

**Fort Monroe Federal Area Development Authority
African American Culture Working Group
Final Report**

December 2009

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
PURPOSE AND ORGANIZATION OF REPORT	1
Members	1
Charge	2
Scope and Limitations.....	2
METHODOLOGY	2
Data collection and compilation	2
RESULTS	3
CHRONOLOGICAL TIMELINE	5
CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES.....	6
PARTNERSHIPS	7
NEXT STEPS	8
CONCLUSION.....	9
APPENDIX A.....	11
Fort Monroe Chronology	11
APPENDIX B	20
FMFADA Programmatic Agreement (Appendix H): Narrative Description of Management Zone Boundaries	20
APPENDIX C	22
African American Assessment Study of National Historic Landmarks, February 6, 2008.....	22

INTRODUCTION

Fort Monroe guards the entrance to Hampton Roads and the Chesapeake Bay. The first Africans in Virginia landed at Old Point Comfort. Prior to completion in 1834, Chief Black Hawk was imprisoned at Fort Monroe. The fort was prominent in the Civil War as the only Tidewater Virginia military fortification in federal hands for most of the war. It served as a base of operations for several naval and infantry campaigns. In 1861, three men: Frank Baker, Shepherd Mallory and James Townsend, all enslaved, risked their lives to reach Fort Monroe. General Benjamin Butler declared them “contraband of war” and therefore would not be returned to the men who claimed to own them. After the war, Jefferson Davis, the former president of the Confederacy was imprisoned in the fort’s casemate. In 1960 Fort Monroe was declared a National Historic Landmark. In 2005 a Base Realignment and Closure (BRAC) decision determined that the Army will vacate and close Fort Monroe by 2011. Ownership of the property will revert to the Commonwealth of Virginia. A programmatic agreement, a joint document of the United States Army, the Virginia Department to Historic Resources and Fort Monroe Federal Area Development Authority, has been created and signed by 34 consulting parties. The Historic Preservation Advisory Group, charged with developing baseline data, viewshed and architectural analyses, design guidelines, and interpretive programs at Fort Monroe, requested Dr. Laurant Lee (a member of HPAG) to confer with scholars about African American history and culture at and surrounding Fort Monroe.

PURPOSE AND ORGANIZATION OF REPORT

Members

- ◆ Chairperson, Dr. Laurant Lee, Curator of African American History, Virginia Historical Society
- ◆ Harvey Bakari, Colonial Williamsburg, Manager of the African American History Interpretation Department at Colonial Williamsburg
- ◆ Christy Coleman, President, The American Civil War Center at Tredegar

- ◆ Vernon Courtney, Executive Director Hampton University Museum
- ◆ Dr. Cassandra Newby-Alexander, Associate Professor of History at Norfolk State University

Staff support was provided by David Dutton of Dutton + Associates, LLC and Josh Gillespie of FMFADA.

Charge

The Historic Preservation Advisory Group at Fort Monroe recognized the rich and varied African American History at Fort Monroe and charged the African American Culture Working Group to offer a broad framework to understand and interpret the African American history at Fort Monroe.

Scope and limitations

The report is intended to:

- ◆ Help inform the Master Interpretive Planning process;
- ◆ Articulate the significance of the African American history at Fort Monroe;
- ◆ Identify broad themes to share that history with diverse audiences;
- ◆ Recommend options and priorities for interpretation and programming;
- ◆ Suggest creative ways to interpret and disseminate the history;
- ◆ Suggest potential partner organizations and/or collaborations,;
- ◆ Highlight areas for further research and development; and
- ◆ Provide a final report by December 2009.

METHODOLOGY

Data collection and compilation

The members of the African American Culture Working Group (AACWG) convened on 1 June 2009 to begin exploring the direction of interpretation as it pertains to African American history and culture at Fort Monroe. An orientation by Deputy Director Conover Hunt, a tour of the site by John Quarstein and research presentations by Dr.

Ywone Edwards-Ingram and Mrs. Joan Charles provided the foundation for further discussions. We also reviewed publicly accessible material to provide baseline data. Through e-mail and phone calls and a subsequent meeting on 3 August we began to compile our findings and the following are our recommendations:

RESULTS

Directed and focused field trips to such places as Gettysburg National Park and Freedom's Frontier/Eastern Kansas and Western Missouri National Heritage Area is fertile ground for the development of an engaging interpretive strategy. Museums and historic sites have been in a "no-growth" pattern since 2003. However, tourism "destinations" as opposed to "intermediate sites" have fared somewhat better than the industry at large. This is a positive given the potential for multiple museum experiences at Monroe. The opportunity for innovative interpretation at Fort Monroe throughout the larger space will enhance visitor experiences. Consider solar-powered kiosks and walking trails; commission artists to create public art. Use computer modeling to recreate sites and stories.

1. Further research into primary and secondary materials needs to be conducted regarding the initial arrival of Africans at Point Comfort. The Captain of the *White Lion*, John Colyn Jope, wrote in his memoirs that he unloaded "20 and odd Negroes at Point Comfort." The historian Engel Sluiter's research identifies this group as Angolans caught in the 1618-1620 campaign for slaves. Dr. Sluiter's research and investigation into the British Naval Records will strengthen our understanding of the international slave trade and its connection to Point Comfort.
2. Exploring the lives and status of freeborn, enslaved, "contrabanded" and freed people is essential to the narrative to be developed. The direct relationship between freedom-seekers who came to Fort Monroe, the development of Hampton Institute as an educational institution and the families who descended from those first freedom-seekers suggests intriguing interpretations. Mary

Peake's efforts in the education field as well as the numerous teachers who risked their lives to provide instruction needs further development. Peake illuminates the role of women, both black and white, during the mid-19th century. An interesting diary by a white male teacher writing from the Tyler House at Fortress Monroe on 13 October 1865 provides another perspective of an historical moment in American history as freed people commenced to making their way in the world.

3. Because Fort Monroe changes over time, attention should also be given also to identifying old communities such as Slabtown, Goose Alley, and the development of Bay Shore. In addition, examine black migration patterns as the resort industry rises and falls. What happens to the surrounding areas as the population swells and contracts? How does the cultural landscape change with the impact of immigrant populations?
4. We also recognize further attention needs to be directed to Chief Black Hawk's incarceration at Fort Monroe in 1833. The irony of his imprisonment at a Fort designed to protect America from invaders should not go unnoticed in the continued struggle for freedom.
5. Labor studies will provide another lens to view the local and regional economy. Maritime labor in particular will illuminate the regional reliance on the large bodies of water surrounding the area and the work lives of watermen and their families across a continuum.
6. The evolution of race and gender roles in the 17, 18 and 19th centuries should provide additional opportunities for interpreting the lives of ordinary and extraordinary people. Additional important themes include but are not limited to: family life and relationships; the quest for freedom, justice and equality; education, literacy and citizenship; spiritual practices, foodways and cultural traditions; and recreation, leisure, and entertainment.

These themes would better position Fort Monroe to meet the recommendations cited in the 2008 African American National Historic Landmark Assessment Study (see Appendix C).

CHRONOLOGICAL TIMELINE

Based on a National Park Service Reconnaissance Study created in May 2008 the periods of development at Fort Monroe are: Colonial period (1607-1818), Federal Period (1819-1860), Civil War (1861-1865), Post-Civil War (1866-1899), Early Twentieth Century Development (1900-1929), Depression/World War II Development (1930-1945), Post World War II Development (1946-2008). Though it will be difficult to depart from a chronological timeline, it would be worthwhile to explore other approaches. For example, the use of the historic property management zones as a basis for managing and treating Fort Monroe's historic properties might also be considered as a means not only to interpret the landscape but the people who inhabited it as well. The management zones shall serve as the basis for a comprehensive approach for the management and treatment of the diverse and numerous historic, architectural, viewshed, cultural landscape, and archaeological resources at Fort Monroe.

Zone A (West Peninsula)

Zone B (East Peninsula)

Zone C (North Gate Road/Stilwell Drive)

Zone D (McNair, Ingalls, Fenwick Corridors)

Zone E (Stone Fort and Moat)

Endicott Batteries

Individually eligible historic properties

Use the landscape fully and be consistent with archeological and historical interpretation. Scholars from various disciplines should be consulted to fully integrate the interpretive master plan. Continue research and investigations into a cemetery purportedly on the

property. The above principles are fully outlined as Stipulations in Section II of the Programmatic Agreement (see Appendix H for the Narrative Description of the Management Zone Boundaries; also see Appendix G for the management zones map).

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

The word “contraband” as a descriptor objectifies people. Considerable attention needs to be given to the historical moment of “re-naming” or re-classifying a group of people. As suggested by Dorothy Redford in an HPAG meeting, Laurant Lee sought the advice of Rex Ellis, of the National Museum of African American History. In an 18 November 2009 phone conversation, Mr. Ellis opined that although the word “contraband” may be problematic, as it does not put a human face of those who sought freedom under the protection of the Union forces, we will not be able to get past the term “contraband.” However, the term does provide an opportunity to conduct research on a population who existed at an interim level between slavery and freedom. Context is critically important and every effort should be made to identify people by name and the place from which they came. As a first step, we recommend research on the first three men who sought help from Fort Monroe: Frank Baker, Shepherd Mallory, and James Townsend. Conducting such research will position those involved in the interpretation of Fort Monroe to move past the nebulous term of slaves and contraband to the universal quest for freedom sought by all persons. Where possible, “personality” stories should be developed to offer visitors a multi-dimensional rendering of African Americans as people. Their (his)stories may provide a more personal and engaging strategy for exploring universal themes. The personal experience of seeking freedom during war enlivens Virginia’s “peculiar” history and culture and makes the study of the Civil War relevant to a wider audience.

Likewise, the story of John B. Cary, a white officer who was sent by Colonel Mallory to retrieve Baker, Mallory and Townsend, offers an opportunity to understand the entwined lives of blacks and whites before, during, and after emancipation. Such stories suggest fascinating studies in the concept of manhood and gender-identity in the mid 19th century

as America grappled with race, rights and freedom. Further research needs to be conducted on the 1st and 2nd Regiments of the U.S. Colored Cavalry and the 2nd U.S. Colored Light Artillery which were raised at Fort Monroe. Russell Hopson, an independent scholar will be presenting his research on the Union Army Census of the Colored population of York County at the Virginia Forum in April 2010.

The structure of contraband camps is an area in need of further research. Where were they situated; what were the demographics; how did the inhabitants live; what role did the Freedmen's Bureau have? These and other questions need to be answered to illuminate the contraband experience. Laura Purvis of the University of Virginia is conducting research on this subject and will be presenting at the Virginia Forum in April 2010 at Christopher Newport University. Investigate the bureau records from the superintendent of Negro Affairs at Fort Monroe. See the Freedmen's Bureau Records, particularly Record Group 105.

Walking trails with historic markers, public monuments, commissioned public art, and public programming, are a few of the ways to encourage diverse audiences to appreciate the entirety of Fort Monroe.

PARTNERSHIPS

Partner organizations will greatly depend on how expansive the story becomes. In the central and southeastern Virginia region strong and vibrant organizations, collections and programming already exists. For example, Historic Jamestowne focused on the African American spiritual as a national treasure in a July 18, 2009 event. Preservation Virginia and the National Park Service co-sponsored the program which demonstrated how spirituals and slave songs are central to African American cultural heritage and America's oral history. Another program sponsored by Historic Jamestowne commemorated the arrival of the first Africans in Virginia with walking tours, living history programs and musical tributes. Fort Monroe's proximity offers an opportunity to extend the commemoration.

The Black History Museum and Cultural Center of Virginia is the lead institution in a project to identify the marriage and co-habitation records created by the Freedmen's Bureau. Consideration should be given to incorporate research findings into programming at Fort Monroe that will reach a large and diverse public. The Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society of Hampton Roads as well as the Contraband Historical Society will be excellent allies in fleshing out the individual histories. Because many of those seeking freedom came to Fort Monroe from plantations it would be worthwhile to explore partnerships with the James River Plantations and others. Additional potential Interpretive Partners include: Norfolk State University and Hampton University, Mariners Museum, National Park Service, Museum of the Confederacy, Virginia Historical Society, local churches (all denominations), and national women's organizations. Reaching out to a variety of ethnic groups is also encouraged. For best results, engage cultural organizations and churches for short-term finite projects. Strengthen alliances with genealogical and historical organizations as well as cultural institutions. Explore education and funding initiatives such as *Teaching American History* and *Teaching with Historic Places*, etc. Develop a master calendar of events and consider the possibility of hosting events.

NEXT STEPS

We recommend the inclusion of Dr. Dianne Swann-Wright and Mr. Robert Charles Watson as resource specialists who have significant experience in interpretation and African American history. Their involvement in the interpretive master planning process *and beyond* will enrich the final outcome.

Following a presentation of the draft report to HPAG on December 7, Robert Nieweg requested we amend the report to recommend a research plan and a budget to support the research. The members heartily concur. In addition, we recommend the development of a formal internship program. As models see: The National Park Service's Cultural Resources Diversity Program, University of Mary Washington's Department of Historic

Preservation, the National Trust for Historic Preservation's Diversity Scholarship Program, the National Council on Public History and the Smithsonian Institution's Office of Fellowships and Internships.

As soon as possible:

- ◆ Review the Cultural Landscape study that will be conducted by the Army. The study will document the evolution of the land form at Fort Monroe from its earliest known occupation to the present. It will also chronicle past land uses, identifying significant landscape features and spatial relationships, and other important aspects of the existing and historic landscape at Fort Monroe.
- ◆ Review the current and soon-to-be revised Fort Monroe National Historic Landmark (NHL) District nomination drafted by the Army.
- ◆ Review the National Register of Historic Places Nominations for those building at Fort Monroe identified as individually eligible.
- ◆ Review the Casemate Museum's collections for African Americana and specific archival materials and information on individual artifacts pertinent to Fort Monroe's historic significance.
- ◆ Review the Army's report documenting the results of archaeological testing within the boundary of Fort Monroe to identify any remnant of the former Freedmen's Cemetery.

CONCLUSION

As charged by the Historic Preservation Advisory Group to devote sustained attention on African American history and culture at Fort Monroe we believe the success of any project relevant to American history must include a significant focus on African

American agency and the evolving status of African Americans across a continuum. A considerable opportunity to tell these rich stories is lost if interpretation is confined to the Civil War era. This important subject should not be segregated from the larger narrative about Fort Monroe but rather, the interpretive strategy should suggest a braided narrative that encompasses political, military, social and cultural history. In conclusion, we believe the potential to create multiple museum experiences that fully address race, rights and freedom, that also encompasses the natural and built environment, and that will attract and engage diverse audiences will meet and surpass the interpretive and educational criteria needed to enter into a relationship with the National Park Service and also qualify Fort Monroe as a World Heritage Site.

APPENDIX A

Fort Monroe Chronology - National Park Service Reconnaissance Study (May 2008)

Periods of Development:

- 1607 – 1818: Colonial Period; dominated by exploration and settlement of Hampton Roads and James River; temporary fortifications; lighthouse.
- 1819 – 1860: Federal Period; Construction Period; Artillery School of Practice; dominated by the construction of the fort and essential military buildings.ⁱ
- 1861- 1865: Civil War; dominated by influx of personnel and supplies necessary for the war effort; fortification remained in Union hands.ⁱⁱ
- 1866 – 1899: Post-Civil War Expansion; period dominated by an Army building renovation campaign and construction of Endicott Batteries.ⁱⁱⁱ
- 1900 – 1929: Early Twentieth Century Development; dominated by the construction of the newly-reorganized Coast Artillery School and the necessary support buildings (1905 – 1915).^{iv}
- 1930 – 1945: Depression/WWII Development; dominated by the construction under Depression work programs and World War II temporary structures.^v
- 1946 – 2008: Post-WWII Development; Wherry Housing.

1607 – 1818: Colonial Period

1607: Virginia Company, with John Smith, land and name Point Comfort; Smith builds defensive works on the Point at the mouth of the James River (Hampton Roads) where the channel was narrowest.^{vi}

1609: British, under Captain Ratcliffe, build Algernourne Fort (Fort Algernon) at Old Point Comfort, named in honor of William de Percy; earthwork with boards 10 hands high, held by 25 soldiers and 4 iron pieces.^{vii} Fort Algernon protected the entrance to settlements along the James River estuary.^{viii}

ⁱ HABS, v 1, p 19

ⁱⁱ HABS, v 1, p 37

ⁱⁱⁱ HABS, v 1, p 19

^{iv} HABS, v 1, p 37

^v HABS, v 1, p 37

^{vi} HABS, v 1, p 3

^{vii} HABS, v 1, p 3

^{viii} Cobb, p 52

1612: Fort Algernon burned.^{ix}

1730s: Fort George built at Old Point Comfort, constructed as two lines of brick and shell lime walls set 16' apart^x; Governor William Gooch wrote in 1736 that “no ship could pass it without running great risks.”^{xi}

1749: Hurricane destroys Fort George.^{xii}

1802: Old Point Comfort Lighthouse constructed; octagonal stone tower with interior spiral staircase; treads keyed into masonry wall as well as supported by riser below.^{xiii}

1812: War of 1812: British ships sail into Chesapeake Bay where they destroyed the city of Hampton and burned Washington, DC, unhindered by any coastal defenses.^{xiv}

1819 – 1860: Federal Period

1817: Third System of Coastal Defense established; Simon Bernard, French trained military engineer, hired to give advice on fort design^{xv}; on the recommendation of the Marquis de Lafayette, Bernard, a former aide-de-camp to Napoleon Bonaparte known for the Defenses of Antwerp, was appointed to draft plans for coastal fortifications.^{xvi}

1819: Major Charles Gratiot and contractor Bolitha Laws begin construction on Fortress Monroe at Old Point Comfort^{xvii}; Quarters 1 (DeRussy House) constructed inside what would become the stone fortress; two story Federal style residence with raised basements and two-story front porch.^{xviii}

1821-29: The Fortress constructed, designed by Simon Bernard; consists of load bearing masonry structure and associated earthworks; modeled on classic French border fortifications perfected by Sebastien Vauban, Louis XIV's great military engineer^{xix}; the fort is an irregular hexagon with bastions; the 63-acre parade ground is lined with casemates along several fronts; Fort Monroe was the headquarters for the coastal defense system; the work was so massive that it was considered nearly impregnable.^{xx}

1822: Investors led by Marshall Parks build the Hygeia Hotel on Old Point Comfort outside the fort walls, after permission granted by U.S. Army.^{xxi}

^{ix} HABS, v 1, p 4

^x HABS, v 1, p 6

^{xi} Cobb, p 52

^{xii} HABS, v 1, p 6

^{xiii} HABS, v 1, p 10

^{xiv} HABS, v 1, p 9

^{xv} HABS, v 1, p 9

^{xvi} Cobb, p 52

^{xvii} HABS, v 1, p 10

^{xviii} Army, HARMP v 2, p 4

^{xix} Army, HARMP v 3, p 4-5

^{xx} Weaver, p 49

^{xxi} Quarstein & Mroczkowski, p 21

1823: Captain Mann P. Lomax, commanding Company G of the Third Artillery, leads first of 11 artillery companies into the fort that was still under construction^{xxii}; Quarters 18 and 18 (The Tuileries) constructed inside the fort walls; two story Federal style residence with raised basements and two-story front porch.^{xxiii}

1824 Parade Ground, an irregularly shaped interior space roughly centered within the fort walls, was cleared and leveled in preparation for Marquis 62 de Lafayette's visit^{xxiv}; Live Oaks are prominent in clusters at the perimeter of the Parade Ground, documented in early photographs.^{xxv}

1824: Artillery Corps for Instruction, later named the Artillery School of Practice, established at Fort Monroe under the command of Brevet Colonel Abraham Eustis; curriculum included artillery exercises, gunnery practice, laboratory work, and arsenal construction.^{xxvi}

1828: Edgar Allan Poe, using the name Private E. A. Perry, served four months at Fort Monroe before entering the United States Military Academy.^{xxvii}

1830: Two companies of artillery sent to Wilmington, NC, to discourage an insurrection.^{xxviii}

1831: Second Lieutenant Robert E. Lee assigned to assist Captain Andrew Talcott, the engineer in charge of construction at Fort Monroe; lived with his wife in Quarters 17, known as The Tuileries; supervised construction of the moat and Fort Calhoun on the south side of the channel facing Norfolk, VA.^{xxix}

1832: Five companies sent to Charleston, SC, during the Nullification Crisis.^{xxx}

1833: Chief Black Hawk imprisoned at Fort Monroe; eight companies sent to Fort Mitchell, AL, to assist in the removal of white families from land ceded to the Creek Indians.^{xxxi}

1834: Fort Monroe arsenal grows to become fifth largest in US, with 39 workmen, specializing in seacoast ordinance and manufacture of seacoast gun carriages; officers were taught the care and manufacture of gunpowder under the Artillery School's laboratory instruction^{xxxii}; school operations suspended until 1858 since the garrison was frequently

^{xxii} Cobb, p 52-53

^{xxiii} Army, HARMP v 2, p 4

^{xxiv} HABS, v 1, p 23

^{xxv} Army, HARMP v 3, p 15-16

^{xxvi} HABS, v 1, p 12

^{xxvii} Quarstein & Mroczkowski, p 22

^{xxviii} HABS, v 1, p 12

^{xxix} Cobb, p 53

^{xxx} HABS, v 1, p 12

^{xxxi} HABS, v 1, p 12

^{xxxii} Quarstein & Mroczkowski, p 24

absent due to uprisings and wars^{xxxiii}; Quarters 50 built within the fort walls; two story Federal style residence with raised basements and two-story front porch.^{xxxiv}

1836: Fort Monroe construction considered complete.^{xxxv}

1838: Recruits from Fort Monroe sent as precaution to Vermont during Canada's Mackenzie Rebellion.^{xxxvi}

1845: Entire garrison sent to fight Mexican War.^{xxxvii}

1855: Gunpowder accident at the arsenal; two men killed; building destroyed; Lieutenant Julian McAllister survived and commissioned a post chapel for Fort Monroe.^{xxxviii}

1858: Artillery School reestablished for heavy guns.^{xxxix} Chapel of the Centurion consecrated by Assistant Bishop John Johns of the Diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia^{xl}; designed in Carpenter-Gothic style derived from designs for a small, rural church published by Richard Upjohn.^{xli}

1858: Colonel Rene DeRussy resumed work on Fort Calhoun in preparation for war.^{xlii}

1860: Saint Mary's Star of the Sea Catholic Church constructed; wooden church burned in 1903; replaced by current stone church.^{xliii} Bldg #27 - The Arsenal constructed, replacing the one destroyed in the 1855 accident.^{xliv}

1861- 1865: Civil War

1861: Fort Monroe plays a decisive role in the Civil War. The powerful batteries of Fort Monroe closed Hampton Roads and the James River to shipping that was vital to the Confederate war effort. The fort operated as a staging area and supply base for Union assaults.^{xlv} One of four forts located within the seceding Southern states to be held by the Union when the war began, Fort Monroe contributed more than any other pre-war coastal defense fortification to Union victory.^{xlvi} During the Civil War, Fort Monroe resembled a bustling town, but none of the structures built at that time stand today.^{xlvii} Three slaves owned by Colonel Charles K. Mallory of the 115th Virginia Militia took advantage of chaos

^{xxxiii} HABS, v 1, p 12

^{xxxiv} Army, HARMP v 2, p 4

^{xxxv} HABS, v 1, p 11

^{xxxvi} HABS, v 1, p 12

^{xxxvii} HABS, v 1, p 12

^{xxxviii} HABS, v 1, p 22

^{xxxix} HABS, v 1, p 13

^{xl} HABS, v 1, p 22

^{xli} HABS, v 1, p 22

^{xlii} Quarstein & Mroczkowski, p 24

^{xliii} HABS, v 1, p 23

^{xliv} Army, HARMP, v 3, p 5

^{xlv} HABS, v 1, p 13

^{xlvi} Quarstein & Mroczkowski, p 120 - 125

^{xlvii} HABS, v 1, p 24

during skirmishes between Union and Confederate forces to escape into Union lines seeking refuge from their owner; General Benjamin F. Butler classifies them as “contrabands of war”, declaring the U.S. Fugitive Slave Law null and void within the Confederacy^{xlvi}; Fort Monroe became known as “Freedom’s Fortress.”^{xlix} Four thousand soldiers from Fort Monroe, commanded by General Ebenezer W. Pierce, engage Confederate forces under General Daniel H. Hill at Big Bethel, the first land battle of the Civil War.¹ Gen. Butler commissioned John LaMountain to make first aerial observation by balloon to observe Confederate troop positions.^{li}

1862: Fort Monroe served as base for General George B. McClellan’s Peninsula Campaign against the Confederate capital of Richmond; 121,500 soldiers flowed into area camps via the fort; ironclads *Monitor* and *Virginia* (formerly the *Merrimack*) battle in Hampton Roads within sight of Fort Monroe; the *Monitor* and the guns of Fort Monroe prevent the *Virginia* from entering the Chesapeake Bay from Hampton Roads; President Abraham Lincoln visited Fort Monroe to plan and expedite the capture of Norfolk and Gosport Navy Yard.^{lii}

1864: General Ulysses S. Grant met Gen. Butler to plan the strategy to attack Richmond.^{liii}

1865: Peace conference aboard *River Queen* between Union and Confederate commissioners fails to reach agreement^{liv}; after the war ended, Confederate President Jefferson Davis was imprisoned at Fort Monroe, charged with conspiracy in the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln.^{lv}

1866 – 1899: Post-Civil War Expansion

1867: Artillery School reestablished under Brevet Major General William F. Barry; a one-year course for new lieutenants included instruction in artillery, gunnery, mathematics, the application of artillery during campaigns and sieges, military law, and military history.^{lvi}

1875: Five frame quarters built on western edge of the Parade Ground; two built on Ingalls Road outside the fort.^{lvii}

1879: Building #5, Old Main Barracks built on north edge of Parade Grounds; largest building with the fort walls.^{lviii}

1881-98: Ingalls Road Corridor developed with the most significant group of buildings outside the fortress walls: Bldgs #24 - Fire Station (1881), #77 – Post Headquarters (1894),

^{xlvi} Quarstein & Mroczkowski, p 36

^{xlix} HABS, v 1, p 13

¹ Cobb, p 54

^{li} HABS, v 1, p 14

^{lii} Cobb, p 55-56

^{liii} HABS, v 1, p 14

^{liv} HABS, v 1, p 15

^{lv} Cobb, p 56

^{lvi} Quarstein & Mroczkowski, p 110

^{lvii} Army, HARMP, v 2, p 9-10

^{lviii} Army, HARMP v 3, p 66

#80 and #81 – Old Bachelor’s Quarters (1897), #82 – Hospital Building (1898), and #83 – Post Office (1898); these buildings are united by their similar scale, segmental arched masonry openings, corbelled brick eaves, and roofs with dormers and towers, reaching the finest expression in the Richardsonian Romanesque Post Office^{lix}; the tree canopy along Ingalls Road contribute to the park like quality of Fort Monroe.^{lx}

1885: President Grover Cleveland convened a board under Secretary of War William Endicott to plan new coastal defenses; brick and stone forts were no longer impregnable due to improvements in rifled artillery with greater ranges, accuracy, and velocity, along with steam power and improvements in naval armor.^{lxi}

1890: Queen Anne Style bungalows built on Ingalls Road.^{lxii}

1891: Construction begins on detached batteries of concrete protected with earthen parapets, which maintain the strategic importance of Fort Monroe in defense of the Chesapeake Bay^{lxiii}; built in response to Endicott Board recommendations; Batteries Gatewood, DeRussy, and Church (1898); Batteries Ruggles and Anderson (1899); Battery Irwin (1903); Battery Parrott (1906).^{lxiv}

1900 – 1929: Early Twentieth Century Development

1900-09: Additional barracks and gymnasium built along north edge of Parade Grounds; massive, hip-roofed brick buildings with external porches; gymnasium is built of red brick in the Beaux Arts style with classical ornaments.^{lxv}

1906: Bldg #100 – Bachelor’s Quarters/Old Hundred constructed; designed in the Queen Anne Style by architect Paul Pelz, it dominates the Ingalls Road corridor with its three-story façade and alternating arched brick and cast iron balconies.^{lxvi}

1906- 09: Brick duplexes designed by architect Paul Pelz built along Ingalls Road in 1906 in the Queen Anne style; more brick duplexes built in 1907-1909 in the Colonial Revival style along Ingalls and Fenwick Roads.^{lxvii}

1906- 11: Brick duplexes built along Tidball Road and along Moat Walk between the Hospital and the moat built to accommodate growing numbers of Coast Artillery School trainees; all use a less ambitious Quartermaster plan for lower ranking officers; vernacular designs use red brick with white trim, stone sills, gable roofs, and one-story screen porches.^{lxviii}

^{lix} Army, HARMP, v 3, p 9-10

^{lx} Army, HARMP, v 3, p 16

^{lxi} HABS, v 1, p 15

^{lxii} Army, HARMP, v 2, p 9-10

^{lxiii} HABS, v 1, p 15

^{lxiv} Army, HARMP, v 3, p 7

^{lxv} Army, HARMP, v 3, p 8

^{lxvi} Army, HARMP, v 3, p 9-10

^{lxvii} Army, HARMP, v 2, p 6-7

^{lxviii} Army, HARMP, v 2, p 8

1907: Coast Artillery School created from Artillery School and School of Submarine Defense.^{lxi} Bldg #119 - Commanding General's Quarters built on Fenwick Road outside the fort walls; designed by Brigadier General Arthur Murray adapted from a Quartermaster design; Colonial Revival style with a monumental full height Doric portico, full entablature and cornice; grounds include a gazebo relocated from Quarters 1 and a garden laid out in squares with brick paths.^{lxx}

1909: Coast Artillery School complex built at Ingalls and Fenwick Roads to support this 1912 expanded training mission; part of the most significant building campaign since the construction of the fort; group designed in brick in the Beaux Arts style with classical details in limestone; Bldg #161 – Administration (1912); Bldgs #133 – Murray Hall and #134 – Lewis Hall (1909).^{lxxi}

1910-11: Quarters built to support the Coast Artillery School in several locations (Fenwick Road, Ingalls Road, and inside the fort on the south edge of the Parade Ground) adapted from Quartermaster designs in Neoclassical and Queen Anne styles; all share red brick walls, white trim, jack-arched window openings, and two story porches with classical details.^{lxxii}

1911: Five companies of coast artillery sent to Galveston, TX as precaution during Mexican Revolution.^{lxxiii}

1917: Coast Artillery School training program adjusted to heavy mobile artillery; Fort Monroe became headquarters for Coast Defenses of Chesapeake Bay.^{lxxiv}

1923: Coast Artillery Training Center disbanded, replaced with Third Coast Artillery District.^{lxxv}

1928: Chamberlin Hotel built on site of first Chamberlin Hotel that burned in 1920; continues tradition of private resort development on the post that began with the Hygeia Hotel in 1821^{lxxvi}; fifth in a series of civilian resort hotel on post; largest building at Fort Monroe; commands a position at the end of Ingalls Road which is highly visible to those entering the installation through the main gate; it is also highly visible from the Hampton Roads.^{lxxvii}

^{lxi} HABS, v 1, p 16

^{lxx} Army, HARMF, v 2, p 24

^{lxxi} Army, HARMF, v 3, p 11

^{lxxii} Army, HARMF, v 2, p 7

^{lxxiii} HABS, v 1, p 16

^{lxxiv} HABS, v 1, p 16

^{lxxv} HABS, v 1, p 16

^{lxxvi} HABS, v 1, p 31

^{lxxvii} HABS, v 2, Chamberlin Hotel inventory form

1930 – 1945: Depression/WWII Development

1930: Brigadier General Stanley D. Embick changes doctrine of the Coast Artillery School to place anti-aircraft artillery for defense of harbors on par with seacoast artillery.^{lxxviii}

1930- 34: Colonial Revival duplexes and quadriplexes built from Quartermaster plans as part of a nation-wide Army building campaign funded by the Works Progress Administration and the Public Works Administration; built in red brick with white trim, slate roofs, classical detailing.^{lxxix}

1933: Hurricanes in August and September caused extensive damage to the post and prompted new construction. Additional room for new buildings was obtained by infilling the Mill Creek shoreline.^{lxxx}

1934: Bandstand built in Continental Park on Fenwick Road.^{lxxxii}

1934: Three masonry buildings built in industrial vernacular with Art Deco ornament; located between fortress and Mill Creek in newly filled land; Bldg #57 – Motor Pool; #59 – Ordinance Machine Shop (1934); Bldg #28 – Submarine Mine Depot (1938).^{lxxxiii}

1942: Fort Monroe became headquarters for Chesapeake Bay Sector coastal defense; controlled inner mine field, antisubmarine net and gate, and shipping in Hampton Roads during World War II.^{lxxxiv}

1943: Military Affiliated Radio Station (MARS) signal station built on top of Bastion #4, southeast face of the fortress; designed by architects Beddow, Gerber and Wharple in the International Style.^{lxxxv} Spiral stair, pipe railings, streamlined details and white stucco finish on concrete loadbearing walls are a rare example of Bauhaus School modernism on the post.^{lxxxvi} Mercury Boulevard constructed as a military highway to improve transportation to the post. The new road began in Newport News, bypassed downtown Hampton through residential Phoebus, and passed over Mill Creek on a new bridge. The railroad trestle was used as the main infill for a new route into the post. McNair Drive, the new route, bypassed the main post and proceeded directly to the main dock and hotel.^{lxxxvii}

^{lxxviii} HABS, v 1, p 16

^{lxxix} Army, HARMP, v 2, p 10-11

^{lxxx} HABS, v 1, p 31

^{lxxxii} HABS, v2, Inventory #4

^{lxxxiii} Army, HARMP, v 3, p 13

^{lxxxiv} HABS, v 1, p 16

^{lxxxv} HABS, v2, inventory #209

^{lxxxvi} Army, HARMP, v 3, p 14

^{lxxxvii} HABS, v 1, p 32

1946 – 2008: Post-WWII Development

1946: Coast Artillery School moved to Fort Winfield Scott and later disbanded^{lxxxvii}; Fort Monroe became headquarters for Army Ground Forces and headquarters for command of the armies of the continental US.^{lxxxviii}

1953: Wherry Housing complex constructed on site of Batteries Montgomery and Eustis; 206 units in 53 buildings required by new role of Fort Monroe as training and command center.^{lxxxix}

1955: Fort Monroe became headquarters for Continental Army Command (CONARC), responsible for training and direct command of continental armies.^{xc}

1973: Fort Monroe became headquarters for US Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC).^{xc}

SOURCES

Graham, John Paul, *The Architectural Heritage of Fort Monroe: Inventory and Documentation of Historic Structures undertaken by the Historic American Buildings Survey* (HABS, 2 volumes), National Park Service, 1987.

J.M. Waller Associates, Inc., *Fort Monroe Historic Architecture Repair and Maintenance Plan* (HARMP, 4 volumes), 2001.

Cobb, Michael, "Fort Monroe: 'Bulwark of American Civilization and Freedom'", *Notes on Virginia*, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, No. 50, 2006.

Weaver, John R., *A Legacy in Brick and Stone: American Coastal Defense Forts of the Third System, 1816 – 1867*, Pictorial Histories Publishing Company, Incorporated (2001).

Quarstein, John V., and Dennis Mroczkowski, *Fort Monroe: The Key to the South*, Arcadia Publishing (SC) (December 30, 1999).

Fort Monroe Casemate Website,
<http://www.monroe.army.mil/Monroe/sites/installation/museum/artillery.aspx>, accessed March 24, 2008.

^{lxxxvii} Fort Monroe Casemate Museum website,

<http://www.monroe.army.mil/Monroe/sites/installation/museum/artillery.aspx>, accessed March 24, 2008

^{lxxxviii} HABS, v 1, p 17

^{lxxxix} HABS, v 1, p 32

^{xc} HABS, v 1, p 17

^{xc} HABS, v 1, p 17

APPENDIX B

FMFADA Programmatic Agreement (Appendix H): Narrative Description of Management Zone Boundaries

Zone A (West Peninsula): The boundary for Zone A will follow the Buckroe/Fort Monroe property line in the north; the shoreline along Mill Creek from Buckroe/Fort Monroe property line to the southern edge of Walker Airfield in the west; a line from Mill Creek along the southern edge of DeRussy Field to Fenwick Road in the south, and; along the Seawall north of the Bay Breeze Community Center (Building 185) to the Buckroe/Fort Monroe property line in the east.

Zone B (East Peninsula): The northern boundary for Zone B will follow a line from the seawall just north of the Bay Breeze Community Center (Building 185) to Fenwick Road, then follow the center line of Fenwick Road to the south of DeRussy Field, then follow a line west to the Mill Creek shoreline at the southern edge of Walker Airfield; the western boundary will follow a line from Fenwick Road at the Bay Breeze Community Center (Building 185) to south of DeRussy Field, from the Mill Creek shoreline at the southern edge of Walker Field to the intersection of Stilwell Drive and North Gate Road; the southern boundary will be from Mill Creek at the intersection of Stilwell Drive and North Gate Road and proceed in a line southeast along the northern edge of the parking lot to the opening of the 2-72" diameter culvert pipes in the counterscarp wall north of the Northwest Bastion of the stone fort, proceed along the center line of Patch Road north to Griffith Road, then turn east and follow the center line of Griffith Road to Fenwick Road and beyond to the seawall in order to encompass all of the Wherry Housing; the eastern boundary extends north along the seawall from the termination of the southern boundary to the beginning of the northern boundary.

Zone C (North Gate Road/Stilwell Drive): The northern boundary for Zone C runs along the Mill Creek shoreline from north of the intersection of Stilwell Drive and North Gate Road to just north of the Stilwell Drive and Pratt Street intersection; the western boundary begins at the Mill Creek shoreline between the storage lot and basketball court east of Building 87 parking lot and heads south crossing Eustis Lane onto Pratt Street, then heads east at Reeder Circle between Building 268 and the tennis courts, moves south along the center line of Murray Street to Patch Road (including Building 168); the southern boundary follows the center line of Patch Road from the intersection of Patch Road and Murray Street to the opening of the 2-72" diameter culvert pipes in the counterscarp wall north of the Northwest Bastion of the stone fort; the eastern boundary runs from the opening of 2-72" diameter culvert pipes in the counterscarp wall north of the Northwest Bastion of the stone fort west to Mill Creek at the intersection of North Gate Road and Stilwell Drive diagonally to follow the eastern edge of parking lot across from Patch Road.

Zone D (McNair, Ingalls, Fenwick Corridors): The northern boundary for Zone D consists of the Fort Monroe property line at the bridges approaching the main entrance; the western boundary runs south along the shoreline to the southern end of the marina; the southern boundary begins at the southern end of the marina and follows the seawall to a point

southeast of Wherry Housing Unit 300; the eastern boundary begins at the intersection of Fenwick Road and Griffith Road and proceeds south along the center line of Fenwick Road at East Gate to the counterscarp 70 then along the southern edge of the counterscarp to the Postern Gate; from the Postern Gate the boundary follows the southern and western edge of the counterscarp north to Patch Road and continues north across Patch Road and west of Building 168, north along the center line of Murray Street then heads west between Building 268 and the tennis courts at Reeder Circle; at Reeder Circle the boundary proceeds north along the center line of Pratt Street to the intersection of Pratt Street and Stilwell Drive, continues across Stilwell Drive until it hits Mill Creek, then north along the Mill Creek shoreline to the Fort Monroe property line at the entrance bridges.

Zone E (Stone Fort and Moat): The northern boundary for Zone E runs along the center line of Patch Road from the intersection of Patch Road and Griffith Road west to the intersection of Patch Road and Murray Street; the western boundary proceeds south from the Patch Road/Murray Street intersection and follows the counterscarp along Moat Walk to Postern Gate; the southern boundary begins at the Postern Gate and runs east along the counterscarp to East Gate, from East Gate it continues east following the center line of Fenwick Road and terminates at the intersection of Fenwick Road and Griffith Road (the southern boundary excludes the Water Battery, but includes the green space at East Gate); the eastern boundary begins at the intersection of Fenwick Road and Griffith Road and proceeds north along the center line of Griffith Road to the intersection of Griffith Road and Patch Road (the eastern boundary includes the green space between the counterscarp and Griffith Road as well as the Water Battery, but excluding Wherry Housing).

Endicott Batteries: The Individual boundaries for the seven Endicott batteries at Fort Monroe need to be established to separate them from the Management Zones in which they are located. The boundaries shall include the earthen protection system (the sand barrier that was placed around the concrete structure to protect the battery from incoming naval shelling) or space for these barriers where the protection system is now missing. The boundaries shall also include sufficient buffers to establish appropriate historic settings. The boundaries will be based on the historic usage of the individual batteries, i.e., field of fire and working areas, and their respective viewsheds. This information shall be identified and included in the Viewshed Analysis and Cultural Landscape Study to be conducted by the Army pursuant to Stipulations I.D and E and in updating the Fort Monroe NHL District nomination form pursuant to Stipulation I.H.1. Further consultation on a case by case basis is necessary to establish an appropriate buffer for each battery.

Individually eligible historic properties: Individual boundaries for the four properties identified as being significant in their own right. Boundaries should include sufficient buffers to establish appropriate historic settings. Further consultation on a case by case basis is necessary to establish an appropriate buffer for each individually eligible historic property. These buffers shall be identified and included in the draft NRHP nominations developed by the Army pursuant to Stipulation I.H.2.

APPENDIX C

African American Assessment Study of National Historic Landmarks (February 6, 2008)

Part A. Assessment of Existing Themes

In 1999, the National Park Service's Revised Thematic Framework highlighted the agency's responsibility to ensure that research and NHL nomination efforts "reflect current scholarship and represent the full diversity of America's past" (National Register Bulletin, "Appendix A," *How To Prepare National Historic Landmark Nominations*. 1999: U.S. Department of the Interior, p. 79). The African American Assessment Study evaluates the fulfillment of this mission in the field of African American history. Most of the NHL Program's historical themes were established in the 1950s and 60s, reflecting the dominant scholarship of that period. Given the development of recent scholarship, the Scholars Meeting Group's first major objective was to evaluate the existing historical themes and recommend which merited better coverage in the NHL Program. To facilitate assessment by the participating scholars, the NHL Program's 30 areas of significance categories were condensed into ten major themes through which the existing 175 African American NHLs were evaluated. The selected themes were: Economics and Commerce; Science and Technology; Culture, Art, and Ideas; Law, Society, and Government; Archeology; Notable Individuals; Colonial and Early America; Slavery and Civil War; Emancipation and Reconstruction; and History of the American West. By no means exhaustive, the ten were chosen with the recognition that some themes would overlap, that some NHLs could be representative of multiple themes, and that some NHLs would not neatly fit any of the chosen themes. Prior to the meeting on September 10, 2007, the scholars were given the list of existing NHLs, a brief analysis of the NHLs by theme, and the objectives of the Assessment Study. The scholars were asked to evaluate the existing NHLs within the ten themes—providing an explanation for their ratings—and recommend additional themes in African American history for future research and nomination efforts.

The scholars used a sliding scale rating system, from 1 (poor) to 5 (excellent), which assessed the sufficiency of NHL documentation of events, ideas, themes, or significant individuals critical to commemorating the history and significance of the 10 evaluated themes. Scholars were specifically asked to provide an explanation of ratings below 4 (good). To view the complete rating system, see "Scholar Assessment Composite" in Appendix C.

Findings

The Scholars Meeting Group generally concluded that the current list of NHLs provided fair coverage of nationally-significant African American history and reflect a limited range of events, ideas, themes, and significant individuals. The scholars noted that the pattern of NHL Program nomination efforts focused extensively on legalistic and policy driven documentation of historic themes. The scholars determined that this focus did not capture many aspects of African American history and recommended that the NHL Program broaden its thematic scope. The Scholars Meeting Group also identified five themes where documentation and nomination efforts required significant improvement: Archeology, Colonial and Early America, History of the American West, Science and Technology, and Economics and Commerce. The Scholars Meeting Group determined that the numbers of existing NHLs associated with five themes were very

small, or that extant NHLs represented history limited to a specific topic. While coverage was good or even excellent on a single topic (such as the Underground Railroad and desegregation of public education), the current NHLs were deficient in representing the broader histories of five themes. A synopsis of the five themes evaluated as poorly covered or needing improvement follows.

Archeology: Citing recently discovered archeological sites, such as New Philadelphia Townsite in Barry, Illinois and the Slave Tunnel at the George Washington House in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the Scholars Meeting Group assessed the scarcity of archeological properties designated for African American history as poor, defined as having little or no coverage of major events, ideas, themes or significant persons in the category. The scholars pointed out that since African American resources were historical targets of racial violence, intimidation, and destruction (see “Additional Themes”), archeological remains are quite possibly the only resources for research and documentation of large portions of nationally significant African American history.

Colonial and Early America: The Scholars Meeting Group noted the need for documentation of the history of African American life and contributions during Colonial and Early America. The Meeting Group particularly noted the lack of properties associated with the American maritime history of the Middle Passage and the Internal Slave Trade, African Americans’ roles in colonial settlement, and African American involvement in the American Revolutionary War and the War of 1812.

History of the American West: The Scholars Meeting Group observed the absence of NHLs documenting African American history in the American West, particularly in the territorial and state history of California. Citing the expansion of slavery and the admittance of territories into the United States as a pivotal issue in American history, the absence of NHLs commemorating this history was particularly problematic. The NHL Program does not include the history of African American migration and settlement of the region, particularly during the California Gold Rush of the late 1840 and 50s, the creation of post-Reconstruction all-black towns, and the development of urban western communities in the early to mid-20th century.

Science and Technology: Although the Scholars Meeting Group noted that existing NHLs did commemorate African American history in the area of science and technology, demonstrated by the Charles R. Drew House NHL, the group also noted that the NHL Program does not fully document the range of African American inventors, architects, engineers, academicians, and institutions of scientific research. The Scholars Meeting Group was particularly critical of the absence of NHLs associated with the black medical profession, the Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment, and the schools of science and engineering at Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

Economics and Commerce: The Scholars Meeting Group determined that the existing NHLs provided only a small sampling of black businesses and commercial activity in the United States and noted that very few NHLs commemorated the history of African American craftsmanship or labor. The Scholars Meeting Group criticized the absence of NHLs that represent the larger history of collective black enterprise, such as mutual aid and benevolent societies, and the existence of black business districts—including their destruction due to white racial violence, as exemplified by the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921.

Part B. Recommendations for Additional Themes

The second major objective in undertaking the Assessment Study was to ensure that future research and nomination efforts reflect current scholarship in the field of African American history. Reviewing scholars were asked to identify emerging scholarship in the field of African American history that deserves research and documentation within the NHL Program and to identify non-designated properties that best represent this new scholarship. The Scholars Meeting Group recommended ten additional thematic areas for future research and documentation: Black Freedom Struggles; Grassroots and Vernacular History; Institutional History; Intellectual History; Education and Literacy; Era of Jim Crow; Racial Violence and Intimidation; Migration and Movement; Family Life and Relationships; and Black Recreation, Leisure, and Entertainment. The Scholars Meeting Group viewed these recommendations as a beginning point to address gaps in NHL research and documentation of African American history, and not as a definitive list.

Black Freedom Struggles or Struggles for Full Freedom, Justice, and Equality: At every moment in American history, various groups have contested the meaning of citizenship and freedom; never more so than with the struggles of African Americans for inclusion in or separation from American society. The Scholars Meeting Group determined that the NHL Program has largely succeeded in nominating a wide range of resources important for documenting civil rights history, or African American struggles for inclusion in American society. However, past nomination efforts have ignored the history of African American struggles for self-determination that do not have integration as its goal. The absence of NHLs documenting this history, therefore, does not represent the full complexity and significance of African American history, particularly since reactions to more radical African American definitions of freedom frequently spurred transformations in American society. Expanding research and nomination efforts to represent a larger Black Freedom Struggles theme would continue nomination efforts within the theme of civil rights but would also illustrate the national significance and impact of black nationalism and other radical movements—both domestic and international—on American society.

Grassroots and Vernacular History: The Scholars Meeting Group noted that existing NHLs and National Park System units provide broad representation of notable African American leaders and major events in African American history, such as the Mary McLeod Bethune Council House National Historic Site and the Tuskegee Airman National Historic Site. However, the Scholars Meeting Group also pointed out that the most striking feature of African Americans' profound impact on American society has been through the ordinary experiences of their daily lives. Although the importance of African American leaders and mass movements can never be understated, it has often been the everyday African American knowledge that has soaked into the fabric of American life, often in previously undocumented ways. The Scholars Meeting Group determined that NHL Program nomination efforts should capture the national significance of "ordinary" lived experiences. For example, emerging scholarship on the importance and impact of African American foodways illustrates the need for increased nomination efforts in the category of social history. Scholarly studies of African American recipes and cooking techniques, commonly called "soul food," have recently gained prominence. NPS has begun to commemorate this history, particularly in the Historic American Buildings Survey and Historical American Engineering Record Program's focus on documenting vernacular architecture, such as exemplary examples of shotgun houses, as well as in the Park Ethnography Division's recently launched "National Parks Associated with African Americans: An Ethnographic Perspective" Program.

Institutional History: In tandem with the daily experiences of African American life, institutions form a critical locus from and around which African Americans organized as a community to

effectively transform American society. Black religious institutions (African Methodist Episcopal Church, United House of Prayer, Nation Of Islam), Black fraternal organizations (Prince Hall Masons, Easter Star, Greek fraternities and sororities), political and social clubs (National Association of Colored Women, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, National Urban League), Black business/professional/economic organizations (Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, benevolent societies), and educational institutions (Historically Black Colleges and Universities) form the nucleus of organized activities to build African American communities and challenge institutional racism in the United States. The Scholars Meeting Group recommended that future NHL nomination efforts focus on documenting this legacy.

Intellectual History: In addition to building institutions, African American also invented and developed theories, ideas, concepts, and products that further transformed American society. The Scholars Meeting Group determined that future NHL efforts should recognize and preserve the creation of ideas and products developed within African American intellectual traditions, by researching and documenting sites associated with African American architects, authors, artists, academicians, community scholars, scientific researchers, and inventors. For example, the W. E. B. DuBois Boyhood Homesite is an NHL designated for its association with the famed civil rights activist and first African American Ph.D. recipient from Harvard university. DuBois researched and wrote *The Philadelphia Negro*, which is widely regarded as one of the foundational texts for the field of American sociology.

Education and Literacy: Connected to the theme of Intellectual History is the unique struggle of African Americans to obtain education and literacy in the United States. Acknowledging past NHL nomination efforts around the theme of education, the Scholars Meeting Group determined that more focused research was necessary to document the legal and extra-legal barriers used to deny education to African Americans and the unique solutions that African Americans, their supporters, and their opponents used to challenge or maintain educational inequality. The Scholars Meeting Group pointed out that the struggle for African American education and literacy was the result as well as the catalyst for changes in national education policy, both governmental and privately-sponsored. The Scholars Meeting Group cited such examples as racially-segregated public schools; Freedman Bureau schools; Historically Black Colleges and Universities; Rosenwald Schools; Church-sponsored schools; and current debates surrounding multi-cultural education, integration and community-controlled schools.

Era of Jim Crow: The Scholars Meeting Group determined that there were significant chronological gaps in the documentation of current NHLs. The small number of NHLs whose periods of significance span the 1880s to the 1930s and the post-1960s history merited attention. Because of the general 50-Year Rule in NHL nomination criteria, the Scholars Meeting Group determined to prioritize the 1880s-1930s, designating the period as the “Era of Jim Crow” to encompass both its thematic and chronological aspects. The Era of Jim Crow includes institution and community-building post-Reconstruction, the extreme racial violence and intimidation of African Americans, the First Great Migration, regionalism, the development of scientific racism, and government policy decisions leading to the Modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 60s.

Racial Intimidation and Violence: The Scholars Meeting Group also recommended a Racial Intimidation and Violence theme associated with African American history, as an important historical demonstration of and catalyst for community and government action to control issues of race, power, and citizenship. The Racial Intimidation and Violence theme spans the establishment, maintenance, and demise of the American slave system; lynching and white racial

riots of the late 19th and early 20th centuries; as well as violence during the 1950s and 60s Civil Rights Movement such as the 1955 murder of Emmett Till and the murder of African American civil rights leader Medgar Evers in 1963 in Mississippi. The theme also encompasses the history of resistance to such violence through anti-lynching campaigns, establishment of institutions such as the NAACP, theories such as non-violence and self-defense, and events such as the integration of Little Rock Central High School (an NHL and National Park System unit) in Arkansas.

Migration and Movement: African American history is also the story of movement, both forced and voluntary. The Scholars Meeting Group recommended a Migration and Movement theme as a target for future research and nomination efforts. More broad than the settlement/exploration area of significance category currently used by the NHL Program, African American movement extends beyond the simple “peopling” of the United States, as the category has primarily been documented in NHL nominations. The theme encompasses the reality that, in African American history, movement becomes a method for either claiming or being denied freedom in American society. The Scholars Meeting Group quickly noted that the Migration and Movement theme also closely aligns with the Racial Intimidation and Violence theme because voluntary movement by African Americans was often an attempt to escape intimidation and violence—leading to the establishment of maroon communities during enslavement; all-Black townships; African repatriation movements; and expatriation to other countries such as Mexico, Canada, and France. The Migration and Movement theme would provide for increased NHL representation of the International and Internal Slave Trade, immigration, national transformations in transportation as well as government policy-making, such as urban renewal projects and military assignments. The theme also captures the history of movements based on economic factors (history of labor, agriculture, American industry), and the demographic and institutional results (urbanization, suburbanization, unionism).

African American Family Life and Relationships: The African American family as a unit of historical change, protest, and support is closely aligned with the Grassroots and Vernacular History theme, and includes the documentation of the historical impact of multi-generational black families on the national landscape. The contributions of notable African American families, significant for successive generations of importance instead of a single person, would recognize and preserve the collective impact. Examples include the military contributions of the Benjamin O. Davis family, the educational and civil rights impact of the Forten-Grimke family, and the economic and cultural impact of the Madame C. J. Walker family. Emerging scholarship on multi-generational African American families also documents the unique systems and laws regarding inheritance, heirs’ property, and other issues that resulted from their existence. In addition to property ownership issues, legislation associated with Black families occupies a unique and significant place in American social and labor history—particularly within the American slave system, through miscegenation laws, within early 20th century eugenics debates, and other governmental policy development such as in social assistance programs.

Black Recreation, Leisure, and Entertainment: African American culture in the United States has frequently provided the foundations of American cultural identity. In recognizing this influence, the Scholars Meeting Group recommended that future research and documentation commemorate the development of African American culture and its impact on the transformation of American culture. Resources in this category could include back-owned media outlets, performance venues, sporting arenas/facilities, tourist and resort communities, record companies and recording studios, as well as notable artists and athletes that entertained American audiences.

Part C. Future Research and Nomination Efforts

The larger purpose of undertaking the Assessment Study is to ensure that existing and future NHLs are broadly representative of African Americans' contributions to the nation's history and to find strategies to increase future research and documentation efforts leading to NHL nominations. The Assessment Study findings noted the need to develop these strategies. To that end, the Scholars Meeting Group developed a list of organizations and other interested parties that may partner with the NPS to promote the findings of the Assessment Study and undertake its recommendations. The Scholars Meeting Group recommended that the National Park Service widely disseminate the Assessment Study findings and encourage private organizations and individuals to research and nominate properties associated with African American history.

Recommendations for Future Research and Potential NHL Nomination

To further address deficiently covered and newly emerged themes in nationally significant African American history, the NHL Program queried NPS Regional Offices, State Historic Preservation Officers, and other government agencies to obtain recommendations of properties associated with African American history for potential NHL nomination. The query garnered responses from 32 SHPOs, 3 NPS Regional Offices, several National Park System units, private preservation organizations, and interested individuals.

Queried parties recommended 89 current National Register properties and 112 properties that are not listed in the National Register for further research. In addition, SHPOs recommended revision to the official documentation of 47 NHLs to include information on the property's previously undocumented association with nationally significant African American history (see Appendix E). The recommended properties represent a wide range of themes and property types. Each recommendation must be further researched, documented, and evaluated in accordance with NHL Program criteria. A sample of these property recommendations are provided in Appendix F.

Conclusion

The African American National Historic Landmarks Assessment Study illustrates the ongoing challenges of ensuring that the National Park Service's programs represent the full diversity of United States heritage through the identification, documentation, and nomination of National Historic Landmarks. As new scholarship emerges, the NHL Program must respond by ensuring that future research and nomination efforts reflect and represent current thinking about the American past. The NHL Program must create a network of scholars and organizations that will become invested in the findings and recommendations of the Scholars Meeting Group and will undertake the needed research and documentation leading to National Historic Landmark nominations. The Scholars Meeting Group recommendations offer a strategy to best market the documentation opportunities so that limited resources can be used to greatest advantage.

From Appendix G of the African American Assessment Report:

ASSOCIATED THEME STUDIES

The following Congressionally-mandated theme studies have developed historic contexts that examine African American history. The majority of these theme studies have resulted in the identification, nomination, and NHL designation of at least one property associated with nationally-significant African American history. Early theme studies are unavailable in hardcopy but many can be downloaded in .pdf format from the NHL Program website: <http://www.nps.gov/nhl/themes/themes.htm>.

- ◆ Black Americans in the United States (1974)
- ◆ The US Constitution (1986)
- ◆ Women's History
- ◆ Underground Railroad (2005)
- ◆ Racial Desegregation in Public Education (2000)
- ◆ American Civil Rights
- ◆ Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites (2002)
- ◆ Public Accommodations (Draft 2004)
- ◆ Voting Rights (Draft 2007)
- ◆ Equal Employment (In Progress)
- ◆ Equal Housing (In Progress)
- ◆ World War II Home Front Theme Study (2007)
- ◆ Labor History Theme Study (Draft 2003)