

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

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

1. Name of PropertyHistoric name: Hickory Hill Slave and African American CemeteryOther names/site number: DHR No. 042-5792

Name of related multiple property listing:

N/A

(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing)

2. LocationStreet & number: Providence Church RoadCity or town: Ashland State: VA County: HanoverNot For Publication: ☐ N/A Vicinity: ☒ X**3. State/Federal Agency Certification**

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

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

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

 national X statewide local

Applicable National Register Criteria:

X A B C X D

			
Signature of certifying official/Title:		Date	
<u>Virginia Department of Historic Resources</u>			
State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government			

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

Signature of commenting official:

Date

Title :

State or Federal agency/bureau
or Tribal Government

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4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

- ☐ entered in the National Register
☐ determined eligible for the National Register
☐ determined not eligible for the National Register
☐ removed from the National Register
☐ other (explain:) _____

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

(Check as many boxes as apply.)

- Private: ☒
- Public – Local ☐
- Public – State ☐
- Public – Federal ☐

Category of Property

(Check only **one** box.)

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

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Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing

0

Noncontributing

0

buildings

0

0

sites

0

0

structures

0

0

objects

0

0

Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 1

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

FUNERARY: Cemetery

Current Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

FUNERARY: Cemetery

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7. Description

Architectural Classification

(Enter categories from instructions.)

N/A

Materials: (enter categories from instructions.)

Principal exterior materials of the property: N/A

Narrative Description

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

Summary Paragraph

The Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery comprises approximately 4.25 acres of property, and is accessed via unimproved dirt roads that approach the property from the south. The cemetery is west of the domestic complex associated with the antebellum Hickory Hill plantation in Hanover County, a short distance east of the Town of Ashland. Due to its setting within a heavily wooded area, the cemetery's location retains a rural feeling, but the environs are transitioning to suburban as new development sprawls eastward. The Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery includes at least 149 burials, based on limited field survey, and was in use as early as 1820. It remained an active cemetery until at least 1938, based upon the date inscribed on a headstone placed in memory of a member of the Abrams family. Periwinkle, a traditional ground cover in Virginia's rural cemeteries, is found throughout. Several yucca plants, a species traditional to rural African American burial grounds, are located on the eastern side of the cemetery. A limited number of graves are marked with fieldstone head- and foot stones as well as uninscribed concrete and stone markers. A small number of metal funeral home markers have been identified, along with two inscribed white marble tablets. The Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery has high integrity of location, design, feeling, and association. Integrity of setting and materials have been adversely affected by unsympathetic maintenance practices of the late 20th century, as well as loss of naturally derived materials, most

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notably remains of a brush arbor last photographed in 1989. Integrity of workmanship is good for the manmade features within the cemetery, such as the 1920s grave markers.

Narrative Description

The Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery is within the historic boundary of Hickory Hill, a former plantation that was listed in the National Register of Historic Places and the Virginia Landmarks Register in 1974. Although included within the 640 acres of Hickory Hill's Register listing, the cemetery was not discussed in the nomination. Thus, although already listed in the Registers, the current nomination is the first time that the Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery is being documented for the Registers. A short distance south of the cemetery is the site of one of the clusters of housing for enslaved African Americans. A small freedmen's community was established in the same vicinity by the late 19th century and remained occupied until the mid-20th century.

Setting

The Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery comprises approximately 4.25 acres of property, and is accessed via unimproved dirt roads associated with timber farming of the surrounding acreage, which is densely planted in pine. It occupies a low, wide, and relatively level knoll that slopes gently to the southwest before ending in a fairly steep drainage. A white vinyl post-and-board fence, installed after 2010, provides a visual indication of boundaries. These are conjectural, based largely on differences in topography and vegetation, and it is possible that additional unmarked interments exist outside of the fence. Due to its culturally and archaeologically sensitive nature, the cemetery has not been subjected to systematic professional archaeological testing. Archaeologists and historians with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources visited the site several times between 2017-2019, accompanied by researcher D. Reber Dunkel as well as Jean Abrams Folly, George Winston, Georgia Johnson, Elaine and Winston Henry, and other descendants of those interred here. The latter individuals pointed out significant features of the cemetery and shared their recollections of the cemetery's active usage, all of which contributed to current understanding of the cemetery's significance and integrity.

Cemetery

Within the fenced area, the cemetery acreage is characterized by a mix of softwood and hardwood tree species, including white oak, birch, Eastern red cedar, hickory, and white and yellow pine, with an understory of holly, dogwood, greenbrier, and privet. Multiple fallen trees, many with exposed root balls, are present. Well-established mats of periwinkle are found throughout. Several yucca plants are located on the cemetery's eastern side as well.

Interments appear as both marked gravesites and grave depressions, and are scattered throughout the enclosed area. An earlier delineation survey identified approximately 149 probable

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interments, and it is quite likely that additional interments exist.¹ All gravesites and grave depressions appear to be oriented generally east-west, with some loosely clustered in what may represent family groupings. Marked graves are as follows:

- White marble tablet inscribed to Barbara Tarrer (Aug. 26, 1874 – Mar 29, 1928) with “G.U.O”
- White marble tablet inscribed to Bernard Lewis (Mar. 18, 1905 – April 25, 1926), with “G.U.O K of D Hanover Lodge 20”
- Quartz boulder head and footstone
- Quartz boulder head and footstone
- Quartz boulder head and footstone
- Concrete-slab head and footstone (originally identified as gateposts)
- Uninscribed rectangular concrete tablet
- Uninscribed gray marble tablet (fragment)
- Uninscribed fieldstone
- Squared, uninscribed granite marker (may be upended plinth)
- Metal funeral home marker on tall metal stake (paper insert no longer legible)
- Metal funeral home marker on short stake (paper insert no longer legible)
- Metal funeral home marker (paper insert no longer legible)
- Individual yucca plants

In addition to the variety of interment markers, two examples of possible grave offerings were observed, including a quart glass Mason jar with lid partially embedded at the head of one otherwise unmarked depression, and a galvanized metal bucket partially embedded at the midsection of another.

Integrity

Since the mid-20th century, maintenance of the cemetery has been sporadic. During the 1980s, logging activity damaged parts of the cemetery. In more recent decades, dense vegetative cover has been permitted to grow again, obscuring much of the cemetery from pedestrian view. The cemetery’s integrity of location is intact, while integrity of setting and materials are somewhat compromised by the irregular maintenance that has occurred. Naturally derived materials that often are character-defining features of African American cemeteries also are vulnerable to erosion, plant death, and other factors; that said, numerous examples of yucca and periwinkle plantings are extant. Remains of a brush arbor, last photographed during the 1980s, have succumbed to weathering. As such structures were intended to be temporary, however, its loss is notable but does not diminish the integrity of the burial ground itself. The cemetery retains integrity of design as a burial ground loosely organized by family groupings and reflects the necessarily informal character of antebellum cemeteries for enslaved African Americans, who

¹ Lyle E., Browning, RPA, “Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery Delineation,” Prepared for Hanover County Planning Office, 2007.

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generally had little control over how interments were conducted and how the burial ground was marked and maintained. The cemetery's continued use after emancipation relied upon the acquiescence of the Wickham family, who retained ownership until the early 2000s. Its range of vernacular and more formal interment markers are visual reminders that the cemetery encompasses the history of African American occupation of this part of Virginia from enslavement through Emancipation and Reconstructions and into the 20th century. Integrity of workmanship is not applicable to the entire cemetery; however, for example, the two 1920s inscribed marble markers are good examples of early 20th century machine-cut tablets. The cemetery retains integrity of feeling as a cemetery and sacred space, visually distinct from the surrounding landscape and forest cover, with markers and traditional plantings visible through the undergrowth. The cemetery has excellent integrity of association with the enslaved African Americans of Hickory Hill between c. 1820-1865, with a remarkable amount of historic documentation that links specific individuals to the cemetery, as well as with subsequent freed people who remained in the immediate vicinity and continued to use the cemetery at least through the late 1930s. Their descendants remain in the area today and have worked for decades to preserve the cemetery.

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8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

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

- ☒ A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- ☐ B. Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- ☐ C. Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- ☒ D. Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

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

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Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions.)

ETHNIC HERITAGE: African American

ARCHAEOLOGY: Historic: Non-aboriginal

Period of Significance

c. 1820-c. 1938

Significant Dates

N/A

Significant Person

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

N/A

Cultural Affiliation

African American

Architect/Builder

NA

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

The Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery is significant at the statewide level under Criterion A in the area of Ethnic Heritage: African American and under Criterion D in the area of Archaeology: Historic: Non-Aboriginal. The property meets Criteria Consideration D for cemeteries because its significance is derived from its direct association with the African American historical experience in rural Virginia during slavery, through the Civil War and Reconstruction eras, and into the mid-twentieth century. Exceptionally well-documented in historic records, the cemetery provides a window into the changing lives of African American families who have maintained ties to the cemetery from its beginning up to the present day. The cemetery's period of significance is c. 1820-c. 1938, beginning with acquisition of the property by the Wickham family and extending through the most recent burials. Lands associated with Hickory Hill had been part of the South Wales plantation, established by James Littlepage prior to 1768 and no other associated slave cemetery has yet been identified elsewhere. In 1820, the Wickham family began a multiple-generation ownership of Hickory Hill that lasted until the early 2000s; hence c. 1820 is selected as the earliest date of the cemetery's usage during the Wickhams' tenure.

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

Crucial to understanding the historic significance of the Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery is the rare depth of documentation of enslaved persons buried here. Much of this is due to the "Plantation Diaries" kept from September 1828 until 29 January 1864 by William Fanning (W. F.) Wickham, who meticulously recorded names and dates of death of enslaved persons, as well as (frequently but not always) kinship, and, in the case of those who had been part of his wife Anne Carter Wickham's dowry, estimates of age. W. F. Wickham's lists of enslaved African Americans at Hickory Hill between 1828-1864 recorded a total of 268 individuals. Wickham's 8-volume collection of diaries is now housed at the research library of the Virginia Museum of History and Culture in Richmond, Virginia.

Although the Wickham diaries do not begin until 1828, the earliest known burial at the Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery dates to c. 1820. Given that Hickory Hill's lands had been farmed by European colonists since before the American Revolution, earlier burials may have occurred here. The cemetery is located barely south of the historic border between the Hickory Hill and South Wales plantations, raising the possibility that enslaved people from South Wales also may be buried here.

The Wickham family resided at Hickory Hill for multiple generations through the twentieth century. Relationships among the Wickhams and the African American people who lived at and nearby Hickory Hill continued until the former plantation finally was sold to a new owner in the

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early 2000s. Due to the length and stability of these relationships, additional documentation survives concerning the freedmen's communities established near Hickory Hill during Reconstruction, the 1870s founding of Providence Baptist Church by emancipated African Americans, and the establishment of a school (historically known as Hickory Hill School and as Wickham School) during the Jim Crow era of segregation. A descendants' community of those directly related to the persons buried at the Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery has maintained ties to the cemetery to the present day.

Historic Overview

Extensive deed research carried out by lead researcher D. Reber Dunkel shows that the lands that comprised Hickory Hill (NRHP 1974; DHR #042-0100) originally were part of the holdings of Charles Carter (b. 1732). On May 2, 1768, Carter purchased the 3,184-acre South Wales plantation in Hanover County from the estate of James Littlepage.² In 1807, George William Smith acquired 300 acres adjacent to South Wales. An 1818 plat showed a dwelling on this acreage, along with the name "Hickory Hill." Current research indicates that Charles Carter's son, Robert Carter, gave approximately half of South Wales' acreage to his own daughter, Anne Butler Carter (1797-1868) upon her wedding to William Fanning (W. F.) Wickham (1793-1880), a lawyer and planter, on December 9, 1819.³ Also as part of her dowry, Anne Carter brought a group of enslaved African Americans from her family's Shirley plantation (NHL 1970; DHR #018-0022) in Charles City County, Virginia. In 1820, a deed dated July 10 recorded the sale of 315 acres by George Smith's heirs to W. F. Wickham. The same year, the Wickhams began building a new house on the Hickory Hill acreage formerly owned by Smith; this dwelling remains extant today. W. F. Wickham acquired another 972 acres from Anne Carter Wickham's brother, Thomas Carter, in 1825 and another 70 acres from George W. Smith's heirs in 1827. He and Anne Wickham were living at Hickory Hill by 1828 and the couple managed both it and South Wales. The enslaved workforce at Hickory Hill also worked at South Wales.

² In his will, James Littlepage manumitted the enslaved African Americans at South Wales, and these individuals moved to two Quaker settlements in Ohio.

³ William Fanning (W. F.) Wickham was born on 23 November 1793 in Richmond, Virginia, to John Wickham (1763-1839) and Mary Smith Fanning (1775-1799). W. F. Wickham and Anne Butler Carter Wickham had five children together. He died on 31 July 1880 in Hanover County and was buried at Hickory Hill. Their son Williams Carter (W. C.) Wickham was born 21 September 1820 in Richmond, Virginia. He attended the University of Virginia and, after graduation, became a lawyer. W. C. Wickham represented Hanover County in the House of Delegates in 1849-1850 and in 1859-1861. During the Virginia secession convention of 1861, he served as a Unionist until Abraham Lincoln's call for volunteers and the beginning of the Civil War. He enlisted and eventually became colonel of the 4th Virginia cavalry and then a brigadier-general in the Confederate army. He also served in the Confederate House of Representatives from 1864 to 1865. After the war, W. C. Wickham represented Hanover and Caroline counties in the state Senate from 1885 to 1888. Additionally, he was president of the Virginia Central Railroad and of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad. W. C. Wickham married Lucy Penn Taylor (1830-1913) on 11 January 1848 and they had four children together. He died in Richmond on 23 July 1888 and was buried at Hickory Hill.

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Wickham's younger brother, Edward Fanning Wickham (1796-1843), married Anne's sister, Lucy Nelson Carter (1799-1835) in 1822.⁴ Lucy Carter's dowry included the other half of South Wales as well as a contingent of enslaved people from Shirley. E. F. Wickham, meanwhile, used a \$10,000 inheritance from his mother to buy the Rocky Mills plantation along the South Anna River in western Hanover County. E. F. and Lucy Wickham established their household at Rocky Mills.

In historian Gregg L. Michel's article, "From Slavery to Freedom: Hickory Hill, 1850 to 1880," information about the plantation's antebellum farming operations is carefully analyzed. Encompassing nearly 3,500 acres at its height, Hickory Hill was one of the largest plantations in central Virginia by 1860. In 1850, the plantation was home to eight members of the Wickham family and an enslaved community of 191 African Americans. A decade later, Hickory Hill was one of only two plantations in Hanover County, and nine in the entire state, on which more than 200 enslaved people lived and worked. Along with grain crops, the enslaved workers cultivated a wide array of fruits and vegetables, likely for consumption on the plantation rather than as cash crops. A small amount of tobacco was grown as well, but it was never a premier staple crop at Hickory Hill.⁵

Beginning in September 1828, W. F. Wickham began recording a series of "Plantation Diaries." Careful review of the 8 volumes of diaries under the supervision of lead researcher Reber Dunkel indicates that 146 enslaved persons came to Hickory Hill as part of Anne Carter Wickham's dowry.⁶ A transcription of the 1828 list is as follows.

⁴ Edmund Fanning Wickham was born 30 July 1796 in Richmond to John and Mary Smith Fanning Wickham, and therefore was W. F. Wickham's younger brother. He married Lucy Carter on 28 November 1822 and they had six children together. E. F. Wickham died on 25 September 1843 and was buried at Rocky Mills.

⁵ Gregg L. Michel, "From Slavery to Freedom: Hickory Hill, 1850-80," in *The Edge of the South: Life in 19th-Century Virginia*, eds. Edward L. Ayers and John C. Willis (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1991), p. 109-110.

⁶ Research of W. F. Wickham's diaries and other Wickham family papers has been ongoing since the early 1990s. The Wickham family's records are part of the collection of the Virginia Museum of History and Culture. D. Reber Dunkel, Ph.D. has acted as lead researcher and supervised the work of graduate students who participated in the project. Work of individual students is credited by name herein.

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**Original List of 146 Enslaved Persons at Hickory Hill as Recorded in September 1828 by
William Fanning Wickham⁷**

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>
1. Old Zachary (died)	55
2. Cufy	55
3. Cojo	30
4. Judy	(over) 24
5. Hannah	(under) 24
6. Charles	19
7. Kifey	17
8. Nancy	3
9. Polly	6 (mos)
//	
10. Zachary	(over) 24
11. Mary Arnold	(under) 24
//	
12. Daniel Casey	55
13. Billy	18
14. John	16
15. Blind Nat	(over) 24
16. Charlotte	(over) 36
17. Talbot	(over) 10
18. Lucy	8
//	
19. Old Casar (sic)	60
20. Aggy	(over) 55
21. Molly	16
//	
22. Edy	(under) 36
23. William	(over) 10
24. Joe	8
25. Stephen	(under 36) 30
26. Aggy	25
27. Beck (?)	10
28. Dalilah	31
29. Jenny	(small child)
30. Cofy	(small child)
31. Betsey	(small child)

⁷ W. F. Wickham estimated the ages of the individuals included in this first list. The symbol // denotes the family unit maintained in Wickham's list of enslaved people in all 8 volumes of his personal diaries. Also on this list, he kept count of those persons under 10 years of age who were exempt from the property tax or "Tithe." Wickham's 8-volume diary collection is now housed at the research library of the Virginia Museum of History and Culture in Richmond.

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//
32. Billy Nichols (over) 36
33. Nelly (over) 24
34. Georgi (over) 10
35. William 2
//
36. Betsey (over 36) 35
37. Caesar 14
38. Chener (small child)
39. Tamar (small child)
//
41. Betsey Henry 30
41. Edmond (over) 10
42. William 5
43. Betsey 1
//
44. Tom Bunn (under) 36
45. Betty Bunn (under 36) 25
46. Nancy 10
47. Lucy 9
48. Henry 7
49. Peter 4
50. Tom 1
51. Henry (under) 36
52. Sarah (over) 24
53. Lucy (Little) (over) 13
//
54. Robin (under) 36
55. Maria 32
56. Daniel 12
57. Sally (over) 10
58. Jenny 9
59. Molly 7
60. Tiller 5
61. John 3
//
62. Jack Gabriel 30
63. Sarah 3
64. Betty 6 mos
//
65. Lucy Arnold 25
66. Edward 4
67. Sam 2

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68. James	6 mos
//	
69. Old Sarah E	55
70. Judy	16
//	
71. Squire	36
72. Nancy	30
73. Sam	9
74. Moses	1
75. Old Jenny	50
76. Tom Stephen	30
77. John	20
78. Beckey	19
79. Rachael	17
80. Caesar	12
81. Amy	2
82. Tamar (died)	1
//	
83. Peter Gibson	40
84. Winney (over)	35
85. Ned	12
86. Betsey	8
87. Henry	NA
88. Beckey	NA
89. a boy (Mat?)	6 mos.
//	
90. Minor	40
91. Fanny	35
92. Robert	12
93. James	2
94. Joe	6 mos.
//	
95. Molly	40
96. James	18
97. Philander	12
98. Sarah	9
99. Lucy	13
//	
100. Tin	55
101. Betsey (old?)	50 d. Jan 30
103. Bibanna	17
104. Jack	13
105. Suckey	35

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106. Tamer?	13
107. Lucy	9
108. a girl (Betsey)	6 mos
109. Nancy (Tin)	12
110. Mary (Tin)	30
111. Thomas	6
112. Joe	3
113. Jenney	25
114. a boy	1
115. Beckey	20
116. Robert	3
//	
117. Lucy Bell	50
118. Franky	30
119. Edward	9
120. Sarah	7
121. William	3
122. Sarah Ann	22
123. Satchele	20
124. Charlotte	14
125. Critty	11
126. Mary	8
127. Beckey	5
//	
128. Bob Clarke	60
129. Jenny	NA
130. Grace	33
131. William	12
132. Ben	under 10
133. Elizabeth	NA
134. Dicey	NA
135. Abby	NA
136. Squire	under 10
//	
137. Dicey	45
//	
138. Old Tin Jack	NA
//	
139. Stephen	60
//	
140. Old Tom Bunn	55
//	
141. Ned Gaby	50

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//	
142. Ned (Blacksmith)	22
143. James	32
//	
144. Ned Lewis	42
//	
145. Billy	35
//	
146. Cyrus	30

In the above list, four first names, Cufy, Cojo, Kifey (later spelled as Kizzy), and Suckey (Sukey), may be variations of West African names. Among the Akan/Twi-speaking Ashante of West Africa, Kofi (Friday) and Kojo (Monday) are used to designate the day of the week the male babies were born. Sukey was one of the most common names for enslaved women in North Carolina and later there were traditional dance parties known as “Sukey Jumps.” Through genealogical research, student Cathy Floyd found that naming patterns persisted over generations among families at Hickory Hill.

Analysis of Wickham’s diaries further resulted in identification of approximately 20 surnames of enslaved individuals in 1828 and 1859. Descendants of a number of these persons are still living in Hanover County today. The 1828 surnames list is below.

Surnames Recorded in W. F. Wickham’s September 1828 List

1. Mary Arnold (with variations of spelling, e.g. Arnall)
2. Lucy Bell
3. Daniel Casey
4. Billy Nichols
5. Tom and Betty Bunn (Bunn becomes a very common name)
6. Jack Gabriel
7. Betsey Henry (there are many Henrys living in the Ashland area)
8. Peter Gibson
9. Bob Clarke
10. Old Tin Jack (Tin becomes a very common surname through the lists, but today there are no known descendants)
11. Ned Gaby
12. Ned Lewis (A common surname and first name of descendants still in the community)
13. Tom Stephen

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Surnames Recorded in W. F. Wickham's January 1859 List of Enslaved Persons at Hickory Hill⁸

1. John Rukes
2. Betsey Christian (Tom and Jenny Christian in separate family unit; Betty Christian listed with Robert as a separate unit)
3. Jack Gabriel (Betty Gabriel separate family unit)
4. Mary Arnall (Arnold)
5. Billy Tarrar (Also Ned Tarrar in a separate family unit; there are several families named Tarrar in the New Town community founded by freedmen during Reconstruction)
6. Nancy Jackson (There are numerous Jackson descendants)
7. Fanny Moore (Martha Moore listed under family unit headed by Nancy Tin)
8. Alice Davis (Ned Davis in a separate unit, as is Bella Davis)
9. Peter Bunn (also Nancy Bunn is listed under Ben and Thomas and Lucy Bunn, with a son named Thomas listed in a separate family unit)
10. Ned and Lucy Mines (Bella Mines is in a separate unit, as is William Mines. Today there are several families with the surnames Mines and Lewis in Ashland.)
11. Ned Lewis (Mary Lewis is in a separate family unit, as is William Lewis, and Betsey Lewis is listed under George with a William Henry below and Lewis, apparently a son, below)
12. John Stephen
13. Wm James
14. Fanny Washington
15. Tom Tin (Also Jack Tin is in a separate family unit, as is Becky Tin, and Nancy Tin with 10 other family members is in a separate unit)
16. Edward Thomas
17. Robert Scott
18. Betsy Henry (William Henry in separate unit)
19. Peter Gibson
20. William Pryor

As time went on, in addition to names of the enslaved persons at Hickory Hill, W. F. Wickham recorded dates of death, and often included a reference to the decedent's mother or partner. Wickham also made note of numerous unnamed infants who either were stillborn or died before

⁸ See William Fanning Wickham Diaries "List of Slaves" in Volumes 1 and 8. Following genealogical research, student Cathy Floyd surmised that an enslaved man, Robin from Shirley, had the surname of Saunders. Although the surname did not appear in Wickham's original 1828 list of enslaved persons who came from Shirley nor in other records, Wickham did record Robin's death on November 5, 1861. It is not known why Robin Saunders did not appear until after his death. The last list of enslaved people at Hickory Hill that Wickham recorded (found in Volume 9 of his diaries) has at least 4 family units with a Saunders or S., consisting of 21 individuals. Cathy Floyd's genealogical chart of Robin and Maria contains 6 children, 21 grandchildren and 1 great-grandson, Alfred, born in 1862 (see continuation sheets).

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they were named. For these infants, Wickham sometimes noted a grandmother's name and/or father's name. Upwards of 60 infant deaths are recorded in his diaries, comprising 47 percent of the 128 total deaths he recorded between 1828 and 1864. In the following list, a full account of the deaths Wickham recorded is listed by the volume number of his 8-volume diaries, most with month and day as well as year of death, and, for those persons who had been part of his wife's dowry, an approximate age at time of death.⁹ In a few cases the cause of death is included. When two individuals had the same name, the term "Old" sometimes is used to differentiate between the elder and younger person. At other times, "Old" merely is used for those persons who were in their 50s or older at time of death. A few women are recorded as dying during or shortly after childbirth, evidencing the threat of maternal mortality at a time of limited medical care. For unknown reasons, when recording deaths Wickham sometimes used surnames that had not been used in his original 1828 lists.

List of Enslaved Individuals, including Relationship, Sex, Date of Death, Age, and Other Information, as Recorded in William F. Wickham's Diaries, 1828-1864

Enslaved Individual's Name as Recorded in Wickham Diaries	Relationship, if noted	Sex	Date of Death	Age	Other Information
Source: William F. Wickham, Vol. 1, 1828 - December 1830. Last Birth Entry is 16 January 1831. William F. Wickham estimated the ages for the enslaved people who came from Shirley.					
Old Tom Bunn*		Male	9 Jan 1829	~55	Possibly the younger Tom Bunn's father & Betty Bunn's father-in-law. Old Tom Bunn listed at end with other single males including the blacksmith and ploughman in 1828 slave list
Infant child of Becky	Stephen (Husband)	?	30 July 1829		
Old Zachary*		Male	2 Aug 1829	~56	
Old Betsey Tin*		Female	23 Jan 1830	~51	
Infant son of Nelly		Male	14 June 1830	11 months	Born 26 July 1829
Infant son of Lucy Arnold		Male	b. 4 Nov 1830	stillbirth	

⁹ Given that this land was owned and farmed before the American Revolution, there may be 18th century burials in the cemetery as well.

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Enslaved Individual's Name as Recorded in Wickham Diaries	Relationship, if noted	Sex	Date of Death	Age	Other Information
Total Deaths Vol 1 = 6					
Source: William F. Wickham, Vol. 2, January 1831-September 1836. First Birth and Death entry 3 April 1831; last entry Birth 29 Sept 1836; Last Death entry Judy (wife of Zachary) 29 August 1836 (N.B, The Volume 2 List of Slaves is markedly different from the other volumes.)					
Infant son of Kizzy		Male	3 Apr 1831		
Infant son of Franky		Male	11 Oct 1831	stillbirth	
Infant daughter of Little Lucy and Charles		Female	24 Nov 1831	stillbirth	
Little Lucy	Charles' Wife	Female	8 Dec 1831	~ 16	
Infant daughter of Jenny Tin		Female	1 Feb 1832		
Infant daughter of Sarah	Henry's Wife	Female	10 Aug 1832	< 1	
Suckey		Female	26 July 1832	>39	"an old woman"
Infant son of Nelly		Male	14 Apr 1833	< 2	Born 15 July 1831
Old Sarah		Female	Aug 1833	60	
Lucy infant daughter of Aggy		Female	Dec 1833		Born 21 Sept 1828
Old Caesar*		Male	Jan 1834	~ 65	
William (Edy's)*		Male	23 March 1834	over 16	
Nancy daughter of Hannah		Female	14 Oct 1835	~ 10	
Old Tin		Male?	1Jan1836	~ 62	
James the Ploughman*		Male	30 Jun 1836	~ 40	

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Enslaved Individual's Name as Recorded in Wickham Diaries	Relationship, if noted	Sex	Date of Death	Age	Other Information
Judy (Zachary's)		Female	29 Aug 1836	> 32	
Total Deaths Vol 2 = 16					
Source: William F. Wickham, Vol. 3, March 1837 to 1846 (Entries from June 1841); First Birth Entry - Since March 1837 no dates listed until 13 May 1840 - Last Birth Entry - 8 July 1846					
Infant daughter of Molly		Female	b. 14 Feb 1841	< 1	Molly may have been the daughter of Robin & Maria
Billy Nichols*		Male	June 1841	~ 49	
Lucy & infant son	Robert's wife & baby	Fem/Male	b. 4 May 1842	23 & <1	2 deaths. Baby was born 4 May 1842; both mother and son's deaths occurred in May of the same year
Mary Arnold	Wife of Zachary	Female	10 Jun 1842	38	
Old Cufy		Male	21 Jun 1842	69	
John Stephen*		Male	31 Aug 1842	~34	Was listed with Tom Stephen and Old Jenny among others
Blind Nat*		Male	June 1843	~ 39	
Joe Lewis		Male	10 Sept 1843		
Zachary		Male	2 Aug 1844		killed by lightning
Betsey Delia	Betsey Henry's	Female	7 Mar 1845		
Bob Clarke		Male	4 May 1845	77	"Near or quite (sic) 100 years old." Was listed as age 60 in 1828
Infant son of Lucy Mines		Male	b. 12 June 1845	<1	

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Enslaved Individual's Name as Recorded in Wickham Diaries	Relationship, if noted	Sex	Date of Death	Age	Other Information
Infant son of Polly	Kizzy's	Male	b. 19 July 1845	<1	
Ned Gaby		Male	10 July 1846	About 68	
Infant son of Hannah Bunn		Male	b.24 Dec 1846	<1	
Total Deaths Vol 3 = 15					
Source: William F. Wickham, Vol. 4, December 1847 to December 1849 (Missing). N.B. Because the records for 1848 and 1849 are missing, some of the references to deaths for children born during these years, and some ages, names, and relationships cannot be determined. Of course deaths that occurred in 1848 and 1849 are unknown. In time, an effort will be made to crosscheck the names from volume 3 that do not appear in volume 5, presuming they may have died or some other fate during time period of the missing volume 4.					
Total Deaths Vol 4 = 0					
Source: William F. Wickham, Vol. 5, January 1850 to December 1853; First birth entry 1 April 1850 First death entry January 1850 Last birth entry					
Old Jenny*		Female	Jan 1850	about 71	Was listed as 50 in 1828; age 71 at this time but noted as "about 90 years old." Old Jenny was listed in family unit with Tom Stephens, John Stephens and Caesar
Richard	Critty's son	Male	April 1850	About 15	"From an accidental blow from one of the hands at work on the R(ail) Road"
Hewlit Infant son of Delilah and Robert	and Robert (husband)	Male	December 1850	<1	b.19 Sept 1850
Infant daughter of Jenny Christian	and Tom Christian	Female	b.20 Dec 1850	<1	
Infant son of Polly	and James	Male	b.23 Jan 1851	Jan 1851 <1	
Cuetta	Suckey's child	Female	Feb 1851		Because Cuetta was listed in the list of slaves 1850 it is assumed she lost another child

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Enslaved Individual's Name as Recorded in Wickham Diaries	Relationship, if noted	Sex	Date of Death	Age	Other Information
Infant son of Suckey	and James	Male	b.26 Jan 1851	<1	
Ned Gibson		Male	27 June 1851	~ 40	
Infant daughter of Becky Gibson		Female	27 June 1851	<1	Twin sister of Aaron born in February 1851
Infant daughter of Betsey Christian (John's)		Female	10 July 1851	<1	
Daniel son of Betsey Christian and John		Male	25 Aug 1851		John was listed as head of family unit
John, son of Betsey Christian and John	John	Male	Nov 1851		
Infant daughter of Isabella (Lucy Mines')		Female	b. 20 Dec 1851	<1	
Infant daughter of Jenny Christian		Female	b. 20 Dec 1851	<1	died early 1852
Infant child of Betty Christian		Unknown	b. dead 1852	<1	
Emily daughter of Judy	Arnold	Female	1852	~11	b. 25 July 1841
Miner*	Fanny's husband	Male	1852	~ 64	
Harrison son of Bibanna	b. 24 Aug 1842	Male	1852	~ 10	
Maria's child			1852		
Martha Ann infant daughter of Betsey Christian		Female	b.10 July 1852	<1	
Squire*		Male	1853	~61	
Tom Stephen*		Male	1853	~55	
Infant daughter of Sally	and Robin	Female	b. 3 Jan 1853	<1	

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Enslaved Individual's Name as Recorded in Wickham Diaries	Relationship, if noted	Sex	Date of Death	Age	Other Information
Infant daughter of Jenny Christian	Christian	Female	b.13 Feb 1853	<1	
Infant son of Maria	and Sam	Male	b.1 Mar 1853	<1	
Infant daughter of Jenny	Saunders	Female	b.14 May 1853	<1	twin brother lived
Total Deaths Vol 5 = 26					
Source: William F. Wickham, Vol. 6, List of Slaves January 1854 to 7 December 1856; First birth entry 25 February 1854; First Death entry 14 October 1854; Last death entry 18 October 1856					
Infant daughter of Maria	Hello	Female	b.10 June 1854	<1	
Ned Lewis*		Male	14 October 1854	68	
Molly infant daughter of Fanny (Molly's)		Female	b.4 Nov 1854	<1	
Amelia infant daughter of	Becky Gibson	Female	b. 7 March 1855	<1	
Infant daughter of Critty		Female	b.17 May 1855	<1	
Infant daughter of Sally	Robin's daughter	Female	b.2 June 1855	<1	
Daniel son of Robin		Male	20 Jan 1855		
Billy (Menser)		Male	13 Oct 1855		
Harrison infant twin son of Betty (Robert's wife)	Betty Christian (Robert's wife)	Male	b. 24 Oct 1855	<1	Beverly's twin brother
Satchell infant son of Lucy (Crittty's)		Male	b.7 Dec 1855	<1	
Polly	James' mother	Female	27 Aug 1856		
Stephen		Male	18 Oct 1856		

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Enslaved Individual's Name as Recorded in Wickham Diaries	Relationship, if noted	Sex	Date of Death	Age	Other Information
Total Deaths Vol 6 = 12					
Source: William F. Wickham, Vol. 7, List of Slaves January 1857 to last entry on 16 December 1858					
Sam (Harris) Christian		Male	19 Jan 1857		Perished in the snow
Judy Arnale		Female	1 March 1857		
Beverly	Son of Betty Christian		1 Mar 1857	<2	Twin brother of Harrison
infant son of Betsey Christian		Male	b.5 Mar 1857		
Infant son of Martha Moore		Male	b. 24 Mar 1857	<1	
Little Sally's child	2 nd twin son	Male	1857	< 2	
Mary Tin		Female	6 Dec 1857		
Richard son of Cufy		Male	5 July 1858		
Infant twin son of Little Sally		Male	b. 7 Jan 1858		Twin brother Ned Tarrar survived
Infant daughter of Henrietta		Female	12 July 1858	~ 1	b. 12 Aug 1857
Infant daughter of Becky Gibson		Female	b.19 July 1858	<1	
Total Deaths Vol 7 = 11					
Source: William F. Wickham, Vol. 8, List of Slaves January 1859 to 7 November 1862					
Hezekiah	Polly's	Male	April 1859		
Infant twin boy of Fanny Washing	Washington	Male	27 April 1859	at birth	
Infant twin daughter of Fanny Washington		Female	April/May 1859	<1	

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Enslaved Individual's Name as Recorded in Wickham Diaries	Relationship, if noted	Sex	Date of Death	Age	Other Information
Fanny Washington		Female	May 1859		Fanny Washington died shortly after giving birth to twins, who both died
Infant son of Lucy Bunn		Male	b.8 May 1859	<1	
Sarah (Judy Arnall's)		Female	Sept 1859		
Infant daughter of Mary Fanning		Female	b.20 Feb 1860	<1	
Samuel	Sam and Maria's son	Male	March 1860		
Nancy daughter of Betsey Christian		Female	Sept 1860		
Billy Tarrar son of Lillian		Male	Sept 1860		
Victoria infant daughter of Lucy (Crittty's)		Female	b.25 Oct 1860	<1	
Jack Gabriel		Male	9 Nov 1860	62	
Sally daughter of Bella		Female	26 June 1861		
Chapman infant son of Betty Christian		Male	5 July 1861	~2	b. 21 Dec 1859
Hannah		Female	15 Aug 1861		
Ned Lewis	Bella Mines'	Male	Nov 1861		
Old Robin	Maria's husband	Male	5 Nov 1861	< 69	
Ned Mines	Lucy Mine's husband	Male	2 Dec 1861		

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Enslaved Individual's Name as Recorded in Wickham Diaries	Relationship, if noted	Sex	Date of Death	Age	Other Information
Infant son of Bibanna		Male	b.Dec 1861	<1	
Isaah infant son of Tamar		Male	29 June 1862	<2	b. 30 Nov 1860
Albert	Fanny's husband	Male	20 June 1862		
Mary F		Female	July 1862		
Aggy daughter of Molly		Female	4 Aug 1862		
Joe Lewis infant son of	Margaret	Male	Oct 1862	1	b. 26 Oct 1861
Total Deaths Vol 8 = 25					
Source: William F. Wickham, Vol. 9, List of Slaves January 1863 to 12 May 1864					
Infant daughter of Ella		Female	b. 5 March 1863	<1	
Infant son of Polly	Wife of James	male	b. 18 April 1863	< 1	
Susan	daughter of Bibanna	Female	12 May 1863		
Infant son of Mary Fanning		Male	12 May 1863		
John Taylor infant son of Gooley		Male	b.18 May 1860	<1	
Thomas	son of Henrietta	Male	6 June 1863		
Rosetta	daughter of Henrietta	Female	19 July 1863		
Miner	son of Jenny Gibson	Male	July 1863		

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Enslaved Individual's Name as Recorded in Wickham Diaries	Relationship, if noted	Sex	Date of Death	Age	Other Information
Infant son of Catherine		Male	b.25 July 1863	<1	
Infant son of Bella Davis		Male	b. 12 Aug 1863	<1	
Peggy	daughter of Suckey	Female	1863		
Infant son of Martha Moore		Male	b.6 Nov 1863	<1	
Lewis	son of Becky Gibson	Male	Dec 1863		
Infant son of Polly	Wife of James	Male	Jan 1864	<1	b. 18 April 1863
Joanna	daughter of Edy	Female	12 Jan 1864	8 almost 9	Joanna was born 14 April 1855; Edy is listed as Aggy's under births in Volume 6; Cyrus is listed as head of family group in Volume 9
Warrington	son of Tamar	Male	29 Jan 1864		
Total Deaths Vol 9 = 16					

Although W.F. Wickham's diaries reveal very little about the personal lives of the enslaved community at Hickory Hill and mention only a few occupations (blacksmith and ploughman were noted in those who came from Shirley), other family papers and recollections shed more light on some of these individuals and the many roles they performed, as discussed below.

Documented Sales and Acquisitions of Enslaved People at Hickory Hill

Descendants of the Wickham family long maintained that "none of the colored [sic] people were ever sold, with a single exception, which was for a serious crime." This person, named Cyrus, had come from Shirley with other enslaved people who were part of Anne Carter Wickham's dowry of personal property. In W. F. Wickham's volume 3 diary, Cyrus was listed on the "List of Slaves" made in March 1837. At that time, he was the 136th, or last, enslaved person listed at Hickory Hill. Wickham's third diary, taken between March 1837 and December 24, 1846, covers the lengthiest period, 9 years, of the diaries he kept between 1828 and 1864. In volume 3, Wickham added the word "sold" next to Cyrus's name in the 1837 list, but included no date as to when, making it difficult to pin down when this event occurred. It is known, however, that Cyrus

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was not among a group of 37 people who Wickham sold between January 31, 1831, and September 29, 1836.

Researchers Reber Dunkel and Milena Miller discovered that in Wickham's second diary, a list of 37 enslaved people's names had been crossed out, but no dates of death were noted for any of these individuals. The names of these 37 people are listed below and the majority were grouped in family units by Wickham using the "//" symbol. Volume 2 of Wickham's diaries begins in 1831 and notes births and deaths through 1836. None of these 37 individuals was included in Wickham's third or subsequent diaries. They are believed to have been sold by the Wickhams to raise Hickory Hill's cash income after crop failures from 1831-1836. Only 3 individuals, Betty, Betsey, and Old Stephen, are listed among the 14 family units in this tabulation.¹⁰ Those names that had an "S" next to them in Wickham's diary are so noted below. At the top of page 2 of Wickham's second diary, which covers the period from January 1831 to 29 September 1836, was a small printed multiplication equation, "37 x 300 = 11000." The approximate dollar value of an enslaved person during the mid-1830s was \$300; thus the equation can be supposed to represent a calculation of the total monetary value of 37 enslaved people.

Enslaved Persons Sold by the Wickhams

1. AGGY
2. MOLLY
3. FANNY
- //
4. EDY
5. JOE
- //
6. JENNY
7. GEORGE
- //
8. BETSEY
9. CHENER
- //
10. BETTY
- //
11. DANIEL CASY
12. JOHN CASY
13. BILLY CASY
14. RACHEL
15. TALBOT
- //
16. NANCY
17. JAMES

¹⁰ The symbol // is used to divide family units

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- //
18. SATCHEL
19. BECKY
20. ANSY
- //
21. BETSEY
- //
22. JENNY
23. SARAH
24. EDWARD
- //
25. LUCY BELL S¹¹
26. CHARLOTE S
27. BECKEY S
- //
28. FRANKY
29. EDWARD
30. SARAH S
31. WILLIAM S
- //
32. GRACE
33. ELIZABETH
34. DICEY
35. ABBEY
36. SQUIRE
- //
37. OLD STEPHEN

Wickham's volume 2 diary also noted a number of natural events that had devastating effects on crop yields at Hickory Hill between 1831 and 1836. These include Hessian "fly in the wheat;" "violent rains and storms;" and "rust a scourge" during the summer of 1830. Meanwhile, on February 5, 1831, he remarked that "so cold a winter never seen in Virginia," with "5 freshes" (floods) since the middle of December; and, on February 12, "Wheat cannot be a good crop under any circumstances." The trials continued into early spring, with "Thousands of wild geese – have to keep a boy in the wheat field to drive them away," as noted on March 1, 1831. Conditions had little improved by May 8, as Wickham wrote, "More fly than I ever saw before; many acres of wheat will not be worth replanting." On August 11, 1833, Wickham wrote, "Worst crop [wheat] I ever made; the crops throughout the state are wretched." On September

¹¹ In Volume 2 of Wickham's diaries, the list of enslaved persons at Hickory Hill has the enslaved woman named Critty listed between Charlotte and Beckey. Why only Lucy Bell's and Critty's extended family are noted with an "S" will probably never be known.

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15, he added, "Seldom known so severe a drought." If anything, growing conditions worsened over the following year. On May 29, 1834 Wickham complained, "Wheat entirely destroyed... 4 feet higher than any fresh [flood] before" and "more than half the works/dykes are broken." The summer brought another drought, the "Most destructive drought since 1822," according to Wickham on August 19. A week later on August 26, he noted, "5 weeks since rain. Whole county burnt up. Corn cannot make half a [sic] acre or a crop." Finally, on August 26, 1836, Wickham reported quite the opposite problem: "Most incipient and violent rain I have ever witnessed - Littlepage, South Anna, Ground Squirrel & every bridge on the South Anna has been carried away. South Anna 6 feet higher than the oldest inhabitant can remember."

The sustained combination of extreme floods, severe winters, droughts, disease, insect damage, and wild geese, coupled with the nationwide Panic of 1837 financial crisis, is likely to have significantly reduced the plantation's cash income from its principal money crop. Although Wickham refrained from describing financial straits, the aforementioned multiplication equation that matches the number of enslaved people's names that were crossed out, with an estimate of \$300 as the average value of an enslaved individual during the 1830s, suggests it is possible, if not probable, that those 37 people had been sold to compensate for the dismal crops.

Another historic record, this time for an 1842 sale of enslaved persons by W. F. Wickham, also has been discovered (attached hereto on continuation sheets). The deed of sale was made on 29 November 1842 between Wickham and three parties, John Brockenbrough, Lauren Nunnally, and James W. Pepam (the latter was cashier of the Bank of Virginia). The following individuals were listed as the subject of the transaction: Phillis, John Fells, Sally, Peter, Fanny, John R____, his wife Lena, and their four children (Indy, Sally, James and Martha), Tom Christian, his wife Lenny, and their six children (Betty, Sally, Ella, Tom, Sam, and Jim), and George (a coachman). The sale was arranged so that Wickham could pay off a debt to the Bank of Virginia in the amount of \$4,840.

Finally, an 1857 document records a transaction between W. F. Wickham and Julius Porcher (attached hereto on continuation sheets). For the sum of \$3,400, Wickham purchased seven enslaved African Americans, Fanny, Nancy Jackson, and Nancy's five children, William, Emily, John, Susan, and Chener. The names of these seven individuals were included at the end of Wickham's list of slaves, recorded in January 1857, as 241 Old Fanny; 242 Nancy Jackson; 243 William; 244 Emily; 245 John; 246 Susan; and 247 Chener. The bill of sale notes that all seven had been the property of Porcher's wife, Mary Fanning Porcher, who was the daughter of Edmund Fanning Wickham (brother of W. F. Wickham) and Lucy Carter Wickham (sister of Anne Carter Wickham).¹² The reason for the transaction is not known, but the document demonstrates the close familial relationships maintained among those family members who owned enslaved people.

¹² Transaction of sale, Julius Porcher to W. F. Wickham, July 20, 1857, among Wickham family papers at the Virginia Museum of History and Culture Library, Richmond, Virginia.

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The Enslaved Woman from Shirley Plantation Named Critty

An example of the wealth of genealogical information available about Hickory Hill's enslaved population revolves around an individual named Critty. With an estimated age of 11 years, she was listed as enslaved individual #125 of the 146 total number of enslaved people recorded by W. F. Wickham in September 1828.¹³ Critty's family members, including their approximate age and order of appearance in Wickham's first diary are as follows:

117. Lucy Bell	under 50
118. Franky	30
119. Edward	9
120. Sarah	7
121. William	3
122. Sarah Ann	22
123. Satchele	20
124. Charlotte	14
125. Critty	11
126. Mary	8
127. Beckey	5

Of those persons sold from Hickory Hill in 1836, for unknown reasons Critty alone in her family unit was not included. The name Critty or Critta is extremely rare among documented names of enslaved women in Virginia.¹⁴ Another interesting facet of her biography was that Critty deviated from her peers in the selection of names for several of her children. Three of her children were given names associated with the Wickham and Lee families. They were Robert, born October 20, 1835; Mary Fanning, born in September 1839 or later; Shirley, born December 31, 1841, with his name perhaps a reference to Shirley Plantation; and Georgiana, born June 11, 1846. A son, Elias, born June 11, 1846, and a daughter, Sarah Anne (birthdate unknown), also were among Critty's children, as well as an unnamed daughter who was stillborn on May 27, 1854.

¹³ In the 1828 – 1831 list included in Vol. 1 of Wickham's diaries, with the 146 slaves coming from the Carters' Shirley Plantation, Critty was one of three children in a family unit comprised of 11 enslaved people. All were listed as with their estimated ages. Wickham kept track of children who were 10 years of age or under because they were exempt from a tithe (tax) levied on enslaved people, who at the time were considered personal property. Another enslaved child named Critty was born to Mary Tin on September 1, 1830.

¹⁴ Thus far, two other enslaved women named Critty have been identified in Virginia. One was Critta Hemings Bowles (1769-1850), daughter of Elizabeth Hemings and John Wayles, Thomas Jefferson's father-in-law. She lived at Monticello from 1775 until 1827. Thomas Jefferson's grandson Francis Eppes purchased Critty Hemings Bowles's freedom in 1827; Critty had nursed young Eppes during a childhood illness. The manumission deed, found through the Thomas Jefferson Encyclopedia at www.monticello.org, referred to Critty, sometimes called Critty Bowles, as the wife of Zachariah Bowles, a free man of color living in Albemarle County. The second reference involving an enslaved person named Critty (or Critta) was a request from a free man of color to a Carter family member to purchase his wife so they could be reunited.

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The Civil War and Hickory Hill

The Civil War came to Hickory Hill during the spring of 1862, first in the form of requisitions for materials from the Confederate Army. In March, W. F. Wickham recorded that he had been required to furnish four mules, for which he was compensated \$500. Less than two weeks later, the Confederates returned, this time to impress fifteen young male African Americans into service. After the Battle of Hanover Court House on May 27, 1862, a contingent of Confederate troops sought cover at the plantation. U.S. Army troops later flushed them out over the next two days. Afterward, W. F. Wickham wrote in his diary, a search of the slave dwellings at Hickory Hill turned up 5 muskets that had been left behind by Confederate troops from North Carolina, indicating that at least a few of the enslaved workers at Hickory Hill thought it wise to arm themselves, despite that it was illegal for any enslaved person to own a weapon.¹⁵

W. F. Wickham recorded two lists of enslaved people who left Hickory Hill to join Union troops. On page 3 of diary volume 9 after his "List of Slaves January, 1863," Wickham noted, "These 17 slaves not entered in the foregoing list [of slaves at Hickory Hill] went off to the Yankee Troops—the 15 young men in the night of the 9th and 10th June 1862. Bibanna (Aggy's) went off some two or three weeks earlier & Lucy Grayson about the 18th June." At the end of this "List of Slaves" is the following notation: Slaves 268/ went off 17/ 285. A later list made by Wickham, headed "List of Negroes carried off by the Yankees," is virtually identical and in the same handwriting, but includes 35 persons along with their ages. Wickham recorded that the second group of individuals left Hickory Hill on June 26 and July 4-5, 1863.

Using this material and information provided by a descendant, Lois Wickham, independent researcher Carolyn Tibbs Hemphill recently compiled a list of enslaved people who left Hickory Hill during the war years, as follows:

1 Borton about	20	18 Mat	30 years
2 Cornelius	20	19 Washington	20
3 Levi	20	20 Miner	32
4 Joseph	18	21 Horace	36
5 Lewis Christian	20	22 Preston	18
6 Lewis Gibson	20	23 Overton	16
7 Elias`	16	24 Hewlitt	13
8 Elijah	18	25 Alfred	12
9 Shirley	18	26 Thomas	12
10 Wm Jackson	19	27 Chastain	16
11 Harry	24	28 Zachary	31
12 Talbot	22	29 Richard	22
13 Nelson	24	30 Billy	23
14 Edmund	28	31 Henry Bunn	35
15 Lewis ____S.W.	17	32 Chener	19
16 Bibanna	26	33 Alice	22

¹⁵ Michel, "From Slavery to Freedom," p. 115.

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17 Lucy Grayson 29

34 Franey 30
35 Edmund 31¹⁶

For unknown reasons, the departure of Si, son of Peter Gibson, on May 3, 1863, was not included in W. F. Wickham's two lists of escaped slaves.

The events concerning African Americans running away from Hickory Hill, and elsewhere in Virginia, are directly related to the "contrabands decision" made by U.S. Army General Benjamin F. Butler in 1861 when, faced with what to do with three African American men who had come to Fort Monroe in Hampton, Virginia, to escape slavery, Butler decided the Army would treat them as "contrabands of war" and not force them to return to their enslavers. Butler reasoned that enslaved workers could be pressed into service by the Confederate military, making these individuals contrabands subject to retention as any war materiel would be. The spring 1862 impressment of 15 young African American men from Hickory Hill to work for the Confederate military is a case in point.¹⁷ Butler's decision soon was applied to mean that any escaping enslaved person who could reach territory held by U.S. military forces would be considered contraband under control of the U.S. government. Although not technically freed by Butler's decision, thousands of African Americans across the Confederate states ran for Union lines and what they considered at least a type of freedom.¹⁸ On January 1, 1863, President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, which declared that all persons held in slavery in the states that had seceded from the Union were henceforward free in the eyes of the U.S. government.¹⁹ The Proclamation also recognized that African Americans could serve in the U.S. military, an opportunity taken by almost 200,000 African American soldiers and sailors by the end of the war. By April 1865 and the war's end, nearly 200 of Hickory Hill's enslaved African Americans had left the plantation.²⁰ Given the opportunity, they had voted with their feet to leave slavery and seek opportunities elsewhere.

"Aunt" Betsy Christian and the Legacy of a Painting

The contrasting understanding of slavery by whites when compared to those who had been enslaved is evidenced by a rare artifact from Hickory Hill. Shown below (image courtesy of The Valentine), a painting, titled "Aunt Betsy," is an 1857 oil portrait that measures about 13" tall by 10" wide. The image is of a 19th-century African American woman in crisp, unadorned clothing as she stands in the center of a sunny outdoor path. She carries a small bouquet of flowers. A

¹⁶ Carolyn Tibbs Hemphill, *Betsy Hogg Tinsley: A Free Woman of Color*, p. 39.

¹⁷ Michel, "From Slavery to Freedom," p. 115.

¹⁸ National Park Service, Fort Monroe National Monument, "Fort Monroe and the 'Contrabands of War,'" at <https://www.nps.gov/articles/fort-monroe-and-the-contrabands-of-war.htm>.

¹⁹ Ibid; National Archives, "The Emancipation Proclamation," at <https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/featured-documents/emancipation-proclamation>. Note that the Emancipation Proclamation did not free enslaved people in states that had not seceded nor enslaved people in territory already under control of Union forces.

²⁰ Michel, "From Slavery to Freedom," p. 119.

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nondescript, low-lying building stands behind the woman to her right; leafy trees frame the background. The subject of the painting, "Aunt" Betsy Christian, was an enslaved woman recalled by H.T. Wickham and owned by Williams Carter Wickham, for whose children she served as a nurse. On the back of the painting is a note: "To Henry & Anne Wickham / From their friend F.B. Mayer / July 1857 [or 1859]." The Henry so addressed is presumably Henry Taylor Wickham, and his sister was Anne Wickham. They were two of the children for whom Aunt Betsy cared; Francis Blackwell Mayer was the artist from Maryland who painted it. Aunt Betsy was emancipated by the end of the Civil War but continued to work at Hickory Hill apparently until she died²¹



The painting remained with the Wickhams at Hickory Hill until 2006, when it was sold to a private collector. Since 2010, the painting has been part of the museum collection of the Valentine Center of Richmond. At the time of acquisition, museum director Bill Martin said of the painting, "It's a little sentimental... It's a confounding image for us because it presents this nostalgic, romantic view from a white painter to [Aunt Betsy's] owners. This kind of image becomes very strong after the Civil War as an attempt to rationalize the slave experience."²² The painting of Betsy, along with Wickham's recollections, are illustrative of the cognitive dissonance among whites concerning the brutal, dehumanizing reality of slavery versus their own fond memories and projected beliefs onto those who were enslaved.

Reconstruction Era Freedmen's Communities

The scope of the Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery's significance increases after the Civil War due to the cemetery's continued use for more than fifty years as part of several nearby communities established by freedmen and -women during Reconstruction. After emancipation, African Americans pursued a range of personal and communal objectives. Perhaps

²¹ Sara Dabney Tisdale, "Rare 'Aunt Betsy' Portrait Bolsters Valentine," *Style Weekly* March 10, 2010 (retrieved November 6, 2018).

²² Tisdale, "Rare 'Aunt Betsy' Portrait Bolsters Valentine."

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first among these was to establish familial bonds that had been disrupted during slavery by separation of children from parents and spouses from one another. Orphaned children and infirm elderly also were brought into kinship networks. African Americans now had far greater opportunities for personal movement, which might include moving from a rural to an urban area in search of job opportunities, or moving from former Confederate states to northern or western locales with better economic conditions. However, numerous descendants of slaves chose to remain relatively close to where they had lived prior to the war and formed their own communities. These Reconstruction Era communities once were found across rural Virginia, but have become increasingly rare since the mid-20th century as population growth and suburban/exurban development have remade large swaths of former farmland.

On the edges of Hickory Hill Plantation freedmen and -women whose ancestors had been slaves and property of the Wickhams or their children established three new communities. The first known record of a freedman from Hickory Hill purchasing property at the edge of the plantation was by William Taliaferro from W.R. Woolfolk. Taliaferro's family has held onto the receipt for generations and it now is in possession of his great-granddaughter, Jean Abrams Folly. Handwritten on a piece of scrap paper, the receipt states the following:

Received Hanover VA December 21 (missing year) of William Taliaferro Twenty five Dollars for first payment on 10 acres of land beginning at corner Near where old Dick Cross (lived) and running with my land toward Providence at the rate of Ten Dollars per acre.
W. R. Woolfolk

Although the year is missing from the receipt, Mrs. Folly believes that this transaction occurred soon after emancipation. Taliaferro's land was located on the periphery of Hickory Hill "in Canaan." Folly and other descendants such as her neighbor George Winston still live in this community across the Providence Church Road from Providence Baptist Church. Canaan, like the Biblical promised land of freedom for the Israelites who were held in bondage in Egypt, represented freedom from slavery at Hickory Hill (the metaphorical Egypt).

In addition to Jean Folly's and George Winston's families, other families owning and living in Canaan were those of Alexander Hewlett; Randall Johnson; William Miner Tolliver; Clarence Winston; and Steven Lewis. These are located on the west side of Providence Church Road.

Middletown is a second community located a short distance northwest of Canaan on a spur road off Providence Church Road. John Hewlett; Henry Tolliver; Ernest Tyler; Hyter Jackson, and Abrams Henry (Mrs. Virginia Shelton's father) all lived in Middletown.

The origins of Newtown, the third community, began when 15 freedmen formed a partnership known as the Hickory Hill Club in 1886.²³ The members pooled their money together to

²³ Previously, the only source that was available for the Hickory Hill Club's existence and their role in buying land from the Wickhams was a verbal account by Lois Wickham to Reber Dunkel in 1989. Jody

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purchase 85½ acres of land located on the northern side of Route 54 (E. Patrick Henry Road). The acreage was to be divided among the members proportional to the dollar amount each contributed. Unfortunately, the owners of the land, Charles Winston and David Hewlett, died before the deeds were completed and recorded. Neither of the men had wills and neither of their widows had signed any document agreeing to the sale prior to their deaths. The Hickory Hill Club was forced to take the widows to court to seek full rights to the land.²⁴ The case of *James Shelton, Jr. v. Ella D. Hewlett, etc.* was finally settled in 1891 when the widows testified that the land in question did belong to the club, allowing the members to take possession of their land. This became the community known as New Town., which extends all the way east to Tarrer's Lane (named after another freed family from Hickory Hill).

Relationships among the Wickhams and African Americans associated with Hickory Hill continued into the twentieth century, including continued use of the slave cemetery at the former plantation. Descendants of the enslaved and emancipated African Americans have provided information about known burials of their relatives in the cemetery, including birth and death dates, as follows.

List of Known Ancestors Buried in Hickory Hill Cemetery (after Emancipation)

Persons Related to Jean Folly²⁵

1. Great x4 Grandfather Old Tom Bunn, b. ca 1773 d. 9 January 1829, age ~ 55. Mr. Bunn was the first death recorded in Volume 1 List of Slaves 1828 – 20 January 1831 last entry.
2. (Uncle) Walter Douglas Abrams (Jean Folly's mother's brother); ca: 1937 or 1938 he worked for the Civilian Conservation Corps in Caroline County, Virginia. He died from rheumatic fever.

Persons Related to George Henry Winston²⁶

1. Great Grandparents Clarence and Roberta ("Bertie") Freeman Winston.
2. Leola, age 3-4, little girl killed by dogs (date unknown, but both George Winston and Jean Folly remember this tragedy and that Leola was buried in the Hickory Hill Cemetery).

Persons Related to: Mrs. Virginia Ann (Pillsbury) Henry Shelton, Sr. (b. 8 September 1905 – d. 6 September 2014, just shy of her 109th birthday)²⁷

Allen, Ph.D., later provided her research to Martha McCartney, author of *Nature's Bounty, Nations Glory: The Heritage and History of Hanover County Virginia* (Hanover County, VA: Heritage and History of Hanover Inc., 2009).

²⁴ File EF 88 1891-015, Chancery Court Records, accessible at the Hanover County Court House, Virginia.

²⁵ This oral history information was recorded September 12, 2017, by D. Reber Dunkel.

²⁶ This oral history information was recorded September 12, 2017, by D. Reber Dunkel.

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1. Maternal Grandparents to Mrs. Shelton, Hider and Caroline Jackson (Caroline Jackson was a slave)
2. Paternal Grandparents, Abram and Charlotte Henry
3. Great Uncle, Albert Jackson (cook at Hickory Hill)
4. Mother, Mary Jackson Henry, d. 8 July 1917 from influenza
5. Father, Abram Henry, d. 1938 (worked at Hickory Hill dairy)
6. Infant son, John Allen Shelton

Persons Related to Betty Rose Burleigh²⁸

1. Great-Great-Grandmother, Caroline Jackson
2. Great-Grandparents, Rosia Leigh and John Abrams (they ran the Hickory Hill dairy)
3. Grandmother, Bessie Lee Abrams Folly
4. Grandfather, Joseph Burleigh (he worked as a blacksmith)
5. Uncle, Albert Burleigh
6. Aunt, Sally Abrams

Through the twentieth century, as their own fortunes dwindled, the Wickhams sold parts of their extensive land holdings. The Wickhams also stopped allowing burials at the Slave and African American Cemetery sometime in the mid-twentieth century. Thereafter, burials took place at the Providence Baptist Church a short distance south of the old plantation. The church was founded in 1875 by freedpeople who had once been enslaved at Hickory Hill; it remains an active congregation today.

During the late 1980s, a controversial development project was proposed that would have transformed the remaining agricultural lands and threatened the cemetery's existence. At this time, descendants and researchers insisted that the cemetery's significance be recognized and its preservation assured.

The Rev. Levy M. Armwood, Jr., then pastor of Providence Baptist Church wrote on October 19, 1993,

There is the need to preserve the cemeteries of African-Americans, especially those who died in slavery. The imperative for the preservation lays in the moral significance of the memorials these cemeteries and gravesites represent. Historically, the preservation of the cemeteries enshrines the culture and *esprit de corps* of the

²⁷ Buried in Hickory Hill Cemetery, as told to Reber Dunkel by Mrs. Shelton and published in "Cemeteries as Loci of Diasporan Memory: the Case of Hickory Hill," pp. 1-5 & 15 in CONEXÕES, Vol. 5, No. 2, November 1993 (published by Michigan State University, African Diaspora Research Project).

²⁸ Buried in Hickory Hill Cemetery, as told to D. Reber Dunkel by Mrs. Shelton and published in "Cemeteries as Loci of Diasporan Memory: the Case of Hickory Hill," pp. 1-5 & 15 in CONEXÕES, Vol. 5, No. 2, November 1993 (published by Michigan State University, African Diaspora Research Project).

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people who helped to make a nation great, notwithstanding the exclusion of them as equal citizens. The community needs to acknowledge and respect the rights, if not in life, surely in death to rest beneath the sod where they labored. Death for the slave was a "rite of passage" to freedom.²⁹

According to Professor Emeritus of History Philip J. Schwarz at Virginia Commonwealth University, in a letter written on January 4, 1989,

The gravesites of African-Americans have enormous symbolic importance above and beyond the genetic relationship of the deceased to living descendants. Any single grave of an African-American represents a monument to the past of a people whose history has too often either been under emphasized or distorted... Any obliteration of such a site is really another kind of destruction of Black history. It is also a denial of black Americans' African roots since so many West African ethnic groups regard deceased ancestors as still very much present in the living community.³⁰

A few months later, in an April 24, 1989, letter to John Hodges of Hanover County's Division of Planning, two historians, Sylvia R. Frey, Associate Professor of History, Tulane University and Post-Doctoral Fellow National Museum of American History, and Spencer R. Crew, Supervisor/Curator of the Division of Community Life, National Museum of American History, stated:

The Hickory Hill burial complex is therefore extremely important, first and foremost, because, as a place where family and friends are buried, it represents sacred ground for many families in the Ashland area and stands as an obvious heritage of historical association. It is important as well to all Virginians, and to all persons interested in ethnic studies, and to the plantation era more generally. Because of its rural location in a wooded, relatively isolated area, it has survived more or less in undisturbed condition. To the experienced eye, the historic burials suggest important elements of West African influence, in for example, the random burial patterns and the use of cedar trees as head and foot markers. The presence of both historical and contemporary burials suggests something of the dynamic process of transformation and adaptation experienced by African-American communities as they interacted increasingly with Euro-American in particular with the white Christian community. In short, the Hickory Hill Cemetery is a unique historical significance, not only for Virginians but for Southern history more generally. We hope therefore that you will give a special protection and thereby preserve it for future generations.³¹

²⁹ Letter is in the research collection of D. Reber Dunkel, lead researcher on the cemetery's documentation project since the late 1980s.

³⁰ Letter is in the research collection of D. Reber Dunkel, lead researcher on the cemetery's documentation project since the late 1980s.

³¹ Letter is in the research collection of D. Reber Dunkel, lead researcher on the cemetery's documentation project since the late 1980s.

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Frey and anthropologist Teresa Singleton, also a fellow at the National Museum of American History specializing in African-American archeology, accompanied descendants Betty Burleigh and George Winston along with Teresa Lemmons, a *Richmond Times-Dispatch* reporter and photographer Julia Zimmerman to the Hickory Hill cemetery in the spring of 1989. Winston directed the group to the location of a brush arbor that had been built by a man over his wife's grave (see Figure 1 below). Brush arbors are among the traditional features of African American cemeteries. Built of natural materials, they are subject to erosion and deterioration due to natural weathering, making them exceedingly scarce today.



Figure 1. Hickory Hill Descendant George Winston with the remnants of a historic brush arbor sheltering an early twentieth century burial (photo by Julia Zimmerman, 1989). Note the metal funeral marker at right.

A Story That Crosses Generations

Generations of families associated with Hickory Hill and the Slave and African American Cemetery can be traced back to the early 19th century, a rare circumstance for those whose ancestors were enslaved due to the paucity of records concerning their lives. After emancipation, these families established their own communities near Hickory Hill and in nearby Ashland, entered the paid workforce, built and ran the Shiloh, Union, and Providence Baptist churches, and supported and attended schools such as the Hickory Hill/ Wickham School. Many of the persons buried in the Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery have descendants who still live in the area today.

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Data from the following sources was compiled and compared to identify connections between the families of Hickory Hill and how their members have shaped and created communities that lasted through generations:

- Catherine Floyd Quereshi's Hickory Hill Slave Family Genealogies based on William Fanning Wickham's Diaries, 1828-1864 (see Continuation Sheets).
- Gregg L. Michel's master thesis "*Can't Get there from Here: The Transition from Slavery to Freedom at Hickory Hill, 1850-1880*," appendix 20, "Sample Time Sheet & Payroll 1929," 118-120.
- Slave deaths as recorded in William Fanning Wickham's Diaries, 1828-1864.
- List of Known Ancestors Buried in Hickory Hill Cemetery after Emancipation, created from oral histories given by descendants.
- Original List of 146 Enslaved Persons Recorded September 1828 by William Fanning Wickham.

Tarrar – Bunn – Toliver – Hewlett – Abrams – Winston – Folly

Old Zachary and his wife Cufy came to Hickory Hill from the Shirley plantation in 1827 and are buried in the Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery. Their children were Charles, Kizzy, **Suckey**, and **Polly**. Charles married Little Lucy, who is buried with their daughter in the cemetery. Kizzy's infant son is also buried in the cemetery.

Lucy Arnold **Tarrar**, also came to Hickory Hill from the Shirley Plantation in 1827. Her children were Gooley, **James**, and **Sam**. Gooley and his infant son, John Taylor, are buried in the cemetery. **James Arnold Tarrar** married **Suckey**, Old Zachary and Cufy's daughter, and together they had Cuetta, Richard, Peggy, and two infant sons. **Suckey** and her children are buried in the Slave and African American Cemetery.

Sam Arnold Tarrar married Maria, and together they had **Robert Scott**, Samuel, and an infant son. Samuel and his infant brother are buried in the cemetery. **Robert Scott Tarrar** was recorded as one of the founders of Providence Baptist Church in 1880.

"Old Tom" Bunn and his wife Betty Bunn had Lucy Bunn, **Peter Bunn**, and **Hannah Bunn**.

"Old Tom" Bunn was the first recorded slave death at Hickory Hill on January 9, 1829. He and Lucy Bunn are buried in the Slave and African American Cemetery. **Peter Bunn** married **Polly**, daughter of Old Zachary and Cufy, and together they had Hezekiah and an infant son, who are both buried in the cemetery. **Hannah Bunn** married **William Minor Toliver (Taliaferro)**. Their infant son is buried in the cemetery. Together they also had George, Lavinia, Clifford, and Betty. All of these individuals are ancestors of Jean Folly, who has participated in preservation efforts at the cemetery for many years.

Three freedmen's communities were established by emancipated African Americans from Hickory Hill: Canaan, Middletown, and Newtown; all still have descendants living in them.

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The first known purchase of a freedman from Hickory Hill of land on or around the plantation was by **William Taliaferro**, shortly after emancipation and located on the periphery of Hickory Hill in the community that came to be called Canaan. **William Minor Toliver** was listed as a founder and deacon of Providence Baptist Church in 1880. **William Toliver** is listed on a Hickory Hill payroll sheet for daily labor in July of 1929. Canaan has multiple roads named after freedpeople from Hickory Hill, including **Hewlett, Toliver, Abram, Folly, and Winston**. The **Toliver, Abrams, Folly, and Winston** families all had members related to each other, making the establishment and continuation of the Canaan community very significant. The **Hewlett** family could also be related to them.

Alex Hewlett lived in Canaan right across from the **Abrams**. He drove the carriage at Hickory Hill. His sons in turn rode the "Box" and collected packages from the train that stopped at Wickham Crossing. **Alexander Hewlett's** and **Laura Hewlett's** graves have been identified in Canaan, just outside of Hickory Hill and Providence Church. **Milton Hewlett** was the plantation blacksmith. He had a house across from Branch Creek. Several members of the family were listed as founders of Providence Baptist Church in 1880: Gus Hewlett, **Milton Hewlett, Sr.**, Felix Hewlett, and **Daniel Hewlett**. **Daniel Hewlett** was noted as staying on at Hickory Hill as a paid laborer for many years following emancipation. **Phil Hewlett** and his son, **George Hewlett**, were also mentioned as being paid laborers. Ella D. **Hewlett** was one of the 15 freedpeople who formed the Hickory Hill Club in 1886 and was on the court case for the Newtown land in 1891.

William Toliver is the grandfather of **Walter Abrams**. **Walter Abrams** was married to Betty Pemberton, who cooked in the Wickham house. **Walter Abrams** is the uncle of cousins **Jean Abrams Folly** and **George Winston**. **Walter Abrams** is buried in the Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery. **George Winston's** great-grandparents are Clarence and Roberta "Bertie" Freeman Winston. **George Winston's** grandfather's brother is **Bob Winston**. **Bob Winston** is listed on a Hickory Hill payroll sheet for daily labor in July of 1929. Bob, Clarence, and Bertie are buried in the Slave and African American Cemetery. **George Winston** is a trustee for Providence Baptist Church.

Jean Abrams grew up in Canaan, spent a lot of her childhood at Hickory Hill with her relatives, and attended the Wickham School next door to Providence Baptist Church. She still lives there on land that belonged to her ancestors. **Jean Abrams** married **Richard Folly**, the son of **Matt Folly** and brother of **Wilber Folly**. They lived in the workers' quarters built on Hickory Hill land after emancipation. When **Richard** was 5 years old, the **Follys** moved to a house by the Hickory Hill dairy. **Richard Folly** is listed as a deacon at Providence Baptist Church. **Matt** and **Wilber Folly** are listed on a Hickory Hill payroll sheet for daily labor in July 1929.

The following individuals were found listed in historic records but are not confirmed to be directly related to any of the families listed above, but may still be noted. Henry and Maria **Toliver** lived in Middletown. Henry drove the Lincoln, Senator Wickham's first car. Curtis **Toliver** is listed on a Hickory Hill payroll sheet for daily labor in July 1929. Cemus **Toliver** is listed as a deacon at Providence Baptist Church. Henry **Taliaferro** is listed as a trustee at

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Providence Baptist Church. There is a photo of Eleanor **Taliaferro** at Providence Baptist Church. There are a number of headstones with the surnames **Toliver** and **Taliaferro** in the current Providence Baptist Church Cemetery, signifying the generations of this family who have stayed connected to Hickory Hill from its beginning up to today.

Sam **Tarrer** and James **Tarrer** are listed on a Hickory Hill payroll sheet for daily labor in July of 1929. Barbara **Tarrer's** is one of the only two graves found in the Slave and African American Cemetery with a legible, fully marked gravestone. There are a number of headstones with the surname **Tarrer** in the current Providence Baptist Church Cemetery, signifying the generations of this family who have stayed connected to Hickory Hill from its beginning and still do to this day.

There are two photographs of Robert **Winston** as a deacon at Providence Baptist Church. There are a number of headstones with the surname **Winston** in the current Providence Baptist Church Cemetery, signifying the generations of this family who stayed connected to Hickory Hill from its beginning to the present.

Thomas **Folly** is listed as a trustee at Providence Baptist Church.

Jackson – Henry – Abrams – Shelton – Burleigh

Hider and **Caroline Jackson** are buried in the Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery. Their daughter, Mary Jackson, married **Abram Henry**. **Abram Henry's** parents, Abram and Charlotte Henry, are also buried in the cemetery. **Abram Henry** worked at Hickory Hill dairy. There were two houses by the dairy barn where **Abram Henry** and his family lived.

There is a photo of **Abram Henry** as a reverend at Providence Baptist Church. **Abram Henry** and Mary Jackson are buried in the cemetery. Their daughter, **Virginia Ann Henry**, grew up at Hickory Hill, attended the Wickham School (a segregated school for African American children during the Jim Crow era; the school also was known as the Hickory Hill School early in its history), and was working on the plantation in the early 1960s. She said that there were two orchards at Hickory Hill; one for the Wickham family's use and one for the African American community. **Virginia Henry** married **Pillsbury Shelton**, who is listed as a deacon at Providence Baptist Church. **Virginia's** infant son, John Allen Shelton, is buried in the Slave and African



Figure 2. President Barack Obama and Virginia Shelton on September 29, 2010 (image courtesy of the *Richmond Times Dispatch*).

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American Cemetery. Both George Winston and Jean Folly remember that a young girl, Leola, is buried in the cemetery; this child also was related to Virginia Shelton. At age 103, Mrs. Shelton lived to meet President Barack H. Obama on September 29, 2010, at the Southampton Recreation Center in Richmond, Virginia.

Albert Jackson is **Virginia Shelton's** great uncle. **Albert Jackson** and his wife lived in the house in the yard of the Wickham House. Mrs. Jackson worked as a children's caregiver and **Albert Jackson** was the cook and gardener. **Albert Jackson** is buried in the Slave and African American Cemetery.

Rosia Leigh and John **Abrams** ran the Hickory Hill dairy. They had Bessie Lee **Abrams Folly**, **Junius Abrams**, and **Jack Abrams**. Bessie Lee married Joseph Burleigh, who worked as a blacksmith, and together they had Albert Burleigh and Sally **Abrams**. Albert Burleigh and Sally **Abrams** are the uncle and aunt of **Betty Rose Burleigh**. **Caroline Jackson** is also **Betty Rose Burleigh's** great-great-grandmother. All members of this family have been recorded as buried in the Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery except for **Junius Abrams**, **Jack Abrams**, and **Betty Rose Burleigh**. **Randall Jackson** is also related to **Betty Rose Burleigh**. **Junius Abrams**, **Jack Abrams**, and **Randall Jackson** were all listed on the Hickory Hill payroll sheet for daily labor in July 1929.

The **Abrams** and **Folly** members of the above families have not been confirmed as being directly related to **Jean Folly Abrams** and her ancestors. Additionally, the following individuals were found listed in historic records but are not yet confirmed to be directly related to any of the families listed above. There are a number of headstones with the surname **Abrams** in the current Providence Baptist Church Cemetery, signifying the generations of this family who have stayed connected to Hickory Hill from its beginning and still do today. Richard **Shelton**, George **Shelton**, and Scott **Shelton** are all listed on the Hickory Hill payroll sheet for daily labor in July 1929. James **Shelton**, Sr. was listed as a founder of Providence Baptist Church in 1880. James **Shelton**, Jr. was one of the 15 freedmen who formed the Hickory Hill Club in 1886 and was on the court case for the Newtown land in 1891. Delaware **Shelton** was listed as a deacon at Providence Baptist Church.

Daniel Jackson was listed on the Hickory Hill payroll sheet for daily labor in July 1929. The following people were listed as deacons at Providence Baptist Church: Evyind **Jackson**, James **Jackson**, Ellis **Jackson**, **Daniel Jackson**, and William **Jackson**. Benjamin **Jackson** was listed as a trustee at Providence Baptist Church. There are headstones with the surname **Jackson** in the current Providence Baptist Church Cemetery, indicating that generations of this family have maintained connections to Hickory Hill to the present.

Lewis – Cash

Minor and Franny's children were Molly and Robert. Molly and Minor are buried in the Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery. Robert had a son with Delilah, but the child died as

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an infant and is buried in the cemetery. Robert and Lucy had Joe **Lewis** and Ned **Lewis**. Lucy, Ned, and an infant son of hers are buried in the cemetery. Joe **Lewis** and an infant son he had with Margaret are buried in the cemetery.

The following individuals were found listed in historic records but are not yet confirmed to be directly related to any of the families listed above. Rueben **Lewis** lived in “The Quarters” with his children Franny and Henrietta.³² Aunt Landonia **Lewis** also lived in the enclave with her children Bernard and Hattie James. The **Cash** and **Lewis** families were related. **Albert Cash** lived in the workers’ quarters and cooked at Hickory Hill for the Wickhams and was also a gardener. He lived with his wife and children on the former plantation. One of his daughters, Edith, was Mrs. Wickham’s maid. She married Jessie **Jackson**. The **Cashes** were the last family to leave the workers’ neighborhood during the 1950s. Some members of the **Cash** family lived in Newtown.

Steven **Lewis** was listed as a founder of Providence Baptist Church in 1880. Curtis **Lewis** is listed in a trustee photo at Providence Baptist Church. Cornelius **Lewis** is listed in a deacon photo at Providence Baptist Church. Ray **Lewis** was listed on the Hickory Hill payroll sheet for daily labor in July 1929. Bernard **Lewis**’s is one of the only two graves found in the Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery with a legible marker. There are headstones with the surname **Lewis** in the current Providence Baptist Church Cemetery, signifying the generations of this family who remained in Hickory Hill’s vicinity up to the present.

James **Cash** was listed on the Hickory Hill payroll sheet for daily labor in July 1929. James D. **Cash** is listed in a photo of trustees at the Providence Baptist Church. Henry **Cash** is listed in a photo of deacons at the Providence Baptist Church. There are a number of headstones with the surname **Cash** in the current Providence Baptist Church Cemetery, illustrating their continued presence in the area.

Canaan, Newtown, and Middletown still have descendants of community founders still living in them and most have family burials on the land. Two Hewlett family graves have been documented in the Canaan area. The small graveyard has two adjacent graves in a forested area sharing a single pillow type tombstone. The marked graves belong to Alexander Hewlett (12/4/1865 – 8/24/1933) and Laura Hewlett (9/10/1860 – 5/31/1939). About 9 feet south of these are two ground depressions consistent with burials but without markings of any kind. It is possible these are interments for Hewlett family members and/or possibly some of the first freedpeople who moved off Hickory Hill.³³

³² “The Quarters” was a small community established by emancipated workers during Reconstruction close to the location of antebellum slave housing at Hickory Hill. Residents here generally worked for the Wickhams. The collection of frame dwellings was occupied until the second quarter of the 20th century, after which it was abandoned.

³³ This small cemetery is documented at the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, ID: 042-5797, Virginia Cultural Resource Information System, last modified May 22, 2019.

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Hanover County's Historic Cemeteries – Comparative Analysis

The Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery is a significant example of an African American cemetery in Hanover County because of its lengthy period of use and the cultural features present within it. Used between the early nineteenth century and the mid-20th century, Hickory Hill Cemetery has physical aspects often found at African American cemeteries that tell a story of progression. The earliest graves feature permanent yet humble grave markers, such as large uninscribed fieldstones, and plants, such as the hardy yucca plant, periwinkle, and cedar trees. Such markers were common in slave cemeteries, as the enslaved community possessed neither the autonomy nor the capital to obtain inscribed markers for their dead. Following emancipation, some African Americans began to be able to afford simple inscribed markers made of poured concrete, while others either continued to use simpler ones ranging from the fieldstone and plant markers of their forebears to small metal markers with paper inserts provided by a funeral home. Examples of all these are present at Hickory Hill Cemetery. Other important cultural aspects of African American cemeteries, such as small and personal offerings like a mason jar and a metal bucket, also are present.

To date, no other African American cemetery in Hanover County has been documented to have a similar breadth of important features. Slave and African American cemeteries, however, are underrepresented in Hanover County's National Register-listed properties. Many of these nominations are more than 20 years old and devote little attention to cemeteries. Even the original nomination for Hickory Hill has little to say about the Wickham family cemetery that is near the primary dwelling.

In Hanover County, documentation methodology for African American cemeteries generally has consisted of archeological investigations (generally conducted as part of environmental review for proposed development projects), documentary research using census records, slave schedules and other primary sources, and oral history.

The cemeteries in Hanover County that have been subject to archaeological investigations have a temporal range from the early 19th through mid-20th century. Four of these cemeteries are quite small, with an estimated number of 11 or fewer identified grave shafts. The majority of these cemeteries have few extant cultural features. At the time of its survey, Cemetery 44HN0219, an early 20th century family cemetery featuring 10-11 burials, had one aboveground aluminum funeral home marker for Julia C. Price, who died in April 1949. Archeological work uncovered a metal funeral home marker for Inez Boling, who died in 1970 (the latest recorded death of the cemeteries documented with archaeological survey).³⁴ Other cultural materials included a glass fragment that may have been a burial offering and a piece of styrofoam from a floral

³⁴ Brynn Stewart and Dane Magoon, "A Phase II Evaluation of Two Cemetery Sites (44HN0219 and 44HN0405) for the Lewistown Road Bridge Replacement and Interchange Improvement Project Hanover County, Virginia" (Report for Virginia Department of Transportation by Cultural Resources Inc., Glen Allen, VA, 2012) 21, 23, 26.

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arrangement that was probably a burial offering.³⁵ Cemetery 44HN0405, a short distance from Cemetery 44HN0219, had burials estimated to date from 1850 to 1940. No grave markers or burial offerings were identified at this cemetery.³⁶

The lack of identifiable markers is not unusual. Cemetery 042-5452, near the Hanover County airport, was in use from the late 19th to late 20th century, according to a local informant.³⁷ Eleven grave shafts were identified, but none was marked with a stone or other type of marker. A brass button and pearl sherd, both dating to the 18th century, were found during subsurface testing, but are likely unrelated to the cemetery because of their physical and temporal distance from the burials.³⁸

In comparison, the late-19th-century Dabney Davis Cemetery's cultural features included cedar trees, a metal funeral home marker, and chunks of pink granite that served as a headstone and a footstone.³⁹ These physical aspects bear similarities to cultural features in the Hickory Hill Cemetery. The Dabney Davis Cemetery is, however, much smaller in area and does not include other physical characteristics, such as the presence of yucca and periwinkle plantings, burial offerings, and later grave markers made of cut stone or concrete, that have been documented at Hickory Hill Cemetery.

Some larger African American cemeteries in Hanover County have been documented with archaeological investigations. Cemetery 44HN0356, like Hickory Hill Cemetery, predated the Civil War and began as a cemetery for enslaved persons then, after emancipation, continued in use for the freedmen who lived nearby.⁴⁰ This cemetery was relatively large, numbering at least 54 burial shafts, none of which were marked. Archaeological testing yielded some burial offerings, such as animal bones, small jewelry of various materials like buttons, and small beads.⁴¹ At the time of its identification, this cemetery was comparable in both size and temporal use to Hickory Hill Cemetery; however, due to redevelopment pressure, the cemetery has been relocated.

The vast majority of known African American cemeteries in Hanover County have not been subject to archaeological testing. Often their period of use has been established through a

³⁵ Ibid, 28, 33.

³⁶ Ibid, 60.

³⁷ Brynn Stewart and Dane Magoon, "A Phase IA Cultural Resources Assessment and Two Cemetery Verification and Delineation Studies for Proposed Improvements to the Hanover Country Airport Hanover County, Virginia" (Report for Campbell & Paris Engineers by Cultural Resources Inc., Glen Allen, VA, 2012), 86.

³⁸ Ibid, 74, 77.

³⁹ Dane Magoon to Dr. Elizabeth Jordan, "Delineation of the Dabney-Davis Cemetery, Old Church Area Headquarters, Mechanicsville, Virginia" August 1st, 2011, 2-4.

⁴⁰ Ellen Brady and Dane Magoon "Phase III Archaeological Data Recovery at Sites 44HN0356 and 44HN0366 Rutland Development Area, Hanover County, Virginia" (Report for HHHunt Communities, Inc. by Cultural resources, Inc., Glen Allen, VA 2013) 21.

⁴¹ Ibid 107-109

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combination of burial markers, oral history, and research of local land, vital statistics, census, newspaper, and other records. Of the 535 known family cemeteries in Hanover County, 65 have been identified as being used by African Americans, largely through the efforts of genealogists, volunteers, and the Hanover County Historical Society.⁴²

The Baylor-Robinson Cemetery contains “more than thirty” burials. Of those thirty, some have no burial markers, some are marked by weathered, now-illegible funeral home markers, and some have simple, poured concrete markers. The inscribed death dates range from 1934 to 2002, with the majority falling in the mid-20th century.⁴³ The “Near Linney’s Corner” cemetery is of a similar size and features approximately 40 burials, with each grave marked with uninscribed concrete markers flush with the ground. Both cemeteries are maintained by their respective property owners and have not been allowed to become overgrown.⁴⁴ The Taylor Cemetery features approximately 50 to 75 burials, which are marked mostly by fieldstones.⁴⁵ These three cemeteries are representative of the county’s larger African American family cemeteries (more than 15 burials), as they are more likely to be maintained (54 percent vs. 33.3 percent, excluding those that do not have a listed number of burials) and typically have a variety of manmade burial markers as opposed to traditional plantings (16 percent vs. 28 percent, excluding those that do not have a number of burials listed).

The James Cemetery has at least 12 burials, but all are unmarked. The area is heavily wooded, and, at the time of survey, had no enclosure or maintained grounds.⁴⁶ The Woodson Cemetery has at least 12 burials identified by headstones, fieldstone markers, and burial depressions. The inscribed death dates range from 1939 to 1961. Dense vegetation may have obscured additional burials at the time of survey.⁴⁷ The Winston Cemetery features 7 or more grave depressions and is minimally maintained although it is enclosed by a wire fence. The burials are marked by weathered, now-illegible stones along with cedar trees.⁴⁸ These sites are representative of the county’s smaller family cemeteries (15 or fewer burials). Compared to the larger cemeteries, they are less likely to be maintained (33.3%) and are more likely to have traditional plantings as grave markers (28%). Both types of family cemeteries are about equally likely to have enclosures.

⁴² Multiple Contributors, “Family Graveyards- Locations with GPS,” (August 2006: Database maintained by the Hanover County Historical Society). The total number of cemeteries and racial affiliation were identified by volunteers and members of the Hanover County Historical Society, which has compiled a database, updated periodically, of known cemeteries throughout the county. Although unpublished, the database is available at the historical society’s library.

⁴³ “338. Baylor-Robinson (Black)” in “Family Graveyards”- Locations with GPS,” August 2006, database maintained by the Hanover County Historical Society.

⁴⁴ “133. Near Linney’s Corner (Black) in “Family Graveyards”- Locations with GPS.”

⁴⁵ “405. Taylor (Black)” in “Family Graveyards- Locations with GPS.”

⁴⁶ “473. James (Black)” in “Family Graveyards- Locations with GPS.”

⁴⁷ “310. Woodson (Black)” in “Family Graveyards- Locations with GPS.”

⁴⁸ “472. Winston (Black)” in “Family Graveyards- Locations with GPS.”

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An “Unknown” Cemetery features an undetermined number of unmarked graves, but the site is covered in periwinkle and is marked by a large white oak tree. Due to extensive vegetation, the full extent of the cemetery could not be ascertained.⁴⁹ This cemetery serves as a good example of those cemeteries that have both insufficient documentation and physical characteristics to determine the number of burials present or identify those interred here. Such cemeteries primarily are identifiable by the presence of traditional plantings such as periwinkle, cedar, and yucca.

An antebellum cemetery with a more opaque documentary record is the Taylor’s Creek Cemetery, the continued existence of which has been denied by the property owner. Through comparative analysis of census and county records in both Hanover County and Kentucky, where the Taylor’s Creek plantation owner also owned land, an undergraduate student found that the cemetery likely included approximately 200 graves, making it similar in size to Hickory Hill cemetery.⁵⁰ Given the expansion of slavery in Hanover County during the antebellum era,⁵¹ other slave cemeteries certainly existed in the county but their locations now are unknown.

Comparing these aforementioned African American family cemeteries to Hickory Hill Cemetery yields a few key comparison points. First, larger cemeteries are typically maintained, in contrast to the unkempt state of Hickory Hill Cemetery, a state more likely to be found with smaller cemeteries and those with unknown numbers of burials. Very few of the known African American cemeteries in Hanover County possess more than one or two types of burial markers, whereas Hickory Hill Cemetery features several types. Hickory Hill Cemetery also has a larger number of burials, with at least 149 interments, than any of the other known extant examples in the county. In terms of period of use, Hickory Hill Cemetery predates all of the other cemeteries that have identifiable dates of usage via marker inscriptions, but it is impossible to say that it predates all of them as neither documentary nor archaeological evidence is available to make this determination.

Other methods to improve understanding of Hanover County’s African American cemeteries are to compare them to known examples of cemeteries for whites, and to compare Hickory Hill to other National Register-listed properties that include cemeteries. Of the documented 470 white family cemeteries in Hanover County, the Stanley Cemetery was selected as representative because it featured many distinctive aspects of white southern cemeteries. The Stanley Cemetery is very well maintained, and was in use throughout the twentieth century. The grave markers are composed of poured concrete, marble, granite, and slate. Of the ten marked burials, eight retained legible markers. The earliest known death date is 1909, with the majority of the burials

⁴⁹ “341. Unknown (Black)” in “Family Graveyards- Locations with GPS.”

⁵⁰ Kenneth D. White and Dr. Reber Dunkel, “Uncovering the Past: An Attempt to Preserve the Taylor’s Creek Slave Cemetery Montpelier, Virginia, circa 1725-1864” (Essay written by Kenneth D. White for Schapiro Undergraduate Research Fellowship, 2011) 2, 11-16.

⁵¹ Gregg L. Michel, “From Slavery to Freedom: Hickory Hill 1850-80” in *The Edge of the South: Life in Nineteenth Century Virginia*, eds. Edward L. Ayers and John C. Willis (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1991) 110.

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ranging from 1930-1970. This cemetery also has a layout typical of funerary traditions associated with white southerners, featuring an east-west alignment of the burials and presence of an evergreen tree (in this case, a cedar tree) as a prominently featured planting. Conch shells used as burial offerings also have been identified in some of these cemeteries.⁵² Although the Stanley Cemetery has typical features of a white family cemetery, not all of the documented white family cemeteries in Hanover County have these features. For example, numerous cemeteries attributed to white families have either no burial markers or uninscribed fieldstone markers.⁵³

When compared to Hickory Hill Cemetery, white family cemeteries have some similarities. A variety of burial markers have been recorded, as well as burial offerings, and cedar trees are a common feature. Concerning burial markers, however, while white cemeteries may include machine-cut stones made of granite or marble, only two such markers have been found at Hickory Hill Cemetery.⁵⁴ Burial offerings found at white cemeteries are conch shells, regarded typically as a universal offering, whereas offerings found at Hickory Hill Cemetery have included drinking vessels, a tradition specifically associated with African American burial traditions; the vessels can vary in size, material, shape, and appearance. Although evergreen trees are found in cemeteries for whites and African Americans, those in white cemeteries are more often prominently placed as a decorative accent for the whole cemetery, whereas African Americans used cedar trees to marker individual burials. Burial patterns in white versus African American cemeteries also have been found to differ. To date, identified burials at Hickory Hill Cemetery have not been found to be placed in a discernible pattern, although they may be grouped by other factors, such as kinship.⁵⁵ In the county's typical white cemeteries, burials are arranged in rows with an east-west orientation. Full comparative analysis of differences between white and African American cemeteries is difficult due to the fact that white family cemeteries are much more likely to be known and recorded than African American cemeteries. A number of the 470 white family cemeteries recorded in Hanover County have been surveyed multiple times, and many of the entries also include deed information about the plot. The latter information often is absent for black cemeteries, even for the handful where professional archaeological investigation has taken place.⁵⁶ Hickory Hill Cemetery, therefore, is unusual and notable because

⁵² Sandra DeChard and Ellen Brady, "An Architectural Survey of the Stanley Cemetery (VDHR #042-0575) for the Route 33/54 Realignment Project, Hanover County, Virginia," (Report for Virginia Department of Transportation by Cultural Resources, Inc., Glen Allen, Virginia, 2011) 3, 4, 12-18, 19

⁵³ Within "Family Graveyards-Locations with GPS," one can find examples of a white family graveyard that has unmarked graves or fieldstones on the very first page, but plenty more can be found within the document. Document received from the Hanover County Historical Society.

⁵⁴ Michael Trinkley, Debi Hacker, and Sarah Fick, *The African American Cemeteries of Petersburg, Virginia: Continuity and Change* (Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation Inc., May 1999) 40.

⁵⁵ Betty Rose Burleigh and Dr. Reber Dunkel, "Cemeteries as Loci of Diasporan Memory; The Case of Hickory Hill," *Conexoes; African Diaspora Research Project, Michigan State University* Vol 5, No. 2 (1993): 3.

⁵⁶ A good example of this can be found in "A Phase II Evaluation of Two Cemetery Sites (44HN0219 and 44HN0405) for the Lewistown Road Bridge Replacement and Interchange Improvement Project Hanover County, Virginia," as only site 44HN0219 had sufficient deed information to determine who was buried there, while 44HN0405 only had partial deed information to go along with it. None of the entries for

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it has a recorded history that includes detailed information about the individuals interred here, as well as a strong oral history tradition maintained by descendants to the present day.⁵⁷

Eight properties in Hanover County that are listed in the National Register of Historic Places have an associated cemetery, but in each case, the burial ground is mentioned only in passing. The majority of the earliest listings are properties associated with Patrick Henry, such as Fork Church (NRHP 1969; DHR #042-0012), which is listed for its significance in the areas of Art (this category includes Architecture) and Religion. Early nominations tended to be very brief, with just a few paragraphs. Accordingly, most of the nomination text focuses on the main building's architecture and colonial-era history. The associated cemetery is briefly described but is not discussed in the nomination's statement of significance.⁵⁸ Rural Plains (NRHP 1975; DHR #042-0029) is associated with the family of Patrick Henry's wife, Sarah Shelton. As one of the oldest documented dwellings in the county, the building's architectural design is described in some detail, as well as the long-term ownership of the Shelton family.⁵⁹ Much of the historic cemetery was relocated to Hollywood Cemetery in 1950, but two marked burials of young infants from the Shelton family are still present. Despite these burials being associated with the Sheltons, the cemetery is not mentioned in the nomination.⁶⁰ The Patrick Henry Birthplace Archaeological District (NRHP 1981; DHR #042-0114) includes a brick cellar attributed to the 18th century Studley Manor, where Henry reportedly was born, and an unrelated cemetery with a single burial, that of Dr. Thomas Chrystie, who served as a surgeon in the Revolutionary Army and died in 1812.⁶¹ Pine Slash (NRHP 1986; DHR #042-0025), the first home of Patrick and Sarah Henry, is listed for its architectural significance with a more detailed discussion than typically found in earlier nominations. Other resources on the property, however, are mentioned

African American cemeteries in "Family Graveyards- Locations with GPS" included deed information while many for white cemeteries have this data.

⁵⁷ "Cemeteries as Loci of Diasporan Memory; The Case of Hickory Hill" in *Conexoes* contains mutable examples of how the descendants are still connected to Hickory Hill Cemetery. During a June 2019 site visit, a descendant noted, "The old man [Mr. Wickham] would flip in his grave if he saw the condition of this road." Descendants also discussed where the historic entrance to the cemetery was located versus where it is now, among other things, showing the memory of an active Hickory Hill Cemetery is still intact.

⁵⁸ James W. Moody Jr. and Staff of Virginia Historic Landmark Commission, "Fork Church," National Register of Historic Places nomination form (1969), accessed July 30, 2019, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/042-0012_Fork_Church_1970_Final_Nomination.pdf, 8-9.

⁵⁹ Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission Staff, "Rural Plains," National Register of Historic Places nomination form (1975), accessed July 30, 2019, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/042-0029_Rural_Plains_1975_Final_Nomination.pdf, 2-3, 6.

⁶⁰ "Totopotomoy Creek Battlefield at Rural Plains," National Park Service, accessed July 25, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/rich/planyourvisit/upload/RP-Trail-Guide-201405-for-print-1-2.pdf>.

⁶¹ Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission Staff, "Patrick Henry's Birthplace Archaeological Site," National Register of Historic Places nomination form (1981), accessed July 30, 2019, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/042-0114_Nomination_REDACTED.pdf, 7.

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only in an aside, including the cemetery for the Jones family, owners of Pine Slash from 1797 through the time of listing.⁶²

Trinity Church (NRHP 1990; DHR #042-0038) is listed for its architectural significance as an example of Early Classical Revival design that dates to 1830. The associated church cemetery is described in terms of the numbers of graves and of markers, but is not addressed in the property's statement of significance.⁶³ Immanuel Episcopal Church (NRHP 1996; DHR #042-0125) also is listed for its architectural significance as an example Late Gothic Revival design. Although noted as a contributing resource, the cemetery received a minimal description and was not considered in the nomination's statement of significance.⁶⁴ In a category of its own is the 1.4-acre Cold Harbor National Cemetery (NRHP 1995; DHR #042-0136), which was established in 1866 as a burial ground for 2,099 U.S. military troops, of whom 1,313 are unknown, killed in combat around Richmond in 1862 and 1864. It was listed under the Multiple Property Documentation Form entitled "Civil War Era National Cemeteries," approved by the National Park Service in 1994. In addition to burials, the Cold Harbor National Cemetery includes monuments erected by the states of Pennsylvania and New York listing the names of those who participated.⁶⁵ The statement of significance describes both the military actions associated with the cemetery and its early administrative history.

Of the NRHP-listed properties in Hanover County that include cemeteries, only the nomination for Totomoi (NRHP 1976, DHR #042-0039) has been updated in recent years. The property originally was listed for its architectural significance, although the nomination included detailed discussion of the Tinsley family who owned it.⁶⁶ The 2012 nomination update added agriculture as an area of significance and included a comprehensive inventory of contributing and noncontributing resources; among these was a former slave dwelling near the domestic complex and the Tinsley family cemetery. The earliest Tinsley burial dates to 1819. Although the property

⁶² Division of Historic Landmarks Staff, "Pine Slash or Prospect Hill," National Register of Historic Places nomination form (1986), accessed July 30, 2019, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/042-0025_Pine_Slash_1987_Final_Nomination.pdf, 4.

⁶³ Thomas W. Pemberton IV, "Trinity Church," National Register of Historic Places nomination form (1990), accessed July 30, 2019, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/042-0038_Trinity_Church_1990_Final_Nomination.pdf, 3, 5, 7.

⁶⁴ Amy Lee Dulevitz "Immanuel Episcopal Church," National Register of Historic Places nomination form (1995), accessed July 30, 2019, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/042-0125_Immanuel_Episcopal_Church_1996_Final_Nomination.pdf, 6, 8.

⁶⁵ Therese T. Sammartino, "Cold Harbor National Cemetery" National Register of Historic Places nomination form (1990), accessed July 25, 2019, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/042-0136_Cold_Harbor_National_Cemetery_1995_Final_Nomination.pdf, 1-4

⁶⁶ Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission Staff, "Totomoi," National Register of Historic Places nomination form (1976), accessed July 30, 2019, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/042-0039_Totomoi_1976_final_nomination.pdf, 2-3.

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retains about 540 acres, the location of a slave cemetery is not known, but this is not unusual for former plantations that retain considerable historic acreage. With only fieldstones and traditional plantings used to mark graves, locations of slave cemeteries could be forgotten as property changed hands, as slave dwellings were removed or allowed to collapse into ruins, as formerly cleared fields reforested, and as descendants of those buried there moved away or were not permitted access to the burial ground. Careful research and field investigation can lead to rediscovery of slave cemeteries.⁶⁷ However, no professional archaeological testing has occurred at Totomoi, although the nomination acknowledges potential for intact cultural deposits due to the undisturbed character of much of the landscape.⁶⁸

The last NRHP-listed Hanover County property that includes a cemetery is Hickory Hill itself (NRHP 1974; DHR #042-0100). The 1974 nomination of Hickory Hill focused on the Wickham family and the architecture of the plantation house and its numerous outbuildings.⁶⁹ The Wickham family cemetery was mentioned briefly in the nomination. Although Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery was included in the historic boundary, it was not discussed or described, despite that its location at the time was known. Today, the cemetery is known to be the largest African American cemetery in Hanover County and the only one that has been confirmed to be in use from the antebellum era into the mid-20th century.

Criterion A: Ethnic Heritage: African American

The Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery is significant at the statewide level under Criterion A in the area of Ethnic Heritage: African American. Its significance is derived from its direct association with the African American historical experience in rural Virginia during slavery, through the Civil War and Reconstruction eras, and into the mid-twentieth century. Exceptionally well-documented in historic records, the cemetery provides a window into the changing lives of African American families who have maintained ties to the cemetery from its beginning up to the present day. The cemetery's period of significance is c.1820-c.1938, encompassing the estimated earliest usage through the most recent burials at the site.

The volume of important information already found and the property's continuing research potential make the cemetery a rare opportunity to learn about specific enslaved individuals and their descendants. Written documentation of enslaved African American families is often scarce, but due to William Fanning Wickham's multiple-volume diaries, the names, ages, and death

⁶⁷ Betty Rose Burleigh and Dr. Reber Dunkel, "Cemeteries as Loci of Diasporan Memory; The Case of Hickory Hill," 2-3, for descriptions of instances of slave cemeteries being discovered after previously being unknown.

⁶⁸ Maria Wornom Rippe, "Totomoi 2012 Update," National Register of Historic Places nomination form (2012), accessed July 30, 2019, <https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/042-0039/#extra>, 11.

⁶⁹ Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission Staff, "Hickory Hill," National Register of Historic Places nomination form (1974), accessed July 30, 2019, https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/042-0100_Hickory_Hill_1974_Final_Nomination.pdf, 2-3, 5-6.

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dates of enslaved individuals at Hickory Hill are known. Among the first people to study the Wickham diaries alongside the cemetery was Cathy Floyd (now Quereshi), a student at the University of Richmond. Quereshi studied the diaries and identified naming patterns and the way that W. F. Wickham kept track of family units. Using this data, she constructed genealogies for 18 families and prepared eight family “genograms” (see attached Continuation Sheets). One of the lengthiest is for Tom Bunn, born ca. 1792, and his wife, Betty Bunn, born ca. 1803. Tom and Betty Bunn are the great-great-great-grandparents of Jean Abrams Folly, who grew up in the Canaan freedmen’s community and has been instrumental in assuring the cemetery’s preservation up to today. Through genealogical research, Quereshi also learned that the enslaved individuals named Robin and Maria had a son, John Saunders, who was married to Betsey Christian. The latter is believed to be the Aunt Betsey or “Mammy Betsey” who came from Shirley plantation, was lauded by the Wickham family in their personal papers, and whose portrait is now part of The Valentine’s museum collection in Richmond. Documentation of such antebellum relationships to such a high degree of detail is very difficult to accomplish.

Thus far, the names and death dates of 128 enslaved persons, as recorded by W. F. Wickham in eight volumes of diaries from January 9, 1829, until January 29, 1864, have been collected through careful review of the diaries. An additional 16 burials at the Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery have been identified through oral history. The marking of several graves with funeral home markers and two carved marble markers contribute another 5 burials that postdate the Civil War. Therefore, the combined total of burials known today is 149, although the likelihood of many additional burials has been inferred from other record sources. First, volume 4 of Wickham’s diaries is missing; it covered the period from December 1847 to December 1849. Second, the neighboring plantation of South Wales was owned by James Littfield during the 18th century and then sold to Charles Carter, father of Anne Carter Wickham, in 1768. Wickham family descendant Lois Wickham suggested it was certainly possible that the Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery already served as a burial ground for enslaved persons prior to 1829, when Wickham’s diaries begin. In 2015, Dr. Hill Carter confirmed that no cemetery for enslaved persons at South Wales, antebellum operation of which intertwined with Hickory Hill’s, yet has been identified. Third, it is not known how many burials occurred in the cemetery after the freedmen’s communities were established during the late 1860s. Descendants today recollect that the last burials occurred here during the 1950s. Consequently, the full extent of the cemetery’s temporal use is not known, nor the total number of burials.

Research of the cemetery was considerably informed by recollections of the descendant community who still live nearby. Descendants George Winston, Jean Abrams Folly, Georgia Johnson, and Elaine and Winston Henry, in particular, explained the relationships of numerous descendants and ancestors. These individuals also arranged meetings at Providence Baptist Church⁷⁰ and the cemetery since the research project began during the late 1980s under the direction of D. Reber Dunkel. They persisted in visiting the cemetery and assuring its preservation through occasionally adversarial relationships with previous owners. Summarizing

⁷⁰ Providence Baptist Church was founded by freed people from Hickory Hill during the 1870s.

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their commitment to the cemetery, George Winston said on September 12, 2017, "It's a connection. We are connected and we live to stay connected. If we don't know where we came from, we don't know where we are going."

During an oral history interview recorded by Jody Allen with Jean Abrams Folly on September 26, 2016, Folly explained the cemetery's importance: "Well, I think it's important because so much of the cemetery's history, not just my family's history, but of most of the people who lived in this area, their history, is a part of Hickory Hill. Because our ancestors lived, worked and died on and came from that plantation. For me personally, my great-great-grandmother, Hanna Bunn Saunders, and great-great-grandfather, William Minor Tolliver, were slaves there and are probably buried in the cemetery. Also, there are people that I know in my time who are buried there. This was after slavery. I think it's important for future generations to have access to their heritage."

During her oral history interview, Georgia Johnson said, "Hickory Hill Cemetery is important to me because I am connected to families who were slaves that lived and worked on the plantation and were buried there... The Hickory Hill slaves deserve to have their graves preserved and the cemetery maintained."

Jody L. Allen, a faculty member at the College of William and Mary, herself noted on October 29, 2018,

According to anthropologists, the development of rites of passage ceremonies related to the dead is a uniquely human custom found over space, time, and circumstance. Indeed, this was true of the enslaved Africans and African Americans in the U.S. Those who claimed ownership of [the enslaved] as property ignored their humanity. Kinship ties were treated with no more respect than the ties between a dog and her puppies. Against these odds, the enslaved people maintained their humanness in spite of their master's denial of it. Evidence is apparent in the ritual of burial. They buried their dead and marked their graves with items special to the deceased. People in many West African countries to this day who practice traditional African religions believe that their ancestors maintain a spiritual connection with their living relatives. The Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery is the physical and symbolic manifestation of the sacrifice and toil of those ancestors. We are nominating the Cemetery not only to insure its preservation, not only to honor the dead ancestors, but also to remind the descendants, as well as the entire Ashland-Hanover community, the historical price of survival.⁷¹

Criterion D: Archaeology – Historic – Non-Aboriginal

Death affects both individual families and the community that surrounds them. A community's response to this loss, as expressed in its cemeteries and funerary traditions, provides unique clues to better understanding the life of that community as well as the hopes and fears of its members.

⁷¹ Personal communication to Reber Dunkel, October 28, 2018.

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The Hickory Hill Slave Cemetery, with its mix of formal and informal markers, scattered placement of graves, and use of materials not traditionally employed in funerary practices, is consistent with what is often referred to as the Southern Folk Cemetery.⁷² African American cemeteries within this category tend to express distinct mortuary traditions as well. In cemeteries such as Hickory Hill, which represents both pre- and post-Emancipation use, these traditions reflect a community determined to honor its dead in spite of having no or limited agency over their own lives. This is most notably seen in the use of vernacular objects (in this case a Mason jar and bucket) and specific vegetation to indicate and acknowledge specific gravesites. The syncretization of western Christian and West African theologies is also reflected in the use of vessels and unusual stones (the quartz boulders) in tandem with more traditional tablet-style markers and an emphasis on east-west interment orientation.⁷³ The proliferation of periwinkle, along with yucca, cedar, and other perennially green species, is consistent with Southern funerary tradition that holds these to be reminders of the Christian promise of eternal life. Rainville and others posit that the clustering of graves in African American cemeteries reflects the community's desire to maintain social cohesion and familial connections even in death, as (especially during enslavement) family members might be sold away or otherwise kept apart without recourse.⁷⁴ The physical characteristics and important information inherent in the Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery, coupled with its documentary record, make the site significant under Criterion D at the statewide level.

⁷² Terry G. Jordan, *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982); Staci Richey, Hugh B. Matternes, and J. W. Joseph, "Old School Cemetery: Mapping, Documentation, Preservation, and Interpretation of a Significant Historic African-American Site, Washington, Georgia" (Report to the City of Washington, GA. New South Associates, Inc., 2008); Gregory D. Jeane, "The Upland South Cemetery: An American Type," *Journal of Popular Culture*, 1978, Vol. 11, pp. 895-903.

⁷³ Hugh B. Matternes, Valerie S. Davis, Sarah McIntyre, Melissa Umberger, Faris Cadle, and Kirstein Lockerman, "Shimmering Glimpses of the Spirit World: Archaeological Recovery of Two Historic Cemeteries (9CH875 and 9CH1168) at Hunter Army Airfield, Chatham County, Georgia" (Report to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Savannah District, GA and Dial Cordy and Associates, Inc., Washington, DC, New South Associates, Inc., 2010).

⁷⁴ Lynn Rainville, *Hidden History: African American Cemeteries in Central Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014).

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9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography (Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form.)

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Volume 1, List of Slaves, in 1828 (last entry 16 January 1831 (a birth).

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Volume 3, List of slaves, March 1837 (last entry, 10 July 1846, death of Ned Gaby about 68 years old). NB. Missing year’s last 5½ months of 1846.

Volume 4 is missing (January 1847 to December 1849).

Volume 5, List of slaves, January 1850 (last entry October 1853, a birth) N.B. For some reason days and months of death were not recorded for 1852 and only the last 3 births of 13 total. There are no deaths recorded in 1853, which seems unlikely since births were recorded for the 10-month period. Maria and Sam’s baby boy was born dead 1st March 1853.

Volume 6, List of slaves, January 1854 (last entry, death, 18 October 1856 and last birth recorded 7 December).

Volume 7, List of slaves, January 1857 (last entry, death, 12 July 1857; last birth recorded Suckey and James’s son James, 16 December 1858.

Volume 8 List of Slaves January 1859 (last entry, death, October 1862 (Joe Lewis, infant son of Margaret ,born October 26, 1861; last entry is birth of Betty Christian’s daughter, 7 November 1862. (NB at the end). The last page also includes a list of 14

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slaves who “went off the nights of the 9th & 10th of June” in 1862 to the U.S. troops bivouacked in the area; plus Bibanna ran away two or three weeks earlier and Lucy Grayson about the 18th of June).

Volume 9, List of slaves, 1863 (last entry, birth of a boy baby born to Maria and Sam on 12 May 1864)

“Map of W.F. Wickham’s Plantation Known as Hickory Hill Situated in Hanover Co. Va.” By M.A. Miller. Mss1W6326cFA2 Box 7 Folder 1. (It is believed to be from an 1878 survey report due to the fact it lists and shows all of the acquired adjacent properties comprising Hickory Hill’s 15 total parcels with the acreage of each. It clearly shows that the “Mansion” is on the 283¾-acre Hickory Hill land acquired by W. F. Wickham after his marriage, not the original 1,710½-acre half of South Wales plantation that was the dower gift.

Bill of Sale for eight slaves (apparently a dower gift from Mary Fanning Wickham, daughter of Edward Fanning Wickham and Lucy Carter Wickham to her husband Julius Porcher between Julius T. Porcher (Seller) and William F. Wickham (Buyer) 20 July 1857. The Porcher-Wickham marriage occurred at Hickory Hill on 29 January 1857.

Gregory, Norine Campbell, *Some Ancient Landowners in Saint Martin’s Parish, Hanover County, Virginia*. New Papyrus Co., Inc., 2001 (Virginia Museum of History and Culture, F232H3, G823, 2001 General Collection).

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Oral Histories of Descendants

Betty Burleigh, by Daphne Morris, April 3, 1989.

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James Henry by Jody L. Allen.

Jean Wilson Folly by Jody L. Allen.

Virginia Shelton, by Daphne Morris, April 1989

Lois Wingfield Wickham, by University of Richmond students Cathy Floyd and Daphne Morris in 1989.

George Henry Winston, by D. Reber Dunkel, September 12, 2017.

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Documents prepared during research for the nomination of Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery

Critty's Children's Names (The Children of Critty, who was from Shirley Plantation, indicate a naming pattern derived from the Carter, Lee and Wickham families).

History of Hickory Hill name and land acquisition. (This is to acknowledge that Hickory Hill did not operate as a part of South Wales Plantation, although land that had been part of South Wales was conveyed to the Wickhams. W. F. Wickham bought additional lands, including from Virginia Governor William Smith's heirs. The 1974 nomination for Hickory Hill incorrectly states that Hickory Hill was part of South Wales. Historic maps and other sources note otherwise.)

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

☐ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested

☒ previously listed in the National Register

☐ previously determined eligible by the National Register

☐ designated a National Historic Landmark

☐ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____

☐ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

☐ recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # _____

Primary location of additional data:

☒ State Historic Preservation Office

☐ Other State agency

☐ Federal agency

☐ Local government

☐ University

☒ Other

Name of repository: Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, VA;
Virginia Museum of History and Culture, Richmond, VA

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): DHR No. 042-5792

10. Geographical Data

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Acreage of Property approximately 4.5 acres

Use either the UTM system or latitude/longitude coordinates

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates

Datum if other than WGS84: _____

(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

1. Latitude: 37.777780 Longitude: -77.418410

2. Latitude: Longitude:

3. Latitude: Longitude:

4. Latitude: Longitude:

Or

UTM References

Datum (indicated on USGS map):

☐ NAD 1927 or ☐ NAD 1983

1. Zone: Easting: Northing:

2. Zone: Easting: Northing:

3. Zone: Easting: Northing:

4. Zone: Easting: Northing:

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

The true and correct historic boundary is shown on the attached Sketch Map scaled at 1"=188'.

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

The historic boundary encompasses the currently known extent of the site based on limited archaeological study conducted within the past 15 years. All known historic resources are included within the boundary, as well as the property's historic setting.

11. Form Prepared By

name/title: D. Reber Dunkel, Ph.D.

organization: Independent Researcher

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Name of Property

Hanover County, VA

County and State

street & number: 2060 Dutch Ridge Rd.

city or town: Guysville state: Ohio zip code: 45735

e-mail: reber.dunkel@gmail.com

telephone: 804-994-8092

date: February 2020

name/title: Joanna Wilson Green, Lena McDonald, Brenden Bowman, and John Clark

organization: Department of Historic Resources

street & number: 2801 Kensington Avenue

city or town: Richmond state: VA zip code: 23220

e-mail: lena.mcdonald@dhr.virginia.gov

telephone: 804-482-6439

date: February 2020

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:** A USGS map or equivalent (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
- **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.
- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO, TPO, or FPO for any additional items.)

Photographs

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

Photo Log

Name of Property: Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery

City or Vicinity: Ashland (vicinity)

County: Hanover

State: VA

Photographers: Brad McDonald, Lena McDonald, and Joanna Wilson Green

Date Photographed: February 21, 2019

Hickory Hill Slave and African American
Cemetery

Name of Property

Hanover County, VA

County and State

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

1 of 20. VA_HanoverCounty_HickoryHillSlaveandAfricanAmericanCemetery_0001
View along northern edge of cemetery site as currently delineated with vinyl fence, camera facing northwest.

2 of 20. VA_HanoverCounty_HickoryHillSlaveandAfricanAmericanCemetery_0002
View along eastern edge of cemetery site as currently delineated with vinyl fence, camera facing southwest.

3 of 20. VA_HanoverCounty_HickoryHillSlaveandAfricanAmericanCemetery_0003
View along eastern edge of cemetery site as currently delineated with vinyl fence, camera facing northeast.

4 of 20. VA_HanoverCounty_HickoryHillSlaveandAfricanAmericanCemetery_0004
View along western edge of cemetery site as currently delineated with vinyl fence, camera facing north/northeast

5 of 20. VA_HanoverCounty_HickoryHillSlaveandAfricanAmericanCemetery_0006
View along western edge of cemetery site as currently delineated with vinyl fence, camera facing southwest

6 of 20. VA_HanoverCounty_HickoryHillSlaveandAfricanAmericanCemetery_0006
View of interpretive sign and vinyl fence at current entrance to cemetery, camera facing west.

7 of 20. VA_HanoverCounty_HickoryHillSlaveandAfricanAmericanCemetery_0007
View of concrete burial headstones within cemetery, camera facing northwest.

8 of 20. VA_HanoverCounty_HickoryHillSlaveandAfricanAmericanCemetery_0008
View of burial headstone within cemetery, camera facing west.

9 of 20. VA_HanoverCounty_HickoryHillSlaveandAfricanAmericanCemetery_0009
View of burial head and footstones within cemetery, camera facing west.

10 of 20. VA_HanoverCounty_HickoryHillSlaveandAfricanAmericanCemetery_0010
Representative view of existing conditions within cemetery, camera facing north.

11 of 20. VA_HanoverCounty_HickoryHillSlaveandAfricanAmericanCemetery_0011

Hickory Hill Slave and African American
Cemetery

Name of Property

Hanover County, VA

County and State

Representative view of existing conditions within cemetery, camera facing south.

12 of 20. VA_HanoverCounty_HickoryHillSlaveandAfricanAmericanCemetery_0012

View of burial with paired quartz head- and footstones within cemetery, camera facing west (another nearby grave within the cemetery features very similar quartz stones).

13 of 20. VA_HanoverCounty_HickoryHillSlaveandAfricanAmericanCemetery_0013

View of side-by-side oval depressions potentially indicative of unmarked burials within cemetery, camera facing east.

14 of 20. VA_HanoverCounty_HickoryHillSlaveandAfricanAmericanCemetery_0014

View of mason jar placed at foot of burial, camera facing south.

15 of 20. VA_HanoverCounty_HickoryHillSlaveandAfricanAmericanCemetery_0015

View of example of funeral home grave marker within cemetery, camera facing northeast (at least three burials within the cemetery retain this type of marker).

16 of 20. VA_HanoverCounty_HickoryHillSlaveandAfricanAmericanCemetery_0016

Detail view of funeral home graver marker metal stake with typewritten card (no longer legible), camera facing northeast.

17 of 20. VA_HanoverCounty_HickoryHillSlaveandAfricanAmericanCemetery_0017

View of naturalized periwinkle (a traditional planting) on burials, camera facing east.

18 of 20. VA_HanoverCounty_HickoryHillSlaveandAfricanAmericanCemetery_0018

View of headstone for Barbara Tarrer (Dec. 1928), camera facing east.

19 of 20. VA_HanoverCounty_HickoryHillSlaveandAfricanAmericanCemetery_0019

View of yucca (a traditional planting) just inside the cemetery fence, close to the historic entrance, camera facing west.

20 of 20. VA_HanoverCounty_HickoryHillSlaveandAfricanAmericanCemetery_0020

View of historic entrance to cemetery looking toward cemetery with vinyl fence visible in background, camera facing north/northeast.

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 100 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.

ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTATION - 1842 DEED OF SALE OF ENSLAVED PERSONS

Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery

Hanover County, VA

DHR No. 042-5792

Recorded by Anne M. Thompson
Dec 31 1842 W. F. W.

Recorded by W. F. W.

William F. Wickham
to
Brookbrough & Hummell

The debt secured by this Deed
This deed is satisfied by W. F. Wickham
Lewis M. Lacey Cashier
of the Bank of Virginia
J. Hummell & Co.

This Indenture made this 29th day of November 1842 Between
William Fanning Wickham of the County of Hanover of the first part, John
Brookbrough and Laura Hummell of the City of Richmond of the second
part and James W. Peppan Cashier of the Bank of Virginia of the third part
Whereas the said W. F. Wickham is justly indebted to the said James W.
Peppan Cashier as appears by his notes bearing even date with these presents,
payable and negotiable at the Bank of Virginia at sixty days for the
sum of four thousand eight hundred & forty dollars and the said Wickham
is willing and desirous to secure to the said Peppan Cashier and his assigns
or successor in office the payment of the said note with all charges due thereon
and of any note or notes given in renewal thereof or any part thereof now
or hereafter made by the said Wickham for and in consideration
of the premises & of one dollar to him in hand paid by the said John Brook-
brough and Laura Hummell the receipt whereof he doth hereby acknowledge
With full original transferred & delivered unto the said John Brookbrough
& Laura Hummell & the survivor of them & their heirs & assigns the following
slaves viz Phillis, John Fells, Sally, Peter, Fanny, John Rowe his wife
Letra & four children viz Judy, Sally, James & Martha, Tom Christian &
his wife Henry & six children viz Betty, Sally, Ella, Tom, Sam, & Jim and
George (coachman) in all twenty slaves, being the same that were purcha-
sed by W. F. Wickham at the sale made at the Rocky Hills on the 24th
day of the present month, the first nineteen of which were conveyed by John R.

Jayville & James M. Wickham trustees to the said W. F. Wickham & the last mentioned slave (George) by the said Jayville & James by our trustees to the said Wickham by their respective bills of sale dated the 24th - Dec^r. 1842 To have & to hold the said slaves & their future increase to them the said John Brockmough & Larson Annually & the survivor of them & their & his assigns - on this special trust & confidence - that if default shall be made in the payment of the note aforesaid, or of any note given in renewal thereof or of any part thereof, it shall be lawful for the said John Brockmough & Larson Annually or either of them or their assigns at the request of the said Peyram or his assigns, or hereafter in the office of Cashier of the Bank of Virginia to call the aforesaid slaves at public-auction for ready money, and out of the proceeds thereof shall first pay the expenses of this trust, then the note aforesaid or any note that may have been given in renewal thereof or any part thereof with all legal charges & interest then due thereon & the remainder or if any to the said Wickham or his assigns - having first given notice of the time & place of sale in some newspaper published in the City of Richmond for three weeks previous to the sale - and the said Wickham hereby warrants to the said Peyram & his assigns ~~him~~^{the} title to the said slaves. In witness whereof the parties to these presents have hereunto set their hands & seals the day & year first before written:

Witness

John R. Winston
Theodorick Stevens
Richard O. Morris

Wm. F. Wickham (seal)

(seal)
(seal)
(seal)

Hanover County, to wit:

This Deed of Trust was this day proved before me in my office by John R. Winston, Theodorick Stevens and Richard O. Morris the witnesses thereto and is thereupon admitted to record. Witness my hand the 3rd day of December 1842.

Truly recorded

Wm. O. Winston D.C.M.C.
Justice, Wm. O. Winston D.C.M.C.

ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTATION - 1857 RECORD OF SALE OF ENSLAVED PERSONS

Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery

Hanover County, VA

DHR No. 042-5792

I hereby sell & deliver possession to William F. Workman for the
sum of three thousand four hundred dollars the following slaves viz
Fanny, Nancy Jackson & Nancy's five children viz William, Emily,
John, Susan & Chener, the same having been the property of my wife
Mary Fanny Porcher. Witness, my hand & seal this 20th July 1857.
Julius Porcher (Seal)

Julius T. Parker

to { Bill of Sale

W. F. Wickham

Fanny, Mary, Larkin &

her children, William

Emily, John, Susan &

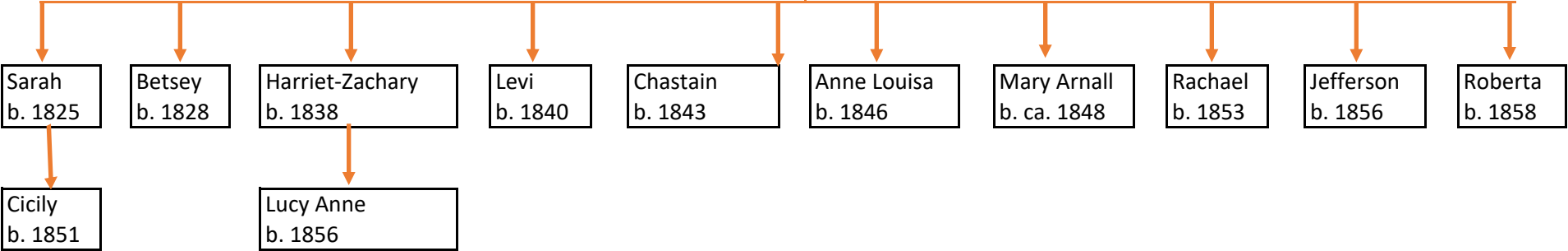
Cherrie—

Additional Documentation: Selected
Genealogies
Hickory Hill Slave and African American
Cemetery
Hanover County, VA
DHR No. 042-5792

Genealogy for Jack Gabriel and Lucy

Jack Gabriel
b. 1798

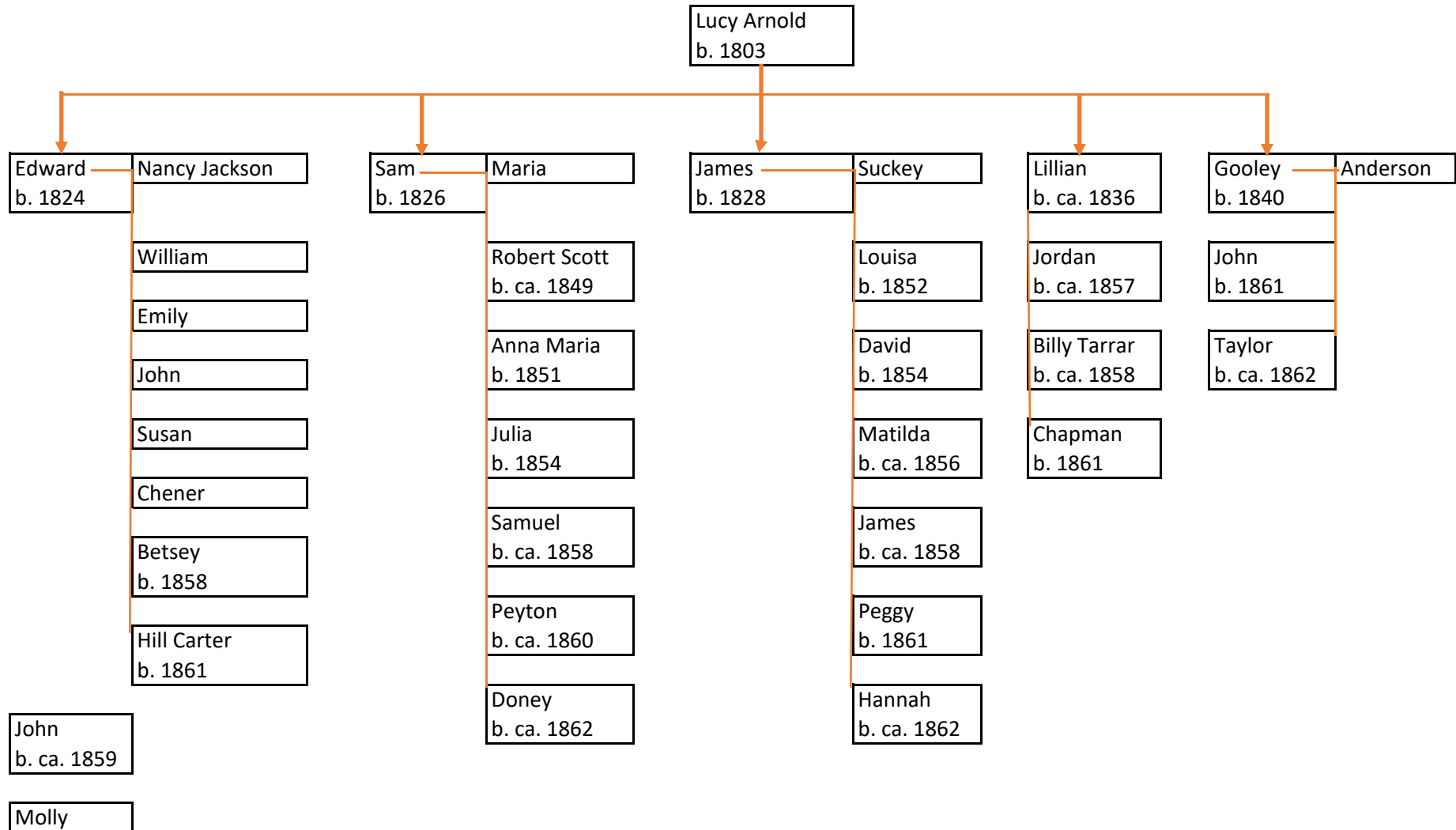
Lucy



Note: This is adapted from Catherine Floyd Quereshi's Hickory Hill Slave Family Genealogy for Jack Gabriel and Lucy.

Source: William Fanning Wickam Diaries, 1828-1864

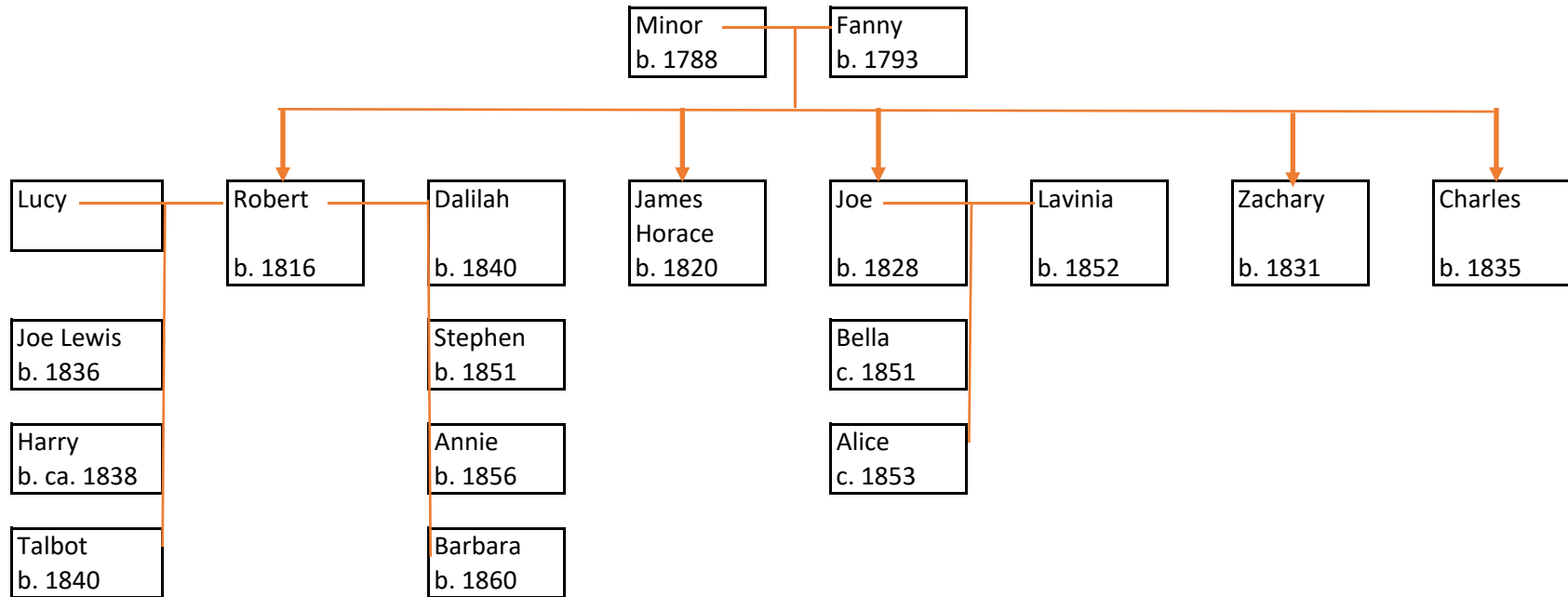
Genealogy for Lucy Arnold



Note: This is adapted from Catherine Floyd Quereshi's Hickory Hill Slave Family Genealogy #3 for Lucy Arnold, who had five children from 1824 to 1840 and 24 grandchildren.

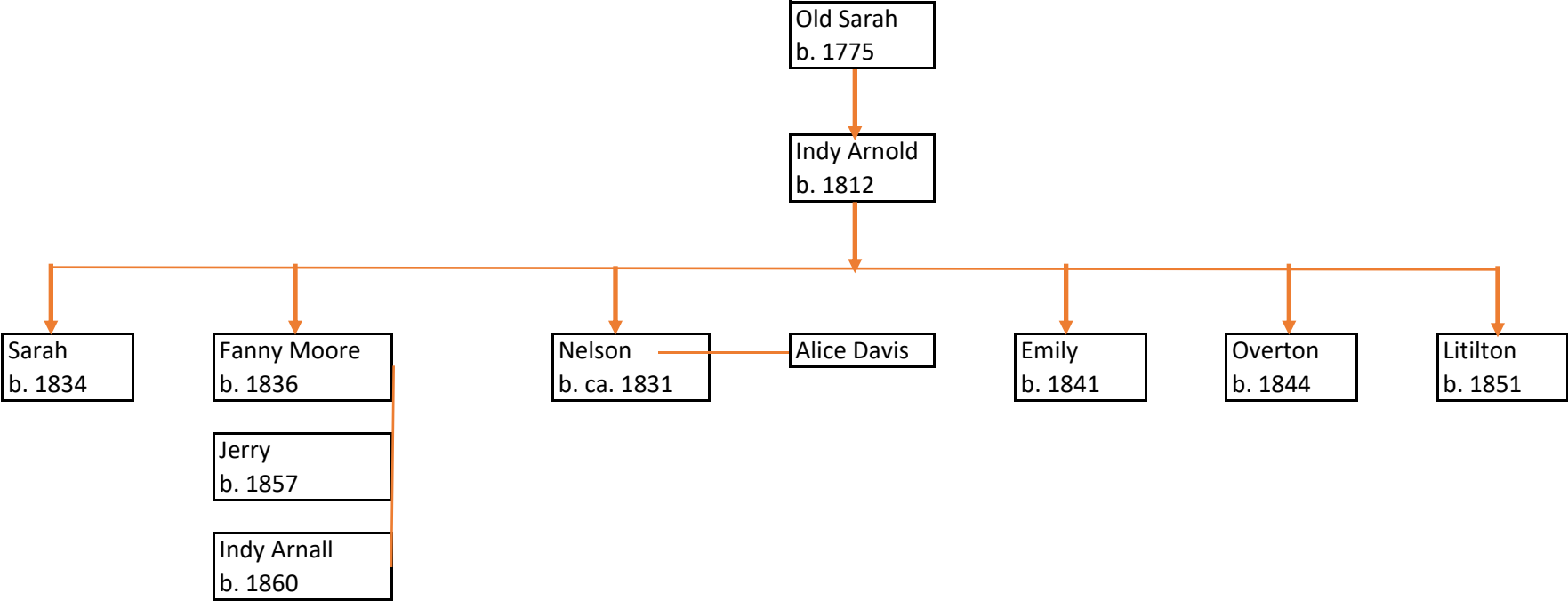
Source: William Fanning Wickam Diaries, 1828-1864

Genealogy for Minor and Fanny



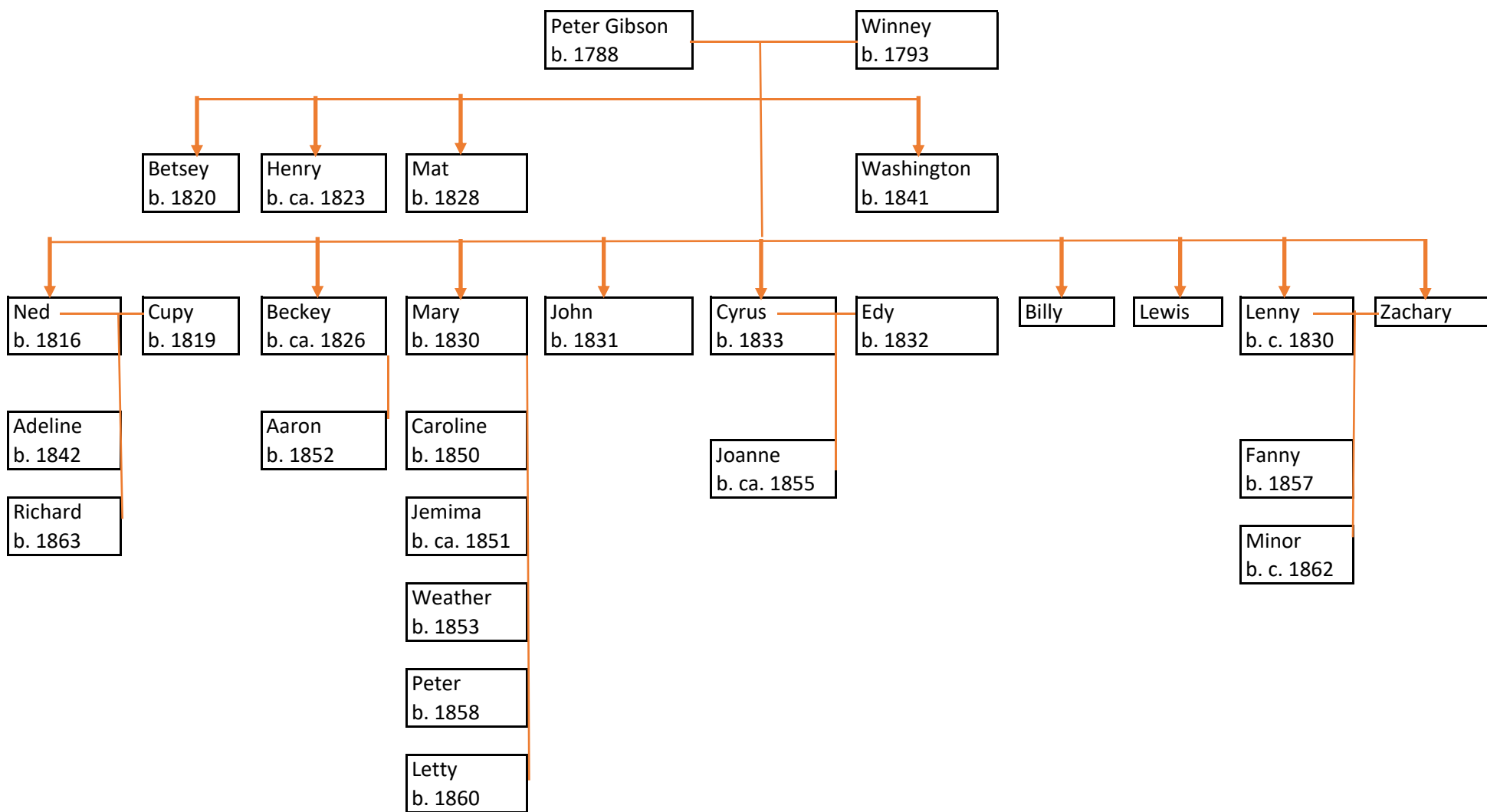
Note: This is adapted from Catherine Floyd Quereshi's Hickory Hill Slave Family Genealogy for Minor and Fanny.
Source: William Fanning Wickam Diaries, 1828-1864

Genealogy for Old Sarah



Note: This is adapted from Catherine Floyd Quereshi's Hickory Hill Slave Family Genealogy for Old Sarah.
Source: William Fanning Wickam Diaries, 1828-1864

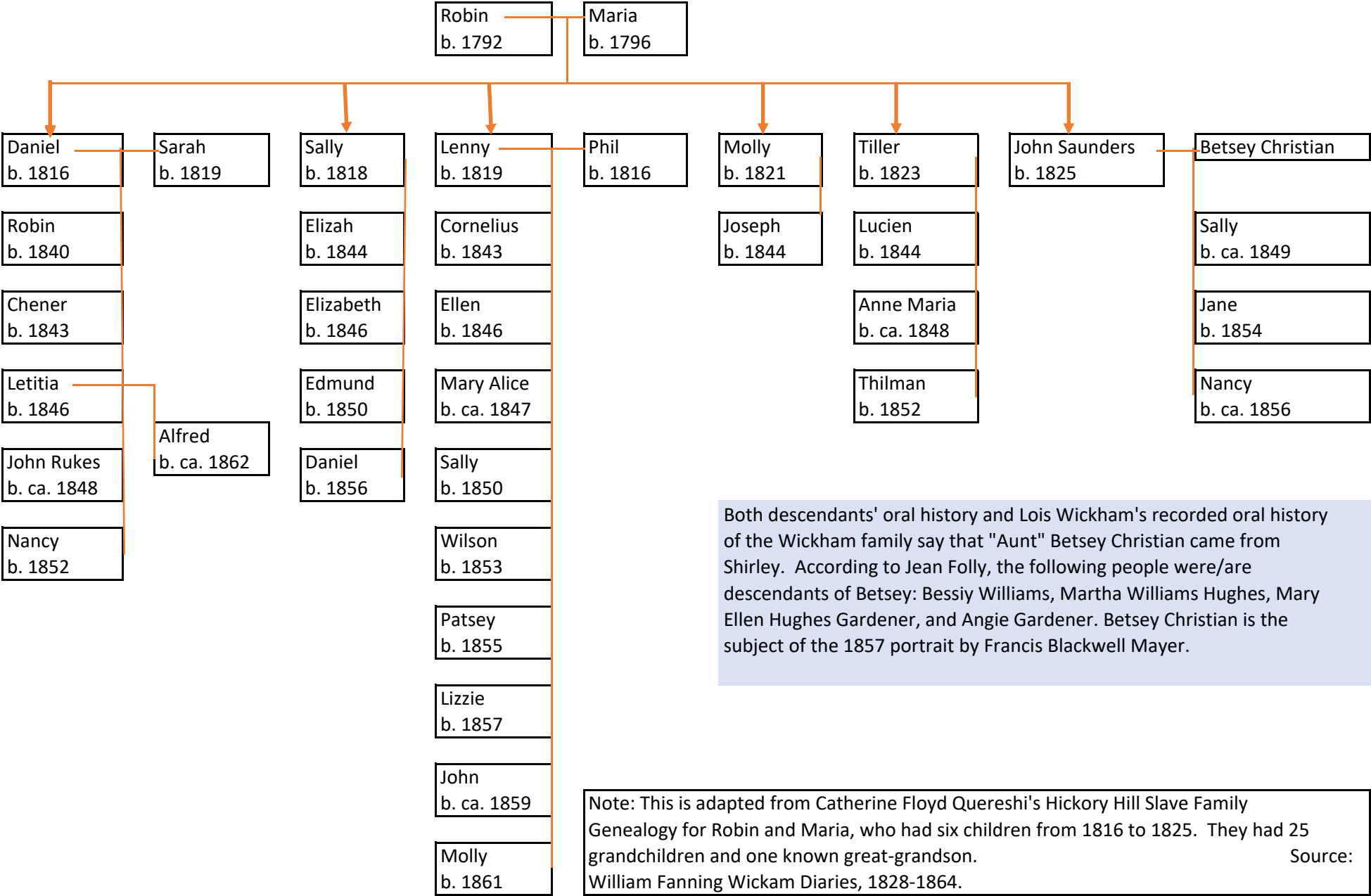
Genealogy for Peter Gibson and Winney



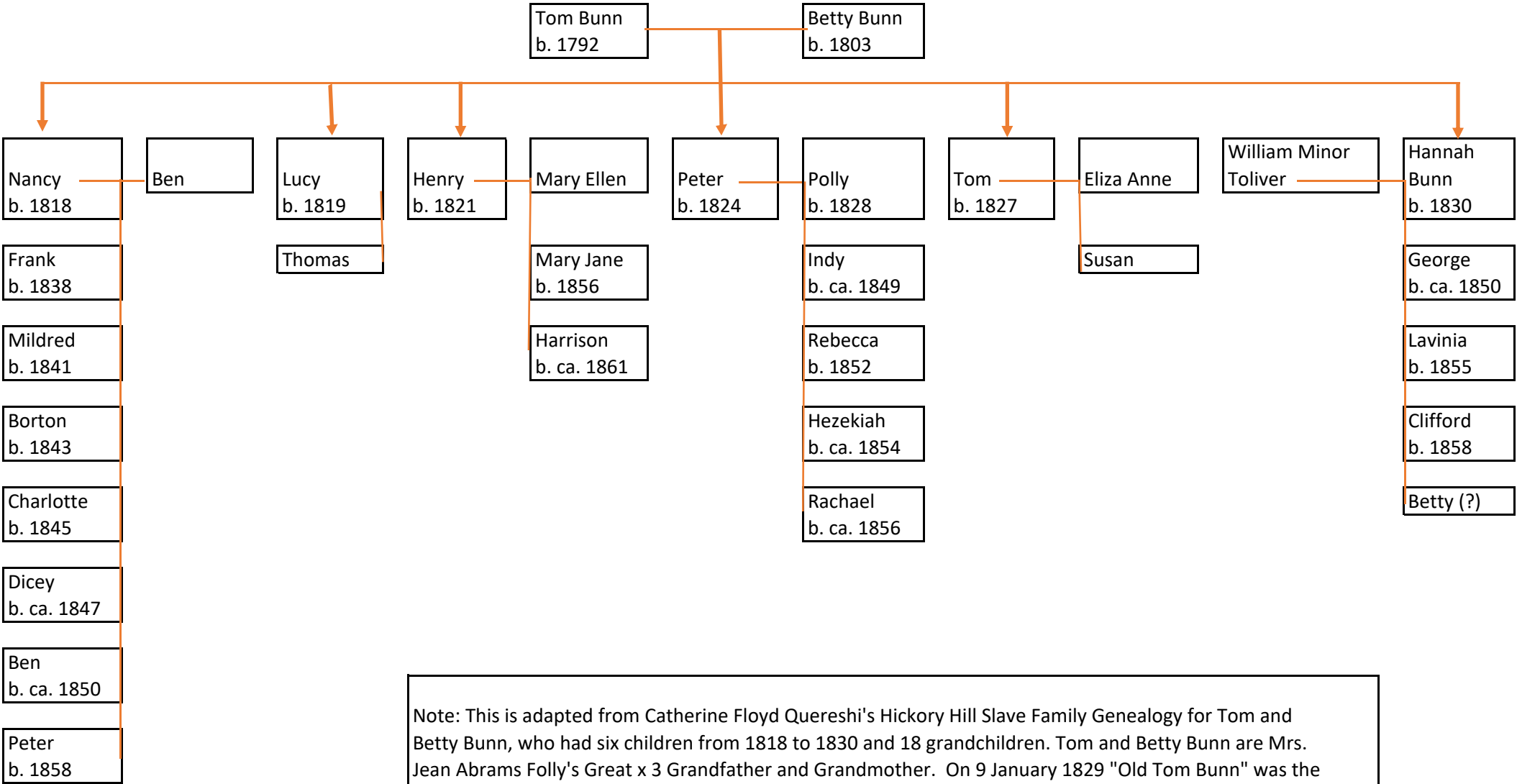
Note: This is adapted from Catherine Floyd Quereshi's Hickory Hill Slave Family Genealogy for Peter Gibson and Winney, who had 12 children from 1816 to 1841. They had 11 known (recorded) grandchildren.
William Fanning Wickam Diaries, 1828-1864.

Source:

Geneaology for Robin and Maria

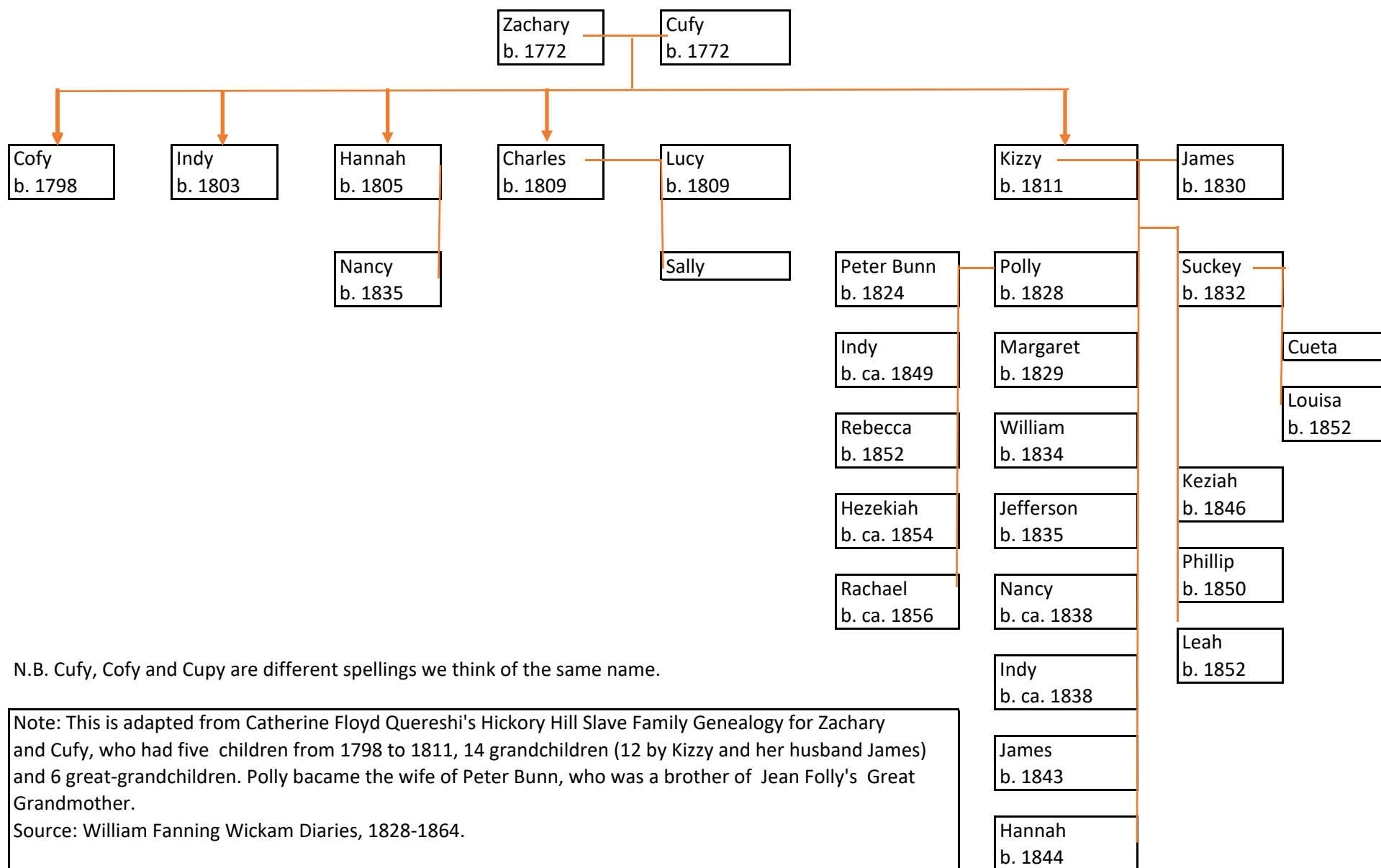


Genealogy for Tom and Betty Bunn



Note: This is adapted from Catherine Floyd Quereshi's Hickory Hill Slave Family Genealogy for Tom and Betty Bunn, who had six children from 1818 to 1830 and 18 grandchildren. Tom and Betty Bunn are Mrs. Jean Abrams Folly's Great x 3 Grandfather and Grandmother. On 9 January 1829 "Old Tom Bunn" was the first recorded death among the enslaved people who came from Shirley. Listed individually toward the end of the first list with an estimated age of 55, and given the family's naming patterns, it is assumed he was the father of the Tom Bunn above and thus was Mrs. Folly's Great x 4 Grandfather. Source: William Fanning Wickam Diaries, 1828-186

Genealogy for Zachary and Cufy





LOCATION MAP

Hickory Hill Slave and African
American Cemetery
Hanover County, VA
DHR No. 042-5792

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates

Latitude: 37.777780

Longitude: -77.418410



Feet

0 200 400 600 800
1:9,028 / 1"=752 Feet

Title:

Date: 7/11/2019

DISCLAIMER: Records of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR) have been gathered over many years from a variety of sources and the representation depicted is a cumulative view of field observations over time and may not reflect current ground conditions. The map is for general information purposes and is not intended for engineering, legal or other site-specific uses. Map may contain errors and is provided "as-is". More information is available in the DHR Archives located at DHR's Richmond office.

Notice if AE sites: Locations of archaeological sites may be sensitive to the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), and the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) and Code of Virginia §2.2-3705.7 (10). Release of precise locations may threaten archaeological sites and historic resources.



SKETCH MAP

Hickory Hill Slave and African
American Cemetery
Hanover County, VA
DHR No. 042-5792

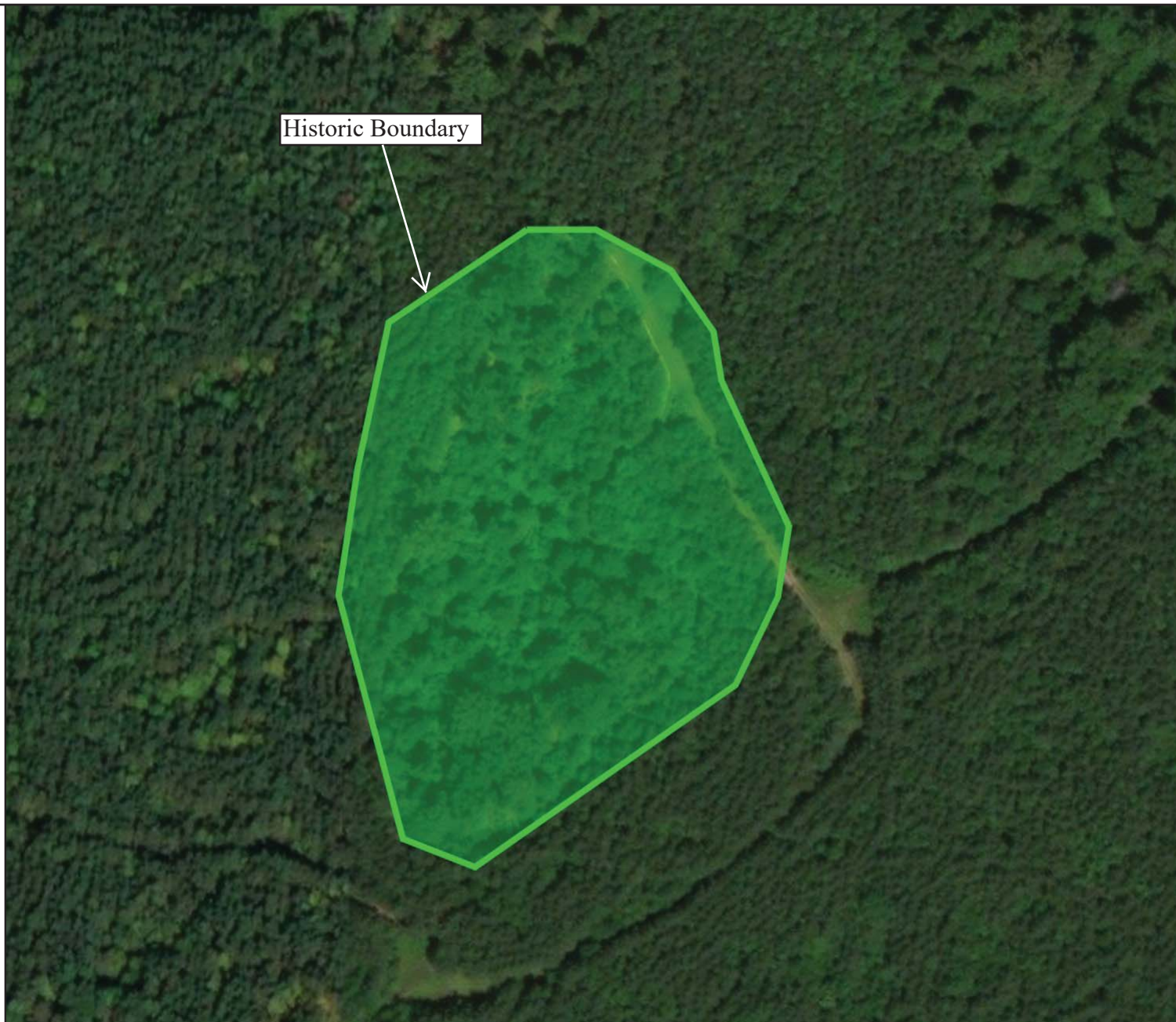
Contributing Resource

Cemetery, contributing site



Feet

0 50 100 150 200
1:2,257 / 1"=188 Feet



Title:

Date: 7/11/2019

DISCLAIMER: Records of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR) have been gathered over many years from a variety of sources and the representation depicted is a cumulative view of field observations over time and may not reflect current ground conditions. The map is for general information purposes and is not intended for engineering, legal or other site-specific uses. Map may contain errors and is provided "as-is". More information is available in the DHR Archives located at DHR's Richmond office.

Notice if AE sites: Locations of archaeological sites may be sensitive the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), and the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) and Code of Virginia §2.2-3705.7 (10). Release of precise locations may threaten archaeological sites and historic resources.

PHOTO KEY

Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery

Hanover County, VA

DHR No. 042-5792





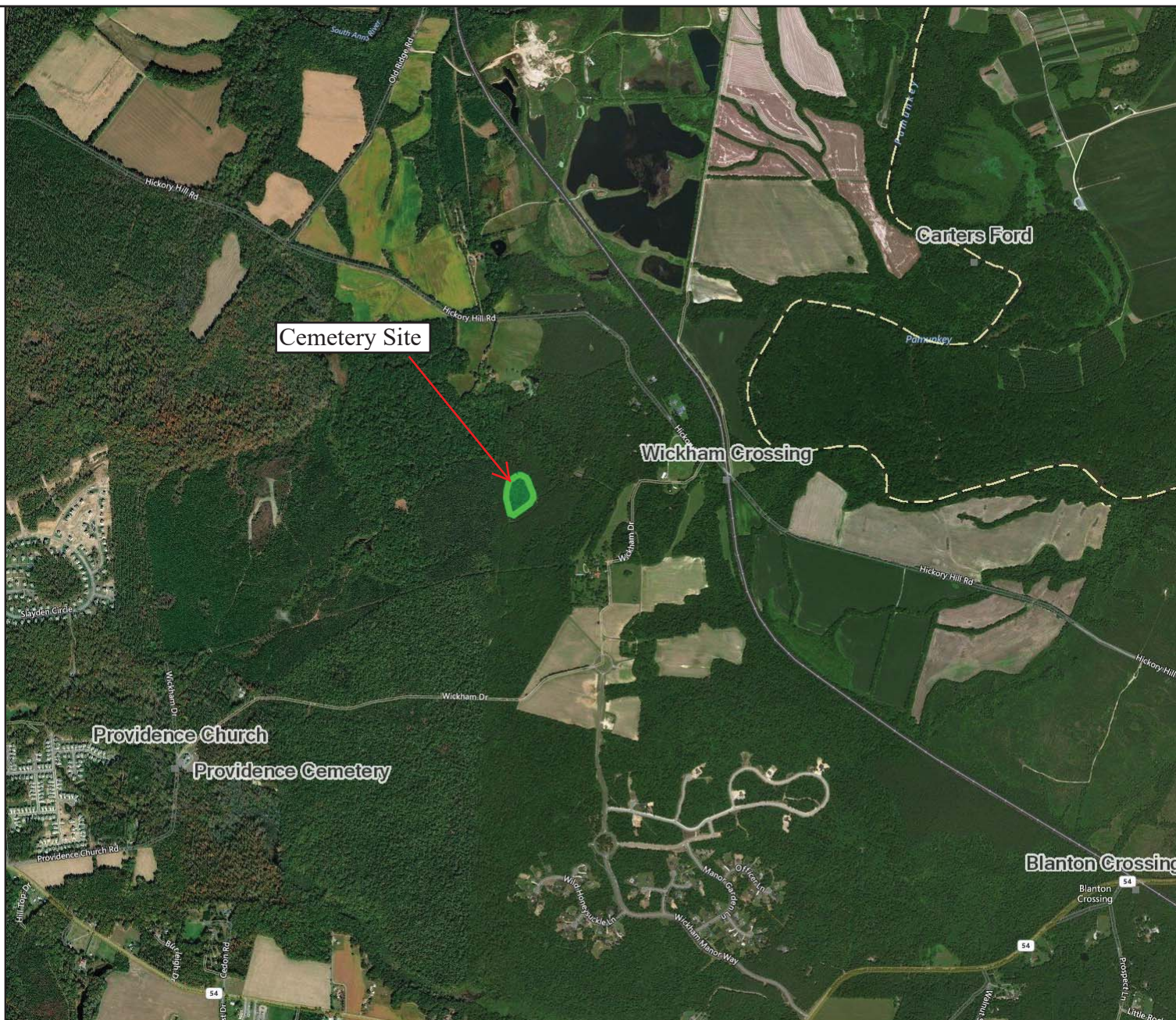
AERIAL VIEW - VICINITY

Hickory Hill Slave and African

American Cemetery

Hanover County, VA

DHR No. 042-5792



Title:

Date: 7/11/2019

DISCLAIMER: Records of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR) have been gathered over many years from a variety of sources and the representation depicted is a cumulative view of field observations over time and may not reflect current ground conditions. The map is for general information purposes and is not intended for engineering, legal or other site-specific uses. Map may contain errors and is provided "as-is". More information is available in the DHR Archives located at DHR's Richmond office.

Notice if AE sites: Locations of archaeological sites may be sensitive to the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), and the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) and Code of Virginia §2.2-3705.7 (10). Release of precise locations may threaten archaeological sites and historic resources.



Feet

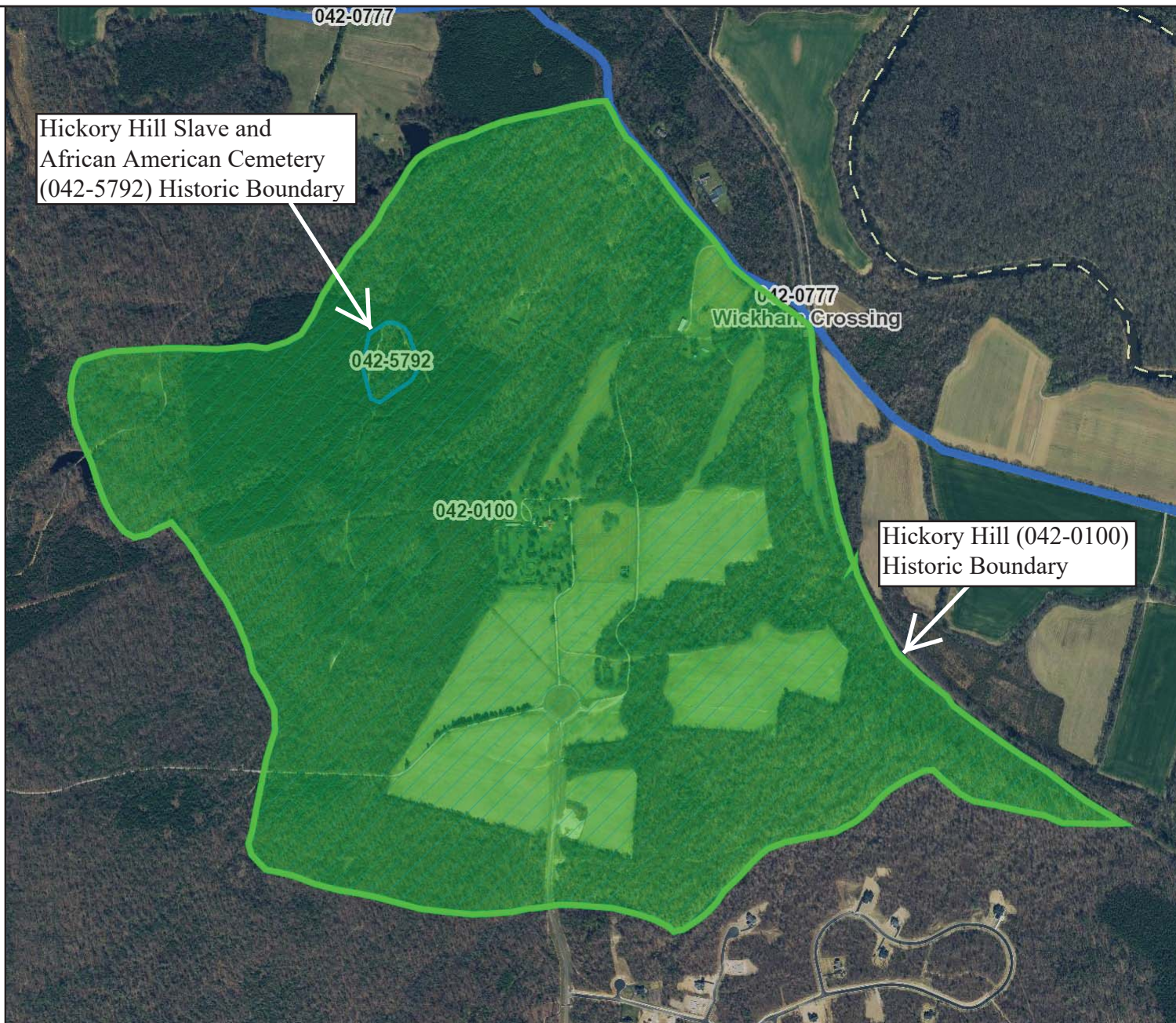
0 600 1200 1800 2400

1:36,112 / 1"=3,009 Feet



**Map of Hickory Hill (042-0100)
1974 Historic Boundary and
Hickory Hill Slave and African
American Cemetery (042-5792)
Historic Boundary**

Hickory Hill Slave and African
American Cemetery
Hanover County, VA
DHR No. 042-5792



Feet

0 500 1000 1500 2000

1:18,056 / 1"=1,505 Feet

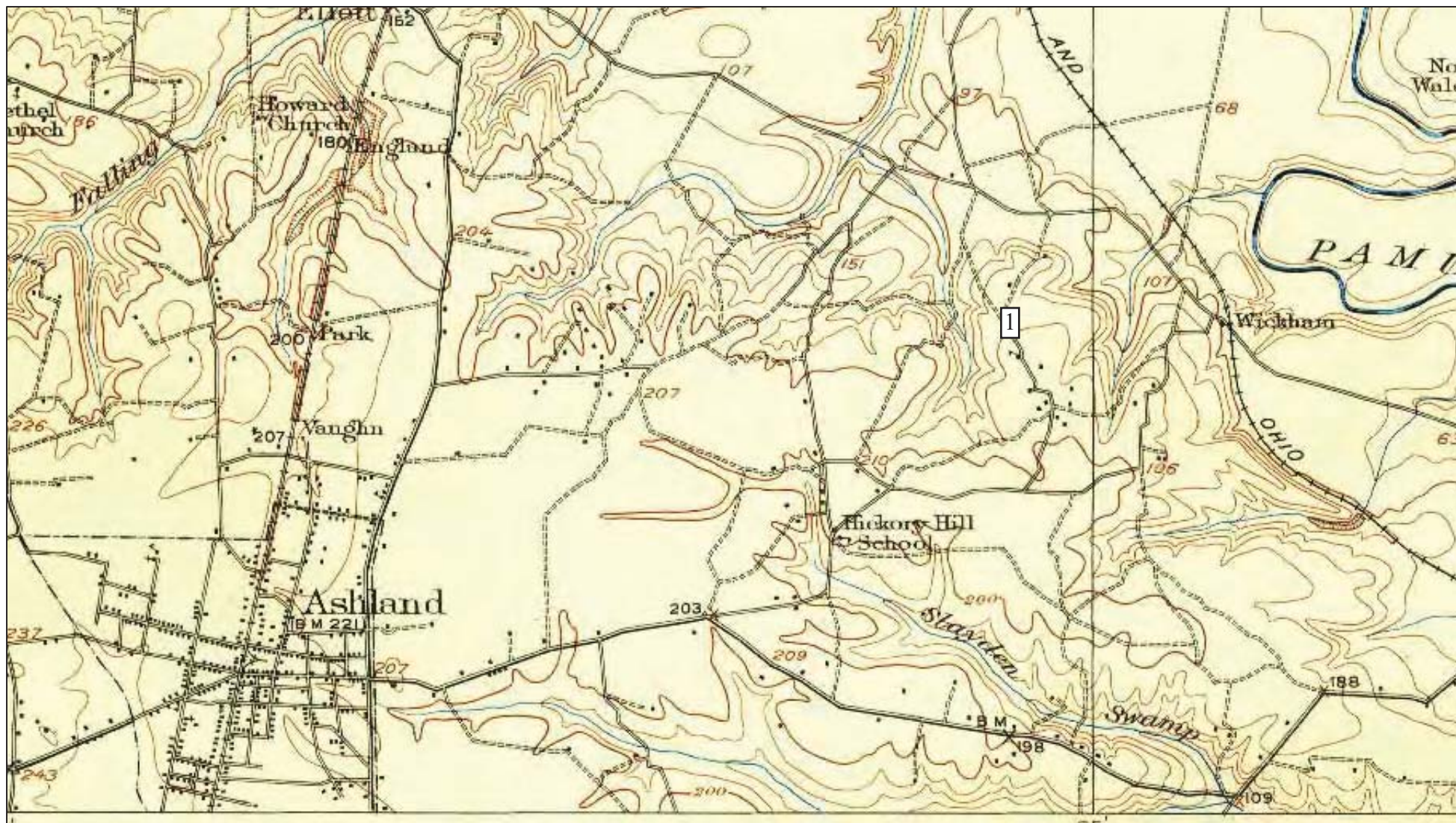
Title:

Date: 8/17/2020

DISCLAIMER: Records of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR) have been gathered over many years from a variety of sources and the representation depicted is a cumulative view of field observations over time and may not reflect current ground conditions. The map is for general information purposes and is not intended for engineering, legal or other site-specific uses. Map may contain errors and is provided "as-is". More information is available in the DHR Archives located at DHR's Richmond office.

Notice if AE sites: Locations of archaeological sites may be sensitive the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), and the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) and Code of Virginia §2.2-3705.7 (10). Release of precise locations may threaten archaeological sites and historic resources.





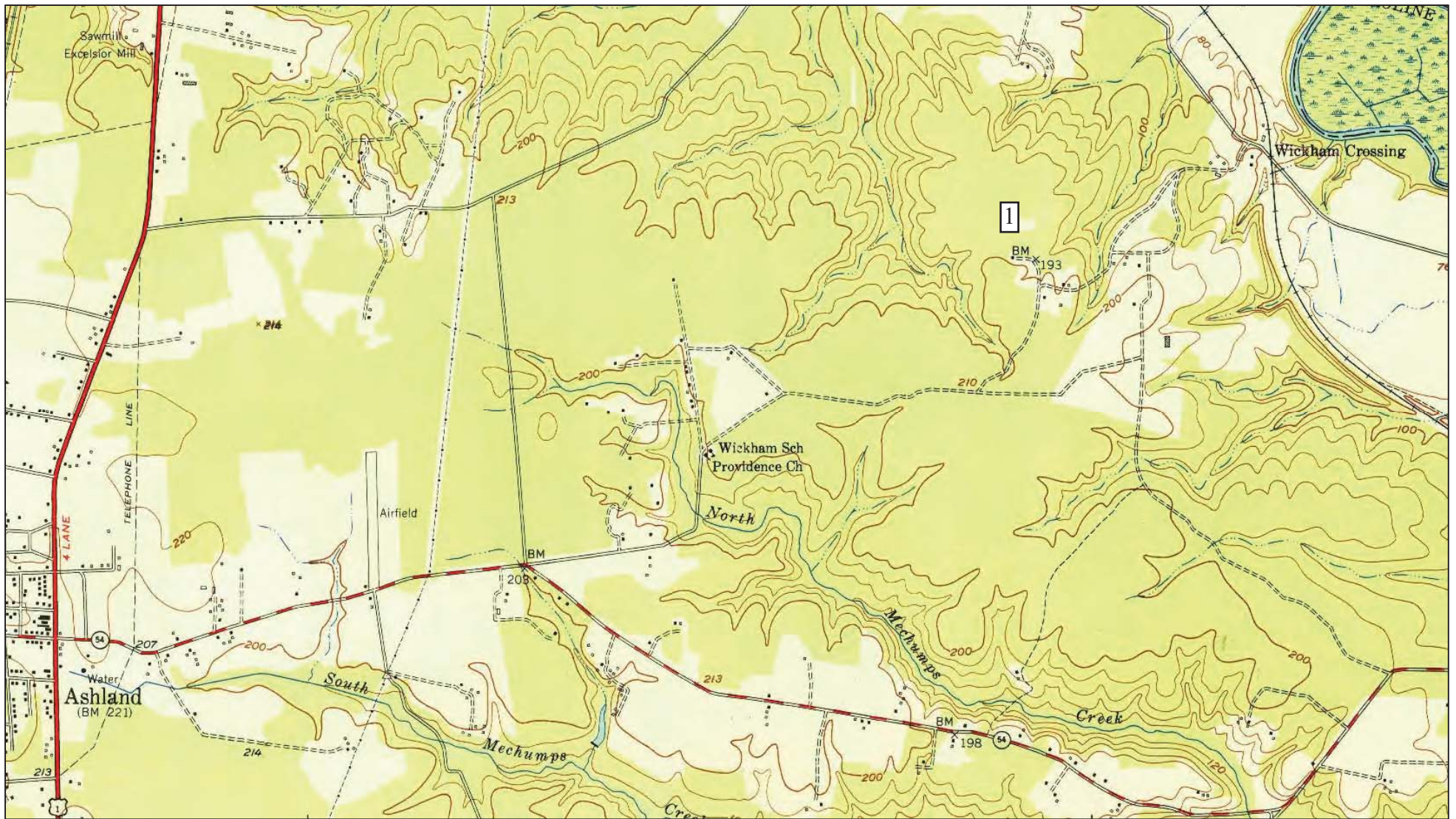
ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTATION - 1918 TOPOGRAPHIC MAP

Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery

Hanover County, VA

DHR No. 042-5792

1 - Approximate Location of Cemetery



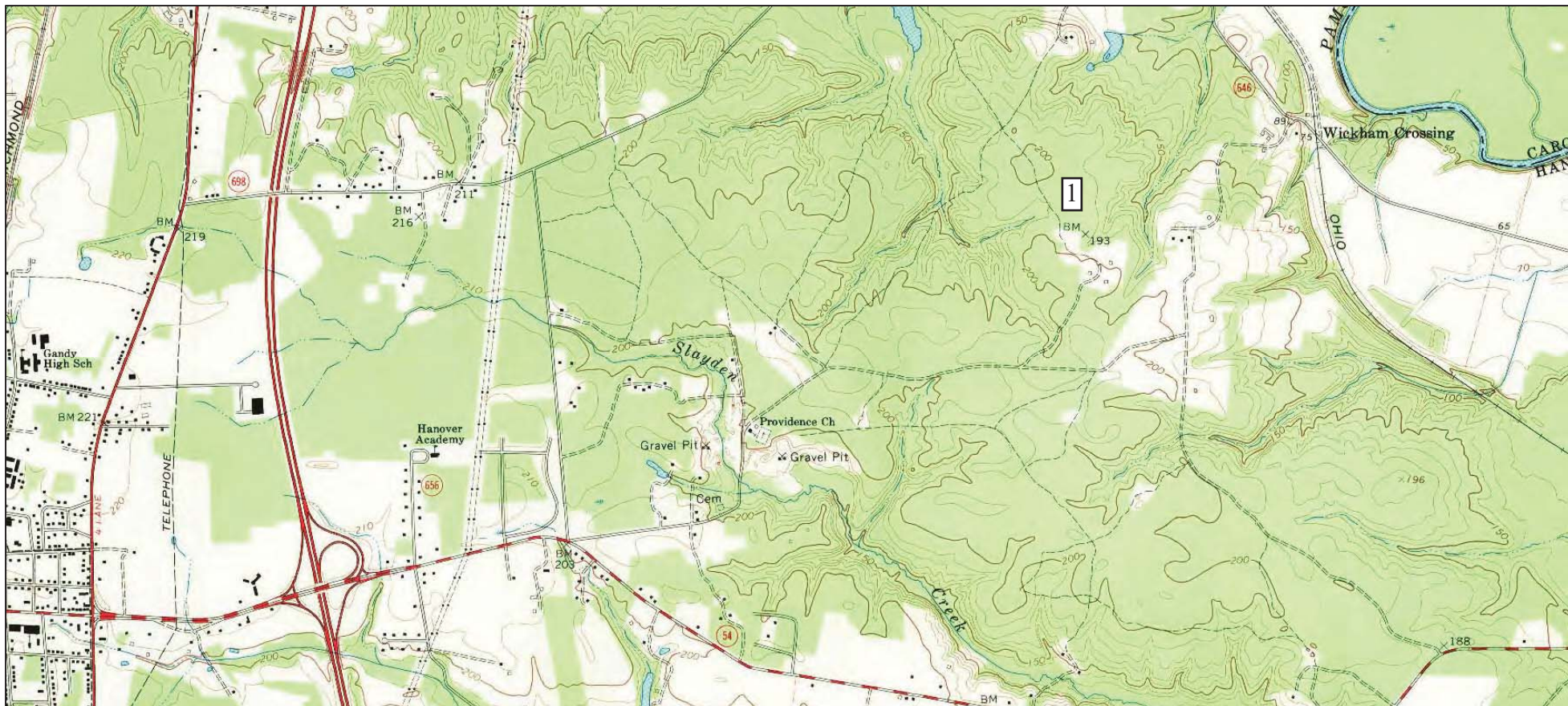
ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTATION - 1951 TOPOGRAPHIC MAP

Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery

Hanover County, VA

DHR No. 042-5792

1 - Approximate Location of Cemetery



ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTATION - 1969 TOPOGRAPHIC MAP

Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery

Hanover County, VA

DHR No. 042-5792

1 - Approximate Location of Cemetery

Supplementary Listing Record

NRIS Reference Number: SG100005427

Date Listed: 8/12/2020

Property Name: Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery

County: Hanover

State: VA

This Property is listed in the National Register of Historic Places in accordance with the attached nomination documentation subject to the following exceptions, exclusions, or amendments, notwithstanding the National Park Service certification included in the nomination documentation



Signature of the Keeper

8/12/2020

Date of Action

=====

Summary:

Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery is a roughly 4.25-acre parcel of land accessible via dirt road and located within the confines of the previously listed, 600-acre Hickory Hill antebellum plantation near Ashland, in Hanover County, Virginia. The current documentation identifies the Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery as individually eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under significance criteria A and D, justifies the application of criterion consideration d for a cemetery deriving its significance from its association with historic events, notes the property possesses a statewide level of significance, and outlines its period of significance as c. 1820 – c.1938. The associated areas of significance called out in the documentation are: ETHNIC HERITAGE: African American (for significance criterion A) and ARCHEOLOGY: Historic-Nonaboriginal (for significance criterion D).

Sited in what was once a rural, agricultural landscape increasingly subject to suburban development, Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery retains high integrity of location, design, feeling, and association and retains good integrity of workmanship for select features such as 1920s-era grave markers. The documentation notes that integrity of setting and materials have been compromised by unsympathetic maintenance practices, select ground disturbance in the form of tree dragging associated with timber farming activity in the 1980s, as well as the decay of organic materials formerly present but observed in the past by descendant community members as having included at least one brush arbor, paper inserts once present in extant metal grave markers provided by funeral homes, and nature's reclaiming of foodstuffs, animal bones, and other materials left to mark graves and for other purposes by past visitors.

Amendments:

The purpose of this Supplementary Listing Record (SLR) is three-fold:

- to underscore the cemetery's status as an individually eligible historic property evoking additional significance criteria and areas of significance that differ from those identified in the existing Hickory Hill National Register documentation (while still noting its association with Hickory Hill, listed on 11/21/1974);
 - to correct minor errors in Section 5 (Number of Resources within Property); and
 - to make explicit the sorts of Criterion D research questions to which this property may reasonably be expected to contribute significant information.
-

Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery is Individually Eligible for Listing

As noted above, the Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery is historically as well as geographically associated with the previously listed Hickory Hill, which was listed in the National Register in 1974 and whose documentation foregrounds the built environment of the antebellum plantation house and grounds. The cemetery, however, is distinct and individually eligible for listing in the National Register due to both its unique level of documentation as well as the fact that—like the surviving 1857 oil painting of “Aunt Betsy” from Hickory Hill discussed in the documentation—the cemetery offers a “contrasting understanding” of slavery, emancipation, Reconstruction, Jim Crow, and early twentieth-century African American life and death from a non-white perspective. In other words, it offers access to a perspective not afforded via the existing Hickory Hill documentation.

Section 5 (Number of Contributing Resources within the Property)

Two modest corrections are warranted here. First, the itemized list of contributing resources for the Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery nomination should be amended to reflect one (1) contributing site. Second, the number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register (i.e., the previously listed Hickory Hill) should be amended to reflect the numbers outlined in the narrative of the 1974 documentation—in other words, six (6) contributing buildings and two (2) contributing sites, for a total of eight (8) contributing resources.

Elaboration on Significance Criterion D and Associated Sample Research Questions

The Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery is unique in the level of historic documentation in the form of Hickory Hill owner William Fanning Wickham’s surviving diaries spanning the period 1/9/1829 to 1/29/1864 in which he identified names, estimated ages, identified kinship relations, and distinguished family groupings of individuals who died while enslaved at Hickory Hill. (Some of these individuals came to Hickory Hill as part of his wife, Anne Carter Wickham’s dowry and originated from Shirley Plantation. This is significant as it recommends additional lines of evidence for generating life histories and age at death estimates for some of the people named in Wickham’s diaries.)

These records, complemented by oral histories, other historic documents, and a strong preservation ethic provided by descendants of residents of nearby freedmen’s communities; limited field survey in the form of two “delineation studies” of the Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery in 2007 and 2016, which appear to have consisted of non-intrusive pedestrian survey and mapping; a growing body of comparative archeological data generated from cultural resources compliance work in the county and across this part of the state, this cemetery is significant not only for its historic association with important events such as enslavement, emancipation, Reconstruction, and Jim Crow, but it also possesses tremendous data potential in filling a significant knowledge gap concerning these profoundly underdocumented experiences and underrepresented stories captured in the National Register and elsewhere.

The research and data potential of this site is considerable and will teach us not only about this place but, when added to the growing interest in documenting and protecting African American burial grounds, in compiling national databases of information about enslaved Africans (such as the one envisioned as the National Burial Database of Enslaved Africans), the information potential of this site is considerable.

The documentation notes from the outset that, “Due to its culturally and archaeologically sensitive nature, the cemetery has not been subjected to systematic professional archaeological testing” (Section 7, p. 5). Later still, it notes: “The volume of important information already found and the property’s continuing research potential make the cemetery a rare opportunity to learn about specific enslaved individuals and their descendants” (Section 8, p. 53). When making the case for significance criterion D, National Register guidance specifies that nominations should include sample research questions to which the site can reasonably be expected to provide significant answers. Clearly, there are a number of non-invasive means for archeologically examining this

property that might profitably be called out in the documentation. There are also a good many other sorts of questions such inquiry might resolve. Without obligating the site's owners or stakeholders in any way, this SLR identifies a number of sample research questions to bolster this part of the documentation:

- As noted in the documentation, "Given that the land was owned and farmed before the American Revolution, there may be 18th century burials in the cemetery as well" (Section 8, p. 19, fn. 9). As such, one question to explore is: Is there evidence to suggest that the cemetery contains 18th-century burials? If so, what is the evidence? How do they differ (if at all) from later burials?
 - How might information gathered on enslaved peoples' cemeteries and burial practices at the presidential estates of George Washington, Andrew Jackson, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison—several of which are located in Virginia—inform the creation of a systematic research design for the study and interpretation of the Hickory Hill Slave and African American cemetery?;
 - What can be learned via the application of integrated aerial imagery, non-invasive geophysical analysis (incorporating GPR, as recommended by the Hanover County Architectural Review Board in its letter of support for this nomination), and surface mapping for locating previously undocumented burials at Hickory Hill? Are burials located beyond the boundaries of the post-2010 white fence?;
 - If one has not already been performed, what does a full vegetation inventory of the grounds within and immediately surrounding the cemetery do to confirm or refine the cemetery's established boundary?;
 - If acceptable to the property owner and members of the descendant communities, what might a sampling strategy for collecting small, minimally invasive soil samples reveal regarding changes in soil pH or other chemical signatures indicative of the presence of human remains?
 - Might cadaver dogs be employed to locate unmarked burials in the cemetery—and within an established survey perimeter immediately outside the post-2010 fence? If so, what does this investigation suggest?;
 - Do surviving ledger books and other documentation for Shirley Plantation, Hickory Hill, and South Wales discuss the purchase of coffins materials or the construction of same for the burial of enslaved peoples? If so, how do those numbers relate to the numbers of deceased enslaved people documented in W.F. Wickham's and other records? How do those relate to the number of burials supported by evidence at the cemetery?
 - If there is no evidence available via triangulation among the material, oral historical, and photographic evidence for this cemetery, what does (or might) comparative study of comparable African American cemeteries suggest about missing components of this cemetery (e.g., grave decorations, offerings, etc.)?
 - Have nineteenth-century African American Homegoing traditions and the history of African American funeral directors been studied in Virginia? If so, how might they inform the understanding of the use, arrangement, and meaning of space in the Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery?
-

The VIRGINIA SHPO was notified of this amendment.

DISTRIBUTION:

National Register property file

Nominating Authority (without nomination attachment)

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Hickory Hill Slave and African American
Cemetery (2024 Update)

Name of Property

Hanover County, VA

County and State

SG100005427

NR Reference Number

Section number Additional Documentation Page 2

The Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery was listed in the Virginia Landmarks Register and the National Register of Historic Places in 2020. In Section 8, p. 41-43, of the 2020 nomination form, some information under the heading **Tarrar – Bunn – Toliver – Hewlett – Abrams – Winston – Folly** included errors. The correct information is as follows:

William M. Toliver was married to Hannah Bunn. They were enslaved at Hickory Hill and are buried in the Hickory Hill Slave and African American Cemetery. William and Hannah were the parents of Betty Toliver Pemberton and the great-great-grandparents of Jean Abrams Folly. Betty Toliver Pemberton worked as the cook at the Wickham house when Jean Folly was a child. Betty's daughter, Clara, married Walter Abrams and they were grandparents of Jean Abrams Folly. Another daughter of Betty's, Roberta (Bertie), married Clarence Winston. They are the grandparents of George Winston, making Jean and George cousins as their grandmothers were sisters. Clarence and Bertie Winston are buried in the cemetery. George Winston's grandfather's brother is Robert (Bob) Winston. He is listed on a Hickory Hill payroll for day labor in July 1929. Today, George Winston is a trustee for Providence Baptist Church. Walter Douglas Abrams Jr. is the son of Walter Abrams Sr. and Clara Abrams, and he is buried in the cemetery.