Richmond. It was the part of the city first laid out as the town of Richmond in 1737, and in much of the public eye chronological age and historical significance are unduly entwined. Shockoe's early German and Jewish residents; its history of Civil War warehouses, hospitals, and prisons; its close connection with the canal and the river; the buildings with tentative associations with Edgar Allen Poe; the newly discovered histories of free and enslaved black tenements; all of these resources are valuable to some Richmond communities, and the diversity of these histories increases the chance of a particular resource sparking broad multi-constituent resonance. The association of Shockoe Bottom with the slave trade and the dependent industries has been covered previously (see Sections 3.6.3). However, Shockoe Bottom is also a black space because of the majority-black commercial bustle of the twentieth-century 17<sup>th</sup> Street market, for the considerable density of black-owned clubs and restaurants in Shockoe as compared with elsewhere in the city, and its proximity to majority-black neighborhoods of Fulton and North Church Hill in the city's East End. The gentrification and condoization of Shockoe Bottom is of concern to progressive and anti-racist activists, but is not yet complete and the area has a significance that it would likely not have if it was like black heritage sites are in Alexandria, considerably surrounded by million-dollar condo buildings and picture-perfect colonial restorations where occupants are overwhelmingly white. Other activists

and interested community members saw archaeological potential in Shockoe Bottom and Fulton with a very personal and familial connection. Kim Allen commented:

“...What’s of interest and what’s so unexplored, and so undocumented, and so out of awareness is the African American presence in the city and the surrounding areas. So there all kinds of places that can be explored, archeology that would excite people because they probably have personal ties to those places. And they’re hungry for knowledge of what their history is, and what life was like for their family members, and why. Like I’m curious about like the move from Hanover to the city. What was that like? I understand that...there were these sort of highways or pathways that many of us took to come into the city. So many of us, I think, from where my people were from in Hanover, settled in Sugar Bottom near Fulton Hill. And so there are these communities that were built and that have been bulldozed now, but what was life like for people who lived there and what can the archeological record tell us about that, about my family? People want to know about my family. So, I think that’s an opportunity to bring people into archeology who would not normally, who wouldn’t otherwise be interested in archeology, when it’s very personal.”<sup>55</sup>

In some situations, several of these sentiments regarding Shockoe Bottom are expressed by people in one breath. A black female friend in her 60s recounted her experience working at the hat factory in Shockoe as a young woman and commented to me “I want to know about the slaves that were brought here, the freed and enslaved, and I would like to know about the other ethnic groups that were also part of the group of Richmond, that I’ve found out recently...like the Jews, and the Germans. And the Native Indians, you can’t leave that off, because I have strong bloodlines. My grandmother’s mother was

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<sup>55</sup> Interview with Kim Allen, December 18, 2017.

an Indian... Shockoe Bottom is gonna be my topic for Richmond, because so much happened there, and we don't know a whole lot, so if we don't get to have an archaeology dig, or other sites excavated, then we're not going to know a lot of the story."<sup>56</sup> This individual is someone who became attached to the area and RVA Archaeology through activism related to the burial ground, stadium, and now the memorial park concept, but her interest is not limited to these politically-active archaeological topics and the experience has broadened her hopes for archaeological work to be done city-wide.

One aspect of how the materiality of place develops the value of archaeological remains in Richmond is through commemorative, mourning, and political events that occur in spaces valuable for what they hold archaeologically. In Shockoe Bottom, recognition of the space's challenging history occurs in tandem with both officially-sanctioned and unofficial historical tours that encourage attendees to understand city history on the sites where it happened. This started with the work of Elvatrice Parker Belsches, a black public historian who wrote the Richmond book for the Black American series and researched the city's black history before there was academic scholarship or media coverage on the topic (Belsches 2004). The pan-African spiritual and cultural organization Elegba Folklore Society has expanded this focus through regular tours of the Trail of Enslaved Africans (their name for the city Slave Trail). In these events, participants retrace steps taken by coffles of transported slaves from the dock at Ancarrow's Landing across Mayo's Bridge to the Shockoe market area dense

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<sup>56</sup> Interview with anonymous individual, November 16, 2015.

with auction houses and jails (Willis 2016). This direct experiencing of the city's history is closely linked with the way in which communities in Richmond, especially progressive ones seeking greater engagement with the archaeology of slavery, advocate for particular types of public interpretation and urban placemaking at archaeological sites. It also echoes other examples of the physical retracing of lost or invisible landscapes often associated with indigenous histories or a history particularly disturbed by the disjuncture of colonialism. These include the District Six museum, a South African museum dedicated to a neighborhood displaced and buildings razed to the ground when it was declared a white group area in 1966 (Rassool 2007). Because so much of the place being commemorated no longer exists, the museum exists as a launching place for commemorative walks and parades that retrace the path of the earlier street grid and place. A staff member from this museum, Bonita Bennett, spoke in Richmond at the April 14-15<sup>th</sup> Healing History Conference, and several Shockoe Bottom activists with whom I spoke at the conference saw this as a good model for a way to reconnect Shockoe with its slave trade sites and fabric.

In Shockoe, the placement of memorial, scholarly, and protest events at site like the Richmond African Burial Ground began during the years of activism aimed at pressuring the city to reclaim the space from use as a parking lot and has continued now that the site is a stop along the official Slave Trail and has (semi) regular city landscaping and maintenance. These events focus on Shockoe Bottom as a place where ancestors were buried and as a critical site to discuss the resistance of Richmond's enslaved community through the Burial



Ground's association with the rebellion leader Gabriel. They include a pan-African celebration spearheaded by the African Ancestral Chamber called Ancestor Day, which focuses on generations who fought for civil rights; endured and resisted slavery and Jim Crow; perished in the Middle Passage; and those who lived their lives in Africa. A 2016 Ancestor Day celebration linked the African Burial Ground with the desecration of black bones at MCV, and included a procession to the pavilion outside the school's Egyptian building where libations were poured for the individuals whose remains were used for autopsy practice in a building nearby. The Defenders' October Gabriel Forum is timed to memorialize the execution date of Gabriel and several other rebellion leaders, and uses the Richmond African Burial Ground due to its status as one of several sites where Gabriel might have been executed and interred. Free Egunfemi leads the #untoldrva historical interpretation project, which has put up QR codes including at the Burial Ground that link with audio content describing historical information that Egunfemi feels is currently missing from the dominant historical narratives. Many of these groups came together in April 3-4<sup>th</sup> 2015 for the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Emancipation in Richmond, where events included processions and events intended to highlight self-determination, resistance, suffering, and liberation in the Bottom (Howson 2015b).

Each of these groups underlines the importance of the story of Gabriel and the Richmond slave rebellion. This connection with Gabriel, which Ana Edwards has championed for over a decade, brings together the importance of

narratives of resistance, community self-determination, and the potential of archaeological and anthropological investigations as one element of this work:

In Richmond we tell the story of Gabriel to school-aged children so they do not learn that “no one” fought back against slavery; and because they are taught that they can’t “really” change anything. We tell it to adults because THEY need to understand that resistance was a daily occurrence; that men, women and children fought back in thousands of small ways. We are in the middle of the reclamation of the oldest municipal burial ground in Richmond for free and enslaved Black people because of its broad historical significance to the history of Richmond, because of the knowledge to be gained through archaeological, anthropological and sociology investigations, and because of the need for Richmond to engage a process of self-determination as modeled by Black New Yorkers for the NY African Burial Ground (Edwards 2008).

The recent community alternative to the baseball stadium, the Memorial Park idea advanced by the Sacred Ground Historical Reclamation Project, is a project of memorialization and urban placemaking that seeks to create an urban park that references the historical route of the original Shockoe Creek; commemorates the sacred space of the Richmond African Burial Ground; creates an evolving place for public art; and connects Broad Street, the Main Street train shed, and the 17<sup>th</sup> Street market space (Figure 19). In each of these examples, the power of the space emerges from its status as a site where history occurred; where bodies were buried; where miseries were endured. The materiality of these spaces is explicitly referenced in remarks and offerings in spiritual ceremonies.

The 2015 Defenders version of this plan repeatedly stressed that the black community should be the primary voice in deciding on the park’s final approach.

It recommended that a Center for Truth and Reconciliation should be part of this plan, in order for the Memorial Park to have a redemptive element as well as economic and cultural impacts (Virginia Defenders 2015). The impact of sustained activism in support of the Memorial Park has led the narrative of the importance of better understanding Shockoe Bottom's history to be espoused by a larger group of constituents in a way that simultaneously broadens the interest in the area and challenges the Defenders' characterization of Shockoe Bottom as a space where the black descendant community's voice should be primary (Virginia Defenders 2015). The University of Massachusetts' Center for Design Engagement design plan for the Memorial Park cites Bob Deans, the white author of *The River Where America Began: A Journey Along the James*:

*"It is holy ground, not only to the descendants of those who are buried there, but to every American everywhere. Black, white, Latino or otherwise, we all stand on those shallow and unmarked graves. The people laid to rest there laid the cornerstones of this country with their bare hands. We prosper on the foundations they laid. Our freedom rests, in no small part, on the freedom they were denied.*

We owe them a debt we can never repay. We can, though, remember. We must choose to do so.

If we can't tell that story in Richmond, the seat of so much of the history we share, we betray the debt we owe to our forebears and devalue the inheritance we leave to our children. This is an essential part of our national journey, our struggle to be free" (Bob Deans in Krupcznski and Page 2017, iv).

To some extent, the focus of Shockoe Bottom as a community space, a potential community amenity, has begun a process of equalizing how Shockoe Bottom is

apportioned, of diluting and negating the Defenders' long-term message that black voices in Richmond should be primary to deciding Shockoe's future.

The Memorial Park Plan concept seeks to develop a proactive development recommendation for the Bottom in the wake of the baseball stadium's defeat. Because of the ongoing work by the Defenders and others, the 2013-2015 stadium proposal was accompanied by more considerable advocacy from state and nationwide preservation organizations than had previous iterations. As discussed in Section 3.6.3, Preservation Virginia, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation all expressed concern about the project. Preservation Virginia and especially the National Trust for Historic Preservation have emphasized the implications of the project for the ongoing character of the neighborhood and the importance of genuine community engagement. In 2016, the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the Defenders convened additional meetings in conjunction with the University of Massachusetts Center for Design Engagement, aimed at further developing the specifics of the Memorial Park proposal (Russell 2016). The resulting plan includes a recreation of the Shockoe Creek; digital interpretations and light projects for images and interpretation of public history; and a sacred reflective space on the African Burial Ground (Figure 19). It includes plans for archaeological investigations and outreach within a suite of progressive education and urban planning initiatives:

We propose making investment in education a central component of what happens next in Shockoe Bottom...

we propose that the major institutions – VUU, Virginia Commonwealth University, and the University of Richmond – collaborate to create a Center for Building Arts and Sustainable Development in the Seaboard Building, a place where young people, and recently incarcerated individuals, can learn the varied vocations of architecture, historic preservation, archaeology, public history, and sustainable agriculture so that they can continue the work of preserving, interpreting, and adaptively reusing Richmond’s rich history, and building a sustainable city (Krupcznski and Page 2017, 21).

Due to community discussion of this plan and repeated political advocacy efforts by the Defenders and others, during the 2016 Richmond mayoral election, all of the major candidates went on record supporting the plan in concept (Lazarus 2016b).



*Figure 19 - Plan of Community Memorial Park Plan, including commemorative materials for Gabriel and the Burial Ground (6 & 7), interpretation of the Devil's Half-Acre (3), and the footprints of slave trade buildings (12) (Krupczynski and Page 2017)*

The presumption of archaeological integrity in the Bottom, the resulting use of these spaces for spiritual events, and the community advocacy to develop urban planning processes to preserve and commemorate it has been a challenge for many archaeologists. This is especially the case from a cultural resource management where archaeological work resolutely does not prescribe a specific development result – and where archaeologists continue to struggle to make sure their industry does not fall victim to anti-regulation narratives that cite

archaeological research as a reason projects are derailed. Claiming archaeological importance as a reason why projects must not be done, or must be done differently, is an approach many archaeologists find risky. At the same time, though, it is clear that the general unwillingness of archaeologists to take positions on public planning projects like the Memorial Park has in many ways limited the types of engagement and trust that are possible with archaeologists and the Richmond community. For many groups, caring about the history of Shockoe Bottom requires caring about its material future, its landscape within urban planning, and especially with their moral position that archaeological human remains should not be relocated and their presence should demand the consecration of the site as a recognized place of mourning. While most archaeologists in CRM and government regulation recognize the moral aspects of sites of burial, many have also participated in cemetery relocation projects or are generally unwilling to make public statements that relate to community morality rather than archaeological specifics.

As Appler has pointed out, what is critical in Shockoe Bottom's archaeological value is not only what discoveries might be made in advance of a construction project, but also whether such discoveries would be allowed to have durable impact on the landscape, whether they would lend extend their materiality to becoming permanent sites of slave trade memorialization, and whether the archaeology could be brought to bear on the question of what the correct urban planning decisions might be for such an area. This is an awkward and uncomfortable place for archaeologists to find themselves. In 2014 when

RVA Archaeology was formed, the initial core group was careful to state that regardless of whether the baseball stadium was built eventually, the project should include an initial archaeological review. Our statement at a press conference, held at 18<sup>th</sup> and Grace Streets on May 27<sup>th</sup>, 2014 in the lead up to the city council decision, included an emphasis that the stadium proposal “represents a critical opportunity for the city of Richmond to truly engage with its archaeological resources in a meaningful way.” While some in the group’s leadership were initially sanguine about the possibility of the stadium being built, others (including myself) opposed it for reasons that included the project’s implications for archaeological resources but also related closely to other moral and logistical priorities: whether the project was a good financial decision for the city; whether the stadium represented an effort to hide a challenging history under rampant commercialism; what the plan would do to the historical appropriateness of the Shockoe downtown; what the traffic implications would be when a game hosting 5,000 attendees let out on a Friday night in the already crowded Bottom.

Like other archaeologists, the leadership of RVA Archaeology sometimes struggled with this question of what types of endorsements best fit our original intent, how to be willing to engage with politically-sensitive topics but still keep our focus on the city’s archaeology, and how to engage in a way that allows us to raise awareness of archaeological resources across political and community divisions. This has especially been the case in terms of the Shockoe Bottom



Memorial Park proposal<sup>57</sup>. By clearly endorsing an urban planning position that precluded the creation of a baseball stadium even after the completion of adequate archaeological mitigation, we would be perpetuating a false and damaging narrative that archaeology is fundamentally incongruous with development. This was a concern Brock, Allen, and I were cognizant of as we first established the group, and which seemed like it had the potential to undermine our goals of improving archaeological stewardship in a city like Richmond where these types of business interests have always held so much sway. Many archaeologists now take positions on moral issues related to archaeological situations. Still, with a plan like this created intentionally outside the dominant power structures of the city (and therefore city repositories of information and expertise), it was easy to be uncertain about what the long-term impact of this park would be if it came to fruition and what impact an explicit endorsement of it would mean for archaeologists' ability to create coalitions around broader archaeological stewardship concerns in the city in the future.

So far, the Shockoe Bottom Memorial Park plan's prospects are uncertain. Current Richmond mayor Levar Stoney endorsed the memorial park plan during a candidate forum in 2016, but despite outreach by the Defenders he has not advanced or said anything regarding the plan publicly since taking office. In the

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<sup>57</sup> Ultimately, RVA Archaeology has not endorsed the park proposal in part because the group currently does not have the community-led, organized decision-making meetings that would make such an endorsement meaningful, and because we wanted to retain our advocacy focus on the issues we felt we were most qualified to address. Endorsing the park proposal relates much more to understandings of urban planning, economic development, and placemaking than our expertise, although once the plan was workshopped by the University of Massachusetts Amherst Center for Design Engagement with considerable input and community discussion this has been less critical.

months before this dissertation was finalized, the Rose Center for Public Leadership fellowship meeting was held, and initial recommendations to the city echoed many of the themes and specifics from the plan. Particularly, the group recommended a cohesive area plan, an emphasis on truth and reconciliation, and implementation of empowered community engagement processes that might be expected to incorporate community priorities like black economic empowerment (see Epilogue). A new light rail transportation plan created on the federal level created additional uncertainty in 2017, when they proposed constructing two large parking lot structures in part of the potential Memorial Park footprint (Lazarus 2017c). There has not generally been much intrinsic momentum towards the park from within city government, and there is almost certainly some against it, and some against it also on the state level. But having a proactive alternative to a stadium (endorsed by groups like Preservation Virginia and the National Trust for Historic Preservation) is important for driving inspiration and proactive movement in addition to negative reaction and intractability. However, figures from within city government are recommending a more comprehensive plan for Shockoe; consultants at SmithGroupJJR are advocating that the city create an Area Plan with public input; and Edwards' proposal for an exclusively-archaeological Old & Historic District for that area of the Bottom has received support thus far from the Commission of Architectural Review. The needle has moved away from ignoring the Memorial Park proposal as a fringe idea not worthy of addressing and with sustained activist work the memorial park plan may become mainstream – though what happens to the

park's explicitly political orientation if it does so is perhaps anticipated by the high extent of control exhibited by the city thus far in its urban planning.

#### 5.1.2 “Perfect Knowledge of This Offensive Place”: Burial Grounds, Sites of Conscience, and Restorative Justice

“I think that archaeology is our ticket to reconciliation. Archaeology can rescue this city from its racial tension. And that's because the black history is underground, most of it, and white history is above ground. Of course, it was built by blacks but they don't get any credit for it.”<sup>58</sup>

The conversations regarding Shockoe Bottom slave trading sites, the African Burial Ground, and the Medical College of Virginia Well, are where the intensity of community belief in archaeology's value is most intense in Richmond. There is some element of this that represents common trends and themes associated with how the general American public relates to archaeology; in a 2000 SAA poll, 18% of respondents thought of bones or digging up bones as soon as archaeology was mentioned (Ramos and Duganne 2000). However, the recognition of archaeology's value for these types of sites are more vital and urgent here than simple, slightly-macabre, curiosity.

This section explores some reflections and attitudes towards archaeological human remains and burial places in the city, where several recent high-profile projects have developed out of grassroots community activism and an attempt by individuals and organizations to secure basic respect, recognition, and restoration of burial grounds and human remains long known about but unmemorialized. The influence of a few academics – most prominently Dr.

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<sup>58</sup> Interview with anonymous white man, 60s, December 2015.

Michael Blakey's work on the New York African Burial Ground and Shawn Utsey's exposé documentaries – has influenced these responses. Also essential for understanding the debates and narratives around these sites is a wider understanding of how race, historic preservation, and major city institutions have become perceived in the city's political and social spheres over the past forty years – in some cases, it is the actions or inaction of particular groups in the city which combines with the unique significance of human burial places and bones to create flashpoints around city burial places.

This emphasis on sites of trauma or neglect of the humanity of a group of people is part of a larger conversation about “sites of conscience” and the underlying restorative justice concepts of truth and reconciliation. The International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, founded in 1999 and granted non-profit status in 2006, unifies over 200 museums, historic sites, and ‘memory initiatives’ in 55 countries that relate to genocide; slavery and human trafficking; incarceration; massacres; or other forms of inhumane treatment (Guidestar 2018; International Coalition of Sites of Conscience 2018). This movement and organization grew out of New York's Tenement Museum and from a desire to develop a network for sites that sought relevance in issues of contemporary human rights, while telling historical narratives that were unusually painful, charged, or messy (Sevcenko 2010). A place designated to be a site of conscience comes with an assertion that human actions on the site were so horrific, so indefensible, that they must become part of our moral memory in order to avoid similar occurrences. To further this learning, the organization also

funds restorative justice and truth and reconciliation processes to enable healing for the group or groups involved in the traumatic history. Since its development, these concepts have entered into the political advocacy language around sites that defy more conventional patriotic or uplifting narratives to encourage investment in preservation. Calls to action for the neighborhood by the Defenders, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and Preservation Virginia have used this description of Shockoe as a 'site of conscience' to spur interest and action for the site since the 2013 baseball stadium concept emerged (i.e. Nieweg and Leggs 2015). Ana Edwards reached out to the International Coalition for Sites of Conscience and gained a membership in the organization for the site of Shockoe Bottom in 2015.

The focus on archaeology as an important element within truth and reconciliation may be one reason why most individuals engaged with the value of archaeology appear to consider burial spaces such an essential element of archaeological investigation in the city despite having a fairly detached approach to burial grounds personally. In my semi-quantitative interview question about cemeteries and burial grounds, I was surprised at the number of people who differentiated between their personal and professional views on cemeteries. To a certain extent I would have expected this among white heritage professionals, even in the South where religious observance among the highly-educated is higher than in other areas of the country, but I found that this sentiment was also considerably present among black academics and black community members. This included some individuals who used the Richmond African Burial Ground for

spiritual or religious observations such as libation ceremonies; connecting with the ancestors; or mourning events for Gabriel.

As discussed in Section 3.6, the Richmond African Burial Ground became the focus of community activism opposing the site's use by VCU as a parking lot during the mid-2000s. Since the asphalt was removed, the site has become the focus of several community ceremonies, such as Ancestor Day, Emancipation Day, and a ceremony recognizing the life and death of Gabriel, the leader of a slave rebellion put to death on the site in 1800. Attitudes towards the burial ground vary somewhat between the predominantly white historians and archaeologists I interviewed and the black and white community activists. While community members were likely to emphasize the need for greater city investment in the site, some white historic professionals seem less convinced by the site's significance, believing that the area ceded to the city vastly exceeded the actual burial ground site, that many of the burials were under I-95 or destroyed by river erosion, or that the bodies are not likely to have survived given taphonomic conditions.

Another project in which archaeological remains commonly gain particular community traction when used to rehabilitate past wrongs is the East Marshall Street Well Project. Introduced in Section 3.5.3, this community engagement project has involved a series of public meetings that have introduced participants to the historical facts associated with the bones and their removal; provided choices and context regarding what further research could be done; and gained feedback on how the process for choosing the disposition of the remains should

be determined. In the wake of Utsey's *Until the Well Runs Dry* documentary, this had become essential; and VCU addressed this issue proactively in contrast to their handling of the contentious Burial Ground debate. The convened planning committee and consultants included Shawn Utsey, Michael Blakey and Ana Edwards, frequent critics of VCU actions during the burial ground process. In contrast to the city consultant processes, where there appears to be a predetermined outcome and little room for flexibility, community members generally have an upbeat perspective on how the East Marshall Street Well Project operates. One participant pointed out to me as evidence for their genuine intentions the fact that the consultant group, Justice & Sustainability Associates, had pushed the Family Representative Council to request more concessions from VCU on a particular topic. One member commented, "I just think the people who are on the Family Representative Council, I think we're going to do our due diligence. And it don't really matter from our perspective what VCU wants and what VCU don't want, because they ain't driving the ship. It's a partnership. So I think it's incumbent on the people around the table to really stay engaged from that perspective."<sup>59</sup> This process as of this writing is still ongoing, although the Council's draft recommendations have been released and include the construction of a permanent memorial and annual memorial events; reburial of the remains; investigation of the remains that remain interred below the Kontos building; DNA and microbial analysis on the remains; and a permanent role for the FRC in reviewing and selecting proposals for these endeavors. The report

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<sup>59</sup> Interview with anonymous individual, December 30, 2015.

suggests that the autopsied remains be reburied in Richmond African Burial Ground, or alternately at Evergreen Cemetery (Family Representative Council 2016, 6). There are some limits to the extent of this thoroughness, however; one topic of urgent interest among attendees of the initial public listening sessions was a full accounting and analysis of who within VCU's administration was responsible for the hasty removal of remains and the curtailed archaeological analysis; the recommendations of the FRC group do not reflect this. One possible reason is a lack of interest in this line of research by the present university administration. However additionally, the collection representing Eugene Trani's tenure at VCU includes several hundreds of boxes of materials, had been haphazardly stored in a basement for many years with minimal organization, and is still being processed. There is currently no finding aid, and the process of redacting sensitive information like social security numbers and other confidential materials is still ongoing.<sup>60</sup>

In some cases, the potential for archaeology to develop this deep community resonance with relation to truth and reconciliation still remains to be explored. Another unfinished archaeological project discussed in Chapter 3.5 involves the human remains recovered from the site of the former state penitentiary overlooking the banks of the James River. Similar to the East Marshall Street well remains, the human bones represented mainly African-American Richmonders who were involved in a harmful historical system (convict leasing during life, as opposed to medical dissection practice after death).

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<sup>60</sup> Personal communication with Jodi Koste, 3-1-2018.



Similarly, the remains have been sent to the Smithsonian and no report has been completed for the remains. Unlike the well, there has been no documentary made about the Penitentiary, and although academic and a children's book were written by Scott Nelson not many community members seemed familiar with them (Nelson 2006; Nelson and Aronson 2007). In contrast with the burial ground or the well, the penitentiary remains do not seem to have as much resonance of urgency or outrage, despite being in similar situations. In some cases community members, especially those active in historic preservation professional circles, had heard of this site prior to my conversations with them. For many, however, my inquiries were the first time this site had become known to them.

In interviews, some participants felt the Penitentiary skeletons should have similar disposition to bones from the East Marshall Street well, but this was expressed with a great deal less outrage than feelings regarding the African Burial Ground or the East Marshall Street well. One respondent suggested that perhaps there was less sympathy for people believed to be criminals, but for others the status of the East Marshall Street Well as an inherently unjust and illicit situation from the beginning made the situations distinct. One middle class black activist said, "Well, the Penitentiary remains make sense to me. That's where you live or die, if you were a prisoner or if you worked there. The well remains were stolen people." Ana Edwards noted lack of sympathy for prisoners, and partially blamed the disconnect or the challenge of burial sites and sites of conscience for the bureaucratic cultural resource management process: "There is less sympathy for prisoners. People who died in prison, oh well. That's just the

end of their story. And I also think that most of the time these remains are encountered as a result of some other process that had nothing to do with it. So the people who are doing the discovering, the people who are tasked with fulfillment of whatever destiny those remains are going to have in order that the project proceed, it's a small group of people. They're not going to document it – and even if it's not willful, it's just “Oh, this is my responsibility, I have to do this right” – they're not suddenly getting “Aha! Community issue! I'm going to take this out into the world”. The recognition that prisoners inherently got less sympathy, or that in some way the prison burials were where they should have been, was odd to me – in part, the Defenders group that many interviewees were part of originated as a political group opposing the prison-industrial complex. But even as interviewees recognized that the penitentiary was another historic wrong perpetrated against black bodies, these remains have not yet received the type of urgency as had other cases in the city.

Established during eras of segregation and a substantial lack of investment into black communities, Richmond's black cemeteries are another space in which community groups are responding to the historical treatment of African American bodies and burial spaces. East End and Evergreen Cemeteries, continuous historic black cemeteries along the northeast border of the city, have been the subject of restoration and cleanup efforts over the last decade or so. The final resting places of many of the most prominent black Richmonders of the Jim Crow era, including Maggie Walker, John Mitchell Jr, and Rosa Bowser, these cemeteries have long been located on private land and

their managing associations are now elderly and overwhelmed with the task. The cemeteries are a combination of English ivy, headstones, birdsong, old tires, plastic flower offerings, and sometimes used condoms from sex workers and teenagers who have been using the area for assignations. Veronica Davis, a black community historian, originated work to rehabilitate and tend to the cemeteries in the late 1990s, and wrote a book summarizing some of the history of Richmond's often neglected black cemeteries (V. Davis 2000). Since the mid-2000s, retiree John Shuck has been organizing volunteers several times a week to come out and clear the cemetery, taking loppers, and sometimes chainsaws, to the brush to clear the several thousand graves dotted over the undulating plateau on which the cemetery sits. On one morning at East End Cemetery, I struck up a conversation with an older white man, likely in his 60s, about his work at the cemetery. It turned out he had travelled from Massachusetts when he heard about the cemetery project on the news. He'd been staying in an RV and worked at the cemetery for several months. The man described how he'd been sitting at home before he'd travelled down, watching a lot of TV, not sure what to do that would feel productive in his new retirement. His work at the cemetery felt meaningful and gave him a sense of contribution and significance. The investments of time and activity at the cemetery are considerable – Shuck has recorded that 1,711 volunteer visits happened in 2016, and over 2000 in 2017 (Shuck 2017). Shuck, unlike Davis, is white.

The political and legal situation around these cemeteries has gotten much more fraught since the summer of 2016, when the Virginia Outdoors Foundation

offered a \$400,000 grant to purchase and restore Evergreen Cemetery and Delegate McQuinn began legislative efforts to provide \$40,000 annual for the upkeep and maintenance of Evergreen and East End Cemeteries (Lazarus 2017a; E. Robinson 2016). A white-staffed non-profit, Enrichmond Foundation, received the VOF grant and has taken ownership of Evergreen Cemetery, and cemetery volunteers have begun to complain that they are now treated like passive sources of labor instead of active stakeholders and collaborators. The Friends of East End Cemetery group held a public meeting and airing of grievances in June 2017, to challenge the anemic inclusion of volunteers and to request greater volunteer engagement in the process (Harrison 2017; M. P. Williams 2017). Recent engagements by Enrichmond have asked broader and more passive publics (e.g. anyone who receives their advertising) what they'd like to see in this burial space, placed deep in Richmond's impoverished East End: a café? Historic tours? Recreation? Fitness? Walking trails? Many associated with the process fear that the infusion of money into the cemetery cleanup efforts have laid the groundwork for a development land grab. However, large numbers of volunteers continue to visit the site and contribute their time and efforts.

Particularly within the context of the last ten years, perceptions regarding archaeology in Richmond have been heavily influenced by opinions and values related to human skeletons, burial places, and sacred or profane sites associated with suffering. With reference to the value of archaeological human remains and burial places in Richmond, the sense of need to rehabilitate desecrated spaces

and neglected African-American burial spaces is a powerful impetus for activities and advocacy in Richmond. This modern concern with rehabilitating these spaces of burial and interment, however, has been made necessary by a centuries and decades-long neglect of African-American burial spaces that is only now being addressed. The extent of the investment of considerable community time and protest to lobby city officials and execute activist actions to get to this point is also concerning. In some cases, the wider archaeological community has taken awhile to respond to growing community concerns regarding perceptions of disrespect towards the people and communities represented by these remains. One strong motivating force for active community members has been reclaiming and acknowledging the humanity of the enslaved and free Africans represented by these remains. Additionally, however, human remains also appear important to many as a barometer of how and whether powerful city institutions value black lives.

Within Richmond's racially-charged history around preservation and social justice, there is extensive entanglement with other political struggles and perceptions of the city's landscape of power. During conversations regarding what has gone wrong at the burial ground, and what was objectionable about bones being removed from the well in the 1990s, one constant is outrage regarding what is often characterized as intentional institutional silences in the city. Examples have included VCU's expansion into the historical black Carver neighborhood, or the VCU relocation of Pleasants' Quaker abolitionist house without thorough archaeological review (discussed in the next section). Similarly,

city organizations like the Slave Trail Commission or the city parks department are the target of criticism regarding the standard of care employed for some black cemeteries like Barton Heights, a city-owned black cemetery that until recent years was almost entirely untended. As Gregg Kimball from the Library of Virginia put it, “It’s interesting that the nexus is never quite made between [the fact that the Penitentiary human remains went to the Smithsonian and the work was never finished] and the way we treat black cemeteries in Richmond. Which is appalling.” Many black activists and scholars pointed to their own VCU ties as a reason why they felt they had to speak up about the African Burial Ground and well remains issues, because in some sense they would have felt complicit in the decisions made by VCU if they stood by silently. Though the boogiemans shifts from one situation to another, it is clear that when institutions are involved in a potential cover up or moral culpability, debates regarding human burial grounds and remains become charged by the city’s wider political landscape.

This use of human remains as a bellwether for social respect and for a voice in community decision making can be seen historically – in 1810, a freed black man called Christopher McPherson petitioned the city to replace the burial ground, which was reaching capacity and suffered several incursions from Shockoe Creek. His letter read in part, “Notwithstanding they had perfect knowledge of the situation of this offensive place, the rulers of the city had taken up out of her grave, last spring, a woman, a poor widow, the second day after she was buried, in her own bona fide ground on an eminence, and carried down to this mock of a grave yard” (McPherson 1855). The burial grounds and

skeletons of Richmond have long been a beacon to the much greater social inequalities underlying them, and is one reason why these spaces have in recent decades become such battlegrounds. Another reason has been the work of Michael Blakey on the New York African Burial Ground, which is well understood in Richmond activist circles due in some cases due the heavy publicity of the project in the 1990s and given his more recent presentations and participations in the city recently through the Remembering Slavery, Resistance, and Freedom Project, the East Marshall Street Well Project, and meetings with the Defenders.

A considerable amount of the activism surrounding Shockoe Bottom and the East Marshall Street Well is wrapped up with the concept of sacred sites, or of sites of conscience. Ana Edwards in 2015 nominated Shockoe Bottom to the position as an International Site of Conscience, emphasizing the inherent nature of this space as one associated with slave jails, the African Burial Ground, and the gallows where conspirators from Gabriel's rebellion may have been executed (Nieweg and Leggs 2015). As with the Lorraine Motel where Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated, or the Slave House (Maison des Esclaves) in Senegal, or the Japanese Internment Camp at Manzanar, this status as a site of conscience positions a visit to Shockoe Bottom as providing exposure to truths, histories, and artifacts that can be seen nowhere else, as part of a political and moral act to recommit oneself to opposing the racism and objectification that enabled the slave trade's activity in Shockoe and across the world. It also conjures up the need for interracial dialogue and healing, efforts that are offered through the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience group and that several local

Richmond groups. This focus is evident in activists' language around Shockoe Bottom, which to a considerable extent has been adopted (in words at least) by the city in its press releases and public statements. Jim Armstrong, a longtime activist with the Unitarian-Universalist Church and the Defenders, stated to the Rose Center presentation in 2018: "Fundamentally, this is a moral issue, and we need to say that out loud every time we talk about what's going to happen in Shockoe Bottom...This is a movement to accountability, maybe some reparations, moving towards reconciliation. And so we need to keep in mind, that this has to do with our souls as much as it has to do with our city" (M. P. Williams 2018). Additionally, though the focus on Shockoe Bottom as a sacred site has been common prior to the re-emergence of the baseball stadium proposal in 2013, Kim Allen recalled that until this point archaeology did not have this particular association. She commented, "The African American opposition to the stadium [in 2013] was primarily around it being a sacred site and our ancestors – 'we should honor the site because of that history'. It wasn't 'we should protect the site because of the archeological significance of it that is perhaps related to our ancestors or to the history of slavery'. So, this archeology argument I thought was an additional point of opposition to develop."<sup>61</sup>

This moral imperative, twinned with the emphasis placed on the materiality of archaeology, leads there to be a disjuncture, divided along lines of political access, regarding whether community members emphasize the truth-finding aspect of restorative justice or the reconciliation site more. Many progressive

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<sup>61</sup> Personal communication with Kim Allen, December 2017.



activists stress archaeology's potential to produce forensic, i.e. criminal, analysis of the past. Shockoe Bottom is the site of historical crimes, and archaeology might be a method to enumerating those crimes. Other groups, particularly the Slave Trail Commission, city politicians and their allies, and Hope in the Cities, emphasize the need for reconciliation. These approaches appear to prioritize preserving parts of Shockoe Bottom as a symbolic resting place and place of commemoration, like a battlefield or massacre site.

These different treatments, both with a high degree of moral reverence, have much different implications for future archaeological analysis in the area. According to the former philosophy, the focus should be on to understand the slave trade better through archaeological investigations, to seek for "smoking guns" or simply for deposits that provide additional social history detail to the neighborhood, and emphasis is placed upon creating developments and park spaces in ways that allow for periodic archaeological research. This is what the Sacred Ground Memorial Park plan calls for repeatedly, and in cases like the East Marshall Street Well Project when the 'damage' (the excavation of the bones) is already done, there is a clear hunger on the part of the engaged community for more information on historic topics and the ways in which historical truths have been suppressed. This also might have reverberations in terms of the shifting of perceptions of archaeology's value for activists: if there is a considerable excavation in the Bottom that creates great insights into post-Emancipation commercial establishments, or Richmond's colonial period, or Native occupation, will this blunt their interest? Likely, because it speaks to the

significance of the neighborhood, it will be another reason why it must be treated with the utmost care, but it might shift further archaeological investigations down the priority list of investments in the historical site.

On the other hand, Shockoe Bottom might end up treated more like a cemetery or battlefield, where excavations are taken off the table in the interests of not disturbing human remains at rest – a preference also expressed especially in the context of the African Burial Ground. In this case, archaeological remains retain value, but a sort of “existence value,” where material remains charge a place that is of religious or moral significance but where their potential for information is less fully realized. This perspective, with an emphasis on racial healing and recovery, is key to the perspective of the city’s Slave Trail Commission. Racial reconciliation and healing group Hope in the Cities (now a program office within an international racial healing organization, Initiatives for Change), was one of the sponsors of the inaugural Night Walk along the Slave Trail. Since the first resolution creating it, at one member of the commission has filled by staff at Hope in the Cities (currently Sylvester “Tee” Turner). Members of this group, including Turner, have been facilitators and organizers of some of the public meetings held in the city over the last several years like the Richmond Speaks process to develop the Lumpkin’s Jail site. Their relations with the more radical Virginia Defenders are testy; in many cases, representatives from Hope in the Cities are present to advocate for the city’s talking points while Virginia Defenders and their allies disrupt and challenge the proceedings.

There is not only a philosophical tension between these factions, both of which appear to believe in the transformative power of Shockoe Bottom's slave trade sites, there is also a clear power differential. Activist groups who see Richmond as a place where the crime of the slave trade is not yet adequately exposed have few resources and few reasons to feel that they are most empowered by collaborating more constructively with organizations that seem to pay them lip service while having political associations with powerful city groups. Hope in the Cities staff and city officials appear to be more motivated by the opportunity to reconcile and move forward in a way that inspires a physical construction project that will cement the site's status and its (and their) legacy. Individuals who emphasize the need to expose historical crimes repeatedly make the point in public meetings that in order to arrive at reconciliation, one must first uncover the truth. Those who emphasize reconciliation and moving forward argue that what Richmond needs now is to achieve reconciliation through unity and coming together for a common goal (a heritage destination associated with Lumpkin's Jail, which has considerable political and status implications for those advocating for it). The next section will describe further how this power dynamic, and several others in the city, has affected how Richmond communities interact with the city's archaeology and how they interpret the histories of these resources.

### 5.1.3 Intersections of Archaeology with Institutions and Public Relations Optics

"Archaeology at this point in our history... will draw more people into the history that we think is important, that we think is important for people to value, so I want to leapfrog from there to

say, gubernatorial elections or presidential elections, or mayoral elections. At a certain point in all of those processes, the rhetoric speaks to our values, our national values. And if you want people to participate, they have to feel that they're vested in it in terms of their values and their beliefs...I can't imagine that having national values that are fully capable of carrying the burden of their inconsistencies is something that wouldn't engage more people in the process, to make it do what it said it intended to do. *At this precise moment in history, as we're doing all this work, people are polarizing.*" (Ana Edwards, Chair of the Sacred Ground Historical Reclamation Project, Virginia Defenders).

In March 2017 during the audience question and answer session of a public event discussing the East Marshall Street Well Project, a white working-class woman stood up in one of the front rows and turned to face the audience, made up predominantly of first and second-year VCU medical students transplanted from other places and from largely privileged backgrounds. Somewhat nervously, but also clearly urgently wanting to convey to these students how she understood her city, she stated "As a waitress, a hair stylist, and a cook in your community, VCU has eaten up so much of what I love about this city. *Part of VCU is trauma.*" This theme has echoed over and over again since I first started coming to Richmond, in both public events and private conversation. Lack of care for archaeological remains, the poor treatment of particular sites and projects, and the resistance to certain types of archaeological investigations and topics: all of these patterns are seen explicitly and inextricably as part of larger conversations that must be considered and accounted for as Richmond worked to decide on other topics, such as what should happen to the MCV well remains or how the construction of the Devil's Half-Acre site should

proceed. Archaeology is seen explicitly in Richmond as a topic and a venue that is both highly politically active and that reflects how existing power structures have reproduced inequality and imbalances in education around certain historical topics. Particular city institutions are singled out repeatedly in these conversations: VCU and the city government especially.

One element of this political activity is that archaeology can have great value as a spectacle, which is related to the archaeology's materiality as discussed in Chapter 4.3. The impetus for the Lumpkin's Jail excavation came from preservation groups interested in opening a conversation around Richmond's slave history - the Alliance to Conserve Old Richmond Neighborhoods is often cited as the origin of this idea, which is ascribed as being initially proposed by David Herring (Walker 2009). It has now been taken on by city and state political leaders - the October 10<sup>th</sup>, 2016 meeting kicking off the SmithGroupJJR Lumpkin's Jail engagement process was a fascinating study in political credit-sharing and positioning. The ACORN group no longer exists and was not mentioned by the participants in the ceremony, which included Richmond mayor Dwight Jones, Delegate Delores McQuinn, Congressman Bobby Scott, Governor Terry McAuliffe, former Governor Bob McDonnell, several city officials, and representatives from the companies selected for the winning project bid. Instead, Jeanne Welliver credited Matt Laird repeatedly for his archaeological work (perhaps in response to the fact that neither he nor his firm were selected as the winning bid on the cultural resources project, and were not mentioned in the written materials about the event despite the use of images

from the excavation). Delegate McQuinn made special point to thank outgoing mayor Dwight Jones, a graduate of Virginia Union University which developed from the site's postbellum school, for his contributions. This event, part optimistic prelude to a ribbon-cutting and part opportunity to show moral leadership, was clearly one that politicians were eager to participate in and share credit for. Former Governor Bob McDonnell, who had only recently had his conviction for corruption overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court, spoke passionately and with some of the greatest detail about the horrors of the site and the need for substantive commemoration. The desire on the politicians' part to deliver a positive public relations story did not go untested; the speeches were repeatedly interrupted by Black Power activists protesting the prison industrial complex; the poor Richmond school conditions; and heckling politicians for their views on those and related issues.

Archaeology also spent considerable time as a political football in the midst of the debate over the Shockoe Bottom baseball stadium proposal. This culminated in the Informal City Council meeting on May 27, 2014, during which David Dutton provided the results of his long-anticipated Phase IA (desk-based assessment) study into the 8 acres included within the mayor's proposal for RevitalizeRVA. The council meeting had been well-advertised by stadium supporters and detractors ahead of time, and the chambers were more than half-full at the time Dutton began speaking after a summary by the Community Criminal Justice Board into incarceration alternatives for low-level city offenders. Dutton reviewed the area and highlighted several themes for which he found this

area significant: the slave trade; ethnic/cultural heritage; commercial development; and railroad history. There were a few particular surprises that afternoon. First, the number of slave trading sites Dutton had found in the area was considerably higher than anyone, including he, had anticipated. Second, Dutton had found evidence of significant free and enslaved black habitation on the interior of several blocks both north and south of Broad Street, suggesting that archaeological research in this area would have significant potential to provide insights into the lives lived by urban “rented out” enslaved and free Richmonders of color in the nineteenth century. Third, Dutton was unequivocal in his assertion that the area was archaeologically sensitive, despite concerns from members of the public that as a city consultant hired for a project with no federal requirement to perform archaeology, he would be pressured into diminishing the significance of his findings.

The members of city council spent 45 minutes after the presentation discussing the results and questioning Dutton about various aspects of the project and next steps, as this was the final push to secure allies before the formal City Council meeting during which the Resolution supporting the RevitalizeRVA development was up for its first vote. Council members were especially concerned with making sure the project contained considerable opportunity for public participation, drilling down on the project’s expected timeline, examining why Dutton did not anticipate finding burials given the churches present in the area, and examining questions of cost, which Dutton explained was undetermined until the treatment plan was completed. In addition,

however, the question and answer session also included some back and forth pointed questions between Kathy Graziano and Michelle Mosby (on record as supporting the stadium) and Parker Agelasto and Charles Samuels (on record as opposed), regarding the importance of the stadium to archaeology. While Agelasto stressed the importance of the historic space and giving it the examination it deserved, Mosby and Graziano asserted that the stadium was good for archaeology because without it, private development might occur without any investigations.

By the end of the session and the beginning of the formal City Council meeting, the chamber's seats were full and its aisles were overflowing with people who had attended to support and oppose the stadium idea. Members of the Defenders, Preservation Virginia, the Partnership for Smarter Growth, the National Trust, the Black Panther Party, the Nation of Gods and Earths, and many other groups were present and gave comment on the stadium idea. The chamber was full of signs: "No Stadium in Shockoe Bottom," or others in opposition, or people in support waving LovingRVA signs (another name for the development) or "I Support Shockoe Stadium".

In the end, there was no vote. It became clear to the administration during the recess before the meeting that the resolution lacked the votes to pass, and the resolution was withdrawn to avoid it failing. There were subsequent proposals floated around the idea for a baseball stadium, but in the end the administration lacked the coordination to answer basic questions of the councilors (often not related to archaeology, but flood control, traffic, finances, and other logistics) for



them to have the confidence to support the plan. In June the National Trust for Historic Preservation National Trust listed Shockoe Bottom as one of its Most Endangered Places, an extension of a similar listing Preservation Virginia had announced before the resolution was withdrawn. A preservation coalition including the Defenders for Freedom, Justice, and Equality; the Partnership for Smarter Growth; Preservation Virginia; the National Trust for Historic Preservation; and other organizations formed to advocate for a more community-engaged process that emphasized community economic development and appropriate development within a historic district that in 2016 was named an International Site of Conscience due to outreach by Ana Edwards. The stadium proposal had many issues with it, and many of the city councilpeople seemed supportive of a publicly-engaged archaeological process in the Bottom. The city administration's general rush for a quick development and lack of substantive answers on meaty questions – the appropriateness of the timeline and cost of the archaeology; the traffic control; how to purchase the parcels under private ownership; the details of the financing – was a major factor in the failure of the proposal. However, without the extent of public scrutiny from the many groups at play, it is possible that city politicians would not have pressed the administration for specifics in the way that they did.

It became evident in this process that there were a variety of different factors that limited the types of feedback on the archaeological plan that were being provided by archaeologists in the region. The first was that some groups were disinclined to provide comment due to the highly politicized nature of the

debate. A member of the local Archeological Society of Virginia chapter commented to me that “the ASV isn’t political,” when explaining that he’d provide his own feedback on the idea to be incorporated into RVA Archaeology comments, but the ASV was unlikely to make a public statement itself. A senior manager at an archaeological firm, when asked for comment, expressed that they were not able to because in some cases they collaborated with the consultant, Dutton+Associates, who had been lately selected by the city to serve as their archaeological contractor. Archaeologists whose work focused elsewhere or who did not consider themselves to be archaeologists of Richmond did not feel they had the expertise or perspective to comment. Activists commonly expressed frustration at individuals and historical organizations with expertise (including the Historic Richmond Foundation; The Valentine; the American Civil War Museum; and others) who privately expressed concerns about the project but were unwilling to take public stands. Those involved in the struggle for Shockoe Bottom questioned whether this might be because these entities feared losing out on city grants for non-profits, or the philanthropy from significant political players like Dominion, which provided \$20 million in grants to historic preservation organizations in Virginia in 2014 and is a major non-profit donor source for most topics. There is limited verifiability to some of these claims; it is not clear, for example, whether Dominion was privately campaigning in support of the baseball stadium project, although the company headquarters its corporate offices in Richmond and has in other cases made public and private stands on city developments (Kruszewski 2017). But it is a demonstration of how

the Shockoe Bottom baseball stadium debate entered a contentious political arena with previous well-defined battle lines that immediately influenced the dynamic between players. It is also understandable that non-profits and museums would be cautious around engaging too readily with activists with limited political power, as the city administration, Venture Richmond, and other significant contributors to non-profit initiatives lined up behind supporting the stadium plan.

Twinned with the political hopes to use archaeological sites as a political “win” is an evident frustration with an increasingly resistant public at meetings and events associated with the political efforts in question. There is an intractable divide in Richmond currently, between political and city actors frustrated that progress is being held up by community members and activist groups who want to change the Devil’s Half-Acre development into a broader question, and the activists and community members themselves who perceive (not without evidence) that the result of this process has been preordained for almost a decade. Plans for the Lumpkin’s Jail site to be the focal point of a Slave Trail Commission physical project had an early genesis; at a public engagement meeting by SmithGroupJJR, “Tee” Turner made sure to provide a genealogy of the Slave Trail Commission ideas and work on Lumpkin’s Jail, similar to prior retellings of efforts and sacrifices made by Delores McQuinn and others. His timeline listed 2011 as the time when the idea of a museum or pavilion concept first had funding committed, so the ideas around that concept were circulating

before that – without, it must be said, any particular community driver for that being the type of project that was desirable there.

The goal with these retellings of the project's history seems to be to provide evidence of the extensive work on the part of certain politicians – especially Delores McQuinn, former Richmond mayor Dwight Jones, and members of the STC generally – to bring this project to fruition. In some events this is accompanied by a clear undercurrent of anger or defensiveness, visible on the face of Delores McQuinn as she described the amount of volunteer time spent by the STC over the years at a Richmond Speaks public engagement session in 2016, when motives or efforts are questioned. These politicians have also received attention related to the apparent campaign support some have received from developers associated with the Shockoe Bottom stadium, and so at these events there are frequent aspersions cast about backroom dealing and political pressure towards a specific outcome, even when the topic is ostensibly unrelated to the stadium project, there are concerns it will re-emerge or that plans are associated with another development (Moomaw 2014e). It is clear that the questioning of STC motives and intent is deeply personally uncomfortable and outrageous for certain members of the STC, some of whom hide it better than others. This resentful tone is well-captured through conversations with many others who have attended and participated in these meetings. One longtime black Richmond resident commented after one of the Richmond Speaks meetings: “[T]hey had decided years ago that they wanted a museum, and I said – she [McQuinn] got so pissed off at me! ‘We haven’t made any decisions!’ [as if

McQuinn was shouting] She's talking the same game [she] was talking three years ago, last year, and...they swear they don't have any agenda in this. 'We want to hear what you think.' No, you don't! And they planted their people at each table who sort of directed the conversations [at the meeting], so the tables didn't allow that. But you know, not to come up with a comprehensive plan for that whole area, rather than just Lumpkin's Jail, is just insane."<sup>62</sup> Frequently this sense of dissatisfaction led to a disengagement in the whole process – the individuals and groups present at public engagement meetings in the fall of 2017 are different constituencies than those who were active three years ago. One older white activist commented on his disillusionment: "Well, you know archaeologists have to be neutral so I understand that. I'm not blaming him for anything. But the others didn't like it one bit. Remember they said they were going to answer everybody's question but you had to write them on a slip of paper and put them in the basket. I submitted three and they didn't answer any of them. It reminds me of the Shockoe Stadium meetings where they called them community meetings but no one was allowed to talk. The mayor had his cronies get up and give pitches and then the meeting was over. No questions were answered. I had about enough of that. I went to probably six or seven of those at the time trying to get a chance to say something. In no case was I ever allowed to speak."<sup>63</sup>

When challenged about the pre-ordained appearance of these conversations, the political response is that current objectives are hamstrung by

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<sup>62</sup> Interview 1027 with anonymous individuals, December 2015.

<sup>63</sup> Interview 1013 with anonymous individual, December 2015.

the funding and project restrictions – either that of the General Assembly funding requirements, or the SmithGroupJJR contract based on a city RFP. This ignores, however, how city politicians had complete or near complete discretion in requesting the General Assembly funding, in writing the RFP, and in determining the remit of all of these related projects – they have considerable ability to adjust these processes if there was enough political will. The inevitability of these project limitations is challenged often at meetings, such as the SmithGroupJJR engagement meeting at the Redskins Training Camp center in 2017, when Defenders co-founder Phil Wilayto delivered a blistering and detailed account of what money was limited by state edict and what city money was available to alternative projects (like their Shockoe Bottom Memorial Park concept) should the city politicians broaden their considerations. Rather than being responsive to community concerns, it is evident that the city has adjusted public engagement to avoid shifting the basic parameters of the project that political leaders see as a legacy-maker.

The reasons for this seemingly self-defeating rigidity are complicated to tease out. Several community members who have spent decades in the city and seeing the way city politics work point to the challenges McQuinn and other politicians have experienced as black, and in some cases female, politicians in a city like Richmond. The political control is characterized by several people, black and white, as a characteristic that has allowed McQuinn and others to be effective in an environment like the Virginia General Assembly where until the 2017 wave election the legislature has been majority conservative Republican.

Since McQuinn was elected in to the General Assembly in 2009, she has patroned or co-patroned many bills important to those in her district, and she has gotten them passed. Observers also point to her omnipresence at community events and issues important to her constituents in the 70<sup>th</sup> District. This activity and effort on issues of basic community survival – voting rights for ex-felons; reducing gun violence; public education – is undeniable. My sense is that several city politicians, as well as McQuinn herself, have been doing this type of work for so long that they look askance at a group that questions their motives, especially a group of generally middle-class city activists, with higher levels of social capital, calling out for an 8-acre memorial park instead of a development with high tax generation potential. In addition, it seems likely that many politicians question the extent to which the Virginia Defenders, a comparably small group in the city, really represents “the Black community” it seeks to speak for. Most Defenders events are at least half white, many individuals identify with the Democratic Socialists or with the progressive edge of the Democratic party if they align themselves with a party at all. While certain members of the Defenders are more moderate politically and reliably support the Democratic establishment tickets, even these individuals do not represent typical demographics. Very few Defenders members seem to attend the Baptist megachurches and congregations that hold considerable political power in the city (and at one of which former Richmond mayor Dwight Jones served as pastor). The Defenders approach has often been to hammer on an issue consistently and in publicly-enough ways that it pressured politicians to take a stand regardless of their own

desired priorities for political capital. But many, including black members of the press, remain on the fence. In a 2016 article for the Richmond Free Press, the city's black newspaper, Jeremy Lazarus wrote skeptically of the idea that such a park plan represented a genuine public hunger for memorialization on the site:

“Nor is there much evidence of interest in Richmond’s slavery connection. For example, few people come to Richmond to walk the slave trail between the Lumpkin’s Jail site and the old Manchester docks in South Side where enslaved people awaiting sale were loaded and unloaded.

Nonetheless, a coalition of activist groups continue to criticize Mayor Jones for not including more land around Lumpkin’s Jail to create an expanded slavery memorial park along with a museum. So far, city leaders have ignored the proposal, seeking to limit the area so that other nearby city-owned property could remain open for possible tax-generating developments such as stores and apartments” (Lazarus 2016a).

Beyond this however, there are many in the Richmond activist community and outside observers who see this process of restricting commemoration of Richmond’s slave trade history to a single site as an intentional practice of minimizing black history and putting it in its “place.” While in many cases this trajectory is visibly controlled substantially by black politicians, the political establishment is characterized as acting for a white power base: white developers who own much of the Bottom like David White or Louis Salomonsky; white-owned companies like Dominion Energy or Altria; or white Richmond-area philanthropists. Phil Wilayto and other Virginia Defender authors argues these points consistently, and point to the ways in which developer interests still drive decisions in the city: “And that’s how Richmond works. The rich 1 percent work with the Marsh-Jones political machine to make sure the 1 percent makes its



money and stays on top. The politicians get a little prestige and patronage. And the rest of us get neglected at best and abused at worse” (Wilayto 2014, 7). Michael Blakey drew a direct parallel between the Richmond situation and the one in New York as the debate over New York’s African Burial Ground raged: “We saw it in New York, it’s all very interesting as the racism of white people becomes exposed, becomes clearer because it’s white people doing it. But if they can get a black person to do it, the claims, the charges of racism are subdued and they can put their hands on it, the white folks in the equation, put their hands on it more firmly and with less clear opposition. And so Richmond is full of this kind of black legislative accommodation to what white people want and that means the story that white people want told. So the story is critical to the legitimacy of their privilege”.

Several historians and history activists who invest themselves in this history see McQuinn and others as taking control of the Lumpkin’s Jail site to burnish their political legacy despite a shaky understanding of the actual history of the site. The fact that the Richmond Slave Trail Commission initially portrayed Richmond as a major site in the international slave trade rather than the later interstate trade is often used as evidence that the group’s understanding of historical processes is poor. Some point to a considerable lack of participation in STC endeavors on the part of the considerable population of Richmond historians as an indication of this; there are no academic or professional historians on the commission currently, and the STC has been accused of showing a lack of responsible citation or acknowledgement of the historical work

they do use. During the 2013-2015 debate over the baseball stadium proposal, a map of the locations of slave trading sites in the Bottom initially created by white avocational historian Elizabeth Cann Kambourian was used to argue that the baseball stadium would not disrupt slave trading sites; she protested and pointed out that the work was used unattributed, unrequested, and that the map represented old information that did not represent her current thinking (Moomaw 2014c). At the ACORN archives at VCU, correspondence between ACORN member Jennie Knapp and Gregg Kimball at the Library of Virginia reveals that the map was initially taken and used by the Slave Trail Commission without attribution by 2003 if not before, and that this dispute seems to have stopped Kambourian's participation in research-sharing with the Commission (J. Knapp 2003).

Nor were these sorts of aspersions limited to concerns on the part of white historians. Kim Allen recalled her early efforts to get involved with the Commission when she was President of the Richmond NAACP: "I attempted to find out when meetings were being held. And when I did find out, I would go and then there would not be a meeting held. And I got very frustrated with the lack of information about meetings, and when decisions would be made, and what was being considered, and all of that. I found the whole effort very frustrating."<sup>64</sup> At the first Richmond Speaks meeting in September 2015, community history activist Free Egunfemi stood up and pointed out Delegate McQuinn's necklace of Venetian glass beads and suggested that McQuinn thought the beads were

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<sup>64</sup> Personal communication with Kim Allen, December 2017.

African and connected with her roots, when they were actually beads that Europeans used to trade for slaves along the West African coast; that she was wearing blood beads because she didn't know the history<sup>65</sup>. These interactions have become deeply personal, wounding, and in some cases humiliating for the politicians whose events have been disrupted and called out. At the same time, members of the Defenders, activists at the Unitarian-Universalist Church, and other preservation advocates who attend these meetings commonly express frustration at being treated like less than partners or collaborators; being deliberately excluded from public meetings or the engagement process; and being ignored<sup>66</sup>.

While Lumpkin's Jail was a powerful site that led many to archaeology who hadn't previously been interested in the discipline, the site's economic and political history led many in activist circles to be guarded regarding the meaning of the site. This was especially in contrast to what many understood as a corresponding neglect of the Burial Ground, which was seen as a space that city officials had taken control of but didn't have ownership of or an advantageous public relations plan for. Rev. Monica Esparza, Founder of the African Ancestral Chamber and a black city resident commented:

“So the Burial Ground is more historic [i.e. earlier chronologically], yet it doesn't get that attention or respect, and so we go back again to why is Lumpkin's Jail getting all the attention? Now, I'll share with you that I do not – I am not a proponent of archaeology at grave sites. How do I think Lumpkin's should be used? I really think what they did over there was just enough. I would not want to see a big structure over

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<sup>65</sup> Event field notes.

<sup>66</sup> Various field notes, 2014-2016.

there...I'm just saying, the scale. So in terms of an opportunity to teach about archaeology... I could see how Lumpkin's might be an opportunity to do that. So if both could happen, I would be happy, but I'm not seeing that."<sup>67</sup>

VCU Professor Utsey also saw the treatment of the burial ground explicitly in terms of power and city officials, and worried about the potential cooption of the Burial Ground as a political football:

“Utsey: Well, I am optimistic that something will happen, and that something will happen that will at least acknowledge and be a step, whether it's just symbolic or not, in the right direction. I'm concerned about the political grab that particular interest groups are making to position themselves to parlay this into something else for PR.

Me: What do you see those interest groups as being?

Utsey: The city, the state. Without saying names, the city, the state, politicians who like to put themselves at the forefront when it's been resolved. When it's being fought, they are on the side of who they perceive to be the foregone winner, the powerful, all right. *The burial ground, those folks who were there for photo ops were against the community. They were fighting against the grass roots movement. When they saw the winner was not who they thought it would be, they switched sides and presented the story as if they had delivered this up. They're doing it again.* But be that as it may, I'm not really interested in credit, so let them have the credit, as long as the things get done” (emphasis mine).<sup>68</sup>

Because of the lack of community faith between the community groups who care most about the African Burial Ground and the Slave Trail Commission which now directs the site's future, the interest and enthusiasm related to Lumpkin's Jail has waned and many observers are cynical that a genuine telling of history is possible there. Michael Blakey observed that:

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<sup>67</sup> Interview with Monica Esparza, November 16, 2015.

<sup>68</sup> Interview with Shawn Utsey, December 15, 2015.

“Lumpkin’s is completely under control of, as far as I can tell, in the interest of the Slave Trail Commission and DHR. The Burial Ground, though they tried to get it under their control, is made out to be a diminutive phenomenon it never was. I think the Commission tried to kill it by neglect once they were given authority over the Burial Ground by the Governor in the transfer of property from the State to the City. What is the Lumpkin story they were planning to tell? Was Mrs. Lumpkin like Pocahontas? ...perhaps she is one of these people caught between, in my mind, humanity and bloodshed. But seeking to have hers...and obviously corrupted by slavery as Lumpkin was. How you tell that story is the important thing. And *I have not been impressed by either the willingness to critique white supremacy or the technical competence in the hands of those who would control this.*”<sup>69</sup>

This speaks to one of the key challenges not often explicitly discussed among proponents of municipal archaeology: the dilemma created when engagement with city politics integrates archaeological investigations within structures of politics and power that, historically and presently, disenfranchise certain groups. Because archaeological sites that have educated the Richmond population and drawn attention and funding are so embedded in complex power relationships, archaeology in the city falls victim to debates that are at once needed; compelling; and paralyzing. While the Slave Trail Commission has overseen some of the initial public engagement, the Richmond Speaks and SmithGroupJJR processes have been led by professional consultant groups, initially Lord Cultural Resources and later SmithGroupJJR subcontractors. They are paid to facilitate a conversation on behalf of a client (the city) whose willingness for open conversation is very limited. While they might recommend approaches like reaching out to the National Trust or Defenders, or broadening

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<sup>69</sup> Interview with Michael Blakey, December 16, 2015.

their scope to include a concept plan of Shockoe that would demonstrate the city's willingness to consider the Memorial Park concept (as sometimes they have), ultimately their actions reflect a truism of consulting: "Whoever pays the consultant gets pretty much what they want to hear" (Blackman 2017). There is a definite neoliberal bent within the city's investment of its activities and its focus; while there is some discussion of the historical legacies of poverty and a recently-established Office of Community Wealth-building, the empowerment of this organization is minimal compared with the focus on city-run economic development initiatives and subsidizing private businesses like Stone Brewing and the Richmond Flying Squirrels baseball team.

The consequences of this artificially-restricted conversation are clear, first in the frustration evident in public meetings and later in the anemic attendance at subsequent events and the increasing proportion of attendees who have not previously been engaged in the process, who are less informed and more pliable to the games of process that are being played. A comparison of two SmithGroupJJR meetings is instructive here. The first public meeting in March 2017 was held at Virginia Union University; the historically-black university that was founded in the small jail building leased out by Mary Lumpkin only a few years after the end of the Civil War. Almost every speaker at the meeting expressed their strong desire for a different type of conversation, one that considered an expansion of the project beyond the Lumpkin's Jail site footprint. The building was at capacity, with organizers estimating that over 175 people were in attendance. The crowd, which was around half white and half black,

included three city council members; at least five members of the Slave Trail Commission; representatives from Preservation Virginia and the National Trust for Historic Preservation; and many of the people who had advocated against the stadium independently or in association with the Defenders, Unitarian Universalist Church, and RVA Archaeology. Many in the room had been following the plans for the Lumpkin's Jail site for 5-10 years, and several used the Richmond African Burial Ground site for some commemorative or spiritual events. Attendees were passionate, informed, and expressed skepticism about the process, particularly the overwhelmingly white makeup of the SmithGroupJJR team. Several expressed dismay over the jovial tone taken by moderator Robert "Sully" Sullivan, or pointed out the inaccuracy and offensiveness of certain questions in a history quiz given to the audience<sup>70</sup>. Many too, including Free Egunfemi, criticized even the name of the project: while archaeologists and city officials knew the site as Lumpkin's Jail, many invested in the history of the site preferred "Devil's Half-Acre," the name given to the jail by contemporary free and enslaved black Richmonders. Local news picked up on this strength of unified critique, with an article from *Richmond Magazine* reading in part:

"Breedlove said she attended school in Richmond and never learned about what went on in Shockoe Bottom. 'No one wants to accept that this was ugly. Now is the time. Shockoe Bottom was a terrible place.'

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<sup>70</sup> One question, "What country did slaves come from?" included non-country answers such as Africa and the Caribbean. Another asked if Lumpkin's Jail was "punishment for miscreant slaves." Generally, language during this meeting showed no understanding of the sensitivities of the Richmond audience, much of which prefers the term 'enslaved' to 'slave,' 'Devil's Half-Acre' to 'Lumpkin's Jail,' and 'Trail of Enslaved Africans' to 'Slave Trail' to emphasize the humanity of the enslaved people trafficked through the Bottom.

Right before Breedlove spoke, UntoldRVA historian Free Egunfemi criticized the city, its Slave Trail Commission and the SmithGroupJJR for not including and compensating local historians for their knowledge, mentioning the consulting fees that the city is paying to groups from outside Richmond. 'The trust is gone. ...The city needs to work with the grassroots organizations and get the story right.'

Waite Rawls, a Church Hill resident who was the director of the Museum of the Confederacy and now is president of the American Civil War Center Foundation, said that the city and the planners need to work on protecting more land and sites related to the trade of the enslaved in the Bottom beyond the Lumpkin's Jail Site from the onset. 'I think you've gotten the scope wrong.'

Petersburg resident Pamela Bingham, a descendant of slave rebellion leader Gabriel from Henrico County's Prosser Plantation, emphasized that this project is far bigger than Richmond.

'We are all watching Richmond,' she said, adding that this project cannot just be about the jail. She wanted oral history to be incorporated and equitable participation. 'I don't mean tokenism. I mean inclusion.'" (Wyniecki 2017).

The meeting was clearly somewhat bruising to the organizers – white City Project Manager Jeannie Welliver and other participants, ostensibly there to answer questions on the project, sat on the stage in silence as attendee after attendee stood to assert that the project could not simply progress as a development on Lumpkin's Jail with no responsiveness to community concerns. It was, however, a moment of divergence for the city. Had there been any city appetite for messy true engagement, had the city exhibited any flexibility on the project scope and approach, the audience and the passion could have been retained.

Instead, some initial overtures by SmithGroupJJR to revise the project scope were rejected internally by the city. In the aftermath of this meeting, SmithGroupJJR and its subcontractors conducted some smaller focus groups,



and advocated for producing an area plan of the neighborhood that would consider a larger Memorial Park space, but were limited in what they were empowered to change given resistance at the city level. The name of the project became “Lumpkin’s Jail/Devil’s Half-Acre,” but other concerns brought up during this meeting, overwhelmingly about process and scope, do not appear to have been substantively addressed. Later meetings were held in locations, like the Redskins Training Camp or the University of Richmond campus, that had negative associations with many city critics or were considerably less accessible. They certainly were not, as Virginia Union University was, a black-centering space.

A later meeting in October to discuss the Visitor Experience Plan for the Devil’s Half-Acre site showed the impact of this lack of project response (conveyed by a subsequent unedifying meeting) to community concerns. Barely 40 people showed up for this event, which was held at 9am on a Saturday morning at the Plant Zero art building in Manchester, south of the river. Attendees were more considerably either history professionals attending at least partially to observe, such as myself, or they were newcomers to the topic. Most were white. A black spoken word poet named Harold Green was flown in from Chicago to provide gravitas and an emotional punch to the event, which also kicked off and culminated with performances led by Elegba Folklore Society and the Ingramettes, a local Richmond gospel singing family (S. King 2017). Green read the first-hand account of Anthony Burns’ experience at the jail (which had been commonly used at earlier meetings by archaeologist Matt Laird to convey

the emotion of the site) haltingly, stumbling over the words while reading them off his phone and speaking about the story afterwards as if he was hearing it for the first time. It was a stilted and unconvincing moment that largely went unnoted because of the lack of reference for many in the audience. After almost two years of hearing the frustrations of people within Richmond asking why money for this type of performance or expert consultation was not more available for citizens of Richmond, the emptiness of this event was telling. At my table were exclusively white retirees, new to the area, for whom Richmond's participation in the slave trade was a new concept. They were excited about the possibilities of the project, moved by the performances, and felt it was overdue, but lacked the deep expertise and the critical eye of those long-term Richmond activists and so were easily confined within the assigned activity of the day: listing the emotions we hoped the event would evoke as part of assisting the team with passively with elements expected somehow to contribute to designing a visitor experience. Most of the historic professionals, like me, appeared slightly quizzical along the edges of the goings on and seemed to be there as spectators more than participants. After having spent several years going to these sorts of meetings, often while feeling that I did not have enough authentic investment in the impact of the proceedings to warrant my speaking at many of them, I left this meeting in an exhausted rage. There was no life to it, no depth to many of the ideas, not much of the city talent that one would want contributing to these types of decisions; yet, it seemed like perhaps that was the hope from some of the city officials, to have a credulous group of novices who were enthused and easily

bounded. Subsequently the consulting group has had to extend the deadline to comment on its plans because engagement in the project has dropped precipitously, so now the process continues to roll along but absent the genuine and expert participation with which it began.

#### 5.1.4 The Action and Inaction of Archaeologists with Reference to Richmond's Archaeology

Perhaps one of the most basic takeaways of this research in terms of archaeological stewardship is how much Richmond's archaeology has suffered from the lack of an independent, academic or museum-based, archaeologist focused on the city over the last two decades. The primary organizations within Richmond with professional obligations towards its archaeological record are the Virginia state historic preservation office, VDHR, and VCU. The great preponderance of Richmond's curated collections is at one of these repositories, and additionally VDHR is where the most comprehensive archive of Richmond archaeological site paperwork and investigations can be found. Within the context of unfinished archaeological site reports, incomplete curation, and a void in archaeologists willing and able to speak about the archaeological potential of the city it is useful to examine what has occurred and not occurred with Richmond's archaeology through a lens that considers the landscape of investment of actions towards it; institutional capacity; and political power and standing.

VDHR is a small independent agency with a Director, currently Julie Langan, appointed by the governor. It manages all statewide review of

compliance with the National Historic Preservation Act, so its staff and two boards review National Register of Historic Places nominations for Virginia, approve all state highway markers, reviews Section 106 compliance reports for historic architecture and archaeology, contribute to and sign off on programmatic agreements and memorandums of agreement relating to federally-mandated archaeology, and curate the bulk of Virginia's archaeological collections (as of this writing 8500 boxes of artifacts, likely approaching almost 2 million total artifacts). Over the past twenty years, while it has fared much better than other SHPOs nationwide, VDHR has seen its budget dwindle regularly. It has a single fulltime curator and conservator to manage these processes, down from the early 2000s when there was a fulltime curator and assistant curator. Rehousing, inventory, and assessment tasks are performed predominantly by department volunteers and by occasional short-term employees as funds arise.

Since the 1990s (a decade I use because of the considerable contribution of this decade to archaeological woes in Richmond), VDHR has had occasional rehabilitative projects associated with Richmond materials. The agency offers Threatened Sites funding, generally a modest \$50,000 annually, for projects in immediate need of assistance. Often these funds are directed at emergency salvage fieldwork, but they have also been offered for curation and rehabilitation projects. In the aftermath of the VCU-ARC closure and Hurricane Gaston's damage to the collection, considerable work was done by VDHR staff using Threatened Sites funding to rebag the artifacts and to clean and de-mold notes and maps (Section 3.5.4). Threatened Sites funding was won by Bob Clark and

Eric Voight to perform work on the Maury Street site remains from the Floodwall project, but the project didn't get off the ground and the money reverted back to the fund<sup>71</sup>. After Katharine Beidleman passed away in 2013 VDHR received several boxes of materials and paperwork from her affairs, and the agency previously conserved vulnerable penitentiary artifacts and developed the collection into a type collection. The agency was also happy to assist with the collaborative archive sharing and working group meeting I coordinated in 2015 in order to rehabilitate the collection and work towards completing a site report.

In terms of capacity, the VDHR situation is fairly stark. Two fulltime employees do not represent adequate staffing for the curation and conservation of the commonwealth's artifacts. For periods of time during this research, including when national attention was being drawn to the archaeological risk posed by the baseball stadium proposal, there was no dedicated Regional Archaeologist for the Eastern region with a focus on the resources in Richmond, the Tidewater, and the Eastern Shore. This would have been the staff member to communicate with the city of Richmond about its plan to construct the baseball stadium and the impact that project might have had on the city's Certified Local Government status. The effect of staffing can to a certain extent be seen in the types of information that are available or not at the archive. The field notes associated with Virginia sites curated at VDHR did not have a complete inventory until 2017. Several of the boxes provided from Beidleman's estate relevant to the penitentiary were in an office for several years before being incorporated into the

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<sup>71</sup> Personal communication with Michael Barber, 12-7-2016.

general collection. Additionally, overlying all of this are the challenges in at least 2015-2017 related to the state's contentious relationship with Northrup Grummond, a defense contractor with an exclusive contract to manage the Virginia Information Technologies Agency, which served as the state filing system; state electronic storage; and hardware (Martz 2017). Over the course of this time, VDHR staff at times have been unable to save documents due to low storage space, discussed putting all digital report files into "cold digital storage" that would take days or weeks to access, and have had repeated reformatting of their computers erasing and slowing their work. VDHR works on a variety of projects, and many staff are punching above their weight class, but the realities of staff time and money create substantial limits on their capacity.

Perhaps associated with the agency's position within state government, its political precariousness, or its low capacity, VDHR in some instances shows a reluctance to engage substantively with questions of race and power that have direct implications for their work, and should be familiar to many individual staff members with backgrounds in history and anthropology. This is especially the case in terms of the underrepresentation of certain community voices when it comes to decisions made within VDHR. One example of this can be seen in recent developments with the Penitentiary human remains, which have remained at the Smithsonian since 1991 and had been owned by VDHR. In 2015, around the time of the archive sharing, the Smithsonian Department of Physical Anthropology was coming to the conclusion that the remains were in need of assistance – plastic bags from the 1990s were weak and fading, and needed to

be replaced. The Smithsonian agreed to use internal repository funding to complete this work, but in exchange they requested a transfer of the remains from Ethyl Corporation, which owned the land where the project was conducted, to the Smithsonian. In 2015, VDHR provided advice on this process when they received the same deed of gift transfer from Ethyl Corporation for the other artifacts that were part of excavations on the site. Furthermore, partially as a response to storage space but potentially also associated with privacy concerns, VDHR only maintains communications, paper management documents, and similar project files for a mandated seven years. While field documentation is perpetually stored, the loss of this management material seriously inhibits any effort to investigation questions of financial management of projects; certain project decisions; communications between VDHR and the parties; and various other pertinent details for examining issues of money, motivations, or political power.

Although the Penitentiary remains have not yet attained the community resonance as have those from the East Marshall Street well, I think it's likely that adequate publication and public interpretation of the site in Richmond will lead naturally to a concern over why these remains should be in the perpetual care and control of the staff at the Smithsonian's Department of Physical Anthropology, which has a fractious relationship with some anthropologists and Native American groups due to the Division Head Douglas Owsley's longstanding resistance to repatriation and reburial and his participation in the Kennewick Man lawsuit (D. H. Thomas 2001, xxiii). While I mentioned the likely

community concerns to some staff members around that time – and pointed out the parallels between the penitentiary human remains and those of the East Marshall Street well – there was no appetite on the part of the VDHR staff I spoke with for a broader conversation about their process of repository decision-making and the aspects of power surrounding the indefinite curation of the bones and burial goods of predominantly African-American prisoners<sup>72</sup>.

In general, decisions around collections at VDHR generally appear to be driven by legal and regulatory concerns; staff are hesitant to do any type of intervention on a collection whose owners are unknown or unresponsive, which is the case for many VDHR collections. While some individual staff members certainly have an interest in publicly-engaged archaeology, and staff participates frequently in public archaeology events, there does not seem to be a model currently within the agency regarding how and whether to engage public reaction in individual cases that have the potential to cause concern. On the other hand, engagement with artifacts associated with human remains and enslavement can sometimes be limited due to a concern around politically or emotionally-sensitive sites. The culmination of these processes and the limited capacity of the agency is that relative to specific topics that loom large in Richmond's archaeology – human remains; slavery; incarceration – inaction is much safer than action and there is considerable bureaucratic inertia that must be battled with before the work can progress.

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<sup>72</sup> At least, not enough appetite to war with the practical concerns of getting funding to adequately rehouse the collection.



Virginia Commonwealth University has a similar history of limited staffing and staff interest producing an anemic stewardship of Richmond's archaeological remains. The VCU's administration's decision to close the VCU-ARC in 1994 was closely followed by a decision to disband their Department of Anthropology and individual professors were folded into the School of World Studies. There are currently two archaeologists in the department. Bernard Means has an interest in urban archaeology from his work on guidelines for urban archaeological work in Washington D.C., but currently is kept occupied through his leadership of the Virtual Curation Laboratory, which focuses on the 3D scanning and printing of archaeological and historical objects for public engagement (Means 2015; Historic Preservation Division 1998). The other is Christopher Stevenson, who formerly worked at VDHR and whose primary research interests are related to archaeological science, especially forms of absolute dating (CMM Stevenson and Gurnick 2016).

Over twenty years has passed since the disbanding of the VCU-ARC and the relocation of the archaeological collections to the Shockoe Bottom storage warehouse. Following a reorganization by VCU storage warehouse staff in sometime prior to 2014 without notifying the World Studies Department, the VCU inventory of box locations has been inaccurate and out-of-date, but the collection has not been reinventoried despite the fact that it amounts to under 1000 boxes and the inventory is unlikely to take more than a few days of work. The work that has been done on the collection has been through Barbara Heath and her colleagues at the University of Tennessee, related to her interest in the Curles

Neck plantation site excavated along the James southeast of Richmond (Heath, Freeman, and Schweickart 2018). While the work of the East Marshall Street Well Project has theoretically demonstrated the VCU commitment to addressing the issue with those particular human remains, this process does not seem to have generated a broader conversation about whether VCU's poor curation practices with reference to the rest of the VCU-ARC collection should be adjusted. The VCU-ARC collections are nominally under Stevenson's purview, but it is unclear how much has been invested in the collection's rehabilitation since he arrived five or more years ago. There are additional potential NAGPRA compliance requirements represented by the collection, specifically the human remains and burial goods from the Shockoe Slip burials excavated during the RMA Expressway in the 1970s. VCU biological anthropologist Amy Verrelli has been assessing the remains for its NAGPRA eligibility (which may be much more likely to move forward since the recognition of the Pamunkey and six other Virginia tribes in 2017 and 2018), but repeated attempts to reach out to ascertain the status of this process were unsuccessful. Utsey referenced this lack of university support and follow-through related to VCU's stewardship of certain types of historical resources, especially those associated with non-white and non-dominant populations:

“Utsey: We own, and we own a bunch of other stuff, right. The first African Baptist Church...It's a VCU office building. How insulting is that? Somebody is sitting up there with their feet on the desk, right, in the first African Baptist Church. It's an office building. It's like the parking lot in my mind. It's the next step up from a parking lot. How to desecrate a sacred space, a parking lot or office building.

Me: Yes, there are not many churches in Richmond that are now offices.

Utsey: That's what I'm saying, right? Would you have Pastor Perry's Church as an office building? No. Let's see, but if I bring it up, here he goes again, like something is wrong with me for seeing that. But that's an example of the work that needs to be done."<sup>73</sup>

Utsey connected this lack of concern with some of VCU's earlier actions with reference to historic buildings like the Parson's house damaged by their expansion:

"Dan Mouer. He told me that when they moved that house, when they picked it up off the foundation, they discovered a cellar, right, an unusual cellar that had been dug. It was obviously a place where people were hidden. He is convinced it was a stop on the underground railroad given the Quaker history with that, you know what I'm saying?

But what did VCU do? They put a parking lot on top of it. Did they investigate? No. Did they know about it? Yes, he told me. They put a parking lot over it and just moved on.

What kind of silliness is that, and *Trani is a historian, but he understands that some history is not really that important. You can call it what you want to call it. I know what the word is but he's deciding, like he did with the well, with the remains, right, and that's even more egregious. You can't say he was a construction worker and he didn't grasp the importance of history. He's a historian. He made a conscious decision that some history is just not that important, right?"* (emphasis mine).<sup>74</sup>

Another preservationist noted the resistance to preserving the house even despite in the face of a considerable and multiracial outcry, prominently involving the Oregon Hill Neighborhood Association, surrounding it:

"You can't really excavate the underground railroad so they didn't come up with some kind of smoking gun but [VCU-ARC] did say well, historically this is a very significant find and archaeologically

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<sup>73</sup> Interview with Shawn Utsey, December 15, 2015.

<sup>74</sup> Interview with Shawn Utsey, December 15, 2015.

it's very sensitive. He tried so hard not to cave into the pressure but again you had a lot more backing of a wider group of people because you had the Quaker influence and the Quakers were not African-American. You had a larger group of people who were saying that this was an important structure. Even though they only moved it across the street really, you're talking about a brick building. So it wasn't an inexpensive transport across the street."<sup>75</sup>

Similarly, Richmond's archaeological fabric has also been diminished by the inaction of archaeologists and archaeological programs far-flung from the city. By and large, the U.S. Army Corps has not experienced anywhere near the amount of public condemnation for the unfinished Floodwall project as VCU and the City have received for issues surrounding the East Marshall Street Well and the Burial Ground. However, from an archaeological perspective, the loss of the Floodwall information is as great of a loss for research into the city, both in the choices of what areas to excavate and how during the late 1980s, and in the lack of completion the project has seen since then. However, the collection is (much as the East Marshall Street Well remains once were) mainly known about by a few regional archaeologists, curators, and Corps employees. Similarly, the Virginia State Penitentiary remains have not yet galvanized the public, although as a project taken on by a small archaeological consultant under state law, without occurring under the auspices of a federal agency, there is less of a windmill to tilt at.

This research has shown the extent to which, if community members felt strongly about a particular issue adjacent to archaeological resources, it fell

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<sup>75</sup> Interview with anonymous individual, November 2015.

within a void of archaeological responsibilities or was attached to topics with enough political sensitivity that many professionals avoided it. Given the professional and commercial marginality of the lives of many archaeologists it is perhaps unsurprising that some cities, even with the potential significance of Richmond, lack an empowered group of archaeologists with the time, resources, and security to address archaeological topics that develop public relevance. The challenges of the Penitentiary site and many others across the country speaks to the importance of institutional commitment as a preventative to these types of orphaned collections events – which are common everywhere, but especially when not backed by institutional support (Voss 2012; K. Oliver 2014). Even so, it is useful to consider and examine to what extent archaeology in Richmond, especially over the last twenty years, has represented public interests, and how the discipline could recommit itself to this type of work in future.

## 6 Searching for “The Archaeology of Us”: Exploring Richmond’s Landscape of Archaeological Potential

“The entire City of Richmond is an archaeological site...Most of the archaeological excavations we have read about in National Geographic and other popular sources are of sites that exist elsewhere. They include not only the estrangement of their antiquity, but the foreignness of cultural distance as well. In many cases, they are sites studied by members of "our" culture studying the ways of life of someone else. To excavate our own back yard seems to go against the grain. Isn't Richmond's history, after all, "our" history. Isn't it all a little too close to home to be fascinating? Don't we already know our own history? One pundit has dubbed historical archaeology "the archaeology of 'us'." On the other hand, it has also become a contemporary truism that the interpretation of other peoples' lives - whether by historians or anthropologists or art critics or journalists or political scientists - involves the appropriation of their realities. In studying other worlds, we make them our own; we create meaning by attributing it to others. The "archaeology of us" is, if not a dangerous concept at least a delicate and ambiguous one” (Mouer 1992, 1–2).

Most cities are palimpsests of overlapping geographies; interlocking and overlaying, these different landscapes of materials and meaning complement or overshadow or destroy or hide each other. Richmond is no less like this than any other place: The first small groups of people following animal herds and exploring the banks of the James River are almost entirely shrouded and invisible; the smells and cacophony of the Richmond nineteenth and twentieth-century industrial waterfront much less so. Some of these landscapes are now most evident as landscapes of absence, of stories initially only told orally, as in Elvatrice Parker Belsches’ walks through the Church Hill and Shockoe Bottom

neighborhoods. She was revealing the landscape's history of slavery that many were hungry for but that was not readily seen – these buildings were slave quarters; the auctions were here; these were the rumors about medical students snatching black children from the Viaduct neighborhoods to enact horrifying experiments on them. Her later book emphasizing the African-American materiality of Richmond, and Selden Richardson's on black contributions to Richmond's architecture, did not come until the 2000s (Belsches 2004; Richardson 2008). The landscape of the potential baseball stadium site in Shockoe Bottom is described as desolate or vacant due to its predominance of parking lots; this too is a feature of its landscape, of its position within a 100-year floodplain that tempers developer enthusiasm in an otherwise hot market. Advocacy groups like Preservation Virginia and The National Trust for Historic Preservation have pushed back against the presumption of parking lot as a space of absence, pointing out that parking lots can bode well for site preservation and that such spaces can be reclaimed into sacred use: "While today the eight-block site seems little more than parking lots and vacant land, to those who value its underlying heritage and cultural meaning it is sacred space, irrevocably associated with the resistance and resilience of enslaved people in the face of generations of human rights abuses" (Nieweg and Leggs 2015). Some parts of Richmond are more visible, more understood, or more loudly celebrated than others, but most have important archaeological discoveries either extant or yet to be found, and this chapter seeks to assess the city's archaeological sensitivity and likely preservation potential spatially. In a

landscape where archaeological risk and sensitivity is poorly understood yet politically active as tools, this investigation explores the question, *what makes up Richmond's archaeological landscape and where is it undefined or under threat?* This could be done in a variety of ways – given the ethnographic analysis present in the previous two chapters, one way would have been to focus on examining topics that seem to generate the most current enthusiasm such as the slave trade; native occupation; Reconstruction-era sites; and similar themes. I have resisted doing that, however, given the lack of current research into the broader question of the city's archaeological sensitivity. The analysis in this chapter seeks to assess Richmond's archaeological sensitivity generally while pointing at directions for future research expanding upon areas of particular contemporary interest.

## 6.1 Theoretical Review of Archaeological Predictive Modeling and Sensitivity Analysis

Using geospatial data and predictive assessment is important to a full understanding of Richmond's archaeological potential, especially since prehistoric native resources are more likely to be overlooked using traditional urban background research, survey, and site testing methods used in urban contexts, and very little of Richmond has been systematically surveyed. This research identifies areas in need of archaeological survey, provides an assessment of archaeological sensitivity and preservation potential, and identifies sites and regions with the best potential for future archaeological



research. It does not, however, have extensive predictive power over where sites must be or an ironclad rule regarding which areas must be predicted.

Archaeological research is always an inexact science, but in addition, this particular research site cannot rigorously be tested or ground-truthed at this point.

Using methods initially described in Judge and Sebastian (1988) and refined by Wheatley and Gillings (2002) and Merher and Wescott (2006), predictive modeling generally analyzes a variety of spatial factors, including proximity to waterways, agricultural potential, topography, past settlement distribution, watershed characteristics, natural resources, and accessibility, with reference to their predictive potential. Models like these can be either deductive (theory-driven, which selects data types based solely on the conceptual likelihood that they would have adjusted choices about landscape use in the past) or inductive (data-driven, which selects model variables based on how well they explain previously-recorded sites in the region) (Verhagen 2007). This inductive/deductive comparison is also made by other researchers using the terms correlative (based on existing archaeological site data and deriving rules from their distribution) versus cognitive (in which a model uses logic to consider which qualities might make archaeological site presence more or less likely, and develops a model thusly) (T. Whitley 2003). Models can attempt to explain the overall likelihood of archaeological site location in a particular spot, or they can focus on a particular time period, site type, or other subgroup (e.g. Clarkson and Bellas 2014).

For the Richmond area, the promise of predictive modeling is its potential for identifying which areas of the city have the highest potential for Native American sites of various site types, tribal affiliation, and purpose. This is necessary because testing and survey in urban archaeological context focuses on historical documents and land tenure research, thereby excluding the study of prehistoric and Contact Period resources (Rothschild and Wall 2014, 30–35). Commonly, when public conversations around archaeological sensitivity do happen, they only mention the likelihood of locating native resources in the vaguest of senses; additionally, many forms of mitigation common in urban areas (like construction monitoring) can be poor methods for identifying native sites, while optimal site identification methods for native sites (like shovel testing) are often incompatible with urban areas that have been subject to intensive filling and grading. There is a clear need for some sort of predictive assessment of native resources here, and modelling or sensitivity analyses is one way of accomplishing this. In addition, the act of georeferencing historic maps and making their locations available in a geospatial manner, a requirement for predictive modelling, has the additional effect of making spatial understandings of historical development on a particular parcel more comprehensible and accessible to entities within cities that need to quickly review cities. Even if a predictive model is not as essential for understanding parcel history and historic archaeology sensitivity, creating GIS layers that underlie a model do effectively raise awareness about historic potential.

However, predictive modeling also receives increasing critique among some archaeologists; it is seen as environmental determinism that characterizes native use of the landscape as reducible to mere factors like slope; soil quality; and distance to water. Researchers examining predictive modeling within archaeology have also critiqued many archaeological studies for creating hypothetical models for high, medium, and low sensitivity without having a means of testing and revising their assumptions, or that indiscriminate use of GIS “may result in the slick, but repetitious, confirmation of otherwise obvious relationships” (Gaffney, Stančič, and Watson 1995, 211). Due to the technical ability required and academic critiques, “the development of predictive modeling has veered away from mainstream archaeological thought and theory and has now become a largely self-contained activity—enjoying reasonable success as a tool for CRM, but not commanding much respect from academic scholars. This has largely resulted from the desire to use predictive models as tools for minimizing field effort rather than for explaining the differential spatial patterning of archaeological sites. Although the debate is far from conclusive regarding the benefits of predictive modeling in the world of heritage management, it is clear that many current applications in CRM are often simplistic and intended by non-archaeologist land managers to be cost-saving rather than explanatory” (Verhagen and Whitley 2012).

Some recent scholarship seeks to move predictive modeling beyond environmental determinism by including sociocultural factors like landscape accessibility (determined through path density maps) and visibility or viewsheds

(Verhagen et al. 2012; T. G. Whitley et al. 2010). Responding to critiques, some predictive models have included the use of systematic survey data from part of the modeling data in order to test the model's efficacy, thereby creating a model that is created inductively and tested deductively (e.g. Kvamme 1992; Warren and Asch 2003). In some cases, this type of analysis shows a model to be a more effective predictor of site location than chance and where models are significant predictors of located sites (e.g. Warren and Asch 2003) while in other cases it can show that models are less successful. In another approach, archaeological site location is used as a data point in inductive models, predicting archaeological sites based on whether they are nearby existing archaeological sites; this makes little sense in many areas where excavation has been opportunistic and development-driven, but especially in cities.

Classical predictive modeling is in general especially challenging to perform in cities. Soil surveys (often produced by federal agencies focused on assessing agricultural potential) are harder to accurately perform in cities due to extensive impervious coverage and substantial historic earthmoving. As a result, a considerable proportion of urban areas end up classed as "Urban land" or soil classes that designate disturbed or mixed soil (Udorthents), which do not provide a detailed sense of the quality of the soil during prehistoric times (P. Thomas and Harper 2009). Data from systematic shovel test pit survey, in Virginia the most effective method of identifying new subterranean archaeological sites, is generally less-comprehensively collected in cities; where projects require survey, there tend to be large areas where no shovel test pits are feasible and these

reviews rely much more extensively on literature reviews, testing previously-identified sites, and requesting trench testing in particularly high-probability areas. For example, extensive cultural resources survey was performed by Dovetail Cultural Resource Group in advance of the Bus Rapid Transit improvements currently under construction in Richmond, but due to extensive coverage by development and under busy streets, generally the assessment recommended monitoring for particularly sensitive areas and limited shovel test pit areas in particularly sensitive areas that included open ground, as with the area stretching between Pear Street in eastern Shockoe Bottom to the Rocketts Landing area (Peckler, Roberts, and Barile 2010, 88). Another limiting factor is the extensive land changes that have occurred since prehistoric and historic times. Waterways are likely to have been channelized, moved, dammed up, or otherwise shifted, so spatial information on streams and contour lines indicating drainages tell us less about the historic or prehistoric environment, even in the absence of broader shifts like sea level changes or environmental transitions.

While the limitations of predictive modeling as a concept must be understood, and unanticipated sites must always be expected, there is nonetheless a strong need and impetus for archaeological sensitivity analysis in a municipal context. Because of this, the creation of predictive models in cities began in the late 1970s and 1980s, often associated with developing municipal archaeology programs and the push towards preservation planning, but also as a means of studying popular topics like the spatial distribution of socioeconomic status (Spencer-Wood and Riley 1981; Cressey 1979). The Richmond

Metropolitan Area Archaeological Survey, an important element of this research, is another such example. These types of studies are often better termed a sensitivity analysis than a predictive model, but there is considerable confusion and overlap in use of these terms.

#### 6.1.1 Previous Investigations in Virginia Urban Predictive Modeling and Sensitivity Analysis

An increasing proportion of city and county municipal data is now held in the GIS databases of local planning departments, and geospatial data is a major organizing principle for city decision-making. Many cities with substantive archaeological preservation programs, like Alexandria, Virginia; Vancouver, Washington; Kansas City, Missouri; Aurora Colorado; and eleven other municipalities currently use predictive modeling to create spatial archaeological sensitivity zones within their city GIS data, which allow preservation planning decisions regarding archaeological sensitivity but do not reveal specific archaeological site locations (Deur and Butler 2016, 193–94).

Municipal sensitivity models are of two basic types: either they involve the creation of broad archaeological zones based on the archaeological sensitivity of neighborhoods and regions (i.e. Alexandria; St. Augustine) or they create a product that more resembles a predictive model, in which raster data is combined to give a variable sensitivity for each pixel on a given map, and sensitivity can change substantially in a small area (i.e. the archaeological probability model map for Camas, Washington, as seen in Duer and Butler 2016: 197). Prehistoric resources require the analysis of continuous environmental data in order to

identify areas (generally discontinuous) of the highest concern; in contrast, a historic model can, at its most basic level, be the footprint of city historic maps that illustrate fairly well where the city has developed from over time.

The RMAAS survey (Section 3.4.2) used an environmental variable and historic resource analysis to create an underlying predictive model, but then narrowed this model down and placed sensitive areas in Richmond within four zones of archaeological sensitivity. While some historic resources are predictable within regional or zonal boundaries because they follow city annexations and grids, native resources are much less so. In the typical predictive model for prehistoric sites, assessed high potential tend to be irregular shapes along rivers and streams, ridgelines, and soils patterns associated with underlying geology, with perhaps some additional irregularities created by incorporating known protohistoric sites into the model. The results of these types of analysis cannot be easily distilled into prehistoric archaeological districts. However, analysis leaves out considerable data if only contiguous zones are created.

Regionally, Alexandria and Fauquier County are the only two Virginia municipalities to have a recent comprehensive predictive model held in their planning departments (Deur and Butler 2016). Alexandria's sensitivity model (Figure 20) divides the city into Archaeological Resource Areas and identifies whether the area has general high sensitivity for historic resources (blue); the potential for high sensitivity for historic resources only on specific parcels (green); or areas that are excluded from Archaeological Resource Areas due to presumed

low sensitivity (white). Additionally, Spotsylvania County funded an archaeological sensitivity analysis for both prehistoric and historic sites in 2007

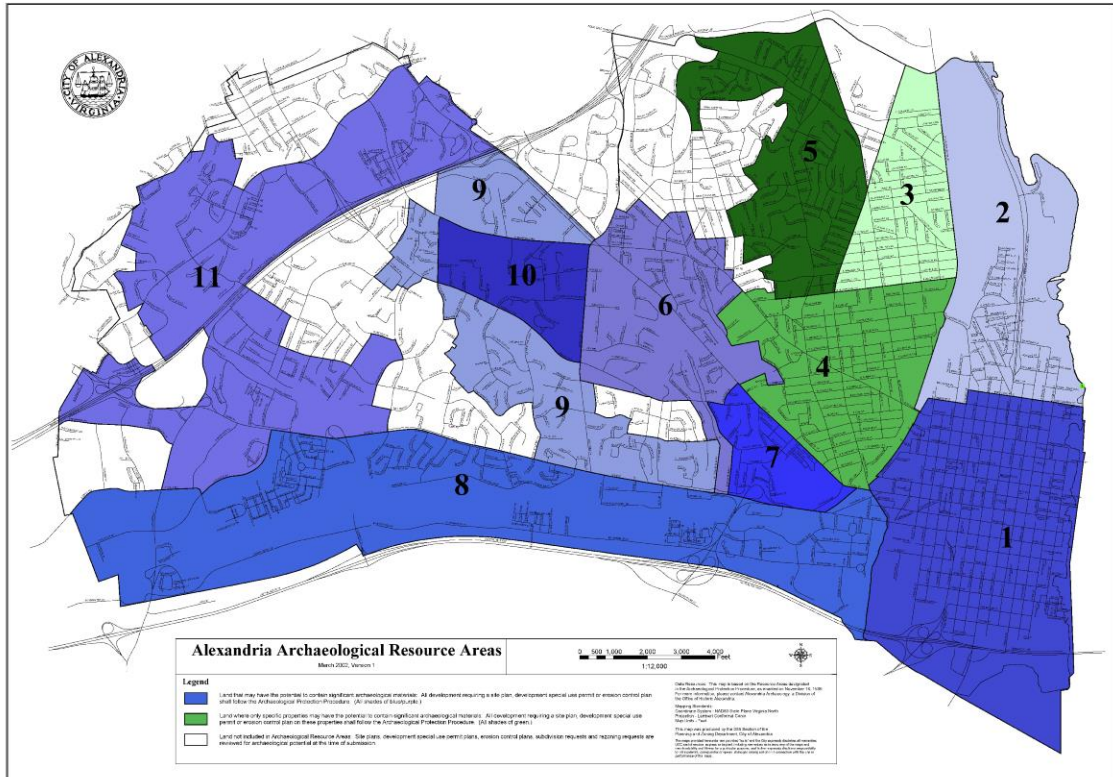


Figure 20 - City of Alexandria Archaeological Resource Map (City of Alexandria Website)

(Monroe et al. 2007). The city of Fredericksburg in 2017 began the process of contracting with a provider of sensitivity modeling, which would be produced in association with the archaeological working group they established in 2013 and their recent advances towards an archaeological ordinance (Jett 2017; Fredericksburg 2017). While the Alexandria predictive model is more of a sensitivity zone assessment, the Fauquier model was based on factors like soil type, elevation, proximity to water, and previously-identified prehistoric site locations to create a true model with greater sensitivity variability within a small area (McCoy and Klein 2017; Wheatcraft and Williamson 2016).

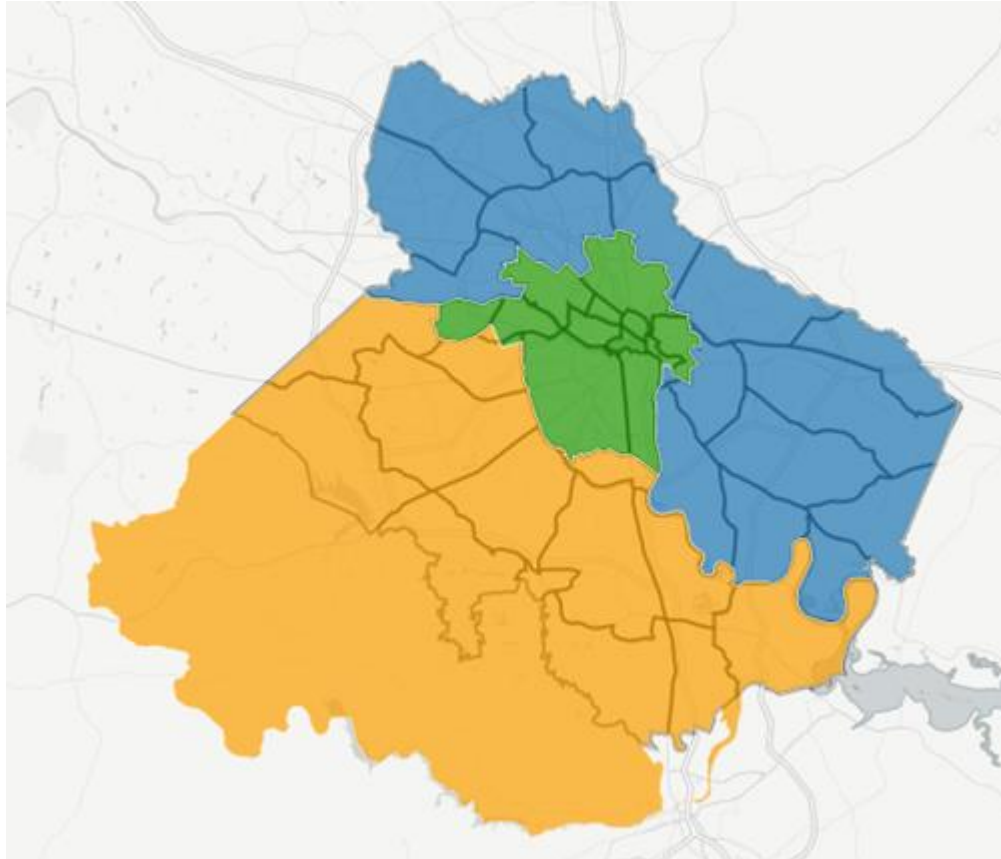


#### 6.1.1.1 Methods, Conclusions, and Further Investigations Based on the 1985 Richmond Metropolitan Area Archaeological Survey

The most substantial previous research in this area are the sensitivity areas and data collected in 1985 as part of the Richmond Metropolitan Archaeological Area Survey (RMAAS), which was introduced in Section 3.4.2. Conducted by Daniel Mouer and Rob Ryder of the VCU-Archaeological Research Center, RMAAS continues to be the most considerable analysis of the city's archaeological sensitivity to date, and included analysis of environmental data; historical documents; and identification of potential or unknown sites whose locations might be able to be determined based on historic analysis. RMAAS produced limited field survey on poorly understood areas, resulting in greater understanding of archaeological site distribution along the James and Appomattox river frontages and Piedmont upland and stream valley tracts (Mouer, Johnson, and Gleach 1985b, 4). Additionally RMAAS produced an analysis of Richmond's known archaeological sites and their levels of previous destruction and vulnerability; this analysis concluded that sites identified in Richmond by 1985, 9% had already been destroyed; 3% were of unknown status; 26% were actively threatened by development; 42% were unprotected; 2% were completely secure from development; and the remaining 8% were likely candidates for private or public protection (Mouer, Johnson, and Gleach 1985b, 73). Its analysis provides a detailed bookmark of the best understanding of the city's archaeological sensitivity circa 1985, which can be reviewed in Appendix O.

RMAAS provides a division of the city's area into planning units that have been reused for the current research in order to allow for direct comparisons. The RMAAS zones that make up the Richmond study area (excluding the Chesterfield and Henrico sections of the study) include North Richmond, Main St.-Fulton, Downtown, Richmond Waterfront, Belvidere, West End, Church Hill, Manchester, Cherokee, the Fan, Stratford Hills, and Southside (Figure 21). They use a combination of modern geopolitical boundaries (highways and city boundary lines) and historic or environmental ones (the river; streams; ridges; historic roads) to delineate separate regions within the city in order to perform spatial analysis.

RMAAS also created a historic and prehistoric predictive model for the city based on soil and environmental data and historic documentary evidence, and conducted limited fieldwork to refine the model. Using a database they created call the GRID Data Set, RMAAS divided Richmond into 2000-foot squares that aligned with municipal planning makes and the soils maps for Henrico and Chesterfield County, and used them to code data on landscape variables in the absence of spatial processing software (Mouer, Johnson, and Gleach 1985b, 33). Using their SOILS Data Set, researchers collated information from the Soil



*Figure 21 - RMAAS Planning Units used to divide Richmond (green), Henrico County (blue) and Chesterfield County (orange)*

Conservation Service, and included data on up to 4 soil types in the GRID data being used to develop the model. Sensitivity assessments of Levels 1-4 were

developed by assessing likely site density based on environmental and historical factors, as well as more subjective interpretations about potential site significance based on the authors' expertise in the area. During predictive modeling analysis, Mouer and his coauthors concluded that sites likely exist along upland areas more commonly than they have been found, but that otherwise using a control sample based on survey data, the RMAAS predictive model matches very well with observed site location patterns (Mouer, Johnson, and Gleach 1985b, 49–50).

The preservation planning process represented by the Richmond Metropolitan Area Archaeological Survey (RMAAS) produced an output that was similar in many ways to the Alexandria resource areas map. While RMAAS was not produced in coordination with an archaeological ordinance, as many similar sensitivity analyses are now, the report described four levels of archaeological sensitivity across the city that could have been used by planners and officials (if they were aware of it or cared). The majority of the study area (including Richmond, Henrico County, and parts of Chesterfield County) was designated Level 1, where sites of moderate significance are probably present but there is no reason to expect exceptional quality resources. In Level 2, important resources eligible for the National Register are likely, and should be mitigated. In Level 3, the authors considered that development was likely to disturb sites of exceptional significance and with sites important to the study of major research themes. Level 4 was restricted to only areas where “unique sites of national or international significance [are] known or expected to have exceptional integrity

and value for research and interpretation” (Mouer, Johnson, and Gleach 1985b, 75–76). Figure 22 shows the assigned archaeological sensitivity zones designated by RMAAS in Richmond, which only contained Sensitivity Levels 2 and 4 (areas with no designation are assumed to be Level 1). These sensitivity areas include regions still considered to be archaeologically sensitive, such as the Shockoe Bottom neighborhood, the areas of the city affected by the

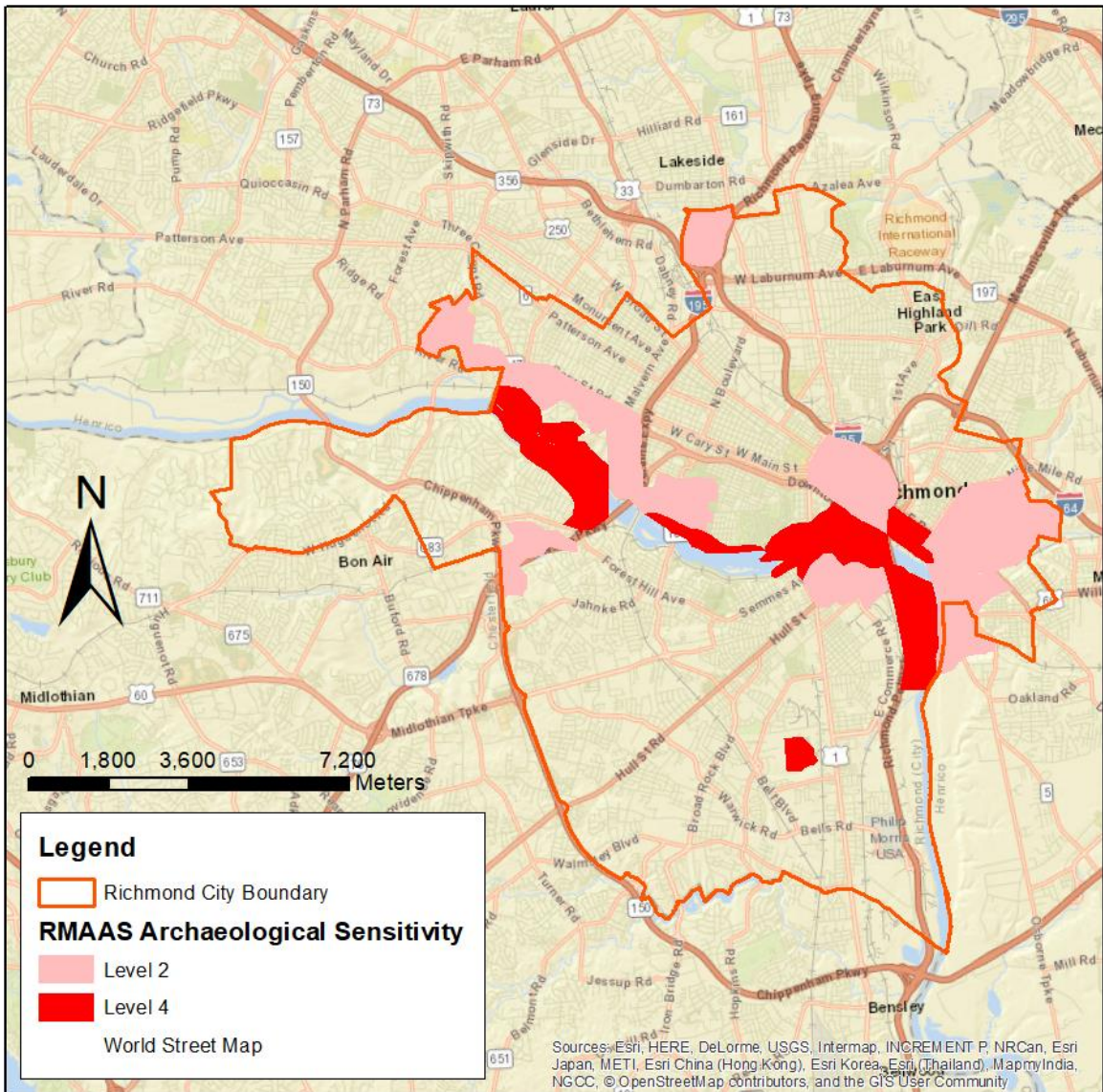
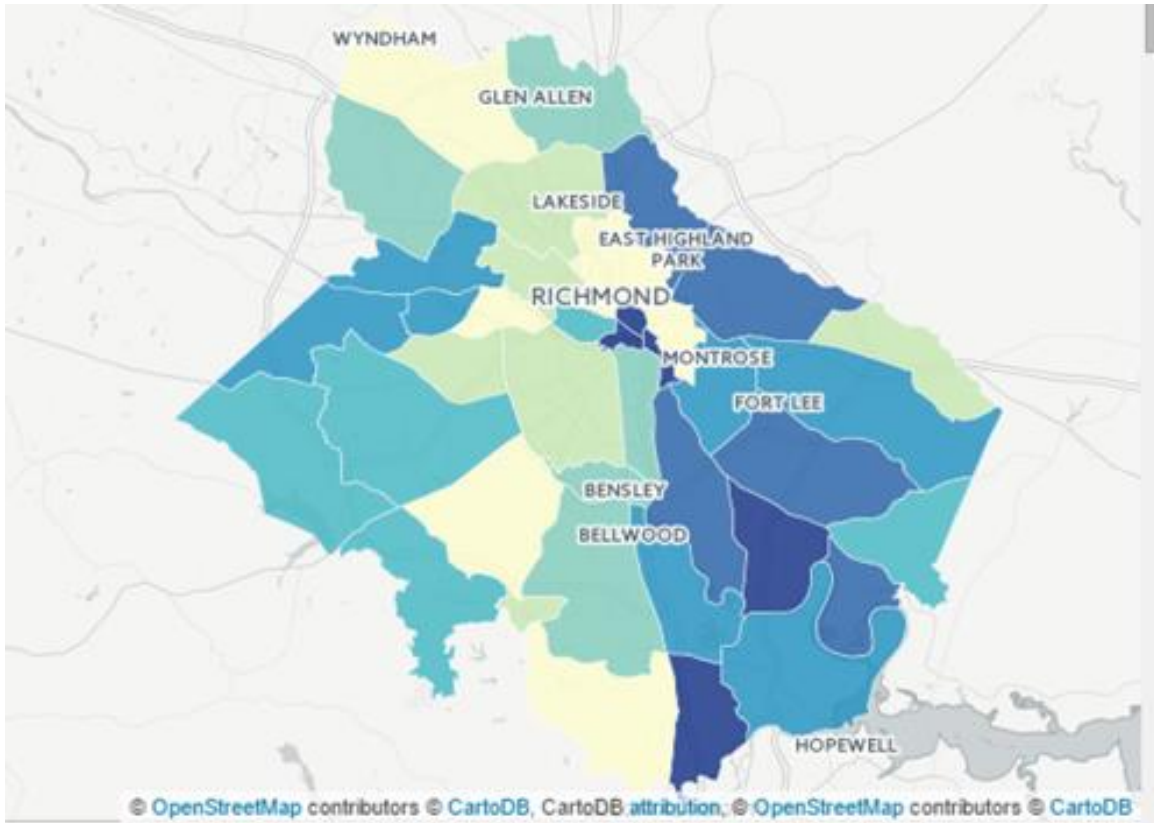


Figure 22 - RMAAS Archaeological Sensitivity Assessment (1985)

Evacuation Fire, and several areas along the James River. Large sections of the

city outside of the historic city footprint, especially Southside south of the river, appear considerably excluded in this model.

For a 2016 Society for Historical Archaeology annual conference paper, Jolene Smith (VDHR Archaeological Data Manager) and myself collected land use data for all the RMAAS planning units, including ones that covered all of Henrico County north of Richmond and much of Chesterfield County south of the city. Using the Spatial Analysis ArcMap tool, we compared 1992 and 2011 land use data to develop a extent of change in land use between land cover types we considered indicative of low (Open Water; Deciduous Forest; Evergreen Forest; Shrub/Scrub; Woody Wetlands; Emergent Herbaceous Wetlands); medium (Developed, Open Space; Developed, Low Intensity); and high (Developed, High

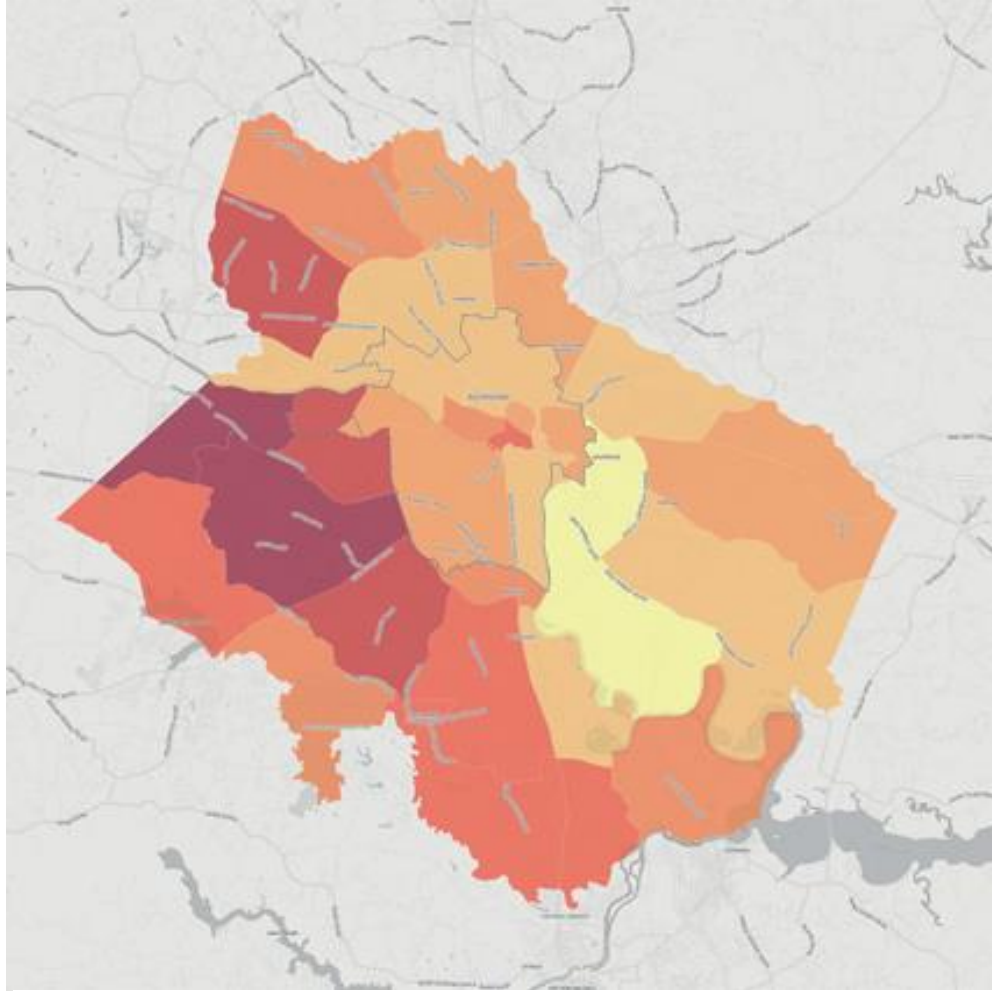


*Figure 23 - Current Site Density in Metropolitan Richmond by sites per square km. (Smith and Chapman 2016)*

Intensity; Barren Ground) levels of archaeological disturbance (J. Smith and Chapman 2016).

This research illustrated that for most of the Richmond planning units, land use type had not changed much since 1992, that the majority of the city with a high potential for archaeological data loss is not substantially changed in its land use since 1992. In contrast, rural areas of Chesterfield County have been subject to extensive levels of development intensity increase (Figure 24). This is in line with other land use research, which suggests that urban growth has been fairly low since 2006, although this may in part be a result of the 2008 recession (J. R. Anderson et al. 2017, 352). Although this suggests that rates of archaeological loss in Richmond may be slower than they were at earlier points of its past, especially during the expansion and infrastructure projects of the 1960s and 1970s, examining land use change may underrepresent urban impacts in some ways. Particularly, studies of this type lack a means of identifying types of archaeological losses where a large development without a basement is replaced by a large building with a basement which requires extensive subterranean excavation.





*Figure 24 - Density of Predicted Archaeological Loss in Metropolitan Richmond since 1985 (darker areas correspond with greater land use change relative to site discovery rates) (Smith and Chapman 2016)*

Examination of the sites identified since 1985 and overall site density in these planning units also illustrated (Figure 23) that overall metropolitan Richmond recorded site density was highest within the historic city core and in a few areas of Henrico and Chesterfield where site recording was made more likely by substantial CRM or academic research projects (J. Smith and Chapman 2016).

Virginia municipalities can receive complimentary archaeological site data from V-CRIS if they have earned Certified Local Government status, which



requires the creation of a historic district ordinance (not necessarily archaeological) and a review board like the Commission of Architectural Review. However, in practice CLG status does not guarantee any level of archaeological expertise in a municipality, and location data of recorded archaeological sites is a poor proxy for archaeological sensitivity. Sensitivity assessment zones in a municipal GIS is an essential element for any comprehensive city-wide archaeological planning, whether that is tied to an ordinance requiring archaeological work for certain projects, historic commission review, consultation with groups of stakeholders, or city incentive systems (Deur and Butler 2016).

Some municipalities have invested in predictive modeling or sensitivity analyses as part of CLG funding or through partnership with non-profits (Appler and Rumbach 2016). One benefit of the CLG program in Virginia is that it provides matching funds for municipalities interested in architectural or archaeological survey; preservation planning; or interpretation projects (Virginia Department of Historic Resources 2018). These funds are variable but in 2000-2014 they averaged over \$10,000 per project with a maximum award (matched) of almost \$24,000<sup>76</sup>. This type of investment can be easily justified through the potential it has to reduce city planning staff time on project reviews in areas (like Alexandria) which have archaeological ordinance requirements to fulfill.

The sensitivity zone approach is also taken in St Augustine, where their Comprehensive Plan and archaeological ordinance require archaeological mitigation within certain zones in order for Planning and Building permits to be

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<sup>76</sup> Based on CLG grant history excel sheet provided by Pam Schenian of VDHR on May 22, 2014.

received (Halbirt and Miller 2017, 302–5) These types of spatial assessments are useful to limit archaeological protections to areas where they are most necessary, but the production of these types of data can also be useful to explain archaeological review decisions to stakeholders who do not have a strong understanding of the discipline. The approach taken also varies based on whether the resources in need of protecting are more proportionally historic (as in Alexandria) or prehistoric. A prehistoric predictive model for Fauquier County was recently produced in part to explain to developers why some of their projects were required to undergo archaeological survey under the county's ordinance, while other projects did not (McCoy and Klein 2017).

Assessments of archaeological sensitivity used in the Virginia region have commonly examined where prehistoric sites are located with reference to slope, elevation, landcover, distance from water, position within drainages, soil quality, and other factors. They have commonly found that a small number of variables explained most of the variation in site location; especially significant appear to be soil quality of Class I or II soils according to the land capability analysis; slope (greater than 13% slope at a location greatly diminishes the likelihood of a site located on it); and distance to water (this may be of more significant impact on any habitation, settlement, or camp type of site and be less of a factor for resource extraction or some sacred sites) (McCoy and Klein 2017). Nor are environmental variables less critical for site location in historic contexts; Lukezic examined eighteenth-century Tidewater sites and found that soil quality was the

factor most strongly associated with site location, followed by drinking water and public road access (Lukezic 1990, 15).

Ultimately, while the limitations of predictive modeling are well-taken, and proponents need to be more guarded in the promises they make of their research (especially when there is no ground-truthing), municipalities make decisions increasingly based on geospatial data and avoiding this area means archaeological expertise and current conclusions are inaccessible for the employees making decisions that affect archaeological resources and their potential for interpretation. They do this, not only to reduce fieldwork or reduce cost, but also to convey information on archaeological sensitivity to city staff and permit applicants who do not understand the discipline well. Lacking an explicit analysis of archaeological sensitivity because it would be imperfect will also increase the perception amongst non-archaeologists that the work is unprofessional; politically-driven; or inherently disruptive. This chapter will discuss the methods, results, and interpretation of two archaeological sensitivity assessments created for Richmond, one for prehistoric resources and one for historic resources, as well as an archaeological preservation assessment used in both models that focuses on elements likely to contribute to the preservation of sites. This is understood to be an initial first step – hopefully the beginning of a process that will incrementally contribute to the digitization of cartographic and archival data on Richmond’s historic fabric, and identify and refine approaches of analyzing environmental data to provide inferences about areas sensitive for native sites.

## 6.2 Spatial Analysis Methods

This study uses spatial data to model archaeological sensitivity of the city in three basic ways. First it employs a model of specific predictive environmental data to create a Richmond Prehistoric Sensitivity Map. Second, it uses historical maps and documents to create a Richmond Historic Sensitivity Map. Finally, it examines elements associated with a likelihood of archaeological site preservation to append both the prehistoric and historic models with information regarding likely preservation in particular areas. This allows for any location within the city to be examined and assessed swiftly regarding the area's historic archaeological sensitivity, prehistoric archaeological sensitivity, and likelihood that deposits are to survive, without creating a model that obscures differences in the extents of these three measures of archaeological sensitivity.

This separation allows the development of specific types of data that apply variably to prehistoric sites and ways of predicting them versus historic sites and how they can be predicted. Additionally, recognizing that as Mouer has said, "the entire City of Richmond is an archaeological site," the archaeological preservation assessment employs elements like urban land use data and soil deposition patterns to predict the likelihood of site preservation and burial of deep stratigraphy in areas that may or may not be identified as archaeologically sensitive. The study recognizes that, even in deeply disturbed urban contexts comprised of buildings with deep basements; utility projects; and substantial adjustments to urban topography starting especially in the 1850s in Richmond, it is hard to discount with a 100% probability the likelihood of archaeological

deposits in a given area. This is especially the case for a city-wide survey such as this, which cannot review historic photographs or construction plans.

However, for a large unit of analysis like a city, land use and similar data can be useful to compare one city to another, one area of the city from others, or to study change over time.

This work does not directly use RMAAS data given the challenges to converting it into digital data and the modern existence of higher-resolution forms of information, but it does use a similar approach and references the RMAAS conclusion. Based on trends in predictive modeling and the extensive work done already in the RMAAS report, this research creates a Prehistoric and Historic Sensitivity Map using “predictive model” style raster analysis, which creates rasters based on factors that differentially represent the likelihood of prehistoric and historic site creation. This research predominantly uses the Model Builder, Spatial Analysis, Reclassify, and Weighted Sum tools in ArcMap to create a distribution map of areas most likely to contain material of interest. Because all information is converted into raster (image) format and this analysis is only as high resolution as the lowest resolution data type, the resolution of these models is approximately 30 meters, because the land cover has a cell size of 30.

#### 6.2.1 Prehistoric Sensitivity Map Methods

While some predictive models are highly complex and use a large number of variables in assessing site location, this sensitivity assessment uses evidence from earlier predictive models in the Virginia and Mid-Atlantic regions, which suggests that a small number of variables (predominantly slope, distance from

water, and soil classification) are responsible for the majority of variability in site location. Therefore, this methodology uses the Model Builder, Spatial Analyst, Reclassify, and Weighted Sums tools in ESRI ArcMap products to create a model that weighs these three factors evenly in assessing the likelihood of a prehistoric site being located on a given spot within the Richmond city limits. In order to perform this type of analysis, datasets illustrating these types of data all have to be in raster dataset form, so that the model can average between the weights of the three different variables at each given point in the city. For the prehistoric sensitivity analysis, slope; distance from water, and soil class (suitability for agriculture) were used following previous Virginia prehistoric predictive models that have illustrated that these three variables comprise the preponderance of variability in prehistoric archaeological site location. Further information on the methods used in the creation of this model is provided in Appendix 11.7.

#### 6.2.2 Historic Sensitivity Map Methods

Given the archaeological richness of Richmond's historic periods, as well as the considerable spatial evidence regarding some periods of the city's historic record, the analysis of historical sensitivity was not carried out along the same lines of environmental data analysis as was the prehistoric model. Instead, a study of how the city had developed over time, through archival study of historic maps, was produced. This was used to create relative sensitivity blocks, similar to the approach used in Alexandria or in the RMAAS report, that are most likely to have historic sites represented within them.

### 6.2.2.1 Examining Richmond's Development Through City Maps

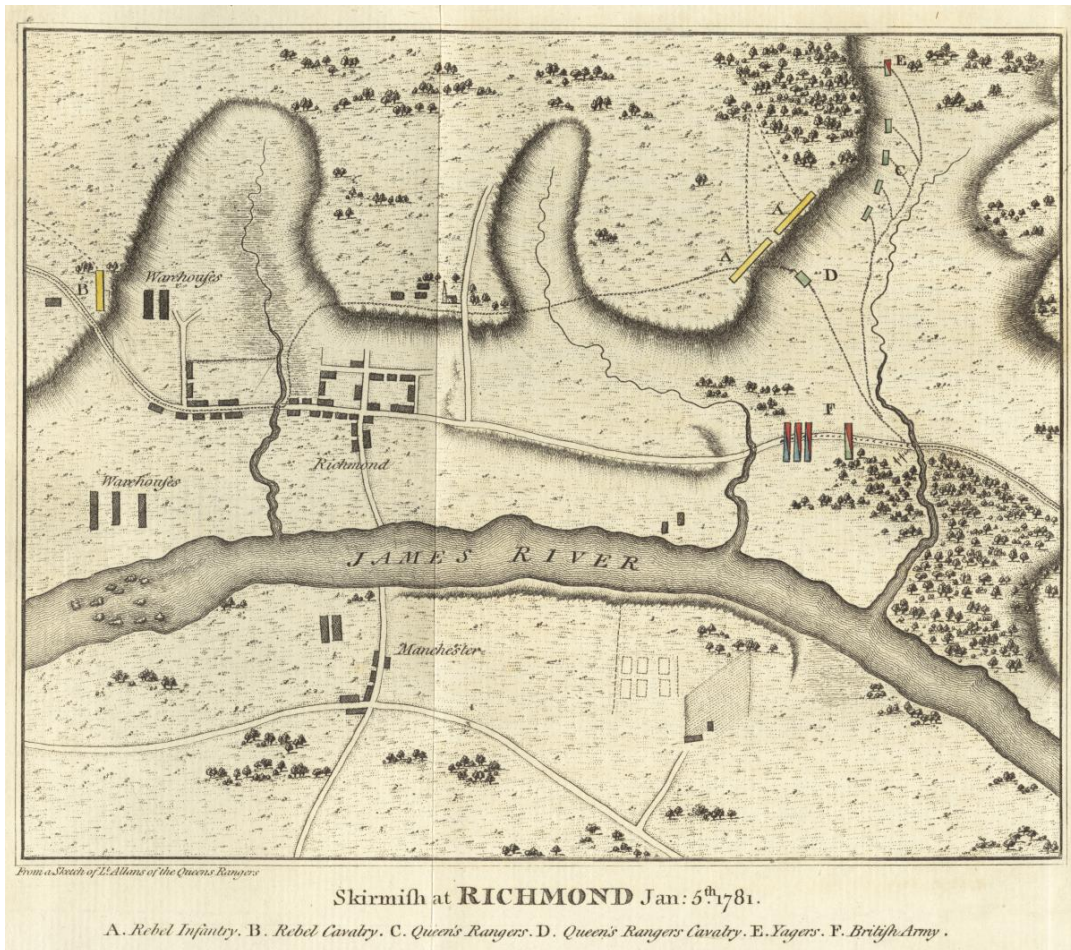
Richmond has over three hundred historic maps in the Library of Virginia

card catalog, and additional maps of parts of the city are located at the Library of Congress, Virginia Historical Society, other archives, and private collections (Library of Virginia 2017). In order to select geospatial data I reviewed the map catalogs at these three collections (the Library of Congress I reviewed only their online collections) and the David Rumsey Map Collection of the David Rumsey Map Center at the Stanford University Library (this archive has its collections considerably online). A full list of the historic maps I have reviewed or recorded from these collections is available in Appendix 11.3. I was fortunate to receive high resolution scans, georeferenced maps, or digitized data from the following archives and individuals: VCU Special Collections (Beers Atlas); University of Richmond Digital Scholarship Lab (Beers and Ellyson); Christopher Parr (Beers; Michler); Henrico County (Civil war earthwork shapefiles); and Lyle Browning (Civil war earthwork shapefiles). Based on this review and initial georeferencing efforts with several maps, I selected a limited number of historic maps on which to base my historic data for Richmond. For this analysis, I prioritized maps with high fidelity (the easiest in their time period to georeference with any degree of satisfaction); the level of detail regarding buildings and sites within the city; and the size of the map extent. This generally prioritizes maps created for city government purposes over smaller, more detailed maps like land deed or plat maps; circuit court documents associated with criminal cases; or corporate maps,





Revolutionary War by Lieutenant Allans of the Queens Rangers, which illustrates roads in and out of the city, warehouses, and battle lines (Figure 26).



*Figure 26 - The 1781 Simcoe Map, illustrating buildings in Richmond, Manchester, and Rockett's, but representational with very skewed perspective (Courtesy of the Norman B. Leventhal Map Center at the Boston Public Library)*

The *Plan of the Division of Richard Adams' Estate*, likely drawn in 1809, is notable because of its extensive quantity of named buildings, lot owner names, and delineation of city greenspace (Figure 27). The manuscript map of Richmond by Richard Young in 1809/1810, the first Richmond city planner, was extensively conserved in 2017 and includes some of the earliest map depictions of the Rocketts Landing neighborhood, as well as representing early habitation in

Manchester, the canal turning basin, and including 27 significant buildings such as courthouses, banks, taverns, religious locations, theaters, and locations associated with punishment in the city (Courtois 2017).



*Figure 27 - Map of Richard Adams' Estate, undated (1809/1810). (Courtesy of the Library of Virginia).*

Micajah Bates, Richmond's next city planner, produced a substantially detailed map in 1835 which includes similar layout to the Young map but with slightly more identified city buildings. Similarly, the 1848 *Plan of Richmond, Henrico County, Manchester, and Springhill, Virginia* created by Charles S. Morgan, which includes areas of Springhill, Henrico, and Manchester now incorporated within the city of Richmond, includes color coded buildings and a list of notable places whose specific locations were recorded. Maps became more

commonly produced in the 1830s and later, specialized to meet the requirements of an increasing array of tasks and needs.

Richmond experienced annexations and expansions in 1892, 1906, 1910, and 1914, and the 1914 *Map Showing the Territorial Growth of Richmond* displays how the city added territory in this period. An updated version of this map produced by the City Engineer's office shows the city's growth over time (see Figure 14 in Chapter 2). The Ellyson map, published in 1856, was made available to subscribers of the City Directory and was one of the city's first atlas-style maps. Containing almost 100 named buildings including government facilities, hotels, industries, houses of worship, rail lines, and entertainment centers, Ellyson's depiction of the city does not provide the same level of detail into lot owners as did previous maps, instead focusing on public services.

During the Civil War, both Union and Confederate troops were regularly stymied by a lack of understanding of the terrain, oftentimes even in their own territories (Muntz 1963, 90–91). The prosecution of the war was a major incentive to produce more and finer resolution topographic and coastal survey maps, both during the war's campaigns and after it concluded. For the Richmond region, one of the most significant maps from the Civil War is the Michler/Michie map (based on 1865 survey data, completed in 1867) which shows the region in very fine topographical resolution and including the many earthworks and other defensive positions established around the city by the Confederates.





Figure 28 – Detail from *Richmond, Surveyed Under the Direction of N. Michler* (Library of Congress)

Another is the *Map of a part of the city of Richmond showing the burnt districts*, by William Ira Smith. This latter map, shown in Figure 29, illustrates the areas in the city affected by the extensive fires that spread the night before Union troops captured the city.

Post-war, a considerable number of atlas maps of the city were published, the most notable of which is the 1876 Beers Atlas and the Baist Atlas of 1889. Around this time Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, produced by a private company to assist with controlling the spread of fire for customers of private fire insurance,

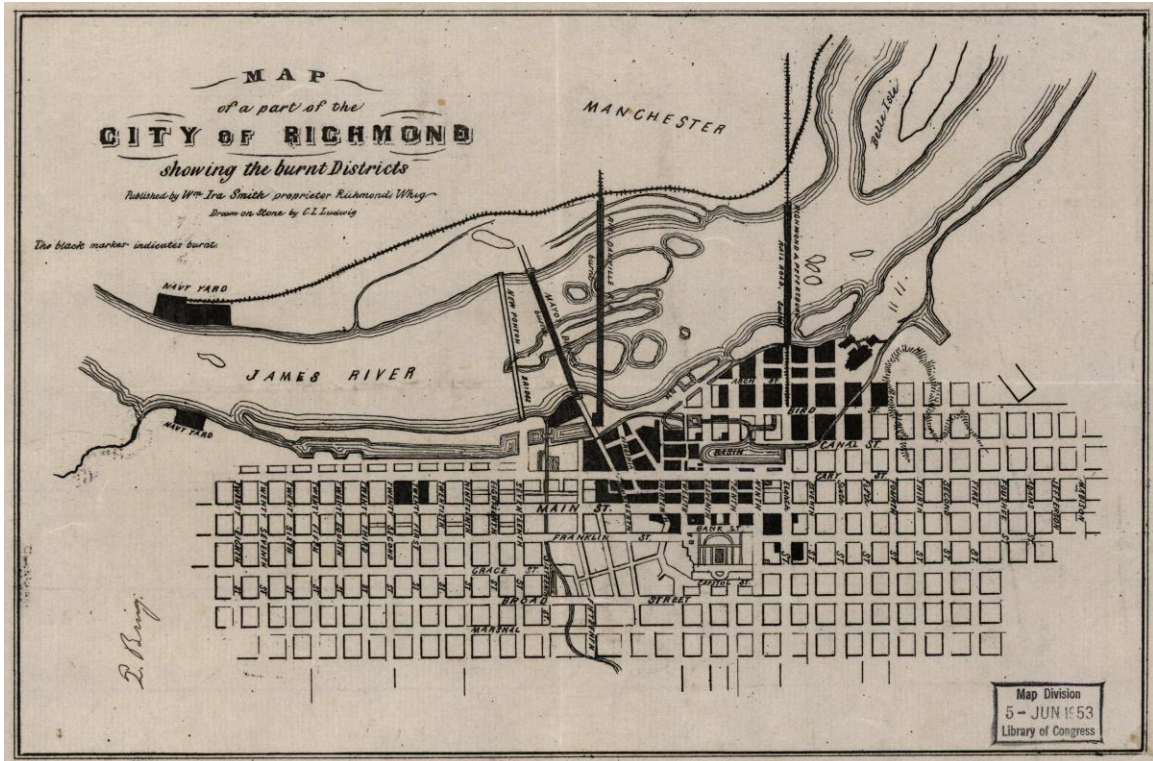


Figure 29 - Map of a part of the city of Richmond showing the burnt Districts (1865). (Courtesy of the Library of Congress).

were first created for Richmond. These maps are especially useful because they record in great detail the construction materials of houses, the specific locations of outbuildings on lots, and are highly detailed. Especially for neighborhoods that were well-established or older at the time of their creation, these maps provide considerable information reaching back into the nineteenth century. However, they also provide a high volume of detail to be georeferenced and digitized, and have not been used extensively here.

#### 6.2.2.2 Selection of Historic Data to Predict Historic Archaeological Sensitivity

In assessing such a considerable area, and in a city with such considerable map, directory, and other archival data, a balance must be struck



between creating a sensitivity map that is adequately detailed and one that is simple enough to use. In reviewing comparable historic sensitivity maps made of Virginian and Mid-Atlantic cities, I have concluded that overall archaeological sensitivity should for the purposes of clarity be distinct from any thematic sensitivity assessments that could (and should) also be made. As a result, this historic sensitivity analysis focuses on the examination of the city's evolution over time, particularly focused on the eighteenth and early to mid-nineteenth centuries. Here I have employed the city habitation boundaries in outline form from the Byrd (1742); Young (1809/1810); and Michler maps (1865) to provide a sense of the expansion of early Richmond. In addition, I have created a "High Potential" file into which I digitized potential site boundaries related to eighteenth and early nineteenth-century toll houses and other rural resources (predominantly from the Wood maps of then-Henrico and Chesterfield Counties); historic cemeteries; Civil War fortifications; industrial and native resources at the river; and any additional resources mentioned in spatial assessments of the city's archaeological sensitivity (e.g. W. E. Trout, Moore, and Rawls 1995; W. E. I. Trout 1979; Dutton, Friedberg, and Taylor 2014; Mouer, Johnson, and Gleach 1985b). Maps were coded in color based on their chronological age, allowing the map to illustrate where the most complex and layered historical urban deposits are likely to be situated in the city.

### 6.2.3 Archaeological Preservation Analysis Methods

Because one element of archaeological sensitivity and value relates to resource scarcity, geographic estimations of archaeological loss are also a lens

through which to understand the city's landscape and its meaning. This approach was also present in the RMAAS report, which provided estimates regarding the proportions of city sites that were destroyed, threatened by development or other damage, and which were relatively secure. There is considerable archaeological sensitivity associated with the Richmond evacuation fire, although this fire has only occasionally been identified under controlled archaeological excavation (as during the salvage excavation of burials at Shockoe Slip). Anecdotal stories from the 1970s and 1980s (see Chapter 4.4) clearly illustrate the extent to which cached deposits are likely there, as does the volume of material recovered from the Floodwall excavation.

Other researchers have similarly provided insights or predictions related to the likelihood of site preservation, especially associated with areas like Shockoe Bottom where the history is dense but much more archaeological material is known to exist than there are archaeological sites recorded for. According to one of the few underwater investigations, "Much of the Richmond Dock area of the old James River and Kanawha Canal Co. [at Shockoe and Rocketts Landing] remains as it was constructed in the 1840s and 1850s" and ship slips crenulating the north bank between the canal and Dock Street appear to be intact (Rodgers 1996). Rodgers found that within the mud at the bottom of the Kanawha Canal there was some stratigraphic integrity and considerable depth, with modern artifacts in top 18 inches of canal muck, then late nineteenth century to 4 feet, then a surface at 10-12 feet with oldest materials and boats. These discoveries suggest that despite annual dredging in the 1970s and subsequent dredging

events as needed that may limit preservation in some areas of the river, other areas adjacent to the James River and Kanawha Canal are likely to be highly archaeologically sensitive (Riggan 2013; Richmond Times-Dispatch 2016). According to an excel inventory table curated at VDHR related to the Floodwall project (associated with Maury St field specimens), during the project wooden eighteenth and nineteenth-century water pipes were recovered at 25<sup>th</sup> and Main Streets (these were also anecdotally noted under the original market at 17<sup>th</sup> Street during the market's development during the 1970s).

In addition to reported evidence specific to Richmond's observed and likely archaeological preservation, there are also approaches to spatial analysis that can identify areas where archaeological sites are most and least likely to be preserved. These types of data especially relate to the extent of past development and the likelihood of preserved buried stratigraphy. On the development side, land cover or use data is generally underused within spatial archaeological analysis, but it is a dataset with particular use for cities that was recognized by some early urban archaeologists. Edward Staski was likely the first to discuss the use of urban land use data in reference to urban archaeology (Staski 1982, 103–4). Staski examined land use types (single-family dwellings, multi-family dwellings, mobile dwellings, commercial, industrial, schools, recreation, churches, cemeteries, street, remnant parcels, and other various types) in reference to their distribution across cities, likely degree of preservation, and accessibility to archaeologists (in terms of both excavation cost and the difficulty of acquiring permissions for projects). Generally, his national-scale



research of over 100 American cities assessed in 1982 that around a third of urban land was occupied by single family dwellings, which he assessed as having excellent preservation odds, low cost of excavation, and variable permission difficulties (Staski 1982, 103–7).

In addition to land use and development, a series of other factors related to soil deposition and alteration may affect whether archaeological deposits are likely to exist on a site. In terms of intact soil stratigraphy and burial deposits, this can relate to soil deposition episodes and erosion processes. This sensitivity can be specific to a particular type of age of resource, as with the Paleolithic loess soil overlaying Paleoindian deposits in parts of the Mid-Atlantic. When combined with a systemic series of soil coring, understanding of these stratigraphic patterns can refine models for urban sensitivity in a more practical manner than can other testing methods, such as shovel test pit survey. Examining these types of processes can alternately emphasize the influence of human activity in eroding or burying sites. As part of its project review, the D.C. Historic Preservation Office requests that project proponents perform cut-and-fill analysis, in which the area's modern topography is compared with the earliest city maps containing contour information from 1880. Contour shapefiles are converted into raster image format files, which can then be subtracted from one another using Raster Math to provide a net number of feet the area has been cut (decreased in elevation) or filled (had its elevation increased) due to land transformation processes of development on the site (Dahlgren, n.d.). While assessments of this type are not feasible on the scale of an entire city, there are several variables that correspond

with soil deposition and therefore the likelihood of preserved and buried deposits in the city. Within Richmond, several of the sites where considerable preservation has been identified (like Maury Street, various canal boat deposits, and Lumpkin's Jail) have been located adjacent to depositional rivers and creeks or within manmade bodies of water. Another aspect to site preservation particular to Richmond is the influence of the Evacuation Fire. While fire was an iterative destructive process in most if not all eighteenth and nineteenth-century cities, a single fire as widespread and producing such extensive fill is fairly unusual. So too is the spatial specificity with which this fire can be understood: because the owner of the *Richmond Whig* newspaper walked the city in the days after the fire and published a map shortly thereafter, there is geographic information regarding the fire that is much harder to compile from first-hand accounts alone (W. I. Smith 1865).

This archaeological preservation assessment will focus on the use of three types of data (land use; floodplain data; and Evacuation Fire extent) to develop a working prediction of the likelihood that prehistoric or historic sites on a given location are likely to be preserved. This study seeks to provide a sensitivity analysis for both prehistoric and historic resources in Richmond, building on the work of RMAAS and taking into account the advances in modeling technology, archaeological discoveries, and data collection since the 1980s. Greater detail regarding the methods used to produce the predictive model are presented in Appendix 11.8.

### 6.3 Archaeological Sensitivity Assessment of Richmond

This section examines each of the three models created to review Richmond's current archaeological potential, describes the analysis performed and provides the interpretations and implications of these models.

#### 6.3.1 Prehistoric Archaeological Sensitivity Model Analysis and Results

Illustrated in Figure 30, the model of likely prehistoric archaeological sensitivity created as a result of this research identifies that many areas of Richmond, especially along the river and in the Southside, have qualities that are conducive to the creation of native sites. Comparison between the model results and the raster data associated with slope, soils, and distance from water underlying them shows that the area south of the river may have higher predicted potential for native sites in many areas due to the greater amount of detailed soil classification in that area relative to the more urbanized north half of the city. However, the higher number of streams south of the river was likely also a stronger contributor, as considerable areas in Northside appear to have had poor water access according to modern stream data (see Figure 39 in Appendix).

North of the James River, areas of high sensitivity are to a considerable degree present along the bluffs in either city parks (including Belle Isle; the James River Part System generally; Byrd Park; Chimborazo; Bryan Park and

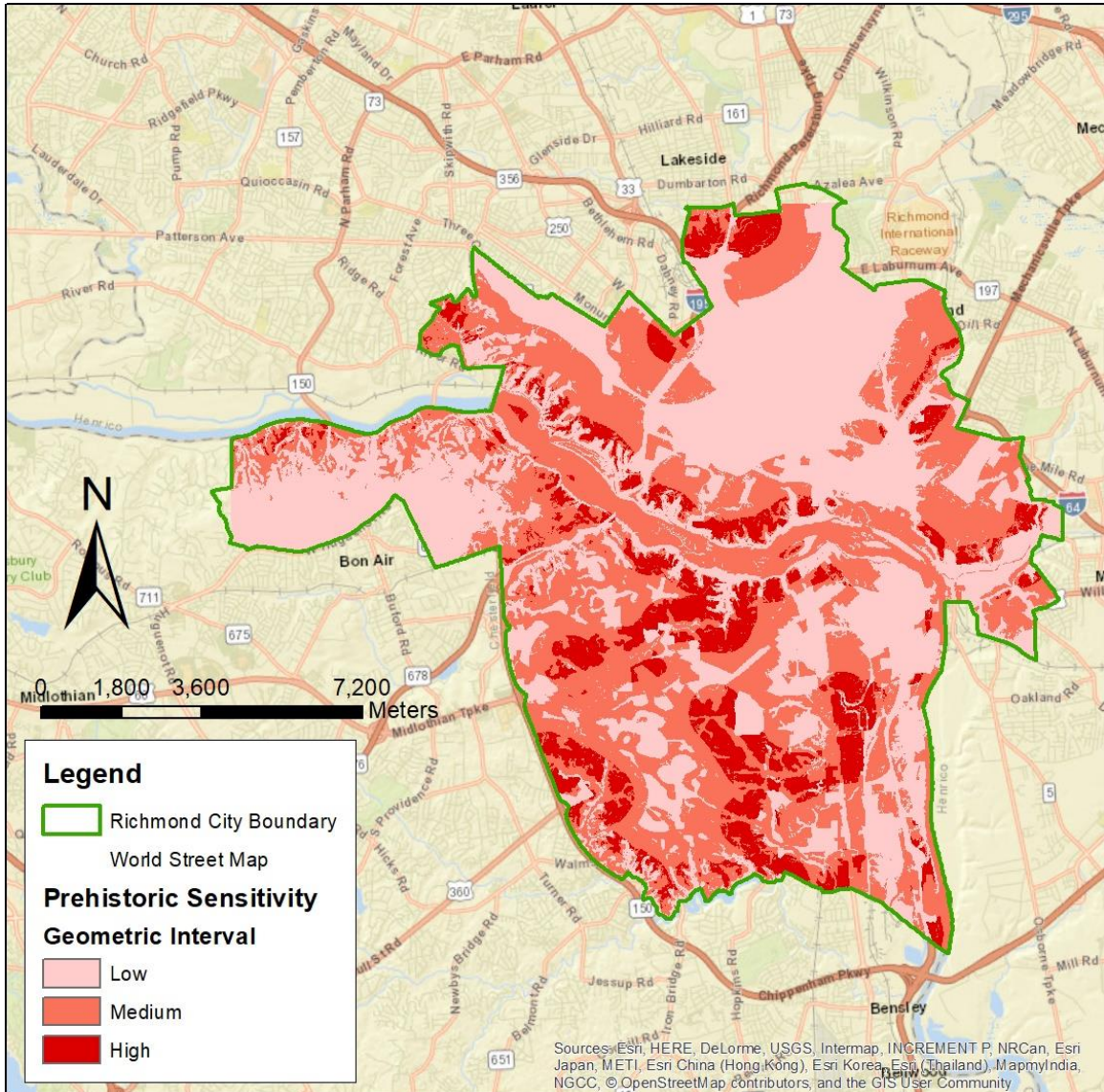


Figure 30 - Prehistoric Archaeological Sensitivity Model (classified using Geometric Interval)

others) or in private subdivisions such as Windsor Farms, the Carillon neighborhood, and Oregon Hill. Anecdotally, the significance of Bryan Park was supported by an ethnographic participant who reported that some community

members from the area have collected numerous arrowheads in that park over the years, including fairly recently<sup>77</sup>.

An area of particular sensitivity is also Hollywood Cemetery, which while preserved from largescale development has had regular interments over the decades which might have had the opportunity to identify artifacts or unusual features. Generally, it appears that much of the prehistoric archaeological sensitivity north of the river is present in mature subdivisions with relatively low degrees of largescale new development projects that might damage sites – with the exception of Oregon Hill, which has been the focus of extensive infill and dense urban condo projects in recent years (Spiers 2017).

Additionally, this model illustrates that considerable areas in Southside, largely residential and not having been subject to much intensive archaeological surveying before, might very well have high potential for native sites. Just south of the James, some similar mature subdivisions and open low-density areas have high sensitivity similar to areas north – Willow Lawn Country Club (or areas that have not been graded by the development of its golf course) appears to be fairly sensitive, as do areas along the edge of Forest Hill Park and particularly its surrounding neighborhoods. However, this sensitive area extends further from

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<sup>77</sup> Interview with anonymous individual, November 2015.



the river along Reedy Creek to Midlothian Turnpike. Additional high sensitivity areas focus on Broad Rock Creek along Hull Street, Jefferson Davis Highway, and Belt Boulevard. This area, while it contains subdivisions, is more industrial and has more varied usage. In addition, however, this area of Southside is lower

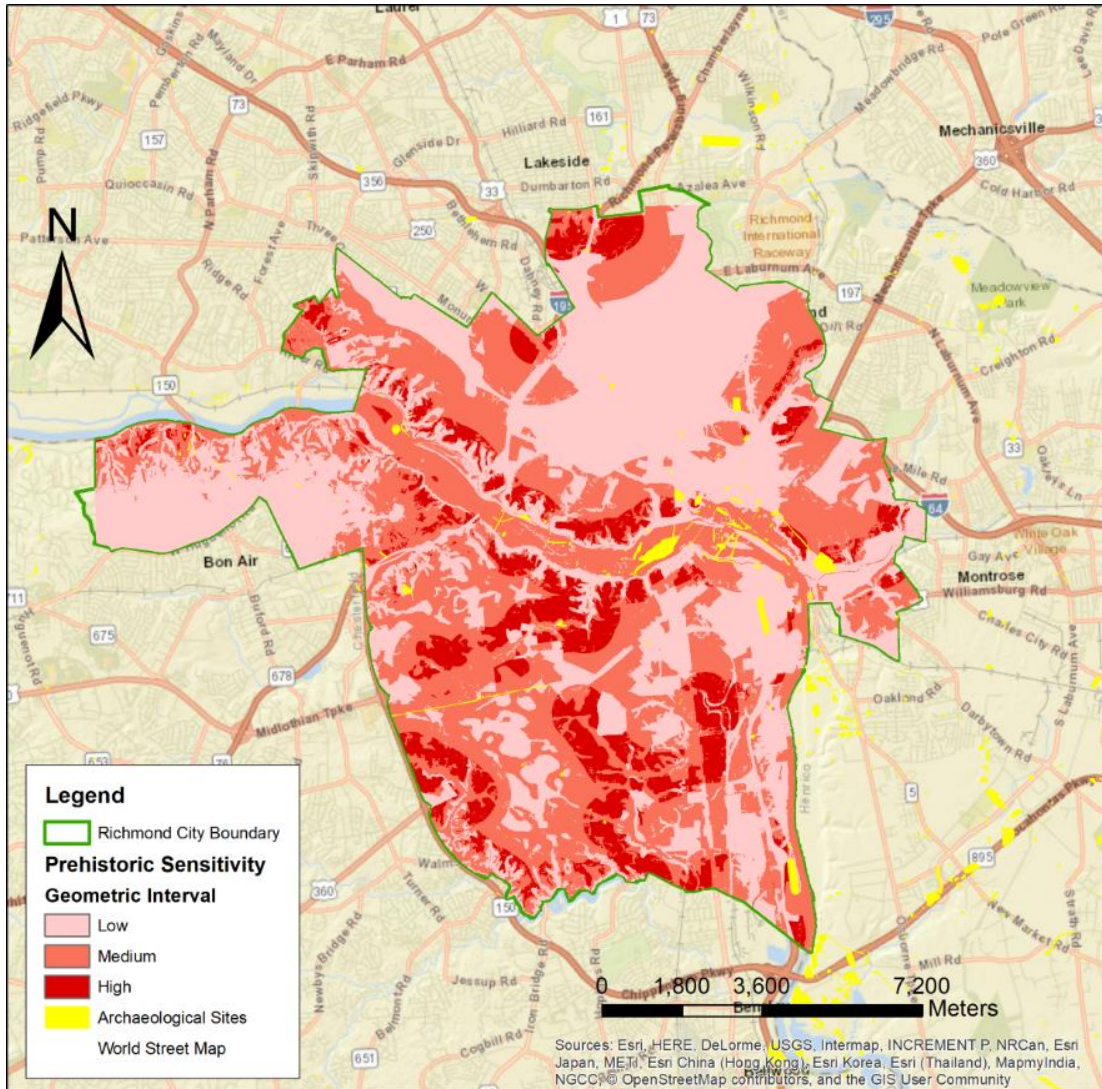


Figure 31 - Prehistoric Sensitivity Model with Richmond Archaeological Sites

income and while the neighborhoods here are not as attractive for new apartment developments (as are common throughout much of the city core north of the river), the cost of land means that large warehouse, industrial, or other projects are more likely to be located on the Southside over the next several decades.

Additionally, as Manchester continues to gentrify and projects there become more profitable, it is likely that neighborhoods adjacent to Manchester will see similar development pressures. As can be seen in Figure 31, very few archaeological sites have been identified in Southside, and less archaeological survey means there are fewer opportunities to raise awareness if properties with particular potential become slated for development. In comparing this model with the RMAAS assessment in 1985, there is considerable overlap in areas of the city listed as high sensitivity, with the exception of Southside, which apart from a Civil War star fort is bare from high sensitivity areas in their model. Their area summaries (reprinted in their entirety in Appendix 11.9) indicate that this absence was due to what they saw as the area's low likelihood of preservation:

“In the southeastern portion of the unit prehistoric sites are likely to be found in the drainage of Broad Rock Creek and the smaller tributaries to Falling Creek. Civil War trenches are also found along Broad Rock Creek. The Broad Rock area was developed in Colonial times, and modern Broad Rock Road follows a Colonial road. Development has been so intensive in this area, however, that remaining sites are unlikely to have much integrity. The southwestern portion of the unit comprises part of the headwaters of the Pocoshock drainage, and has a high potential for the occurrence of sites from the earlier prehistoric periods, as well as from the late 18th century on. This area, however, is developing at an extremely fast pace. Construction over the past 10 years has probably led to the loss of most of the important archeological sites in the area” (Mouer, Johnson, and Gleach 1985a, 100–102).

### 6.3.2 Historic Archaeological Sensitivity Model

The results of the Historic Sensitivity Model can be seen in Figure 32. As is common for historic sensitivity models, this is a better archaeological sensitivity

assessment for the historic urban core of the city rather than for rural resources. Because large sections of the riverbank were settled early, this model predicts similarly to the other two models that areas along the river have a high likelihood for historic sites to have been created. Beyond sites located within the Byrd, Young, or Michler maps, Civil War earthworks and forts and historic properties

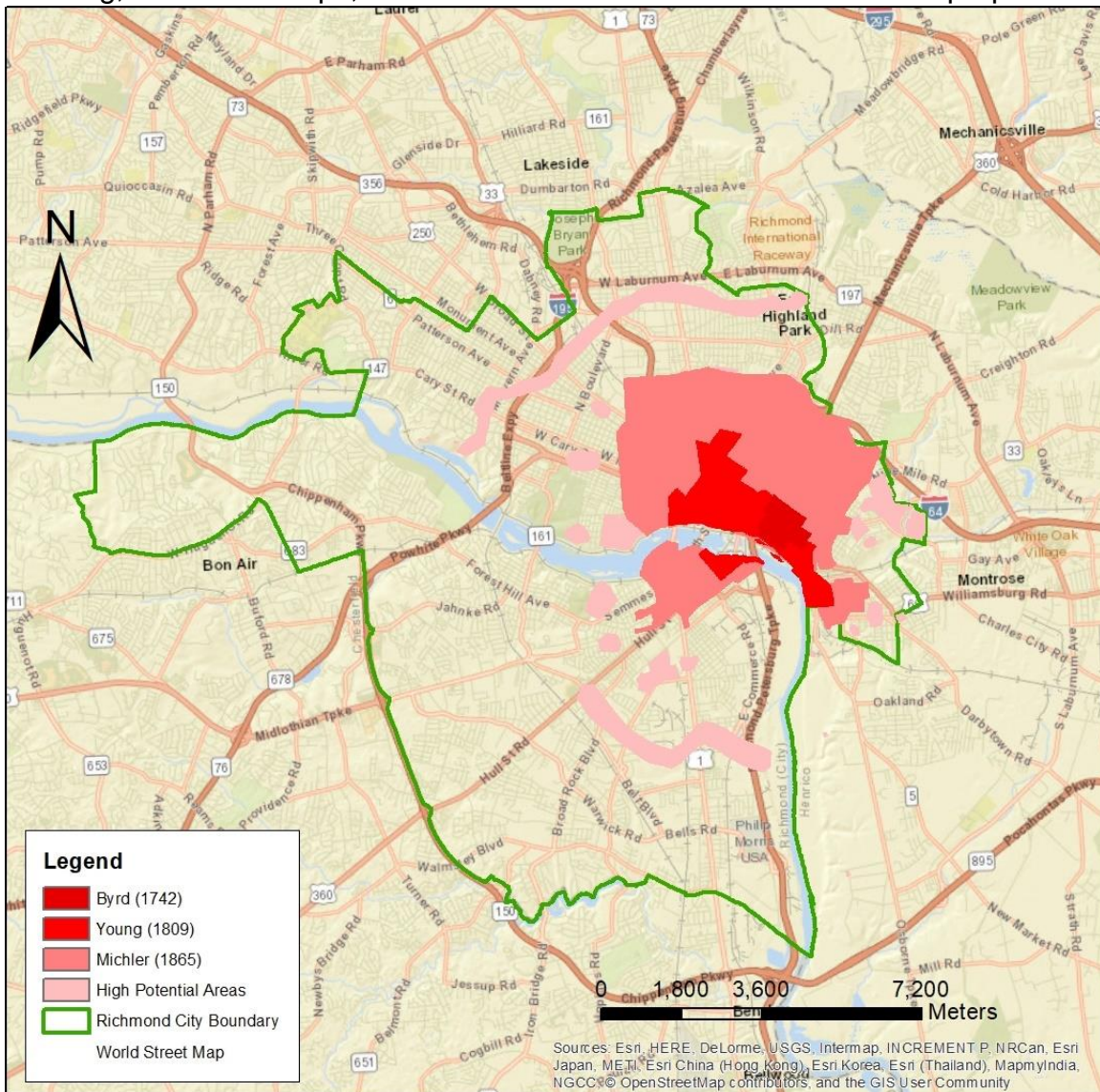
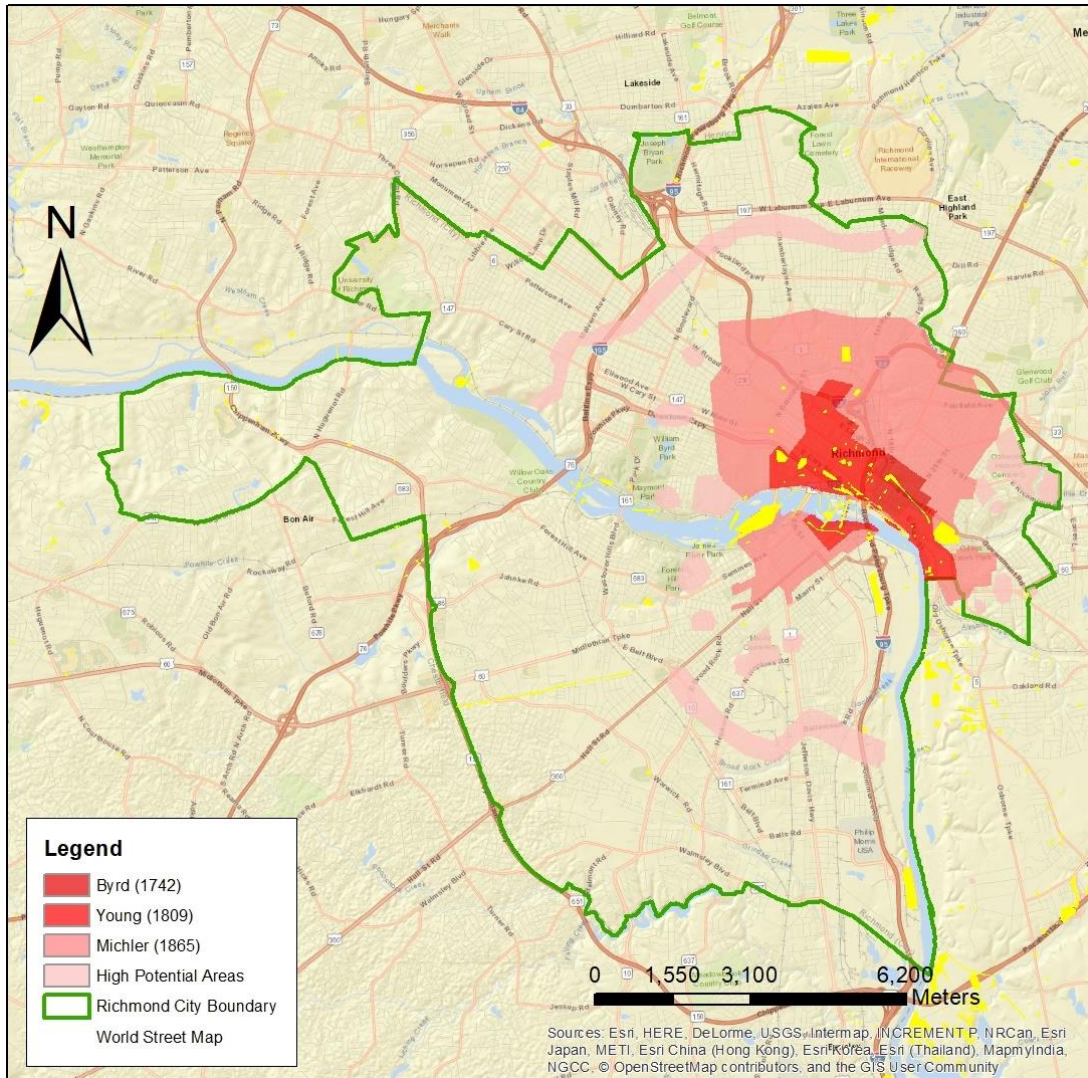


Figure 32 - Historic Archaeological Sensitivity Model

that have been conserved over time (often because they were recognized as unique historic properties) are also represented in this map, although due to



uncertainty regarding where exactly some of these resources are on the modern landscape, such sites have a buffer around them. Currently this model greatly favors the city north of the James, with only a small section of Manchester (though it too was settled very early) having the highest historic significance south of the river.



*Figure 33 - Historic Archaeological Sensitivity Model with Richmond Recorded Archaeological Sites*

Despite its sparseness, however, this map continues to be a reasonable predictor of previously-recorded archaeological sites in the city (Figure 33).

Additionally, due to the historic city core's relatively bounded nature, areas like the Byrd map outline and the Young map extent are potentially boundaries that could be used to develop new city processes and ways of distinguishing certain neighborhoods of high sensitivity from others. Like the prehistoric model, this sensitivity assessment supports the centrality of Richmond's riverfront to the preservation of its archaeological fabric.

### 6.3.3 Archaeological Preservation Assessment Model

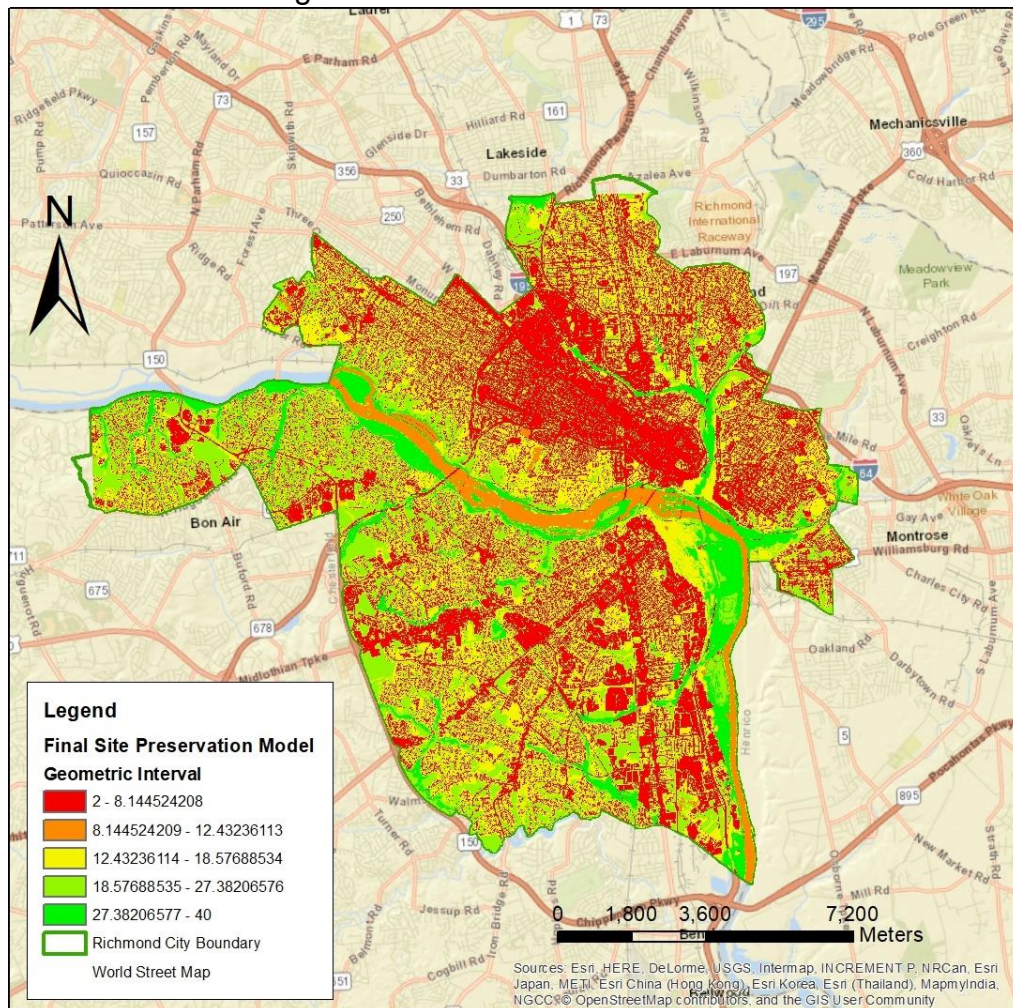


Figure 34 - Archaeological Preservation Assessment Model (classified using Geometric Interval)

As with the prehistoric site sensitivity model, a discussion of the methods used to generate this model of archaeological site preservation (an analysis including land cover data; areas affected by the Evacuation Fire; and areas associated with floodplains) is presented in Appendix 11.8. The results of the model itself is presented in Figure 34. Generally, what this model illustrates is the extent to which there are areas of considerable floodplain adjacent to and alongside both areas with great antiquity and potential to provide evidence for the early colonial period and beyond, and areas with otherwise limited likelihood of preserving archaeological site due to the extent of their previous development. Another key takeaway is the apparent sensitivity of areas of the south side at the meander in the James River along the east of the city – this is the origin point for the city’s Slave Trail walk and much of it that was not disturbed by the Floodwall is undeveloped parkland. There is considerable potential for buried sites in this region associated with the area’s use as a dock; mariners and other temporary occupants associated with the dockyard; the Confederate Navy Yard period; and for additional native sites analogous to Maury Street, subsistence and food-processing sites associated with riverine resources.

The model also illustrates that while the north side of the river certainly has had more extensive and intense urban development, there is also considerable development that has occurred to the south. However, in areas identified of the most interest in the prehistoric sensitivity model, development on the Southside is more inconsistent than north of the river, with areas with a low chance of site preservation directly abutting areas that appear to have a very

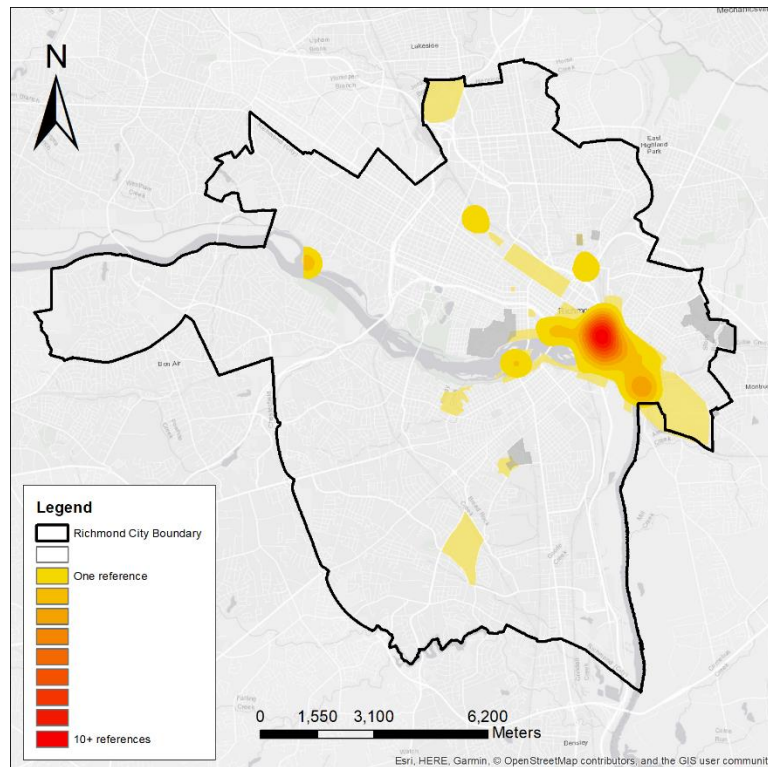


high potential for site preservation. Additionally, though disturbance and development intensity are both extensive in the city's downtown, areas within the burned area should be closely examined for signs of buried deposits. Finally, the model also seems to suggest that more attention should be paid to neighborhoods in the west of the city, such as Bon Air, Williams Island, the University of Richmond campus, and similar West End locations. These areas had regions of moderate to high likelihood for native sites, but have not been so far subject to much archaeological surveying analysis, and appear according to this model to have a high degree of preservation potential.

#### 6.4 Mapping Community Value onto Archaeological Resources and Assessing Sensitivity of Culturally-Significant Richmond Landscapes

While much of this chapter has focused on the frustratingly-opaque question of how and where Richmond is most archaeologically sensitive, some of the questions I ask and conversations I was part of during my time studying the city's engagement with archaeology showed some very concrete patterns around where archaeological sensitivity was perceived and which areas' resources were of greatest concern. As one element of my ethnographic analysis into Richmond's archaeological value (discussed further in Chapters 5 and 6), I asked interviewees about which parts of the city they saw as archaeologically sensitive and what topics they most wanted to see excavated. This information was tagged as geographically relevant, and then collated into a GIS layer using a shapefile of each ethnographic reference to an areas archaeological sensitivity. I then used Feature to Point and Kernel Density tools to transform these general

ethnographic references into a heatmap that mapped my 31 interviewees' perspectives on Richmond's archaeological sensitivity.



*Figure 35 - Spatial Distribution of Ethnographic Comments on Archaeological Sensitivity*

The results of these ethnographic perspectives on archaeological sensitivity are presented in Figure 35. A few major trends are evident here. First, there is a major focus on Shockoe Bottom and understanding the history of the slave trade, as much of this research supports and which has been specifically drawn out by the Dutton+Associates report regarding the RevitalizeRVA development. So too are several non-Shockoe locations: the colonial town of Westham and Reconstruction-era freedman's camps such as the ones known to be north of Broad Street near Chamberlayne were brought up by several interviewees. Members of the Revolutionary War roundtable emphasized areas like Westham, the riverfront, and many sites in Shockoe (along Main Street, the

17<sup>th</sup> Street market, Henrico Courthouse). Other geographic areas mentioned include both the north and south sides of the James River; Rocketts Landing; Forest Hill Park on the city's Southside; the Confederate Navy Yard and other river sites; Belle Isle; downtown areas affected by the Evacuation fire and the filling of the Turning Basin (the McGwire-Woods building, First Freedom Center); Belle Isle; neighborhoods like Church Hill known for the activity of privy diggers; sites along the Slave Trail like Ancarrow's Landing; and archaeological sites that had particular meaning to specific interviewees like Falling Creek Ironworks. Though not often mentioned in a spatial format, the possibility of archaeologically investigating areas associated with Gabriel's rebellion and his life was also brought up repeatedly.

Overall, the ethnographic map overlaps considerably onto assessments of archaeological sensitivity presented in this chapter. Likely because this group was self-selecting and selected by me for their archaeological interest and commitment, there is a great deal of expertise and interest that underlies these perspectives of archaeological importance. The map also underscores the primacy of Shockoe Bottom in the understanding of the city's archaeological sensitivity, even among people who were not particularly interested in the neighborhood themselves. This was the same for professional archaeologists as it was for community activists whose commitment to archaeology had emerged out of the baseball stadium controversy, although professional archaeologists were likely to mention Shockoe Bottom as a given and then discuss in greater detail places of archaeological sensitivity that had not received the same degree

of recent advocacy. Perhaps due to the particular interest in African-American history shared by many of the respondents, and likely also current trends in historical and archaeological scholarship, topics and themes emphasizing slavery; Emancipation; and the post-Reconstruction lives of Richmond's black citizens were of especial focus in these conversations. While native resources and other historic archaeology were also mentioned, the most specificity and emphasis emerged around themes associated with documenting the black presence, endurance, and resistance in Richmond.

There is much left to be done in Richmond in terms of thematic analysis of archaeological sensitivity, specifically focused on some of the areas of archaeological interest identified by the ethnographic analysis in this study. Shockoe Bottom's sensitivity, especially the burial ground, develops some of its value through the story of Gabriel and his planned rebellion, which has been assessed for its spatial extent by community historian Elizabeth Cann Kambourian (Kambourian 2004) and by a chapter in Nicholl's study of the rebellion (Nicholls 2012, 151–55). The evidence for a rebellion, particularly one that consisted mostly of planning and then retribution for its instigators, is not the type of event very likely to leave an archaeological signature, and this is a topic around which Richmond could have a revealing and generally useful conversation around the types of information archaeology is likely to provide and those it is not. However, spaces like the Penitentiary, where Gabriel and other rebels were housed before their trials, already have collected archaeological material which could be interpreted in light of the people it would have housed

and the experience of Gabriel and others imprisoned there. Similarly, sites in then northern Henrico County (now at Richmond's Bryan Park or just north of the city boundary) are integral to the planning of the rebellion<sup>78</sup>, particularly the Brookfield plantation where Gabriel was enslaved and the ones neighboring it (Nicholls 2012, 14–16). Studies of these spaces are more likely to provide social histories of plantations of this sort and in this region, rather than a “smoking gun” which might be expected of archaeology's products currently, but it would likely be a study of great interest to Richmonders because of its close association with that gripping narrative.

Much of what is being understood and examined about the city's archaeology currently, including this research, emerges first and foremost from the narratives about archaeological potential and loss and the way in which that potential has entered political discussions. Shockoe Bottom's archaeology is currently both laden with potential and still poorly understood. Sixteen archaeological sites are currently recorded in the neighborhood, with some assessed only in salvage or brief investigations. These include sites associated with canal locks or river industry of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; the slave trading sites of Lumpkin's Jail and Cedar & Broad (the latter of which was the focus of data recovery by Browning & Associates but has not had a report finished for it); several privies and dwellings associated with domestic occupation and small commercial enterprises (one conducted in the basement of the Poe

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<sup>78</sup> Nicholls has described the rebellion as “both more and less than a Henrico County plot,” where most of the awareness and contribution to the effort was focused on Brookfield Plantation where Gabriel's enslaver Thomas Prosser lived, but also extended to northern Chesterfield and even Petersburg, while gaining less contribution in eastern Henrico (Nicholls 2012, 151–52).



Museum); the Richmond African Burial Ground (which has been the subject of much documentary analysis and a small coring project) and a number of warehouses and industrial sites. Several of the latter were investigated as part of the Floodwall excavation; these sites similar to others investigated as part of this project have not been analyzed or interpreted and as a result do relatively little to contribute to understandings of the area. Compared to other areas of Richmond there is a fairly high density of identified sites within Shockoe Bottom, but many of these sites have been quickly identified, salvaged, and little information has so far been gleaned from them.

Based on the sensitivity assessments introduced here, Shockoe Bottom displays a moderate likelihood of native sites (grading to high sensitivity closer to Church Hill on higher ground); and the highest level of historic sensitivity in the city. Based on floodplain shape, the preservation likelihood of Shockoe Bottom grades from low to high from the east to the west. This mirrors predictions of archaeologists with local experience like Lumpkin's Jail Principle Investigator Matt Laird, who noted that "people like to try to generalize the experience that we had at Lumpkins to all of Shockoe Bottom, and assuming that it's going to be similar everywhere. I'm not convinced that that's really the case. Not that there's been a lot of work done, but just with [what] Lyle Browning had done [at Cedar and Broad]...Much different condition, So I think we were in a unique little micro-environment right there, but it's probably not representative of the whole district."<sup>79</sup> Additionally, there are some unusual potentials for archaeological

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<sup>79</sup> Interview with Matt Laird, December 2, 2015.

preservation given the twin preserving factors of fire and submersion in the area. Jamestown archaeologist David Givens recalled searching for artifacts in the canal bed in the then-rough area of 16<sup>th</sup> Street by Bottom's Up Pizza, finding sherds of Westervald seventeenth-century ceramics in the uncovered sediments before a driver began shooting at them out of their car<sup>80</sup>.

Shockoe contains almost all the different extents of site preservation level, from very likely to very unlikely, and given the area's intensive and variable development such preservation is likely to vary considerable even within a block. Recent investigations by Dutton+Associates at 20<sup>th</sup> and Grace Streets supports this proposition, indicating substantial privy and cellar features present intact even on sites with prior buildings and grading to develop a modern parking lot. It has tremendous archaeological potential, but the preservation of this material is likely to be uneven and unpredictable across the neighborhood, with intact sites generally most likely to be preserved along the western edge of the neighborhood where they have been preserved by soil deposition associated with Shockoe Creek, as was Lumpkin's Jail, or on lots where any construction disturbance is more likely to be shallow or include protective fill episodes. Many of the most promising areas of the neighborhood, the slave trade epicenter along 15<sup>th</sup> Street; the areas of Shockoe Slip affected by the Evacuation Fire along 14<sup>th</sup> and Dock; the areas along the river's edge where considerable canal and river materials are present, have a high likelihood for deeply buried deposits that are likely to have survived previous construction on them, but are also in areas

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<sup>80</sup> Interview with David Givens, December 2015.

where destruction may be complete in one half of a block and minimal in the other. There is no shortcut to determining archaeological preservation in these areas; while Phase I assessments might be able to make some predictions regarding the impacts of previous construction episodes, archaeological testing is even more critical here than it is typically for understanding what this area may contain.

#### 6.5 Examining the Tension Between Archaeological Potential, Archaeological Results, and Perceptions of Archaeological Loss

What does the ethnographic and sensitivity analyses tell us regarding Richmond's archaeological potential and loss? At a May 14, 2016 RVA Archaeology meeting, longtime Richmond archaeologist Lyle Browning told the story of searching for the last surviving Civil War star fort. Upon finding it referenced on an old topo map, he drove down into Southside to the Maury neighborhood, only to discover that the remaining half had been developed into a cement factory a few weeks before. Accounts like this one of archaeological looting, archaeological deposits found and destroyed during construction, and salvage projects that were done hastily and remain incomplete, are narratives that greatly influence community perspectives of archaeological loss. A memo from NPS historian Bob Krick describes how in the 1990s, Civil War era artifacts associated with the Chimborazo Hospital site were left exposed in the backdirt piles from extensive city grading performed on Chimborazo Park directly adjacent from the National Park Service property (which would have been protected from

activities like this, or at least would have been likely subject to archaeological review and monitoring). Krick wrote, “The city, as far as anyone here knows, entirely ignored archaeological considerations...No doubt other shards—probably numbering in the hundreds—are lost forever in this earth-moving” (Krick 1995).

There are also occasional narratives regarding intentional archaeological looting that has doubtless influenced archaeological preservation. Richmond has had strong relic hunting traditions since the earliest days of the Archaeological Society of Virginia, and “privy diggers,” archaeological looters, have been reported especially in the Church Hill neighborhood since the 1970s if not before. The avid pothunting community has contributed both to the understanding of Richmond ceramics traditions (a variety participated in the DuVal kiln excavation on the backdirt piles of the Farm Fresh grocery store construction on Main Street in Shockoe Bottom) and to the looting of several sites, including the Parr pottery (Monroe et al. 2010; E. Powell 2002). Since at least the 1970s, financially-motivated archaeological looting and theft have occurred in many places including on construction sites on 14th Street, the Parr pottery, and the Richmond floodwall project – in that case, rising to the level of repeated break ins at a federal facility.

The Richmond Floodwall project, which produced trenches along the north side of the James River and Kanawha Canal where the fire was most intense, is a source of evidence both of the profound preservation potential of the Richmond Evacuation Fire and the looting precipitated by the investigation itself. These

stories provide evidence especially of cached Confederate materials, located likely in warehouses that burned in Shockoe Slip and Shockoe Bottom. There is considerable anecdotal evidence from construction projects in the area that remains from the fire were preserved, at least until the 1970s and 1980s, and that construction workers in the city understood the potential of the area. Often found online in comments about artifacts now for sale, these stories suggest considerable potential for the preservation of organic remains in the area while they also illustrate this pattern of collecting for personal ownership or resale. One advertisement for a sample of "Confederate tobacco" for sale for almost \$200 states:

Some of you will be familiar with the recovery of artifacts and some will remember when John Duggan, Jr. and two other men found a cache of green tobacco beneath the Confederate Commissary Warehouse in downtown Richmond back in 1977. Included is the tobacco sample which is in Duggan's original plastic box along with the accompanying card from Little Johns Collectibles. I will list the text of John's card, which accompanies the tobacco, for you will not easily read it from the photos. Confederate Civil War Tobacco. The tobacco was excavated at the site of the Commissary Office & Storekeeper for the Confederate Government during the Civil War which lasted from 1861-1865. It was then burnt & totally destroyed in the Evacuation Fire of Richmond, April 1, 1865. This tobacco was excavated by me during a construction job at 14th & Dock Street Richmond, Virginia, Sept. of 1977. This is the same spot where the warehouse stood. It was uncovered by machine app. 3 ft. underground. All air was cut off, which kept it in very sound shape. When the tobacco was first excavated it was green in color & had a strong odor. After contact with the air, it turned dark brown & all odor left.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Item MS1063: Confederate Tobacco Excavated in Richmond, Virginia in 1977! Tobacciana. Sgt Riker's Civil War Trading Post. Accessed February 27, 2015. <http://sgtriker.com/tobacciana.htm> (this item has since been sold).

Similarly, eBay user anticipation1 advertised a Confederate “I” (infantry) and “A” (artillery) buttons in March 2015, and described the button as having been located on a parking lot construction project near the 17<sup>th</sup> Street Market in Shockoe Bottom. The seller described that several years ago it had been easy for him to do metal-detecting and find artifacts during his lunch break while surveying for the City of Richmond, but that in recent years doing such collecting had become less easy<sup>82</sup>. Similarly, the story of the Confederate glass telegraph insulators cache also speaks to the high preservation and the enthusiastic use of this area as a collecting site. In 1990, in the midst of the Richmond Floodwall construction, a possibly-unrelated trench near the historic site of Mayo’s Warehouse exposed a deposit of glass threadless insulators. These artifacts, clearly identifiable as Confederate and of which very few intact examples previously survived, were at the time worth hundreds of dollars apiece. The discovery brought collectors from as far away as Chicago and Ohio for several days of artifact collecting, until a serious injury on the construction site led the city to shut the project site. RVA Archaeology member Jeff Ruggles, who owned a restaurant in the Bottom during that time, recalled the collector spending hours in his restaurant purchasing the insulators from diggers for \$50 each, planning to resell them for a much higher price.<sup>83</sup>

Even more common than these recorded events of demonstrated or presumed archaeological loss are the times that left no trace, a private

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<sup>82</sup> ‘Dug Confederate Coat Lined "A" Artillery Civil War Button, CS #102’ eBay Auction post. Accessed March 25, 2015. User: anticipation1. And ‘Dug Confederate Lined "I" Button Found In Downtown Richmond, Virginia’ eBay Auction post. Accessed March 26, 2015. User: anticipation1.

<sup>83</sup> Personal communication, December 14, 2017.

development where construction equipment carved through a prehistoric site likely without anyone realizing, or a team found the remains of privies, took a few of the best bottles, and carried on with the workday. In the course of doing this research I've heard many of these stories second, third, or fourth-hand, without enough locational details for them to have been used for much and without documentation that might allow them to be investigated further.

Events and decisions in the city since its founding, and especially in the last several decades, have had distinct impacts on the city's archaeological fabric in ways that are hard to identify because the nature of the disturbance is such that there is often no record of what might have been destroyed. It is this opaque, irreplaceable, immeasurable element of archaeological potential that both makes it fascinating to people as a potential vehicle for discovery and that makes it easier for those disinterested in these resources to discount their existence. This opaqueness is given vague shape by forms of analysis like predictive modeling, but there is no data set that represents the existence of archaeological remains directly and both highly probable and highly doubtful assessments of archaeological sensitivity can be belied by field investigations. In the examples of some of these narratives of loss, predictive modeling might illustrate as promising places where Lyle believes star forts to be destroyed. The Chimborazo Park area shows up as very high likelihood for native and historic sites on the model (and it still is promising for discoveries in other areas or beneath the graded level), but it is hard to incorporate narratives regarding a landscape's construction past into these types of sensitivity maps. Going forward as these maps are assessed and

refined and hopefully used as the basis for policy, it is important to reflect and re-consider the challenge that modeling and the nature of archaeological sensitivity creates in this situation: on the one hand, greater archaeological planning data and greater archaeological information within city systems may have the capability to revolutionize how archaeological remains are treated and discovered in the city. On the other, this type of work also requires a maddening process of managing expectations around accuracy and allowing space for the unpredictable. In terms of layers of scale, modeling like this is inherently more effective for characterizing large regions than it is at being an accurate prediction on any one specific site. As a result, selecting the venue and implication for this type of research is fraught and requires frequent reassessment.

The nature of archaeological uncertainty and the need to physically test for archaeological potential are currently not well-understood in the city, or is presumed to be poor, even among groups that are generally archaeology advocates. Narratives of archaeological loss were often listed as rationales, including by archaeology advocates, why excavations shouldn't be attempted in a particular area. In the summer of 2016, I served as the Project Archaeologist for the Urban Archaeology Corps, an outreach and education program in which local high school students receive a paid internship to learn about archaeology and to develop and interpretive project. Our field site was Chimborazo Park, where most of the staff were fairly pessimistic about finding archaeological remains, due to a sense that utility work and city or National Park Service disturbance was likely to have destroyed any evidence. However, while the



excavation was small-scale due to the emphasis on training, one of our test units included a thick midden layer of faunal remains, which we interpreted as relating to the Reconstruction-era Freedman's camp that occupied the site for several decades after the war (Chapman 2017b). Coring done on the site indicated that a substantial clay cap was filled over the hospital site around the time the NPS constructed a weather station on the plateau. It is entirely possible and likely that remains of the hospital and the Freedman's Camp occupations remain, both on the plateau and on the embankment to its south where midden deposits were observed in slope landslides after a storm (Mullin and Rupnik 2004). What we did find, although intact, mostly failed to counter these limited archaeological hopes because it did not relate to the hospital (which most staff were most excited about); did not include a substantial feature or visual element; and was not exposed to a greater extent.

Similar narratives about archaeological loss seem to dominate conversations regarding the areas of the city burned by the Evacuation Fire, given the area's substantial urban density; the 17<sup>th</sup> Street market, due to the market's remodeling in the 1970s; Tredegar Iron Works, because archaeological work was done there in the 1970s archaeology is presumed to "have been done already"; the Civil War earthworks north of Broad Street, because of the aborted excavation publicized during Redskins Training Camp construction (Dovi 2014). None of these doubts are necessarily incorrect; a recent walk along the current 17<sup>th</sup> Street Market redevelopment suggests that it's unlikely that much remains after this development. But the presumption of loss in circumstances where

construction is known to have occurred, while it spurs on action in regard to new construction projects that threaten potential resources, also deadens momentum to investigate sites that have been interpreted with this narrative. Public outreach and advocacy efforts to emphasize how urban archaeology retains potential despite disturbance, or providing examples from places where archaeological remains were located despite extensive urban development, may be needed to encourage fewer presumptions being made about the relative archaeological potential of various parts of the city.

#### 6.6 Potential for Future Expansion to Archaeological Sensitivity Assessment in Richmond

This analysis serves as an initial assessment of archaeological sensitivity in Richmond, and there are numerous areas (such as the HUD programmatic agreement, the master planning process, and future integration with the Commission on Architectural Review) where this type of initial sensitivity assessment can be useful. However, this is an initial study aimed at serving as a jumping off point and subject of discussion – most critically, with the stakeholders for whom Richmond’s archaeology has developed value and who have advocated on behalf of its archaeological resources. There are a number of additional research directions that should be considered if a more substantial project was undertaken by the city, and ways in which the current state of Richmond historical archives limit this analysis. This section will discuss some potential directions for further research to build upon this analysis.

While historical maps are increasingly available in georeferenced overlay forms for even non-specialists to explore and use (i.e. materials from the David Rumsey Historical Map Collection are largely georeferenced and comparable using their LUNA Browser), there are certain sources and forms of data that are not (Cartography Associates 2018). City directory data (first created in 1819 but only available intermittently until the 1850s) are currently only rarely available in digital form (A. V. Williams 1913). As directories include occupations and also sometimes address data, greater digitization and spatialization of these datasets will create better understanding of the spatial distribution of people, ethnic groups, commercial establishments, and domestic servants, and might provide better evidence with which to identify yards and houses associated with prominent Richmonders or sites associated with compelling city histories. Early plat maps of the city, largely housed at the Library of Virginia, are almost wholly undigitized or georeferenced despite the fact that, as they date to beginning in late eighteenth century, they provide spatial context that is not available in other sources. Similarly, the T. Crawford Redd & Bros collection of surveys and plat maps from Richmond, Henrico, Chesterfield, and other Virginia localities between 1796 and 1952, is located in off-site storage at the Library of Virginia and has been subjected to very little organization or research, and none are available in digital form.

Some types of detail would additionally require that map data be digitized into individual shapefiles in order to provide additional data, such as regarding building construction and materials. Richmond Sanborn maps (first produced in

1886, but expanded in 1892 and 1905) identify brick versus wood versus stone construction and include many outbuildings and minor elements not noted on atlas-style city maps (Library of Virginia 2017). Another form of advanced analysis might include georeferencing the slope lines on the US Coastal and Geodetic Survey of Richmond, which includes some of the earliest contour information for the Richmond area. The D.C. Historic Preservation Office uses that city's 1888 US Coastal and Geodetic Survey map in order to perform cut and fill analysis, where late nineteenth-century contour patterns are compared with contemporary elevation data to identify areas of "cut" (reduced elevation) and "filled" (increased elevation) areas that provide context to the likely archaeological sensitivity of a given parcel and insights into types of investigation that might prove more fruitful (Bradley 2014; Dahlgren and Knight-Iske, n.d.).

Many of these forms of analysis are currently only performed on small lots where a particular project is planned and for understandable reasons: commercial CRM project needs tend to be closely spatially bounded; spatial analysis is much more processing-intensive for large geographic areas; georeferencing is most accurate when done within a limited area. Information loses fidelity as it attempts to predict and explain archaeological sensitivity or historical information over a larger area.

## 7 Designing a Framework for Improving Archaeological Stewardship for Richmond

In the wake of the 2014 baseball stadium debate Richmond's historical and archaeological discourse is powerful and vital, especially in a city of its size. In March of 2017, I attended Tapping at the Well, a VCU panel discussion regarding the nineteenth-century graverobbing of Richmond cemeteries for medical practice. The week before, I watched as a packed audience spoke up as one voice and asked the City of Richmond to consider a larger scope for their planned construction of a museum or historical commemoration at the Devil's Half-Acre (aka Lumpkin's Jail in Shockoe Bottom). That intervening weekend, a group of almost 200 people coordinated by Delegate Delores McQuinn assisted the East End Cemetery Clean Up and Restoration Project with their work to return East and Evergreen Cemeteries to the contemplative places of rest they once were. There was also a contentious first meeting related to the National Historic Preservation Act requirements for the Union Presbyterian Seminary project on the Westwood Tract in Ginter Park, which was initially conceived of as a federally-funded project but was reorganized after strongly-opposed residents made it clear they would use the Section 106 process to challenge the construction (Truong 2017). The discomfort of many with the prospect of HUD-funded high-density housing being erected in their backyard had clear racial overtones. The week after that, University of Richmond Downtown opened an exhibit dedicated to understanding the city's archaeological sites and artifacts, inspired by RVA Archaeology advocacy efforts and spearheaded by my

colleague Derek Miller. The next day, the Civil War, Emancipation Day, and Reconstruction were commemorated at the American Civil War Museum's April 8th event at Tredegar Iron Works. This is the demonstration of history's value, and archaeology's value, to the city: the persistent and repeated investment of actions over time to maintain, to challenge, to enliven, to make politically active, and to craft.

Richmond is a city where history is live, relevant, and always under discussion; certain elements of its history are a political third rail, not to be touched if it can be avoided. An idealistic perspective on this shyly suggests the potential we have in this moment, to create lasting spaces of value where archaeological sites and artifacts could allow new generations of Richmonders learn the importance and layered meaning of the place they now inhabit. The take of boosterism and promotion would focus on its creation of civic pride, that archaeological excavations and stories amplify the sense of living in authentic space that increasingly convinces Richmond residents (though often this term is more eagerly directed towards white, millennial, professionals with ample discretionary income and no public services-burdening children) to stay local and bright new talent to call Richmond their home. The neoliberal economic argument would reduce the value of this energy and this participation to its economic ripples, which for archaeological remains is hard to quantify<sup>84</sup>. Progressive and

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<sup>84</sup> Data on historic buildings and rehabilitation tax credits reliably shows that these investments regularly pay out \$4 for every \$1 they cost; a recent Baker-Tilly report conducted for Preservation Virginia identified almost \$4 billion dollars generated in Virginia by historic tax credits, much of it in Richmond (Crump, Kostelny, and Clark 2017). However, the tangible impact of performing archaeology at historic sites as a proportion of the site's overall draw and revenue is hard to quantify; the Preservation Virginia 2017 heritage tourism economic impact report did not even use archaeological sites as a variable, and only studied Virginia sites (Jamestown; Monticello;

anti-racist activists seem to see archaeology as an essential investigative method for revealing long suppressed histories but also as a powerful anti-development tool in their lop-sided struggle against Richmond's moneyed and political power centers. Avocationalists and attendees strongly value archaeology for its entertainment and occupational value, the venue for repetitive but enjoyable work that leaves space for historical raconteurs and the thrill of occasional discovery. Mainstream black political leaders promote the development of substantial museum and city commemorative projects when they are supported by Economic and Community Development; however, they are highly cognizant of the cost of archaeological research itself and several seem to be unwilling to engage with a community-led process where the specific outcome isn't guaranteed and where they fear the loss of their own legacy and control over the result. VCU appears to be shifting in its response to their archaeological controversies after years of suppressing mention of them. Their recent response to the debate over the East Marshall Street remains shows these situations to be simultaneously risk and opportunity; as conversation over universities' entrenched legacy of and complicity in slavery has grown, participating in these acknowledgements of institutional wrongdoing can position them as socially-engaged and modern (Wilder 2014). This chapter will explore the landscape of potential for Richmond's archaeology, processes and approaches that, based on this study, might improve archaeological stewardship while focusing efforts on projects with the greatest community resonance.

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Colonial Williamsburg; and Montpelier) for which archaeology is a draw but not the only one (Accordino et al. 2017).

## 7.1 Recommendations for Richmond's Archaeology

So what should the city do, with this patchwork quilt of complex and politically-fraught needs, in relation to its other concerns and priorities? How can Richmond most effectively use its contested tax dollars to safeguard an archaeology of renewed interest to a diverse constituency? In my view there are a variety of practical policy shifts that could more effectively address the pressing historic preservation challenges related to archaeology as the city moves forward in this exciting time. Some of these policies are simply geared towards how to best coordinate talent, planning, financial resources, and institutional support across existing projects. Others cover recommendations for funding and/or development of the start of a municipal management process for the city's archaeological and historical legacy. Some of these needs require very little in terms of financial investment, but more in terms of commitment to training staff, a willingness to bend egos in pursuit of common causes, and contributions of expertise and facilitation on the part of other major city institutions.

### 7.1.1 Municipal Archaeological Management

One key element that many different individuals agreed with is the need for the City of Richmond to provide better guidance regarding how its archaeological resources could be better mitigated when disturbed by development. Appendix 11.1 reviews the regulations presenting (as of 2018)



operating in Richmond's archaeology on the federal, state, and municipal level. As is generally the case nationally, federal regulations provide the greatest and more intensive archaeological requirements – but only when projects are deemed to be a 'federal undertaking,' that is, a project that the federal government condones by virtue of providing funding, needed land, or a required permit. Examples of sites excavated under federal regulations like the National Historic Preservation Act; National Environmental Policy Act; or Section 4(f) of the Transportation Act in Richmond include the investigations performed at the John Marshall Courthouse and the never-completed Floodwall Project. Since the

1980s when the Floodwall archaeology was performed federal cultural resource management has changed quite a bit and such huge blunders have become less likely; however, because most of this work occurs as a “consultation process” rather than archaeological requirements, these projects can sometimes be less stringently done if there are few invested and informed consulting parties.

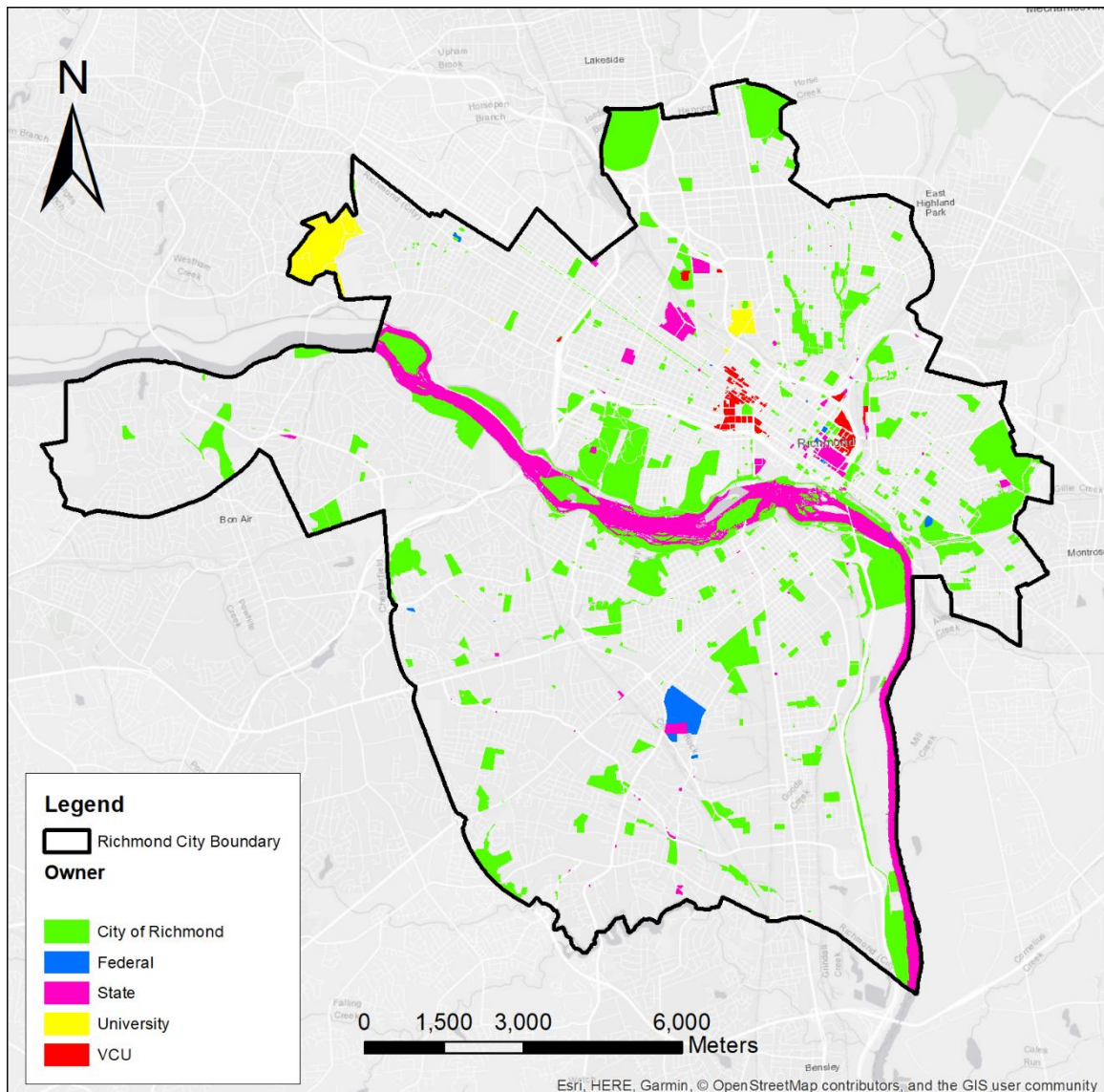


Figure 36 - Land Ownership in the City of Richmond Based on City Parcel Data

Especially due to Richmond’s status as the state capitol, there is also a considerable quantity of state-owned land and state funding that results in

archaeological mitigation under the laws of the Commonwealth (see land ownership distribution in Figure 36 and legislation summary in Appendix 11.1). The land ownership includes the parcels of land that make up the James River, a considerable archaeological resource in the city. Several of the state-instigated projects in the city have less sufficient histories; the Virginia State Penitentiary (1991) is an old example of a state project (mandated because the state was selling the land holding the former penitentiary) where major elements were not sufficiently documented or completed. However, so too is the investigation of the Civil War earthworks prior to the construction of the Redskins Training Facility north of Broad Street, which was curtailed suddenly in a manner alleged to have been associated with the exertion of political control to fast-track the development project (Dovi 2014; Zullo 2013).

Finally, we come to city protections, or lack thereof. Currently the city has no guidelines on municipal or private development and archaeology, even when the projects are substantial, well-funded, and occur in the most archaeologically sensitive parts of the city. Figure 36 illustrates some key land ownership patterns in the city, with better-protected state and federal land covering only a small proportion of the city's 62 acres. By contrast, the city itself owns considerable land, particularly in the high sensitivity areas along the waterfront and in terms of city open space. The areas without ownership information represent the extent of private domestic or commercial ownership, which is only rarely compelled to perform cultural resource work by state or federal requirements.

The one city process overseeing archaeological mitigation is the Programmatic Agreement (whose creation was discussed in Section 3.5.5), that governs how the city mitigates historic preservation impacts caused by Community Block Development Grant-funded projects. In practice, this agreement had not resulted in archaeological review of a project until the last five years, likely due to developer avoidance of the requirement through smaller project boundaries. The city Old and Historic Districts system, which creates zones for particular architectural and cultural preservation, could theoretically apply to archaeological remains. A reference in the Guidebook for City Old & Historic Districts defines one of its responsibilities as being to “investigate and recommend districts, buildings, structures, and sites of historic, architectural or cultural importance,” and the guidebook lists Standards for Rehabilitation created by the Secretary of the Interior followed by the city, which include Standard 8: “Significant archaeological resources affected by a project shall be protected and preserved. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures shall be undertaken” (Sadler et al. 1999, 9; 108). Despite this, however, it does not appear that sensitive archaeological deposits in the city have every been preserved or managed through the Commission of Architectural Review, which manages the Old & Historic District program. While Ana Edwards submitted a proposal for a solely archaeological district (no standing buildings were part of the nomination) to cover parts of Shockoe Bottom threatened by the baseball stadium in April 2017, the project has been on hold with the advent of the Rose fellowship process and so far it is not clear whether this approach will be

accepted. Regardless, a broader route is needed to expand the Old & Historic District program so that archaeological remains across the city could be considered in the planning process – but this type of process should be begun carefully through coalition building initially.

There is some evidence to suggest that developers would welcome the increased reliability and predictability created by a cite guidance reviewing archaeological requirements. Waite Rawls commented on a developer friend's perspective: "He says to me, 'Wade, here's what drives me nuts on what the rules are. If you write the rules, I can decide to do a project following the rules or not...Because if I know what the rules are, I can sit down and crunch the numbers and say, 'This project will work or it will not work.' But, if there's ambiguity, that creates risk that I don't know about. I have to make something pay extra to overcome taking the risk.'"<sup>85</sup> This desire for predictability, especially in terms of development construction schedules, was also mentioned to RVA Archaeology members by staff of Alexandria's municipal archaeology program during a group trip to visit the city in 2014.

Most successful urban archaeology programs (most relevantly Alexandria) do not begin with an effort to mandate archaeology on all private development within the city – there needs to be infrastructure for what's needed in given zones and parcels within the city, developer and public buy-in, and a stable and sustainable friends group for community supporters. While an archaeological ordinance has developed into a strong protector of archaeological resources in

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<sup>85</sup> Interview with Waite Rawles, December 14, 2015.

St. Augustine and Alexandria – and have provided considerable predictability for city developers – in Richmond it is wise to focus on building city support for archaeological resources before attempting that sort of legislation (Appler 2012a; Appler 2011). However, there are five initial commitments, three of them without an up-front cost to the city, that could be made to increase the city’s archaeological stewardship in the short term as more comprehensive solutions are found:

- Making an internal city commitment to increasing public transparency and engagement, both with the public and between city departments, around issues of broad interest related to archaeological topics and projects.<sup>86</sup>
- Making large city development deals involving favorable loans, tax breaks, and other business incentives (such as the one Stone Brewing received in 2016), contingent on an archaeological mitigation plan in areas of highest archaeological potential
- Committing to implementing archaeological mitigation, beginning with a Phase IA assessment but continuing to testing and data recovery if warranted, on projects on city land or using city funds, such as the proposed Shockoe Bottom baseball stadium; the Kanawha Plaza park reconstruction; and the upcoming Coliseum overhaul
- Including archaeological resources and archaeological sensitivity as an element in the City’s Master Plan, the city programmatic agreement with HUD, and any other types of area planning for neighborhoods like

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<sup>86</sup> With the 2018 Rose Center for Public Leadership process (discussed in the final chapter), this effort may finally be underway.

Shockoe Bottom (the HUD programmatic agreement revision is currently underway and will include some element of archaeological sensitivity differentiation)

- Hiring a city historian or archaeologist to coordinate between city, state, federal, and private institutions on matters that have an impact on the city's historical and archaeological sites

As shown in Chapter 6, both prehistoric and historic archaeological sensitivity in the city appears particularly high along sections of the riverfront, of which a substantial portion is the James River Park System and other city-owned park and Department of Public Works land. Developing the city's own policies and standards for archaeological remains could have a clear impact on some very sensitive city resources. In addition, since much of this land is preserved for recreation and natural resources, work to develop better archaeological stewardship for these areas is predominantly a question of developing guidelines for park maintenance and renovation rather than dealing with complex development plans.

Another important step, however, would be to examine city-funded or supported economic development plans and corporate partnerships to ensure that such plans are in the city's long-term interest, and that these interests consider an explicit consideration of the potential of an area for heritage tourism. Especially for city-financed and enabled projects, the destruction of potential archaeological sites with no study or review seems like a self-inflicted wound to future potential of heritage tourism, community amenities, and public education

opportunities. Why not provide city support, financing, debt, and special considerations to companies willing to be good stewards of the city they are investing in? Why not have a city commitment to understanding its full archaeological potential and historic sensitivity, so that the city staff can educate out of town businesses on the impact their developments could have?

Similarly, it's clear from the Shockoe Bottom situation that costly city projects can be stymied, with a measurable and considerable impact on city resources and staff time, when the city attempts to ignore archaeological resources in the city's oldest neighborhood. As is discussed further in Chapters 5, there are several recommendations currently on the table regarding how Shockoe Bottom's archaeology is going to be generally examined, excavated, interpreted and/or commemorated. Considerable effort from a variety of entities has gone in recent years into producing 3D models of the neighborhood; performing an archaeological Phase I type assessment of the baseball stadium footprint; and studying the burial ground and the evidence for its extent. Ultimately with any type of archaeology, there comes a time when ground truthing and systematic investigation are needed to test the accuracy and completeness of any prediction we can make regarding the archaeological record. As Chapter 6 has shown, Shockoe Bottom displays a moderate likelihood of prehistoric sites; the highest level of historic sensitivity in the city; and preservation likelihood that grades from low to high from the east to the west. The city has already passed a resolution in support of excavating at Seabrook's warehouse; such an investigation would be an excellent first step in examining



the Bottom's archaeological potential. The city has received offers of assistance in the form of technical expertise and fundraising, but has so far lagged on moving forward. More broadly, committing to archaeological mitigation of city projects (especially in the Bottom), is essential to stop the trend where the City of Richmond itself has been responsible for considerable archaeological damage. This should be standard city practice for projects conducted in areas of the highest archaeological sensitivity.

Including archaeological resources as a component of the city's master plan was an approach suggested by several stakeholders, and would also be a critical step in improving city processes around archaeological resources. The strains between the Economic and Community Development and the Planning Department, discussed elsewhere, unfortunately sometimes dilute the effect of the Master Plan. However, just as a budget is a moral document, a master plan is fundamentally an aspirational document based on reflection and the city's best expertise. During the Shockoe Bottom stadium controversy, citizens were able to effectively point to the recommended future land use categories in the 2001 Richmond Master plan and to the details of the 2011 Shockoe Economic Revitalization Strategy report, which called for the development of Shockoe into a historic and cultural "gateway" into Richmond. This is especially critical for the areas of highest archaeological sensitivity where development is likely or uncertain, and areas that are currently poorly understood archaeologically. As demonstrated in Chapter 6, primary among these areas are Shockoe Bottom; Manchester; downtown areas affected by the Evacuation Fire; Bryan Park; and

areas of prehistoric sensitivity in Southside like Maury; South Richmond; Clopton; and Deerbourne.

Including archaeological resources in the city master plan would raise awareness within and outside the Planning Department about archaeological resources; it would raise the question of archaeological resources during the public development of the plan; it would ensure that understandings of archaeological sensitivity enter the city's GIS database and is available to raise the city's own awareness about archaeological risk; and it would reflect an acknowledgement on the part of the city that such resources are worthy of being noted. Although archaeological site locations must be kept secure, the city is theoretically already entitled to access to V-CRIS (Virginia Cultural Resources Information System), the database that maintains the site boundaries and site records of the Commonwealth's architectural and archaeological resources. Explicitly considering archaeology in terms of city growth and planning also facilitates the sort of collaborations that the city aspires to in its promotion of the Devil's Half Acre site. It's certainly true that the Shockoe Bottom Devil's Half-Acre or adjacent land could eventually hold regular archaeological investigations, in the model of nearby Jamestown, Montpelier, Monticello, and Colonial Williamsburg, that would drive tourism and help educate our children and the city's young scholars. This is also likely true of many areas along the James River Park System, which is comprised substantially of undeveloped land along the archaeologically-sensitive James River, and which in 2016 already received the most visitors of any Richmond attraction at 1.4 million visitors (Shivy and

Suen 2017). Despite the attention focused on Shockoe Bottom, the potential of the Park System, which has never been formally surveyed, is largely unrecognized in the public eye. Considering city archaeological resources comprehensively will allow city projects involving archaeology to have a good sense of the larger context of the city's resources, rather than following winds of public opinion that only has intermittent focus on the city's archaeological resources.

#### 7.1.2 City Coordination of Broader Efforts

There are also some considerable ways where city commitment, coordination, and interest could bring value or archaeological expertise into the city, without shouldering the whole financial burden, and this is one of the critical reasons why having a single dedicated staff member with expertise could theoretically more than pay for their salary in new historical projects contributed towards the city.

One major avenue would be Certified Local Government grants, which are disbursed through SHPOs to qualified municipalities who have made a commitment to their historical resources. The CLG program gives Richmond access to the GIS layers that provide information on where archaeological sites are in the city, which could help with city planning. The specific grants available provide money for architectural surveys, archaeological surveys, and historic preservation planning projects. The funds are matching grants, so the city would have to put some investment in as well. During the 1980s, CLG funding was

used around 60% of the time to fund historic design guidelines, historic preservation ordinances, and other technical guidance for municipalities<sup>87</sup>. During the 1990s, this program has been used predominantly for National Register nominations of historic districts; design guidelines; or archeological or architectural survey. Since 2000, the funds have most frequently funded historic district nominations and cultural resource survey of various times. Between 1998 and 2008, Richmond received over \$113,000 from these funds for projects associated with historic districts, but has never applied for these funds for archaeological survey or historic district recording projects. In recent years, there hasn't been a staff member managing the program. Additionally, according to Pam Schenian at VDHR, "Richmond has given up on applying for CLG grants, because their procurement process is too onerous to get large projects completed within the grant period or worth the while to pursue small projects."<sup>88</sup> CLG grant funding periods begin on June 15<sup>th</sup> and last for a year; the longest extension allowed by the program is until the end of September. General procurement improvements, therefore, might develop new possibilities for historic preservation project seed funding.

Despite the complexity of applying for and receiving funds, assistance through CLG status could be useful in variety of ways: for example, it could also be used to give city preservation planners money to attend useful conferences and educational opportunities (Virginia Department of Historic Resources 2018). These grants could help the city decide what to focus on in terms of a historical

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<sup>87</sup> CLG grant funding history provided by VDHR staff member Pam Schenian on May 22, 2014.

<sup>88</sup> Pam Schenian, personal communication, May 30, 2014.

plan and could help fund its development. In terms of attractive CLG projects, an initial survey of the James River Park System and Bryan Park could be a valuable use of resources because it could be used to not only survey one of the most archaeologically sensitive areas of the city, but also provide additional funding for improving historic and archaeological interpretation at the single largest site in the city in terms of visitation (Shivy and Suen 2017). Additionally, focus on Bryan Park could be used to develop a research design that would include both prehistoric research objectives and those associated with eighteenth and nineteenth-century plantations and the life of Gabriel, a combination that would likely have great community resonance in a location with fewer challenges generally associated with urban excavations. While CLG funds would not pay for a largescale excavation, they could provide much of the initial starter funds to addressing the current paucity of understanding regarding what archaeological resources the city currently has on its property.

Another potential project that could be managed by a city archaeologist or historian would be applications to national grants, such as the National Park Service Underrepresented Community Grants<sup>89</sup>. These grants are relatively modest (\$500,000 nationwide in FY2016, with individual applications between \$15,000 and \$50,000). However, they fund nominations and amendments to the National Register of Historic Places or the National Historic Landmark program, and would be good seed funding for projects that investigate known

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<sup>89</sup> Assuming they survive an ongoing review by the Trump administration to restrict Department of Interior grant programs towards those that represents his administration's political orientation (Eilperin 2018).

archaeological sites associated with underrepresented communities. These should prominently include identified in Shockoe Bottom associated with the slave trade; additional investigation at the African Burial Ground or other historic African-American cemeteries; freedman sites at Chimborazo Park, north of Broad Street, and Zion Town; Reconstruction-era communities across the city; and sites in Jackson Ward or other significant twentieth-century sites. Depending on available research and future projects, it could also include investigations associated with early Richmond LGBT history, gender, the eighteenth and nineteenth-century Jewish community, and many other topics that are currently entirely silent in Richmond's archaeological record. Transportation grants, federal funds managed through VDOT, are primarily fund interpretive projects to enhance transportation projects. Between 1992 and 2016, such funding has spent \$75 million on historic preservation. Previous uses in the region include the Virginia Capitol Trail, which is liberally decorated with historic highway markers and now stretches through Richmond to Williamsburg and Jamestown, connecting the three Virginia capitols (Virginia Department of Transportation 2018). These grants can be very substantial with a maximum award of \$1,000,000 and a moderate local match of 20% which can include in-kind donations. The results of these grants provide public amenities that bring archaeological and historical stories into neighborhoods and spaces under common use, which has considerable heritage tourism economic implications. The specifics of these types of grants programs are always shifting, and the current political uncertainty affects programs like these, especially aimed at

resources for underrepresented communities. However, regardless of the specifics of potential opportunities that should be investigated, regardless of which efforts are pursued, having a city employee who can be easily contacted when staff has a question, can coordinate projects that require contributions from multiple groups, and can pursue external opportunities is likely to pay dividends in terms of new resources for historic projects in the city.

A major responsibility of a city archaeologist or historian would be a systematic inventory of the archaeological and historic material culture owned and managed by the City of Richmond. Currently, the city finds itself not uncommonly in situations with ambiguous historical needs that its current staff does not well fit. Because the Lumpkin's Jail site excavations were funded by several entities, including JRIA, the Slave Trail Commission, and DHR, for a considerable amount of time artifacts from Lumpkins Jail were retained by the city in the Office of Community and Economic Development, inaccessible to academic researchers and being managed by staff with no background in archaeological curation or conservation. Historic material also curated by the City of Richmond includes items excavated and removed from city paving and construction projects over the years, currently residing in an open-air lot managed by the City Engineer. Materials include cobblestones, granite canal blocks, and numerous other types of historic fabric that has limited or uncertain provenance, but nonetheless might be the source of discoveries and clarifications regarding the materiality of Richmond's past. These items are in some cases reused in later construction projects, like James Center Park, that

are thematically or physically adjacent to the source of the artifacts. The last major collection a city historian or archaeologist might investigate is the archaeological artifacts curated at VDHR that were recovered from the city, especially associated with the excavation of the floodwall. This collection was deeded to VDHR in 1989, but part of the reason the collection has seen little work in the almost forty years since their excavation relates to considerable uncertainty about their ownership and who holds responsibility towards them. Another major requirement of any city archaeologist would be the engagement and representation of a variety of different constituencies, many of which have a troubled history with each other, with the city, and both. The crafting of narrative that would be needed with this position is perhaps stronger in Richmond than in other similar cities, partially due to the lack over the last 20 years or so of an outspoken representative of the city's archaeology. There remains considerable resistance to archaeological work that includes both historical and political conservatism among some of the city's wealthiest and most powerful citizens, and on the part of industries (like developers, realtors, and other power brokers in the city) who perceive this work sheerly as an inconvenience. Much as these groups were courted in Alexandria and other places successfully, this type of placement and definition of Richmond's archaeological goals walk a fine line between excluding these interests and being labelled reactionary or unreasonable, and accommodating them and losing the interpretive power of certain archaeological interests.



If plans for a slavery museum, memorial park, or historic site come to fruition in Richmond, there will be subsequent investigations and subsequent artifact collections, as well as important exhibits that are needed. There needs to be someone with expertise coordinating this for the city, as it will become even more critical that communications between the Department of Historic Resources and the city are effective and that the city develop strong partnerships or create the capacity to safely curate any potential artifacts. Cataloging future details regarding where material is from, how it was recovered, and potential resources it might be associated with could be useful for analyzing where good preservation exists in the city, improving interpretation of the fabric when it is reused, and providing guidance on preservation and conservation if needed.

A final area where city coordination is needed to wrap up old projects and complete obligations to the city is in certain archaeological projects, most critically the Virginia State Penitentiary, the Floodwall collection, and the VCU-ARC collections, where major national institutions have not provided Richmond's archaeological remains with the care that they deserve. In at least one case, this was in breach of Section 106 of NHPA by a federal agency. Many of these projects (especially the Virginia State Penitentiary project) are also highly socially meaningful and would resonate in a different way if elevated now versus the discomfort and confusion that permeated the site's discovery. These materials also promise some cross-pollination and enrichment for several area institutions – especially the American Civil War Center; the Valentine, Black History Museum and Cultural Center, and the Virginia Historical Society, or developments still

under construction at the Main Street Train Shed and the surrounding Shockoe Bottom neighborhood.

Currently, well over 400 boxes of the Floodwall collection artifacts (which former VDHR Curator Keith Egloff has called the largest nineteenth-century collection of urban artifacts in Virginia outside Alexandria) sit at VDHR with no artifact catalog complete, with no site reports complete, and with no way to examine artifacts in confidence knowing what site the objects came from. The collection includes at least nine boxes of leather shoes and numerous other examples of Civil War and late nineteenth-century artifact glass and ceramic types, with extremely high levels of preservation. They are the types of artifacts – immediately recognizable, mostly-intact, with potential associations with the Confederate warehouses in the ebbing days of the Civil War – that have great potential to be exciting and relevant to people today. The General Design Memorandum associated with the project (Engineers 1984, 405) states that the Maury Street site should be mitigated, the project area surveyed for additional archaeological sites, and that as other sites were encountered, would require mitigations plans (which necessarily includes documentation and publication of field reports and lab analysis). The actual Memorandum of Agreement, discussed in Chapter 3.5.2, has been lost by the VDHR and the Norfolk District of the U.S. Army Corps, but the ACHP likely has another copy of it in Washington D.C.. Historic documents suggest that ownership of the artifacts was transferred from the City of Richmond to VDHR during the 1980s, so Corps of Engineers owned the artifacts outright, this project would have been done in the last several years

as the Corps backlog has been tackled. However, clearly an endeavor as long and complicated as this needs a champion. This project is not ultimately the city's responsibility, but it is clear that the other associated agencies have (and perhaps will continue to) struggled to make headway on such a large and complex project.

At Virginia Commonwealth University, there is a legacy of abandonment with regard to archaeological materials associated with significant sites across northern and central Virginia, which is an impact on the city's patrimony that VCU bears some moral responsibility for. These artifacts need stabilization and assessment, particularly of whether enough paperwork and photographs remain to adequately represent the field findings. Current staff tasked with supervising the archive either do not have the available time or the inclination to devote to the collection, but it is also unclear whether any individuals from VDHR, the City, or local groups have made a strong case to VCU about why and how they should invest in the collection's rehabilitation. Given the arrival a few years ago of current VCU President Rao, and his stewardship of the East Marshall Street Well Project, such an effort might bear some fruit.

While city administration might look askance at the potential for another staff member, it is clear from the way that archaeology now resonates with both positive heritage tourism goals and ominous political implications that having a staff member with this expertise might pay dividends in terms of being able to predict and plan for archaeological discoveries, integrate interpretation of city

history and archaeology into ongoing projects, and coordinate related projects in multiple entities inside and beyond branches of city government.

### 7.1.3 Public Investment in Richmond's Archaeology

“As the field of archaeology grew and became more scientific in its approach, knowledge became more specialized and greater levels of training were required to appreciate the significance of the information coming out of the ground. This allowed archaeologists to apply the most modern techniques to questions about the past, but it did, by necessity, limit the degree to which most non-professionals could be present in the vanguard of archaeological theory and practice. It did not, however, diminish the interest of the public in the idea of archaeological exploration. *This constantly evolving relationship between those who have made the practice of archaeology their career and life pursuit, and those who enter the field avocationally, searching for a way to bring more of the past into their personal present, remains one of the major unexplored themes to be understood in approaching the history of American archaeology.*” (Appler 2011, 31)

One very common refrain from members of the RVA Archaeology group, ASV members, public attendees at events, and participants in public meetings, is that people don't just want to hear about archaeology, they want to feel themselves “doing” it, and this often specifically meant fieldwork (especially to ASV members looking for hours to put towards their certification training). This may be part of the appeal of the East End Cemetery Clean Up and Restoration Project, the feeling of peeling back the vines and viewing a headstone for the first time in possibly several decades, that may have influenced the gentleman from Massachusetts to travel down on a whim. The active role is something that people prize, and that feels more substantial than being “talked at.” All of this is

unsurprising and has been seen in many other archaeology contexts (e.g. Jameson 2014; B. Little 2002; Appler 2013a). Building this feeling of investment in action is something prized by a variety of public history and public archaeology contexts now, as well as being a large part of the recent trends in “crowd-sourced” knowledge. Sarah Parcak’s National Geographic GlobalXplorer project invites volunteers to train to recognize evidence of looting on Peruvian satellite photos (Killgrove 2017). Closer to Richmond, James Madison’s Montpelier has been using a website to use volunteers to transcribe their glass artifact catalogue (T. Brock 2018). Several colleagues within Virginia are using crowd-sourced volunteer efforts to educate the public and obtain additional assistance for under-funded or under-staffed projects (Moore and Means 2017). Public activity, like washing artifacts or assisting on excavations, has also been mentioned in terms of the Devil’s Half-Acre site once/if those foundations are exposed again as part of the city’s redevelopment plan – and members of the public, including some of the community members who joined RVA Archaeology when it started, remember fondly their experiences volunteering at the Lumpkin’s Jail dig under James River Institute for Archaeology. A focus on digital tools to make information about Richmond’s archaeology accessible was part of Kim Allen’s approach from the genesis of the organization, when she developed a website to collate products from the original Shockoe Bottom symposium and ensuing press coverage (Allen et al. 2014). Subsequent efforts towards greater public access to the city’s archaeology include digital products by Jolene Smith, RVA Archaeology interns Ellen Heberling and Abby Gigante, and myself aimed towards creating

public-facing archaeological data like Richmond archaeological site information; maps regarding sensitivity and loss; and histories of archaeological investigation in the city (see Appendix 11.10 J. Smith and Chapman 2016; Heberling 2017; Chapman 2015).

There is a great deal of fruitful projects that could be undertaken, but also some challenges to establishing such projects in Richmond, valuable as it might be long term. Logistically, many of the projects that are in the most need of sustained, public effort – the Virginia State Penitentiary archive, the Floodwall projects – need a great deal of professional work done on them first. Their archives are problematic, or incomplete, in a way that currently defies a large public engagement project, even though these projects would (especially the Floodwall archive) have likely be a great source of hands-on projects on the archaeology of the city. There is currently no formal way of coordinating with a CRM company performing commercial work in the city to contribute an archaeological volunteer element to their work – although this is something that would be empowered by a stronger archaeological presence in the city or especially a city archaeologist/historian. More philosophically, activists who have attended Devil's Half-Acre or Richmond Speaks community consultation meetings have been clear about their discomfort with such public processes using local knowledge and expertise as the raw materials for consultation reports and projects that pay consultant companies (see Section 5.1.3). Similarly, the volunteer economy within archaeology has also come under increasing scrutiny among academics and professionals, both as a possible devaluing of

professional archaeology and heritage workers and as a form of exploitation for those trying to break into paid work in the field. Conversations (such as on the hashtag #freearchaeology on Twitter) emphasize that forms of archaeological free labor might provide great advantages to specific projects, but that they undermine the archaeological job market and exacerbate economic instability for workers in the discipline (Hardy 2013). With reference to those Richmonders who have expressed the greatest amount of frustration with the concept of providing their historical and community expertise for free (and the additional slight of having it ignored outright when it conflicts with city goals for development in the Bottom), it is possible that the greatest source of frustration is with professionals in the field being asked to contribute expertise pro bono for a project that is clearly commercial. But there is additionally a powerful racial element, which sees the payment of citizens for mental labor (their ideas and expertise) as a form of reparations or necessary rebalancing. As RVA Archaeology works to stay relevant and stay approachable for the considerable non-white member base it started with, recognizing the racial politics of payment and work, and the various ways in which populations might respond to different types of invitations for volunteer projects, is wise. One good nearby model is James Madison's Montpelier, whose Expedition programs include scholarships for African-American students on the logic that some may be descendants of the plantation's enslaved labor force (Church 2017). This is a good step, but is mostly within reach of well-established programs with strong funding sources, and it still does not rise to the level of paying descendant or under-represented populations for

their labor – although others, such as Ashley Atkins (Spivey) in her dissertation work on the Pamunkey ceramic production, have paid descendant populations to assist with archaeological excavation and artifact processing (Spivey 2017).

While the desire for volunteer archaeological work and learning opportunities is of importance to some, it is far from the only public need existing within Richmond. Richmond's archaeological publics appear primed for action, but also on the cusp of falling back into a type of "Richmond never gets it right, we're so provincial" malaise. In this, the repetitive feel of the public consultation projects is a major culprit, as is the entrenched political battle over the eventual style of development in Shockoe Bottom. The city must be encouraged, by local scholars, academics, and public intellectuals, to cede in a substantial and material way to the requests for structured and planned, appropriate development in the Bottom. It is clear that the population most invested in the future of the area, especially of the African Burial Ground, will not sit idly by and accept a museum or pavilion adjacent to a sodden, forgotten burial ground. It is also clear that a city government which has owned the burial ground for 7 years without changing its zoning in the city's official GIS to be a cemetery is a government whose commitment to the realities of the site is suspect.

This work is being written at a time when there are considerable shifts on the horizon for the city, and for Shockoe Bottom most specifically. The National Trust in December 2017 announced their African-American Cultural Heritage Action Fund, which seeks to raise \$25 million to fund historic preservation work on African American sites, and which highlighted Richmond's Shockoe Bottom in



its news coverage (Rao 2017). Mayor Stoney (who took office in 2017, was not the instigator of the baseball stadium, and is largely untainted by its association) was accepted in 2017 for a mayoral Urban Land Institute Rose Land Use Fellow due to considerable national interest in the potential historical redevelopment of this space (National League of Cities 2017). The initial public meeting of this project in February 2018 was substantive; the participation in assessing the problems and potential solutions in Shockoe Bottom was refreshing in the way in which the proposal seems to take seriously concepts of area planning; memorial park space; and equitable economic development (M. P. Williams 2018). The master planning process is beginning, area plans for the city are underway, and high-speed rail threatens to add yet another potential project of a series of commuter parking lots on part of the area planned as memorial park according to the community proposals (E. Stewart 2017; M. Robinson 2017). This is a lot to juggle for even the most functional city government with the best community relations. But paramount to the success of all of these endeavors in Richmond is the need for the city to respond to clear and consistent public feedback over several years in relation to Shockoe Bottom: for the city to use a combination of the Rose fellowship; the SmithGroupJJR process; high-speed rail consultation; and interested national organizations to truly and collaboratively explore the feasibility of a connected city green space development in the neighborhood. This type of project is important because it would be ambitious, optimally it would link the African Burial Ground, Devil's Half Acre site, Main Street train shed development, and land parcels in Shockoe Bottom to the adjacent

neighborhoods and to common pedestrian and public transportation routes. In its best form it would create a place that would examine and interpret the incredible archaeological sensitivity of Shockoe and study the meaning of its slave trading; industry; ethnic communities; and commercial eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century sites. Without addressing the current challenge of consultation exhaustion and mistrust, much of the community-engaged aspects of these types of work will find it challenging to create much authentic traction.

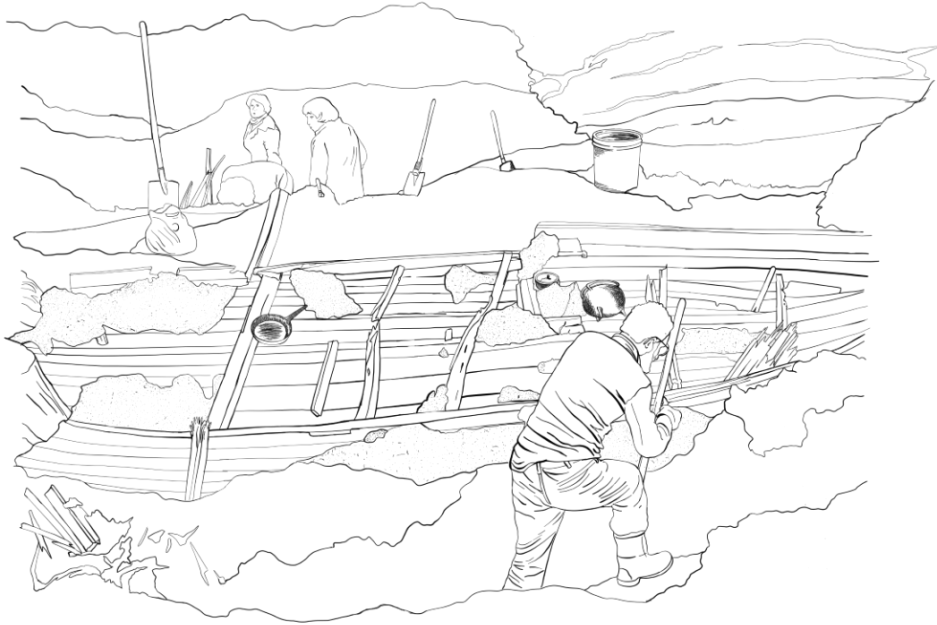
#### 7.1.4 Driving Interpretation and Educational Opportunities around Richmond's Archaeology

“Today, a footbridge connects Oregon Hill Park along the mainland to Belle Isle, now known as the James River Park, which contains jogging and walking paths and an environmental education center. The city apparently is still somewhat sensitive about the accusations of the past—a large historical display map just east of the footbridge explains the history of nearby Brown Island but fails to expound on the history of Belle Isle and the part it played in the city's history” (Speer 1997, 301).

While there is more signage interpreting the James River Park System than there was in 1997, little archaeological survey or professional archaeological input seems to have gone into existing signage. In addition to the city needs in terms of surveying and analysis, there is enormous potential for archaeological advocacy and educational outreach in Richmond. The RVA Archaeology efforts over the last two years in terms of outreach have included arranging Lyle Browning to contribute to a “sensory history tour” of Belle Isle; hosting a Day of Archaeology at the Science Museum; assisting Derek Miller and his students to produce an exhibit for URichmond Downtown (UncoverVA) that reviewed

Richmond's archaeological potential and some of the challenges to effective archaeological investigation; and hosting periodic speakers. Members of the ground have independently attended meetings and events related to city history and asked questions about how the archaeological story would be protected if it wasn't already being addressed.

Future actions the group can take going forward include more of these types of educational opportunities, including ways of stewarding the group towards Richmond communities that are less well-represented in archaeological organizations typically. In speaking with Kim Allen, she has recommended attending events like Juneteenth, which have a strong sense of place, history, and bring a considerable black audience. Allen emphasized meeting people where they are; considering ways to interpret and present archaeology that do not require a particular effort to engage with archaeology but rather are occurring in the vicinity with other types of recreation and gatherings. She also suggested that these types of meetings might discuss a range of archaeology and history,



*Figure 37 - Coloring Page Illustration Created of the Turning Basin Salvage Excavation for the DiggingRVA Public Education Event (Illustration by Oliver Mueller-Heubach)*

so as to interest groups who disengaged from the Shockoe Bottom conversations because of the tenor and duration of those public debates<sup>90</sup>.

Another element that might contribute to interpretation and investment in the city's archaeology is publication of resources and materials on archaeological sites in the city. Boston City Archaeologist Joe Bagley published *A History of Boston in 50 Artifacts*, a book written for lay audiences that opens up unique objects found through the municipal archaeology program to city residents and fans (Bagley 2016). Publication on the salvage project at the Turning Basin or the Virginia State Penitentiary, as publications by Scott Nelson has shown, could be both scholarly significant and popular with general audiences, including children

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<sup>90</sup> Personal communication, December 17, 2017.

(Nelson 2006; Nelson and Aronson 2007). During an Archaeology Day, Diggin' RVA, at the Science Museum in October 2016, University of Richmond professor Elizabeth Baughan and her class worked with RVA Archaeology to promote interest in archaeology through hands-on activities for all ages, including the creation of coloring pages using photographs from Richmond artifacts and excavations (see Figure 37). For a significant amount of time, information about Richmond's archaeology has been predominantly available through pieces in local media recounting the often irregular processes of their recovery more than the details of archaeological interpretations (e.g. Griego 2015; Kollatz 2014; Utsey 2011; Utsey 2010). More formats of publicly-accessible scholarship and secondary source material are deeply needed.

Open access and self-directed ways of presenting information are increasingly popular as forms of engagement, especially among digital humanities and digital scholarship. As part of a conference paper studying the collections crisis within Richmond, I developed an open-access database that made publicly accessible for the first time the names and available data of all the archaeological sites in the city, many of the archaeological repositories, and much of the cultural resource management data presently collated (Chapman 2017c). As part of our work examining the RMAAS archaeological planning report, Jolene Smith and I created maps in the website Carto, which creates publicly-available and browsable maps accessible to those without complex and expensive GIS software (J. Smith and Chapman 2016). Further work of this type might include taking the georeferenced historic maps prepared for the spatial

analysis in Chapter 6 and making it available through formats such as Carto or ESRI ArcMap Online. Such a project would be especially resonant and meaningful for the Shockoe Bottom neighborhood, as hopefully public planning processes are in the process of coalescing around the Rose Fellowship public process. Eventually such approaches might also include developing an app that would allow the public to investigate archaeological and historical sites across the city, or to engage more spatially and directly with particular neighborhoods or sites. Additionally, within urban environments where sites are often mitigated in advance of a construction project that eliminates the site, or where a site is often under tens of feet of fill, it is fairly straightforward to select sites for emphasis that are not vulnerable to looting or damage.

#### 7.1.5 Political Advocacy to Improve Cultural Resource Management Outcomes

Some challenges associated with Richmond's archaeology require state or federal level approaches, or are better addressed through raising expectations for disciplines and industries than by fighting the tide locally. One example of this is the need for greater recourse on the part of state historic preservation offices, like Virginia Department of Historic Resources, when a permit is granted and archaeological work is performed but the final report is not completed, or not completed in a timely fashion. Unfinished archaeological reports represent a considerable loss of archaeological knowledge and ends up amounting to the destruction of archaeological sites. This is especially the case when field directors pass away before such reports can be completed, which has

unfortunately been the case for several important Richmond projects. Currently however there are several ways in which RVA Archaeology and other interested community members might effectively lobby for greater stewardship of archaeological materials:

- Advocate for someone with archaeological experience to serve on the Committee for Architectural review, which approves some developments with impacts to historic buildings and districts in the city.
- Advocate for the creation of a Historical Commission within the city tasked with designing a proactive approach to historic and archaeological preservation in the city and enhancing connections across city projects.
- Request redress from local and federal institutions whose projects remain incomplete or unaddressed in the city. VCU should properly rehabilitate its archaeological collections, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers should complete the project reports associated with the Floodwall, and the Smithsonian Institution should complete and publish its report into the human remains recovered from the Virginia State Penitentiary. Proper conservation, curation, publication, and public interpretation of archaeological artifacts is required by most national archaeological ethics standards, and state universities and federal organizations should meet these standards.
- Seek out sources of funding and institutional support within and beyond the Richmond community for this important work – ultimately, Richmond's

archaeology needs an intellectual “home” and administrative support, either within the city, a local non-profit, or a university.

These types of political advocacy are most effective when coming from longtime city residents like many RVA Archaeology members, and suits well the type of political advocacy around archaeological stewardship that the group was created for. A key factor here is whether the process can center Shockoe Bottom in a way that does not create undue political controversy but does generate additional impetus to membership, which has become considerably less active (and represented more by the professional world of history and archaeology) over the last year or two).

Ultimately, there must be political, municipal, academic, and public solutions for improving Richmond’s archaeological stewardship, because there are political, municipal, academic, and public reasons for it ending up in this current situation. While several of these solutions require initiative and will more than they require financial investments, the question of whether the city, academic institutions, federal agencies, and the state dedicate adequate funds and focus to this question will undoubtedly determine much of the fate of these resources. Community education, engagement, and interpretation will create the context and empowerment most likely to develop greater public pressure so that these institutions invest in the future of Richmond’s archaeology.



## 8 Community Amenity; Municipal Program; Political Football; or Process of Restorative Justice? Examining Value and Interpreting the Political Position of Urban Archaeology in Richmond and Beyond

This research has explored Richmond's fraught political landscape around archaeological sites and interpretation; its landscape of research potential; the particular emphasis of restorative justice practice for archaeology's community value; and its checkered history regarding how city, state, and federal institutions have engaged with Richmond's archaeological landscape. As is demonstrated in the study of how archaeological remains develop political resonance and value in Chapter 5, Richmond's archaeological remains attract attention and perceived importance in part through their proximity and relation to other political and moral debates within the city. Key to this is a hope that archaeological remains might reveal types of histories that have a long time been excluded by a lack of actions invested in their value: a lack of research performed, a lack of buildings preserved, a lack of statues built, a lack of books written; a lack of inclusion in the curriculum, and a lack of discussion and acknowledgement regarding the centrality of slavery in Richmond's past. This has led to an unusually committed and informed community that argues passionately that archaeology is needed for restorative justice that will examine and uncover the past of the less-recognized, so that the modern city can move through some of its intractable racial tensions and divides. At the same time, it seems likely that if efforts towards better archaeological stewardship do not continue to emphasize topics of particular community contention, such as Shockoe Bottom, that the archaeological

advocacy community will likely recede to the more traditional archaeological constituency of predominantly white preservationists.

Quite often, archaeologists – especially those in cultural resource management – have been loath to ally themselves with political struggles both because doing so is a risky prospect for the health of their business, and because in some cases they doubt whether these political engagements represent a community's authentic interest in the past. Instead, like the RVA Archaeology group did in its originating months, archaeological companies present themselves as neutral about proposed developments, arguing for the proper and legally-mandated archaeological mitigation required by legislation like NHPA, NEPA, or state or municipal regulations.

This politicization, in which most industries find themselves, makes the question of perceived community value extremely hard to tease out. To what extent does archaeology matter once the TV cameras have been packed away and the proposed development is quashed? What proportion of the advocates for archaeology during a public debate continue to advocate for archaeological resources when doing so is no longer as practical to their other concerns and priorities? To what extent is a local politician's indifference to archaeological review due to a need for greater education and advocacy aimed at public officials, and to what extent is it about their support of a specific project or specific developer who opposes discussion of archaeology as a city resource with value? Within the discipline, do (and should) urban archaeologists choose projects predominantly based on archaeological sensitivity and their personal

research interests, and to what extent do they gravitate towards political lightning rods?

Ultimately, archaeology has an allure for the public that few disciplines do: as discussed in Chapter 4, it is seen as an endeavor with considerable value as an educational tool; source of entertainment; or investigative methodology for suppressed histories, and through these aspects it gains power as a potential tool for racial reconciliation. This is easier said than done. Richmond currently is gripped in a debate over whether to remove its Confederates statues, most prominently on Monument Avenue. Even with an array of historical facts available about the cause of the war and the impulses that led to the monuments' construction, there is no clear movement towards healing but rather a conflagration so intense that one of the Monument Avenue Commissioners confessed to me that their child had asked them to start carrying a gun.

At the same time, an archaeological research program could do much, as many in the city have pointed out, to even the scales of history. Areas in Shockoe Bottom whose architectural associations with enslavement have long been torn down could still be investigated, and archaeological foundations or artifacts or information could lead to similar moments of emplacement and power as do the many other markers across the city that speak plainly that "history happened here." Some of the proposals, such as exposing the waterlogged foundations of Lumpkin's Jail similar to Jamestown's Archaearium, would demonstrate the proximity that Richmond has to this history to individuals and groups for whom a parking lot and a story are less compelling. A cornerstone of this piece would be

aspects of public archaeology when done well: educational opportunities for public school students, the creation of a site that can host school trips and events, and a center where research is possible by people of all ages and backgrounds. The record-breaking opening season of the National Museum of African-American Culture, with its months of sold-out tickets, illustrates the very real hunger that people have to experience these types of historical narratives.

The history of Richmond's archaeological study in Chapter 3 has illustrated the extent to which, while archaeology now has political meaning and value within the city, this has only recently become the case. Any push to create urban archaeology outreach within the city has old collections to grapple with, in a way that both stymies interpretation of the city's archaeology currently and holds potential for volunteer or publicly-oriented archaeological analysis and curation projects under archaeological supervision. However, to do so also requires investments or money, time, and space on the part of local institutions, which has not (as reviewed in Chapter 5) previously been forthcoming.

The spatial analysis in Chapter 6 shows that, while archaeological disturbance in the city has been considerable, there are many areas across the city that are likely to be powerful in their archaeological investigative and interpretive potential. Creating such an overall sensitivity assessment helps to illustrate archaeological risk and reward on a citywide scale and to identify areas that remain under-emphasized. Sites like Bryan Park, with its associations with Gabriel and the native landscape, or Southside, where native sites seem likely and where a considerable proportion of the citizens are low-income, are fertile

options for an engaged community archaeology project. Despite the many critiques of predictive modeling, the chapter discusses the importance of producing spatial sensitivity assessments for use by city planning in order to identify areas for archaeological projects that might have particular public resonance or to identify future situations, like the Shockoe baseball stadium proposal, where city development plans might endanger pockets of city land with considerable archaeological sensitivity. Additionally, it illustrates how ethnographic perceptions of value regarding the city's archaeological landscape maps onto contemporary spatial analyses of archaeological potential in the city.

Given the siloization of information related to the city's archaeology, and the untimely loss of some research centers and individuals significant to its history, this work has sought to draw these disparate sources together and to provide some practical approaches to how the city could move forward. Presented in Chapter 6, these recommendations are significantly politically-embedded and require substantial cooperation between city, state, and federal departments and agencies; local universities and museums; and community participants. These are to a considerable extent the collation of recommendations from people who have studied the city for far longer than I have – suggestions about archaeological management draw on ideas recommended by individuals like Howard MacCord, Kim Chen, or Daniel Mouer in their assessments of archaeological preservation planning in the 1970s to today (MacCord 1976; Mouer, Johnson, and Gleach 1985a). In others they have been recommended by stakeholders, VHDR staff members, members of the

Council of Virginia Archaeology, and advocates or archaeologists from other urban programs in my conversations with them. Critiques of the entrenchment of the Slave Trail Commission have been previously advanced by Michael Paul Williams, Ana Edwards, Free Egunfemi, and many others in the press and in private (M. P. Williams 2012a; Free 2017). They are presented, though, at a particular time in the city's understanding of archaeological value, which might increase the impact these suggestions are allowed to have.

Taken as a whole, this research has illustrated the power of multimethod approaches to urban archaeology. Without a layering of the historical, the spatial, the ethnographic, and the policy assessments, urban archaeological examinations can lack either a full context or a way forward. With this type of assessment, this research examines the history of Richmond's archaeology while also providing context and opportunities that have been previously hidden – including, specifically, the potential of sites like Bryan Park or the Virginia State Penitentiary as potential future foci for community attention and investment. Additionally, this research has illustrated the complexity of political situations around archaeological interpretation in cities, and suggests that advocates of municipal archaeology should consider questions of race, power, and political economy when engaging with these structures. This final chapter will discuss several major themes of this research within a broader urban archaeological framework and explore its wider implications. It examines the Richmond context and asks: what is generalizable from this city's history of archaeological investigation and loss; its politically-embedded perceptions of archaeological

value; and its emerging contentious efforts to create archaeological interpretive sites of significance for residents and visitors? It reviews common approaches to urban archaeology management and research; political ideologies and power in relationship to urban archaeology stewardship; the impact of race in urban archaeology; and the political economy of municipal archaeology programs.

### 8.1 Archaeological Values, Ideology and Political Economy in Richmond

“When residents attach sentiments to buildings and neighborhoods, it engenders community resistance to demolition and structural change. To the extent that these threatened changes often displace established residents, saving buildings is a way to preserve structures of habitus, community networks, and some hard-won economic stability. Buildings and places do not simply shelter societies; they mortar them together. The historic preservation movement in New Orleans has at times buffered the center of the city not only from physical change but from some of the crasser promises of liberal capitalism. This potential for the landscape to assist in utopian resistance was fully recognized and mobilized by bohemian preservationists in the early twentieth century and is recognized today by many of the young artists and CIY hipsters now immigrating to the post-disaster city...*As seen in the cases of public housing and Isiah’s grandmother’s house, the ability to mobilize historic preservation in New Orleans in order to resist social displacement remains unequal*” (Dawdy 2016).

Nationally there are a few different models for how public archaeological projects are developed in cities, and some of these models respond to issues created by the political realities of city archaeology. There is the municipal model, where urban archaeology projects occur under city auspices as with the Devil’s Half-Acre/Lumpkin’s Jail in Richmond. There are 69 local governments who maintain municipal archaeological protections, according to research in 2016, and many of these organize volunteer opportunities, public excavations, events,

publications, or similar products aimed at engaging their communities (Deur and Butler 2016). There are CRM or unexpected salvage projects which, for various reasons, develop community valence or controversy, or include uncharacteristically robust public components. These include the New York African Burial Ground after considerable intersession by stakeholders, but more recent projects include the AECOM Digging I-95 Project in Philadelphia (AECOM 2017). Academic research and engagement projects in general have greater flexibility and autonomy, and important work in cities include Agbe-Davies' excavations at the at the Phyllis Wheatley Home for Girls and the Bronzeville Cultural Garden (Agbe-Davies 2010; Agbe-Davies 2011) and Paul Mullins' investigations into the archaeology of an African-American twentieth-century Indianapolis neighborhood disrupted by the expansion of Indiana University (Mullins 2011; Mullins 2003) demonstrate this greater opportunity for engagement. There are publicly-oriented projects designed by non-profit organizations like D.C.'s Archaeology in the City, the Florida Public Archaeology Network (FPAN), Unearthing Detroit, and other groups that often partner with academic or municipal programs. The Yarrow Mamout Archaeology Project, a collaboration between Mia Carey (University of Florida) and the D.C. HPO to excavate the home of a formerly-enslaved eighteenth-century African Muslim resident, is one such example (H. Smith 2015; Montgomery 2016; Sheir 2015). Similarly, FPAN, a project of the University of West Florida that was created by the Florida legislature, works across Florida and has several cemetery data



recording projects in Florida cities among their varied outreach activities (Lees 2017; Lees, Scott-Ireton, and Miller 2015).

Currently (as of 2017) ongoing urban archaeology programs have been summarized in Table 2. While the approaches for creating engaging public projects are often very similar between these different programs, the political economic implications of these various approaches are very distinct in terms of clients, legal requirements, funding sources, longevity, stability, and other factors.

*Table 2 - Current Urban Archaeology Programs and Organizations (partially based on Deur and Butler 2016)*

<b>Name</b>	<b>City</b>	<b>State</b>	<b>Type</b>
Parks and Recreation City Archaeology Office	Phoenix	Arizona	Municipal
n/a	Scottsdale	Arizona	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
n/a	Tucson	Arizona	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
n/a	Pismo Beach	California	Municipal (Staff archaeologist)
San Diego Archaeological Center	San Diego	California	Municipal
n/a	San Francisco	California	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission, staff archaeologist)
n/a	Aurora	Colorado	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, historic commission)
n/a	Boulder	Colorado	Municipal (Survey, historic commission)
n/a	Durango	Colorado	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
n/a	Ledyard	Connecticut	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
Archaeology in the Community	Washington	D.C.	Community
D.C. Historic Preservation Office	Washington	D.C.	Municipal
n/a	Fort Walton Beach	Florida	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
n/a	Hollywood	Florida	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
n/a	Jacksonville	Florida	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
n/a	Sarasota	Florida	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
City of St. Augustine Archaeology Program	St. Augustine	Florida	Municipal
n/a	St. Augustine	Florida	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission, staff archaeologist)
n/a	St. Petersburg	Florida	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)

n/a	Boise	Idaho	Municipal (Archaeologist on historic commission)
n/a	Wichita	Kansas	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, staff archaeologist, historic commission)
n/a	Annapolis	Maryland	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, special status for sensitive area, historic commission)
n/a	Baltimore	Maryland	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission, staff archaeologist)
n/a	Frederick	Maryland	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
n/a	St. Mary's City	Maryland	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, staff archaeologist, historic commission)
n/a	Barnstable	Massachusetts	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, historic commission)
City Archaeology Program	Boston	Massachusetts	Municipal
n/a	Brewster	Massachusetts	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, historic commission)
n/a	Chilmark	Massachusetts	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, historic commission)
n/a	Falmouth	Massachusetts	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, historic commission)
n/a	Marion	Massachusetts	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, historic commission)
n/a	Medford	Massachusetts	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, historic commission)
n/a	Middleborough	Massachusetts	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, historic commission)
n/a	Salem	Massachusetts	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, historic commission)
n/a	Wayland	Massachusetts	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, historic commission)
n/a	Ann Arbor	Michigan	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
Unearthing Detroit	Detroit	Michigan	Academic & Community
n/a	Pascagoula	Mississippi	Municipal (Archaeologist on historic commission)
n/a	Kansas City	Missouri	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, ordinance, historic commission)
n/a	Virginia City	Nevada	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, staff archaeologist)
n/a	Evesham (Township)	New Jersey	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
n/a	Hopewell (Township)	New Jersey	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
n/a	Albuquerque	New Mexico	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission, staff archaeologist)
n/a	Santa Fe	New Mexico	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
Professional Archaeologists of New York City	New York	New York	Advocacy
Landmarks Preservation Commission Archaeology Department	New York	New York	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission, staff archaeologists)
n/a	Albany	Oregon	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, predictive model, historic commission, THPO partnership (Grand Ronde))
n/a	Hood River	Oregon	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, special status for sensitive area, historic commission, federal–local partnership)

n/a	Portland	Oregon	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, archaeologist on historic commission, special status for sensitive area)
Philadelphia Archaeological Forum	Philadelphia	Pennsylvania	Advocacy
Historic Charleston Foundation Archaeology Program	Charleston	South Carolina	Non-profit Community
n/a	Deadwood	South Dakota	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, special status for sensitive area)
Yates Community Archaeology Project	Houston	Texas	Academic & Community
City of San Antonio's Office of Historic Preservation	San Antonio	Texas	Municipal
Alexandria Archaeology	Alexandria	Virginia	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, predictive model, historic commission, archaeologist)
n/a	Bainbridge	Washington	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, THPO partnership (Suquamish), historic commission)
n/a	Bremerton	Washington	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, THPO partnership (Suquamish))
n/a	Camas	Washington	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, ordinance)
n/a	Port Angeles	Washington	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, staff archaeologist (under contract with private firm))
n/a	Poulsbo	Washington	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, THPO partnership (Suquamish), historic commission)
n/a	Vancouver	Washington	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, ordinance, historic commission)

Municipal archaeological programs are often established by people who care immensely about archaeology's potential to reveal and publicize suppressed histories; as Appler has noted regarding the Alexandria program, "planners such as Davidoff and Krumholz worked to politicize the planning process, seeking to introduce disempowered voices and to decentralize the government's decision making process...Cressey, Alexandria Archaeology and the AAC engaged in work that had a similar effect, in that their work helped to demonstrate the historical presence of multiple groups within the community, and it drew attention to the need for interpreting that history along with the city's better known historical themes. The activities of the AAC also created opportunities for local

community members to speak out about sites that they felt were important” (Appler 2011, 109). At the same time, they operate within city structures of power and financial priorities, and these complications can either hinder their continuation or limit the types of stories they effectively and powerfully retell.

Community nonprofit organizations can be important independent voices, but as seen by the ACORN organization in Richmond, can be somewhat precarious if sources of funding dry up. In some cases, the creation of such grounds occurs around municipal archaeology programs, in order to create a political arm more able to speak on behalf of the resources when doing so is inconvenient to the aims of public officials. There are friends groups, like the Friends of Alexandria Archaeology, which provides a non-profit arm within which to advocate for city resources with some degree of separation from the city government. Appler has argued that the existence of such a group is one of the major elements needed for the success of municipal archaeology programs, because, in addition to developing community outreach and providing a volunteer basis, these groups provide political support (Appler 2011, 4). The Professional Archaeologists of New York City, Inc. (the excellent acronym PANYC), is another such group, whose explicit purpose is “not to excavate archaeological sites but to promote cooperation and communication among the City's professional archaeologists and to advise and educate public agencies and the general public on matters relating to the archaeology of the City” (Neighborhood Preservation Center 2017). PANYC has been involved to some degree on a variety of efforts that required political action to shift the direction of public projects that affected

archaeology, including the Stadt Huys building, African Burial Ground, Ellis Island, and the Atlantic Terminal site (PANYC 2015; Neighborhood Preservation Center 2017). They additionally put out a regular newsletter 1981-2011 and advocate to city officials regarding the potential impact of legislation on archaeology (Britt 2016). Philadelphia's Archaeological Forum serves a similar function. In some cases, groups like these provide other benefits, as does the Friends of Boston Archaeology (FOBA) which is currently pursuing nonprofit status in order to have greater flexibility for fundraising than government employees do (Bagley 2017, 275).

The undercurrent of much of what has happened to Richmond's archaeology revolves around power, money, and image. Had VCU's push towards territorial expansion not slammed up against the archaeology of the Marshall Street well or the Parson's house, perhaps the university would have retained its archaeological unit which now could contribute significantly to study and interpretation in the city. Had the Slave Trail Commission not become so closely aligned with the city political establishment and its development proposals, perhaps there would be more openness to creating a commemorative space that truly represents the voice of interested Richmonders. If VDHR had stronger enforcement power and more robust staffing, perhaps the 400+ boxes of Floodwall artifacts would have been analyzed, written up, and usable for coloring in city history. Perhaps the Penitentiary site report would have gotten finished. Perhaps we'd be having a conversation about what the bones of those men and women, incarcerated largely under the Black Codes, can tell us and whether they

should be silently curated in Washington D.C. or if they, too, should be part of an overdue reckoning.

Historic preservation activism is often influenced, supported, or curtailed by a particular issue's relationship to political leverage and power. For some people (including some Richmond anti-stadium activists) what is most valuable about archaeology in an urban American context is its use as a political tool in a struggle that is largely about other issues – anger over the city's repression of its slave trade-related history, lack of trust that city government will competently pull off a complex development, urban planning objections to downtown stadium construction, suspicions of corruption on the part of local developers, to name just a few. While archaeology might align somewhat with their values (particularly progressives who couch archaeology primarily in terms of its ability to reveal hidden or unwritten histories), the environment of immediacy and threat around the votes required to sustain the stadium plan possibility led to enthusiastic endorsement of archaeological significance in the Bottom that has not been sustained in the months and years since the failure of that vote. In this context, maintaining a Graeberian focus in which values are expressed as actions or inactions, rather in explicit rhetoric, is useful in revealing how archaeology is perceived as meaningful or is used in political disputes. More considerable and comparative work on this topic – how cities engage with the advocates for history and archaeology in their midst; how advocates become effective; and the tools they use to assess municipal commitment and true collaboration, would be useful as a future direction.

This is also a space in which the implications of the anthropological lens vary on whether a given researcher emphasizes systems of power, or whether they perform more of a symbolic anthropological investigation of participants' actions and voices in order to make their interlocutors more understood. As I discussed in Chapter 5, part of the political struggle between anti-stadium activists and city officials in terms may lie in the power they draw from Shockoe as a site of conscience. Many members of the Slave Trail Commission and city government undoubtedly do genuinely care about Shockoe Bottom receiving recognition in terms of its slave trade history. It is not simply a wish for political legacy that has driven politicians like Delegate Delores McQuinn to their participation (and in many cases, determined participation beyond term limits or guidelines) in this process over the last 15 years. There is clearly an investment of actions and activities there, and a difference in whether individuals and organizations believe Shockoe Bottom's crimes need to be the focus of exposure or attention in order to recognize a site of conscience, or whether they focus the importance of the site on a consecration and a use of the space for reflection, mourning, and moving forward.

At the same time, the divide between ways of recognizing Shockoe Bottom as a site of conscience is one with considerable political pressure and accommodation wrapped within it. For a city or state politician, an emphasis on Shockoe Bottom as the site of a crime, as a place where truths need to be uncovered, is a landmine. Many powerful companies (and therefore funders of political campaigns), including Davenport and Company, including McGwire

Woods, including the railroads and the tobacco industry, have their roots in the use of slave labor and slave sales in Richmond (Trammell 2012; Chen and Collins 2007). Having an interest in “forensic” approaches to history, which at the milder end might include archaeological investigations and at its pointed includes assessing how institutions, groups, and individuals built their wealth through the system of slavery (e.g. Baptist 2014; Battle 2001; Wilder 2014; Trammell 2012), begins to edge the city more firmly into a consideration of slavery reparations conversations. So, while I do think that there are genuine interests in recognizing the city’s slave trade history and interests in Shockoe Bottom as a site of conscience on both sides, I am leery of placing these two groups on even footing with an interpretation that divorces this conversation from its dynamic of political power.

## 8.2 Cost and the Precariousness of Municipal Archaeology Programs

The question of whether cities are willing and able to pay for basic archaeological review, and how they fund or justify this expenditure, is one of the most critical issues in the continued health of these programs, and it directly affects their political position and lack of independence. This is important because, notwithstanding the issues I’ve discussed regarding the political entanglement of municipal archaeology, a project embedded within city planning and review is one of the only ways that sensitive archaeological sites without a federal requirement end up regularly excavated in cities. City programs, having started in a variety of ways, have different types, sources, and extents of funding. The D.C. Historic Preservation Office benefits from the District having a unique



political position as a city outside a state; it receives financial support from federal Historic Preservation Fund like the network of state historic preservation offices do. In Phoenix, the City Archaeologist has existed since the 1920s, charged with developing and overseeing the city's museum and park associated with the Hohokam site of Pueblo Grande, and is funded through the Parks & Recreation Department (Bostwick 2017). In Alexandria, funding began through the Smithsonian for several years before eventually being permanently incorporated into the city (Appler 2011, 102–9).

Often, as with SHPOs, changes to their limited funding can close programs or limit their effectiveness. Financing of city departments and closure of non-profit or city run museums can end or limit archaeological programs. The City Archaeology Program in Boston, which has employed a historical archaeologist since 1983, has not received project funding beyond one archaeologist's salary from City Council since 2011, so all their projects are volunteer-staffed except for the City Archaeologist (Bagley 2017, 271–72). Bagley writes that “fundamentally, the lack of defined jurisdiction and enabling legislation makes the City Archaeologist position and the program vulnerable” (Bagley 2017, 272). The Baltimore Center for Urban Archaeology was shuttered in 1997 when the Baltimore City Life Museums, which had struggled due to an expansion and lower than projected visitor numbers (not dissimilar to the Valentine Riverside project in Richmond), were shut down. Many of the factors in the demise of not only urban archaeology in Baltimore, but also several important museums, ring true in the current environment also: “Lack of support from

Baltimore City—both government and the public—is cited as a cause. One symptom of what is going on in Baltimore—and the nation, for that matter—was the opening of a new Hard Rock Cafe in the historic Power Plant. The government, private investors, and the public can't seem to do enough for large, glitzy, headline-grabbing attractions while more sedate sites go unnoticed... Many people, including city planners and business consortiums, have concluded that Baltimore has more museums than it can support. But meanwhile the mayor's office continues to champion new museums clustered around the Inner Harbor, such as a new African-American History Museum and Port Discovery--new museums that often duplicate missions of existing (and struggling) institutions” (White 1997).

Ultimately, even in cities with considerable resources, and in circumstances where associated topics are non-controversial, archaeological programs are likely one of the first types of programs considered for cuts or reductions when budgets are tight. It is therefore the case that any archaeology embedded within cities, like the interpretation planned for the Devil's Half-Acre site in Richmond, is entwined not only with political personalities and motives, but also with an understanding that requests or relationships associated with one particular project might have funding or political decision-making implications for other city projects. Financial precariousness and some degree of political dependency is one tradeoff that municipal projects have in exchange for participating in city policy development and influencing archaeological

investigations in large categories of city land instead of on a project-by-project basis.

### 8.3 City Politics, Race, and Urban Archaeology in the U.S.

“Over the past 20 years working as an archaeological conservator, researcher, collaborator, or cultural heritage specialist, I have witnessed hard won battles focused on archaeology and preservation that transcend singular emphasis on African American history. Such overarching sites held deep significance for the activist public that saved the resources from destruction. It gives me great pause to think that such compelling archaeological and now national resources were not deemed worthy of exploration based on their historical and archaeological merit at the time they were discovered. The African American public first had to define meaning and significance and then had to fight relentlessly for inclusion to sustain the vision. As a result, I now understand the necessity of activism and protest—the process of protest...How well do you understand the people you serve? Among the New York public not associated with governmental agencies or archaeological firms, an elderly population was at the foreground of the movement, mainly retired black females available during the daytime hours for important scheduled oversight meetings. This was the population that sustained the fight. Recognizing their cultural legacy and heritage in a way that younger generations often fail to appreciate, these elder stakeholders saw or see themselves as placeholders until the next generation moves into position to take up the battle.” (LaRoche 2011, 630–31).

This dissertation has examined how Richmond’s history of archaeological and historic preservation stewardship is deeply entwined with its history of racial inequality. A major outcome of this is that among some community members, historical resources are seen as valuable especially with reference to truth and reconciliation processes that are part of a restorative justice that seeks to tell a more complete story about the city’s past and its role in the interstate slave trade.

The connection between archaeology and restorative justice has been recognized in other contexts such as African descendant communities in the Dutch Caribbean and among First Nations peoples in Ontario, Canada, and has been associated with attempts to reckon with the silences surrounding colonial histories through regulatory processes that are the modern-day descendants of colonizing powers (Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2007; Havisser 2015; Graeme and Mandawe 2017).

Modern-day inequities, the extremes of income inequality, and the visible monuments or reminders of the colonial histories that created them, are perhaps some of the reasons why archaeology in urban spaces is such an especially charged act. However, so too are the unseen actions being taken on a daily basis by preservationists and archaeologists, who, as LaRoche has pointed out in the quote above, too often have been inactive and silent in the face of situations that threatened critical scholarly and community heritage. Choosing to lay low when archaeology is dragged into the public sphere is not a neutral tack; staying out of sticky political topics is a privilege, and is only an option for groups of people whose history is already recognized as valuable and treated with respect. Archaeologists nationwide have made this point in certain spheres – though not often in the developing literature on municipal archaeology programs that emphasizes the advantages of city governments for archaeological ordinance creation and enforcement; representation of local priorities in governmental archaeology work; and collaborative research between municipal archaeologists and their publics (Appler 2017, 187–92). However, as LaRoche points out, the

archaeological value and significance of historic remains associated with African Americans is one that repeatedly must be proven, protested, enacted, and enforced – over and over again – in a way that indicts the discipline as a whole.

Archaeologists generally, but especially urban archaeologists, must recognize that there is no apolitical course to take in most urban projects, there is simply the question of which political groups one engages with and which one does not. As Chris Gosden has argued, “Post-colonial archaeology is political archaeology, so that, for instance, when engaging in questions of land rights, *archaeologists are not disinterestedly investigating the topic, but attempting to use archaeological material and reasoning to help a group assert their claim to land.* Post-colonial archaeology takes positions contrary to archaeology as science, asserting local claims and situations over global topics, trends, and conclusions” (Gosden 2012, 252). It is in this context that the VDHR decisions related to the location and extent of the Richmond African Burial Ground must be seen. Despite the efforts of local historian Elizabeth Kambourian to discuss her research on the existence and location of the burial ground, this information did not resonate and was not permitted to have public policy implications until years of political activism and disruption on the part of explicitly political groups like the Defenders for Freedom, Justice, and Equality. In some cases, however, I would argue contra Gosden that post-colonial archaeology that is politically active is not essentially ascientific or less scientific than archaeology that sees itself as apolitical or objective – when the VDHR did intercede and create a report on the extent of the African Burial Ground, its report used methods that have been

critiqued including by its own staff, failed to illuminate ways in which scientific archaeology could examine the question of the burial ground's extent, and generally showed a curious lack of inquiry. In the situation where archaeological research might have elucidated a community's "claim to the land," the state archaeological office played up the limitations of archaeological science and failed to bring all the tools at their disposal to bear on the topic.

However, this challenge with the political meaning and utility of archaeology also occurred in the realm of archaeological advocacy, as when research coordinated through Preservation Virginia, an anti-stadium and pro-memorial park group, ended up discovering new evidence that the Richmond African Burial Ground may after all have been on land now completely covered by Interstate-95. The materiality of archaeology can be inconvenient in multiple directions, and as perceptions of the discipline might be affected by archaeological conclusions in one political debate or another, archaeologists must continue to thread the needle between what publics hope to find; archaeological materials and interpretations; and archaeologists' own political affiliations and opinions.

While some situations in Richmond represent a potential struggle between scientific and moral or spiritual claims to remains (the East Marshall Street Well Project's plan to rebury remains being one example where at least anti-repatriation physical anthropologists might make this argument), the recent debates over archaeology within the city have been much more related to a sense that archaeology should be used to expose historic crimes and silences in

the city. In the Richmond context, many city constituents are requesting that the expertise of archaeology be marshalled to explore and assess their own histories and stories, rather than having certain histories relegated to the focus of activists and avocational scholars. As archaeology is asserted to have this type of evidentiary power, there can be disjuncture and discomfort when the story revealed through archaeological work is ambiguous, produces negative results, or contradicts the proponent's politics.

Urban archaeology is a colossal task – no one single person or group could possibly have the space and opportunity to comment in an educated fashion on all debates going on in the region. Similarly, every SHPO nationwide is pressed between a variety of pressures: substantial budget cuts, increasing numbers of projects for compliance review, arcane and sometimes fantastical public inquiries, political pressures from lawmakers, developers, and other groups. It is easy to understand how specific projects may fall through the cracks, but the underfunding of historic preservation can also be seen as an intentional tack taken to limit the effectiveness and stability of these types of institutions.

More twenty years after the New York African Burial Ground was discovered, the appropriate treatment of sensitive urban archaeological sites (even those containing human remains), is still not guaranteed. During 2017, a dramatic example of this occurred in Philadelphia, where developer PMC Property Group disturbed large quantities of eighteenth-century human remains from the (white) First Baptist Church cemetery on Arch Street. The remains were initially discovered in February 2017, and initially the city departments like the

Philadelphia Orphan's Court, Department of Licenses and Inspections, and Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission declined to involve themselves and claimed they lacked jurisdiction, a claim that was disputed by a former city attorney (Salisbury 2017d; Gordon 2017). Instead, the skeletons were excavated by volunteers and museum staff from the Mutter Museum, who were initially given less than a week for their removal and planned to finance the interment of the remains using crowdfunding (Salisbury 2017a; Vadala 2017). Additional articulated remains were discovered, but PMC Property Group initially claimed otherwise until members of their construction workforce shared images of the bones with the media (Salisbury 2017b). While this project was eventually granted a hearing by the Orphan's Court and received orders on proceeding with a better archaeological plan, this modicum of oversight has only emerged in the wake of considerable outrage and media coverage and it remains unclear what archaeologists are overseeing the work and what oversight authority they have. In the meantime, 12 skeletons stored in properties owned by the developer have been lost (Salisbury 2017c).

The Philadelphia Archaeological Forum (PAF), which has documented 85 instances of human bones being disturbed at 52 separate burial grounds in Philadelphia, is now dedicating some of its education efforts to providing a database of Philadelphia's 117 historic burial grounds (Chernick 2017). However, PAF and their President Doug Mooney are also using the press associated with the situation to point out the larger issue, that Philadelphia like many other cities has no municipal protections for important archaeological resources and that this



type of issue could potentially reoccur (Chernick 2017). Other cities have had similar surprises – like the French colonial discoveries found along the St. Louis waterfront in 2014 (R. Campbell and Meyer 2015) and the cemeteries uncovered during the construction of La Plaza de Cultura y Artes, Metro, and Playa Vista developments in Los Angeles (Los Angeles Times 2014; Ciolek-Torello et al. 2013); Examining race as an aspect of urban politics and scholarship is essential here to understand how archaeological precariousness overlaps with its promising materiality and a series of city communities that are in some cases just beginning to be able to influence how their story is recorded and understood. It is instructive to look at who writes the histories of urban archaeology, and especially how urban and municipal archaeology projects intersect with race. While there is no comprehensive data on all archaeologists employed in municipal contexts, American municipal archaeologists appear to come overwhelmingly from a white ethnic background, which is congruent with archaeology as a considerably white discipline. City governments, on the other hand, are more varied. Richmond’s city government is majority black, as is Washington D.C.’s. Overall, municipal employees in the 100 largest metro areas have increasingly begun to resemble the communities they represent (T. Gardner 2010). While representative city government does not necessarily loosen the grip of moneyed interests on large scale city planning decisions, it can be critical to establish political support for projects like the Richmond Slave Trail and the Maggie Walker Historic Site that broaden city historic and archaeological stories. Additionally, factors including a city’s racial diversity; racial inequality; and

contemporary patterns of racial representation in city politics can influence how archaeology is understood and comparatively valued. In any city, elected and hired city employees deal with the minutiae of managing an aging and financially stressed metropolis: maintaining the sewers; fixing the potholes (to great acclaim); finding health services for children living in poverty; debt management; police and fire departments; the carceral system; public transit; utilities; and a myriad of other priorities. While city budgets generally contain a combination of critical and more trivial funding priorities, a white archaeologist requesting funding for an excavation in a city with considerable challenges of infrastructure and inequality has the potential to project a particular sort of poor optics or cluelessness.

Racial discrepancies regarding who studies archaeology and who stays in the field to rise to a position in municipal or public archaeology continues to have an indelible impact on the types of projects and interpretations pursued in the field. As a result, there are numerous white archaeologists interpreting non-white historic city sites and projects for audiences of a variety of backgrounds. Carol McDavid has analyzed her work at the Yates Community Archaeology Project and Heritage Society using critical race theory, exploring ways in which differing cultural norms have resulted in uneven access to information on the project, and how her position of white privilege may increase her ability to engage constructively with white volunteer docents over how to expand an honest interpretation of enslavement (McDavid 2007; McDavid 1997). However, it's more common for archaeologists whose main research interest isn't race to leave

race out of the factors they discuss with reference to their studies, and municipal archaeologists are not unique in this.

Non-white archaeologists are more common in academic or community urban projects outside cultural resource management and governmental institutions. Alexandra Jones, a historical archaeologist, started the outreach organization Archaeology in the Community (AITC) in 2009 as she was completing her doctoral work at Berkeley. The D.C.-based organization uses archaeology as a vehicle to exposing marginalized African-American youth from poor DC communities to science and education. Jones uses an intersectional framework in order to design classroom and place-based educational techniques that engage students in a STEM discipline and to disrupt the structural discriminatory processes that contribute to poor science education among these communities (Jones and Carrington 2017).

In some cases, archaeologists in municipal or CRM contexts have not adequately recognized the legitimacy of the interest of city communities in having archaeological work performed to a particular standard or with sufficient outreach. In Richmond, the East Marshall Street Well Project deals with a historic example of this inadequacy, though not one that received much overt community criticism at the time due to how the story was suppressed. Nationally, the most well-recognized example of this process is the New York African Burial Ground, where a Congressional task force was required to move the excavation and analysis away from a rushed process with no community input and into the hands of a research team more informed in African American practices and history

(LaRoche and Blakey 1997, 85). It was not however, merely the inadequate training of archaeologists that was at issue here – it was the lack of investment permitted by government institutions that designed and approved the Section 106 process for the project. As described by LaRoche and Blakey, “*in the end, power was also wrested from the government by individual elderly African Americans, who understood, through life experience, the false hope of rhetoric and the emptiness of promises...*By July 1992, after a constant barrage of petitions, angry rhetoric and community dissension, congressional hearings, professional meetings, lobbying, and political action, leadership and control of the entire project was eventually awarded to more sympathetic institutions with greater experience and which were better developed for research of this kind” (LaRoche and Blakey 1997, 85–86). Contentions and public debates regarding how sites are excavated and what aspects of sites are highlighted have similarly occurred at the Liberty Bell site in Philadelphia, where several African-American and activist historian groups came together to object to the manner in which slavery was being excluded from the National Park Service interpretation emphasis at the site and to shift the planned emphasis of the project (Rothschild and Wall 2014, 179–84).

This pattern of persistence and considerable skepticism to the words of city politicians has a strong parallel with the approach of Virginia Defenders and Unitarian-Universalist activists invested in Shockoe Bottom, who listen for concrete steps within the political rhetoric and are quick to drum up a sense of urgency and press contact if they feel processes are moving slowly out of

political obstructionism. It is partially this informed skepticism and political wrestling which now contributes to the minefield of Shockoe in political discourse, but without this intense political activism, it's likely the downtown baseball stadium construction would have been completed and a wider heritage planning initiative suppressed.

Another aspect of race and urban archaeology is the uneven emphasis on the archaeological remains of different communities of color. If black urban archaeological topics have historically been understudied, native urban archaeology of the historic period is even more so (though the field of indigenous archaeology is combatting this legacy). And while popular imaginings often conflate black with urban, they are likely to erase native people from urban spaces; as Coll Thrush has argued, "Urban Indigenous people and communities are perhaps the most "unexpected" of "Indians" (Thrush 2017b, 110). Historical analyses have examined how Indigenous communities flocked to cities in the United States, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia in twentieth-century migrations (i.e. Danziger 1991; LaGrand 2002), or have interpreted urban native spaces in the West (i.e. Edmonds 2010), but these studies are less common in the south and east. Within historical archaeology, studies of urban native groups have begun to examine these histories (Rubertone 2016) but are still most common with reference to research focusing on ethnogenesis, ethnic identity, and identifying ethnicity in the archaeological record (McGuire 1982; Deagan and Koch 1983; Voss 2008). From Virginia's early ethnographies (F. G. Speck 1928; F. Speck 1925) to recent advances in collaborative archaeology and historical

anthropology (Strickland and King 2016; Spivey 2017; Woodard 2016), research on Virginia native communities often focuses on communities in rural areas or on reservations rather than the communities that developed in cities.

Within Richmond, over 20% of the recorded archaeological sites are classified as prehistoric. Historic native sites are harder to identify, as the ethnic identifier column within the V-CRIS database is uncommonly filled out and ethnic affiliation is often not easily discerned for urban cultural resource management projects. Dan Mouer's work on Rocketts Landing describes how, "in the 1770s Indians frequented the marketplace and waterfront in Richmond, and in the 1780s Catawbas and Shawnees came to Richmond to draw supplies from the public stores" but that native communities become less visible by the nineteenth century, which he associates with the particular erasure of Virginia Indians into classifications of white or black during the hardening racial categories of the Antebellum Period (Mouer 1996, 175–79). Pamunkey tribal member and current William & Mary American Indian Resource Center Liaison Ashley Atkins Spivey has (in not-yet published research) observed considerable documentary evidence regarding the Pamunkey tribal members who lived in Fulton Bottom, attended Fulton Colored School (if they did not attend the western Indian boarding schools, which many did), and established bustling fish and grocery businesses in Shockoe Bottom during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>91</sup> However, interpretations and studies like this are impossible without a strong grasp of historic native histories – in this case, Pamunkey and Mattaponi-

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<sup>91</sup> Personal communication, 2016.

associated family names and genealogical patterns that allow the identification of native businesses and families in contemporary advertisements and directories. The importance of indigenous perspectives in research is well-made by a host of native and non-native scholars (Watkins 2001; Watkins 2005; Atalay 2012; C Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2012; B. J. Little and Zimmerman 2010), including with specific reference to historical urban landscapes (e.g. Thrush 2017a). However, many American cities do not have someone studying them, particularly not someone integrated into city structures, who is versed in local indigenous histories or methodologies. Within Richmond, even preservationists who had spent a considerable amount of their careers studying the history of the city were surprised at Atkins' insights regarding the nineteenth and twentieth-century histories of trade and commercial enterprises in Shockoe Bottom and Fulton associated with Virginia native communities. Even for people whose careers are dedicated to examining and challenging received wisdom regarding Richmond's history, the character of city landscapes and the extent of Virginia's native erasure means that the narratives of native persistence within Richmond comes as a surprise. And despite a history within central Virginia of forcible displacement and physical violence towards Indian tribes, the current narratives of archaeological potential do not speak in a detailed manner about what a greater understanding of prehistoric and historic native life could contribute towards Richmond's moral and political discourse.

Themes of racial identity, city politics, and the variable recognition of history replicate and swirl about in urban contexts, where most participants are

members of multiple overlapping groups and have a variety of allegiances and potential priorities or interests in various sites. Douglass et al discuss this in reference to West Bluffs, a project excavating multiple native and historic sites in advance of the Playa Vista development in Western Los Angeles, and which I worked on during my first years in CRM. They describe the political situation as being complex with anti-development politics, native concerns over the desecration of burial sites, and environmental concerns:

Opposition to the West Bluffs project stems from three separate, but related, groups: local neighbors, environmental groups, and Native Americans. Many local residents oppose the development in part because the property has been enjoyed as open space for decades and therefore view it as a public easement. In addition, neighbors are concerned about potential increased noise and traffic. Environmental groups, including the Sierra Club and a number of local groups, oppose the project because the property contained one of the last remaining upland habitats connected to the adjacent Ballona wetlands. Finally, many Gabrielino/Tongva [the local state-recognized tribe] oppose the development in part because of the environmental issues but more importantly due to the destruction of the three archaeological sites on the property, each of which contained human remains. Gabrielino/Tongva tribal members view interments as final resting places for their ancestors that should not be destroyed or removed. They believe that it is ethically and spiritually wrong to destroy things that were divinely created. Individuals representing local residents, environmentalists, and Native Americans came together to protest the development at West Bluffs during the summer of 2003. *Throughout fieldwork, much of the protesting against the archaeological work was based on the premise that the burials were being desecrated. Some local Native Americans were actively involved with these protests. Other Gabrielino/Tongva members, however, questioned the commitment of local residents and environmental groups to this stance because it was unclear if the commitment was sincere or simply an opportunity to draw attention against the development.*



The loose coalition and affiliations that were responsible for defeating the baseball stadium included similar wary racial politics. For once on the side of preservationists, the more progressive and racial equity-oriented activists in the Shockoe debate sometimes suggested that whiter, more wealthy community organizations (such as the Church Hill Association) were latching onto black history as a convenient opposition tactic for a stadium they opposed more on grounds of traffic, appropriate massing of the historic Downtown, and a distrust of city-led development schemes. The temporary nature of this unity can be seen in after Shockoe Bottom's reprieve, when the drive to protect "the view that named Richmond" on Libby Hill from a considerable condo development and the fight to prevent Dominion from constructing a massive power line across the James River just downstream from Jamestown became immediate priorities for many (majority white) preservation organizations and activists. This fight did not appear to resonate as much with individuals who were members of the Virginia Defenders or other groups focused on the African Burial Ground, who felt that the baseball stadium would come back unless additional steps were taken. Rather than focusing on other historic preservation risks, these individuals and groups were more likely to contribute towards the Defenders public planning process to develop an alternative to the baseball stadium proposal which would allow them to move beyond "no stadium" and towards a proactive recommendation for the area they could promote during subsequent political hurdles. While the Shockoe stadium opponents were repeatedly characterized in the press by detractors as NIMBYists (a charge perhaps more fairly leveled at some of the involved

neighborhood associations and preservation interests), the denouement of the warring downtown development proposals and the Memorial Park charrettes speaks to Appler's point that "for local residents, the importance of the excavation may be dwarfed by the importance of how the site and its information are subsequently treated." Pertinently, he asks, "how do the residents of the surrounding areas use the information gathered through archaeology, and how do they use the site itself? More to the point for this particular research, in what ways and to what effect do archaeological sites cross the boundary into the realm of community amenities, such as public parks, trails, memorial spaces or local museums?" (Appler 2011, 19). In the Richmond context and more broadly, key to retaining and stoking ideas of archaeology as a community value appears to be a willingness to wade into policy and urban planning discussions that many archaeologists find themselves unprepared for. In many cases, these urban planning or policy discussions occur within a triangulation of racially-divided politics and relative and varied city financial priorities.

#### 8.4 Municipal, Community, and Academic Approaches to Engaging New Audiences in Urban Archaeology: Approaches to Archaeological Practice

Approaches that emphasize collaboration with local communities; descendant-led research; using ethnographic data to contextualize archaeological projects; and canvassing local groups regarding their relationship to archaeological resources are happily on the rise and becoming fairly standard within anthropological archaeology (e.g. Blakey 1998; Gallivan, Moretti-

Langholtz, and Woodard 2011; Spivey 2017; McGill 2010; C Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2012; McDavid 2002). The materiality that archaeology possesses that makes it particularly resonant for efforts in restorative justice, the way that creating refuse and physical remains is a common element of human life, is also part of what makes archaeology attractive to the public more broadly. Considerable numbers of people, whether employed fulltime in other fields or retired, perform the work for free as a form of entertainment, social activity, diversion, or hobby. But why are people willing to spend hours of their life every week pulling ivy off gravestones; sorting pottery sherds; working outside under extreme field conditions; and performing library archival research or map analysis? Is archaeology unique in this, or is it exactly like every other arcane or bizarre past-time to which people devote their discretionary time? The coordinators of volunteer programs are in many cases aware of the need to craft their tasks and programs around the motivations of their specific group. Unlike many similar hobbies like designing model train environments; building in Minecraft; or knitting a scarf, doing archaeological lab and fieldwork is not especially a creative endeavor. It is however an endeavor of discovery, with the pride and internal satisfaction that goes along with that. Judging by the bars during every archaeological conference, it is a pastime that lends itself to the telling of stories related to one's past bravery, endurance, or foolishness. It is in many cases a socially-embedded pastime that allows for conviviality and human connection.

Finally, I think archaeological work derives some of its value from being an investment of labor into a topic one finds intellectually or morally important. Archaeology and historic preservation are aligned with many overlapping moral positions: conservation of building fabric; the aesthetics of the traditional, the ruined, the gently deteriorating, and the substantial; understanding of historical facts and trends; knowledge of one's environment in the present and past; the skill of examining a small fragment or relic of something and being able to interpret fully what it signifies; and finally, all of the moral values I've discussed earlier in Chapter 4. Spending hours rebagging a collection or doing field survey is labor conducted in the service of these overarching moral values, then provides a sense of purpose and contentment that is distinct from that derived from sheer easy entertainment. The man who got into his RV and drove down to Richmond from Boston when he saw news coverage of the East End Cemetery Clean Up and Removal Project encapsulates this; for many people (especially when their immediate critical needs are addressed), life requires a periodic struggle with existential dread and a fear of aimlessness. Work on an archaeological project larger than themselves, especially when their broader moral framework prioritizes the types of values that archaeology is associated with, can provide many with a buffer or distraction from these fears.

Throughout the activity of the RVA Archaeology group, our leadership was asked several times to set up practical activities, most commonly excavations of some sort of other, but also lab work or similar practice. It was clear that to some constituencies – particularly potentially among avocational members who had

come to the group through the Archeological Society of Virginia -- political activity and outreach was not considered as much real archaeology. For many, archaeology is digging and the practice of excavation, with its camaraderie, messiness, struggles with the weather, etc. The job of advocacy is just talk; moreover, it does not have the same feel of recreation as much archaeology (at least when performed contentedly under optimal field conditions) can have. This also explains some of the tension operating when groups focused on history or archaeology for entertainment and a sense of purpose collides with an interpretation on the meaning and virtue of this pursuit that does not match their own.

In Richmond, it seems that since 2014 aspects of the city's archaeology are valued and recognized (by some city officials and community members anyhow) in a way they have not been previously – at least in word; the deeds are still yet to be determined. The future of archaeology in Richmond depends somewhat upon whether these values persist, how they are prioritized among other community values, whether the needs of the city's archaeology continue to be brought up in political conversations, and on the political landscape around archaeology and how it shifts.

## 9 Epilogue

In the wake of the August 2017 Charlottesville neo-Nazi rally, the National Trust for Historic Preservation announced a new African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund, a fund with a goal of \$25 million whose purpose is to counter the persistent underinvestment in African-American historic sites. Brent Leggs, director of the fund, channeled many of the same restorative justice ideals of Shockoe Bottom advocates in a subsequent interview, noting that “Preservation was now at the forefront of a national conversation where history, culture, and public spaces collided, forcing our nation to confront the unfinished business of race, emancipation, and inequality...we believe that historic preservation is a form of social justice” (Afro 2018). The Trust used imagery and the narrative from Shockoe Bottom prominently in its national press regarding the fund; as it turned out, they had not alerted or collaborated with city officials regarding the announcement, who gave the fund a somewhat frosty reception in private conversations.

On February 8, 2018, more than fifty people crowded into the upstairs of the restored Main Street Station.<sup>92</sup> We were there to hear the conclusions of the Rose Center for Public Leadership’s initial listening sessions held to assist the

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<sup>92</sup> The station restoration was one of the city administration’s proud accomplishments in the wake of the baseball stadium’s defeat, and was funded with \$90 million of transportation grants. While the city was not responsible for nearly as much of the financing for this project as it would have for the baseball stadium, upkeep of the space is expected to cost \$3.65 million on annually and raises the total the city spends on maintaining event spaces to over \$11 million annually (N. Oliver 2017a). Political grousing about the wisdom of this project and the question of whether this and similar economic development projects ever truly pay off in the city are still ongoing.

city with the question of development in Shockoe Bottom from the perspectives of urban planning, historic preservation, design, financing, and development. This program, spearheaded by the Urban Land Institute, uses national experts to provide assistance to a city mayor and his team on a pressing, promising, and challenging city problem. As part of this initial assessment, the team had just undergone two days of interviewing stakeholders in the city and a frantic night of developing their conclusions until past 1am. The resulting presentation took many ideas from the critiques of groups like the Virginia Defenders and their collaborative Sacred Ground Memorial Park proposal:

- They recommended a new Office for Equity and Inclusion in order to ensure that populations with greatest needs benefit substantially from any Shockoe Bottom plan
- They advocated for the creation of community engagement policies and pointed out the difference between passive outreach and engagement that responds to community feedback
- They observed the need for a larger process in the Shockoe neighborhood and for a more holistic effort spearheaded by one overarching project manager
- They recognized the centrality of race and the need for a “truth and reconciliation” type approach to projects in the Bottom
- They argued that in the meantime before a final plan is assessed, the city should pass an “archaeological do-no-harm policy” for the

Shockoe neighborhood so that important resources are not lost while the city finds its feet on process and next steps.

After the presentation, my colleague and friend Derek Miller, who had been at many of the Shockoe Bottom public consultation meetings over the last two years, turned to me and asked in disbelief: “Was it always so obvious that someone could come here for a week and figure it out?” The next meeting of the group is scheduled for May 2018. As of this writing, there has been no political movement on such a “do-no-harm” policy.

With the late arrival of these promising but untested processes to the scene, this dissertation ends on an ellipsis, with the story still unspooling. Moving forward, I hope to use some of the analysis and perspectives collected here to provide recommendations on city policy proposals; to provide public comment on proposals that might affect historic resources; and work on a variety of the proposals listed in Chapter 7. I also hope to encourage more extensive academic and public work on city archaeological resources, especially those in continuing need of rehabilitation and analysis. Most of all, I hope to build on understandings of how archaeological resources have developed value in Richmond in order to work on publicly-accessible projects related to community archaeological priorities and to raise awareness for less-understood resources in this fascinating city.



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## 11 Appendices

## 11.1 Legislation Impacting Richmond's Archaeology

Richmond's archaeological resources are currently only well-protected in instances where they are impacted by federal undertakings, projects involving federal land, money, or permitting approvals. However, some resources are protected to varying extents by federal, state, and city municipal legislation and codes, as well as by guidelines overseeing state and city bodies. Below is a list of legislation and guidance impacting treatment or investigation of archaeological resources in the City of Richmond:

### 11.1.1 City of Richmond

#### Agreements with Federal Agencies:

The Programmatic Agreement between the City of Richmond and Housing and Urban Development: Requires archaeological mitigation for projects using Community Block Development Grants (which are administered through the city) in order to construct housing. The city is responsible for overseeing this process, which currently only kicks in when the cumulative area of the project is in excess of 1 acre (Advisory Council on Historic Preservation 2004). There are plans to revise this programmatic agreement to include zones of archaeological sensitivity that in some cases mandate archaeological mitigation for much smaller projects.

#### Old & Historic District Guidelines:

These guidelines, established by the Commission of Architectural Review, generally review the requirements for property owners in areas designated as city Old & Historic Districts. These districts must be approved by a majority of land owners when they are established and recognize unique architectural and historic elements of city neighborhoods. Most of these guidelines cover the conservation of the districts' character through compatible new development and exterior repairs or renovations. In addition, these guidelines have adopted The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings. Included in these guidelines is the requirement that "Significant archaeological resources affected by a project shall be protected and preserved. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures shall be undertaken" (Sadler et al. 1999, 5). There is currently no archaeologist serving on the CAR, nor anyone with archaeological training within the city planning department overseeing the implementation of this requirement. There is also no indication that this standard has ever resulted in a property owner being required to provide archaeological mitigation in Richmond.

## City Council Resolutions and Ordinances:

The City Council has passed several archaeological resolutions (a formal expression of the opinion or will of City Council) and ordinances (a rule, law or statute adopted by City Council) related to archaeology over the years. This section lists these pieces of legislation thematically, and in rough chronological order.

**Slave Trail Commission:** Starting in 1998, the city passed several resolutions establishing the Slave Trail Commission and establishing a “Night Walk Along the Slave Trail” annual event on the last Saturday of June (City Resolution No. 94-R91-101), and modifying elements of how the Commission functioned and how many members it contained (Resolution No. 98-R102-107; Resolution No. 2003-R155-141; Resolution No. 2004-R125). These relate to archaeological resources because the formation of this commission was tied to the site of Lumpkin’s Jail from its inception and later led to the city decision to excavate there.

**Lumpkin’s Jail Excavation:** The process of performing excavations on Lumpkin’s Jail was referenced in several pieces of city legislation, especially processes to accept monies from other state and local institutions. Resolution No. 2004-R196-197 directed the City Manager and other entities to explore how the site could be used by the Slave Trail Commission, while Ordinances No. 2005-121-71 and No. 2006-183-175 approved acceptance of funds from the Virginia Department of Historic Resources and the Alliance to Conserve Old Richmond Neighborhoods to finance the archaeological work.

**Baseball Stadium Proposal:** In early 2014 the City Council passed Resolution 2014-R029-33 expressing their support for continued negotiations associated with the Revitalize RVA development project, initially described as having a Slavery and Freedom Heritage Site. However after substantial public discussion and outcry over a variety of logistical, financial, historical, and moral issues, a subsequent resolution expressing support for the plan (No. 2013-R255) was withdrawn before a planned vote.

**Archaeological Commission:** In the midst of the baseball stadium debate after the initial defeat of the mayor’s plan, Councilor Ellen Robertson proposed Ordinance No. 2014-208. RVA Archaeology members worked with the Councilor to offer suggestions on how the ordinance might be adjusted, but there was initial resistance on the part of city employee to staff yet another commission, as well as a lack of sustained public support in the wake of the stadium’s defeat. This commission was later withdrawn, and is not in effect.

Seabrook Tobacco Warehouse: After the baseball stadium question had died down, Councilors Parker Agelasto, Charles Samuels, Reva Trammell proposed a resolution supporting archaeological research on the former site of the Seabrook Tobacco Warehouse, a site that had been noted by the Dutton+Associates archaeological review of the Revitalization plan. Resolution 2015-R026-35 passed and interested community members including myself and other RVA Archaeology members have conducted outreach to several city councilors since 2015, but no archaeological research has yet been conducted on this site.

Shockoe Bottom Historic Site: As the debate over what type of historic memorial, museum, or activity space might be constructed in the Bottom and how much it should extend, Richmond's City Council has passed several pieces of legislation and opinion regarding the site. In 2014, Resolution No. 2013-R278-2014-117 was adopted and requests the Chief Administrative Officer pursue the designation of Lumpkin's Jail, the Richmond African Burial Ground, and the Slave Trail as a National Historic Landmark and to pursue UNESCO World Heritage Site status.

#### 11.1.2 Commonwealth of Virginia

Virginia Antiquities Act (1977, amended 1991): In Chapter 23 of the state code, this legislation prohibits any disturbance of archaeological sites on state-owned land unless as part of an archaeological excavation with a permit approved by the Virginia Department of Historic Resources. Additionally it requires anyone removing human remains from a grave anywhere in the state to have a burial removal permit from VDHR. Finally, it makes the Director of VDHR responsible for surveying and protecting state-controlled land for significant sites; establishing a state-wide public archaeology program; designate a State Archaeologist; and encourage private owners of important archaeological sites to cooperate with the state so the site can be preserved.

Virginia Environmental Impacts Report Act (§ 10.1-1188 Code of Virginia, 1973): All state projects larger than \$500,000 go through an environmental impact assessment and agencies, including the Department of Historic Resources, are invited to submit comments regarding the project. VDHR submits comments regarding a project's potential to cause damage to historic properties or archaeological sites. This process is similar to that of the National Environmental Protection Act, and projects that require NEPA review are excluded. Mitigation measures might then be required.

Demolition of State-Owned Buildings (§ 2.2-2402 Code of Virginia): Before a building is removed from state-owned property, the Governor must approve the decision and this decision is based on recommendations from the

Department of Historic Resources and other agencies. In the case of the Virginia State Penitentiary excavation, this legislation resulted in the mitigation of archaeological resources on the property and the discovery of the unknown prison cemetery.

**Sale or Lease of Surplus State Property (§ 2.2-1156 Code of Virginia):** Similarly, before lease or sale of state-owned land, the Secretary of Natural Resources will solicit comments from VDHR regarding potential impacts to historic resources and may recommend mitigation to offset them.

**The Appropriations Act (Biennial Budget Bill):** Before significant alterations, remodeling, or repairs of state-owned landmarks listed on the Virginia Landmarks Register, heads of the relevant agency will provide plans for review by DHR and may involve mitigation or project adjustment.

**Cave Protection Act (§ 10.1-1000 Code of Virginia)**  
This legislation protects all geological, biological, and historic features in caves from vandalism, regardless of the ownership of the cave. Research in caves with the potential to impact these resources requires a permit from the Department of Conservation and Recreation, and a concurrence from VDHR is required before it is issued.

**Underwater Archaeology Permits (§ 10.1-2214 Code of Virginia)**  
Exploration or research of any underwater historic properties owned by the state must go through a permit process to approve the research, and VDHR is involved in this permit process.

### 11.1.3 United States

**Antiquities Act (1906):** The legislation obliges federal agencies to manage public lands and the sites of outstanding historic, scientific, and cultural significance on them. It also empowers the President to declare existing federal land as National Monuments, which are designated to protect the sites of greatest national importance. Archaeological political advocacy was a major element in the passage of this legislation. Richmond itself has no National Monuments, but this legislation is the underpinning of much of the precedent for the federal government to provide archaeological stewardship for resources under its control.

**National Historic Preservation Act (1966):** More than any other single piece of legislation, this act established our national preservation program. Specific to

Richmond, Section 106 of NHPA mandates community consultation and mitigation if federal undertakings (projects using federal land; money; or permitting) in the city impact archaeological or historical resources. It is the reason why the Programmatic Agreement for HUD projects exists. It is the enabling legislation for archaeological mitigation of projects like the Floodwall excavations, excavations before construction of the John Marshall Federal Courthouse, and most other cultural resource management excavations in the city. Many Richmond city projects, like the construction of the Pulse Bus Rapid Transit currently under construction, use federal grants and funding and are therefore subject to environmental and historic review and compliance. NHPA also established our system of state historic preservation offices, such as the Virginia Department of Historic Resources. Section 110 of NHPA mandates that federal agencies survey and inventory historic and archaeological resources on their property; although some surveys have taken place under this section, the vast majority of federal land nationwide has never been archaeologically surveyed due to lack of financial appropriations for these types of studies.

Section 4(f) of the Department of Transportation Act (1966): When the federal transportation agencies plan a project, they must try to avoid publicly-owned parks, recreation areas, natural refuges, public or private historic properties, and similar areas unless there is no prudent alternative. In that case, they must minimize harm through mitigation strategies. This is similar to projects requiring archaeological mitigation through NHPA, but whereas NHPA is a consultation process, Section 4(f) is a substantive law, meaning that approval of a project route is not permitted if a prudent alternative is found to be available.

National Environmental Policy Act (1970): Created in response to the growing environmental concerns of the 1960s, NEPA similar to NHPA requires an assessment of any undertaking that involves federal land, permits, or funding. Pertinent to historic and archaeological resources, NEPA requires the production of an environmental impact statement used to assess and describe the environmental and historic impacts of a project. Commonly after an EIS is issued, the federal agency deciding on the federal approval (providing land, funding, or a permit) will often require the mitigation of these effects before issuing the decision that allows the project to proceed.

Archaeological Resources Protection Act (1979): Due to the lack of enforcement power in the Antiquities Act, this legislation was passed in order to allow prosecution of crimes involving archaeological looting. This act makes it possible for prosecutions to be made for federal crimes involving archaeological artifacts, such as if someone damages or steals archaeological resources on federal land or transports illegally-obtained artifacts inter-state.



Native American Graves and Repatriation Act (1990): This legislation requires federal agencies and institutions that are federally-funded to study their historic collections for Native American funerary items, sacred objects, human remains, and items of cultural patrimony, and to make efforts to return these items and remains to the descendants best associated with their source tribe. Because of broad federal support of museums, non-profits, and universities, this legislation has had broad effect on museum collections. The act also created procedures to follow when graves are unexpectedly discovered on federal or tribal lands, and makes it a criminal offense to sell or traffic items covered by the act. This legislation has resulted in the return of tens of thousands of skeletons to the designated tribe, but many institutions are not yet in compliance. There are not many known collections of human remains from Richmond associated with the requirements of this legislation, but as far as this research suggests, VCU has not yet complied with NAGPRA regarding the human remains excavated by VCU from Shockoe Slip in the 1970s. Additionally, due to the lack of complete investigation of some native sites like the Maury Street Floodwall excavation, it is possible that additional collections from Richmond should be assessed for their potential as cultural patrimony or sacred sites.

## 11.2 Timeline of Richmond's Archaeology

1876 – Antiquarian investigations of Falling Creek Ironworks by R.A. Brock

1940 – Archaeological Society of Virginia founded.

1963 - Howard MacCord Becomes the first State Archaeologist, at Library of Virginia

1966 – National Historic Preservation Act is passed

1968 – Investigations at Warwick by Ed Heite and Neighborhood Youth Corps (APVA)

1975 – Council of Virginia Archaeologists formed

1976 – National Historic Preservation Act amended to include sites eligible for as well as already listed on the National Register

1978 – Maggie Walker National Historic Site created within National Park Service due to interventions of first majority black Richmond City Council

1983 – August 8; Bill Trout and Jimmy Moore visit the James Center project and start canal boat excavations

1983 – 1985 – canal boats excavated during three summers, found ~100 boats, rescued pieces of 6 boats

1984 – 1994 – Construction of the Richmond Floodwall results in U.S. Army Corps of Engineers archaeological mitigation of eleven sites across the city

1986 – First James River Batteau Festival based in part of canal boat excavations is launched on May 31

1986-1987 – Excavation at the Virginia Manufactory of Arms (APVA)

1988 – first Paul DiPasquale sculpture of a boatman erected on Brown's Island

1989 – Archimedes Screw Pump discovered when the James River & Kanawha Canal section by Great Ship Lock was drained, is extracted from the canal by Gregg Kimball, Greg Galer, Lyle Browning, and a Chinook helicopter. Unfortunately, the screw pump breaks through the fiberglass container intended to hold it stable in propylene glycol, and the end of the Valentine Riverfront museum shortly thereafter means the screw pump is not properly conserved. (Society for Industrial Archaeology newsletter, conversations with Galer, Kimball, and Browning).

1989-1992: The bulk of mitigation for the Richmond Floodwall project is conducted, Confederate glass insulators are found in a trench excavated as part of this work causing many artifact collectors to descend on Shockoe Bottom.

1991-1992 – Investigations at Rockett's Landing by VCU Archaeological Research Center

1991-1992 – Virginia State Penitentiary investigations uncover penitentiary foundations and associated skeletons

1992 – Elizabeth Cann Kambourian heard an account of Gabriel's rebellion, looks for and finds the burial ground on the Young map

1994 – April 26; Discovery of East Marshall Street Well during construction of the Kontos Medical Science building on the Medical College of Virginia campus

1994 – June 18; Unveiling of monument commemorating the slave trade at Ancarrow's Landing

1995 – City grading exposes archaeological remains at Chimborazo Park

1998 - Slave Trail Founded by City Resolution No. 94-R91-101, which also established a "Night Walk Along the Slave Trail" annual event on the last Saturday of June

2006 – April; Funded by the Slave Trail Commission and the Alliance to Conserve Old Richmond Neighborhoods, the first archaeological testing occurs at the Lumpkin's Jail site

2007 – VCU hires Draper Aden to do soil coring of area immediately north of Broad Street at burial ground to examine the area's stratigraphy

2008 – June 25 – Chris Stevenson produces DHR Report Burial Ground for Negroes, Richmond, Virginia: Validation and Assessment. VCU fences off the 50 x 110-foot area identified by DHR while repaving and continuing to use the rest of the lot for parking

2008 – August 28; Agreement between State, City, and VCU to remove VCU parking from Shockoe Bottom and memorialize the former Richmond Burial Ground for Negroes (now referred to as Richmond's African Burial Ground)

2008 – September 20; IHB Institute for Historical Biology releases Review of the DHR Validation and Assessment Report

2008 – Data recovery performed at Lumpkin’s Jail by JRIA between August and December

2009 – Jeff Ruggles published report on Richmond’s African Burial Ground

2010 – April; Governor Bob McDonnell reinstates “Confederate History Month” are received considerable political flak

2010 – Sa’ad El-Amin filed two lawsuits to close the parking lot at the Richmond African Burial Ground. Both are dismissed, one for lack of standing (i.e. no provable descendant, and one for not meeting the requirements for mandamus)

2011 – Governor Bob McDonnell made state funds available for the Richmond African Burial Ground to be transferred to the City of Richmond

2011 – November; Publication of Richmond’s Unhealed History

2011 – Until the Well Runs Dry documentary about the East Marshall Street Well remains is released (Griego)

2011 – VCU asks Smithsonian for a limited report from Owsley (Griego 2015)

2012 – East Marshall Street Well Smithsonian report released (griego)

2013 – Publication of Hong article about Richmond African Burial Ground legal situation

2013 – December 6; Publication of Terry Brock’s blogpost (post)

2014 – March 27; Mayor Unveils his Archaeological and Historical Process for Shockoe Bottom Baseball Stadium Project Site

2014 – March 29; Before it’s Too Late: An Educational Symposium on the Archaeology and History of Shockoe Bottom is held regarding the potential impacts of the baseball stadium on Shockoe’s archaeological resources

2014 – May 27; David Dutton Assessment Results presented to City Council in Informal Session, Mayor pulls resolution about RevitalizeRVA when it is clear the resolution will not pass

2014 – October 13; Archaeological Commission Ordinance No. 2014-208 Introduced by Ellen Robertson

2014 – November 19; opening ceremony for East Marshall Street Well Project community engagement meeting

2015 – April 28; City Council votes unanimously to support an archaeological investigation at Seabrook’s Warehouse in Shockoe Bottom

Archaeological Commission Ordinance Withdrawn by Ellen Robertson

2015 – April-May; East Marshall Street Well Public Meetings

2016 – March 24; City releases RFP for archaeological consulting and other tasks associated with Lumpkin’s Jail development

2017 – March - October; SmithGroupJJR Richmond Speaks Engagement Process Public Meetings held

2018 – February 8; Rose Fellowship Initial Presentation

### 11.3 Recorded Archaeological Sites in Richmond (as of 2018)

DHR ID	Resource Name	Site Type	Type & Period
44CF0004	null	Camp	Camp; Late Archaic, Middle Woodland
44CF0005	null	Unknown	Unknown; Woodland
44CF0007	Falling Creek Ironworks	Factory	Factory; 17th Century: 1st quarter
44CF0008	Town of Warwick	Village	Village; 17th, 18th, 19th century
44CF0009	Sloan's Hill Top Site	Unknown	Unknown; Prehistoric/Unknown
44CF0013	null	Unknown	Unknown; Prehistoric/Unknown
44CF0015	E.G. Bowles Farm	Unknown	Unknown; Prehistoric/Unknown
44CF0016	null	Unknown	Unknown; Archaic
44CF0023	null	Unknown	Unknown; Woodland
44CF0031	Stony Point	Other	Other; Prehistoric/Unknown
44CF0032	null	Other	Other; Prehistoric/Unknown
44CF0033	null	Other	Other; Unknown
44CF0034	null	Other	Other; Prehistoric/Unknown
44CF0035	null	Other	Other; Prehistoric/Unknown
44CF0039	Boys James River site	Unknown	Unknown; Woodland
44CF0040	Buck Hill	Unknown	Unknown; Prehistoric/Unknown
44CF0123	Maury Street Site	Unknown	Unknown; 19th Century, Woodland
44CF0140	null	Unknown	Unknown; Unknown
44CF0141	Ampthill Mills/Chesterfield Forge	Dwelling, single, Mill, Other	Dwelling/mill; 18th Century; prehistoric
44CF0148	null	Unknown	Unknown; Woodland
44CF0149	null	Unknown	Unknown; Prehistoric/Unknown
44CF0185	null	Camp, temporary	Camp, temporary; Prehistoric/Unknown

<b>44CF0186</b>	null	Camp, temporary	Camp, temporary; Prehistoric/Unknown
<b>44CF0187</b>	null	Camp, temporary	Camp, temporary; Prehistoric/Unknown
<b>44CF0188</b>	null	Camp, temporary	Camp, temporary; Prehistoric/Unknown
<b>44CF0212</b>	Plantation One	Camp, temporary	Camp, temporary; Unknown
<b>44CF0310</b>	null	Railroad bed	Railroad bed; 19th Century: 2nd half
<b>44CF0311</b>	null	Camp	Camp; Woodland
<b>44CF0312</b>	null	Mill	Mill; 19th Century: 2nd half
<b>44CF0313</b>	null	Camp	Camp; Prehistoric/Unknown
<b>44CF0314</b>	null	Camp	Camp; Prehistoric/Unknown
<b>44CF0342</b>	null	Camp, base	Camp, base; Woodland
<b>44CF0411</b>	null	Dwelling, single, Well	Dwelling, single, Well; 18th Century, 19th Century
<b>44CF0412</b>	null	Earthworks	Earthworks; 19th Century: 3rd quarter
<b>44CF0413</b>	null	Unknown	Unknown; Prehistoric/Unknown
<b>44CF0461</b>	null	Unknown	Unknown; 18th Century: 2nd half, 19th Century
<b>44CF0497</b>	null	Railroad	Railroad; 20th Century: 1st half, Woodland
<b>44CF0514</b>	null	Dam	Dam; 19th Century: 1st quarter
<b>44CF0515</b>	null	Quarry, building stone	Quarry, building stone; 18th Century: 4th quarter
<b>44CF0516</b>	null	Dam	Dam; Prehistoric/Unknown
<b>44CF0517</b>	null	Canal, Mill	Canal, Mill; 19th Century: 2nd/3rd quarter
<b>44CF0518</b>	null	Canal, Mill	Canal, Mill; 19th Century: 2nd/3rd quarter
<b>44CF0519</b>	null	Canal, Canal lock, Mill	Canal, Canal lock, Mill; Unknown
<b>44CF0520</b>	R&P RR Tunnel Site	Railroad	Railroad; 19th Century: 2nd quarter

<b>44CF0521</b>	null	Mill, raceway	Mill, raceway; 18th Century: 2nd quarter
<b>44CF0522</b>	null	Quarry	Quarry; 19th Century: 2nd half
<b>44CF0523</b>	null	Dam, Mill	Dam, Mill; 19th Century: 1st quarter
<b>44CF0524</b>	null	Dam, Mill	Dam, Mill; Unknown
<b>44CF0525</b>	null	Dam, Mill	Dam, Mill; 19th Century: 1st quarter
<b>44CF0526</b>	null	Dam	Dam; 19th Century: 1st quarter
<b>44CF0560</b>	<Null>	Unknown	Unknown; Unknown
<b>44CF0602</b>	Stony Point 1	Camp, temporary	Camp, temporary; Prehistoric/Unknown
<b>44CF0603</b>	Stony Point 2	Camp, temporary	Camp, temporary; Prehistoric/Unknown
<b>44CF0604</b>	Stony Point 3	Trash scatter	Trash scatter; 18th Century: 2nd/3rd quarter
<b>44CF0605</b>	Stony Point 4	Camp, temporary, Trash scatter	Camp, temporary, Trash scatter; 19th Century, Prehistoric/Unknown
<b>44CF0606</b>	Stony Point 5	Camp, temporary	Camp, temporary; Prehistoric/Unknown
<b>44CF0607</b>	Stony Point 6	Camp, temporary	Camp, temporary; Prehistoric/Unknown
<b>44CF0608</b>	Stony Point 7	Camp, temporary, Trash scatter	Camp, temporary, Trash scatter; 20th Century, Late Archaic
<b>44CF0722</b>	<Null>	Unknown	Unknown; Unknown
<b>44CF0723</b>	<Null>	Unknown	Unknown; Unknown
<b>44CF0724</b>	<Null>	Unknown	Unknown; Unknown
<b>44CF0725</b>	<Null>	Unknown	Unknown; Unknown
<b>44CF0726</b>	<Null>	Unknown	Unknown; Unknown
<b>44CF0733</b>	First Ironworks Site	Unknown	Unknown; Unknown
<b>44CF0734</b>	<Null>	Unknown	Unknown; Unknown
<b>44HE0030</b>	null	Unknown	Unknown; Prehistoric/Unknown



<b>44HE0031</b>	null	Unknown	Unknown; Prehistoric/Unknown
<b>44HE0057</b>	null	Camp, temporary	Camp, temporary; Middle Archaic
<b>44HE0058</b>	null	Camp, temporary, Dwelling, multiple	Camp, temporary, Dwelling, multiple; 19th Century: 3rd quarter, 20th Century, Woodland
<b>44HE0077</b>	null	Grave/burial	Grave/burial; Woodland
<b>44HE0078</b>	null	Well	Well; Historic/Unknown
<b>44HE0082</b>	null	Dwelling, single	Dwelling, single; 19th Century
<b>44HE0083</b>	Museum of the Confederacy	Trash pit	Trash pit; 19th Century
<b>44HE0085</b>	null	Other	Other; 19th Century: 3rd quarter
<b>44HE0172</b>	null	Camp	Camp; Woodland
<b>44HE0236</b>	null	Other	Other; 19th Century: 2nd half
<b>44HE0238</b>	null	Well	Well; Historic/Unknown
<b>44HE0306</b>	null	Trash pit	Trash pit; 19th Century, 20th Century, Woodland
<b>44HE0357</b>	null	Privy	Privy; 18th Century, 19th Century
<b>44HE0362</b>	null	Camp, Other	Camp, Other; 19th Century, Prehistoric/Unknown
<b>44HE0373</b>	null	Other	Other; 19th Century: 1st half
<b>44HE0407</b>	null	Canal lock	Canal lock; Historic/Unknown
<b>44HE0408</b>	Joseph Bryan Park/ Rosewood Site	Unknown	Unknown; Historic/Unknown
<b>44HE0411</b>	null	Canal lock	Canal lock; Historic/Unknown
<b>44HE0426</b>	null	Other	Other; Historic/Unknown
<b>44HE0433</b>	Toll House, Williamsburg Road Site	Other	Other; Historic/Unknown
<b>44HE0435</b>	null	Canal lock	Canal lock; Historic/Unknown
<b>44HE0438</b>	Tredegar Iron Works	Ironworks	Ironworks; Historic/Unknown
<b>44HE0466</b>	James River & Kanawha Canal Freight Boats	Other	Other; 19th Century

<b>44HE0469</b>	null	Armory	Armory; 19th Century: 1st half, 19th Century: 3rd quarter
<b>44HE0528</b>	null	Mill	Mill; 19th Century
<b>44HE0529</b>	null	Bridge	Bridge; 19th Century
<b>44HE0530</b>	null	Bridge	Bridge; 19th Century
<b>44HE0531</b>	null	Bridge	Bridge; 19th Century
<b>44HE0532</b>	null	Canal lock	Canal lock; 19th Century
<b>44HE0533</b>	null	Other	Other; 19th Century
<b>44HE0558</b>	Westham Furnace	Iron furnace	Iron furnace; 18th Century: 2nd half
<b>44HE0561</b>	null	Well	Well; 19th Century
<b>44HE0578</b>	null	Canal	Canal; 19th Century
<b>44HE0579</b>	Belle Isle	Dwelling, single, Ironworks, Prison	Dwelling, single, Ironworks, Prison; Prehistoric/Unknown
<b>44HE0590</b>	null	Trash pit	Trash pit; 18th Century: 2nd half, 19th Century: 1st quarter
<b>44HE0591</b>	null	Trash pit	Trash pit; 19th Century: 2nd half, 20th Century: 1st quarter
<b>44HE0592</b>	null	Kiln, pottery	Kiln, pottery; Historic/Unknown
<b>44HE0593</b>	null	Trash pit	Trash pit; 19th Century: 1st half
<b>44HE0655</b>	null	Unknown	Unknown; 19th Century, Prehistoric/Unknown
<b>44HE0657</b>	null	Tobacco warehouse	Tobacco warehouse; Prehistoric/Unknown
<b>44HE0671</b>	null	Unknown	Unknown; 18th Century, 19th Century
<b>44HE0673</b>	null	Unknown	Unknown; 19th Century, Prehistoric/Unknown
<b>44HE0678</b>	null	Unknown	Unknown; Middle Archaic, Woodland
<b>44HE0684</b>	null	Lithic quarry	Lithic quarry; Prehistoric/Unknown

<b>44HE0685</b>	null	Dwelling, single	Dwelling, single; 18th Century: 4th quarter, 19th Century, 20th Century
<b>44HE0688</b>	null	Garden	Garden; 19th Century
<b>44HE0709</b>	null	Hospital, Poor house	Hospital, Poor house; 19th Century
<b>44HE0722</b>	null	Dwelling, single	Dwelling, single; 18th Century: 2nd half, 19th Century, 20th Century
<b>44HE0723</b>	null	Trash pit	Trash pit; 19th Century
<b>44HE0725</b>	Archimedes Screw Pump	Canal, Wharf	Canal, Wharf; 20th Century
<b>44HE0726</b>	null	Dwelling, multiple	Dwelling, multiple; 19th Century: 2nd half
<b>44HE0774</b>	null	Railroad	Railroad; 19th Century, 20th Century
<b>44HE0778</b>	null	Prison	Prison; 18th Century: 4th quarter, 19th Century, 20th Century
<b>44HE0779</b>	Barton Heights Cemeteries	Cemetery	Cemetery; 19th Century: 2nd half
<b>44HE0806</b>	Parr Pottery Works	Kiln, pottery	Kiln, pottery; 19th Century
<b>44HE0814</b>	<Null>	Hospital, Other	Hospital, Other; 19th Century: 2nd quarter
<b>44HE0816</b>	null	Dwelling, single	Dwelling, single; Historic/Unknown
<b>44HE0817</b>	null	Camp, temporary	Camp, temporary; Prehistoric/Unknown
<b>44HE0818</b>	null	Dwelling, multiple	Dwelling, multiple; 18th Century: 3rd quarter, 19th Century, 20th Century: 1st quarter
<b>44HE0820</b>	Alumni House	Dwelling, single	Dwelling, single; 19th Century, 20th Century: 1st half
<b>44HE0827</b>	null	Unknown	Unknown; Historic/Unknown
<b>44HE0828</b>	null	Dam	Dam; 19th Century, 20th Century
<b>44HE0836</b>	null	Canal	Canal; 18th Century: 4th quarter

<b>44HE0837</b>	null	Canal	Canal; 18th Century: 4th quarter, 19th Century
<b>44HE0838</b>	null	Canal	Canal; 18th Century: 4th quarter
<b>44HE0839</b>	null	Canal, Warehouse	Canal, Warehouse; 19th Century: 1st half
<b>44HE0840</b>	null	Bridge	Bridge; 19th Century: 4th quarter
<b>44HE0841</b>	null	Canal	Canal; Historic/Unknown
<b>44HE0842</b>	null	Canal	Canal; 19th Century: 1st quarter
<b>44HE0843</b>	null	Mill	Mill; 19th Century: 1st quarter
<b>44HE0844</b>	null	Quarry	Quarry; 18th Century: 4th quarter
<b>44HE0845</b>	null	Ironworks	Ironworks; 19th Century: 2nd half
<b>44HE0846</b>	null	Dam	Dam; 19th Century: 1st half
<b>44HE0847</b>	null	Railroad bridge	Railroad bridge; 19th Century: 2nd quarter
<b>44HE0848</b>	R&P RR James River Bridge	Railroad bridge	Railroad bridge; 19th Century: 2nd quarter
<b>44HE0849</b>	null	Dam	Dam; 19th Century: 2nd half
<b>44HE0850</b>	null	Dam	Dam; 19th Century
<b>44HE0851</b>	null	Railroad bridge	Railroad bridge; 19th Century: 3rd quarter
<b>44HE0852</b>	null	Bridge	Bridge; Unknown
<b>44HE0853</b>	null	Bridge	Bridge; 18th Century: 4th quarter
<b>44HE0854</b>	null	Other	Other; 18th Century
<b>44HE0855</b>	null	Mill	Mill; 19th Century: 1st quarter
<b>44HE0862</b>	null	Dwelling, single	Dwelling, single; 19th Century
<b>44HE0951</b>	Governor's Mansion	Dwelling, single	Dwelling, single; 19th century: 1st quarter, 19th Century: 2nd quarter
<b>44HE0962</b>	J. Sergeant Reynolds	Other	Other; 20th Century
<b>44HE0973</b>	State Capital Building	Statehouse	Statehouse; 18th Centruy: 4th quarter, 19th Century, 20th Century

<b>44HE0976</b>	null	Statehouse, Store	Statehouse, Store; 19th Century, 20th Century: 1st quarter
<b>44HE0996</b>	East Broad Street Commercial District	Hotel, Store, Theater	Hotel, Store, Theater; 19th Century, 20th Century
<b>44HE0997</b>	Chimborazo Park	Hospital, Park, Trash pit	Hospital, Park, Trash pit; 19th Century, 20th Century
<b>44HE1051</b>	<Null>	Dwelling, single	Dwelling, single; 20th Century
<b>44HE1053</b>	Lumpkin's Jail	Factory, Jail, Warehouse	Factory, Jail, Warehouse; 19th Century: 2nd half, 19th Century: 2nd quarter, 20th Century: 1st half
<b>44HE1079</b>	<Null>	Camp	Camp; 19th Century, Late Archaic, Woodland
<b>44HE1080</b>	<Null>	Dwelling, single	Dwelling, single; 19th Century
<b>44HE1081</b>	<Null>	Camp	Camp; Prehistoric/Unknown
<b>44HE1082</b>	<Null>	Trash scatter	Trash scatter; 19th Century: 2nd half
<b>44HE1089</b>	Burial Ground for Negroes	Cemetery	Cemetery; 18th Century; 2nd half
<b>44HE1090</b>	Haxall Mills	Mill	Mill; 19th Century
<b>44HE1091</b>	Mayos Warehouse	Warehouse	Warehouse; 19th Century
<b>44HE1092</b>	Middle Basin	Warehouse	Warehouse; 19th Century
<b>44HE1093</b>	Talbots Site	Warehouse	Warehouse; 19th Century
<b>44HE1094</b>	Commisary Warehouse Site	Warehouse	Warehouse; 19th Century
<b>44HE1095</b>	Hawes	Warehouse	Warehouse; 19th Century
<b>44HE1096</b>	Libby Prison	Prison	Prison; 19th Century
<b>44HE1097</b>	Main Street Station 1	Unknown	Unknown; 19th Century
<b>44HE1098</b>	Main Street Station 2	Unknown	Unknown; 19th Century
<b>44HE1099</b>	Marshall Street Site	Unknown	Unknown; 19th Century
<b>44HE1162</b>	American Manufacturing and Fixture Company	Factory	Factory; 19th Century

<b>44HE1185</b>	<Null>	Other	Other; Antebellum Period, Civil War, Early National Period
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## 11.4 Interview Questions and Guidelines for Semi-Structured Interviews

Introduction Interview Number: \_\_\_\_\_

- Date, time, conditions of interview \_\_\_\_\_
- What's your name (if comfortable) or pseudonym? \_\_\_\_\_
- How do you define your ethnicity? \_\_\_\_\_
- How old are you (roughly, if comfortable?) \_\_\_\_\_
- How long have you lived in Richmond? \_\_\_\_\_
- On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being never and 5 being daily, how often do you think about archaeology? 1 2 3 4 5
- What have been some of your experiences that have most significantly impacted your feelings and opinions about archaeology generally?

### Archaeology and Value

- On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being completely unimportant and 5 being essential, how important do you think it is to understand Richmond history? 1 2 3 4 5
- On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being completely unimportant and 5 being essential, how important do you think it is to use archaeological research to understand Richmond history? 1 2 3 4 5
- What types of subjects do you think archaeology could be most important for exploring in Richmond?
- What questions do you have about Richmond history that you think archaeology could help answer? What do you think would be lost, or at risk, if buried artifacts and sites were lost without being studied? Is there a particular time period, type of site, group of people, or historical event that might be the most important for Richmond to study using archaeology?
- Why did you get interested in the topic of Richmond's archaeology, and how did you come to be involved with the topic generally and with RVA Archaeology (if they are)?
- What do you think would be different to you if discoveries made by archaeological research in the city were more accessible? How, if at all, do you imagine the city would be different if more archaeological research got public attention?
- Should we use public funds for archaeology in Richmond? Who's responsible for caring for the city archaeology, in your view? Do you see government employees or politicians as knowledgeable of archaeological information and importance? Should the city protect archaeological resources? Are there specific resources you think should be protected?

- How do you think decisions about city (or state, or federal) money and archaeology should be made? How do you feel about the city spending money to excavate Lumpkin's Jail and memorialize it, given all the other financial needs?

#### Human Remains

- On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being completely unimportant and 5 being essential, how important are burial grounds, cemeteries, and graves to you? 1  
2 3 4 5
- Are you familiar with any places in the city where human bones were found outside of a modern cemetery, maybe found in an archaeological dig? Describe your experiences with the site if you've had any. How do these sites make you feel?
- Have you participated in any of the meetings of the East Marshall Street Well Projects? What has been your experience so far if so?
- What to you (if anything) is the importance of archaeological sites that include human skeletons? Should we (and how should we) treat them differently than other sites? Who should decide whether and how remains should be reburied?

#### Geographic/Spatial Concepts of Archaeology

- What archaeological excavations and sites in the city have become known to you and how did you become aware of them? Do they resonate with you as important or interesting places? Why or why not?
- Where (particular sites, locations, or neighborhoods) in the city do you feel is most archaeologically important? Why?
- Where in the city do you feel has received the most archaeological attention? Is this attention warranted?

#### Concluding Questions

- Is there anything else you'd like to mention about archaeology and Richmond that we haven't covered yet?
- Who do you think would be an important person for me to discuss these topics with? Could you help me make contact with them?

#### 11.5 Text of Informed Consent Form

##### Informed Consent Form: Hidden Under the River City: Ethnographic Perspectives on Archaeological Value in Richmond, Virginia

Thank you for being willing to participate in this dissertation research project. The project will collect information regarding what people know about archaeology in Richmond, what archaeological sites are most important to them, and what they hope to learn from future archaeology. This ethnographic project is supervised by faculty in the Department of Anthropology at the College of William & Mary and



has been approved by the Human Subjects Committee. This research began on (August 1, 2015) and will continue until (August 1, 2016).

You were selected for this interview because of your familiarity with or interest in the subject matter. The format of your participation today will be an open-ended interview, most likely lasting between 30 and 60 minutes depending on time constraints. Any information obtained in this study is confidential and will not be disclosed without your consent. Although it is unlikely that there is any personal risk or discomfort associated with the topics planned for discussion, you are free to discontinue your participation at any time.

If you are comfortable with it, this conversation will be audio or videotaped so that I accurately understand your views. I will retain this recording for academic research, and you may request a digital copy of this recording. Once this doctoral research is complete, you may request a summary of the research findings. Ten years after this doctoral research is complete, these original recordings will be destroyed.

I am aware that I may report dissatisfactions with any aspect of this study to Dr. Ray McCoy, Chair of the Protection of Human Subjects Committee, 757-221-2783 or rwmcco@wm.edu. If you have any questions about this project please contact Ellen Chapman, a doctoral candidate in the Department of Anthropology at The College of William and Mary (elchapman01@email.wm.edu or 434-327-6663; P.O. Box 8795 Williamsburg, VA 23187-8795).

If you are willing to participate, please make your selection below, sign both copies of the form, and provide one copy to the researcher. The other copy is yours to keep for your reference.

I  would  would not like my statements today to be anonymized in publications resulting from this research.

I have read the information provided above and have decided to participate. I understand that I may withdraw at any time after signing this form, should I choose to discontinue participation in this study.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Signature: \_\_\_\_\_  
Date: \_\_\_\_\_

THIS PROJECT WAS APPROVED BY THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS COMMITTEE (Phone 757-221-3966) ON 2015-08-01 AND EXPIRES ON 2016-08-01.

## 11.6 Text of Informed Consent Script

Hidden Under the River City: Ethnographic Perspectives on Archaeological Value  
in Richmond, Virginia

Informed Consent Script

Principal Investigators: Ellen Chapman (Doctoral candidate) and Neil Norman  
(Faculty Advisor)

The College of William and Mary

Anthropology and American Studies

P.O. Box 8795, Williamsburg, Virginia, 23187-8795, USA

Tel: 773 324 0187 Email: elchapman01@email.wm.edu

I am graduate student in the Department of Anthropology at the College of William and Mary. I live in Richmond and am doing a research project to examine what archaeological sites are present here and how various people in the city relate to archaeology. The information you provide will help me identify archaeologically-important areas of the city and to understand how you think archaeology is most important. This information will be used when I write my dissertation and other publications. Additionally, it may be used in grants that will fund more research into the city's archaeology.

Before we begin, I would like to take a minute to explain why I am inviting you to participate and what I will be doing with the information you provide to me. Please stop me at any time if you have any questions. After I've told you a bit more about my project, you can decide whether or not you would like to participate. I will ask you a few general questions about archaeological projects you may have been involved with, archaeological knowledge you may have, and your views on where in the city might be most important to perform archaeological investigations. If you agree to it, I will record our conversation with an audio or video recorder to make sure that I remember accurately all the information you provide. If you are uncomfortable being recorded, then I will take hand-written notes. I will use the knowledge you share to write published articles and presentations about what archaeology is most important to different communities in Richmond.

If we record our conversation, I can provide you with an audio or video recording. I will retain a copy of the recordings for my academic use. Unless you request that you would like your name to be used in notes, transcriptions or academic publications and presentations, I will use a pseudonym. Participation in our discussion should take no more than two hours. Participation is on a purely voluntary basis. This project poses no foreseeable risks. The original media on which these recordings were made will be destroyed within ten years of the publication of this dissertation research. The benefits of participation include

helping to produce research on the archaeological importance of Richmond that will be available to future generations of community members and interested researchers.

If you would prefer not to discuss your experiences and knowledge with me I would be happy to accept written comments that I would be able to use in my research.

If at any time and for any reason, you would prefer not to answer any questions, please feel free not to. If at any time you would like to stop participating, please tell me. We can take a break, stop and continue at a later date, or stop altogether. You will not be penalized in any way for deciding to stop participation at any time.

If you have questions, you are free to ask them now. If you have questions later, you may contact me on my cell phone (434 327 6663), via email (ellen.chapman@gmail.com) or at my mailing address. I will also provide this information to you in writing in case you have questions later.

Ellen Chapman  
Department of Anthropology  
College of William & Mary  
P.O. Box 8795  
Williamsburg, Virginia  
23187-8795, USA

If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this research, you can contact:

Protection for Human Subjects Committee (PHSC)  
Professor Ray McCoy, Chair  
College of William and Mary  
Telephone: (757-221-2783)  
rwmcco@wm.edu

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## 11.7 Prehistoric Sensitivity Model Methods

Although this survey builds on RMAAS work and conclusions, because of the low resolution (2000-foot intervals) used in the RMAAS study, this research does not directly align itself with their approach. It does, however, have several similarities. For the environmental data, this research uses assessments of the Agricultural Capability Class (ACC) of soil as assessed by the National Soil Conservation Service. ACC takes into account a variety of soil characteristics, such as erosion potential, water retention, and drainage, to identify high quality soils for agriculture. While Class I soils were thought to be the best for aboriginal farming at the time RMAAS was produced, more recent research by Stephen Potter has suggested that Class II soils are even better under drought conditions, so both Class I and Class II soils should be considered advantageous for cultivation (Mouer, Johnson, and Gleach 1985b, 42; McCoy and Klein 2017; Turner 1976).

The USDA's Natural Resources Conservation Service Soil Survey Geographic Database (SSURGO) includes data on soil capability for agricultural production (Land Capability Class) in spatial form. Class I soils are capable of producing crops without restriction, but Classes II, III, and IV are also capable of producing crops under increasingly intensive management. For the Richmond city limits, this data is available within the city public GIS package from a soil survey conducted in 1999 (P. Thomas and Harper 2009). This study examines LCC and ranks the soil classes based on their desirability for agricultural use, weighting Classes II (there was no Class I soil identified in the city) as being

positive for site creation and the other classes progressively less so. In some cases, soils of the same underlying type were assigned to an increasing class number as their slope increased, so to an extent this variable is slightly dependent on slope (the next variable considered). The weights used for each soil class can be seen in Table 3. The soil data was transformed into a raster

*Table 3 - Transformation Values of Richmond Soil Types*

<b>Soil ID (Class)<sup>93</sup></b>	<b>Soil Types Included</b>	<b>Transformation Value</b>
2	Dogue loam Dunbar fine sandy loam Durham-Bourne complex Faceville fine sandy loam (slope 2-6 %) Faceville fine sandy loam (slope 6-12 %) Faceville fine sandy loam (slope 12-20 %) Faceville-Gritney complex (slope 2-6 %) Faceville-Gritney complex (slope 6-12 %) Abell sandy loam Kempsville very fine sandy loam (clayey substr) Kempsville-Bourne complex Masada fine sandy loam (slope 2-6 %) Masada gravelly fine sandy loam (slope 2-6 %) Masada gravelly fine sandy loam (slope 2-6 %) Norfolk fine sandy loam Appling gravelly sandy loam Slagle fine sandy loam Tetotum loam, clayey substratum Turbeville fine sandy loam (slope 2-6 %) Turbeville gravelly fine sandy loam (slope 2-6 %) Appling sandy loam (slope 2-6 %) Varina fine sandy loam	10

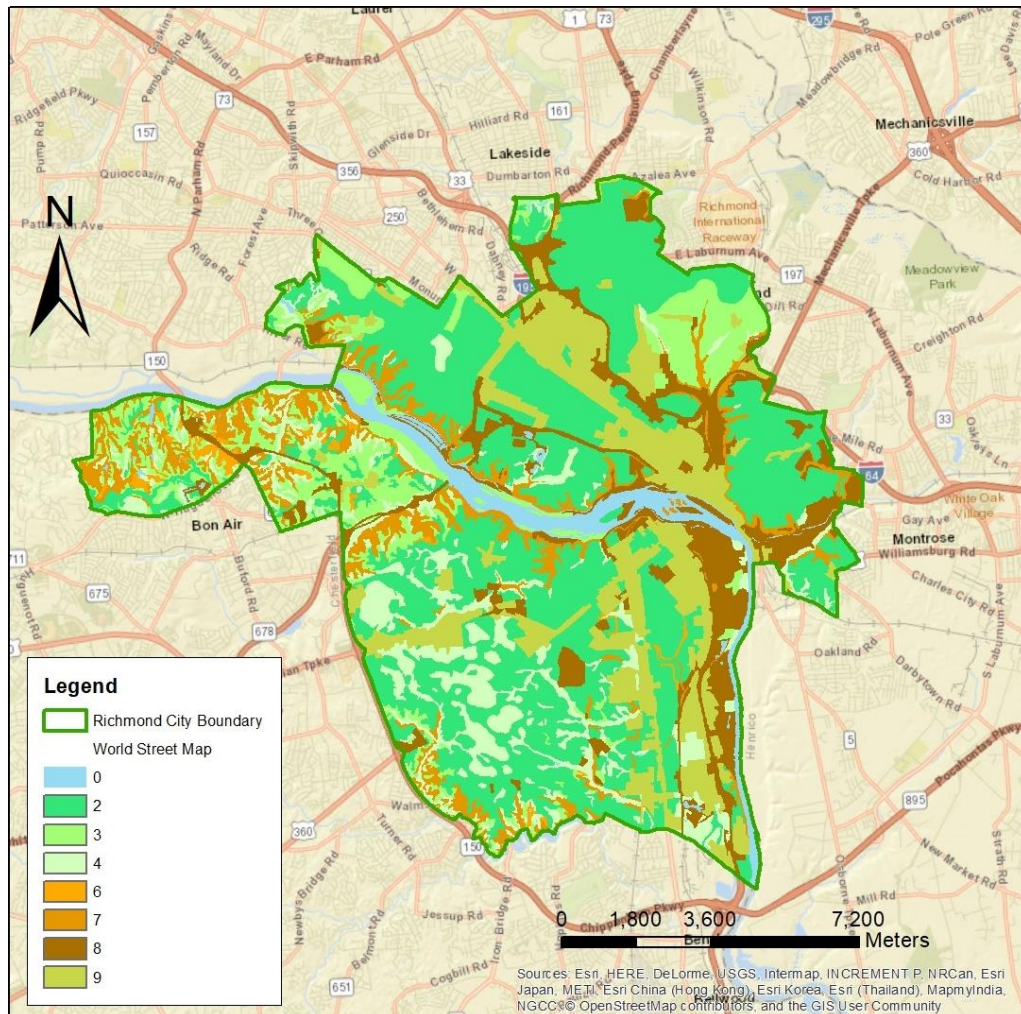
<sup>93</sup> This value is generally analogous to Land Capability Class I-VII. Class VIII was not present in Richmond, so here Class 8 refers to disturbed soil classes called Udorthents (which are not assigned a LCC) classified by extensive disturbance, and described in the 2009 soil survey as being “formed when soils were disturbed by land-leveling, excavation, or filling. They consist of loamy and clayey soil material and varying amounts of rock fragments. Depth to hard bedrock varies from a few inches to more than 5 feet...Generally, they are along highways, rail yards and tracks, and other areas that have been excavated or filled” (P. Thomas and Harper 2009, 184). Similarly, “urban land” is given a class here of 9 (not present on the LCC scale). Urban land is described in the survey as “of areas of roads, commercial buildings, industries, schools, churches, parking lots, streets, and shopping centers” and therefore this classification does not tell us much about the prehistoric agricultural productivity of this soil class or the likelihood of preservation, though some disturbance is likely.

	Atlee very fine sandy loam Bourne fine sandy loam (slope 2-6 %)	
3	Chewacla loam Colfax fine sandy loam Colfax sandy loam Edgehill very gravelly fine sandy loam (slope 2-6%) Grover fine sandy loam (slope 6-12 %) Grover-Wateree complex Masada fine sandy loam (slope 6-12 %) Masada gravelly fine sandy loam (slope 6-12 %) Orangeburg-Faceville complex (slope 6-12 %) Toccoa fine sandy loam Turbeville fine sandy loam (slope 6-12 %) Turbeville gravelly fine sandy loam (slope 6-12 %) Appling sandy loam (slope 6-12 %) Appling-Wedowee complex (slope 6-12 %) Augusta fine sandy loam Bourne fine sandy loam (slope 6-12 %) Cecil fine sandy loam (slope 6-12 %)	8
4	Edgehill very gravelly fine sandy loam (slope 6-12%) Grover fine sandy loam (slope 12-20 %) Pouncey fine sandy loam Riverview silt loam Roanoke silt loam Roanoke-Chewacla complex Tomotley loam Appling sandy loam (slope 12-20 %) Wateree sandy loam (slope 4-12 %) Worsham fine sandy loam Appling-Wedowee complex (slope 12-20 %) Chastain loam	6
5	Not present in Richmond	--
6	Edgehill very gravelly fine sandy loam (sl. 12-20%) Grover fine sandy loam (slope 20-35 %)	3
7	Edgehill very gravelly fine sandy loam (sl. 20-40%) Johnston mucky loam Nawney silt loam Wateree sandy loam (slope 12-20 %) Wateree-Appling complex Wateree-Appling-Rock outcrop complex Wedowee gravelly fine sandy loam	3

8	Udorthents, loamy, borrow pits Udorthents-Dumps complex, pits	1
9	Urban land (not classified)	4
0	Water	5

representing these values, which can be seen in Figure 38. Class numbers correspond with Soil ID, and more green values correspond with areas more compatible with prehistoric sites while more brown values are less so.

Slope value at a particular spot also impacts the likelihood of prehistoric site creation, particularly for villages, agricultural production, and camp sites (specialist sites associated with behaviors like quarrying, ritual/sacred importance, or transient lithic production are likely less so).



*Figure 38 - Richmond Soil Data by Soil Class*

In addition to soil quality, a major influence on site location, especially prehistorically, tends to be distance from water. Distance from water is typically calculated using polyline datasets for streams, which is then transformed into a raster dataset coded based on each pixel's distance from a given stream using a Geographic Transformation within the Model Builder ArcMap tool. Following recommendations from the Natural Resource Ecology Laboratory, this research used polygon stream shapefiles from the City of Richmond GIS to create a raster divided by distance from water (Carter 2011).

*Table 4 - Transformation Values Assigned to Distance from Water Source*



Distance from Water Source	Transformation Value
0 – 500 feet <sup>94</sup>	9
500 – 1000 feet	10
1000 – 1500 feet	9
1500 – 2000 feet	8
2000 – 2500 feet	7
2500 – 3000 feet	6
3000 – 3500 feet	5
3500 – 4000 feet	4
4000 – 4500 feet	3
4500 – 5000 feet	2
5000+ feet (more than a mile)	1

Distance to water was divided into ten weighted categories as seen in

Table 4, which produced a raster as shown in Figure 39. In addition, slope was

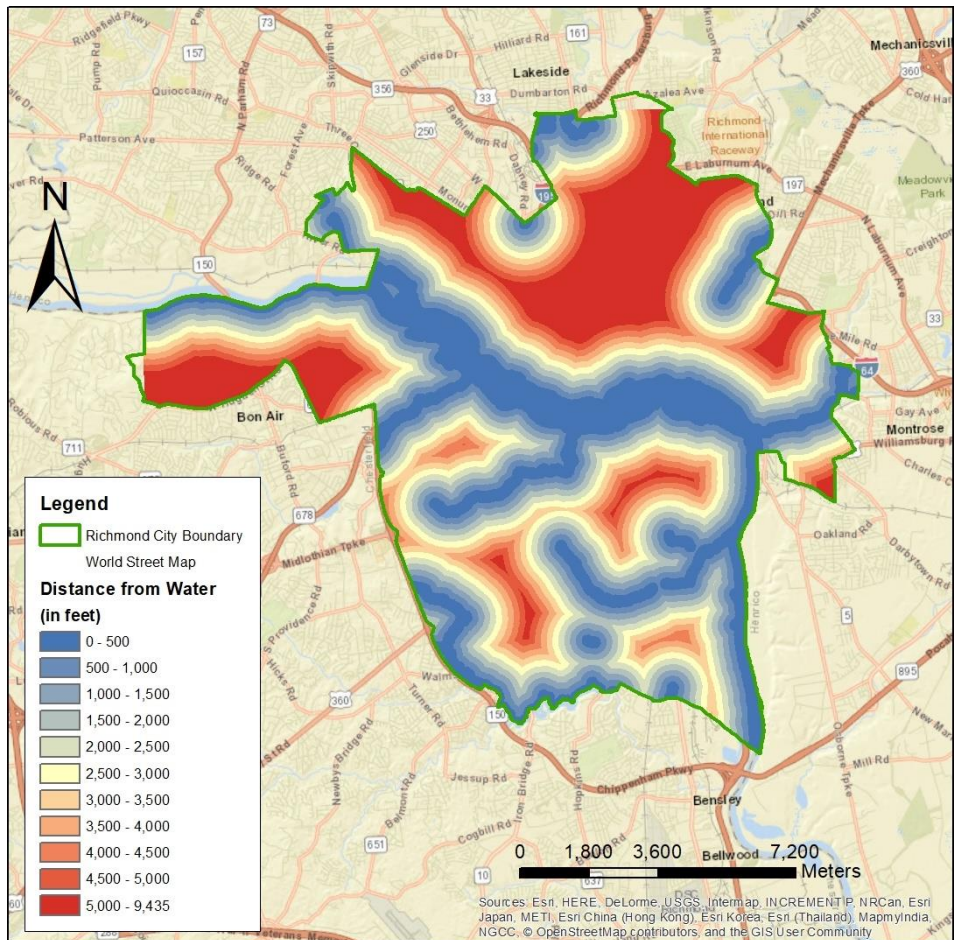


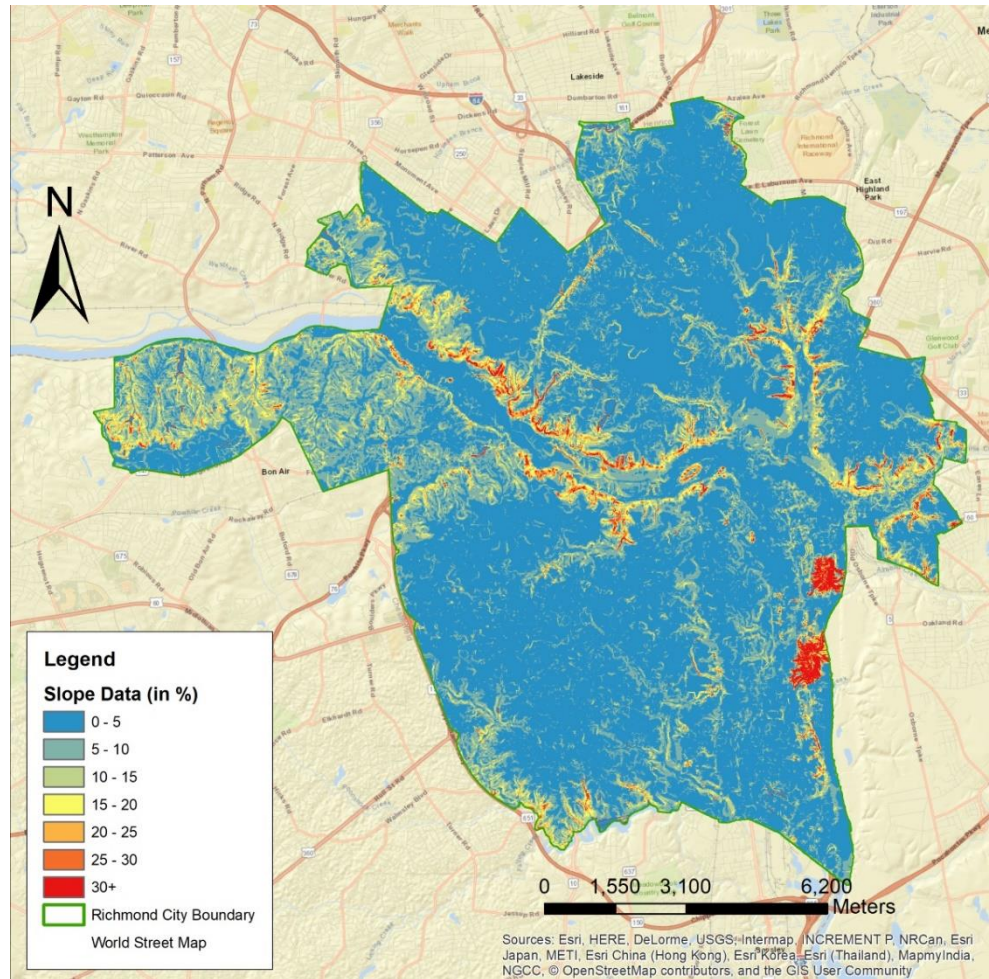
Figure 39 - Linear Distance from Water (in feet) for Richmond City

<sup>94</sup> Includes areas underwater and subject to common flooding, hence its slightly lower assigned transformation value.

also used as a significant variable and was extracted from a Digital Elevation Model raster file from the City of Richmond GIS. I then used the Spatial Analyst Surface Analysis tool to calculate from the raster the % slope across its coverage. Given previous predictive model analysis illustrating that slope % greater than 6% was associated with a lower potential for sites (McCoy and Klein 2017), I then reclassified this raster using transformation values that reflected the lower likelihood of prehistoric occupation as slope % increased (Table 5). The map of Richmond in terms of its slope is displayed in Figure 40.

*Table 5 - Transformation Values Assigned to Site Slope*

% Slope	Transformation Value
0-5	7
5-10	6
10-15	5
15-20	4
20-25	3
25-30	2
30+	1



*Figure 40 - Richmond Slope Raster Used to Assess Prehistoric Site Creation*

The weighted categories were then transformed into these transformation values, which were then summed in the Model Builder using the Weighted Sum tool (see the model workflow in Figure 41). The results of this process are a single raster that provides an assessment of relative likely prehistoric site creation for an area defined by the City of Richmond boundary. These results are presented and discussed in Section 6.3.1.

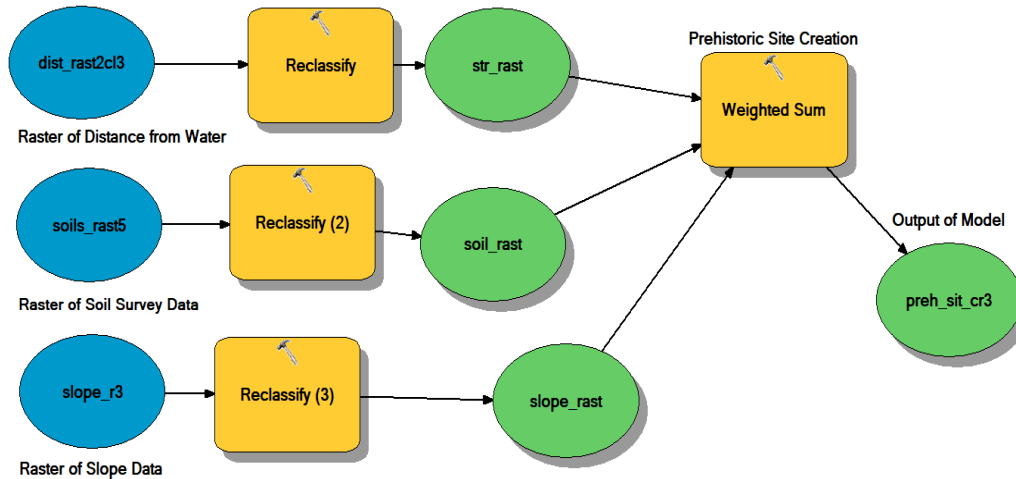


Figure 41 - Design of Prehistoric Sensitivity Model in ArcGIS

After combining data on land slope, distance from water, and soil quality in the ArcGIS Model Builder (see Figure 41), the model returned a raster file containing values between 3 and 27. The maximum score a file could have had was a 27 [a weighted sum of 1(10 for the most optimal slope type) + 1 (10 for the most optimal soil type) + 1 (7 for the most optimal slope value)]. The fact that the model returned values spanning between 3 and 27 indicates that there are areas in Richmond with the absolute lowest possible score for likely prehistoric archaeological sensitivity (3), and that there are also areas in Richmond that score the maximum on all three variables, where each variable is optimal. The results of this type of analysis are symbolized graphically, which can be done by choosing manual categories of values or by using analysis within ArcGIS. One format is Natural Jenks, which is a statistical distribution that divides color categories for model symbolization based on natural breaks in the data. A map of Richmond's prehistoric archaeological sensitivity classified based on Natural Jenks was initially used. However, this form of classification places the

vast majority of the city into the High Sensitivity Category, making it much less useful for discerning particularly promising site locations. Another method is Geometric Interval, which is generally more effective for continuous data and focuses on creating classes of even sizes (ESRI 2018). Using this classification system, we see that there are a few discrete areas where prehistoric site sensitivity (solely in terms of creation, not site preservation) is highest. As a result, the Geometric Interval model was thought to be a better assessment of comparative archaeological preservation for prehistoric sites across the city, and has been used in the analysis and interpretation section in Chapter 6.

## 11.8 Archaeological Preservation Assessment Model Methods

Similar to the previous Prehistoric Sensitivity Map, this research used the ArcMap Model Builder tool to create raster files containing information on variables relevant to archaeological sensitivity and preservation, then differentially weight the impact of these variables on the presence of intact archaeological deposits. A summary of the variables used to predict archaeological sensitivity can be seen in *Table 6*.

In some cases, variables have relevance both for site creation potential and site preservation potential: Areas burned in 1865 during the Evacuation Fire are likely to have Civil War era sites created there because of the damage caused by the fire to buildings and structures, which then are less likely to have been reused. Those areas are also more likely to have sites preserved<sup>95</sup>, due to the fire preserving unusual materials and the fact that the leveling of this area with building rubble during postbellum building efforts effectively capped sites. Similarly, presence within a floodplain was selected as a variable primarily because areas in frequent flood are likely to experience more soil deposition episodes, develop a more complex stratigraphy, and be areas of rapid soil development. This preserves older sites and makes it less likely that construction would destroy areas of archaeological sensitivity. At the same time, floodplain boundaries are linked with elevation above sea level and distance to rivers and

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<sup>95</sup> The burned area now comprises much of the city's financial district and there are considerable buildings in that area with deep basements and other elements incompatible with site preservation; however, the situation can change even within a city block. The Turning Basin discovery in the 1980s and the discoveries from the Floodwall excavation illustrate the extent of preservation possible in this area.

streams, and these factors are some of the most critical in terms of prehistoric sites (and historic sites in some instances). While large village sites are unlikely to be found within floodplains, this is a common area for particular types of subsistence and processing sites as found in the location of the Maury Street site (44CF0123). In practice, it's often hard to separate variables cleanly into a site existence versus site preservation variable.

Table 6 - Types of Data for Archaeological Site Preservation in Richmond

<b>Resource Name</b>	<b>Type of Preservation Predicted</b>
Virginia Land Cover Dataset	Site preservation or destruction subsequent to modern or extant city development
Area burned during the Civil War Evacuation Fire	Civil War foundations; potentially earlier sites preserved under fill cap
Areas within 100-year or 500-year floodplain	Sites along James River and its tributaries

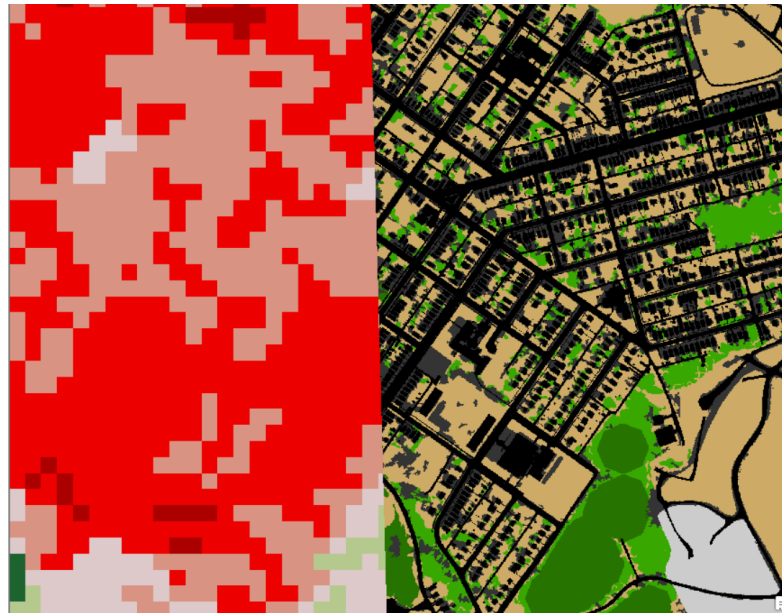
There are a few choices to be made in terms of types of land cover data to include in the analysis. Land cover data of the U.S. and its territories records types of vegetation or manmade cover and information environmental zones present at a given location, and is created by the federal government for a range of functions. Now created through analysis of satellite imagery in the visible, near-infrared, mid-infrared, and thermal infrared bands of satellite imagery, land use datasets were first created in the 1970s using aerial imagery analysis (DiBiase and Dutton 2017). Land use data provides a window into whether land is under agricultural use; whether its surface is considered impervious for calculations of water runoff; and whether it is under residential, commercial, or industrial development. It also provides a way of examining changes in land use



on a regional and national scale. Major urban land studies include the National Land Cover Database (NLCD), which was first published in 1992 and has published updates for 2001; 2006; 2011; and is published by the U.S. Geological Survey. USGS uses the Anderson Land Cover Classification System to ensure that land use data is comparable from one year to another, although comparisons between 1992 and 2011 require an adjusted dataset due to slight shifts in how the data is presented (J. R. Anderson et al. 2017). Consisting of continuous raster (image file data made up of pixels) data with a 30-meter resolution, the NLCD is created intended for large comparative and modeling studies. For this study, metropolitan Richmond area land use data from the 1992, 2001, and 2011 NLCD provides a twenty-year window into changes of land use, creating a useful proxy of developmental change over time and the relative likelihood of archaeological preservation. A 2017 dataset from the Virginia Geographic Information Network (VGIN) called the Virginia Land Cover Dataset, however, provides similar data with 1-meter resolution (see Figure 42). Unfortunately, the VGIN dataset appears to subsume Developed Open Space and Development of Low, Medium, and High Intensity into a single “Impervious



Extracted” category, preventing distinction between areas that might be paved versus areas with substantial subterranean developments. However, the increase in resolution of the data makes the change worthwhile. Additionally,



*Figure 42 - Resolution Comparison Between the National Land Cover Database (left) and Virginia Land Cover Dataset (right)*

much of the “Developed Open Space” in Richmond appears to have been reclassified as “Turfgrass” and so is still identifiable distinct from ground that appears to have buildings or parking lots on it and therefore have likely more disruption to sites.

*Table 7 - Prehistoric Predictive Model Transformation Values Assigned to VGIN Land Use Data*

Class ID	Class Name	Acres in Richmond	Transformation V.
11	Open Water <sup>96</sup>	1485	6
21	Impervious Extracted	1581	4

<sup>96</sup> Descriptions of events in the James River, including gravel quarries dating to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, suggests that some areas of Open Water may have experienced considerable archaeological disturbance. Some areas listed as “Open Water”, like Byrd Lake, are manmade and therefore have low potential for archaeological sites older than their construction. However, due to the overall low level of ground-moving activities taking place in rivers, for this study open water is classed as low disturbance.

22	Impervious Local Dataset	14412	4
31	Barren	274	1
41	Forest	2936	10
42	Tree	7420	10
51	Shrub/Scrub	242	9
61	Harvested/Disturbed	0	--
71	Turfgrass <sup>97</sup>	10823	7
81	Pasture	11	9
82	Cropland	6	8
91	NWI/Other <sup>98</sup>	783	8

Land cover data is an analog for the type of development that has happened on an area, and therefore the likelihood of archaeological sites remaining in a given spot. It is therefore somewhat of an indirect measurement; if land is a beautiful park built by doing extensive grading and soil removal, it will appear promising for archaeology but actually be a site of substantial archaeological disturbance. If a massive apartment building is constructed on top of an area it will appear unlikely an archaeological site has survived, even if (as occurred in Richmond recently with the construction of the McGwire Woods building downtown) a building foundation is elevated in some way to avoid interactions with the historical fabric or for other reasons.

However, land cover does provide a means of predicting archaeological preservation, especially when performed on a large area or used comparatively. This analysis uses land cover as a proxy for archaeological site disturbance. Because land cover can never (or rarely) either ensure or eliminate the chance for archaeological site preservation, land cover values should vary in the middle

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<sup>97</sup> In Richmond this appears to be open green space, like residential lawns or parks with no trees.

<sup>98</sup> National Wetlands Inventory. In Richmond this "NWI/Other" category appears to include wetlands along the river and riverside parkland but also fairly random parcels of scrub or areas vegetated by weeds.

of the scale rather than assuring site preservation is assured (value of 100) or prevented (value of 0) – say between 25 and 75. One exception may be barren land, which commonly in Richmond refers to rock quarries. These areas have verifiably 0% chance of containing an intact archaeological site, and therefore should be graded as a 10 or possibly 5 (the pixels are not precise in any area for us to want to identify an area as being completely devoid of possibility, and according to land cover descriptions “Barren Land” can include up to 15% vegetation). Table 7 provides a summary of the archaeological site preservation values I have assigned to categories of the 2014 land cover data, alongside their description and the number of acres present in Richmond.

Another variable included here is the city floodplain data for 100-year and 500-year floodplains. As discussed above, both the Lumpkin’s Jail site, where jail deposits were found at least 14 feet below modern ground surface, and the Maury Street site, which was observed to have complex and deep stratigraphy, are located within a 100-year floodplain according to floodplain data created by FEMA and curated by the City of Richmond. Floodplain location can have variable impacts on site preservation, especially given channel migration and erosion (G. D. Gardner and Donahue 1985; Stafford 2004; A. Brown 1997), and the variable course of Shockoe Creek has been historically documented in several historic maps. However, it is clear that in many cases floodplain areas can also preserve sites due to the considerable soil deposition in some of these areas, which can ensure sites are buried deep enough that typical urban disturbance does not impact them. Therefore, for the purposes of this analysis

areas within the 100-Year Floodplain will be assigned a Transformation Value of 10, while areas within the 500-Year Floodplain will receive a Transformation Value of 5. Areas not within floodplains were given a value of 1, as were rivers and streams themselves in this analysis (in many cases, erosion and dredging are as likely to disturb sites as to preserve them). Finally, the areas represented by the Richmond Evacuation fire were also digitized and rasterized, to identify which areas might have enhanced preservation due to rubble infill or carbonization of delicate organic materials. Areas within the burned areas are provided with a transformation value of 10, while areas outside the burned area are given a transformation value of 1. The architecture of the model is illustrated

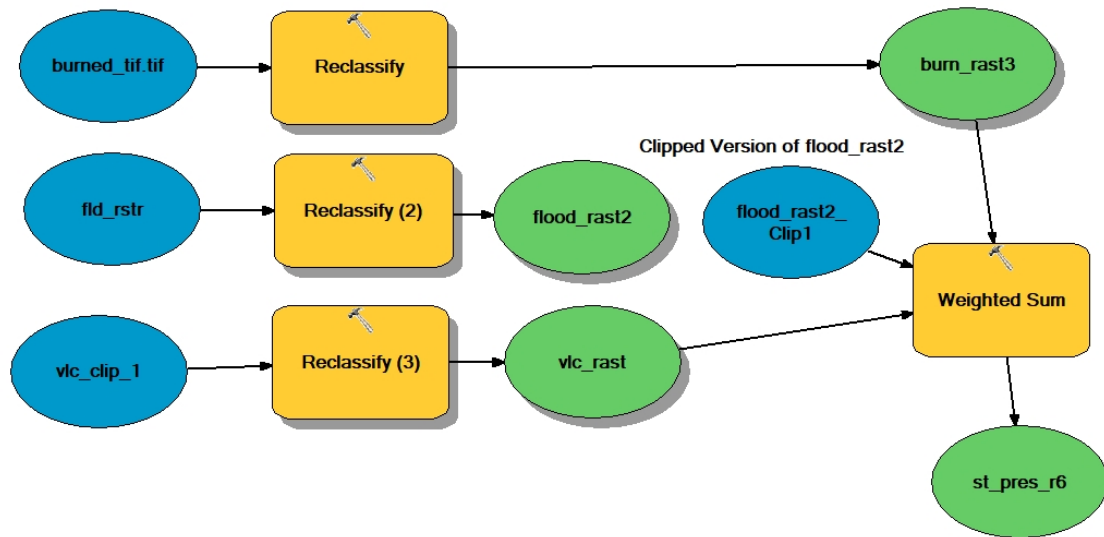


Figure 43 - Site Preservation Model in ArcGIS

in Figure 43.

As with the Prehistoric Sensitivity model, options regarding which type of classification should be employed for the output raster greatly impacts the appearance of archaeological preservation potential throughout the city.

Classification into five categories using Natural Jenks, as with the prehistoric model, resulted in a product where the preponderance of the city was considered to be of medium levels of archaeological preservation. On the other hand, classification using the Geometric Interval option more heavily weighted preservation likelihood to either low or high potential, and led to a more even distribution across categories, and was the classification option selected for the model used in the analysis in Chapter 6.

## 11.9 Planning Unit Descriptions of Richmond Units Within the Richmond Metropolitan Area Archaeological Survey

Richmond Planning Units (reprinted from Mouer, Johnson, and Gleach 1985a, 79–102)

1. North Richmond
2. Main St.-Fulton
3. Downtown
4. Richmond Waterfront
5. Belvidere
6. West End
7. Church Hill
8. Manchester
9. Cherokee
10. Fan
12. Stratford Hills
13. Southside

### 1. North Richmond

Bounded by the city line on the east, on the north and west, and Broad Street on the south. North Richmond is an area currently comprised of high and medium density residential areas, some industrial areas, and considerable commercial development. The prospects for intact archeological sites predating the Civil war are slight in many parts of the unit. Historically significant neighborhoods and structures include numerous Victorian and early 20th century areas, such as Highland Park and Ginter Park. The oldest historically important neighborhood which still has integrity as such is Carver, a mid to late 19th century residential neighborhood containing numerous houses dating to the late Ante-Bellum and the early Post-Bellum eras. Most of these houses have considerable middens, outbuilding sites, wells, privies and other archeological features of interest.

There are undoubtedly individual sites of interest just north of the Interstate in what was once part of the Jackson Ward neighborhood. Here are found a number Federal period houses, mostly in various stages of decay. The yards of these and later Ante-Bellum houses are of archeological interest. Efforts should be made to save and stabilize the remaining early structures here. The Victorian neighborhoods may also contain sites of archeological interest. The vicinity of Ginter Park and Bryan Park are notable for sites of springs and recreational facilities of this period, Highland Park retains considerable integrity and “feel” of a middle class neighborhood of the turn of the century.

The heavily industrialized section just north of Broad Street contains remains of a number of important late 19th and early 20th century industries. These are almost certainly of considerable importance to the study of Richmond's industrial

archeology. City directories list numerous breweries and other industries in this area, and many of the standing structures and railroad facilities date to the immediate Post-Bellum period. Northside developed as one of Richmond's first suburbs during the mid-18th century. Brook Road is a Colonial road which was replaced by a 19th century turnpike. There is a likelihood that various 18th century sites may be relatively undisturbed in the older yards and parks of Northside. Isolated Colonial features no doubt exist, but it seems unlikely that much remains of complete farmstead sites within the city limits. The city has acquired property just beyond the city line in Henrico county, however, for use as a botanical garden. Eighteenth century domestic sites of considerable importance are found there.

Prehistoric Native American sites in the unit have been, for the most part, extensively impacted or destroyed by 200 years of Euro-American occupation. Some sites, possibly containing reasonable integrity and structure, have been located in Bryan Park, however. It is also possible that larger, older developments with considerable open space (such as Westbrook) may have sites of this period with intact structure.

## 2. Main St.-Fulton

Bounded by the James River, Shockoe Bottom, the city line and the hills of east Richmond.

This unit is among the oldest and most historical sections of the city.

Archeological evidence indicates that people have settled here for thousands of years, especially along the James River. The Powhatan lived here in 1607 and sold their town to the Jamestown settlers. Captain John Smith built his fort called Nonesuch nearby if not within this district. It is possible that various other fortifications of the early 17th century were placed here as well.

Gillies Creek - Stoney Run empties into the James River here. Today the stream is mostly in a concrete channel. In the 17th century it was called "Bloody Run" from a battle which took place between the Indians and the Colonists here. There is debate, however, whether this was the 1654 battle in which Totopotomoy and Edward ill of Shirley were killed by Piedmont Indians or a battle in which Francis Eppes was killed leading a raid against the Chickahominies during Bacon's Rebellion in 1676.

Either Gillies or Almond Creek is the "pretty creek" referred to in an early 17th century description of the village of Powhatan. This village sat on a hill a short distance below the Falls of the James River <sup>99</sup>.

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<sup>99</sup> The exact location of Powhatan is widely debated. One observer who travelled up the river in 1608 with Christopher Newport described the village as being 1/2 mile below the Falls, while another gave the distance as 3 miles. The village contained 12 houses and, according to symbols on a Spanish spy map of the period, may have been surrounded by a stockade. The descriptions of the period state clearly that the village stood on a high hill, with a pretty creek running at its base, and that there was a large expanse of gardens between the hill and the river, Historians and archeologists have differed in assigning this location to Chimborazo, Fulton, Libbie, Marion or

The oldest standing structure in the RMAAS project is in this unit; that being the Ege House, or "Old Stone House, on East Main Street. The house was probably constructed in the 1720's. Artifacts excavated from the crawlspace and collected in the yard confirm occupation to the second quarter of the 18th century, and probably earlier. This is the original site of Richmond. Lots were occupied here, and on adjacent Church Hill, before they were elsewhere in town. There are some lots along Main Street which appear to have relatively undisturbed layers beneath yards and parking lots. It is quite possible that 17th and 18th century sites of some significance may be found along here.

Towards the edge of Richmond, in the rail yards and tank farms, lie the remains of Mayo's Powhatan Seat plantation. This once highly important seat of one of Richmond's leading Colonial/Federal families is now totally destroyed. A longshore sandbar below the mouth of Shockoe Creek was known during the 17th century as Chappel Island. as a small chapel was erected there early in that century. In the 18th century this was the location of the "Sandy Bar Fishery". Remains of all Colonial sites on the bar may have been destroyed in recently by construction of the Shockoe Retention Basin.

The sandbar is now separated from the mainland by a section of the Tidewater Connection of the James River and Kanawha Canal, built in the early 19th century. The "Great Shiplock", or lower lock of the connection, is maintained by the city as a park. The lock and a cantilever trestle are of great industrial archeological significance. The eastern tip of the bar is relatively undisturbed alluvium which may contain deeply buried early Colonial and/or prehistoric sites. Fulton Bottom is currently being developed. The turn of the century tenement houses which once dominated the area have been cleared away. While bulldozers have been very active here, there are indications of undisturbed prehistoric sites in the flood deposits along Gillies Creek. Colonial sites may be present in the Bottom, but no survey has been done to date. Fulton Bottom is also the location of Richmond's 18th century port, called Rocketts. Little is visible above ground from the Rocketts settlement save a late 18th century house standing empty along Williamsburg Road <sup>100</sup>. It is possible that archeological remains of the port settlement may be found here, in spite of widespread subsequent construction.

A new building is currently under construction on the site of a 19th century pottery kiln and glasshouse at the sharp bend in U.S, Rt. 5 near the edge of Richmond. Just east of this location is a series of early industrial sites, including the Yuengling Brewery (1870Us), as well as the site of Libby Prison (Civil War).

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Tree Hill. Yet another possibility is that the village sat on a much lower hill - now leveled - at the present location of the Fulton train yard. This was the location of Col. John Mayo's plantation named "Powhatan Seat."

<sup>100</sup> The structure, known as the Woodward House, was recently saved from destruction by the Historic Richmond Foundation. The land around the house along Williamsburg Road probably contains important archaeological deposits.



No land modification should be undertaken along Main Street or between Main Street and the James River without professional archeological advice.

This unit contains "tobacco row", Richmond's impressive turn-of-the-century industrial landscape. In addition, there are the remains of the Fulton Gas Works, Richmond's 2nd major gas works, and a continual reminder that Richmond was one of the first cities in the world to be heated and lighted by gas.

### 3. Downtown

Bounded on the north by Interstate 95, on the south by the Downtown Expressway, on the east by Shockoe Bottom (14th St.) and west by Belvidere St. This unit was the heart of Richmond's commercial, industrial and governmental facilities during the Federal and Ante-Bellum periods. In addition, it contains one of Richmond's most important Ante-Bellum neighborhoods, Jackson Ward, part of which is included in a National Historical District. The late 19th century industrial-commercial center along Cary Street is included in the Shockoe Slip National Historical District.

Archeologists discovered the remains of an extensive Indian village on Shockoe Slip hill during construction of the RMA Downtown Expressway in 1974, attesting to the use of this area by Native American groups as early as A.D. 900. The area was within the territory of the Powhatan in 1607, and a Powhatan Indian settlement was located at the mouth of Shockoe Creek in the 1650's. The area was known as Shockoes or Shaccoes throughout the 17th and early 18th centuries and was incorporated into the rather extensive holdings of William Byrd I in the late 1600's. William Byrd II operated a mill and a tobacco warehouse here during the second quarter of the 18th century. These businesses, along with the land, were passed to William Byrd III, who subdivided the area into townlots and sold them at lottery in the 1760's.

Shockoes and the adjacent section of town across Shockoe Creek retained the characteristics of a rather wild frontier town until after the Revolutionary War. With the establishment of the new capitol here in 1780, Richmond began to take on a more "civilized" demeanor. With the completion of the James River and Kanawha Canal around Richmond and its extension well into the Piedmont in the early 19th century, the city became the thriving "mart" foreseen by William Byrd II when he and Col. John Mayo laid out the town in the 1730's.

A vigorous milling, manufacturing and transportation-based urban economy enabled Richmond to become the most industrialized city of the south during the Ante-Bellum period. Richmond served as the capitol of the Confederacy, and most of the Confederate governmental buildings were located in this planning unit. A devastating fire, set upon the fall of Richmond to Union troops in 1865, destroyed most of the downtown district.

Some of the finest Federal and Ante-Bellum buildings in Richmond are to be found in this unit, but only a few are likely to have value as archeological sites. The Jackson Ward district is currently undergoing renovation. This means that

many early houses and houseyards will be subject to modifications which could destroy or damage important archeological remains, such as trash pits, privies, wells, builders' trenches, outbuilding sites and basement floors, Modification of yards in Jackson Ward should only be undertaken with archeological advice. The Medical College of Virginia (MCV) area contains a number of architecturally and historically significant structures, including the Wickham house, the Egyptian Building, Monumental Church, the Confederate White House and the John Marshall House. Care should be taken in any restoration or land modification around such structures, so as to not disturb intact archeological resources. The same warning should be applied to the Capitol grounds.

The area between Main and Canal Streets, from 10th Street to Shockoe Bottom is currently undergoing rapid development. Most ground disturbance in this section of town can be expected to destroy extremely important industrial and commercial sites relating to the late 18th and early 19th century economic heart of the city. Recent construction of James River Plaza has destroyed valuable remains of the old Main St. spice market, the Canal turning basin, and Colonial and early 19th century houses, foundries, etc., which once stood around the basin. Current construction will destroy the substantial subterranean remains of the mid-19th century Gallego Mill, once one of the largest water-powered grist mills in the world.

Proposed plans for construction in Shockoe Slip will destroy what remains of the Shockoe Slip Indian site (most of which was bulldozed away in 1974 to make room for the RMA Downtown Expressway). In addition, the remains of the 18th century tobacco warehouse will be destroyed.

The corner of Main and 14th streets contains the remains of the original Richmond state house, used by the legislature during the Revolution. In the opposite block once stood Byrd's 18th-19th century tobacco warehouse and a Colonial tavern; remains of both were destroyed in 1984 to build a parking deck. As downtown Richmond continues to grow at a phenomenal pace, sites will continue to be destroyed at a phenomenal pace. Very serious consideration should be given to including archeological survey or evaluation in any construction project in this area, particularly in those zones noted on the maps as especially sensitive.

#### 4. Downtown Waterfront

This unit is comprised of waterfront areas from Canal Street to the river, on the north side of the James, and the waterfront zone of Manchester on the south side of the river. In addition, the islands at the base of the Falls - most notably Mayo's Island and Belle Isle - are included.

Much of the unit is characterized by abandoned industrial sites, many of which are of significant value to industrial archeology. Also in this planning unit are located well-preserved remains of the James River and Kanawha Canal which was once Richmond's lifeline. This unit contains a number of resources which are

relatively unique in the area. Belle Isle was seat to colonial industry, and to a notorious Confederate prison camp. Islands and low grounds, even when covered with asphalt and debris from industrial sites of the 19th and 20th centuries, may contain significant buried prehistoric and early Colonial sites as a result of the frequent flooding of this area by the James River. One unique site is that of the Richmond Arsenal, used during the War of 1812 and the Civil War. The site has good integrity and is of great archeological value.

Efforts by a private individual to preserve, interpret and open for adaptive re-use the Tredegar Iron Works, major supplier of iron to the Confederate army and navy, have illustrated the value of industrial archeology to a city such as Richmond. Similarly, reconstruction and interpretation of a canal lock and the Haxall Mill flume by Reynolds Metals stands as a model of corporate responsibility towards the city's heritage.

Much of the Southside waterfront is heavily impacted by 20<sup>th</sup> century industry and railyards. However, the Manchester Canal is largely intact, and the possibilities of deeply buried, stratified prehistoric sites of great importance should not be overlooked. Late 19th century industrial sites of considerable importance are also to be found here.

## 5. Belvidere

This unit is named for the major street which bounds it on the east, and ultimately, for the mansion constructed by William Byrd II, and later rebuilt in this area by his son, William Byrd III. The unit is bounded on the north by the RMA, on the west by the Powhite Parkway, and on the south by the James River. This was the location not only of Byrd's Belvidere, a fine "second" plantation seat of the Westover clan, but also of a number of other imposing 18th century suburban residences, Belvidere passed to Daniel Hylton who subsequently built "Windsor\* further to the west. Insufficient historical research has been completed to allow the authors to write with authority on the 18th and early 19th century use of this area. One of the dominant features of the 19th century landscape of the unit is Hollywood Cemetery.

Late 19th century and early 20th century residential development characterizes much of the area today. Of these, Oregon Hill is a valuable example of a neighborhood with considerable cultural continuity throughout the century, Oregon Hill is home to many residents who originally moved here from Appalachia. It is not presently known whether the remains of the Belvidere mansion are sufficiently intact to warrant archaeological study.

The Belvidere unit contains numerous open areas, due to the numbers of cemeteries and parks found here. While the cemeteries have undoubtedly severely impacted sites, Maymont and Byrd Parks probably contain a rich assemblage of archeological sites, particularly from the earlier prehistoric

periods, In addition, remains of the James River and Kanawha Canal in this area are listed in the National Register of Historic Places. The old pump house in Byrd Park is a fine visual reminder of Richmond in an earlier era.

## 6. West End

Bounded on the east by the Boulevard and the Powhite parkway, north by Broad Street Road, on the west by the city line, and on the south by the James River. The West End contains the main routes into the Piedmont used during the Colonial period. Broad Street Road, Grove Avenue, Three Chopt Road, and Cary Street Road/River Road all follow Colonial roads, These, in turn, probably followed still older Indian trails. Along these roads were once found farmsteads, taverns and churches of the Colonial and Ante- Bellum periods. The oldest standing structures in the unit were moved to their present locations in Windsor Farms during the present century. These include the Cary home seat, Amphill; William Randolph III's seat, Wilton; as well as two ancient homes imported from Englandt Virginia House ("The Priory") and Agecroft Hall.

There are a few Ante-Bellum homes among the 20th century residences along Three Chopt Road and Grove Avenue. The yards of these may be of archeological significance. Reports of Colonial features are heard periodically, but, by and large, the area has been too intensively impacted for significant archeological remains to be common, Windsor Farms, where the density of late 19th and 20th century disturbance is somewhat lower, probably contains sites of interest. If there are extant remains of Daniel Hylton's home, Windsor, they could be of some importance. Hylton was a prominent son of a prominent central Virginia family, He was a friend of Jefferson, and his home was a center of activity during the Revolution.

There are some Civil War earthworks in this neighborhood as well. These have been disturbed in recent years by neighborhood children who use them as dirt bike trails. Care should be taken to preserve these remnants of Richmond's defensive circle. One area within this unit where archeological sites are likely to be preserved is in the vicinity of the campus of the University of Richmond. However, there has been no archeological survey in this area. Yet another area in which sites occur is on Williams Island. Here are the remains of a major gun foundry that was important during the Civil War. It is also likely that significant prehistoric Native American sites are located on the island as well, probably sealed and deeply buried and sealed below flood-deposited silt. The possibility of buried sites is high anywhere along the floodplain of the James River.

## 7. Church Hill

Encompassing Church, Chimborazo, Libbie and Fulton Hills, this unit is bounded by the city line on the east, by Route 33 on the west and north, and by the bases of these hills on the south and southeast.

Many believe Church Hill to be the location of the Indian town of Powhatan<sup>101</sup>. The area now known as Powhatan Playground contains a Colonial house site, as well as remains from earlier, prehistoric, Native American occupation. The strip along Gillies Creek - Stoney Run has some areas of floodplain which are likely to contain buried prehistoric sites.

The planning units of Church Hill and Main Street-Fulton comprise the site of the original occupation of Richmond. A few scattered residences stood on the hills in the first half of the 18th century, St. John's Church, one of the main churches of Henrico Parish, was built in the years just preceding the Revolution. The number of houses grew rapidly during the first half of the 19th century, and Church Hill now boasts Richmond's largest complement of Federal and Ante-Bellum dwellings. Many of these contain important archeological remains in their yards, and a number of abandoned lots contain Colonial and early 19th century sites. A complete survey of the Church Hill Old and Historic District is strongly advocated. During the Civil War, the largest hospital in the world at the time was operated on Chimborazo Hill. The site of the hospital is well preserved, and of great significance.

One part of this unit (Venable St.-Mosby area) is undergoing urban redevelopment in some places. Here are found a number of important Ante-Bellum and Federal houses and sites. When originally constructed, these were, for the most part, suburban homes. Following the Civil War this neighborhood began to assume a more urban character, and late 19th century and early 20th century townhouses are now prominent in the landscape. Early houses, and yards containing sites related to early houses, are likely to be of considerable archeological significance.

## 8. Manchester

Bounded on the north by the waterfront, on the east by the James River, on the west by Jefferson Davis Highway, and on the south by the city line.

The Manchester unit contains a long strip of low alluvial terraces adjacent to the river, and a series of higher terraces rising to a long ridge of Piedmont rocks.

These terrace ridges are cut by spring and stream valleys, creating a landscape well suited to prehistoric Native American occupation of all periods. The ridges overlooking the river contain numerous early prehistoric sites, mostly disturbed by historic developments. There are areas, however, in the older residential sections of Manchester, in which prehistoric sites of some importance probably retain some integrity.

Along the lowgrounds there were probably numerous extremely important stratified prehistoric and early Colonial sites. Most, or all, of these have been destroyed by the construction and expansion of the Richmond sewage treatment

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<sup>101</sup> See footnote 99.

plant and settling basins and, to a lesser extent, by sand quarrying. Recent testing along Maury Street near the Interstate 95 ramp has demonstrated that deep, stratified sites of high importance are still to be found on these alluvial terraces, however, and it is strongly recommended that no major land modification take place along these lowgrounds without archeological testing. Deep, undisturbed sites buried by successive floods of the James River are extremely important for developing a prehistoric cultural chronology for this area, and these lowgrounds at Manchester provide the most likely spot for such sites in all of Tidewater Virginia.

In addition, the earliest major settlement of the Fall Line zone was in this planning unit. In the mid-17th century, Thomas Stegge was granted much of this land for his Falls Plantation. From his home and other facilities here, he ran a major farming, milling and Indian trading operation which he passed to his nephew, William Byrd I. Byrd increased the size and scope of the Falls Plantation, becoming one of the wealthiest men in 17th century Virginia, By the turn of the 18th century, the Falls had passed to William Byrd II.

The Byrds ran granite quarries and mills at the Falls, traces of which may still be found near Interstate 95 and Maury Street. Mid-17th century property plats of the Falls Plantation indicate the locations of the two earliest houses near Goode Creek.

William Byrd II had planned for the development of a town at what was then called Rocky Ridge as early as the 1730's. In 1767, William Byrd III laid out and sold town lots in Manchester by lottery. By this time, Manchester had established fisheries, tobacco warehouses and mills. By the end of the century, Manchester was a terminus for the transshipment of Piedmont farm products, as well as coal from the Midlothian pits. By the mid-19th century, Manchester was a thriving industrial and commercial center, During the Civil War it was the location of the Confederate Navy Yard.

Many of the older neighborhoods of Manchester have disappeared; numerous empty lots in the heart of the old city contain archeological sites which may be of importance. Ante-Bellum buildings are few in this unit, but there are some early industrial facilities in the heart of town which are of interest. The Manchester Canal has not received the attention that it deserves. The canal is moderately well preserved in many places, as are mill races and flumes run off the canal. Besides providing power for industry in late 18th and 19th century Manchester, the Canal provided for the transport of coal, wheat and tobacco to port facilities below the Falls of the James River.

Very little is known concerning archeological sites in this unit. The historic background of the area suggests that numerous highly important sites could be extant here. However, late 19th century and 20th century industrialization has been very intensive in this unit, especially along the river, and many sites have undoubtedly been destroyed. This fact, however, elevates those possible remaining sites to a stature of greater significance.

## 9. Cherokee

Bounded on the south and east by Rt. 147, on the north by the James River, and on the west by the city line. This rapidly developing area contains extensive open land and, therefore, has considerable potential for archeological sites with good integrity. The area is characterized by steep rocky bluffs overlooking the James River and by a narrow band of low-lying floodplain. The terraces are cut by numerous springs. Some development occurred through this area in the form of farmsteads in the mid-18th century and as "suburbs" of Manchester by the turn of the 19th century, Mid-19th century maps indicate that this unit was still an area exhibiting low density development with scattered home sites and an occasional mill,

Perhaps the most important archeological remains to be found in this unit are prehistoric Native American campsites of all periods. These may be found throughout the area, but especially near bluff edges and on lower terraces overlooking the river.

## 10. Fan

Bounded on the north by Broad Street, on the east by Belvidere Street, on the south by the Downtown Expressway, and on the west by Boulevard.

This urban residential area is best known for its turn of the century townhouse neighborhoods, and for Monument Avenue, with its memorials to Confederate heroes, Prehistoric remains have been found throughout the Fan, but in all cases these have been highly disturbed, The area was thinly settled in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Sites from this period, if they exist at all, are most likely to be found along Grove Avenue, Lower Grace Street was the location of Richmond College in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Today the Fan is home to Virginia Commonwealth University. The density of 20th century development in the Fan makes it highly unlikely that significant archeological sites remain to be found here.

## 12. Stratford Hills

Bounded on the north by James River, on the east by the Powhite Parkway, on the south by Forest Hill Ave., and on the west by Rt. 147. This unit contains suburban neighborhoods which date primarily to the 20th century. The historical context of the unit is similar to that of the Cherokee unit, above. Nineteenth century maps do indicate somewhat higher density of settlement in this area, however. The likelihood of prehistoric Native American occupation is good here, particularly along James River and Rattlesnake Creek. The latter has been moderately to severely impacted by development, but the likelihood of

archeological sites along the Creek remains high, Some Native American sites are known to exist along the banks of the James. The extensive lowgrounds at Willow Oaks Country Club is believed to be the location of a Powwhite Indian settlement in the third quarter of the 17th century. This area has been impacted by golf course construction. Should remains of this Powwhite settlement be found, however, they would be counted as among the most significant in the RMAAS study area. The Willow Oaks golf course and adjacent lands of the James River park should be intensively surveyed. The remainder of the unit has been impacted to the extent that important sites are considered unlikely.

### 13. Southside

Bounded on the north by Forest Hill Ave, Powwhite Parkway and James River; on the east by Jefferson Davis Highway, on the south by the city line, and on the west by Chippenham Parkway.

This very large, very complex planning unit is characterized by high density residential and commercial development and continuing rapid growth. Due to the long development period of the area throughout the last 200 years, growth has been patchy, leading to areas of very high density development often bordered by woodlands or older low-density areas. One also finds 19th century farmsteads nestled uncomfortably amidst mid-20th century houselots. Due to the size of the unit, a complete discussion of historical context cannot be presented here.

However, the unit reflects the general context of the study area as a whole.

The northeastern portion of the unit contains 19th century and turn of the 20th century urban development, particularly along Bainbridge Street and Midlothian Turnpike (Virginia's first paved road!). The Semmes Avenue-Forest Hill area developed around the turn of this century, Forest Hill Park contains sites dating to a variety of earlier prehistoric periods, as well as late 18th - early 19th century sites, and the unique remains of an extensive Victorian suburban park and early 20th century amusement park.

Riverside Drive and James River Park contain some prehistoric sites of importance, as well as remains of 19th century mills, early granite quarries, etc. The northwestern part of the unit is drained by Powwhite Creek. Numerous open areas, woodlands and swamplands along the creek are prime areas for important prehistoric sites. Recent developments such as Beaufont Hills have had an impact on archeological resources in this area. Very rapid development is occurring all along Midlothian Turnpike and Hull Street, both of which were settled in the 19th century and which probably follow closely the tracks of older Colonial roads. In the southeastern portion of the unit prehistoric sites are likely to be found in the drainage of Broad Rock Creek and the smaller tributaries to Falling Creek. Civil War trenches are also found along Broad Rock Creek. The Broad Rock area was developed in Colonial times, and modern Broad Rock Road follows a Colonial road. Development has been so intensive in this area,



however, that remaining sites are unlikely to have much integrity. The southwestern portion of the unit comprises part of the headwaters of the Pocoshock drainage, and has a high potential for the occurrence of sites from the earlier prehistoric periods, as well as from the late 18th century on. This area, however, is developing at an extremely fast pace. Construction over the past 10 years has probably led to the loss of most of the important archeological sites in the area.

In summary, Southside is continuing to develop at a tremendous rate, New construction is replacing older neighborhoods, farmsteads, and stretches of forests in which prehistoric sites have lain undisturbed for thousands of years. An area as large and diverse as this is certain to contain important archeological remains, but those with good integrity are, at this point, equally likely to be few and far between.

## 11.10 Links to Digital Products on Richmond's Archaeology

Digital Database of Richmond's Archaeological Collections, Sites, Survey Reports, and Projects is available at: <https://airtable.com/shrjV2jmtHKAUWYeX>

### Analysis of Richmond Metropolitan Area Archaeological Survey

Development Intensity in Richmond, 2011, by RMAAS Unit:  
[https://diggingellen.carto.com/viz/d19f78c0-7f3a-11e5-85b9-0e5db1731f59/public\\_map](https://diggingellen.carto.com/viz/d19f78c0-7f3a-11e5-85b9-0e5db1731f59/public_map)

Spatial Density of Archaeological Sites in Metropolitan Richmond, 2015:  
[https://diggingellen.carto.com/viz/873435c4-7f3e-11e5-b098-0ea31932ec1d/public\\_map](https://diggingellen.carto.com/viz/873435c4-7f3e-11e5-b098-0ea31932ec1d/public_map)

Loss of Undeveloped Land in Richmond, 1992-2011:  
[https://diggingellen.carto.com/viz/dae57764-7c05-11e5-aec9-0ef7f98ade21/public\\_map](https://diggingellen.carto.com/viz/dae57764-7c05-11e5-aec9-0ef7f98ade21/public_map)

11.11 Table of Contemporary Urban Archaeology Programs

<b>Name</b>	<b>City</b>	<b>State</b>	<b>Type</b>
Parks and Recreation City Archaeology Office	Phoenix	Arizona	Municipal
n/a	Scottsdale	Arizona	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
n/a	Tucson	Arizona	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
n/a	Pismo Beach	California	Municipal (Staff archaeologist)
San Diego Archaeological Center	San Diego	California	Municipal
n/a	San Francisco	California	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission, staff archaeologist)
n/a	Aurora	Colorado	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, historic commission)
n/a	Boulder	Colorado	Municipal (Survey, historic commission)
n/a	Durango	Colorado	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
n/a	Ledyard	Connecticut	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
Archaeology in the Community	Washington	D.C.	Community
D.C. Historic Preservation Office	Washington	D.C.	Municipal
n/a	Fort Walton Beach	Florida	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
n/a	Hollywood	Florida	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)

n/a	Jacksonville	Florida	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
n/a	Sarasota	Florida	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
City of St. Augustine Archaeology Program	St. Augustine	Florida	Municipal
n/a	St. Augustine	Florida	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission, staff archaeologist)
n/a	St. Petersburg	Florida	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
n/a	Boise	Idaho	Municipal (Archaeologist on historic commission)
n/a	Chicago	Illinois	
n/a	Wichita	Kansas	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, staff archaeologist, historic commission)
n/a	Annapolis	Maryland	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, special status for sensitive area, historic commission)
n/a	Baltimore	Maryland	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission, staff archaeologist)
n/a	Frederick	Maryland	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
n/a	St. Mary's City	Maryland	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, staff archaeologist, historic commission)
n/a	Barnstable	Massachusetts	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, historic commission)
City Archaeology Program	Boston	Massachusetts	Municipal

n/a	Brewster	Massachusetts	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, historic commission)
n/a	Chilmark	Massachusetts	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, historic commission)
n/a	Falmouth	Massachusetts	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, historic commission)
n/a	Marion	Massachusetts	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, historic commission)
n/a	Medford	Massachusetts	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, historic commission)
n/a	Middleborough	Massachusetts	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, historic commission)
n/a	Salem	Massachusetts	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, historic commission)
n/a	Wayland	Massachusetts	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, historic commission)
n/a	Ann Arbor	Michigan	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
Unearthing Detroit	Detroit	Michigan	Academic & Community
n/a	Pascagoula	Mississippi	Municipal (Archaeologist on historic commission)
n/a	Kansas City	Missouri	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, ordinance, historic commission)
n/a	Virginia City	Nevada	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, staff archaeologist)
n/a	Evesham (Township)	New Jersey	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)

n/a	Hopewell (Township)	New Jersey	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
n/a	Albuquerque	New Mexico	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission, staff archaeologist)
n/a	Santa Fe	New Mexico	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission)
Professional Archaeologists of New York City	New York	New York	Advocacy
Landmarks Preservation Commission Archaeology Department	New York	New York	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, historic commission, staff archaeologists)
n/a	Albany	Oregon	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, predictive model, historic commission, THPO partnership (Grand Ronde))
n/a	Hood River	Oregon	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, special status for sensitive area, historic commission, federal–local partnership)
n/a	Portland	Oregon	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, archaeologist on historic commission, special status for sensitive area)
Philadelphia Archaeological Forum	Philadelphia	Pennsylvania	Advocacy
Historic Charleston Foundation Archaeology Program	Charleston	South Carolina	Non-profit Community
n/a	Deadwood	South Dakota	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, special status for sensitive area)
Yates Community Archaeology Project	Houston	Texas	Academic & Community

City of San Antonio's Office of Historic Preservation	San Antonio	Texas	Municipal
Alexandria Archaeology	Alexandria	Virginia	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, predictive model, historic commission, archaeologist)
n/a	Bainbridge	Washington	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, THPO partnership (Suquamish), historic commission)
n/a	Bremerton	Washington	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, THPO partnership (Suquamish))
n/a	Camas	Washington	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, ordinance)
n/a	Port Angeles	Washington	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, staff archaeologist (under contract with private firm))
n/a	Poulsbo	Washington	Municipal (Survey, ordinance, THPO partnership (Suquamish), historic commission)
n/a	Vancouver	Washington	Municipal (Survey, predictive model, ordinance, historic commission)