Lost Tribe of Magruder: The Untold Story of the Navy's Dispossession of a Black Community

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ABSTRACT

“The Lost Tribe of Magruder” tells the story of a predominately Black community, Magruder, that had been forcibly relocated in 1942 for the creation of Camp Peary, a World War II training ground. This dissertation furthers our understanding of dispossession. Dispossession disempowers those who experience it. An adequate understanding of dispossession and how this understanding can be beneficial to this particular descendant community in Williamsburg contributes to strengthening dispossessed Blacks throughout African diasporas. Scholars primarily define dispossession according to the legal definition of the loss of land; a dearth of scholars have examined additional components of dispossession: material, racial, spatial and bodily. Dispossession is much more than the loss of land and entails multiple components coming together into a “matrix.” This new matrix consists of five elements: material, psychological, political, existential and spiritual, creating what I call the “matrix of dispossession.” The predominantly Black community from Magruder has experienced this matrix of dispossession.

The dispossession of Magruder in 1942 links back to more than five hundred years of Europeans dispossessing Africans and African diasporic peoples. The first dispossessed Africans who forcefully had migrated to Tsenacommacah area predates the “first twenty Negroes” by close to a century. These are the ancestors of Magruder. They also have kinship networks that trace back to the 17th century and spread around the United States. These networks played an integral role during slavery, post emancipation and after the dispossession of Magruder in 1942. The Black community of Magruder reveals how Blacks experience multiple dispossessions and form new diasporas. They travel and learn how to read, write and communicate during slavery. Magruder forms into a tight knit communication with two churches, farming, oystering, education and love. While the Navy’s dispossession of Magruder disrupts and wipes Magruder off the map, this story still needs to be told. Overwhelmingly, the descendant community states they want this story to be told and they have guided me in understanding the way they want it to be told.

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Acknowledgments

If it had not been for the Lord on my side, where would I be? This road was long, hard, lonely, alienating and, quite often, I wanted to give up. In reflecting back over my journey towards receiving a PhD, a process that elevates research, evidence and confirmation, I cannot provide an adequate explanation in how I got it done. I am a full time student and married with two children. It seems almost impossible to balance all these responsibilities, but God. God's faithfulness in keeping me, guiding me and strengthening me is ultimately the reason why I finished. First and foremost, I acknowledge my Lord and savior Jesus Christ, who is the author and finisher of my faith.

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LANGUAGE

I was intentional and selective about the language in this dissertation. I chose to use language that best suits the period of which I am writing about. I also aimed to decolonize my writing. Throughout “Lost Tribe of Magruder,” you will read “Negro,” “east/west side of the Atlantic,” Indigenous,” and “coloured.” During European settler colonialism, they referred to Africans as Negroes. This was a standard identification through the time of the dispossession in 1942. There were also times when Euro-Americans referred to Blacks as “coloured.” For these reasons, I used Negro, Negroes and coloured when discussing that specific time period. I used the term Indigenous to go against the usage of the term Indian. Indian is also rooted in European domination. There were times when I use Native American. In those instances, scholars referred to them in the text I was reviewing. As such, only in those specific instances do I use Native American. Ideally, I would have like to identify the tribes by their original name, but, as you will read, settler colonialism made it difficult to know the exact tribe involved with Magruder ancestors. There was one instance, with the Roberts, where I am certain those were the tribes, Mattaponi and Cherokee, and I do use those names then. As far as “west of the Atlantic,” I discussed the role of White Supremacy in naming. The territories that become “America,” “Central America,” “West Indies,” and “South America,” had a long history of Indigenous peoples already living there. During the time of European colonization those lands were not referred to by European titles. Also, I am aware of the movement to recognize non-gender conforming and non-gender binary persons, identifiable by the usage of the term “folx.” Ultimately, there was no evidence to direct me to the usage of the term. My goal was not to perpetuate the absence of gender non-binary folx from the narrative. In fact, that in and of itself would have contributed to a form of dispossession, of which this dissertation aims to fight against. Gender non-binary folx, this dissertation does not intentionally leave you out and you are not invisible. I see you.

I use the term community throughout this dissertation. My usage of the term could lead the reader to think that I am referring to a unified community. My aim is not to present a unified community. Michael Blakey worked with the African Burial Ground Project in New York City and coined the term “descendant community.” In “Engaging Descendant Communities in the Interpretation of Slavery: Rubric of Best Practices,” Blakey defines “descendant community” as “a group of people whose ancestors were enslaved at a particular site,” and “can include those whose ancestors were enslaved not only at a particular site, but also throughout the surrounding region, reflecting the fact that family ties often crossed plantation boundaries” (National Teaching on Slavery, 1). I have adopted this term in my dissertation and use it to define the descendants of Black Magruder residents. The unifying factor that ties the descendant community together is that they had family members—parents, grandparents, aunts, and uncles—who lived on Magruder. “Lost Tribe of Magruder” primarily focuses on the descendants of the parents. I include those who had aunts and uncles in this narrative because they heard the stories about Magruder that were passed down from older generations and they are currently in relationship with those whose parents lived on Magruder. Outside of their families formerly living on Magruder, there is diversity within the descendant community.

NAMING METHOD

I am intentional about the names of the former Magruder residents and descendant community that I share in “Lost Tribe of Magruder.” This is a methodological approach because I have aimed to research ethically. The only times I use real names is with the permission of the individual. When I do not use their real names, I provide a pseudonym. I provide a pseudonym because some former Magruder residents and descendant community members desire that their identity remain confidential. They are still living, and this dissertation will allow the reader to easily identify them.

TIMELINE

1620 – First traceable Magruder ancestor, Paul Carter, was born in Africa.

1876 - First historical record of Magruder in Mt. Gilead's Anniversary Book.

1918 – 1922 – Movement of families from The Reservation to Grove

1941

December 7, 1942 – Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor.

1942

March 27, 1942 - Congress passed the Second War Powers Act.

September 8, 1942 – "First Taking" of 4,500 acres of land

September 30, 1942 - F. A. Mason wrote to Mr. Courtney that there were "approximately 100 colored families which must be evacuated."

October 1942 – Dispossessed residents started migration to Highland Park, Grove and other areas.

October 10, 1942 - Navy Admiral L. B. Combs wrote to Mr. Willard Day of the National Housing Agency that "45 of the colored families have been temporarily located in a CCC camp."

October 22, 1942 – "Second Taking" of 360 acres of land

November 1942 - Williamsburg Ministerial Union protested the Navy's taking of the land.

December 9, 1942 – "Third Taking" of 5,500 acres of land

1943

February 1943 – Last families recorded by the Navy leave Magruder.

KEY CHARACTERS

Magruder Ancestors – the parents and generations of people who eventually gave birth to the residents of Magruder.

Magruder residents – those who lived in Magruder between 1876 and 1943.

Former Magruder residents – primarily those who used to live in Magruder. When I am referring to “former Magruder residents” and I quote them, then those are former Magruder residents who I interviewed and are still living.

Descendant Community – direct descendants of those who lived on Magruder and family members related to those who lived on Magruder.

Navy Personnel

Ralph A. Bard - Assistant Secretary of the Navy

L. B. Combs – Assistant to Chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks

John J. Courtney - Chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks

E.C. Horton - Real Estate division and office located in Magruder

Lt. R. Minor Hudson, Jr. – Special Assistant to Chief of Bureau

F. A. Mason - Lieutenant Commander

John J. Mason - Commandant Fifth Naval District

Andrew Murphy - Lieutenant Commander

Ben Moreell - Chief of Civil Engineers and Navy Admiral

C. W. Porter - Commander, Officer in Charge of Construction

M. H. Simons - Commandant, Fifth Naval District

James Grady Ware - Captain

Contractors
Doyle and Russell Contractors

Willis R. Dudley

Additional Key Characters

Norman Littell - Assistant Attorney General

Lavina Engle - Regional Director, Area 4 of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services

Willard F. Day – National Housing Agency

Allies who protested - Williamsburg Ministerial Union lead by Archibald Ward and Charles Pratt

Chapter 1 - Introduction

Bulldozers and other construction equipment were spread around the land and in residents' yards. Random White men wearing hard hats were destroying their property and walking through their gardens.

Bulldozers would then come and shake people's houses.

Knock, knock, knock at the door.

Magruder resident: Who is it?

No Answer.

Magruder residents were notified you must be out in two days.[1]

This opening scene describes aspects of the Navy's dispossession of Magruder, starting in 1942. Bulldozers had literally shaken Magruder, a predominantly Black community with a small number of White families, previously located in York County, Virginia. Randomly and suddenly, from the perspective of Black Magruder residents, the Navy and the Byrne Construction Organization of Dallas, Texas had invaded their homes. The Byrne Construction Organization initial appearance had caused a stir and prompted rumors to circulate between the residents. Residents were concerned that they could lose their waterfront property that their ancestors had owned for several generations. Within a week or a month of the Navy's arrival, depending upon the inhabitant, they had received notification that they had to move. Based on when that particular Negro family had been notified, some families had had to leave in days and others in weeks. Eventually, more than one hundred and forty Black families had their land taken

[1] This is a depiction of what happened based on oral histories and the sermon by Rev. Archibald F. Ward, "Naboth's Vineyard," November 15, 1942. Archibald F. Ward, Jr. Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Swem Library, College of William and Mary, https://scrcguides.libraries.wm.edu/repositories/2/resources/9. Junius Hundley, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, September 1, 2010.

from them and then the vibrant, thriving, and historical Black community of Magruder no longer existed.

What happened? After the Civil War and during Reconstruction, several Black families from within and surrounding York County came together and developed a community. Mt. Gilead's Church's Anniversary book records 1876 as the founding date of the church in Magruder, York County, Virginia.[2] Magruder consisted primarily of Black families and a small number of White families. In order to construct Camp Peary, a World War II training ground, in 1942 the Navy forcibly relocated this self-sufficient and thriving predominately Black community. The Navy's justification for taking the land was the Second War Powers Act. This dispossession negatively affected the lives of these former Black entrepreneurs and landowners. "The Lost Tribe of Magruder" tells this story.

"The Lost Tribe of Magruder" illustrates and investigates dispossession. Dispossession first and foremost disempowers those who experience it. Yet understanding dispossession—knowing the truth about it—can be beneficial, as it is to this particular descendant community in Williamsburg, and it can strengthen dispossessed Blacks throughout African diasporas. Whereas most scholars define dispossession superficially in terms of the legal definition of the loss of land, a few have dug deeper to examine other components of dispossession, such as its material, racial, spatial, and bodily aspects.[3] Dispossession is much more than the loss of land. It comprises multiple components that form a "matrix." I assert that this matrix consists of five components: material, psychological, political, existential, and spiritual, which together creates what I call the "matrix of dispossession." The predominantly Black community of Magruder has experienced this all-encompassing matrix of dispossession.

[2] Mt Gilead Anniversary Book, Mt Gilead Baptist Church, Grove, Williamsburg, Virginia

[3] I provide the scholarly work on dispossession in the literature review section. I also utilize the work of scholars who have examined dispossession beyond material dispossession in my formation of my theory.

The dispossession of Magruder in 1942 falls within a larger course of events that involves more than five hundred years of Europeans dispossessing Africans and African diasporic peoples. In fact, dispossessions create diasporas. Therefore, the matrix of dispossession comes out of the long history of European expansion and development of empires. The transatlantic slave trade by the Portuguese and Spanish, that began between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, marked the beginning of a long history of dispossessing Africans from their land. Soon the Dutch, French, and British joined in capturing and trading Africans and dominating the Indigenous people who owned the land they "discovered."[4] The transatlantic slave trade created a dual nature of empire and dispossession. These European nations desired wealth, power, and the spread of their religious beliefs. Together this political, economic, and religious conquest resulted in multiple oppressions of the conquered.

By the mid-seventeenth century, the European nations involved in the transatlantic slave trade, had explored, captured, traded, and enslaved Africans and indigenous peoples and their lands, economies, and religions across the Atlantic. Toyin Falola and Kevin D. Roberts' depiction in *The Atlantic World, 1450–2000*, aptly describes "the processes of migration, colonialism, trade, and intellectual exchange that came to dominate the Atlantic region, starting in the mid-fifteenth century."[5] They remind us that, "Though political and economic considerations lay at the root of the Atlantic World, society, culture, and religion constitute equally important aspects of the field's history."[6] Possession and dispossession are all-encompassing.

[4] I place discovered in quotations because they did not discover the land. It is this very perspective of discovery that intertwines with European notions of supremacy.

[5] Toyin Falola and Kevin David Roberts, *The Atlantic World, 1450-2000* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2008), 35.

[6] Ibid. These dynamics of the Atlantic World did not stop with the official end of the slave trade. Europeans would colonize Africa and dominate the Americas.

The quest for power undergirds the matrix of dispossession. Rooted in this quest, colonization, capitalism, forced movement, dehumanization, and devaluing of socio-cultural identities of Africans by Europeans form the sinews, tentacles, and flesh of the matrix of dispossession. European settlers colonized the Indigenous territories west of the Atlantic by dispossessing millions of Indigenous peoples and enslaving Africans. After slavery, Jim Crow laws of forced segregation continued White terror and violence and maintained White control, once again forcing a "Great Migration" of Blacks to flee like dispossessed refugees of their homes throughout the South during the first half of the twentieth century.

Focusing specifically on Blacks in Williamsburg and York County, there have been three dislocations. The first is the establishment of the Yorktown Naval Weapons Station in 1918. The second occurred between 1926 and 1934 when the creation of Colonial Williamsburg forced another Black community to leave. The third dispossession—the focus of this dissertation, is the erasure of Magruder with the creation of Camp Peary. Starting in the 1950s, urban renewal and the construction of highways destroyed numerous non-White communities for the benefit of Whites. Then, beginning in the 1970s, gentrification once again pushes Black and Brown folks out of their neighborhoods, sky-rocketing home prices, making it economically impossible for them to own property there, and the attendant racism making it impossible for them to thrive.

Dispossession continues today. The development of the North Dakota Access Pipeline has taken land from the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. Once again, another nation that has endured centuries of massacre, land appropriation, and displacement is losing land. President Donald Trump and Congress' poor response to Puerto Rico after the devastation of Hurricanes Irma and Maria is forcing thousands of Puerto Ricans to leave the island and move to Florida and elsewhere. Indeed, dispossession and displacement never end.

The inextricably linked phenomena of domination and dispossession that have been going on for centuries and persist to this day has massively benefited Whites and dehumanized non-Whites—especially Blacks in the case of Magruder. While scholars have clearly explained the Atlantic World[7] and provided nuanced understandings of African diasporas, they have not adequately addressed dispossession. Scholars inadequate depiction of dispossession poses the question of how we understand dispossession within the context of empire and multiple diasporas. This inquiry is important because a one-dimensional understanding of dispossession that focuses only on the removal from land does not account for the variety and extent of dispossession that is part and parcel of empire and diasporas. Dispossession here includes the political, economic, religious, social, and cultural aspects of African diasporas resulting from the development of empires. By failing to consider dispossession in such a comprehensive manner, we overlook key components of empire and interconnected communities. And, most importantly, such a myopic perspective of dispossession limits our scholarly and African diasporic communities' perspectives of what dispossessed people are fighting against when they resist. If we do not know what we are fighting against, how can we become free?

Literature Review

Given the enormity of the consequences of dispossession, it is surprising that there are no published academic works that provide the full story of Magruder. The texts that explore Magruder is a dissertation by Shannon Mahoney, "Community Building After Emancipation: An Anthropological Study of Charles' Corner, Virginia, 1862-1922"; local histories in Williamsburg and York County; online articles by Williamsburg locals and descendant of a Magruder family,

[7] Toyin Falola and Kevin Roberts in the introduction of *The Atlantic World, 1450–2000* state that the Atlantic World "are the processes of migration, colonialism, trade, and intellectual exchange that came to dominate the Atlantic region starting in the mid-fifteenth century" (ix).

Brian Palmer, and fictional stories. "Community Building After Emancipation" examines the settlement, after the Civil War, of a Black community called Charles' Corner, located between Williamsburg and Yorktown on Virginia's lower peninsula. Mahoney states this about Magruder: "Gradually, African American neighborhoods developed at several loci between Williamsburg and Yorktown including Lackey, Halstead's Point, Magruder, Charles' Corner, Slabtown (Uniontown) and Grove."[8] The local histories and fictional stories merely mention Magruder in passing. For example, Joseph P. Freitus in *Virginia in the War Years, 1938–1945: Military Bases, the U-Boat War and Daily Life*, mentions that Magruder and Bigler Mill residents had relocated to Grove and that the Navy has taken over nine thousand acres of land.[9] *Simple Genius* by David Baldacci and *Once Upon a Nightmare* by William Lee likewise only mention the dislocation of a "colored community" in order to create Camp Peary.[10] Baldacci is critical of the government's actions and contends, "I didn't see the Navy go sweeping in on any rich white neighborhoods and start throwing people out. It was just the same old, same old. Kick out the poor black folk because nobody's gonna give a damn."[11]

While no previous publications tell the complete story of Magruder, there are a plethora of works that discuss dispossession and similar destruction of communities. In order to catalog this extensive scholarship, I have organized it according to five major themes: ethnic and racial cleansing, material dispossession, Native American dispossession, forced dispersion, and race and space. I have created these themes based on the historiography of each subject.[12] These

[8] Shannon Mahoney, "Community Building After Emancipation: An Anthropological Study of Charles' Corner, Virginia, 1862-1922," (dissertation, College of William and Mary, 2013).

[9] Joseph P. Freitus, *Virginia in the War Years, 1938-1945: Military Bases, the U-Boat War and Daily Life* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2014), 37.

[10] David Baldacci, *Simple Genius* (New York, NY: Grand Central Publishing, 2007) eBook. William Lee, *Once Upon a Nightmare* (Bloomington, IN: Author House).

[11] Baldacci, *Simple Genius*, eBook.

[12] I experienced some difficulty in differentiating which scholarly source matched what theme, but I ultimately examined what methodological and theoretical approaches the scholars used. For example, scholars of

scholarly sources do not discuss Magruder and some do not even focus on African diasporas. They fit into this discussion because they all discuss either European empires or the ideology of dispossession, both of which are important to understanding Magruder and my theory of the matrix of dispossession. There is no scholarly conception of an "ideology of dispossession." My literature review reveals the multiple ways in which scholars define dispossession. Also, due to the copious scholarship, in what follows I briefly explain each theme and highlight the information that directly relates to Magruder and the matrix of dispossession. These scholarly works serve as a background to my study.

Ethnic and Racial cleansing

The scholarship on racial cleansing is important to Magruder because it reveals the ways in which the government's removal of Blacks is a form of racial cleansing. W.E.B. Du Bois' essay "Of Work and Wealth," in *Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil* (1920), succinctly links the particular "cleansing" of Blacks from East St. Louis to expulsions throughout time:

> It was the old world horror come to life again: all that Jews suffered in Spain and Poland; all that peasants suffered in France, and Indians in Calcutta; all that aroused human deviltry had accomplished in ages past they did in East St. Louis, while the rags of six thousand half-naked black men and women fluttered across the bridges of the calm Mississippi.[13]

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race and space interact with the work on material dispossession but there are nuances that separate the two. Scholars of race and space provide a more thorough spatial analysis, including the social life of the community, while scholars of material dispossession focus more on the political economy of that particular space.

[13] W.E.B. Du Bois "Of Work and Wealth" originally appeared in the *Crisis Vol 14, No. 5* (September 1917) and was republished in *Darkwater* (1920).

Since Du Bois links the cleansing of Blacks from East St. Louis to the "old world," he exemplifies how Magruder could be considered an instance of "ethnic cleansing."[14] Elliot Jaspin, in *Buried in the Bitter Waters: The Hidden History of Racial Cleansing* (2007) makes the shift from ethnic cleansing to racial cleansing.

Guy Lancaster, in *Racial Cleansing in Arkansas, 1883–1924* (2014), builds on Jaspin's work and observes that politics, land, labor, and what Whites deem as "criminal behavior" are what typically prompt Whites to cleanse an area racially. Adding to what other scholars have discussed about White violence driving Blacks out of towns across the United States, Lancaster posits that White elites conduct racial cleansing by violent and nonviolent acts. One example of a Whites not forcing Blacks to leave with physical violence is the disinterring of Black bodies from a cemetery in Salem, Arkansas in the early 1900s. After the removal, Blacks had left, and the 1930 census reports the town as being all White.[15]

Native American Dispossession[16]

In addition to scholarship that focuses on ethnic/racial cleansing, scholars of Native American dispossession describe the experience of those who have experienced dispossession at the hands of European colonists. Scholars of Native American dispossession have analyzed the lives of the Indigenous people before European contact, the tragedy of European encounters, and

[14] Andrew Bell-Fialkoff's *Ethnic Cleansing* (1996) defines population cleansing as "a planned, deliberate removal from a certain territory of an undesirable population distinguished by one or more characteristics such as ethnicity, religion, race, class, or sexual preference. He had developed a spectrum between genocide and forced migration and argued that such population cleansing started in antiquity with the Assyrians.

[15] Guy Lancaster, *Racial Cleansing in Arkansas, 1883–1924*: *Politics, Land, Labor, and Criminality* (New York: Lexington Books, 2014)

[16] This section of Native American dispossession is the perfect example of how a theme could overlap with another theme, Ethnic/Racial Cleansing, but the scholars of Native American dispossession are not conversing with scholars of Ethnic/Racial Cleansing. For example, Peter Mancall's edited volume *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550-1624 (2007)* does not cite Du Bois, Bell-Fialkoff or Jaspin. Scholars of Ethnic/Racial Cleansing do not discuss the *Cherokee Phoenix* or cite William Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia* (1849), Alden T. Vaughan, "'Expulsion of the Salvages': English Policy and the Virginia Massacre of 1622," (1978), or Mancall's edited collection.

the ongoing ways in which Europeans and Euro-Americans dispossess Native Americans, alongside the residual effects of the first encounters. The *Cherokee Phoenix* and Native Americans' correspondence with Congress dispel any perception that Native Americans are willing participants in their removal. In 1830, for example, Native Americans sent a "Memorial of the Cherokee Nation," to Congress and have published the "Address of the Committee and Council of the Cherokee Nation, in General Council Convened, to the People of the United States" in the *Cherokee Phoenix*. In both texts, they protest their removal from Georgia to west of Mississippi. They make two important points that elucidate the importance of the land and the ways in which Euro-Americans continue to dispossess them from the land. In "Memorial of the Cherokee Nation," the Cherokee Delegation states:

> We wish to remain on the land of our fathers. We have a perfect and original right to remain without interruption or molestation. The treaties with us, and laws of the United States made in pursuance of treaties, guaranty our residence and our privileges, and secure us against intruders. Our only request is, that these treaties may be fulfilled, and these laws executed. But if we are compelled to leave our country, we see nothing but ruin before us. The country west of the Arkansas territory is unknown to us.[17]

They identify Euro-Americans as intruders. Moreover, their claim to the land of their fathers points to Native Americans' thousand-year history before European contact. Furthermore, the United States has made a treaty with Native Americans promising that the latter would keep their land, yet America has abandoned that treaty.

Historian Alfred A. Cave and independent researcher Steve Inskeep's research on Andrew Jackson contribute to our understanding of Indian removal. Inskeep explains how

[17] Cherokee Nation, "Memorial of the Cherokee Nation," in *Niles' Weekly Register* (H. Niles and Son, 1830), 456.

Jackson had a history of taking land from Indians and details the passing of the Indian removal Act of 1830.[18] He describes how Jackson used "reason, intimidation, bribery, duplicity, and force" to take the land.[19] Cave shows how Jackson abused his power by acting outside of the agreed upon parameters of the Indian removal Act. While Jackson privately favored coerced removal, he publicly declared that "no force should be used" and Indians "shall be liberally remunerated for all they may cede."[20] Congress approves the act because Jackson also promised that Indians would not be forcefully removed and would maintain their self-governance.[21] He did not keep these promises, broke "several federal treaty commitments to Indians," and the Indians were forcefully removed.[22]

Material Dispossession

Another major theme in scholarship on forced removal is material dispossession. Material dispossession is important for understanding what happens in Magruder and for understanding the matrix of dispossession. Scholars of material dispossession, such as Walter Rodney, David Harvey, and others, have extensively examined the ways in which control of resources enables maintenance of power and the dispossessing of the lower class. Both Africans who have remained on the continent and those living throughout the diasporas have been materially dispossessed, including communities such as Magruder.

Karl Marx is the starting point for scholars theorizing about material dispossession. In addition to his well-known notions of the stages of development in European history and the

[18] Steve Inskeep, *Jacksonland: President Andrew Jackson, Cherokee Chief John Ross, and a Great American Land Grab* (New York: Penguin Press, 2015) 229-241.

[19] Inskeep, *Jacksonland*, 6.

[20] Alfred A Cave, "Abuse of Power: Andrew Jackson and the Indian Removal Act of 1830." *The Historian* 65, no. 6 (2003): 1334. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24452618.

[21] Cave, "Abuse of Power," 1340.

[22] Cave, "Abuse of Power," 1332.

direct relationship between economic expansion and social relations, scholars continually refer to his ideology of "primitive accumulation."[23] Marx details how these events lead to both the creation of the proletariat and the loss of land. Since proletarians no longer have dominion over their land, they lose the means of subsistence and the only means they can sell is their labor power. In Marx's formulation, capitalism continually reproduces itself, but when adding in accumulation—or the surplus value of capital—capitalism reproduces itself at a larger scale. Therefore, primitive accumulation marks the beginning of a cycle of reproduction that will continually lead to the creation of a larger working class and to the expatriation (dispossession) of more landowners.

Two prominent scholars who have built on Marx and describe material dispossession are Walter Rodney in *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1972) and David Harvey in *New Imperialism* (2003).[24] Rodney's landmark work argues that the only way Africans have the potential to develop as a nation is to make a "radical break" from the "international capitalist system."[25] Rodney observes that Marx's stages have not developed in the way Marx has predicted. During Rodney's time, socialism and capitalism existed side by side, and these different societies have been economically in contact with each other. As a result, according to Rodney, two rules have developed: The weaker societies (meaning the ones with less economic

[23] Marx discusses primitive accumulation in *Capital*, Volume 1 (1867), where he critiques political economy and contends that expatriation is foundational to capitalism. Within Marx's stages of economic development is the transition from feudalism to capitalism. The turning point between these stages or what Marx calls the "prehistoric stage of capital" is primitive accumulation. He describes primitive accumulation this way: "The spoliation of the church's property, the fraudulent alienation of the State domains, the robbery of the common lands, the usurpation of feudal and clan property, and its transformation into modern private property under circumstances of reckless terrorism, were just so many idyllic methods of primitive accumulation" (*Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* Germany: Progress Publishers, 1867).

[24] I am unable to quantify the number of scholars who engage with Marx's notion of social classes, but these scholars do not intentionally focus on material dispossession. For example, Oliver Cox's *Caste, Class and Race* (1948) deals with Marx in his description of class but Cox is not describing the ways in which capitalism leads to material losses. Further, some scholars address accumulation, among them Andre Gunder Frank in *World Accumulation, 1492–1789*, which was published at the same time as Rodney's work, but Rodney focuses specifically on Africa.

[25] Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Nairobi, KY: East African Publishers, 1972).

capacity) will suffer, and the only way for them to survive is to become economically stronger than the society attempting to dominate it. With this framework in place, Rodney details the ways in which European countries take advantage of underdeveloped African countries and keep them underdeveloped.[26] Numerous scholars have built on Rodney's work, and focus specifically on capitalism's role in underdeveloping Blacks in America, the most notable example is Manning Marable's *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America* (1983).

Another prominent scholar to build on Marx's theories of primitive accumulation and stages of development is David Harvey. Harvey, in *New Imperialism* (2003), focuses specifically on the U.S., and contends that post 9/11 and amid a global capitalist world, a new imperialism of "accumulation by dispossession" has been occurring. Following capitalism's historical-geographical record, primitive accumulation has already happened and since the cycle is continuing, the accumulation is no longer "primitive," but rather accumulation by dispossession. While his focus is more recent, Harvey posits that America's contemporary accumulation by dispossession is just a continuation of Britain's primitive accumulation. He claims that war is just the "tip of the imperialist iceberg."[27] Accumulation by dispossession is expansive, including but not limited to biopiracy, depletion of the global environment, "the commodification of cultural forms, histories, and intellectual creativity," "corporatization and privatization of hitherto public assets," deregulation of labor rights, and reversal of common property rights.[28]

Forced Dispersions from Africa

[26] It is important to note that underdevelopment is only understood by comparing levels of development and not by looking at how discrete countries develop (Rodney, 23).

[27] David Harvey, *The New Imperialism* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2003), 148.

[28] Harvey, *The New Imperialism*, 148.

Whereas Rodney explains how Africa has been materially dispossessed, scholars who theorize about African diasporas and the forced migrations of Africans point to the ways in which involuntary migration dispossesses Africa.[29] Diasporic scholarship portrays the historical and contemporary context in which the dispossession of Magruder occurs. These scholars identify diasporic communities forcefully created by the transatlantic slave trade as dispossessed people. The earliest and most significant piece of scholarship on African and African diasporic history is Juan de Abreu de Galindo's *The History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands* (1632).[30] Abreu indicates that Spaniards captured "natives" from the Canary Islands in 1385. These "natives" were Berbers from North Africa, as Alejandra C. Ordóñez et al. explain: "The Berber origin of this ancient population is undisputed, based on genetic (Rando et al., 1999; Maca-Meyer et al., 2004), archaeological and linguistic evidences (Tejera Gaspar, 1999; Jimenez Gomez, 1993; 2003).[31] The Spanish name for the aboriginals is Guancho.[32] The current scholarly consensus is that the Portuguese first took Africans in the 1440s.[33]

Joseph Inikori, in his edited collection, *Forced Migration: The Impact of the Export Slave Trade on African Societies* (1982), estimates the number of Africans forcefully exported to the Muslim world along with those displaced by the transatlantic slave trade between AD 800 and 1890 to be approximately thirty million.[34] But Inikori makes a grander point: the effects of the

[29] The extensive literature on the transatlantic slave trade ranges from the writings of Christopher Columbus in 1493 to Kay Wright Lewis' *A Curse upon the Nation: Race, Freedom, and Extermination in America and the Atlantic World* (2017). John Alden in *European Americana: A Chronological Guide to Works Printed in Europe Relating to the Americas* documents every piece of writing he could find on the slave trade and covers the years 1493 to 1776.

[30] This text was originally published in Spanish in 1632 and translated into English by D. Chamberlaine and J. Williams in 1767.

[31] Alejandra C Ordóñez, R. Fregel, A. Trujillo-Mederos, Montserrat Hervella, Concepción de-la-Rúa, and Matilde Arnay-de-la-Rosa. "Genetic Studies on the Prehispanic Population Buried in Punta Azul Cave (El Hierro, Canary Islands)," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 78 (2017): 20.

[32] Ordóñez et al., "Genetic Studies on the Prehispanic Population," 20.

[33] One of the most recent texts is Ibram X. Kendi's *Stamped from the Beginning* (2016).

[34] J. E. Inikori, *Forced Migration: The Impact of the Export Slave Trade on African Societies* (United Kingdom: Hutchinson, 1982), 13. Inikori's discussion of the number of Africans traded is within the context of

slave trades on Africa extended far beyond the estimated number of people traded. Not included are those Africans who died on the marches from depot to depot, those who died at the export centers, those displaced by slave raids and slaving wars and, those killed by famine and epidemics from 1650 to 1850. All these factors accounted for the violent depopulation of Africa. Scholars of transatlantic slavery have challenged Inikori's estimates but his argument on the ways in which the sub-Saharan trade with Muslims and the transatlantic trade have affected Africa still stands.

In the 1960s, a scholarly shift occurred in the usage of the term "diaspora" from solely identifying Jews to also including Africans. This happened with the publication of several essays and the gathering of the 1965 *International Congress of African Historians* in Tanzania with a focus on "The African Abroad or the African Diaspora."[35] Joseph Harris' key text in the theorizing of African diasporas, *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora* (1982), posits:

> The African diaspora embodies the following: the voluntary and forced dispersion of Africans at different periods in history and in several directions; the emergence of a cultural identity abroad without losing the African base, [meaning] either spiritually or physically the psychological or physical return to the homeland, Africa.[36]

Harris' explanation of the African diaspora elucidates the importance of dispersion and homelessness, both physically and psychologically, as aspects of the diaspora.

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responding to Philip Curtains *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (1969) who Inikori believed underestimated the number of Africans deported. Paul Lovejoy, in "The Volume of the Atlantic Slave Trade: A Synthesis" in *Slave Trades, 1500–1800: Globalization of Forced Labour* (1996), contends that Inikori is wrong and Curtains' approximately 9.5 million is correct.

[35] Joseph Harris provides this information in *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora* (1982). I am not claiming that the 1960s is the first time the term diaspora was used in connection with Africans. For example, the ideologies of Black Nationalism and Pan-Africanism contained similar worldviews to describe something that had existed for centuries and decades before the scholarly writings on African diasporas. Some of the essays of the 1960s in which diaspora was used to describe Africans are Ian Cunnison's "Kazembe and the Portuguese 1798-1832," 1961, Abiola Irele, "Négritude or Black Cultural Nationalism," 1965, and P. E. H Hair's "Africanism: the Freetown Contribution" 1967.

[36] Ibid.

While Harris' *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora* is a landmark text for the study of African diasporas, Stuart Hall's "Cultural Identity and Diaspora" (1990) is a marquee text for its broader understanding of African diasporas and culture. Hall's canonical text argues that cultural identity—and thereby Black diasporic identity— is not static and fixed, rather a production that is continually being produced and reproduced. He posits that there is both an African diaspora and African diasporas. The African diaspora contained "one shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self,' hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves,' which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common."[37] African diasporas recognizes that there were "also critical points of deep and significant *difference* which constitute 'what we really are'; or rather—since history has intervened— 'what we have become.'"[38] Hall's both/and perspective implies that "difference persists in and alongside continuity."[39]

Following Hall, Paul Zeleza responds to Gilroy[40] and sets the contemporary course of African diaspora studies. In "Rewriting the African Diaspora: Beyond the Black Atlantic" (2005), Zeleza faults Gilroy for "oversimplifying the African American experience and the role of Africa and African connections in its collective memory, imagination and thought," for centering men, for inadequately accounting for the racial majority in the Caribbean, for going against an essentialist view while arguing for a Black and not multicultural Atlantic, and for his "exclusionary epistemic cultural politics in its Eurocentric excision and disdain for Africa."[41]

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[37] Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Theorizing Diaspora* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 234.

[38] Ibid, 236.

[39] Ibid, 238.

[40] Paul Gilroy argues against the essentialist view of Black culture in favor of "a libertarian, strategic alternative: the cultural saturnalia which attends the end of innocent notions of the essential black subject." Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, (Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 1993), 32.

[41] Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, "Rewriting the African Diaspora: Beyond the Black Atlantic," *African Affairs Vol. 104, No. 414* (2005): 37.

Zeleza provides a more thorough notion of African diasporas than Hall. He historicizes and pluralizes African diasporas while identifying their positioning around the world and in relation to Africa. His multifaceted framework "transcends the racial essentialisms that worry Gilroy," contextualizes the multiple identities Hall presents, and engages with the multitude of involuntary and voluntary dispersions Drake, Inikori, and Harris discuss that shape the diasporas.

Race and Space

Scholarship on forced dispersion of Africans from the continent also intersects with the literature on race and space. Contemporary literature posits that invasion and removal by Whites of non-Whites and lower classes from their neighborhoods occur on a global scale. Within this category, scholars racialize space, theorize about the definition of location, and reveal the ways in which Blacks are kept out of particular spaces. Government programs and bills drive the literature on race and space. The list of the most frequently referenced programs and bills include: Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal programs (1933–1938), particularly the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (1933), the Housing Division of the Public Works Administration (1933), and The Housing Act of 1934, which create the Federal Housing Authority (FHA), the Housing Act of 1937 (the Wagner-Steagall Low Rent Housing Bill), the Housing Act of 1949, the 1954 case of *Berman v. Parker*, The Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956 and the Federal Housing Act of 1959.

One of the most important studies of forced removal from one's property in general, and that can be applied to examining Magruder, is "Urban Redevelopment" (1944) in *Yale Law Journal*. This article is important because it reveals that property had not been taken by eminent domain prior to 1949. The article appears several years after the New Deal programs and before

the Housing Act of 1949. It defined urban redevelopment as "the rehabilitation or the clearance and complete rebuilding of substandard and blighted areas by private redevelopment corporations operating with the aid and under the control of local government."[42] It explains that while land can be legally taken by the government for "public use," there is "no direct legal authority on the point"[43] of eminent domain. In other words, before 1949, the government did not have a legal precedent to take land using eminent domain as the justification for taking land.

Whereas "Urban Redevelopment" and additional writings on blight and slum clearance discuss the legal and historical precedents to these issues, Horace Cayton's and St. Claire Drake's *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (1945) racializes our understanding of blight. They built off of W. E. B. Du Bois' work, especially "The Philadelphia Negro A Social Study" (1899), and conducted a systematic study of Chicago, focusing on "Black metropolis." Their groundbreaking study captures many of the key themes that scholars of race and space continue to examine in their work, including but not limited to, the effects of the Great Migration on urban areas, a job ceiling, the creation of residential segregation and Du Bois' notion of the "color line," which together leads to "social segregation." After an influx of White immigrants in the 19th century, the major shift in the dynamics of the city (population, jobs, racial tensions etc.) occurred with the Great Migration, between 1914 and 1918. In 1914, the migration created a housing shortage for Negroes in the "Black Belt." Drake and Cayton described the Black Belt as the place where "a long, thin sliver of land, sandwiched between a well-to-do white neighborhood and that of the so-called 'shanty Irish,' most of Chicago's colored

[42] Author unknown, "Urban Redevelopment," *The Yale Law Journal* 54, no. 1 (1944): 118–119, https://doi.org/10.2307/792719.

[43] Ibid, 124.

residents and their major institutions were concentrated during the next forty years."[44] Further, Whites actively maintained segregation through force and restrictive covenants.[45] Local governments, the Federal Housing Authority, the Chamber of Commerce, the banks, local housing authorities, and housing councils are all responsible for developing a plan to provide adequate housing for Negroes.

Robert C. Weaver's address to the National Conference on Discrimination "Habitation with Segregation," published in the *Crisis* (1952), also highlights "government actions" in the segregation and forced removal of Negroes from blighted areas. He details the ways in which "Negro clearance" is both a race and a class problem, not simply one or the other. Weaver also notes the importance of the Housing Act of 1949, specifically Title 1. He contends that the federal assistance allotted by the Housing Act to private companies accelerated Negro clearance or the displacing of Negroes to make way for White housing.[46]

Similar Types of Dispossessions

Twelve years after the Federal Housing Act of 1949, Cayton and Drake's and Weaver's prophetic words came true. Jane Jacobs' attack on urban renewal in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) details the ways in which the new buildings created fewer accommodations, thereby perpetuating the displacement of Negroes. Martin Anderson in *The Federal Bulldozer* (1964) elucidates how urban renewal disproportionately displaces Negroes

[44] Horace Cayton and St. Claire Drake, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (San Diego: Harcourt, 1945), 47.

[45] With the help of the Chicago Real Estate Board, Whites implemented restrictive covenants, "an agreement between property owners within a certain district not to rent or sell to Negroes," to ensure Negroes did not move into their neighborhoods.

[46] Robert Weaver, "Habitation with Segregation," *The Crisis* (Baltimore, MD: The Crisis Publishing Company, 1952).

and Puerto Ricans. He states: "According to the government reports, they accounted for about 76 per cent of the total in 1957, 71 per cent in 1959, 68 per cent in 1960 and 66 per cent in 1961."[47]

More recent scholarship on urban renewal looks back at the significance of the 1954 case of *Berman v. Parker* and The Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956 and places them in a global context. Wendell E. Pritchett's "The 'Public Menace' of Blight: Urban Renewal and the Private Uses of Eminent Domain" (2003), argues that the *Berman v. Parker* case in 1954 is just as significant to Black life as *Brown v. Board of Education* because it provides the legal basis for eminent domain. In 1952, the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency (DCRLA) had attempted to take the land of Max Morris and Goldie Schneider in order to remake the south quadrant of the capitol. Morris and Schneider fought back through the legal system, and by 1954 the case makes it to the Supreme Court. As "Urban Redevelopment" has revealed in 1944, the taking over of land for renewal did not have a clear legal basis, but DCLRA's victory changed that and allowed the government to declare land to be "blighted" and to redevelop it for "public use." This case, according to Pritchett, "set the stage for a nation-wide expansion of the urban renewal program."[48]

Among the infrastructure for "public use" that such redevelopment and urban renewal enabled is highways. Eric Avila in *The Folklore of the Freeway: Race and Revolt in the Modernist City* (2014) revisits The Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956, which enables the construction of interstates around the country. Avila details the racialization of areas that have been targeted for destruction. Whereas White middle-class people have protested and stopped the construction of highways through their communities, non-White communities do not have the same political power. Avila describes how the development of highways and displacement of

[47] Martin Anderson, *Federal Bulldozer* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 65.

[48] Wendell Pritchett, "The 'Public Menace' of Blight: Urban Renewal and the Private Uses of Eminent Domain," *Faculty Scholarship*, January 1, 2003, http://scholarship.law.upenn.edu/faculty_scholarship/1199, 1.

non-Whites from their communities fits into this scholarship on redlining, urban renewal and slum clearance.

The connection between Whiteness (race) and the ability to live securely in their homes (space) is also a global phenomenon. *Gentrification in a Global Context*, edited by Rowland Atkinson and Gary Bridge, discusses "a new urban colonialism," and links some of the scholarship on material dispossession with scholarship on race and space. Atkinson and Bridge argue that Whites are global gentrifiers and the "unprecedented levels of unemployment, inadequate shelter and homelessness"[49] that happens on a global scale manifests particularly in small urban communities, especially in non-White neighborhoods.

While most scholarship on race and space centers urban areas, several scholars have studied rural areas. Two examples are Pete Daniel's *Dispossession: Discrimination Against African American Farmers in the Age of Civil Rights* and William A. James' *In the Streets of Vinegar Hill*. In *Dispossession,* Daniel reveals that, much as government laws and departments have played a significant role in displacing Blacks from urban areas, so too are they instrumental in dispossessing African American farmers in the 1960s. By examining three United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) agencies, the Federal Extension Service, the Farmers Home Association and the Agricultural Stabilization, Daniel shows that they "hired office staffs, selected extension and home-demonstration agents, controlled information, adjusted acreage allotments, disbursed loans, adjudicated disputes, and, in many cases, looked after their own

[49] Rowland Atkinson and Gary Bridge, *Gentrification in a Global Context: The New Urban Colonialism* (London, UK: Routledge, 2005), 8.

families and friends."[50] In the 1960s alone, their actions contributes to Black farm owners decreasing from 74,132 to 45,428 and black tenants from 132,011 to an astonishing 16,113.[51]

William A. James' novel *In the Streets of Vinegar Hill* portrays the destruction of Vinegar Hill, a formerly Black community in Charlottesville. This historical fiction recounts the story of how in 1963, Charlottesville has deemed Vinegar Hill, "Black Charlottesville's Communal Soul," as slum and wipes out another rural Black community. The City of Charlottesville's basis for razing Vinegar Hill aligns directly with Lancaster's argument in *Racial Cleansing in Arkansas,* criminality. Charlottesville's City Council and the University of Virginia determine Vinegar as blighted due to three Hill's residents killing of a University of Virginia student.

Literature Review Summary

The five groupings of scholarship on dispossession provides a broad history and understanding in order to situate Magruder and my theory of the matrix of dispossession. Scholarship on ethnic/racial cleansing and Native Americans point to the thousand-year history of land ownership and land taking, depicting that Magruder is part of an extremely extended history. Scholars of racial cleansing, Native Americans, material dispossession and race and space all point to the role of political institutions, from the local level to globally, that play key roles in taking land from Indigenous and diasporic people. African and diasporic scholars identify when dispossession specifically started for African peoples and display the socio-political context in which the federal government takes the land from the predominantly Black

[50] Pete Daniel, *Dispossession: Discrimination against African American Farmers in the Age of Civil Rights* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013), xiii.
[51] Ibid, 5.

community in Magruder. Scholars of race and space provide the language of Negro clearance and specific examples of Black spaces being dispossessed.

With all these precursors in mind, where does Magruder fit in? What do these scholars not address when it comes to Magruder and what might it look like if these scholars talked to each other?

Gap in Literature

I have attempted to capture every field of scholarship that addresses dispossession and that potentially bears on the erasure of Magruder by the creation of Camp Peary. Shannon Mahoney's dissertation on Charles' Corner and the creation of the Naval Weapon's station provides the closest example to the dispossession of a predominately Black rural community before 1949.[52] Therefore, writing about Magruder in and of itself addresses a gap in literature. Moreover, the narrative of Magruder addresses the gaps in literature in that: the timing predates much of the scholarship on race and space; dispossession of rural locations like that of Magruder have received little scholarly attention; the racial makeup of Magruder offers an unique case in which both Blacks and Whites are dispossessed; and there is little to no scholarship on the effects of WWII causing dispossession in the United States.

Furthermore, by shining a scholarly spotlight on Magruder, I bring into conversation with one another different disciplines and scholars writing on the themes I identified to conceptualize dispossession holistically. Currently there is little overlap between fields in the scholarly analysis of dispossession, and scholars primarily approach it from within a discrete discipline. When scholars have analyzed dispossession interdisciplinarily, they have nonetheless stayed within the

[52] Shannon Mahoney, "Community Building After Emancipation: An Anthropological Study of Charles' Corner, Virginia, 1862-1922," (dissertation, College of William and Mary, 2013).

themes I have developed. For example, many of the scholars on race and space do not discuss both dispossession and forced dispersions at the same time. Scholars who examine material dispossession may account for race but do not include the psychological components of dispossession. By contrast, in my study of Magruder I bring together in one place all the themes to provide a more comprehensive depiction of Magruder in particular and of dispossession in general.

Within the context of the scholarly literature on dispossession and American history, the year 1942 (when Magruder was dispossessed) is an intriguing year. Scholars who describe ethnic and racial cleansing, Native American dispossession, and race and space all discuss events before and after this time period but not during this period. Du Bois' study, research on ethnic and racial cleansing, and Native American dispossession all pre-date 1940. The Housing Act of 1949 that is essential to the manifestation of urban renewal or what Robert C. Weaver calls "Negro clearance" is seven years after the displacement of Blacks from Magruder. Therefore, the timing of Magruder falls in a gap in the time period in the study of dispossession.

In addition to the timing of the displacement of Magruder, based on the literature, the rural location of Magruder in Yorktown/Williamsburg offers a unique context in which to examine dispossession. The majority of scholarship on race and space and instances of racial cleansing due to riots, focuses on urban areas. Scholarship on Native American dispossession does directly discuss this geographic area, but that instance of dispossession occurs three centuries before Magruder. Also, scholars of ethnic and racial cleansing highlight "sundown towns," which are usually rural areas. But Williamsburg is not considered a "sundown town" in the sense that Loewen describes them.[53] Additionally, the examination of Magruder provides an

[53] James Loewen argues that sundown towns are "so named because some marked their city limits with placards like the one a former resident of Manitowoc, Wisconsin, remembers from the early 1960s: "Nigger, Don't

opportunity to look at a specific and measurable dispersion and theorize about the creation of new diasporas within the previously created diaspora of the United States.

An intriguing gap in literature that I examine in my analysis of Magruder is how this dispossession is an early instance of local displacement due to global actions. Harvey, Atkinson, Bridge, and other scholars who discuss globalization and displacement analyze events around the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century. Whereas Lipsitz, Atkinson, and Bridge describe how global investors profit at the expense of local economies, I focus on the socio-historical and political factors of World War II—a global event—that leads to the displacement of Magruder's residents. First, forced migrations during the transatlantic slave trade and subsequent generations born in a diaspora have contributed to Magruder residents losing sight of their African identity. Then World War II caused Black Magruder residents to lose their homes. This and other experiences as Blacks in America have generated attitudes of indifference towards America. These events have created a global identity in that Blacks from Magruder are not fully Americans and have a disjointed relationship with a continent across the Atlantic Ocean-Africa. Thus, the combination of being displaced, dealing with segregation, and the lack of political affiliation with America is what I am calling a "rural colonialism" that occurs decades before the "urban colonialism" that Atkinson and Bridge describe.

Magruder entails the removing of a predominantly Black community from the same land from which the Indigenous peoples have been removed. Magruder involves a component of racial cleansing (but not completely because of the presence of Whites) that is an early example of "Negro clearance." This Negro clearance happened before the Housing Act of 1949. During World War II, the United States' creation of military installations around the world led to the

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Let the Sun Go Down On You In Our Town.'" He explains that these towns were formed when White communities drove out Black communities between 1890 and 1954. "Was Your Town a Sundown Town?," UU World Magazine, February 18, 2008, https://www.uuworld.org/articles/was-your-town-sundown-town.

destruction of rural, Black and Brown communities in those respective locations. Therefore, Magruder is part of an erasure of Black communities well in advance of the urban community destructions such as urban renewal and gentrification that many scholars have researched.

Theory

The gap in literature reveals that scholars mainly conceptualize dispossession along the lines of: "The act of wrongfully depriving someone of possession of land."[54] Some scholars furthermore theorize about material dispossession and the dispossession of specific ethnicities and races such as Native Americans and Blacks in particular places such as the "Black Belt." These theoretical approaches to dispossession do not separately offer a holistic conception of dispossession. Therefore, I propose to examine Magruder based on my theory of the "matrix of dispossession." This dynamic and intersectional matrix brings together all the existing theories that scholars from my literature review have proposed.

Fig. 1 Matrix of Dispossession, Designed, developed and created by the author.

The five components of the matrix of dispossession that act upon the individual and/or the community are: material, political, psychological, existential, and spiritual. Material

[54] "Dispossession," in P. Collin (ed.), *Dictionary of Law* (London, UK: A&C Black, 2007). Retrieved from http://proxy.wm.edu/login?url=http://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/acblaw/dispossession/0

dispossession consists of the loss of material possessions and the ability to obtain material possessions. Political dispossession entails the lack of full citizenship rights, a sense of homelessness and divisiveness in a society which renders individuals and groups powerless. It aligns with Salamishah Tillet's notion of civic estrangement (next paragraph). Psychological dispossession describes how stressors traumatically produce stress for individuals and communities and that leads to improper grieving and the inability express discontent with being dispossessed. Existential dispossession entails the loss of identity mentally, historically, culturally, politically and socially. Spiritual dispossession involves a disconnection from one's homeland (in this case Africa), a lack of purpose in understanding one's existence in the world and a loss in and to an individual's or community's faith or their worldview.[55] I posit that the matrix is necessary to comprehend Magruder because each individual component addresses only part of the picture.

The former Magruder residents lost more than land; they lost their livelihoods of farming and oystering, and they have experienced a sense of "civic estrangement." Salamishah Tillet describes how, in the context of "the post-Civil Rights US," African American citizenship "is complicatedly coupled with a persistent sense of civic estrangement from the rights and privileges of the contemporary public sphere."[56] Tillet's notion of civic estrangement entails the lack of recognition of African American's contributions to the United States and a longing to reconnect to their lost African history.[57] While Tillet's era starts in the 1960s, former Magruder residents faced civic estrangement before then, because their citizenship rights were being

[55] There is overlap in my definitions of spiritual and existential dispossession because I have made room for the individual or community to determine their own worldview. I explain later in this dissertation that some people (including families of Magruder) do not hold to the same worldview; some are Christians, Muslims, non-believers and so on.

[56] Salamishah Tillet, "In the Shadow of the Castle: (Trans)Nationalism, African American Tourism, and Gorée Island," *Research in African Literatures* 40, no. 4 (2009): 125. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40468165.

[57] Tillet, "In the Shadow of the Castle," 125.

challenged by the Navy's taking during World War II. Their precipitous and forceful removal have made them political refugees and causes them considerable anxiety, compounding the consequences of dispossession, qualitatively and quantitatively. Qualitatively, the dispossessed residents simultaneously experienced material, psychological, and existential turmoil. Quantitatively, the implications of the dispossession worsened in that they were physically homeless and had to start over to accumulate wealth; they had to find a new way of living and of enduring the ongoing psychological turmoil of being dispossessed. Moreover, the spiritual loss consisted of their identification with that land and memories they have developed over the years. Additionally, their churches have been destroyed and their cemetery has been left unkempt.

My framework for understanding dispossession is influenced by Ralph Ellison, Saidiya Hartman, Paul Zeleza, Stuart Hall, Alfred Moleah, and Katherine McKittrick. The scholarship on dispossession is substantial because it covers occurrences of displacement ranging temporally from ancient times to the present and geographically from America to Australia. Since I am studying a predominantly Black community in Virginia that includes some Whites, I am theorizing dispossession by focusing on race.

Ralph Ellison's works provide the skeleton for developing my matrix of dispossession. In *Invisible Man* (1952), Ellison presents a multifaceted conception of dispossession. Along with material dispossession, Ellison conceives of dispossession politically, psychologically, and existentially. He uses the term "dispossess" approximately thirty times in the novel. Since the book is fiction, he does not explicitly define each occurrence but uses the narrative to convey its meanings. The most comprehensive example is the speech the narrator gives at the brotherhood rally. He proclaims:

> It's 'Never give a sucker an even break! It's dispossess him! Evict him! Use his empty head for a spittoon and his back for a door mat! It's break him! Deprive him of his wages! It's use his protest as a sounding brass to frighten him into silence, it's beat his ideas and his hopes and homely aspirations into a tinkling cymbal!... They've tried to dispossess us of our manhood and womanhood! Of our childhood and adolescence — You heard the sister's statistics on our infant mortality rate. Don't you know you're lucky to be uncommonly born? Why, they even tried to dispossess us of our dislike of being dispossessed! And I'll tell you something else —if we don't resist, pretty soon they'll succeed! These are the days of dispossession, the season of homelessness, the time of evictions. We'll be dispossessed of the very brains in our heads![58]

The narrator's most riveting phrase "Why, they even tried to dispossess us of our dislike of being dispossessed" brings up the internal battle between the dispossessors and the dispossessed. What is clear is that the dispossessed are fighting just to recognize they are dispossessed, while the dispossessors want the dispossessed to be comfortable with their dispossession. This internal battle involves both psychological and existential dispossession. The mention of the infant mortality rate and loss of ability to think also points to psychological and existential dispossession. This example also illustrates how multiple components of dispossession can occur simultaneously.

The narrator closes the speech with these words: "Sisters! Brothers! We are the true patriots! The citizens of tomorrow's world! We'll be dispossessed no more!"[59] A major theme throughout the novel is the narrator's blindness, and at this point, also the blindness of how the Brotherhood is dispossessing him. Therefore, while he rallies the Brotherhood, the narrator

[58] Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man*, 2nd edition (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1995), 342.
[59] Ibid., 346.

supports his own dispossession. The Brotherhood does not offer him the true citizenship the narrator shouts about. Consequently, this scene illuminates the ways in which political dispossession involves being a part of a movement that appears to be fighting for freedom but only serves the organization's interest.

African diasporic scholars Paul Zeleza and Stuart Hall contextualize my theory of the matrix of dispossession. Zeleza's depiction of African diasporas situates the dispossessed from Magruder as being among those who have already been involuntary displaced alongside those who voluntarily migrate. The multiple movements and creation of diverse diasporas adds weight to those who are forced to move because it highlights that those actions are not predestined and are preventable. Forced migration of Africans is not predestined when considering voluntary migration of Africans because their voluntary migration shows that movement can happen without European involvement. Further, and this is also Hall's contribution, the dispossession is compounded because their ancestors had been dispersed from their homeland. This dispersal means that the Blacks in Virginia have a limited sense of home. It is almost impossible for them to trace their familial origins back directly to Africa and the history of the people from which they came.

I use Saidiya Hartman's work to trace the linkages within involuntary migration from Africa and transatlantic slavery. Hartman's work provides the pieces to construct my matrix of dispossession. In *Scenes of Subjection* (1997) Hartman indicates that "dispossession" is "inseparable from becoming a 'propertied person.'"[60] Enslaved Blacks do not own their bodies; they belong to the slave master. She describes this phenomenon in detail in her analysis of Harriet Jacobs' *Incidents in the Live of a Slave Girl* where Linda Brent reflects on "giv[ing]

[60] Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*, *1st ed.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 13.

one's self."[61] Hartman explains how the slavery environment shapes the relationship between White men and enslaved Black women, for it provides limited choices for the enslaved. This environment includes no "legal protection of women, whether realized through legitimation of marriage, the recognition of paternal right, or the criminalization of sexual violence."[62] She contends that this whole scenario of Brent making "deliberate calculations" is only possible because the laws degrade the humanity of enslaved women and "that make slaves 'entirely subject to the will of another'"- dispossessed.[63]

Hartman gives me the language to describe the ways in which Black bodies are dispossessed. The ancestors of Black Virginians have been displaced from Africa and then dispossessed of themselves when they have been turned into commodities as slaves. Hartman also questions the extent to which Emancipation and Reconstruction offer freedom to Blacks in *Scenes of Subjection* and then later in "The Dead Book Revisited" (2016). In "The Dead Book Revisited," she elucidates that dispossession is dynamic and not a static event and articulates the ways in which many of the same characteristics of slavery that she had detailed in *Scenes of Subjection, Lose Your Mother*, and "Venus in Two Acts" continue today. She posits that there is a constellation between the numerous Black deaths from slavery and those Black deaths resulting from militarized state violence. She explicates this constellation in this manner:

> The matrix of our dispossession encompasses the fungible and disposable life of the captive/slave; the uneven distribution of death and harm that produces a caesura in human populations and yields a huge pile of corpses; the accumulation, expropriated

[61] Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 104.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid, 105.

> capacity, and extracted surplus constitutive of racial capitalism and modernity; and the premature death, social precarity, and incarceration that characterize the present.[64]

This perpetual and ongoing dispossession that Blacks endure is a matrix, of sorts, that involves Blacks dying too early, too abundantly, and too frequently. Hartman's matrix suggests that devalued Black life during slavery, the massive number of dead Black bodies, the usage of Black bodies for profit, the contemporary devaluing of Black life, Blacks dying too early for various reasons, and the disproportionate incarceration of Blacks are all intertwined, ongoing, and shaping modern Black life.

While Hartman provides the pieces to my matrix of dispossession, Alfred Moleah, in *South Africa: Colonialism, Apartheid and African Dispossession* (1993) contributes to my theoretical lens the ways in which the actual actions of dispossession have a process and varying levels of impact. Moleah centers dispossession in European colonization of South Africa. He describes the initial colonization by the Dutch as the primitive phase of dispossession.[65] When the British dominate the land, Moleah identifies dispossession as entering an efficient phase. He almost captures the entire process when he states: "Colonialism is an act of war: a war of dispossession. It is also a war of extermination and genocide; which is dispossession at its most complete. In its mercantile capitalist phase, colonialism is principally a war of violent dispossession."[66] The "most complete" or last phase of dispossession is genocide. Therefore, according to Moleah's framing of dispossession, Europeans' forms of dispossession become more and more sophisticated and lead to the complete erasure of life.

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[64] Saidiya Hartman, "The Dead Book Revisited," *History of the Present* 6, no. 2 (2016): 208, https://doi.org/10.5406/historypresent.6.2.0208. Interestingly, I had started using the concept of a matrix of dispossession before I read this text.

[65] Alfred Moleah, *South Africa: Colonialism, Apartheid and African Dispossession* (Wilmington, DE: Disa Press, 1993), 153.

[66] Alfred Moleah, *South Africa: Colonialism, Apartheid and African Dispossession* (Wilmington, DE: Disa Press, 1993), 153.

Moleah helps me to think about the ways in which dispossessors become more sophisticated and severe in their dispossessing. I believe there is still more depth in the complexities of the severity and growth of dispossession. Moleah's analysis focuses primarily on European acts of dispossession in South Africa. I am focusing on Magruder but within the broader context of globalization, World War II, and White Supremacy in a foreign land that has been colonized—America. Dispossession within the context of the long history of European transatlantic dominance and globalization is more potent than Moleah's presentation of South Africa.

The nuances and ramifications of dispossession's effects become even clearer when one considers how oppression compounds when considering multiple identities. The work of Katherine McKittrick addresses what happens when racializing and sexualizing geography and helps me to understand how land and the identity connected to the land fits into the matrix of dispossession. Moreover, McKittrick's emphasis on Black women and the ways in which human geographies reveal hidden stories elaborate how an individual or community can experience dispossession while at "home." McKittrick makes the striking statement that black women are "seemingly in place by being out of place."[67] Therefore, the starting point for Black women is displacement. This displacement is only multiplied when an act of dispossession occurs.

McKittrick also broadens my understanding of displacement and dispossession with her notion of Black women's bodies being a "place." If I consider rape, for example, the Black woman's body is being dispossessed in a similar way to how the gendered land is being raped of its resources. In both instances, White Supremacy dominates the place for its pleasure and benefit. I can now bring it all together within my matrix of dispossession: a multifaceted,

[67] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), xv.

multidimensional, dynamic, and mutable theory that encapsulates the various forms of dispossession that Africans throughout the diasporas have experienced and continue to endure.

Method

Considering the wide-ranging socio-historical and political framework of dispossession that spans centuries and continents, my methodological approach is multifaceted and interdisciplinary. The components of my interdisciplinary methodology consist of archival research, oral histories, genealogical research, geospatial programing, data analysis, and aspects of the Magruder Project. The Magruder project is shaped by the work of The African Burial Ground Project with Michael Blakey as the Principal Investigator. This work started with African American activists in New York who, in 1991 and 1992, fought to stop the US General Services Administration (GSA) from constructing an office building on an African Burial Ground in downtown Manhattan. These activists, ranging from Mayor Dinkins's Liaison for the Foley Square Project, Peggy King Jorde, to the late jazz violinist Noel Pointer, to local New York clergy members, architects, lawyers, and scores of concerned citizens, seized the power over the site from the GSA and connected with Blakey and his team who provide the "final necessary component, intellectual power and technical expertise."[68] Cheryl LaRoche and Michael Blakey explain how this community came "together in a complex and often contentious philosophical and ideological relationship."[69] During Blakey's initial work with the Black community in New York, he coined the term "descendant community" because of the need of a group-rights category.[70] Blakey defines "descendant community" as "a group of people whose

[68] Cheryl LaRoche and Michael Blakey, "Seizing Intellectual Power: The Dialogue at the New York African Burial Ground," *Historical Archaeology* 31, no. 3 (1997): 85, https://doi.org/10.1007/BF03374233.

[69] LaRoche and Blakey, "Seizing Intellectual Power," 84.

[70] Blakey, "African Burial Ground Project," 63.

ancestors were enslaved at a particular site," and "can include those whose ancestors were enslaved not only at a particular site, but also throughout the surrounding region, reflecting the fact that family ties often crossed plantation boundaries."[71] The descendant community can also include those who are connected to the work but not within the genealogy of the family.[72] A foundational principle of the African Burial Ground is to acknowledge "the right of African-Americans to determine the disposition of their ancestral remains."[73] This theoretical approach to methodology is important because scholars have typically, either intentionally or unintentionally, dismissed diasporic perspectives.[74] Blakey and this team have served the descendant community who Blakey has defined as "ethical clients." The descendants control their history and thereby are setting the historical record straight.

Modeled after the African Burial Ground Project, the Magruder Project does similar work for the ethical clients of Magruder and the descendant community. This dissertation focuses on seizing intellectual power and starts the process of the larger project. The only steps I have completed thus far for the Magruder Project were meet with several family members to introduce the project, inquired about who could potentially be on the Magruder Project team, and discovered the desired outcomes of the Magruder Project. This dissertation will be used as a catalyst to bring the descendant community together and start on the project.

While the example of the African Burial Ground has formed my foundation, my methods have changed throughout the research and writing process. I start my study by conducting archival research and the archival research has shaped my initial questions. Working with the families of Magruder and responding to their feedback have shifted my questions. I also have

[71] National Summit on Teaching Slavery, "Engaging Descendant Communities in the Interpretation of Slavery: Rubric of Best Practices," Montpelier's Digital Doorway, accessed April 3, 2019, 1. https://digitaldoorway.montpelier.org/engaging-descendant-communities-in-the-interpretation-of-slavery/.

[72] National Summit on Teaching Slavery, "Rubric of Best Practices," 1.

[73] Blakey, "African Burial Ground Project," 63.

[74] Blakey, "African Burial Ground Project," 63.

realized the need to conduct genealogical research and to map out the land of Magruder. The combination of working for the families of Magruder and the work of the African Burial Ground project raises the importance of a theoretical approach to methodology, that I explain in detail in chapter 2.

In chapter 2 "Methodology, Research Design and Theoretical Approach," I make a theoretical argument for my methodological approach. My main contention is with the power dynamics that control the telling of the narrative. I contend that White Supremacy has controlled the narrative to the point that the story of Magruder has not been told. Some of the power dynamics that I highlight are the privileging of particular sources in academic research and the importance of researching ethically. For example, oral traditions are not as valued as much as written documents, especially documents created by the federal government. Through my research, I often found the oral traditions of the Magruder families to be more reliable than the naval documents. Regarding conducting ethical research: while there are Institutional Review Boards in place throughout the academy, they do not do enough to hold scholars accountable to the community they are researching.

Where Is Magruder?

The locus of activity among European colonialists during the sixteenth (Spanish) and seventeenth (English) centuries happened in the general vicinity of what eventually would be named the James River and York River. As I will explain in detail in chapter three, this is the land of several Indigenous groups who had been living there for thousands of years. I have not specifically identified this area because the naming of land is geopolitical and temporal, meaning based on who owns the area, and that time period determines the name. When the European explorers arrived, the Indigenous peoples identified this area as the Tsenacommacah. Therefore,

an argument can be made for this area to still be called that. The naming of the area is part of European dispossession; the English have replaced most of the Indigenous' names. This country is known as America and the land is in Virginia. Also, the discussion of the names is in English and not in any of the Indigenous languages. Therefore, the area where "Magruder" formerly exists is situated within this geopolitical and temporal context. In Figure 2, I geospatially plotted the Navy's map over a contemporary map. The Navy created this map in 1942, to illustrate the specific locations they identified in their process of taking Magruder.

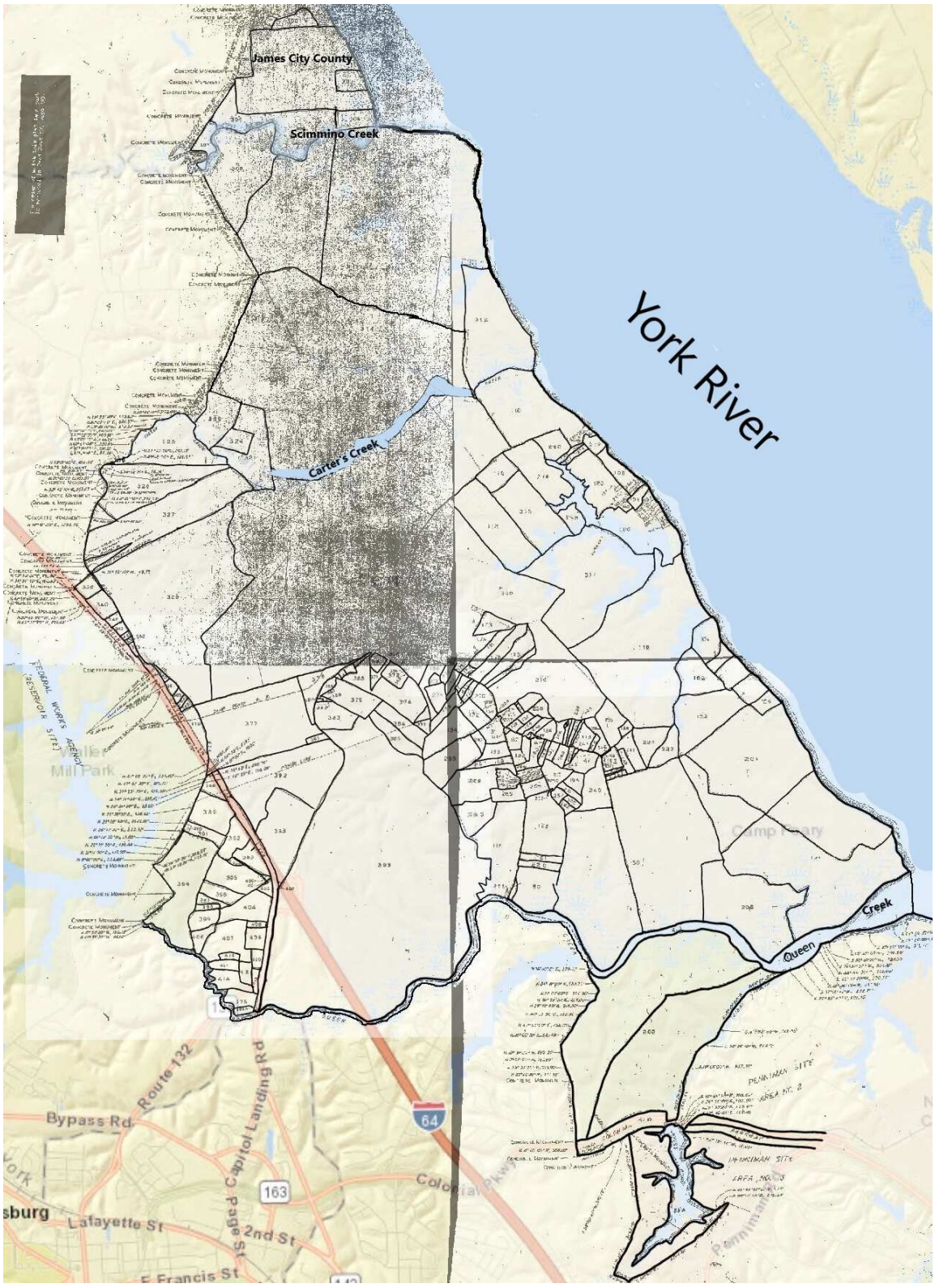

Fig 2. – Geospatial Plotted Map of Land Taken by the Navy. W. B. Speers "Armed Forces Experimental Training Facility, Camp Peary, Williamsburg, Virginia, cemeteries and burial

grounds; status of," April 24, 1964, National Archives, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers (Record Group 77).

The Construction Battalion Training Camp already existed in Norfolk, but the Navy required additional land for training men for the war. On August 28, 1942, Navy Admiral Ben Moreell wrote to Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy, that the camp in Norfolk could train only twelve thousand men, but by creating the Naval Construction Training Center (N.C.T.C.) in York County, they would be able to train twenty-four thousand men.[75] The process of displacing the residents and building N.C.T.C. took place between September 2, 1942 and June 26, 1943. In several phases, the Navy takes a total of 10,730 acres in York County and James City County.[76] The boundaries go as far north as Skimino Creek in James City County, to the York River in the east, Jones Pond to the south, and an area on the west side of Route 168 to the west. This area includes both James City and York Counties and several communities/unincorporated towns such as Magruder, Penniman, and Bigler's Mill. As a result, the geographical boundaries of Magruder are difficult to identify.

In fact, the Navy mis-identifies "Magruder." In their letter to the citizens of Magruder on December 10, 1942, the Navy stated: "The town of Magruder itself was not included in this taking" when referring to the areas already dispossessed.[77] They also include a map showing what had been taken and the phases of takings. Based on this map and the letter, the Navy confines "Magruder" to a smaller area than its actual size. Whereas, according to those who lived in Magruder, the oral tradition of the families, and the 1940 census, "Magruder" covers more area than the Navy identifies. Parts of Magruder were within the parameters of "First Taking,"

[75] Ben Moreell, "Training Facilities for Construction Battalions," Navy Department Bureau of Yards and Docks, Washington D.C. August 28, 1942

[76] In the header section of the government's filing with Newport News District court, which headlines every enclosure and deed transfer created by the Lawyers Title Insurance Corporation, the total acreage is cited as being 10,360. But a Naval document titled "Property Map: U.S. Naval Construction Training Center" dated April 2, 1943, indicates that the total area is 10,730 acres

[77] Carl Porter, "Citizens of the Magruder Area," Naval Operation Base, Norfolk, VA December 10, 1942.

September 8, 1942 and "Third Taking," December 9, 1942.[78] Because of this, the exact location of "Magruder" has been difficult to pinpoint.[79]

The census takers also have difficulty identifying the boundaries of Magruder (which they misspelled as Mcgruder). The 1940 United States Census identifies all the areas marked by the Navy in York County within the Bruton District as "Mcgruder" but then strike through Mcgruder for some locations. Figure three is the heading of the 1940 Sixteenth Census of the United States.

Fig 3. 1940 Census Heading, Bureau of the Census, "Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940," Accessed February 10, 2019 https://1940census.archives.gov/.

This census leaves Magruder unmarked for parts of Williamsburg Road Route 60, Route 31, and Route 645, and includes all of Porto Bello Road in Magruder. They scratch out the families living on Penniman Road., Route 604, Route 646, Ft. Magruder, and parts of Williamsburg Road Route 60, Route 31, and Route 645. Yet many of the families not included are from Magruder, one example being the Palmers. On the census, their house on Route 604 is not counted in Magruder but the deed transfer created by the Lawyers Title Corporation indicates they have lived in Magruder and Lewis Palmer's grave provides additional proof.

These various perspectives of Magruder's location do all identify one location in common: the area to the west of the York River with Scimmino Creek[80]/James City County boundary to the north, Queens Creek being the southern boundary, and the area west of Highway

[78] In multiple Navy files, they identified the takings with the dates of the takings. Therefore, I used their nomenclature in this sentence.

[79] In chapter three I explain that Magruder comes from the Civil War Confederate base called "Fort Magruder," named after General John B. Magruder. The Navy identified the taking over of the land as First Taking, Second Taking, and Third Taking.

[80] The Navy in, "Letter to the Citizens of Magruder," and a 1918 US Geological map both spell Scimmino Creek this way. Current maps, such as Google Maps, spell the creek Skimino Creek.

168 being the western boundary. These boundaries are also the historical areas I have used to determine "Magruder" before the community becomes known as Magruder. In chapter 3, "Historical Background and Community Life in Magruder," I detail, through an analysis of the land, who would eventually live in Magruder. I discuss how they have obtained their land in Magruder and close the chapter by illustrating the community life of Magruder from its existence to its desecration.

Moving forward throughout "Lost Tribe of Magruder," I do not identify a precise location of "Magruder" until the second half of the third chapter. In addition to the factors already mentioned, it is also difficult to provide an exact location because the names of the towns and rivers change throughout time. While the town and river names are shifting, the actual landmarks also change over time. Furthermore, the peoples living in this area in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries have voluntarily or and involuntarily moved. As a result, how they name the territory is constantly changing over these centuries. The geographical terrain in the 16th century is not the same as it is in 1942. Therefore, my analysis will focus broadly on the land between the York and James rivers to ensure I have a comprehensive framework. On the other hand, I do refer to specific landmarks in identifying Magruder as we move closer to the twentieth century.

Chapter 3 "Historical Background and Community Life," provides a thorough overview of the history of Magruder and its community life. Black Magruder ancestors include the enslaved, free Blacks, those who intermarried with Indigenous peoples, and Africans brought over by the English. A significant point this chapter introduces is the kinship networks that start during the seventeenth century. Black Magruder ancestors have known each other as early as the seventeenth century and go on to create new diasporic communities as far north as New York

and as far south as North Carolina. The chapter closes by describing the community life of Magruder leading up to the dispossession.

Chapter 4, "The Taking," explicates the dynamics of the forced removal of the people of Magruder. I discuss the Navy's reasoning for choosing that particular area: how the residents were notified, what they are told when notified, and how they felt about the notification. The Navy acquired land in three phases because they underestimated the amount of space needed to train the Seabees. "The Taking" highlights the Navy's mismanagement of the entire process of dispossessing Magruder residents. Navy leaders did not plan how they would notify the residents, how much time it would take for inhabitants to move, and where they would go. "The Taking" also discusses those who resist and protest the displacement.

Chapter 5, "After the Dispossession," highlights racial dynamics of the dispossession. White families relocated without any issues while some Black families became homeless and others went to the Civilian Conservation Corps camp on the College of William & Mary campus. I also describe the ways in which the kinship networks that had started during slavery provide an anchor for the dispossessed Black families. The Black families primarily moved to Highland Park and Grove, but also to other locations where their kinship networks had been established, such as New Jersey, New York, Washington D.C., and North Carolina. "After the Dispossession" illuminates the ways in which the Navy's mismanagement also contributed to the lack of compensation for land they took from Magruder residents. Ultimately, the Navy never compensated all the Magruder residents they took land from.

Chapter 6, "Enter the Matrix," concludes the dissertation and provides tangible next steps. This concluding chapter picks up from "After the Dispossession" and details how the descendant community is being dispossessed today. It also provides the results of testing my

theory of a matrix of dispossession. Magruder makes clear that dispossession is much more than the loss of land. Considering the damaging effects of the matrix of dispossession, this chapter lists several proposals to the Navy, the College of William & Mary, Williamsburg, York County and James City County. In serving my ethical clients, I have discovered that their most important desire is for the story to be told and told in the way they want it to be told. The descendant community also wants those who have not been paid for their land to receive just compensation.

In a conversation with one of the descendants, Brandi Robinson, about psychological dispossession, she raises an important point. In a contemplating manner, Robinson states: "how do we know the problems my family are dealing with result from dispossession or other forms of oppression."[81] Her comment elucidates the role of dispossession in the systemic oppression of Blacks. Robinson reminds us that we cannot lose sight of additional ways in which Blacks are being subjugated in our focus on the matrix of dispossession. In fact, systemic oppression, propagated by White Supremacy,[82] creates a form of colonialism,[83] and systemic oppression constantly reinvents itself.[84] Magruder ancestors have endured being ripped away from their homeland and slavery. When they move forward after the Civil War and build the community of Magruder, the Navy's dispossession disrupts their lives again. Throughout both time periods, and

[81] Brandi Robinson, interviewed by author, February 9, 2019.

[82] George M. Fredrickson, *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History* (New York: New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), J. Douglas Smith, *Managing White Supremacy Race, Politics, and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia* (Chapel Hill: Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002) and Moon-Kie Jung, João Helion Costa Vargas, and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, *State of White Supremacy Racism, Governance, and the United States* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011).

[83] Kwame Ture and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation* (New York: Vintage, 1967).

[84] The reinvention of systemic oppression captures the ways in which White Supremacy responds to Black advances. There are numerous examples, Stephen Kantrowitz, in *Ben Tillman & the Reconstruction of White Supremacy* (2000), explains how Ben Tillman and his colleagues wage a "war against Reconstruction" to fight back against the progress Blacks are making. Martin Luther King Jr. is another example, he calls it a "White backlash" and states: "Each step forward accents an ever-present tendency to backlash" (*Where Do We Go from Here, Chaos or Community*, 11). Martin Luther King Jr, *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?,* (Boston, Beacon Press, 2010).

into the present day, they are discriminated against in the educational system, economically face poverty and the lack of access to jobs, language discrimination, racial profiling, ostracized from and segregated to specific locations, and, a seemingly unlimited, additional forms of dehumanization. The matrix of dispossession expands our understanding of systemic oppression. The matrix results from systemic oppression (losing one's land due to institutional racism) and plays an active role in the system (those who psychologically dispossessed are oppressed by the matrix).

"Lost Tribe of Magruder" is a historical narrative about Magruder and presents a new theory, the matrix of dispossession. The main wish of my ethical clients, the descendant community, is for the story to be told. Consequently, the majority of "Lost Tribe of Magruder" focuses on the historical narrative. This history contains facts that are unique to Magruder, the specific families who live there, the two churches, and its precise location. At the same time, this is Black history, African history, European history, Indigenous history and American history. Magruder is the descendant community's story but its implications affect all of us. An adequate conception of the matrix of dispossession leads to an adequate understanding of systemic oppression and the ways in which White Supremacy functions.

Chapter 2 - Methodology and Research Design

After two years of community organizing in Williamsburg, a long-time Black resident of the town requested to meet with me. Based on the emotions involved with the request, I knew this was going to be a serious meeting. We met in front of the Williamsburg library and he sat in the front passenger seat of my car where many others have sat. At this point, I was still organizing for Black Lives Matter–Williamsburg (BLM-W)[85] and he wanted to talk to me about my activism in the community while being a graduate student. As the conversation started, it quickly became very clear that he was expressing concerns regarding something he cared deeply about. We started talking about BLM-W and its role in Williamsburg. The most intense moment of the conversation was when we discussed my work with Black folks in the community as a graduate student. His primary concern was that "you would come in, get what you needed and leave."[86] Needless to say, that conversation ended with high emotions flaring back and forth and a point where we could not happily agree.

Why did this conversation go this way? Why was he so passionate about his stance that he would harshly confront another Black man he did not know well? There is a long history of academics coming into communities, conducting their research, completing their dissertation and leaving the community in the same shape it was in before the researcher started. This academic practice means researchers profit from Black folks' pain and suffering. I argued against this very practice in my conversation with this Black male resident of Williamsburg. While that was a tough conversation at the time and I did not plan to selfishly reap the benefits from community work in Williamsburg, it was a necessary conversation for me. It was one thing for me to read

[85] I am no longer the lead organizer of Black Lives Matter-Williamsburg.
[86] Black man Williamsburg resident in conversation with the author, May 2016.

about the long-term instances of White colonialism and about anthropologists being used for empire, but this face-to-face interaction brought another dimension.[87] I felt his frustration, his anxiety and his anger that my actions had evoked in him. At the same time, as a Black man who has also experienced the weight of White Supremacy throughout my life, I could directly relate to his raw emotions.

I open this chapter with this story in order to communicate the weightiness of studying Black folks in general and Blacks in Williamsburg in particular. Whereas some scholars (and even activists) have not recognized the importance of studying Black life, have conducted studies for personal gain, or have unintentionally devalued Black life, I contend that this weightiness should be centered in the study of Black folks. The primary reasons for recognizing the weightiness of studying Black folks are that the researcher can either fight against or perpetuate White Supremacy and they can take control of an aspect of Black life that even Blacks being studied are not aware of. Therefore, I adapt a theory of how to study Blacks ethically. To be ethical, such study must be accountable to Black lives and call out and go against the tide of White Supremacy. Specifically focusing on the descendant community in Williamsburg, in what follows I have adapted the clientage model of public engagement originally developed for a New York community.[88]

Research Design

This research design for the study of Magruder implements the theoretical approach that I have presented and tests my theory of the matrix of dispossession. Based on The African Burial

[87] There are numerous scholars who discuss the rampant racism in ethnography, community studies, and sociological studies within communities in addition to the already mentioned work of St. Claire Drake, William Willis' "Skeletons in the Anthropological Closet" and Faye Harrison's *Decolonizing Anthropology*.

[88] Michael Blakely and Leslie Rankin-Hill, *The New York African Burial Ground: Unearthing the African Presence in Colonial New York* (Howard University Press, 2009).

Ground Project, I launched the "Magruder Project," a multifaceted project guided by the descendants of Magruder, bringing together multiple parties, ranging from lawyers to community organizers in order to obtain justice for the dispossessed community of Magruder. The work that I have completed for this dissertation is only a part of this larger process, which will continue after the dissertation has been completed.

My mixed methods approach involves archival research, genealogical studies, and oral histories in addition to the components of the Magruder Project that I have completed thus far. This methodological approach allows me to be accountable to the descendant community and fight systemic oppression.[89] My primary motivation is to meet the needs of the descendants, not gain personal recognition. I am driven to set the Navy's, York County's, James City County's, Williamsburg's and the College of William & Mary's historical record of Magruder straight.

Magruder Project

The socio-historical and political framework of dispossession is massive, spanning centuries and continents. In my positioning of the dispossession of Magruder within this framework, the New York African Burial Ground Project with Michael Blakey as the Principal Investigator, provides the ideal template to model the Magruder Project. The scope of the work, activism, and self-empowerment of the descendant community from the New York African Burial Ground Project is difficult to grasp. Blakey in "African Burial Ground Project: Paradigm for Cooperation?" (2010) describes the project this way:

> More than 200 researchers, thirty specialists with doctoral degrees, nine laboratories and collaborating universities, twelve years and 6 million dollars were required to complete

[89] In the introduction, I discuss the multiple ways in which the ancestors of Magruder, former Magruder residents and the descendant community endure systemic oppression being propagated by White Supremacy (40-41).

our work, leading to extensive online reports, published from 2004 to 2006, and three academic volumes in 2009.[90]

Based on the development of a clientage model, the African Burial Ground project has treated the descendant community as *ethical clients*.[91] Different from other models of scholar activism that come alongside the community, the clientage model recognizes the ethical mandate to "do no harm" by being accountable to the descendant community and allowing them to play a key role in the research process. Pragmatically, this twelve year and six-million-dollar project has involved countless meetings between the parties involved. Since they have worked for the descendent community, the researchers have kept the community informed through a grassroots newsletter, *Ground Truth*, and by word of mouth.

The combination of the research team Blakey assembled and guidance from the descendant community allowed them to "correct the demeaning distortions of the culture, biology, and history of the Africana world."[92] In Willie Baber's essay on St. Clair Drake, he states: "Vindicationist scholars study racist ideas and behavior. They correct distorted interpretations of the African or African American past or they develop counter ideologies for coping with the present."[93] Therefore the corrections by the African Burial Ground are within the vindicationist tradition.

In modeling the Magruder Project after the African Burial Ground Project, I am reconfiguring the African Burial Ground project to work for Magruder's descendant community. I have adopted the terminology *descendant community* and recognized that the families are my

[90] Michael L. Blakey, "African Burial Ground Project: Paradigm for Cooperation?," *Museum International* 62, no. 1□2 (2010): 64, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0033.2010.01716.x.

[91] Michael Blakely and Leslie Rankin-Hill, *The New York African Burial Ground: Unearthing the African Presence in Colonial New York* (Howard University Press, 2009), 13.

[92] Blakey, "African Burial Ground Project: Paradigm for Cooperation?," 64.

[93] William Baber, "St. Clair Drake: Scholar and Activist," in *African-American Pioneers in Anthropology*, ed. Ira E. Harrison and Faye V. Harrison (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

ethical clients. I have only begun the Magruder Project. In comparison, the African Burial Ground Project has involved twelve years of work and six million dollars.[94] The first step in my plans was to have a mass meeting with the descendant community. I was not successful in bringing a large group of descendants together for the first meeting; I could only get ten together at one time.[95] Next, working for my ethical clients, we will create the Magruder Project team. In the conclusion, I present the proposals that have come from the descendant community. Based on their proposals, the Magruder Project team will consist of professionals who are able to offer treatment to those who have been affected by the dispossession. The potential members will include lawyers, cinematographers, psychologists, financial advisors, religious leaders, and community activists. The descendant community's proposals will also lead to the Magruder Project working with the College of William & Mary, Williamsburg, James City and York Counties and the Navy. At this point in the process, the Magruder Project team has not been fully assembled and we have not specifically identified who we will work with in the College of William & Mary, Williamsburg, James City and York Counties and the Navy.

In working with the descendant community and assembling the team, the Magruder Project will create the opportunity for the descendant community to tell their own story and thereby set the record straight of what happened in the creation of Camp Peary. Historian Marisa J. Fuentes asks a potent question about power dynamics that addresses the descendant community's ability to tell their story while working with me, an academic. Fuentes asks: "What would a narrative of slavery look like when taking into account 'power in the production of

[94] Michael L. Blakey, "African Burial Ground Project: Paradigm for Cooperation?," *Museum International* 62, no. 1□2 (2010): 64, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0033.2010.01716.x.

[95] I have been fortunate to speak to more than fifty descendants or former residents.

history'?"[96] Fuentes highlights the power dynamics involved in who owns historical narrative and how that story is told based on who has the power to tell it. In light of her question and the descendant community in the African Burial Ground project being placed in a position to decide on their ancestral remains, I have positioned the descendant community to determine how they want Magruder to be remembered. This model enables Magruder's descendant community to "seize intellectual power" in the production of history.[97] This means that I, a distant academic researcher, am not solely responsible for how Magruder is presented. The descendant community's knowledge of politics, cultures, and their histories will drive the outcome of the Magruder Project.

The following steps have already been completed for the dissertation. Working for my ethical clients, my first step was to gather the descendant community together. I first met members of the descendant community in 2015. I was fortunate to meet them through my community work, and one of the descendants, Allan Wynne, was my barber. It was through these relationships that I set up the initial meeting. At the initial meeting with six descendants, I briefly discussed the African Burial Ground project and asked the descendant community about doing a similar project. I laid out all the components of the clientage model that I have already explained in the dissertation. I asked them what they would like to name the project and we agreed on the Magruder project. I asked them what questions they had, but since this was the first meeting, they did not have any. They were interested in the information I had found based on my research.[98]

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[96] Marisa J. Fuentes., *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 5.

[97] Cheryl J. La Roche and Michael L. Blakey, "Seizing Intellectual Power: The Dialogue at the New York African Burial Ground," *Historical Archaeology* 31, no. 3 (1997): 84–106.

[98] When we had the first meeting, I had completed all of the archival research and had reviewed the interviews Will Carmines, Edith Heard, and James City County had completed.

At the first meeting, I also inquired of the descendant community what would be the best way to collect and store information in such a way that they could contribute to it and have access to it. We all agreed on using emails to disseminate information, and I created a Magruder Project Google account. Along with this Google account, I created a "Magruder Archive," a password- protected Google drive associated with the Google account. In this archive, I saved all the primary documents I found from the various archives I visited and stored transcriptions and videos of the interviews I did of the former residents and the descendants. At the point of the initial meeting, I did not yet have Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval for the project, and therefore I did not interview any of the families. Between the time of the initial meeting and receiving approval, I updated the descendants who attended that meeting through email. I also spoke with several descendants in person and they verified that they had received the emails sent by me and other members of the descendant community.

The continual updates through email were not effective. The most effective form of communication turned out to be Facebook. In addition to the Google account, I created a private Magruder Facebook group. This allowed me to continually update the descendant community and have a direct communication with those who were located outside of Williamsburg, Virginia. As I met more descendants and added them to the group, this led to additional connections with family members. As I shared information, a family member would share that information with their families, even if they were not on Facebook. Also, as a Facebook group, all the members were able to talk to each other. This allowed for communication within the descendant community and conversation between the descendants and me. The conversations online led to meeting additional descendants.

My research model changed continually throughout the research process, as one family member introduced me to someone who in turn introduced me to another descendant. Initially, I had met only around ten family members. For about two months, I met with Allan Wynne and Darren Banks every Monday. As we talked about the dispossession and the Magruder Project, I shared with them the information I found in my archival research and they shared with me the research they had already completed. This led to more ideas and a cleaner approach to talking to additional family members. Wynne suggested to me that bringing a hard copy of the directory and a timeline of events would make it easier to talk about the dispossession when I was being introduced to new family members. As a result, based on naval documents, I created a directory of all the people who had been living in Magruder when the Navy came in. After we had met more family members, we discovered that it was particularly helpful if I printed out the directory using an easily read font in a large type size. The printed directory prompted family members whom we were meeting to remember who had lived in Magruder. This contributed to more fruitful conversations and gathering of information, even during the initial introduction. One example was that the naval records often did not spell names properly and descendants were able to point out to me who were their family members.

Additionally, while talking to Hope Wynne-Carter, Wynne-Carter and I realized that oral histories of those who lived in Magruder and group discussions with the descendants were the best way to gather information. Some of those who lived in Magruder were older in age and were not as mobile while there were some who had lived in Magruder who were still active and working. For those who needed it, we made special accommodations. The descendant community had a wealth of information and flexibility in responding to their suggestions made my research better.

Another important contribution this revised clientage model made to shining a clearer light on the dispossession came during one of the weekly meetings with Wynne and Banks. During one of the Monday meetings, we were talking about two of the Navy's displacements, when the Navy displaced Banks' family off "The Reservation"[99] when creating the Naval Weapon Station and Magruder. Banks made the statement that "we don't think about the displacements as separate events."[100] This was eye opening because, up to that point, I had thought about each dispossession as being a separate event. This perspective was corroborated when Wynne started to introduce me to other family members. They echoed the same sentiments as the gentlemen from the weekly meeting. As a result, I realized that my conception of Magruder had to be broad enough to account for those families affected by multiple dispossessions.

Archival Research

David Wheat made the preposterous claim of "sub-Saharan Africans becoming the colonists of the Spanish Caribbean."[101] The primary fault in his proposition was his methodology of relying primarily on European primary and secondary sources. Wheat's error highlighted the ways in which archival research can lead to a faulty conclusion. Archival research in my research design contributed to my understanding of the matrix of dispossession with a focus on Magruder. I conducted archival research at every location that provided information about Blacks who had lived in Magruder and the taking of the land. The locations I visited were: York County Courthouse, Swem Library's Special Collections Research Center, the John D. Rockefeller

[99] I will go into more detail about The Reservation in chapter 5. This family member is part of the Roberts. The Roberts owned land in The Reservation and Magruder.

[100] Darren Banks, in discussion with author, September 12, 2018.

[101] David Wheat, *Atlantic Africa and Spanish Caribbean* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, on behalf of the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2016), 19.

Library, the Library of Virginia, and the National Archives in College Park. The Special Collections Research Center and John D. Rockefeller Library contained information about Blacks in Williamsburg and the taking of the land. The Library of Virginia had information about the City of Williamsburg and James City County census records, court records, land records, wills, marriage records, and city and county records, respectively. The National Archives in College Park maintained all the government and naval records about the taking of Magruder and the creation of Camp Peary.

Yet what was noticeably absent in these archives were sources created by African descendant peoples. Several scholars have discussed the difficulties of finding African and African diasporic sources in the archives. Scholars who study Black and Brown folks questioned, interrogated and rethought the archive.[102] Therefore, it was odd that Wheat, who likewise examined Africans, did not take this same approach. Looking at the archive generally, performance studies scholar Diana Taylor highlighted the connection between writing and conquest and revealed how colonists used (and still use) writing to develop and enforce power without input from the colonized.[103] Therefore, archives which privileged writing, sustained (and continue to sustain) colonists' power. Taylor's detailed and perceptive analysis has led scholars to rethink the very conception of the "archive."[104]

One example of rethinking the archive was Stephanie Smallwood's methodological approach in *Saltwater Slavery* (2008). In her reading of the Royal African Company business records and correspondence, she focused on Black lives even though they were not directly the

[102] Toyin Falola and Christian Jennings, *Sources and Methods in African History: Spoken Written Unearthed* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003)

[103] Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 17–18.

[104] Petra R. Rivera-Rideau, Jennifer A. Jones, and Tianna S. Paschel, "Rethinking the Archive," *Afro-Latin@s in Movement: Critical Approaches to Blackness and Transnationalism in the Americas* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016).

ones speaking. Smallwood explained: "From the interplay of these stories, we can excavate something of the slave's own experience of the traffic in human beings and of life aboard the slave ship."[105] In a way, Smallwood was able to make Africans present where they were absent.

Whereas Taylor reframed the archive in general, Toyin Falola and Christian Jennings' edited collection *Sources and Methods in African History* (2003) specifically discussed the sources and methods of African history. This collection pointed to additional approaches to archival research. It highlighted economic models, archeology, material culture, oral traditions, and "evidence from the past as evidence for the past" as all offering evidence of African history.[106] "Evidence from the past as evidence for the past" referred to expanding which historical sources were considered acceptable for academic research. One example from this edited collection was the usage of colonial reports on nutrition. These innovative sources were used in addition to the sources already familiar to us such as slave narratives and Arabic manuscripts.[107]

The records of the U. S. Navy provided the most specific archival details about the choice of the land and creation of Camp Peary. The naval records, housed in the National Archives at College Park, Maryland, were maintained under the "War Department. Office of the Chief of Engineers. 1818-9/18/1947" and "Department of the Navy. Bureau of Yards and Docks. Finance and Operating Department. Real Estate Division. 8/17/1942-9/18/1947."[108] Newspaper articles,

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[105] Stephanie Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 5.

[106] Falola and Jennings, *Sources and Methods in African History*, Xix. This is an instance where disciplinary boundaries contribute to a scholarly understanding of sources. Anthropologists have long been aware of archeological sources. The recent movement of looking at archeological evidence within Africa and throughout the diasporas is newer to historians.

[107] Michael Gomez, "Diasporic Africa: A View from History," *Diasporic Africa: A Reader* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2006), 7.

[108] Department of the Navy. Bureau of Yards and Docks. Finance and Operating Department. Real Estate Division, *Purchase Files Relating to Camp Peary, Virginia*, Record Group 71: Records of the Bureau of Yards and Docks, 1784–1963, 1943.

city and county records, and census data also provided information. Due to what Smallwood, Taylor, Falola, and additional scholars described, I have not told the story of Magruder based primarily on this data. Although the compilation of this data provided enough evidence to tell the story, this would have provided merely a Eurocentric perspective of Black dispossession. This approach was exactly what Wheat and numerous other scholars took. A Eurocentric perspective of Magruder (and any other event of non-White dispossession) would have been how White Supremacy maintained its hegemonic power over the narrative, because telling the story from an African diasporic perspective would reveal a negative aspect of White Supremacy!

In response to this potential perpetuation of White Supremacy and along with the vindicationist tradition, I went instead to the former residents of Magruder and descendant community in order to learn and then tell the story of Magruder. The naval records and data I gathered from the families, together provided a far more holistic depiction of what happened with the taking of Magruder than solely telling the story from archival research. My research of Magruder started before the archival research; it started with my involvement in the community.

Community Engagement

During my first year of graduate school, my assistantship[109] was with the Lemon Project at the College of William & Mary. The Lemon Project was created in order to address the College's history with slavery.[110] One of the three objectives of the Lemon Project was to work on the relationship between the community of Williamsburg and the College. At "Memorializing a Labored Legacy: William and Mary's Forgotten People – A Lemon Project Porch Talk," Brian

[109] As a funded graduate student in American Studies at the College of William and Mary, each year I worked an assistantship.

[110] If you would like more information on the Lemon Project, please visit https://www.wm.edu/sites/lemonproject/

Palmer, a member of the descendant community, did a presentation on Magruder. At the same time, I started getting my hair cut at a barbershop in Williamsburg. As I developed a closer relationship with my barber, Allan Wynne, and we talked about my interest in the Black community, he shared a story about his family. We put everything together and I realized that his family used to live in Magruder.

From 2014 to 2017, I started and was the lead organizer for Black Lives Matter-Williamsburg (BLM-W). My work with BLM-W, the Lemon Project and the Global Film Festival (my assistantship during my second year) led me to meet numerous Williamsburg residents. In addition to Brian Palmer, I met several descendants including Hope Wynne and Johnnetta Holloway at Our Village. Our Village, an organization that was working in the Williamsburg-James City County School System (and still does), invited me to speak at one of their meetings. After the meeting, I spoke with Hope and Johnetta and discovered that they were Magruder descendants.

It was these relationships that started the networking and led me to meeting additional family members in person. The descendant I met from the Our Village meeting held the opening Magruder Project meeting in her home. The residents with whom I corresponded through email stemmed from that meeting. Wynne and I drove around Williamsburg and he gave me a "Black tour" of the town - the landscape of the town from a Black perspective. During the tour, he pointed out where descendants and other family members lived and explained how they were interconnected.

Black anthropologist John Gwaltney, based on his ethnography of working-class Blacks in Northeastern cities, provides a description that can be applied to how the descendant community received me as a researcher. He states: "If it is determined that a prospective field

investigator is just another one of that phalanx of fatuous huckster and junketing assessors who prey or groove upon us, he or she will be politely but effectively disregarded."[111] My identity as a young Black man from Richmond and an ordained minister also factored into my reception from the descendant community. In my conversations with the other Black male descendants, we easily bonded together based on our life experiences. Quite often in other academic ethnographies, either the direct voice of young Black men was left out or it was narrated through the perspective of the non-Black male author.[112] As a result, many of the conclusions either pathologized Black men or did not fully account for their perspectives. My unique position informed my questions and granted access to information that could only be understood through my embodied existence of being Black and man. I was not only accepted by Black men, but also welcomed by Black women, Black boys and girls, and Black elders.[113]

My identity as an ordained minister was beneficial in attending the churches that came out of Magruder and the ones that the descendants attended. For example, when I visited Mt. Gilead Baptist church, I immediately felt like I was a member of the church. The praise leader shared after my first time visitor comments, I "was not a visitor, but family."[114] Because I have been in Black churches throughout my life, I knew the order of service, I knew when to stand up and sit down, I knew all of the songs, and I was accustomed to the preaching. In making my first-time visitor comments, I shared that I was an ordained minister and that I was researching

[111] John Langston Gwaltney, *Drylonso: A Self-Portrait of Black America* (New York: The New Press, 1993) xxiv.

[112] Elijah Anderson (Black man), *Code of the Street: Decency, Violence, and the Moral Life of the Inner City* (New York City: W. W. Norton, 2000), Philippe Bourgois (White man), *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 2nd ed.) Mitchell Duneier (White man), *Sidewalk* (Union Square West, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999).

[113] I did not meet anyone who openly identified as LGBTQI, so I am unaware if anyone with these identities were a part of the descendant community. Fortunately, I was not rejected by anyone.

[114] It is customary at Black Baptist churches for first time visitors to stand up and share with the congregation who they are and where they come from. I first visited on December 30, 2018. The "praise leader" functions in the same way that masters of ceremonies do at events. They are in front of the church and provide guidance to the congregation.

Magruder for my dissertation at the College of William & Mary. During the meet and greet, several of the church members came up to me and informed me of people I should talk to about my research. They were excited to talk to me and I found that I had already met some of the members from my previous community work. Because Mt. Gilead Baptist church was one of the churches that came out of Magruder, several of the descendants were members of the church. I stayed for another hour after the service talking with some of the descendants and the praise leader.

The initial meeting and several interviews were in family members' homes. Gwaltney's explanation of "fatuous huckster" revealed the importance of this descendant community opening their lives to me. They shared personal stories with me.[115] Jessica Robinson invited me to the hospital when her mother was sick. Although this was a stressful time, she was comfortable enough to share this time in her life with me. Former Magruder residents and the descendant community of Magruder have welcomed me into their family.[116]

Oral Histories and Group Discussions

The community engagement led to oral histories and group interviews. In working with one of the descendants, she recommended that I individually interview those who had lived in Magruder and lead group interviews with the descendants. I conducted five oral histories and thirty-five interviews.[117] The number of family members and Williamsburg residents with whom I have discussed Magruder has been difficult to nail down. In addition to the interviews, I have

[115] I am not going to provide a name because this information is outside of the confines of the dissertation.

[116] The most telling example of how much the former residents accepted me was me taking a nap at James Wallace's house. I had reached a point in which I was falling asleep while going through the Johnson's family book with him. He offered a bed for me to sleep on in one of two bedrooms in his home and I took a nap.

[117] The five oral histories seem low, but it is because of how I am defining oral histories. These were the interviews with those who lived in Magruder. The main factor in conducting these oral histories was that many of the dispossessed residents were no longer living. Sadly, the day before I conducted one group interview, one of the family members who had lived in Magruder died.

spoken with several descendants and Black Williamsburg residents through random conversations in the community,[118] at community events and in the barbershop. I was fortunate to hear from former Magruder residents because of the Williamsburg Documentary Project and the James City County Historical Commission. In an American Studies course, the Williamsburg Documentary Project, being taught by Arthur Knight, a former student, Will Carmines, along with community activist and long-time Williamsburg resident Edith "Cookie" Heard, interviewed thirteen former residents of Magruder. In 1984, the James City County Historical Commission collected more than one hundred oral histories. Ten of the interviewees either had lived in Magruder or discussed Magruder extensively. The combination of my oral histories along with those from the Williamsburg Documentary Project and the James City County Historical Commission led to twenty-seven oral histories from former Magruder residents.

The oral histories conducted by Edith Heard, Will Carmines and the James City County Historical Commission provide the perspective of former adult Magruder residents. The dispossession occurred in 1942, therefore, the oral histories and interviews that I have conducted are of the former child residents of Magruder and their children. As a result, my oral histories and interviews do not cover details about the formation of Magruder, life in Magruder and the dispossession event in the same manner of former adult Magruder residents.

The initial questions for the oral histories came out of the archival research, the previous interviews by Ms. Heard and Mr. Carmines and the James City Historical Commission, and questions that related directly to my theory of the matrix of dispossession. The questions shifted as I spoke with the descendants. The time I spent with the descendants changed how I understood the dispossession. As my understanding of the dispossession shifted, I changed the

[118] I met one of the former Magruder residents while waiting in line at Aldi's grocery store. He was an older Black male standing in front of me, so I decided to strike up a conversation with him. I told him what I was doing, and he shared with me that he used to live on Magruder.

questions. For example, as I have already mentioned, families had stronger relationships than I had previously known and, as a result, all three of the prior dispossessions that I mentioned in the introduction had affected each of the family members. This raised the question of how many families had previously been displaced from their homes. Another example was the discovery that these descendants were currently losing their homes. This led to the interview question: "Have you been displaced or are you currently at risk of losing your home?"

An important note in conducting the oral histories and group discussions was an ethical approach to completing them. Based on the way the academy was structured by Federal law, I had to obtain approval from the Institutional Review Board to ensure that I interviewed ethically and responsibly. While that was an important step for working with humans, talking to those who were dispossessed, and the descendant community added an additional layer of complexity. The initial contacts with other descendants and their introductions played an integral role in addressing the mistrust associated with being a researcher. Furthermore, during the interview, I was very cautious in talking about the dispossession. I noticed that some families were hesitant to talk about it. This reaction was quite understandable since the loss of one's land was a traumatic experience. As I became aware of the weightiness of the conversation, I realized that it was a privilege to be trusted with their stories. It was (and continues to be) important for me to maintain integrity with this information, discuss difficult topics, and ensure that what was best for the descendant community remain my top priority.

Genealogical Research

While conducting an oral history interview with Lloyd Wallace, he shared with me a family history created by the Johnsons who lived in Magruder. Their work launched me into

conducting genealogical research to trace family histories. The family histories included how the family got started, where they lived before living in Magruder if their family was not originally there, how they obtained the land, their movement from and to Magruder and, of course, their relatives. It was through genealogical research that I also traced land ownership and the identification of the land. The printed sources for tracing the genealogies were the York County Records located in the York County Courthouse building, and through an online subscription to ancestry.com, and printed books comprising York County records. York County has some of the oldest surviving records, dating back to the 1600s and these records include wills, orders, deeds, guardian accounts, and other vital records. These records identified who owned the land and information about the enslaved ancestors of Magruder. One of the most beneficial records that contained information about Magruder ancestors was the "York County Register of Free Negroes 1798–1831 and 1831–1850." Similar records were also kept at the Library of Virginia and Colonial Williamsburg's John Rockefeller Jr. Library. The Rockefeller library also created the York County Records Project, which indexed York County records between 1633–1815.

The online tool, ancestry.com, has a collection of census data, vital records, military records, tax lists, and access to other members' family trees. I created several family trees through ancestry, which allowed me to maintain the data and trace the family's relatives easily. The access to other family trees proved useful in that I randomly contacted a descendant of Magruder through ancestry. While I was researching Daniel Armfield, I came across the Johnson-Williams Family Tree and the Gillette-Hailey-Staves Family Tree. These were created by the nieces of Daniel Johnson, who lived on Magruder.

Naval records were surprisingly beneficial primary source of old land deeds of former Magruder residents. The Navy forced the landowners in Magruder to turn over all their deeds.

The land filings created by the Lawyers Title Insurance Corporation listed the deeds that were obtained when each owner received the property. This deed information included the year, grantor and grantee, and the location of the land. Therefore, I could trace who owned the land, whether the owner lived on the land or not, and who had previously owned the land. I could then link the information from the York County deeds to what had already been gathered by the Title Insurance Corporation and identify the exact location and area of each plot of land.

Data Systems

The Navy created maps of the land they were taking. This provided clearly delineated boundaries for the area that was taken. The naval maps only included the areas being taken and did not situate the lands within the surrounding areas. Therefore, with the software ArcGIs, a geographic information system (GIS), I plotted the naval maps on a fully fleshed out map and located the specific plots of land the Navy took throughout York County. Since locales and names of areas change over time, I also gathered maps dating back to the 1500s from the Library of Virginia and the Rockefeller library in order to locate "Magruder" throughout American history.

Ethics

My study of Magruder raises two important issues for conducting ethical research: the potential of studying Black communities in such a way that perpetuates White Supremacy, and the American Studies Association's (ASA) lack of a statement on ethical research. While working with BLM-W, a Black community member in one of the Black neighborhoods to which descendants moved after the dispossession, had been hesitant to work with me; she equated me

with a college student. I have not figured what had previously happened. Evidently, she had a bad experience with another college student who had attempted to find out the history of her neighborhood. This contemporary example points to both how some Blacks feel now and how many have felt in the past.

St. Claire Drake, Michael Blakey, Robin D. G. Kelley, and several other scholars have discussed the long racist history of White scholars researching in non-White communities.[119] In fact, one of the interviewees in John Gwaltney's classic study of Black culture said: "I think this anthropology is just another way to call me a n*gger."[120] Kelley interprets this statement to mean that ethnographers are going to Black communities in order to interpret "the Blacks" to those outside of these communities. He explains: "Today sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, and economists compete for huge grants from Ford, Rockefeller, Sage, and other foundations to measure everything measurable in order to get a handle on the newest internal threat to civilization."[121] Kelley depicts the ways in which the current structure allows researchers to obtain qualifications, such as doctorates, and employment, while pathologizing Blacks. These researchers advance in their careers while writing dysfunctional descriptions of the Black communities they have studied. This needs to stop.

Kelley also highlights that such scholars often do not listen to the very Black people they are researching. This is similar to Michael L. Blakey's argument. Blakey explains how White archaeologists, in their excavation of African American cemeteries, have ignored the intellectual contributions of Black scholars and have produced substandard and inadequate work. He states: "Although sustained black protest had created both an interest in and market for black history,

[119] St. Clair Drake, "Anthropology and the Black Experience" *The Black Scholar: Journal of Black Studies and Research Vol. 11 Issue 7* (United Kingdom: Routledge, 1980). Robin D. G. Kelley, *Yo' Mama's Disfunktional: Fighting the Culture Wars in Urban America* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1997).

[120] John Gwaltney, *Drylongso: A Self-Portrait of Black America* (New York, NY: The New Press, 1980), xix.

[121] Kelley, *Yo' Mama's Disfunktional*, 16.

archaeologists (and bioarcheologists) showed little or no interest in the huge corpus of scholarship on this subject that African Americans themselves had generated (less even than white sociocultural anthropologists had shown during the days of legal segregation!)."[122] He portrays the enormous amount of scholarship that Black scholars have developed. In short, Blakey and Kelley together present a well-rounded perspective of Black scholars that can be accessed in researching Black communities, from the corner to the classroom.

Reflecting on the African Burial Ground project, Blakey goes on to declare that anthropologists who are working on Black sites now have a clear example of working *with* a descendant community instead of "producing history" in such a way that dismisses the descendant community and suits the anthropologists' own interests. The work with the descendant community is important because it provides an avenue of accountability on the historical scholarship being produced. Therefore, I propose that any research on Black communities, whether archival or ethnographic in nature, must respond to: White hegemonic forces over the archive; the pathologizing of Black communities; and the descendant community of those being studied.

The fact that the American Studies Association does not have a statement on ethics and accountability has led me to be guided by an ethical research stance outside of my field. I have looked to two statements on ethics: The American Anthropological Association's (AAA) Statement on Ethics and Professional Responsibility and the World Archaeological Congress' (WAC) First Code of Ethic. WAC's First Code of Ethic has guided the work of the African Burial Ground project. This meant that descendant community rights to "accept, modify, or

[122] Michael Blakey, "Bioarchaeology of the African Diaspora in the Americas," *Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol. 30* (Palo Alto, CA: Annual Reviews, 2001), 400.

reject the research design" were grounded in professional policy.[123] Not only do AAA and the World Archaeological Congress have a statement or code of ethics, but numerous academic associations, whose members work in similar ways to the American Studies do take a stance on ethics, including but not limited to: the American Sociological Association (ASA), the American Counseling Association (ACA), the American Psychological Association (APA), the Society for Ethnomusicology (SEM), and the Oral History Association (OHA). I highlight these organizations to show that a precedent has been set to ensure that academics work responsibly.

I focus on the American Studies Association because I am an American Studies scholar and I recognize the importance of ASA in adopting either a statement or code of ethics. American studies scholars commonly research dispossessed communities.[124] As an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary field, American Studies scholars work either directly in Black communities, with evidence being the ethnography caucus,[125] or indirectly when examining the intersections of race with their subject. The lack of formal training in ethical research among those who indirectly study Blacks could lead to the very problems against which they are speaking out.

Conclusion

While waiting in line at the local grocery store, I meet Lloyd Wallace who had lived in Magruder. During our conversation, we set up a time for me to conduct an oral history. I share with him that I had completed all the archival research and I could bring paper documents to the

[123] Michael Blakey and Cheryl LaRoche, "Seizing Intellectual Power," *Historical Archaeology, Vol. 31 Issue 3* (Rockville, MD: Society for Historical Archaeology, 1997), 87.

[124] This was evident with the theme of the 2016 American Studies Annual Meeting being "Home/Not Home."

[125] Ethnography Caucus: The Ethnography Caucus of the American Studies Association is a network of scholars who use fieldwork in their research practice and who engage with American studies or any of the other interdisciplinary formations for which ASA is an important gathering point.
https://www.theasa.net/communities/caucuses/ethnography-caucus

interview. He replies by saying, "Everything on them papers ain't right."[126] Although I have not pinpointed precisely what he is referring to, his strong stance is based on his personal lived experience and the records he personally maintains. His story elucidates the importance of listening, honoring, and privileging Black voices when studying Black folks.

Given previous practices that I have already highlighted, many scholars would not have taken his story into account. If there is an error in the archival research that they have gathered, their tendency has not been to doubt the veracity of that research. More importantly, they will dismiss his lived experience of enduring dispossession. My methodological approach combats these overt and covert unethical practices that allows scholars to profit off Blacks' pain. For many researchers, their work leads to a degree (Bachelor, Master or PhD), or a job (tenure track or non-tenure track). While these scholars go on their way, earn money, enjoy a position of relative prestige at a college or university, and publish their findings, the very Black communities they have examined and on whose experience the researcher has built their career continue to suffer. This is exacerbated further when considering the role that higher education plays in the neoliberal capitalist American system.

[126] Lloyd Wallace, in conversation with author, October 25, 2018.

Chapter 3 - Historical Background and Community Life

Historical Context and Dispossession

The story of Blacks living in Magruder was part of all Africans' story, in that European domination inextricably linked with African dispossession. Before and throughout the Atlantic World,[127] European colonization, commerce, and exploration decimated Indigenous people and their land on the West side of the Atlantic. Simultaneously, Europeans forced Africans to move across the Atlantic, thereby creating diasporas in those decimated spaces. Africans and Indigenous peoples both experienced European dominations. This history of White Supremacy was not preordained to happen. Initially, civilizations thousands of years old—such as the Olmec, Maya, Teotihuacan, Hopewell, Mississippian, Anasazi, Iroquois, and others—had rich histories of their own.[128] Furthermore, Africans and Europeans were equal; they traded with each other for centuries. In fact, Berbers led the conquest of Spain in the eighth century and the Al-Andalus Empire was not completely removed from Spain until 1492.[129] The Portuguese and Spanish had some success enslaving Africans but also failed in several of their attempts in raiding the West African coast.[130] So what happened?

As already mentioned, the Spaniards had some success in capturing Africans from the Canary Islands in 1385. Then, in 1441, Portuguese explorer, Antao Goncalvez raided Africans

[127] Toyin Falola and Kevin David Roberts state about the Atlantic World that: "the processes of migration, colonialism, trade, and intellectual exchange … came to dominate the Atlantic region starting in the mid-fifteenth century." Toyin Falola and Kevin David Roberts, *The Atlantic World, 1450–2000* (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008), ix.

[128] I highlighted these particular Indigenous civilizations because these were the ones dispossessed by Europeans when they crossed the Atlantic. Patricia Pearson, "The World of the Atlantic before the 'Atlantic World': Africa, Europe, and the Americas before 1450" in *The Atlantic World, 1450–2000* edited by Toyin Falola and Kevin David Roberts (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008), 4.

[129] David Levering Lewis, *God's Crucible: Islam and the Making of Europe, 570–1215* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2008).

[130] An example of Africans maintaining their position against European attacks was the Kongo requirement that traders pay customs in 1525. Falola and Roberts, *The Atlantic World*, 35.

from the Guinea coast and handed the slaves over to Prince Henry "the Navigator."[131] Three years later, in 1444 "240 African men, women and children were captured and shipped, from the Port of Lagos, to Portugal."[132] These horrific yet relatively small captures did not change the balance in power and Europeans continued their quest for dominance. The turning point for European dominance occurred the same year that the Spaniards completely overthrew the Al-Andalus Empire, 1492. In addition to Spain's expulsion of the Arabs, Berbers, and Jews, Christopher Columbus accidently arrived on a land west of the Atlantic Ocean where Indigenous people had been living for thousands of years. This revelation contributed to the Spanish colonizing that land and sending Africans across the Atlantic.

Additional factors include the Ottoman Empire blocking the slave routes to the East in 1453. Technological advancement in ships opened the way for seafaring. Timothy Grady in "Contact and Conquest in Africa and the Americas" argued that unified nation-states provided the resources and leverage for global exploration. Also, the early success that the Portuguese and Spanish had in capturing some Africans eventually led to the Spanish colonizing the Canary Islands in 1479 and to the Portuguese capturing parts of Morocco between the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century. Lastly, the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile created a united kingdom in Spain, which contributed to the re-conquering of areas lost to the Moors and the commissioning of global exploration. As a result, starting at the end of the 15th century, Europeans took an estimated "12.5 million slaves from Africa"[133] at about "30,000 a year over three and a half centuries."[134]

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[131] Falola and Roberts, *The Atlantic World,* 212.

[132] Falola and Roberts, *The Atlantic World,* 212.

[133] David Eltis, and David Richardson, eds. *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 37.

[134] David Eltis, David Richardson, David Brion Davis, and David W. Blight, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010) http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vm1s4.

The transatlantic slave trade created a dual nature of empire and dispossession. These European nations desired wealth, power, and the spread of their religious beliefs. This combination of political, economic, and religious conquest meant that the conquered experienced the conglomeration of oppressive forces. This was a historical and monumental event because empire and dispossession affected every area of Indigenous and African diasporic lives. It affected their cultural practices, their worldviews, and infected the ways in which they valued human life. It is true that even before European contact and conquest, both Africans and Indigenous people were involved in wars and participated in a form of slavery and servitude, but the European capitalist enterprise that was ethnocentric and eventually birthed racism completely transformed African and Indigenous lives.

Peter Mancall and James H. Merrell traced the first settlers of what becomes North America all the way back to 36,000 B.C.[135] This meant that an innumerable amount of different Indigenous peoples, who defined their own governance, ethnicities and identities, had created their own cultures and worldviews. European contact and conquest brought the Indigenous peoples into the matrix of dispossession and that led to a drastic change in their identity and way of viewing the world. It was the European notion that Indigenous religion, culture, and existence was backward, that forced Indigenous peoples to respond to cultural hegemony.[136] While Indigenous peoples were not completely receptive to European ideology and were not completely dispossessed by it, they still experienced the terror of dispossession. Therefore,

[135] Peter Mancall and James H. Merrell, *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500-1850* 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2007.

[136] Cultural hegemony was the European form of dominance that attempted to transform how colonized people saw the world and wipe out their cultures. This process was (and still is) multifaceted, Europeans did this by attempting to make the colonized Africans Christians, telling them that the way they understood the world was wrong and that they needed to accept Christianity. This form of colonization may have reduced a need for brute force.

trauma that shows up centuries later can be traced back to the original European conquest and its continued maintenance of White Supremacy.

The first Africans who were brought over were part of an Atlantic World,[137] where dueling European empires were not only fighting each other, but also attempting to overthrow the Indigenous people of the Tsenacommacah.[138] The Tsenacommacah area included "6,000 square miles of coastal plain" and "was bounded by the bay in the east, the fall line in the west, the Potomac River in the north, and the James River basin in the south"[139] It was in the Tsenacommacah that Europeans waged war with various Indigenous peoples, including the Powhatans. In many ways, the battles on the east side of the Atlantic between European and Africans nations, converged onto the Tsenacommacah. The Spanish failed to colonize the Indigenous peoples but did cross the Atlantic with Africans they had captured. The English eventually were successful in destroying, subordinating and decimating Indigenous groups and colonizing Africans. "Magruder" was located right in the midst these ongoing battles.

At the turn of the sixteenth century, the Spanish and Portuguese successfully enslaved and started the forced migrations of Africans to what becomes the Americas. Eventually, at the end of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century, the English, Dutch and French entered the slave trade and carried Africans on the path numerous Magruder ancestors endured.

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[137] Toyin Falola and Kevin D. Roberts' depiction in *The Atlantic World, 1450–2000*, aptly described this multifaceted phenomenon when they say it was "the processes of migration, colonialism, trade, and intellectual exchange that came to dominate the Atlantic region, starting in the mid-fifteenth century." They also state: "Though political and economic considerations lay at the root of the Atlantic World, society, culture, and religion constitute equally important aspects of the field's history." Ibid.

[138] Peter Mancall's edited volume *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550–1624* (2007) situates Jamestown within the Atlantic World. Mancall argues that "Virginia's story only becomes intelligible when seen as a small, and not always significant, part of an Atlantic history." (25) This volume shines light on the ways in which the variety of European nations' quest for power determines the English actions in Jamestown. *The Atlantic World and Virginia* also provides specific details about the Native Americans in Jamestown: that they called this area Tsenacommacah, that the population was more than thirty thousand Native peoples, and that these included the various Algonquian, Iroquoian, and Siouan cultures.

[139] Ronald L. Heinemann, John G. Kolp, Anthony S. Parent, and William G. Shade, "Before Virginia," in *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth: A History of Virginia, 1607–2007* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 1-17 http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt6wrjzn.5.

Following the work of Joseph Inikori on the involuntary and intracontinental movement of Africans, Stephanie Smallwood, Vincent Harding and Michael Gomez, describe the stage of slave trade at the African shores and barracoons. The barracoons phase, according to Gomez, was "the stage at which those who had been captured by various means were transferred to points along the coast to await embarkation."[140] Harding portrays African shores as the commencement of European captivity. He poetically states:

> They came to us on *Brotherhood* and *John the Baptist*, on *Justice* and *Integrity*, on *Gift of God* and *Liberty*; they came on the good ship *Jesus*. But by the time our weary lines of chained and mourning travelers saw the vessels riding on the coastal waves, there could be but one name, on meaning: captivity.[141]

Harding elucidates the contradictory actions of Europeans; while enslaving Africans, they were identifying their vessels with freedom. All three of these scholars also believe that Africans started to resist European oppression at African shores. Going against the perspective of a "Civil Rights Movement,"[142] Harding pointedly argues that the "long struggle for black freedom" commenced on the African shores.[143]

From the African shores, Stephanie Smallwood's description of saltwater slavery provided the next phase of transatlantic slavery. Smallwood argues, that we cannot fully comprehend Africans' Atlantic experience, simply "by including Africa in our histories of

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[140] Michael Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1998), 155.

[141] Vincent Harding, *There Is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America* (New York, Harcourt Brace and Company, 1981), 3.

[142] Vincent Harding was a part of the freedom struggle in the 1960s. In an interview he was asked why he did not use the term "Civil Rights Movement," he stated, "That term, the Civil Rights Movement, is much too small, much too narrow, to capture the tremendous expansion of the human spirit that I saw going on in the Deep South in the 1960's especially. Ikeda Center "Vincent Harding -- Beyond Civil Rights: Building Spiritual Democracy, Pt 1" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pFgzPlGOumI.

[143] Vincent Harding, *There Is a River: The Black Freedom Struggle for Freedom in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), xii.

African America or by singling out African captives as involuntary migrants or by naming the Atlantic crossing the middle passage."[144] Interestingly, Smallwood presents saltwater slavery in such in a way that it aligns with my conception of forced migration and dispossession. Smallwood contends that we think about Africans as "peoples in motion," and that "saltwater slavery" illuminates "what *forced* migration entailed."[145] Her conception of saltwater slavery ties together Africa, the Atlantic and the Americas through the "relentless rhythm of slave ships," that continually shipped African migrants which created an interchange "between the ongoing experience of forced migration and its collective memory."[146] Smallwood's argument of the saltwater continually being present with those living in the New World rests on the continual reminder from African migrants coming off the ships.

Another important element to her notion of saltwater slavery that aligns with my notion of dispossession is the transformation of African migrants from humans to slaves. This process consisted of being captives and starting the process of dehumanization and commodification at the littoral or the African shores.[147] Then, on the slave ships, African migrants became commodities.[148] After they landed and were carried to their destination, they became slaves. I posited that Smallwood's illustration of the dehumanization process of Africans illustrates how forced migration dispossessed Africans, from a fully human African to chattel. Smallwood explains it this way, following her discussion of Orlando Patterson's notion of social death

[144] Stephanie E. Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 8.
[145] Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery*, 8.
[146] Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery*, 7.
[147] Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery*, 56.
[148] Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery*, 35.

(explained later in this section) and desecration of African kinship relationships:[149] saltwater slavery produced "a kind of total annihilation of the human subject."[150]

Broadly speaking, after embarkation on the east side of the Atlantic, slavery developed differently throughout the British, French and Spanish colonies. Scholars of slavery agree that no slave experience was the same; the colonizers needed a labor force and slavery systematized over time.[151] Specifically focusing on Magruder, the following will provide a detailed analysis of the land, people and events that contributed to its formation, including those who were enslaved.

History of the People and Land of Magruder

Establishment of British Colonies, 1619

The next significant event was the well-known story of 1619 and the often-quoted Dutch man-of-war that brought "twenty and odd Negroes." Given the narrative of the Atlantic World, these Africans were probably from the Portuguese colony in Africa called Luanda.[152] While the Portuguese were bringing over on the *Sao Joao Bautista* "Kimbundu-speakers from the Kingdom of Ndongo"[153] on the way to Vera Cruz, two European ships, the Dutch man-of-war and the British ship *Treasurer*, pirated them off and the *Treasurer* brought the Africans potentially from the Kingdom of Ndongo to Point Comfort in Hampton.[154] They eventually arrived at Jamestown

[149] Smallwood explained how saltwater slavery disrupted the transition of dead kin into their ancestral roles because African migrants were completely disconnected from their families and they were never seen again (60-61).

[150] Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery*, 61.

[151] Barbara Jeanne Fields, "Race and Ideology in American History," in *Region, Race, and Reconstruction*, 143-77, and "Slavery, Race, and Ideology in the United States of America," *New Left Review*, 181 (May-June 1990), 95-118, Ira Berlin, "Time, Space, and Evolution of Afro-American Society on British Mainland North America," *American Historical Review* Vol. 85, No. 1 (February, 1980), 44-78

[152] Brenda E. Stevenson, "The Question of the Slave Female Community and Culture in the American South," in *The Journal of African American History, Vol. 91 No. 1* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press on behalf of Association for the Study of African-American Life and History, 2007).

[153] John Thornton, "The African Experience of the '20. and Odd Negroes' Arriving in Virginia in 1619," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (1998): 421–34, https://doi.org/10.2307/2674531.

[154] Ibid.

where at least thirty-two other Africans were already living.[155] Therefore, by 1619, Africans were living with the Indigenous people in the area that centuries later became home to Magruder for ninety-three years.

The discovery of Africans coming from a Portuguese colony in Angola was made by historians in 1997 and shifted the thinking of historians away from the perspective that the first twenty Africans were already seasoned in the Caribbean.[156] This shift occurred within the academy but, surprisingly, I first heard of it from my barber. When he, a member of the descendent community, first shared that he was Portuguese, embarrassingly, I laughed at him. He had just started cutting my hair; I thought it was just barbershop talk and I did not know the whole story of Magruder. I was wrong and what he learned about his ancestors was more accurate than the conception I had developed through my studies.

The difference between the English colonies and the former Spanish colonies was the English success in overthrowing the Indigenous peoples and dispossessing them of their land. The ethnocentrism of the English, their understanding of the Indigenous peoples as savages,[157] and their beliefs that the natives did not properly maintain the land, justified their dispossession of the Indigenous people. At the beginning of 1623, on the land between the James and York Rivers, the settler colonists "called for a perpetuall warre without peace or truce."[158] The English colonists decimated a large population of the Indigenous peoples by "surprisinge them in their habitations, intercepting them in theire hunting, burninge theire Townes, demolishing theire Temples, destroyinge theire canoes, plucking upp theire weares, carying away their corne, and

[155] William Thorndale, "The Virginia Census of 1619," *Magazine of Virginia Genealogy, Vol. 33* (Newport News, VA: Virginia Genealogical Society, 1995): 155–70.

[156] Engel Sluiter, "New Light on the '20. and Odd Negroes' Arriving in Virginia, August 1619," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (1997): 395–98, https://doi.org/10.2307/2953279.

[157] Audrey Smedley, *Race in North America* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993).

[158] Alden T. Vaughan, "'Expulsion of the Salvages': English Policy and the Virginia Massacre of 1622," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (1978): 77, https://doi.org/10.2307/1922571.

depriving them of whatsoever may yeeld them succor or relief."[159] These actions and views of Whites laid the foundation of settler colonialism and contributed to the ideology behind the matrix of dispossession.

The war English planters started in 1623 moved east towards the York River. The English attacked the Indigenous peoples at Chiskiack and eventually settled there in 1630.[160] After once again colonizing and dispossessing Indigenous peoples, the Indigenous peoples and English signed a peace treaty in 1632.[161] Then in 1634, the English divided Virginia into eight shires/counties with the locale adjacent to the Charles River being identified as Charles River County. In 1639, they set up five parishes in "York County," with Marston Parish and Chiskiack Parish covering "Magruder."[162] In 1642, Charles I changed the name from Charles City County to York County and the York River.[163] Marston Parish came out of parts of Chiskiack Parish and, in 1674, joined with Middletown Parish to form Bruton Parish.[164] Magruder eventually became located in Bruton Parish, subsequently known as Bruton District.

African Diasporic Community Forms, 1640

The establishment of English colonies brought in a wave of Africans. A group of Africans ran away from the British colonies and migrated towards the York River. In 1640, the General Court of Virginia ordered that a band of men search for runaway Negroes in Charles

[159] Vaughan, "'Expulsion of the Salvages'," 77.

[160] This was the first settlement in what becomes York County. George Carrington Mason, "The Colonial Churches of York County, Virginia." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 19, no. 2 (1939): 159–80. doi: 10.2307/1922847.

[161] Vaughan, "'Expulsion of the Salvages'," 81.

[162] Mason, "The Colonial Churches of York County, Virginia," 160.

[163] Landon C. Bell, *Charles Parish: York County, Virginia History and Registers* (Richmond, VA: Virginia State Library, 1976), 2–3.

[164] Mason, "The Colonial Churches of York County, Virginia," 173.

River County.[165] In addition to self-emancipated Negroes, after 1630, English colonies in the area brought the greatest number of (dispossessed) Africans and creole Africans (Africans born in the British colonies) into Charles River/York County. The primary route through which the English brought Africans over was through the transatlantic slave trade, directly from Africa.[166]

One of the questions often asked by the descendant community was from what tribe their ancestors came.[167] Africanist John Thornton provided a framework to contextualize the slave trade in the seventeenth century. He explained how the exports of enslaved people shifted from Angola to the Gulf of Guinea at last half of the sixteenth century. Going into the seventeenth century, there was "the rapid growth of the slave trade of Allada."[168] This growth led to identifying Allada as the "Slave Coast."[169] Slavevoyages.org provides the most comprehensive resource to trace the routes, country of origins and destinations of the transatlantic slave trade. Specifically focusing on the Tidewater area, David Eltis and David Richardson have utilized this database and determined that: "Over 95 percent of slaves who came to the Chesapeake Bay area directly from Africa arrived in ships outfitted in Bristol, London, or Liverpool. The Bight of Biafra was the single most important African region of trade for these vessels."[170] The numbers they offered were fifty-eight thousand from the Bight of Biafra, thirty-nine thousand from

[165] Henry R. McIlwaine (1864–1934), ed. *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia*, 1622–1632, 1670–1676, with Notes and Excerpts from Original Council and General Court Records, into 1683, Now Lost (Richmond, VA: The Colonial Press, Everett Waddy Co., 1924).

[166] Originally historians thought that many of the enslaved came from the Caribbean and were seasoned before coming to the British colonies. Now historians contend that only ten percent came from the Caribbean and ninety percent came directly from Africa. George E. O'Malley, "Beyond the Middle Passage: Slave Migration from the Caribbean to North America, 1619–1807," *The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, Vol. 66 No. 1* (Williamsburg, VA: Omohundro Institute, 2009).

[167] Several descendants were interested in knowing where their ancestors came from, Verónica Nelson was one who specifically asked this question. Susan Westbury detailed the process by which planters acquired the enslaved. "Slaves of Colonial Virginia: Where They Came From," *The William and Mary Quarterly Vol. 42, no. 2* (Williamsburg, VA: Omohundro Institute, 1985): 228–237, https://doi.org/10.2307/1920429.

[168] John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Formation of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680* (New York and London: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 119.

[169] Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Formation of the Atlantic World*, 119.

[170] David Eltis et al., "The Destinations of Slaves in the Americas and Their Links with the Atlantic World," in *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (Yale University Press, 2010), 197–270, https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vm1s4.11.

Senegambia, twenty-six thousand from West Central Africa, and eighteen thousand from the Gold Coast.[171] These regions do not reveal the specific tribes from which the ancestors originated, because, as historian Michael Gomez discussed, there was movement throughout Africa before the transatlantic slave trade.[172] This movement meant that an African taken from Senegambia could have been born in the Niger Valley, but no record would indicate their place of birth.

After Charles River County and then York County became officially recognized in 1642, two groups of Africans lived in this county, the enslaved and the mixed community of free Negroes. The matrix of dispossession made enslaved dispossessed Africans' names unimportant. The way in which the English maintained their historical records —in this case, stripped of persons' actual names—was a part of the matrix of dispossession. This seeming impossibility of naming the ancestors accurately makes it as if Magruder's ancestors never existed. Some evidence of English surnames could potentially link Magruder families with their ancestors. For example, Edward Palmer came across the Atlantic aboard the "Friendship" to Charles River County and had a son by the name of Thomas Palmer in 1635. A 1673 Virginia land patent indicates that Andrew Banks and his descendants lived in York County.

In addition to English surnames, another potential clue were the planters. One of the earliest enslaved Africans in Charles River County was "one negro woman"[173] who is mentioned in a 1637 Virginia land patent:

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[171] Ibid. "Map 141: Chesapeake: African Coastal Origins of Slaves and Home Ports of Vessels Carrying Them, 1619–1775"

[172] Gomez explains that Senegambia was the place from "which captives from as far away as the upper and middle Niger valleys were transported." He goes on to say: "The Gold Coast, occupying what is essentially contemporary Ghana. … The Bight of Biafra, in turn, comprised contemporary southeastern Nigeria, Cameroon, and Gabon. West Central Africa includes Congo (formerly Zaire)." Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging our Country Marks* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 27.

[173] "Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography Vol. 7, no. 2* (1899): 195.

> (520) JOHN CHEW, gent., 700 acres in the county of Charles River [now York], bounded west by north, by the 500 acres formerly granted to him, August 1st, 1637, and north by east by the main river, east by south by the great bay [r]. Due for the transportation of fourteen persons (names below). Granted by Harvey, August 9, 1637. William Winifret, George Goodwin, Thomas Tompkins, John Vaughan, Robert Parr, Christopher Evans, Ann Waterman, Arnall Freeze, Walter Hazleward, one negro woman, Jon. Chew, 1622, Jon. Chew, 1633 [the dates of two of his arrivals from England].[174]

Another example of some of the earliest Africans in Charles River county were "three… negroes," found in a 1639 land grant to Nicholas Martian:

> [T]o Captain Nicholas Martian 1300 acres in the county of Charles River, to wit: 600 for adventure of himself, his wife find ten persons first year to Chiskiack according to order of court bearing date the 8th of October, 1630, and 700 for the transportation into the colony of 14 of whom three were negroes.[175]

This land grant revealed the amount of acreage Martian owned (one thousand and three hundred in total with seven hundred for the enslaved), and the number of people who lived there. This grant also mentioned Chiskiack, thereby directly linking his ownership of lands to all the previous events.

While some of the dispossessed enslaved Africans remained nameless, there were times when the colonizer included their first name. William Stafford's estate inventory included eight Africans and their assigned value: "Negro man, Anthonio, worth 2,700; Negro woman,

[174] "Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents," 195.

[175] Conway Robinson, "Notes from Council and General Court Records (Continued)," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 14, no. 2 (1906): 191. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4242801.

Mitchaell, 2,700; Negro woman, Conchanello, 2,500; Negro woman, Palassa, 2,500; Negro girl, Mary, 4 years old, 700; Negro girl, Anne, 3 years old…."[176]

Exponential Growth in African Diasporic Community, 1690

These dispossessed identities continued to be unknown. At the same time, the enslaved community also grew at immeasurable numbers in York County until the 1690s. The overall number of Africans in the state of Virginia did not reach the thousands until 1680.[177] The enslaved population, through those born in York County and through the expansion of the slave trade, grew dramatically in the 1700s to the point where there were two thousand seven hundred and sixty slaves in York County by 1790.[178] Adding to this enslaved population were additional Indigenous people being enslaved. Arica Coleman explains that "Indian slaves were imported into the Virginia colony by individual entrepreneurs from the Carolinas via small vessels to the Upper District of York."[179] Coleman also points out that Indigenous peoples "comprised 28 percent of the labor force."[180] Following the relationship patterns of their ancestors, enslaved Indigenous and Africans worked together, with evidence indicating that they rebelled against English slave masters.[181] Coleman also notes how Indigenous peoples were not clearly

[176] Robert H. Abzug and Stephen E. Maizlish, *New Perspectives on Race and Slavery in America: Essays in Honor of Kenneth M. Stampp* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 22.

[177] Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia by the University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 40.

[178] Steven Manson et al., "National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 13.0" (Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS, 2018).

[179] Arica L. Coleman, *That the Blood Stay Pure: African Americans, Native Americans, and the Predicament of Race and Identity in Virginia* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2013), 75.

[180] Coleman, *That the Blood Stay Pure*, 75.

[181] Coleman stated: "Early in 1709 authorities discovered a slave plot organized by Negro and Indian slaves in the counties of James City, Surry, and Isle of Wight." Ibid.

delineated from Africans in the historical records, which sometimes referred to the Indigenous as "Black" or "Mulatto."[182]

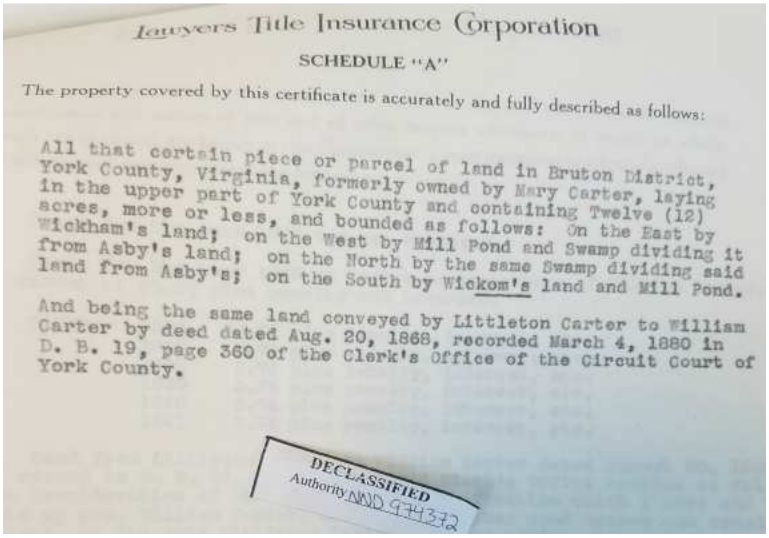
From African Diasporic Community to Magruder

After being on the west side of the Atlantic for more than a century and a half, the African diasporic community fully developed. Through this development, the relationships with Indigenous peoples continued, kinship networks formed through migration and the maintenance of relationships across Virginia counties and state boundaries, and while distinguishable by social status, enslaved and free Negroes lived side by side. This African diasporic community consisted of the merging of several groups; the Indigenous peoples who lived there for thousands of years continued to inhabit land while many lost their territory and were enslaved by the British. Those Indigenous peoples who intermingled and intermarried with Africans. The last group that composed this African diasporic community were those enslaved by the British. These migratory, dispossessed, mixed ethnicity, and borderless diasporic communities together created and birthed Magruder.

The earliest and most clearly identifiable ancestor of Magruder about whom I could find records was Paul Carter, born around 1620 on the continent of Africa. He was enslaved by Nathaniel Littleton in Northampton County, Virginia. Paul married Hannah, and they had six children, one of them named Edward, born in 1642. Edward then had two children; the daughter, born in 1690, was named Hannah. Hannah then had a son in 1711, by the name of Thomas. Thomas moved away from Northampton County and records locate him subsequently in York County and Charles City. Thomas had six children; one of his sons was born around 1795 and

[182] Coleman, *That the Blood Stay Pure*, 75.

was named Littleton.[183] Around 1813, Littleton settled in York County in the area that later become known as Magruder. It was this Littleton who deeded land to William Carter in 1868, land that the Navy subsequently took from the family. Between the times of Paul Carter and his great-grandson Littleton, numerous events led to the manifestation of Magruder.



Lawyers Title Insurance Corporation

SCHEDULE "A"

The property covered by this certificate is accurately and fully described as follows:

All that certain piece or parcel of land in Bruton District, York County, Virginia, formerly owned by Mary Carter, laying in the upper part of York County and containing Twelve (12) acres, more or less, and bounded as follows: On the East by Wickham's land; on the West by Mill Pond and Swamp dividing it from Asby's land; on the North by the same Swamp dividing said land from Asby's; on the South by Wickom's land and Mill Pond.

And being the same land conveyed by Littleton Carter to William Carter by deed dated Aug. 20, 1868, recorded March 4, 1880 in D. B. 19, page 360 of the Clerk's Office of the Circuit Court of York County.

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 947332

Fig 4. Navy Record of Carters' Deed United States Navy, "Offer to Accept," United States District Court for the Eastern District Newport News, 1943.

Slavery and Enslaved Ancestors of Magruder

The enslaved population consisted of the Indigenous people and Africans dispossessed by the British. Enslaved Africans were the largest population of the diasporic community. As slavery became systematized, the enslaved population increased. The continuation of dispossessed names, such as "Jack," stripped the enslaved ancestors of Magruder of a part of

[183] Paul Heinegg, *Free African Americans of North Carolina, Virginia, and South Carolina from the Colonial Period to about 1820* (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co., 2005), 254–259. The exact math based on the dates provided will place Thomas at eighty-four years old. This discrepancy can be explained by European's inaccurate record keeping of Negroes age and birth date in the seventeenth. Heinegg makes the best estimate possible based on tithables, wills, orders, deeds, and patents. Official birth certificates were not available during the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

their identities, and elucidated the effects of the matrix of dispossession.[184] From the perspective of the matrix of dispossession, the worst part of slavery for the ancestors of Magruder was not limited to the brutality of slave masters or working inhumane hours on the plantations. The worst part of slavery was the combination of all the facets of being enslaved, from the physical toil to the spiritual, psychological, and existential turmoil it caused. Saidiya Hartman explains how slavery limited options and described the "terror of the mundane" or how traumatic was the everyday life of being enslaved.[185] Orlando Patterson explains the ways in which slavery was a "social death" to the extent that Negroes were not even recognized as humans.[186] This social death erased them from the historical record.

The increase in the number of the enslaved also contributed to an increase in the free population.[187] In their wills, some slave holders provided for the enslaved to be freed after their death and gave them land in the area that later became Magruder. One example was the slave master John Custis. Custis had a son named John (who also went by Jack) with his enslaved

[184] Due to the difficulty of tracing the ancestors who were enslaved, I decided not to list the potential family names as I did with those who were free. While it was possible to trace the enslaved back to the surname of the ancestors, I could not determine with complete accuracy who they were. Some of the enslaved ancestors changed their names or the spelling of their names; birth dates and ages were often not properly recorded, and many people throughout the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries had similar names.

[185] Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1997).

[186] Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982).

[187] I have decided to mention slavery in the pre-Magruder area only briefly because a thorough examination of the enslaved ancestors of Magruder will not further our understanding of the matrix of dispossession or the ways in which the displacement of Magruder in 1942 affected the families. Now, slavery in and of itself does play a vital role in conceiving the potency of the matrix of dispossession and I will discuss that. But there is a difference between understanding slavery's potency and the detailed conditions of the ancestors. If the reader is interested in the conditions of slavery: Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory And The Foundations Of Black America*, 2 edition (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, USA, 2013), Stephanie M. H. Camp, *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South*, 1st PAPERBACK edition (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004) and John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South*, Revised, Enlarge edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

woman name Alice.[188] In a 1747 deed, Custis gave Alice and Jack two hundred and fifty acres of "land and marsh in Bruton Parish."[189]

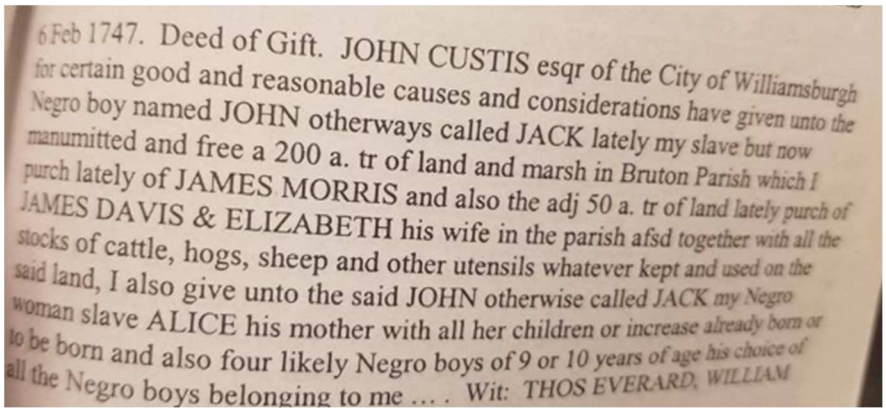

6 Feb 1747. Deed of Gift. JOHN CUSTIS esqr of the City of Williamsburgh for certain good and reasonable causes and considerations have given unto the Negro boy named JOHN otherways called JACK lately my slave but now manumitted and free a 200 a. tr of land and marsh in Bruton Parish which I purch lately of JAMES MORRIS and also the adj 50 a. tr of land lately purch of JAMES DAVIS & ELIZABETH his wife in the parish afsd together with all the stocks of cattle, hogs, sheep and other utensils whatever kept and used on the said land, I also give unto the said JOHN otherwise called JACK my Negro woman slave ALICE his mother with all her children or increase already born or to be born and also four likely Negro boys of 9 or 10 years of age his choice of all the Negro boys belonging to me … . Wit: THOS EVERARD, WILLIAM

Fig 5. John Custis' February 6, 1747 Deed of Gift, Mary Marshall Brewer, *York County Virginia Land Records*, 1729 – 1763, Colonial Roots, 2005

While the largest population of Negroes in and around Virginia were enslaved, from the perspective of other Negroes, they were family and a part of the same community. From the mid-seventeenth century and going into the eighteenth century, the mixed enslaved population contributed to the mixed free population.

The stripping away of names of the enslaved and their erasure from the historical record make it difficult to pinpoint the specific history of enslaved Magruder ancestors. By the time of the Navy's taking, there were around one hundred and forty Black families. The community grew from post-Civil War to 1942. There were not one hundred and forty families in 1870, therefore, I cannot accurately determine the percentage of ancestors who were free or enslaved.

Free Ancestors Traceable to York County	**Enslaved Ancestors Traceable to York County**	**Free Ancestor but None in York County**	**Enslaved but Not in York County**
Ashby	Hillman	Howard	Palmer

[188] Antonio T. Bly, "'Pretends He Can Read': Runaways and Literacy in Colonial America, 1730–1776." *Early American Studies Vol. 6, No. 2* (2008): 261–2-94. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23546575.

[189] Mary Marshall Brewer, *York County, Virginia, Land Records, 1729-1763* (Colonial Roots, 2005) 101.

Banks	Hundley	Palmer	
Bartlett	Hyde	Parker	
Burrell	Lightfoot	Pierce	
Carter	Major	Robinson	
Cook	Norcum	Russell	
Dennis	Ottis		
Gillet	Potter		
Hailey/Haley	Simonson		
Jackson	Stokes		
James	Tabb		
Johnson	Wynn		
Jones	Wynne		
Lyons	Dreuit		
Roberts			
Scott			
Taylor			
Wallace			
Whiting			
Williams			
20	14	6	1

Table 1 Traceable Free and Enslaved Ancestors of Magruder

To create this table, I primarily consulted Paul Heinegg's *Free African Americans of North Carolina, Virginia, and South Carolina from the Colonial Period to about 1820* (2005), also located online at http://www.freeafricanamericans.com. I also referenced the York County Records Project at the John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, the research tools through ancestry.com and asked the descendant community. This table reveals the difficulty of identifying enslaved Magruder ancestors, especially those who came from outside of York County. For example, the Bray School (a school for free and enslaved Negroes in Williamsburg, 1760-1774) listed only the first names of the students such as Sarah, Hannah and John.[190]

The census reports make clear the number of enslaved Negroes who lived alongside the free Negro population in York County and Virginia.

[190] I will provide more details about the Bray school later in this chapter. "Notes on the Negro School in Williamsburg, 1760–1774 | Colonial Williamsburg Digital Library," accessed January 24, 2019, http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/view/index.cfm?doc=ResearchReports%5CRR0126.xml

Date	Total Population	Slave Population	% enslaved
1790 York Virginia	5,233 747,550	2,760 292,627	53.7% 39.1%
1800 York Virginia	3,231 885,171	2,020 346,671	62.5% 39.1%
1810 York Virginia	5,187 974,622	2,931 392,518	56.5% 40.3%
1820 York Virginia	4,383 1,065,379	2,165 425,153	49.4% 39.9%
1830 York Virginia	5,354 1,211,405	2,598 469,757	48.5% 38.7%
1840 York Virginia	4,720 1,239,797	2,112 449,087	44.7% 36.2%
1850 York Virginia	4,460 1,421,661	2,181 472,528	48.8% 33.2%
1860 York Virginia	4,949 1,596,318	1,925 490,865	37.9% 30.7%

Table 2 Slave Population in York County Based on US Census Records[191]

The early arrivals to Virginia were imported from the Caribbean and considered "seasoned slaves" because they had been acclimated to European slaving practices.[192] Forced African migrants started to arrive directly in the Chesapeake during late seventeenth century and contribute to the exponential growth between 1690 and 1790. Natural increase in population, also contributed to this growth. In fact, Negroes born in the British colonies were in the majority in Virginia by 1720. The primary crop harvested in Virginia and York county was tobacco.[193]

[191] York County Historical Commission, *York County History: Essays and Memories, African American History* (Yorktown, Virginia: York County Historical Commission, 2012), 47-48.

[192] Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 2. Numerous scholars have discussed the seasoning of the enslaved such as Michael Mullen in *Africa in America*, 1992.

[193] Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake & Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1998) and Warren M. Billings, *The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century: A Documentary History of Virginia, 1606-1700* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1998), 231.

The secondary staple was wheat.[194] In *Slave Counterpoint,* historian Philip Morgan provides details about slavery in the Chesapeake and the Lowcountry. In addition to showing how tobacco shaped slavery in the Chesapeake, Morgan explains the development of slavery over time, the seasonal patterns of slavery, and the economics and the social life of slavery. Important to the dispossession of Magruder residents, the slave labor of their ancestors produced wealth for Whites and their families received nothing.

Michael Gomez, Stephanie Smallwood, Philip Morgan and several other scholars discuss the seasonal nature of slavery that shaped Magruder ancestors' lives. The York River was a major port of embarkation for slave ships. Smallwood stated: "*York River, Virginia*. Spring and summer were the prime season for the arrival of slaves in tidewater Virginia in the eighteenth century."[195] That meant that those Magruder ancestors who were living near the York River became accustomed to the pattern of slave ships bringing enslaved Africans. Morgan's analysis of how the Chesapeake's ecosystem molded the harvest of tobacco reveals how those on the plantations primarily worked between April and October. He explains: "The lengthy frost-free period (about 200 days in the tidewater and 180 days in the piedmont), stretching from early to middle April through middle to late October, permitted the transplanting of tobacco in May and June and its harvesting in July and August."[196] Magruder enslaved ancestors harvested tobacco during this time period, but that was not their only job. Moving toward the end of the eighteenth century, Morgan reveals that tobacco no longer was the primary crop. Moreover, the College of William & Mary's proximity to York County--three miles--meant that the enslaved who worked

[194] Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 37.
[195] Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery*, 1.
[196] Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 33.

for the College could have been Magruder ancestors. Potential Magruder enslaved ancestors built the College of William & Mary and worked as servants on campus.[197]

Morgan's expansive study narrows in on York County. Slave quarters and plantations did not have more than twenty enslaved; close to sixty percent of quarters consisted of ten or less.[198] "Even in the 1780s, more than half of all blacks in the area between the Rappahannock and James Rivers lived on quarters with fewer than twenty slaves."[199] As tobacco decreased in production over time, wheat, corn, "tar, pitch, timber," skins and "wool, cotton" increased in production.[200] This diversification in crop also meant a diversification in working rhythms. They did have some time for leisure. The enslaved diet consisted of "the least desirable parts of the animals."[201] First Baptist Church of Williamsburg started in 1776 from brush arbor gatherings of enslaved and free Negroes at Green Spring Plantation in James City County. Possibly, enslaved Magruder ancestors could have worshipped in those gatherings due to First Baptist Church's proximity.

A devastating component of enslaved life was the domestic slave trade.[202] Between 1700 and the end of the antebellum period, millions of the enslaved were sold "interstate, local and state-ordered sales" again.[203] Morgan indicated that after 1700 and by 1790, "about half of Virginia's slave population resided in the Piedmont."[204] The domestic slave trade disrupted the patterns of life the enslaved had formed and the life of free Negroes as well.

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[197] Terry L. Meyers, "A First Look at the Worst: Slavery and Race Relations at the College of William and Mary," *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal*, 16:4 (2008), 1141-1168.

[198] Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 41.

[199] Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*

[200] Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint* "Table 5, Primary Production of Virginia and South Carolina Plantation, 1730 – 1776" (50). Morgan obtained this data from "inventories of York and Essex Counties, Virginia.

[201] Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 137.

[202] Morgan, Slave Counterpoint, 93.

[203] Walter Johnson in *Soul to Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (2001), discusses the domestic slave trade during the antebellum period; I stopped my analysis of Magruder ancestors with the end of this period.

[204] Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 93.

Formation of Kinship Networks throughout the Diaspora

The kinship networks that played a vital role in the African diasporic community started to form in the seventeenth century.[205] Africans' dispossessed and diasporic identity contributed to feelings of homelessness and a lack of rootedness to a particular territory on the west side of the Atlantic. Their long heritage was linked to the east side of the Atlantic in Africa. The effects of saltwater slavery, social death, the terror of the mundane and the disruption from the domestic slave trade contributed to their rootedlessness. As a result, many Africans were willing to move from their enslaved location. The Carters' genealogy portrayed this movement and how kinship networks developed throughout the state of Virginia and surrounding states. Hannah and Paul's children were "the ancestors of the Carter family of Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, and Virginia."[206] Some of the Carters stayed in Northampton, Virginia, while many others left. In Thomas Carter's case, his oldest son William and third child Ishmael ended up in Charles City, his second child Sarah lived in Williamsburg, and his two youngest children, Harrison and Rebecca, lived in Pittsylvania County, which was close to North Carolina.[207] Directly relating to Magruder, Thomas Carter's fourth child, Littleton Carter, lived in the pre-Magruder area as early as 1813.[208] Littleton Carter married Susanna Ashby on January 19, 1818.[209] The presence of family members in numerous locations meant they formed a large network around the state and to the north and south.

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[205] It was possible for the Africans dispossessed by the Spaniards to move and develop kinship networks, but I do not have a way to trace them.

[206] Heinegg, *Free African Americans*, 255.

[207] Heinegg, *Free African Americans*, January 1, 2019 http://www.freeafricanamericans.com/Campbell_Charity.htm

[208] Heinegg, *Free African Americans*, January 11, 2019 http://www.freeafricanamericans.com/Campbell_Charity.htm

[209] Ancestry.com. *Virginia, Compiled Marriages, 1740-1850* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 1999.

In addition to the ties within family across county and state lines, different Negro families who lived in and around Virginia knew and relied on each other too. There were Ashbys, Banks, and Cooks in Petersburg; Gilletts and Joneses in Lunenburg County and numerous other counties where free Negroes concentrated such as Norfolk, Goochland, Charles City and Northampton County, Halifax and Chatham County in North Carolina.[210] Ancestors of Magruder families knew each other. Peter Gillett knew William Lyon, David Bartley, and Daniel Armfield.[211] All four of them were ancestors of Magruder families. Through these relationships, their children intermarried. Daniel's daughter, Elizabeth Armfield, married one of the Lyons and became known as "Betty Lyons."[212] As a result of these kinship networks, they were able to move to other parts of Virginia or out of the state if they desired, and they were able to work together to emancipate and hide the enslaved.

There were at least twenty families whose ancestors were free: Ashby, Banks, Bartlett, Burrell, Carter, Cook, Dennis, Gillet, Hailey/Haley, Jackson, James, Johnson, Jones, Lyons, Roberts, Scott, Taylor, Wallace, Whiting, and Williams.[213] The Ashby lineage exemplified the life of free Negroes living in pre-Magruder in the eighteenth century and going into the nineteenth century. The first trace of the Ashbys goes back to Mary Ashby, a white servant of James Shield.[214] She had three children with a Negro father: Matthew in 1723, John in 1725, and Roseanna in 1732. The historical records provide numerous sources about the first child,

[210] Heinegg, *Free African Americans*, accessed January 12, 2019 http://www.freeafricanamericans.com/Virginia_NC.htm

[211] Heinegg, *Free African Americans*, accessed January 15, 2019 http://www.freeafricanamericans.com/Virginia_NC.htm

[212] Heinegg, *Free African Americans*, accessed January 14, 2019 http://www.freeafricanamericans.com/Virginia_NC.htm

[213] Heinegg, *Free African Americans.* There were six more families with free ancestors, but I could not trace them to York County. For example, some Parkers lived in Nansemond County, the same location in which the Johnson ancestors lived, but I did not find any connections to York County or to any of the families that lived on Magruder.

[214] There was a Sarah Ashby born in 1666 who married a William Ashby in 1681 and they had a son named William Ashby Jr. in 1681, according to the Charles Parish registry, but it is not clear if these are the ancestors of Mary.

Matthew Ashby.[215] Matthew had a family, worked, owned a farm, and his family was literate. He married an enslaved woman by the name of Anne, and they had three children: Henry born around 1758, John born around 1760, and Mary born around 1764.[216]

The Ashbys were able to live on the resources of the farm, and through the wages Matthew earned they accumulated some goods. Historian Aaron Wilkinson believes that Matthew worked as "a carter, messenger, and carpenter."[217] When he registered his belongings with York County in 1771, he mentioned such goods as "6 old Chairs, a parcel of old Books, 147 lb. Bacon @ 6.D, 5 Iron pots and 2 Kettles," along with horses and cows.[218] He was also able to pay one hundred and fifty pounds to buy his family's freedom in 1769.[219]

His job gave him easy access to the network of Negroes throughout York County, Williamsburg and the state of Virginia. If he truly was a messenger, then we can imagine he was able to communicate with Negroes throughout the area and pass on information while doing his job. His marriage to Ann, an enslaved woman, revealed his relationship with enslaved Negroes and those who were free. Since they had a farm, the Ashbys were well placed to shelter runaway slaves from other towns. An enslaved man named Sam self-emancipated from Amelia and stayed with the Ashbys.[220] Although the Ashbys did not leave direct evidence about their life, the marriage between Matt and Ann, an enslaved woman, and their relationship with the enslaved population must have had some effect on them.

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[215] It was easier to find information about free Negroes than the enslaved. There were numerous primary sources to reference.

[216] Heinegg, *Free African Americans*, 80–81.

[217] Aaron B. Wilkinson, "Blurring the Lines of Race and Freedom: Mulattoes in English Colonial North America and the Early United States Republic" (doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2013), 56.

[218] "Inventory of the Estate of Matt Ashby Deceased," *Colonial Williamsburg Digital Library.* http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/View/index.cfm?doc=Probates%5CPB00013.xml

[219] Heinegg, *Free African Americans of North Carolina, Virginia*, 81.

[220] Lathan A. Windley, *Runaway Slave Advertisements: Vol 1, A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790 Virginia, N. Carolina* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood, 1983) 87.

Another way in which the Ashbys represented free Negroes living in the area that later becomes Magruder was their literacy. The Ashby children attended the Bray School.[221] The Associates of the Late Reverend Dr. Thomas Bray established the Bray School in Williamsburg in 1760 in order to teach Negroes how to read, write, and "the Principles of Christian Morality."[222] Mrs. Ann Wager was the schoolmistress and played such an important role there that when she died in 1774, the Bray school closed.[223] Both free and enslaved Negro children between the ages of three and ten attended the school.[224] Americanist and historian Antonio Bly posited that "most students went to the school for at least a term of three years."[225] John Ashby appeared on the roll in 1765 and 1769, which meant he may have attended for four years. Not only did the Bray school teach them Christianity and literacy, "the girls were taught how to knit, sew, and embroider."[226]

The free and enslaved Negroes clearly valued being able to read and write. The Bray school was located where the College of William & Mary's Brown Hall would eventually be located, which meant the Ashbys had to travel at least twelve miles from their farm to get there. While the Ashbys' and other Negroes' voices were silent in the historical record, William Hunter's letter to one of the Bray Associates highlighted their dedication to their education. About the school's students, Hunter wrote: "Their Progress and Improvement in so short a Time,

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[221] There are numerous sources that provide detailed information about the Bray school: Antonio T. Bly, "In Pursuit of Letters: A History of the Bray Schools for Enslaved Children in Colonial Virginia," *History of Education Quarterly* Vol. 51, No. 4 (2011): 429–59 and "Notes on the Negro School in Williamsburg, 1760–1774 | Colonial Williamsburg Digital Library," accessed January 24, 2019, http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/view/index.cfm?doc=ResearchReports%5CRR0126.xml are some examples.

[222] John C. Van Horne and Associates of Dr. Bray (Organization), *Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery: The American Correspondence of the Associates of Dr. Bray, 1717–1777* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 122. The Williamsburg school was not the only location; there were schools in Philadelphia and Fredericksburg, for example.

[223] Bly, "In Pursuit of Letters," 446.

[224] The appendix of "Notes on the Negro School in Williamsburg, 1760–1774" includes the school's rolls that included their status in society by age and years.

[225] Bly, "In Pursuit of Letters," 454.

[226] Ibid, 454.

has greatly exceeded my Expectations."[227] The Bray school also offered the opportunity to strengthen Negro networks. Since all three of Matthew and Ann's children attended, they were involved with the school for at least five years. For example, Harry and John were in class with "Randolph's Roger & Sam," who were free Negroes, along with thirty additional enslaved Negro children such as "John, Dolly, Elizabeth, Catherine, Fanny, Isaac & Johanna," who were owned by John Blair, President of the College of William & Mary.[228]

Overall, the Ashbys revealed how free Negroes developed a life for themselves throughout the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century while still facing slavery. Their proximity to slavery consistently raised questions about their "freedom," and how good their lives could really be. It was extraordinary that Negroes obtained their freedom and created a life for themselves in the middle of Negro life in America in the 18th and 19th centuries. Matthew's indictment for assault and battery in 1759 and having to pay thirty shillings as a fine hinted at their struggles.[229] Other than that, no details were recorded: either something happened, and he really did get into a physical altercation or it did not, and he was falsely accused. The result was that he lost a large sum of money that he was saving up to buy his wife's freedom. His wife was not technically freed until 1769, which meant she was still enslaved for much of her marriage. Unfortunately, two years after buying his wife Ann's freedom and rescuing self-emancipated Negro, Sam, he died, and the historical record does not reveal the cause of death. In the same way that his father did not appear in Matthew's life, Harry, John, and Mary had to go without their father, and Ann had to support their children without a husband. Also, both these three children and their children in turn had to live without really knowing their grandfather. Matthew

[227] "Notes on the Negro School in Williamsburg, 1760–1774 | Colonial Williamsburg Digital Library," accessed January 24, 2019, http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/view/index.cfm?doc=ResearchReports%5CRR0126.xml

[228] Ibid. I identified Randolph as free because in the list, only two names did not have a title and the other was Matthew's.

[229] Heinegg, *Free African Americans*, 80.

and Ann's silence in the historical records leaves us to speculate whether they lived a good life or struggled, but their story does provide a glimpse into the lives of the freed ancestors of Magruder.

Nineteenth-Century Movement North

During the nineteenth century and before the war, the kinship networks between Magruder ancestors expanded as far North as New York. Both the enslaved and free Negroes left and went north. Historian Cassandra Newby-Alexander explains how "the area's proximity to free Northern ports, the plethora of trading vessels and the somewhat unfettered intersection of free and enslaved people resulted in Hampton Roads being an active station on the Underground Railroad." [230] Newby-Alexander also explains how after the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 passed and the abolitionist movement in the North grew, "fugitives began to flee northward in increasingly large numbers."[231]

Emancipation and Formation of Magruder

One of the crucial and monumental events in the forming of Magruder was the Civil War and emancipation. From these events came the name of the community and land ownership for formerly enslaved Negroes. One of the questions the descendants asked me was where the name "Magruder" came from, and did those living in Magruder call the area something different? Throughout the oral histories, interviews, archival research, genealogical research, and analysis of maps, I could not track down a different name or any precise explanation for the naming of

[230] Cassandra L. Newby-Alexander, *An African American History of the Civil War in Hampton Roads* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2010), 15.

[231] Cassandra L. Newby-Alexander, *An African American History of the Civil War in Hampton Roads* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2010), 15.

the community. The closest possibility to naming the area came from the Civil War Confederate base called "Fort Magruder," named after General John B. Magruder. The site of Fort Magruder was approximately four miles beyond the boundaries that eventually formed Magruder, but its proximity and name tie it to the community. While the community was forming directly after the war, the boundaries were not as rigid.

After the Civil War devastated the area between the James River and York River, free and enslaved Negroes entered the matrix of dispossession once again. The combination of the Civil War and the racism of White landowners once again displaced numerous Negroes. The narrative of Martha Thorpe, a missionary teacher to Blacks in Fort Magruder between 1866 and 1869, portrayed details about the condition of the pre-Magruder area and a glimpse into the life of Negroes during that time. She said this about the Warren Farm: "We found the plantation beautifully situated on the York river, the 'great house' was partly destroyed during the war."[232] She hinted at the economic effect of the war and racism: "The country seems bankrupt, the white people seldom pay the negroes whom they employ."[233] She stated: "There was a settlement of about three hundred negroes outside of the Fort. This was always spoken of as 'The Camp'." Also, the slave masters were attempting to displace the newly freed Negroes off the land on which they had toiled for centuries. Thorpe explained this about the formerly enslaved who lived on Warren's farm: "These people have all been ordered to move away by the first of May, and are in great distress as most of them have no idea where they can go, neither do the[y] expect the government to help them find homes."[234]

[232] Martha Newbold Thorpe and Richard L. Morton, "Life in Virginia," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 64 No. 2* (Richmond, VA: Virginia Historical Society, 1956), 194.
[233] Ibid, 190.
[234] Thorpe and Morton, "Life in Virginia," 194.

Not only did they lose their homes and source of income, they also lived in a destitute environment and endured the potential of White violence. Thorpe illustrated the struggle that Negroes experienced. She stated: "Insufficient clothing, and protection from inclement weather, also poor and often not enough food were some of the causes of frequent sickness, so that we distributed quite an amount of simple medicines." She depicted how many were sick and lacked healthcare. These Negroes did not have the food and clothes they needed to survive. On top of the lack of these resources, they faced the threat of violence by the Ku Klux Klan.[235]

Therefore, the years following the war marked a time of rebuilding and of building the community that now officially became called Magruder. The first three steps Negroes took were securing land, continuing the struggle for freedom, and obtaining an education. Considering the oppressions Negroes were dealing with after the war, they used the kinship networks they built during slavery to continue to organize for their freedom.[236] A White lawyer, Calvin Pepper from Massachusetts, described his organizing with Blacks to the Joint Committee on Reconstruction as follows: "I am also deputed to represent about twelve mass meetings held irrespective of color, but principally composed of colored people, held at Norfolk, Portsmouth, Hampton, Old Point, Yorktown, and Williamsburg."[237]

The revolutionary spirit of the ancestors that started with those who first resisted in Africa continued right after the war with Negroes fighting for their humanity. They not only desired the basic material necessities of life but to be seen as fully human. This was evident in one of the ways they acquired land on Magruder. Some of those who were asked to leave

[235] Ibid. "After the Ku Klux came into our neighborhood, this old man always came armed with sword and gun."

[236] The kinship networks I am referencing here are those similar to the Ashby's that kept the runaway slave Sam, the enslaved and free Negroes who attended the Bray school together who come from Williamsburg and York County, the Carters, who were free and lived as far north as Delaware and south as North Carolina.

[237] *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, at the First Session, Thirty-Ninth Congress.* (Washington: 1866), 49 http://hdl.handle.net/2027/pst.000014785627.

Warren's farm resisted. Thorpe reported that: "A large number of Mr. Warren's former slaves still remain on the farm."[238] The formerly enslaved Negroes on pre-Magruder believed so strongly in their rights and their humanity that Thorpe wrote: "they declared they would not move, the land was theirs, they had toiled on it all their lives, without wages."[239] The emphasis by which she expressed their determination was strong and revealed how potent their stance was. If her writing was able to portray their will to be, imagine the potency of their fervor for freedom if experienced in real life.

Negroes acquired land in multiple ways. Along with those who stayed, the free Negroes who had already been living in pre-Magruder passed down their land through generations. Daniel Johnson shared in an interview that his ancestors, the Haleys and the Johnsons, had been on this land since the 1600s. His family received the land when "It was passed down through generations."[240] All the twenty free family descendants maintained their land on Magruder. Another group that relocated to Magruder moved from outside of York county into the area. Thorpe mentioned in reference to Warren's farm, "some other 'freedmen' have moved there; they occupy cabins erected either by themselves or by the government, while the former slaves still live in the old 'Quarters,' long frame buildings cold and comfortless."[241] These energized Negroes built their own homes. By "government," Thorpe meant the Freedmen's Bureau, which was active in Williamsburg and York County after the Civil War.

All freedmen who moved to this area were enmeshed in the network of relationships among Negroes in and around York County and Virginia. An example of a Negro family that

[238] Thorpe and Morton, "Life in Virginia," 194–95.
[239] Ibid.
[240] Daniel Johnson, interviewed by author, October 10, 2018.
[241] Ibid.

moved to pre-Magruder was the Johnsons; they moved from Norfolk.[242] Formerly enslaved Negroes acquired land from former slave holders. For example, William Wallace shared that his grandfather, William Jones, a former slave, received fifty acres of land in Magruder from E. W. Maynard.[243]

The third component of officially forming Magruder was education, and this too started during slavery. At the same time, a small fraction of free and enslaved Negroes was attending the Bray school, some of the enslaved risked punishment in order to learn to read and write. Both understood the benefits of education. One of the newly freed Negroes shared: "Isn't this a most blessed privilege? Many a time I have been whipped for being found with a book, for I always wanted to learn to read."[244] Now that Negroes could legally learn how to read and write, they arduously invested in being educated. The school Thorpe set up near Fort Magruder was several miles from the homes of those forming Magruder. Thorpe recorded that: "Two young men, oystermen on the York river seldom took time to eat any supper before starting for their long walk to school, would take a piece of corn bread to eat on their way, and we never heard either one complain of fatigue or hunger."[245] Now that Negroes forming Magruder have an education, a place to live and realized their full humanity, they were ready to form a community named Magruder.

Not coincidently, the earliest historical dating of Magruder was found in Mt. Gilead's church anniversary book. It stated: "Mount Gilead began its services in a one-room schoolhouse in Magruder, York County Virginia, in 1876,"[246] indicating that was recognized by its residents

[242] Isham Johnson was born in Norfolk and then appears on the 1870 census as living in the Bruton District.

[243] William Wallace, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, July 17, 2010. There were no deeds recorded in the York County deed book for the property Jones received from Maynard, therefore there is no other way to know how he acquired the land.

[244] Thorpe and Morton, "Life in Virginia," 185.

[245] Thorpe and Morton, "Life in Virginia," 185–86.

[246] Mt Gilead Anniversary Book, Mt Gilead Baptist Church, Grove, Williamsburg, Virginia

around or before 1876. This was no coincidence; Mount Gilead, and Oak Grove, the other Black church in Magruder, were integral to their community life. I mark the official beginning of Magruder with the church because of its foundational role in bringing the community together, bridging the networks between families outside of Magruder and those within, and influencing their way of life.

Magruder 1876–1942

"It was beautiful."[247] This remark by former Magruder resident, Daniel Johnson, displayed how Negroes living in Magruder remembered the land and their community. The beautiful scenery was enhanced by the glistening York River. Many of the former residents and descendants expressed their awe at the beautiful pastoral views. Magruder was a rural area; around the turn of the twentieth century, the majority of the American population lived in rural areas.[248] With the York River to the east, facing westward was the vast landscape of rolling fields.

Magruder consisted of one hundred and forty Negro families and twenty White families.[249] The majority of Negro families were farmers and oystermen. There were two Negro churches, Mt. Gilead Baptist Church and Oak Grove Baptist Church, and one White church, York River Presbyterian Church. Whitings and Tabbs had a funeral home in Magruder. There was one lodge, the Good Samaritan Lodge of York River Lights. There were two stores owned by Whites, one owned by David Powers and operated by the Bingleys and another owned by Edward Maynard.

[247] Daniel Johnson, interviewed by author, October 10, 2018

[248] "Rural Free Delivery," accessed January 29, 2019, https://about.usps.com/who-we-are/postal-history/rural-free-delivery.htm.

[249] Later in this chapter, I explain how I came up with the count of families. I am sharing this now to introduce and depict the built environment of Magruder.

The beauty was not just in the scenery, but also in the community's relationships. Therefore, the aforementioned discrepancies between the Navy and the census regarding the boundaries of Magruder could not properly account for the "communal boundaries" of Magruder. For Magruder was not constrained by land markers or determined by bodies of water. Rather it was shaped by a cohort of Negroes and the coming together of centuries of African and African diasporic history following the Civil War. Although they were Negroes living in the Jim Crow South, they encountered the adversity of White Supremacy by defining their existence for themselves.[250]

The general population of Magruder was predominately Negro but the exact number of each family by race has not been accurately recorded. That Magruder was only in existence for approximately seventy years, that people moved in and out of the area, that some who had been living there for decades died, and that there was a mixture of owners and renters made it more difficult to keep clear records. When the displacement happened, an African American newspaper from Norfolk, *New Journal and Guide*, reported that more than "450 colored residents of Magruder in nearby York County have been forced to move from their homes,"[251] and William Wallace indicated in an interview that about ten to fifteen White families lived in Magruder.[252] The Navy created a directory of owners of the tracts in order to account for who lived in Magruder. Based on my analysis of all available sources of information (oral histories, the Navy's directory, census data and news articles) I counted one hundred and forty Black families and twenty White families living in Magruder. The Navy's directory, which listed three

[250] As a result, "rural citizens had to pick up their mail at the Post Office." This explained why some of the Magruder addresses were "No 3 Route R.F.D." or Rural Free Delivery. Ibid.

[251] "450 Ousted from Homes in Magruder" Norfolk, Virginia: New Journal and Guide, 1916–2003, (December 05, 1942), https://proxy.wm.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/567444814?accountid=15053.

[252] William Wallace, interview by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, July 17, 2010. In my interviews with the descendant, this was a question that they asked me.

hundred and sixteen tracts and owners with multiple properties, listed more than twenty White families. I decreased the number of Whites from the Navy's directory by comparing it to census data. The Navy's list contained property owners who were not on the census who, therefore, may have had land renters, but did not live in Magruder.

Whites lived on the land for several hundred years as well. One set of families that moved to Magruder from outside of York County were European immigrants. Albert Franklin immigrated from Sweden, for example. Two former White residents, Francis Bingley Baker who worked at the Bingley store, and Rose Gross shared that Blacks and Whites had separate communities, but they would encounter each other at "Bingley's store."[253]

Church

Foundational and central to community life in Magruder was the church. William Washington portrayed the importance of the church and its role in Magruder's community:

> They were more together then, years ago. People were more together, closer. And uh, even, when I was a kid, the Bible study, they compared what's in the Bible with the way you were living. That's what I used to do, well I hung out with all of them, the old people, preachers and all, and I asked a lot of questions. So that's what I wanted to know more about it. What happened was, they shared what they knew with one each other and very few that were just contrary to what they wanted to learn. It's so different from what it is now. I mean people had feeling for people, feeling for people, they felt for people and they helped each other, always.[254]

[253] Rose Gross, James City County Oral History Project, Oral History Interview, (James City County: James City County Historical Commission, 1984).

[254] William Washington, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, Spring 2010.

Mr. Washington placed a high value on studying the Bible, which was guided by the church, and connected this study to investing in relationships with each other. He elucidated the ways in which the church guided morality and encouraged Negroes to compassionately look out for each other.

Church was a part of their weekly rhythm and after four decades, Magruder residents started Oak Grove Baptist church. Former Magruder resident, Langford Tabb shared how several residents would meet in a house.[255] Out of these house meetings, Magruder residents formed Oak Grove Baptist church. Robert Hall stated that it was established in 1914 and was named after Oak Grove school.[256] At Oak Grove Baptist church, in addition to the regular Sunday service, they had Sunday school before the service and choir rehearsal during the week. Similar to what Mr. Washington explained, Oak Grove held Baptist Young People's Union (BYPU), which taught youth the Bible.[257] Homecoming was a key church event that played a vital role in maintaining social networks started during slavery. Mt. Gilead Baptist Church was a daughter church to Bethel Baptist Church in Gloucester. Every year in July, members of Mt. Gilead would go to Bethel for homecoming.[258]

Whiting Tabb Funeral Services

The Whitings and Tabbs were responsible for burying the dead Negroes of Magruder. Descendant Hope Wynne Carter mentioned that Whitings had a funeral home, and Langford Tabb added "My father started an undertaking business."[259] George (Tabb's father) and

[255] Langford Tabb, interviewed by author, April 9, 2019. During our interview, when I asked him about Oak Grove, he was not exactly clear on the details, but he did remember the house meetings.
[256] Robert Hall, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, October 2010.
[257] Martha Washington, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, March 2010.
[258] Martha Washington, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, March 2010.
[259] Hope Wynne Carter and Langford Tabb, interviewed by author, April 9, 2019.

McKinley Whiting were the "only Negro morticians in Williamsburg and York County."[260] William Wallace revealed how the burial service functioned: "Everyone in Williamsburg and York County used them. They had no building; they took the dead back to the houses."[261] Whiting and Tabb buried the bodies in Oak Grove Baptist Church cemetery and Oak Orchard cemetery.[262]

Naming

Numerous former Magruder residents and descendants discussed the intentional naming of the families. There were several last names spelled similarly, raising the question of familial bonds. Some examples were Bartly and Bartlett, Wynne and Wynn, Hailey and Haley and Meekin and Minkin. MD Hundley contended that families "changed their name so they won't be related."[263] In Allan Wynne and my conversation with Joyce Wynne, we showed her the directory; she explained that the Navy administrators misspelled the name "Elmer Wynne"; it should have been Elmo.[264] Lloyd Wallace indicated that when the families "got some learning," then they started to spell their name differently.[265] Hundley revealed that families with similar last names may be related. At the same time, the Navy's and the census data pointed to the misspelling of names by administrators.

Community Life

[260] William Wallace, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, June 17, 2010.
[261] William Wallace, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, June 17, 2010.
[262] Brian Palmer, interviewed by author, April 2019. The cemeteries are still in existence today and the descendant community want access to Oak Orchard cemetery.
[263] MD Hundley, interviewed by author, February 9, 2019.
[264] Joyce Wynne, interviewed by author, October 10, 2018.
[265] Lloyd Wallace, interview by author October 9, 2018.

The most prominent component of Magruder's identity was its strong knit community. All the oral histories and interviews expressed the community's cohesiveness. Maria Tabb Norman described the community in this way: "I listened to the stories of my grandparents, parents, aunts and uncles...they talked about the fact that it was a community where everyone knew and took care of each other."[266] Rev. Tabb portrayed this cohesiveness and provided an example of how Negroes throughout the kinship network cared for each other. He shared:

> In those days people were dependent upon one another. … But we were dependent upon one another just like I said, people came to get my father to take them to the doctor. First with the horse, and then we had an old truck or car, in the early '30s. Come to take somebody to the doctor and they, we shared hog killing, gardens, vegetables and things that different ones had, that others didn't have. We would share them with other people. People, relatives of people who came out of town….[267]

Tabb's response revealed how Negroes in Magruder, and their kinship network assisted each other with the necessities of life. They provided rides for hospital visits, worked together on the farm, exchanged, and shared food with those who did not have any.

His example also illustrated that those in the kinship network who lived outside of Magruder maintained their relationship with Negroes in Magruder. During the turn of the twentieth century and leading up to 1942, the kinship networks Black Magruder ancestors had developed during slavery continued to grow.[268] Rev. Tabb explained how he had had an aunt in Newport News, an uncle in York County, additional family in Charles City and more kin in

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[266] Maria Tabb Norman, interviewed by author, March 12, 2019.

[267] James Tabb Sr., "Oral History Interview," *James City County Oral History Project* (James City County, VA: James City County Historical Commission, 1984).

[268] The kinship networks I am referring to here are the marriages between the free and enslaved, those who attended the Bray school together, the families that were located throughout the state of Virginia and the free Negroes who harbored the enslaved who self-emancipated.

Gloucester.[269] As a result of this expansive kinship network, another component that marked community life in Magruder was the transient nature of the residents. Negroes moved to Magruder from different places and Negroes from Magruder moved to locations where their family lived. For example, Maurice Scott Banks discussed how her family moved back and forth between Magruder and New Jersey.[270] Daniel Johnson also described how his father "worked in New York in the summers" and would come back to Magruder for the rest of the year.[271]

Overall, there were some good times and challenging ones. It was not uncommon for married couples to have five or more children and, in some cases, more than ten. In fact, as Lloyd Wallace recalled: "Remember my cousin Van Ashby, he had twenty-three children, remember that … twenty-three children. I think they had three sets of twins."[272] Unfortunately, several babies died, an indication of the overall health, socioeconomic status, and living conditions of the community.[273] It also appeared that one of the surviving parents lived in the house with the family. For example, Martha Roberts appeared on the census report with John and Susan Haley and Sarah and Albert Johnson all living in the same home.

Black Relationships in Virginia and Beyond

In 1890, William P. Cooke signed a deed for land and moved into Magruder. Mr. Cooke was born in Gloucester and, just like the founding members of Mt. Gilead, he came across the York River and settled in Magruder. The movement of Mr. Cooke and establishment of the church exemplified the contacts that many Negroes throughout the surrounding counties had

[269] James Tabb Sr., "Oral History Interview," *James City County Oral History Project* (James City County, VA: James City County Historical Commission, 1984).

[270] Maurice Scott Banks, interviewed by author, November 11, 2018.

[271] Daniel Johnson, interviewed by author, October 10, 2018.

[272] Lloyd Wallace, interviewed by author, November 15, 2018.

[273] Maren E. Olson et al., "Impact of Income and Income Inequality on Infant Health Outcomes in the United States," *Pediatrics* Vol. 126, No. 6 (2010): 1165–73, https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2009-3378.

with Magruder. Maria Tabb Norman indicated that "Tabb roots went back to Gloucester."[274] George Wallace's family was also from Gloucester.[275] Gloucester also came up in the interview with MD Hundley. He explained: "There were free Guinea men in Gloucester. There was a relationship with the original Africans who came over between those who lived in Magruder and Gloucester."[276] Hundley believed that a free group of Africans lived in Gloucester during slavery. These free Africans were had familiarity with those who would eventually settle in Magruder.

The connection to Gloucester was clear considering the two counties shared history and location on the York River. Initially, Gloucester was a part of York County. Along with the familial bonds between Magruder and Gloucester, several of the interviews mentioned commuting on boats on the York River. Daniel Johnson shared: "We commuted back and forth across the York River on boats."[277] Francis Baker also discussed traveling on boat: "I even rowed a boat across the river to Gloucester to get a Coke."[278] Lloyd Wallace revealed that they did not only travel to Gloucester, but also to the West Indies. In response to the question about community life, Wallace stated: "And interesting enough. A lot of the families worked the rivers. They carried lumber up to West Point. Some of my relatives drowned in that creek there. They carried lumber to West Point and carried it as far as the Virgin Islands. They used the York River."[279]

Within Magruder, families continued to marry into one another's families in the same way their ancestors had, thereby creating and strengthening familial bonds and expanding the

[274] Maria Tabb Norman, interviewed by author, March 12, 2019.
[275] George Wallace, interviewed by author, February 15, 2019.
[276] MD Hundley, interviewed by author, February 15, 2019.
[277] Daniel Johnson, interviewed by author, October 10, 2018.
[278] Francis Baker, interview by Will Carmine and Edith Heard, May 2010, https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/handle/10288/1275.
[279] Lloyd Wallace, interviewed by author, November 15, 2018

kinship networks. Whereas one of the Ashbys, Sally, married a Wallace (John) in 1848, another Ashby, Maria, married a Lyons (James) around 1920. All three families had lived in Magruder for centuries and these particular marriages brought their extended families together.

Negroes from Magruder also married outside of Magruder and expanded the network even further. Former slave and graduate of Virginia Union University, Rev. L. W. Wales, moved from Richmond to Williamsburg and married Sarah Ashby in 1887. Rev. Dr. Wales became a prominent individual in the Williamsburg, James City County and York County area. He pastored several churches and was a teacher in several schools, including pastoring Mt. Gilead for six years and teaching in the Bruton School District of York County.[280] He also was a leader in the Virginia Baptist State Convention.[281] His prominence and familial background also introduced the Ashbys to another set of Negroes around the state.

Negroes from Magruder also had family members who lived in Charles City. Prince Wallace was born in Charles City and married into the Wallaces from Magruder. In her interview, she described how "Williamsburg to Charles City was known as an interracial area of Negroes and Indians."[282] Wallace's highlighting of "Indians" elucidated the ongoing relationship between the Indigenous and Africans in Magruder. The Indigenous tribes were the Cherokee for the Roberts and Mattaponi for the Crumps.[283] May "Aunt May" Roberts gave even more detail about this relationship. She was ninety at the time of the interview and has vivid memories. She remembered: "We had a reunion at Golden Corral. And the Indians came down from Charles City and I looked just like one of them. I couldn't stop looking at em. They were so welcoming. I

[280] L.W. Wales, "Brief Autobiographical Sketch of the Life and Labors of L.W. Wales, D.D.…; Brief historic Outline of Mt. Ararat Baptist Church, Williamsburg," *Borrowing Notes* (Williamsburg, VA: 1910).

[281] Ibid

[282] Prince Wallace, interviewed by author, October 8, 2018.

[283] Ericka Byrd, interviewed by author, April 5, 2009. Byrd is a descendant who heard stories about her family history and attended the family reunion.

felt such a *kinship* with them Indians."[284] Roberts was referring to the John A. and Elnora Robert's Family reunion in 1997. This family lineage not only involved relationships between Negroes in Magruder and the Cherokee; it also included Negroes in Magruder, Negroes in The Reservation and the Cherokee.

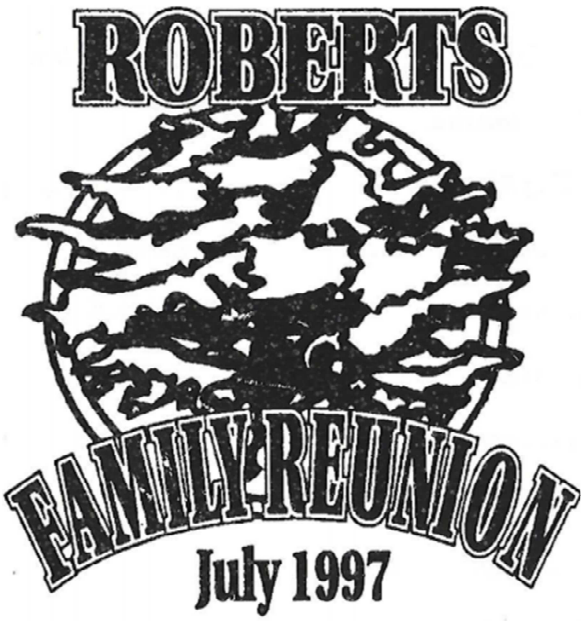

Fig 6. Cover of Roberts Family Reunion Brochure

The roots can be traced directly back to William and Mary Hundley who were living in Magruder. Around 1860, they gave birth to Elnora Hundley.[285] It was this Elnora Hundley who married John A. Roberts on May 7, 1885.[286] They lived in Magruder and gave birth to Katherine Roberts around 1899.[287] Katherine Roberts married John Crump in 1918 who was from The

[284] May Roberts, interviewed by author, April 5, 2019.

[285] Ancestry.com. *Virginia, Select Marriages, 1785-1940* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc, 2014.

[286] Ancestry.com. *Virginia, Select Marriages, 1785-1940* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc, 2014.

[287] Ancestry.com. *Virginia, Select Marriages, 1785-1940* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc, 2014.

Reservation.[288] After I shared this genealogy with the descendant community, numerous descendants were then able to trace their ancestors back to Magruder. Ericka Byrd traced back to James Hundley and Elizabeth Daniels traced back to Catherine Crump.

Some Negroes moved from North Carolina, such as Henry Vaughn and Silas Foster and others moved from New York, such as Frank Sheldon. Maurice Banks Scott represented the third group well. "I've been back and forth to New Jersey all my life,"[289] she recounted. Ms. Scott was born in Magruder, moved to New Jersey when she was young and then moved back to Magruder in the 1930s. Along with the Banks family, the Hundleys moved back and forth between New Jersey, and the Williams moved back and forth between New York. While some of the Banks, Hundleys, and Williams eventually returned to Magruder, some stayed up north.

Great Migration

The movement of Negroes from Magruder to New Jersey and New York was part of much larger movement commonly known as the "Great Migration," in which, starting around 1910, "some six million black southerners left the land of their forefathers and fanned out across the country for an uncertain existence in nearly every other corner of America."[290] Historian and social theorist Davarian Baldwin argues that this was a social movement "symbolic of larger processes, including the growth and expansion of industrial capitalism searching for new labor and markets and the long march of black resistance against subservience, offering new

[288] Ancestry.com. *Virginia, Select Marriages, 1785-1940* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc, 2014. Considering the close date to the displacement from The Reservation, there were also Roberts who lived there that I will explain in chapter five.

[289] Maurice Banks Scott, interviewed by author, November 11, 2018.

[290] Isabel Wilkerson, *Warmth of other Suns: The Epic Story of America's Great Migration,* (New York: Random House, 2010) 9.

definitions of freedom and enlightenment."[291] Isabel Wilkerson, in *Warmth of other Suns: The Epic Story of America's Great Migration*, adds: "But more remarkably, it was the first mass act of independence by a people who were in bondage in this country for far longer than they have been free."[292] Wilkerson and Baldwin portray the revolutionary spirit that had been swelling up within Negroes during the turn of the twentieth century. When Baldwin argues for a "social movement," he focuses on Negroes' place in society; which Wilkerson described as a "caste system."[293] This caste system consisted of dehumanizing jobs such as picking cotton, violence in the form of lynchings and the threat of violence, segregated schools and the culmination of these factors creating a meaningless life. Therefore, going North was about advancing in society just as much as moving geographically. The move was about wanting more in life, as Wilkerson portrays Ida Mae Brandon Gladney: "There was a spark insider of her, and, when she got big enough, she told people to call her Ida Mae instead of Mae Ida."[294]

The decision to leave was difficult, Negroes were leaving a familiar way of life to go to a foreign land. Wilkerson writes, "Perhaps the greatest single act of family disruption and heartbreak among black Americans in the twentieth century was the result of the hard choices made by those on either side of the Great Migration."[295] After Negroes arrived in urban areas, they still endured struggles. They had trouble finding jobs and segregation was still present, just without the Blacks only and Whites only signs. The world was literally changing around Magruder four and a half decades after the community formed.

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[291] "Great Migration, Mar 1 2018 | Video | C-SPAN.Org," accessed February 1, 2019, https://www.c-span.org/video/?441630-1/great-migration. Davarian L. Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes: Modernity, the Great Migration, and Black Urban Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/cwm/detail.action?docID=880033.

[292] Wilkerson, *Warmth of other Suns*, 10.

[293] Wilkerson, *Warmth of other Suns*, 8.

[294] Wilkerson, *Warmth of other Suns*, 21.

[295] Wilkerson, *Warmth of other Suns*, 239.

The majority of Magruder residents stayed. Lloyd Wallace mentioned that the Johnsons went to New Jersey but most everyone else stayed.[296] Based on census data, from 1910 to 1940, the Negro population in York County increased from six hundred and fifty-four to one thousand three hundred and twenty-eight.[297] Descendant Allan Wynne's response to a different interview question offered insight as to why many stayed. Wynne proclaimed: "I owned 500 acres, what could a White man have done to me."[298] He discussed the stability and autonomy of the community before dispossession. The owning of "500 acres" not only meant landownership but he also used words such as "sovereignty," meaning they had pride in themselves, controlled their land and lived how they wanted to live. Magruder Negroes experienced both, some level of sovereignty and the struggles of the Jim Crow South.

Negroes who did leave from Magruder were two families, the Hundleys and the Johnsons, and individual young adults. The Johnson family researched their own genealogy and created a family history book, which they allowed me to consult. Several Johnson families and Hundleys moved to New Jersey. Adding to our understanding of the Great Migration, Magruder families revealed that pre-established networks contributed to their migration. Maurice Scott said: "My mother had relatives in New Jersey, that's why we went up there."[299] Therefore, Negroes did not randomly move to any neighborhood, but moved to a particular place that their family, blood relatives, and those in the network recommended to them.[300] Unlike Maurice Scott family, the individual young adults went to areas without an anchoring of family members. The overall number of individuals who migrated was not significant enough that it was spoken of in the oral histories and interviews. Examples of individuals who moved were William Gillette who

[296] Lloyd Wallace, interviewed by author, October 10, 2018.
[297] Ancestry.com The search fields were Bruton, York County Virginia – Exact and Race – Black.
[298] Allan Wynne, interviewed by author, April 5, 2019.
[299] Maurice Banks Scott, interviewed by author, November 11, 2018.
[300] Scott did not give specific details about her family's moves. Since only a small number left, this was not covered in the oral histories or interviews.

went to Washington D. C., Albert Dennis who went to Atlantic City, New Jersey, Elijah James who went to Pennsylvania and Doretha Johnson who went to Chicago, Illinois. The unknown number of individual Negro migrants set a precedent for the descendants to follow.[301]

Negroes who left Magruder echoed the same sentiments as many other Negroes who left the South. Ms. Scott shared, "It used to bother me when we had to pass this big pretty school."[302] Due to segregation, Negroes could not attend the White Magruder school, which was located directly in between where Negroes lived and Oak Grove school. Therefore, going to school was a constant reminder of her place in society. Daniel Johnson, who ended up staying in New Jersey, explained how his family went back and forth between New Jersey for jobs during the Depression because there "weren't that many jobs available."[303]

Labor

Negroes in Magruder had limited employment opportunities. This limit was in the number of positions available and type of work. St. Claire Drake and Horace Cayton findings of the "Black Belt," a Black community in Chicago, in the book *Black Metropolis* (1945), mirrored the job situation for Negroes in Magruder. Drake and Cayton described how "Negroes were doing a disproportionately large amount of the city's servant work, a disproportionately small amount of the 'clean work,' and a little about their 'proportionate share' of 'manual labor'."[304] Essentially, Whites filled the positions of skilled and managerial jobs, and Negroes worked service jobs. That was precisely the situation in Magruder. According to the census, the most commonly held position was "laborer." The two main employers that came up in the oral

[301] I found these three through the Johnson's Family Book and during a census search for other family members. I also inquired with the families and they were not aware of many individuals who moved before the dispossession. I will discuss those who moved after the dispossession in chapter 5.

[302] Maurice Banks Scott, interviewed by author, November 11, 2018.

[303] Daniel Johnson, interviewed by author, October 10, 2018

[304] Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, 218 – 236.

histories were the Mocann[305] Farm and Todd Brown company. Numerous oral histories discussed the Todd Brown company, and William Wallace in particular described how it was a construction company contracted by Colonial Williamsburg.[306] Martha Washington shared that Mocann was a rich White person who lived in Magruder who owned a large amount of land and had a graveyard on his property.[307] Rev. Tabb added that he hired at least twenty-five Blacks to work his farm and they grew peanuts and soybeans.[308]

Magruder residents could have been referred to as "poor farmers," although this description did not capture the life of Negroes there. Edith "Cookie" Heard stated: "Black people in this area were very self-sufficient and they were proud of it, because many were oystermen and farmers and they did not work for white people – Rockefeller couldn't find the labor because black people were very independent."[309] The biggest source of income and resources was the land and the water. Many Magruder residents were oystermen and farmers. Their ability to live off the land may have been the reason why many stayed at Magruder, particularly during the Depression.

In addition to Magruder Negroes' self-sufficiency, Ms. Heard was referring to the creation of Colonial Williamsburg between 1926 and 1932. During and after this time, John Rockefeller needed people to fill the new positions created by the development and operation of Colonial Williamsburg. Ms. Heard was referring to how Negroes both did not want to work for a White man and how the land and water offered the necessities of life. They had cows, chickens, and pigs and grew an assortment of fruits and vegetables including but not limited to greens,

[305] It was not clear from the oral histories how to correctly spell his name. In the transcript from the James City County interview, the transcriber spelled it as "Mocann."

[306] William Wallace, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, March 2010.

[307] Martha Haley Washington, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, March 11, 2010.

[308] James Tabb Sr., "Oral History Interview," *James City County Oral History Project* (James City County, VA: James City County Historical Commission, 1984).

[309] Martha Haley Washington, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, March 11, 2010.

beans, potatoes, and tomatoes. They also owned waterfront property which meant that equity in their homes was growing. Moreover, their strong sense of community meant they looked out for each other. If someone needed milk or eggs, Negroes would share with each other. Farming was hard work, but as Ms. Edlow said, "It was nine of us and we had to eat."[310]

Former Magruder residents and the descendant community consistently mentioned the name "Mocann" in reference to jobs. Descendant Brian Palmer described his background and his business ownership.[311] The accurate spelling of his name was Mouquin and he was born in Switzerland. After fighting in the Union Army, he purchased land in Magruder. Mouquin also owned a restaurant in New York and "was, if not, the richest man in Williamsburg, among the richest."[312] He hired Negroes living in Magruder to work the land and harvest crops for his restaurant in New York.

They also gained an income from outside Magruder. With an entrepreneurial spirit, Negroes would take their farming goods to Williamsburg and sell them. Selling oysters was very lucrative during that time; Knox Ratcliffe and Harold Ratcliffe shared that they could ask for $1.50 a bushel.[313] Other jobs ranged from being a laborer with the Dupont Engineering Company, to truck driving, being a black smith, plumber, or maid. It was true that these were entry and lower level positions. Their jobs may not have paid much, but Negroes had each other, the land, and the water. Harkening back to historian Baldwin's point about social mobility, part of the reason Negroes in Magruder had lower level job prospects was because of their limited education.

[310] Jean Taylor Edlow, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, May 12, 2010.
[311] Brian Palmer, interviewed by the author, April 5, 2019.
[312] Brian Palmer, interviewed by the author, April 5, 2019.
[313] "An Interview with Knox Ratcliffe and Harold Ratcliffe," J*amestown Oral History*, 1984.

Education

Negroes living in Magruder initially had one option for formal education—the Oak Grove school. Oak Grove School was different from Oak Grove Church. Many of the residents spoke fondly of the school despite segregation and not having the same resources as the White school that was closer to them. According to the census data, approximately 64 percent of Negroes on Magruder were educated up to eighth grade.[314] Then, in 1924, the James City County Training School opened in Williamsburg. Rev. Dr. L. W. Wales played a crucial role in developing and opening the school.[315] Wales, along with Andrew Jones and W. H. Hayes (principal of School No. 2) raised money and on several occasions went to the Williamsburg school board because "they wanted a six room school plus 'a room suitable for a training school' instead of the four room school house that the board had planned."[316]

With the opening of the training school and Oak Grove, Negroes in Magruder had access to education through high school. But getting there was another issue. Oak Grove School was approximately three miles away for some residents, which meant that they walked three miles to and from school.[317] They could not walk to James City County Training School. Leroy Hyde and William Parker provided rides from Magruder to Williamsburg for two dollars a month.[318] At first Mr. Hyde only had a car but eventually both Mr. Hyde and Mr. Parker drove buses. They also provided rides for people to get to work.[319]

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[314] I used the 1940 census data. They recorded the education levels of the respondents. My number is only an estimation because I chose who was living in Magruder in comparison to the Naval Records and the street location. I counted one thousand twenty-eight Negroes living in Magruder and identified fifty-five of them who were educated up to the eighth grade.

[315] L.W. Wales, "Brief autobiographical sketch of the life and labors of L.W. Wales, D.D.…; Brief historic outline of Mt. Ararat Baptist Church, Williamsburg," *Borrowing Notes* (Williamsburg, VA: 1910).

[316] Linda Rowe "A History of Black Education and Bruton Heights School, Williamsburg, Virginia," February 2, 2019, http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/view/index.cfm?doc=ResearchReports%5CRR0373.xml&highlight=.

[317] Lloyd Wallace, interviewed by author, September 9, 2018.

[318] Daniel Johnson, interviewed by author, October 10, 2018.

[319] Martha Haley Washington, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, March 11, 2010.

Recreation

Jean Taylor Edlow: I remember the stores and everything.

Edith Heard: So why you remember the stores so well? You were going up in there buying candy or something?

Edlow: That's where I was going! (giggles) And cookies, those big ol' cookies they had up in there.

Heard: Were they homemade cookies?

Edlow: I don't know, probably was.

Heard: In the big ole jar…

Edlow: The big ole jar, that's like Mrs. Scott had back then![320]

Ms. Heard and Ms. Edlow shared a fond experience that has been forever etched into Ms. Edlow's memory. Although this interview took place more than seven decades after the experience, those "big ol' cookies" remained vivid. Ms. Heard's ability to engage with her went beyond words; these two Black women experienced the harsh realities of being Black and women in America but who had also enjoyed sweet moments and good times in the community life of Negroes in Williamsburg.

Descendant Brandon Lee recalled stories "about hunting and fishing and swimming."[321] He also shared: "Papa Tabb was said to have had the first radio in Magruder" and "people in the neighborhood [came] to the Tabb house to listen to 'Fire-Side Chats,' Joe Louis fights, baseball,

[320] Jean Taylor Edlow, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, May 12, 2010.
[321] Brandon Lee, interviewed by author, April 4, 2019.

etc."[322] Martha Washington shared: "We would play ball at somebody's house or when you got old enough, play cards a certain time then you go home."[323] The children would also play marbles, hide and seek, spin the bottle, and the girls played hopscotch.[324] The adults would also have a good time in Magruder. There was a house in Magruder where they would play music, play guitars, and dance.[325] The whole community would come together at gatherings such as communal fish fries. Negroes in Magruder also took trips to Williamsburg and Ft. Eustis. Going to Williamsburg allowed them to join with their broader network, and there were more activities to enjoy in the town. Lloyd Wallace remembered walking to Williamsburg "every Saturday to go to Samuel Harris' Cheap Store."[326] Ms. Washington remembered taking a bus to Ft. Eustis because they would have dances at the military base there.

Conclusion

The centuries-long history of Negroes in Magruder is part of the history of Africans throughout the many diasporas. The location of Magruder in America made it a part of American history. African diasporic history was one of dispossession, forced migration, confrontation with ethnocentrism, White Supremacy, and a will to thrive in the midst of oppression. The American history they experienced was one of dispossession, conquering, destroying, brutalizing, enslaving, fighting, and segregating. As diasporic peoples, Africans were initially in a foreign land. While enduring slavery, some were able to gain their freedom while others experienced continued existential dispossession. Throughout this history, a network of African diasporic

[322] Brandon Lee, interviewed by author, April 4, 2019.
[323] Martha Haley Washington, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, March 11, 2010.
[324] Martha Haley Washington, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, March 11, 2010.
[325] Esterine Hundley Moyler, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, July 28, 2010.
[326] Lloyd Wallace, interviewed by author, September 9, 2018. If you are interested in more information on Samuel Harris and his cheap store see Julia Woodbridge Oxrieder, *Rich, Black, and Southern: The Harris Family of Williamsburg* (New Church, VA: Miona Publications, 1998).

people formed kinship networks that started in York County and expanded over time. It was this network that played an integral role in their survival, emancipation, and establishment of Magruder.

There were several dispossession events of Negroes in the twentieth century that were particular to York County and Williamsburg. In 1918, the creation of the Yorktown Naval Weapons Station wiped out a predominantly Negro community called "the farm."[327] Between 1926 and 1934, the development of Colonial Williamsburg removed another Black community. These dispossessory events had some effect even on Negroes living in Magruder because they were a part of the network. At the same time, the longer Negroes lived in Magruder, the longer they were building a foundational and sustainable community that would enable future generations to thrive. In fact, in September of 1940, Bruton Heights School opened, which was a cornerstone for the Negro community. Robert Braxton discussed how the education was top-notch, it was a meeting place for the community, and graduations were annual events.[328] The Rockefeller Foundation annually gave a senior a scholarship. Historian Linda Rowe notes: "There was concern among white people in Williamsburg that the program at Bruton Heights School would mean that blacks would no longer want to do the jobs they had always done in the community."[329] When Bruton Heights came on the scene in 1940, the future was looking bright for Negroes in Magruder.

[327] Shannon Mahoney "Community Building After Emancipation," 2013.

[328] Robert Braxton, interviewed by Will Carmines, February 2010.

[329] Linda Rowe, "A History of Black Education and Bruton Heights School | Colonial Williamsburg Digital Library," accessed February 2, 2019, http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/view/index.cfm?doc=ResearchReports%5CRR0373.xml&highlight=.

Chapter 4 - The Taking

Disruption. After centuries of organizing, networking, fighting for their freedom, asserting their humanity, and two years after Bruton Heights High School opened, the Navy disrupted the lives of Negroes living in Magruder. The history of domination and dispossession foreshadowed this taking, but there was no indication to Magruder residents that they would be next. In October of 1942, as Junius Hundley described, "Bulldozers would come and shake people's houses."[330] They had no idea that the Navy would just bring forklifts into their yards and leave them there. Willis R. Dudley recorded: "This does not mean that gardens, lawns, fields and fences will not be damaged" in a "memorandum for files."[331] Francis Baker shared in an interview: "One day there was all this heavy equipment in his yard. He asked the man to move the stuff and he was told that he was going to have to move. They didn't even notify us they were going to move us."[332] Much worse, some inhabitants of Magruder were utterly caught off guard when told they had to be out of their own homes within a week.[333]

The Navy's disruption of Negro lives at Magruder was a part of a history of the United States taking land. There certainly was nothing new about Negroes losing their land in America in 1942 based on the many ways (riots, joblessness, White terror and so on) that Negroes had lost their land. What was different this time was that it happened directly before the specific dispossessions associated with urban renewal. Following the end of the Great Depression and

[330] Junius Hundley, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, September 1, 2010.

[331] Willis R. Dudley, "Memorandum for Files," December 10, 1942. Dudley's signature was "Real Estate Division, Bureau and Yards and Docks, Navy Department."

[332] Francis Bingley Baker, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, May 19, 2010, https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/handle/10288/1275.

[333] Different residents were told different times to leave because the Navy took the land in phases. In Goodwin's sermon, he stated that some people only received two days' notice. According to Navy documents, they gave people who were going to be removed in December of 1942 until January 30 (Navy Department "Memorandum for Files," December 10, 1942).

Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal programs, federal and local governments paid a great deal of attention to housing.[334] This was a time of "urban redevelopment" when the "blighted" areas, or those that were deteriorating, were being redeveloped by the government. This was also the beginning of an era of economic growth on the home front.[335] Directly amid this, World War II started, which of course had a tremendous effect on the world but also specifically on non-White local landowners in the United States and Indigenous peoples around the world. The Federal Housing Act was not completed until 1949, which meant that the land takings during WWII happened seven years before. This was important because the United States did not have a legal precedent to take the land in Magruder.[336]

Navy Plans

Brief Discussion of WWII

The country was rebounding from the Great Depression before World War II started. A key event for the Magruder narrative (and the dispossession of other communities) was the expansion of the Navy in 1938 when Hitler overran Austria.[337] This marked the beginning of the Navy and the United States thinking about their involvement in the war. In 1940, America was providing aid to Great Britain, which was already in the war. The turning point for the United States from providing aid to actively engaging in warfare was the Japanese attack on Pearl

[334] Home Owners' Loan Corporation (1933), the Housing Division of the Public Works Administration (1933), and The Housing Act of 1934, which together created the Federal Housing Authority (FHA) and the Housing Act of 1937 (the Wagner-Steagall Low Rent Housing Bill)

[335] Andrew Friedman, "US Empire, World War 2 and the Racialisation of Labour," *Race & Class* 58, no. 4 (2017): 23–38, https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396816685024.

[336] "Urban Redevelopment," *The Yale Law Journal* 54, no. 1 (1944): 118–119, https://doi.org/10.2307/792719.

[337] "Building the Navy's Bases in World War II," accessed March 14, 2018, http://www.ibiblio.org/hyperwar/NHC/bases/bases-1.htm.

Harbor on December 7, 1941.[338] Although the bombing of Pearl Harbor made it generally acceptable to the people for the United States to enter the war, America nonetheless used the war to expand its empire. Historian Andrew Friedman argues that: "World War II and its aftermath mark a clear period in the extension of US empire."[339] At the center of his argument was how the United States took land abroad.

World War II and Negroes

Author: What were your thoughts about WWII and Blacks?

Verónica Nelson: As my grandfather was a WWII vet. If it wasn't for the war, my grandfather from Georgia would have not met my grandmother in Williamsburg. He was stationed there! However, the effects of the war, meant he suffered from PTSD for the remainder of his life. He could not work. My grandmother supported the family. Her brothers did look down on him because of this, because they did well in Williamsburg and wanted more for their sister.[340]

Descendant Verónica Nelson's response illustrates the complicated relationship between Negroes and World War II. Kimberley L. Phillips' excellent book, *War! What Is It Good For?: Black Freedom Struggles and the U.S. Military from World War II to Iraq* (2012), explains how "African Americans' agitation for the right to fight as an expression of full citizenship and civil rights coincided with the appeals from other African Americans who considered war inimical to their freedom struggles."[341] The story of the Tuskegee Airmen represented "the right to fight." During World War II, the Army needed more troops and the War Department calculated the

[338] Friedman, "US empire, World War 2 and the Racialisation of Labour," 26.
[339] Friedman, "US empire, World War 2 and the Racialisation of Labour," 24.
[340] Verónica Nelson, interviewed by author, March 2019.
[341] Kimberley L. Phillips, *War! What Is It Good For?: Black Freedom Struggles and the U.S. Military from World War II to Iraq* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012) 4.

amount of Negro labor needed to win the war.[342] The 1940 Selective Service and Training Act opened the door for Negro men to serve in segregated units.[343] Several Negro leaders, such as T. Arnold Hill (National Youth Administration,) Walter White (NAACP), and A. Philip Randolph (Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters), fought against segregation in the military by pressuring President Franklin D. Roosevelt to overturn it.[344] Roosevelt did not overturn segregation but he did allowed a limited number of Negroes to be officers. In 1940, the Army established a training school for Negro Pilots at the Tuskegee Institute. Former Magruder resident and Vietnam veteran Langford Tabb knew one of the Tuskegee airmen and shared this story with me:

> People bitch about Tuskegee, but the war forced them to work with Blacks. During the war, they needed some pilots to fly along with them, even though they didn't want the Tuskegee airmen to accompany them, they didn't have any other choice. Those who did fly with them did such a good job, they shot down some of the enemy planes. Next thing you know everyone wanted the Tuskegee airmen to fly with them. They never lost a pilot.[345]

Tabb's story and the actions of Negro leaders portrayed a positive Negro perspective on World War II. Negroes had a Double V campaign during World War II, victory against fascism abroad and Jim Crow in the United States.[346]

Another aspect of Negro's complex perspective of World War II was the continual injustice Negroes endured, even while fighting in the war. Tabb started his story by saying:

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[342] Phillips, *War! What Is It Good For?,* 6.

[343] Renée Ater. "Commemoration, Race, and World War II: History and Civil Rights at the Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site." American Studies Journal, no. 59 (2015): American Studies Journal, 01 May 2015, Issue 59.

[344] Phillips, *War! What Is It Good For?*, 22-23.

[345] Langford Tabb, interviewed by author, April 3, 2019. Some of the Tuskegee Airmen did die; the lack of deaths was a myth. Daniel L. Haulman, "The Tuskegee Airmen and the 'Never Lost a Bomber' Myth," *The Alabama Review* 64, no. 1 (2011): 30+. *Literature Resource Center* (accessed April 9, 2019). http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A249797667/LitRC?u=viva_wm&sid=LitRC&xid=426404ae.

[346] Phillips, *War! What Is It Good For?*, 24.

"They were treated like hell stateside."[347] Phillips reveals that the mistreatment of Negro soldiers was common during the war and after the war; they returned to "segregation and lived on the margins of full citizenship."[348] Tabb echoed this same sentiment of returning back to segregation after fighting for freedom. A quotation Phillips shares that best captured Negro soldiers experience is: "Here lies a black man who died fighting a yellow man for the protection of the white man."[349] Moreover, Phillips discusses how World War II led to "indiscriminate and systematic violence against its own citizens."[350]

Returning to the Verónica Nelson's story about her grandfather, he experienced post-traumatic stress disorder in the middle of segregation. Additional descendants expressed similar negative views towards the Second World War. In an interview with Carlon Lassiter, he provided the following remarks:

Author: How do you all feel about World War II?

Carlon Lassiter: Can I be honest with you. Now that it has some relevancy to us. Because they never taught anything that was relevant to us. Now we know that and can identify with it and hear the stories. We were never able to identify or personify our people having an effect on who we are and where we came from. I didn't care about WW2 because I was never able to identify with it. I knew my grandfather was buried, served and got a flag. But other than that, we never knew how it directly affected us.[351]

Lassiter's comments elucidate a generational perspective about the war and the military. In comparison Vietnam veteran Tabb was very familiar with the Second World War and identified some benefits of serving in the military. He discussed how those who were honorably discharged

[347] Langford Tabb, interviewed by author, April 3, 2019.
[348] Phillips, *War! What Is It Good For?*, 13.
[349] Phillips, *War! What Is It Good For?*, 12.
[350] Phillips, *War! What Is It Good For?*, 8.
[351] Carlon Lassiter, interviewed by author, February 15, 2019.

received the GI Bill and learned a trade or went to college. Lassiter highlighted how his generation was not even aware of how World War II directly affected them. His comments were also made in the context of Lassiter discovered that the war was the reason his family lost their land. Therefore, he recognized the drastically negative effects of World War II.

US Took Land All Over the World during WWII

The taking of Magruder during WWII was part of a global trend in which the United States dispossessed non-Whites throughout the country and around the world. America took land outside of the United States with creation of the five "highways." Friedman describes them as follows:

> One ran across the North Atlantic from Maine through Iceland to Britain. One stretched across the South Atlantic from Miami or West Palm Beach through the Caribbean to Brazil, Ascension Island, Africa and then on to India and China, to Russia or as far as the Philippines. One went from Minneapolis or Seattle across the North Pacific and Canada through Alaska and the Aleutians. Two travelled from San Francisco, Port Hueneme or San Diego across the South Pacific to the Solomon Islands, the Philippines and, eventually, Okinawa (a central route with Hawaii and the Marshall or Mariana islands as an axis, and one up from the south with Samoa, Noumea, Espiritu Santo and Port Moresby as an axis, although the stops on all the routes varied). To the five highways of World War II, the centre of the globe was Kunming (or at different times, Calcutta, Brisbane, or Leyte), the place where the Atlantic and Pacific highways met.[352]

Friedman goes on to explain how in making these highways the United States took the land using the same blueprint that European settler colonialists did in the seventeenth century. They

[352] Friedman, "US Empire, World War 2 and the Racialisation of Labour," 26.

followed the same routes that previous colonists had traveled.[353] The United States promoted the acquisition of land as a part of the battle; they were taking over the "enemy's" territory.[354] After they displaced the Indigenous population from their land, they then forced them to work. "They carried, dug, crushed, levelled, graded, cleared, drained, loaded, unloaded and built. They constructed runways, air-strips, hard-standing areas, roads, causeways, piers and docks."[355]

Simultaneously, the government was building additional military installations around the country dispossessing rural and Black and Brown communities around the to do so. Whether it was the government's intentional plan to conceal their actions or there was some other reason, little evidence has been preserved that might help us understand these events in history.[356] Due to the lack of evidence, a definitive claim cannot be made about the number of dispossessed locations or the characteristics of those communities from which the military chose to take land. The stories I did find were in scattered locations such as several documents at Atlanta's National Archives, a few random websites, and the history of military bases that I could access.[357] From the available information I found that the United States displaced communities from at least nineteen states and twenty-five locations for various military operations.[358] What could be verified in going through these examples was that in each case the community affected was Black or Brown or in a rural location. Sadly, several Indigenous groups were displaced from

[353] Ibid.
[354] Ibid.
[355] Ibid, 27.
[356] I could not find one source that provided a list of all of the bases that were created during World War II.
[357] Claudia Reinhardt and Bill Ganzel, "Rural Bases: Farming in the 1940s," https://livinghistoryfarm.org/farminginthe40s/life_09.html
[358] I searched in the National Archives, the Army's and Navy's websites, military installations individual websites and additional databases that tracked the development of military installations such as https://nativeamericannetroots.net/. I also examined secondary sources such as *Building the Navy's Bases in World War II* by U.S. Navy Seabee Museum.

their own reservations. Seventy-eight miles north of Magruder, a large population was dislodged when making Fort A. P. Hill.[359]

The process by which a branch (Army, Navy etc.) took the land was identical in all the takings I discovered. A dispossession in New Mexico by the Army was researched by Malcolm Ebright and Richard Salazar who wrote "Hispanic Homesteaders on the Pajarito Plateau: An Unconstitutional Taking of Property at Los Alamos 1942-1945." Ebright and Salazar detailed how the Army took the Los Alamos site for the Manhattan Project in order to build a nuclear weapon. Just like Magruder, instead of Negro and Indigenous peoples' land being taken, it was Hispanic homesteaders and Indigenous land being taken. The taking of Los Alamos and Magruder along with other predominantly Black and Brown sites raised the question: Did the government choose them because of race? Informed by scholars on race and space, the answer is yes.

These scholars have convincingly argued for the direct linking of race and space. The works of St. Claire Drake and Horace Cayton, Robert Bullard, George Lipsitz, john a. powell and a host of other scholars have reveal that race has been spatialized and space has been racialized.[360] In addition to what I described in the introduction, scholars of race and space have explained the ways in which human choices and structural forces created particular racialized spaces and how these spaces were "racialized" in the sense that they were shaped by dehumanizing living conditions or did not enable access to upward mobility and a better quality

[359] This is a good example to discuss evidence. Through a chat board "Lincoln Discussion Symposium," http://rogerjnorton.com/LincolnDiscussionSymposium/thread-1977.html I found a report entitled "Wealthy in Heart: An Oral History of Life Before Fort A. P. Hill." This oral history project was initiated by Fort A.P. Hill and conducted by oral historians and faculty from Bowling Green about the Army's taking of land in Caroline County. "Wealthy in Heart" did not provide a breakdown of the racial demographics of the county. My discovery of this report on a message board and its lack of focus on race made clear how difficult it was to find evidence on the dispossessions in America and around the world.

[360] *The Black Metropolis in the Twenty-First Century: Race, Power, and Politics of Place,* ed. by Robert D. Bullard (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007). George Lipsitz, *How Racism Takes Place* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2011).

of life. Racialized spaces and spatializing race were (and still are) phenomena in cities and towns around the country. The following scholars research race and space in these perspective locations: Drake and Cayton in Chicago, George Lipsitz and Clarissa Hayward in St. Louis,[361] Robert Bullard in Atlanta,[362] Beverly Wright in New Orleans,[363] and Mark Fleisher in Champaign, Illinois.[364] Additional scholars have studied race and space from different angles, such as Richard Rothstein who studied government policy's role in racializing space.[365] This mass of scholarship makes clear that (from slavery, Reconstruction and the turn of the twentieth century) laws, racial steering, redlining, restrictive covenants, destruction of buildings, sprawl, spatial mismatch, and later in the twentieth century globalization created Negro spaces. These Negro spaces meant that, according to powell, "one's spatial position—certain neighborhoods and housing determines education, health, employment, and social mobility—determines their access to rights in America."[366] Therefore, we first must consider the history of predominately Negro and Brown communities the military dispossessed during World War II. This history and the scholars of race and space reveal how White leaders and decision makers felt about Negro and Brown people and spaces. Since most White leaders in all these aforementioned situations

[361] George Lipsitz, *How Racism Takes Place* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2011) and Clarissa Rile Hayward, *How Americans Make Race: Stories, Institutions, Spaces*, 1st edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[362] Robert D. Bullard, ed., *The Black Metropolis in the Twenty-First Century: Race, Power, And Politics Of Place* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007).

[363] Beverly H. Wright and Robert D. Bullard "Black New Orleans: Before and After Hurricane Katrina," in *The Black Metropolis in the Twenty-First Century: Race, Power, And Politics Of Place* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007) 173-198.

[364] Mark S. Fleisher, *Living Black: Social Life in an African American Neighborhood* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2015).

[365] Richard Rothstein, The *Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2018) and Peter Moskowitz, *How to Kill a City: Gentrification, Inequality and the Fight for the Neighborhood* (New York: Nation Books, 2017).

[366] john powell, "Structural Racism and Spatial Jim Crow," *The Black Metropolis in the Twenty-First Century: Race, Power, and Politics of Place,* ed. by Robert D. Bullard (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007).

perpetuated White Supremacy in their racialization of space, why would military officials during World War II act any differently?

Why Magruder?

Hope Wynne-Carter visited Camp Peary and during her visit, Wynne-Carter discovered: "there's been talk about why this particular tract of land was taken."[367] Wynne-Carter's discovery highlighted the ongoing discussion within the Navy and the descendant community. In addition to the well-known perspective that the Navy choose this land because it was predominately Negro, what stood out to her was "just the fact that particular conversation came up."[368] The comments were made by the public relations officer and, according to Wynne-Carter, this speculation highlighted that the current Navy personnel also suspected that the land was taken because of the population.[369] If this was not a possibility, then the public relations officer would not have even discussed this with the visitors.

The Navy did leave some traces in their records regarding why they ostensibly chose Magruder as the site of their training ground, but the overwhelming evidence points to Magruder being a predominantly Negro and rural community. As scholars of race and space have illustrated, the Navy recognized Magruder as a "Negro space." With this in mind, they were more likely to take this land than other lands. In all the takings I found, the Navy or the Army surveyed multiple locations before they chose the site. In the Los Alamos case, they could have chosen Oak City, Utah, a predominantly White town "but rejected it when he realized 'if we took over this area we would evict several dozen families and we would also take a large amount of

[367] Hope Wynne-Carter, interviewed by author, April 4, 2019.
[368] Hope Wynne-Carter, interviewed by author, April 4, 2019.
[369] Hope Wynne-Carter, interviewed by author, April 4, 2019.

farm acreage out of production."[370] While recognizing the branch differences between the Army and the Navy, their views of Black and Brown folks were similar. In Magruder's situation, the Navy vaguely indicated that they had investigated an area in North Carolina.[371] The Navy either sanitized the records or did not record their findings about the location in North Carolina. In September of 1942, there was correspondence that indicated one hundred colored families would be displaced from Magruder, demonstrating that the Navy was aware that Magruder was a Negro community and space.[372]

The *Washington Post* reported on September 23, 1942 that the Navy chose "the Williamsburg site" because of "the wild nature of the country, which will give the Seabees an opportunity to train under conditions similar to which they would meet in establishing advanced bases far beyond the continental limits of the United States."[373] Their explanation aligned with the reason the Navy gave Magruder's inhabitants:

> This place was chosen for its many natural advantages: deep water on one side, and a railroad and State highway on the other, a potential water supply which could be easily developed, some ground which was flat and well-drained for living quarters, and some ground nearby which was rough and rugged which could be used for training.[374]

The Navy presented their side of the story as the best location for training but never provided comparative details about the North Carolina area. Moreover, rural spaces that had a water supply, flat ground, and the right type of terrain for training were plentiful during this time. They could have chosen a suitable location from the unspecified location in North Carolina all the way

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[370] Malcolm Ebright and Richard Salazar, *Hispanic Homesteaders on the Pajarito Plateau: An Unconstitutional Taking of Property at Los Alamos 1942–1945* (2007).

[371] Carl W. Porter, "Citizens of Magruder Area," December 10, 1942.

[372] F.A. Mason, in correspondence with John J. Courtney, September 30, 1942.

[373] Associated Press, "Navy Builds Station Near Williamsburg" *The Washington Post 1923-1954* (September 23, 1942), https://proxy.wm.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/151538122?accountid=15053.

[374] Navy's Letter to the Citizens of Magruder, December 10, 1942.

up the eastern shore. A congressional hearing revealed why they may not have fully disclosed the Navy's choice of Magruder because they did not "want the world to know all about where they are establishing these various shore establishments."[375] They still chose a Negro space, not only in Magruder but on other continents.

The Navy's Process of Taking

The Navy's steps for officially taking land in general and the Magruder land in particular dates to the First World War. On July 2, 1917, Congress passed "An Act To authorize condemnation proceedings of lands for military purposes," which set both the legal precedent and pragmatic steps to take over land during wartime. This act stated:

> That hereafter the Secretary of War may cause proceedings to be instituted in the name of the United States, in any court having jurisdiction of such proceedings for the acquirement by condemnation of any land, temporary use thereof or other interest therein, or right pertaining thereto, needed for the site, location, construction, or prosecution of works for fortifications, coast defenses, and military training camps, such proceedings to be prosecuted in accordance with the laws relating to suits for the condemnation of property of the States wherein the proceedings may be instituted.[376]

After Hitler's invasion of Austria, in the "late 1930s," "more than $9,000,000,000 both within the continental limits of the United States and at advance bases" was allotted to naval public works.[377] Then, on July 2, 1940, Congress passed an act "To expedite the strengthening of the

[375] Committee on Naval Affairs, "Hearing on H.R. 5312 to Authorize the Secretary of the Navy to Proceed with the Construction of Certain Public Works, and for Other Purposes" (H.R. 5312, 1941).

[376] *Congressional Serial Set* (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1917), 447.

[377] "Building the Navy's Bases in World War II," accessed March 14, 2018, http://www.ibiblio.org/hyperwar/NHC/bases/bases-1.htm. I also would like to highlight that this money was for advanced bases outside of the United States, which strengthens the argument that the US was intentionally trying to expand its empire in the countries across which they built the highways.

national defense," which showed the Navy's preparation for fighting even before Pearl Harbor. After the bombing at Pearl Harbor and the Declaration of War on December 8, 1941, Congress began hearings for the Second War Powers Act in January of 1942 directly after the First War Powers Act was passed on December 17, 1941.[378] The Second War Powers Act was passed March 27, 1942. Title II "Acquisition and Disposition of Property" of the Second War Powers Act applied directly to the Navy's dispossession of Magruder and the development of Camp Peary. It built on the Acts of July 2, 1917 and July 2, 1940 and added: "Upon or after the filing of the condemnation petition, immediate possession may be taken and the property may be occupied, used, and improved for the purposes of this Act, notwithstanding any other law. ... prior to the approval of title by the Attorney General."[379]

The first action these acts enacted was to implement proceedings for the legal acquisition by condemnation of land in the district courts. The Navy could then file the condemnation petition in the district in which the land was located. Through these Acts and after the filing of the condemnation petition, the Navy legally owned the land. Therefore, the United States and the Navy legally dispossessed land without any care or concern for those on that land. The only thing tenants could do was get out.

Two streams of actions happened at the same time; while Congress was deliberating and setting the legal actions for the takings, the Navy was surveying areas to take. Congress passed two additional acts that enabled the Navy to acquire land: on April 28, 1942, "An Act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes," and on August 6, 1942 another Act by the same name. These Acts

[378] House Committee on the Judiciary, "Second War Powers Act, 1942" (United States Congress, January 30, 1942), https://congressional.proquest.com/congressional/docview/t29.d30.hrg-1942-hjh-0001?accountid=15053.

[379] House Committee on the Judiciary, "Second War Powers Act, 1942" (United States Congress, January 30, 1942), https://congressional.proquest.com/congressional/docview/t29.d30.hrg-1942-hjh-0001?accountid=15053.

empowered the Navy to construct public works, which included "buildings, facilities, accessories, and services."[380]

The Navy already had two camps responsible for training recruits: Construction Battalion Training Camp in Norfolk, and a camp at Davisville, Rhode Island. The camp at Norfolk only allowed the Navy to train twelve thousand men, whereas at the new one they could potentially train twenty-four thousand. The combination of a new camp and the one at Davisville would have allowed the Navy to train one thousand and seventy men every day.[381] Based on a letter written by Admiral Ben Moreell on August 28, 1942,[382] the Navy identified the "Penniman Tract" to build the additional facility. Therefore, the Penniman Tract was selected sometime between March 27, 1942 (Second War Powers Act) and August 28, 1942. Also, they originally identified the area as Penniman Tract.

With the land still being identified as the Penniman Tract, sometime between July and August of 1942 at the latest, Commander Carl W. Porter and Albert J. Rissman, "In Charge Section of Appraisals and Negotiations," visited York County and started talking with the residents.[383] In a phone call between Porter and Lieutenant Commander F. Mason about housing for the Negroes being dispossessed, Porter claimed that there were "approximately 100 colored families" and they could potentially use the Civilian Conservation Camp (C. C. C.) at Surrender Field, Yorktown. Rissman created a map and started identifying landowners by tracts. He reported this information to "Mr. Murphy and Mr. Kessler of the Navy Department in

[380] "An Act to Authorize the Secretary of the Navy to Proceed with the Construction of Certain Public Works, and for Other Purposes.," April 28, 1942, https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/77th-congress/session-2/c77s2ch250.pdf.

[381] Ben Moreell, "Training Facilities for Construction Battalion," August 28, 1942.

[382] In much of the correspondence, the date of record was often several weeks to a month after the event or visit. In this situation, for example, a member of the Navy had to go to the site, look at and assess the suitability of the area, correspond with Admiral Moreell, and then send the letter.

[383] The only title I could find for Albert J Rissman was "In Charge Section of Appraisals and Negotiations" in a letter to Mr. P Jones on September 21, 1942.

Washington."[384] Therefore, by around August of 1942, the Navy knew they had around one hundred Negro families to relocate and defined the first twelve tracts as tracts 101 to 112.

Explanation of the Three Takings

Now that the Navy had identified the exact location to be seized employing Acts of Congress, they selected a contractor, the Byrne Organization of Dallas, Texas, who signed the contract on August 29, 1942.[385] On September 8, 1942, they filed "United States of America vs. 4,500 Acres of Land, more or less in York County, Virginia, Colonial Monumental Estates, Inc. et al.," at the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia. Magruder was located in this district and the Navy originally took four thousand and five hundred acres of land from Magruder residents and from Colonial Monumental Estates, Inc. Colonial Monumental Estates, Inc. was real estate company that handled the property of seven White landowners and the Chesapeake Corporation from West Point, Virginia. According to Title II, the Navy owned the land on September 8, the same day they filed the condemnation proceeding, because the Act gave them and not the landowner the rights to the land. As a result, Porter told Moreell that "preliminary construction work was started on September 8, 1942 and property survey were under way."[386] This correspondence also included the identification of Magruder and not just the Penniman Tract.

The four thousand five hundred acres the Navy took was not sufficient land to train the necessary number of men. On September 18, 1942, Commander Porter told Chief Moreell that they had made their estimation using a geological map and "in advance of any plot layouts for

[384] Albert J. Rissman in correspondence with Mr. P. Jones, September 21, 1942.

[385] Public Works Depart of the Navy, "Brief of Noy 5779 taken from Technical Report follows: Architect Engineer Contract Noy 5776," August 29, 1942

[386] C. W. Porter, "Acquisition of Property Near Penniman and Magruder, Virginia as Site for Additional Facilities for Naval Construction Training Center," September 10, 1942

buildings and unit grouping."[387] Basically, after they started building on the ground, they realized that they needed an additional three hundred and sixty acres. They followed the same procedure as before and on October 22, 1942, they filed a condemnation proceeding "United States of America vs. 360 Acres of Land, more or less in York County, Virginia and York County et al.," at the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia.

Several months later, the Navy realized that they needed even more land, but the process was a little different this time. They requested five thousand five hundred acres of land in order to expand Camp Peary from twenty battalions to forty battalions. When they went to file the condemnation proceedings at the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, Judge Luther B. Way did not automatically grant them the land. Judge Way was aware of the two previous dispossessions and "the hardship which was worked on the former occupants of the land."[388] He granted the Navy the land as long as they made provisions for all the residents being dispossessed by ensuring they were properly notified, received as much time as they needed to leave, and they were properly taken care of after being dispossessed.[389] Judge Way gave them possession of the land on December 9, 1942.

In the following map, the Navy marked out the location of the three takings. They included this map in the notice "Citizens of Magruder," sent December 10, 1942. I marked and labeled the First Taking blue over the original map. I also marked and labeled the Second Taking red over the original map. The remainder of the outline in black from the original map was their planned Third Taking.

[387] C.W. Porter, in correspondence with Ben Moreell, September 18, 1942.
[388] Lt. Commander Agnew, "Memorandum for the Files," December 9, 1942.
[389] Ibid.

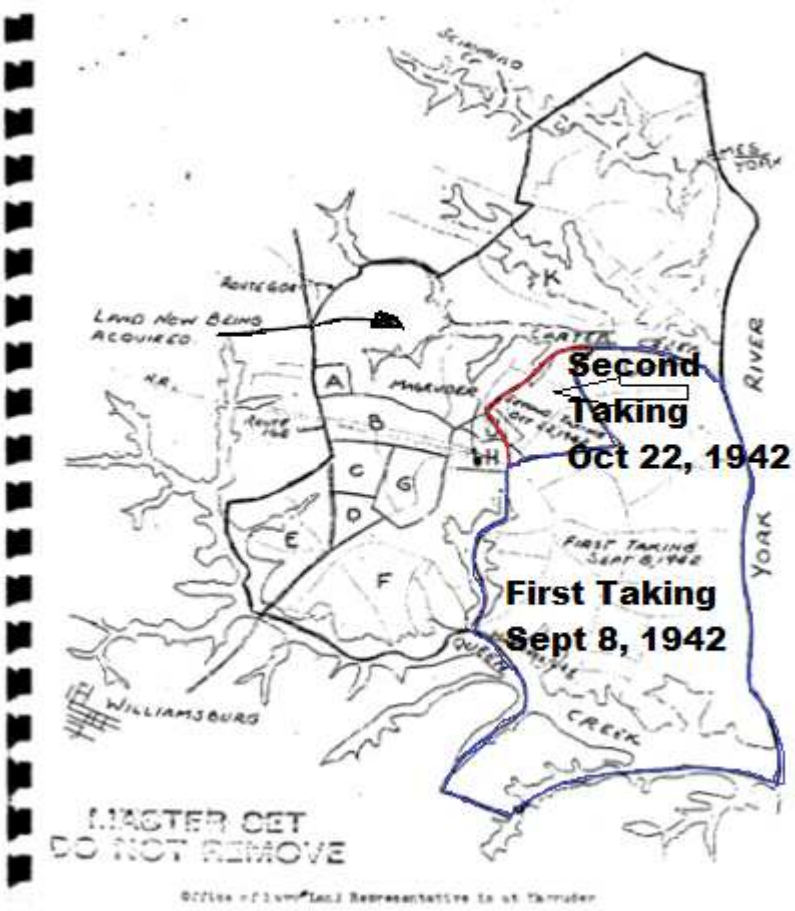


Fig 7. Navy's Map of Takings, "Citizens of Magruder," December 10, 1942, National Archives, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers (Record Group 77).

Justification of Taking

These later criteria set by Judge Way highlighted the Navy's poor handling of the previous dispossessions. The very first place the Secretary of the Navy, Chief of the Bureau of the Navy, and the heads of other service branches went wrong at was their initial discussions in January of 1942. During these hearings, which eventually led to the approval of the Second War Powers Act, they did not discuss the effects of their actions on the local populations. Therefore, it was not clear whether Congress was aware of the numerous dispossessions that would take place around the world as a result of this Act. One isolated taking might not have made a big

difference, but multiple dispossessions of local populations in twenty states, multiple islands, and multiple continents changes the picture entirely. The legal precedent set for the takings did not take into account the effects of such widespread dispossession, and this was also a reason why Judge Way objected to what was to happen at Magruder.

Indigenous populations appeared to be invisible to the decision makers of the Navy. On September 11, 1942 M. H. Simons, Commandant, Fifth Naval District wrote to the Chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks, John J. Courtney:

> Irrespective of all of the precautions which have been and are being taken and the efforts made to cooperate with the present occupants of the property, a considerable hardship will be involved, particularly in the case of tenant farmers, many of whom have resided on the property for many years. The area is in the vicinity of Williamsburg, Virginia, and is on the site of the first English settlement here. Undoubtedly, some of the present occupants reside on properties held by their ancestors for many generations.[390]

This makes it patently clear that the Navy knew about the history of the area and what that likely meant to the families living there. They were aware that this was going to be hard on the Negroes in Magruder. They knew how important that land was to Negro families who had received it from their ancestors. They were aware of slavery and had to have had some idea that these Negroes must have been free if the land were passed down to them. Simons wrote the above comment to Courtney on September 11, which meant that they still had time to come to a final decision before they dispossessed the families. Yet despite the candor of the letter, they did not change their minds and took the land without regard for persons.

The Navy dispossessed Magruder based on the legal precedent of the Second War Powers Act and their intentional willfulness in dispossessing Negro families of whose history

[390] M.H. Simons, in correspondence with John J. Courtney, September 11, 1942.

they had some information. These facts were important because of the misinformation that had spread. Several family members, descendants, and those who were aware of the story were told that eminent domain was the justification used for their removal. William Wallace was correct in his interview when he said the war was being used as an excuse to take the land.[391] In Rev. James Tabb's interview, he said that it was called the "Camp Perry Experimental Station."[392] Mr. Wallace and Rev. Tabb described the Navy's actions: the Navy experimented with Negroes' lives and used the war as an excuse.

Notification

The Navy's lack of care for Negroes in Magruder was also evident in how they notified residents of the pending dispossession. The oral traditions about being dispossessed gave different narratives about when the residents were notified and when they moved. Rev. Archibald F. Ward captured in his sermon at Williamsburg Baptist church how residents experienced being notified. He preached:

> First of all, the people hear rumors, then they see the surveyors, then the construction gangs come in, and finally notice is served on the owners to move out. One family was notified on the thirteenth of a month to be out on the fifteenth. Ten to fifteen days seems to be the usual amount of notice given.[393]

Since there were three takings and Judge Way ordered the Navy to give the residents adequate time to move, the notifications were different for each taking. A memorandum to Commander Porter, December 3, 1942 laid out the number of families, by race, for each taking. On the first

[391] William Wallace, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, June 17, 2010.

[392] James Tabb Sr., "Oral History Interview," *James City County Oral History Project* (James City County, VA: James City County Historical Commission, 1984).

[393] Reverend Archibald F. Ward, from a sermon delivered at Williamsburg Baptist Church, November 15, 1942. Archibald F. Ward, Jr. Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

one, that started September 8, 1942, twenty-one White families and eighty-six Negro families were dispossessed. On the second taking, October 22, 1942, only four White families were dispossessed. During the third one, on December 9, 1942 twenty-five White families and twenty-five Negro families were dispossessed.[394]

The first time the Navy dispossessed around one hundred families, they did not have a clear plan and many of their actions were afterthoughts. The first group was notified by word of mouth. Commander Porter either spoke to the residents individually about their ability to move or someone who reported to him did so.[395] The problem with the individual communication was that the Navy did not tell the complete truth to the residents. David Powers, for instance, was told that his land would not be taken; then, one day, he noticed bulldozers and wires on his land.[396] After construction started, they realized that the residents living there were slowing down the process. As a result of the residents being in the way, and after speaking with them, the Navy realized that they needed to provide housing for those being moved.[397] Commander Porter then reached out to the Civilian Conservation Camp (C.C.C.) at the College of William & Mary about the Negro families moving over there.[398] This process happened in September because it was after construction started on September 8.

The haphazard steps taken by the Navy led to the construction company occupying Magruder and the residents receiving the late notice. Their door-to-door process did not automatically mean that they notified everyone, and they did not have an accurate account of the residents. The Navy's process affirmed the stories from the former residents and the sermon by

[394] The Navy based these numbers on landowners and not necessarily those who were living on Magruder. I discussed in chapter 3 how many of the White families owned land on Magruder but did not actually live in Magruder.

[395] C.W. Porter, in correspondence with John J. Courtney, September 30, 1942.

[396] James Latimer, "People Living at Magruder Tell of their Grievances About Navy Land Seizures," *Richmond Times Dispatch* (Richmond, VA), 1942.

[397] F.A. Mason, in correspondence with John J. Courtney, September 30, 1942.

[398] F.A. Mason, in correspondence with John J. Courtney, September 30, 1942.

Rev. Ward. Since the "construction of Camp Peary can really get into production" after the residents moved, that meant the contractors were already present and doing work. That was how the "bulldozers shook people's houses."[399] If Commander Porter missed someone in his notification and the contractors were trying to meet a deadline, then that could explain how a resident received unusually short notice to vacate.

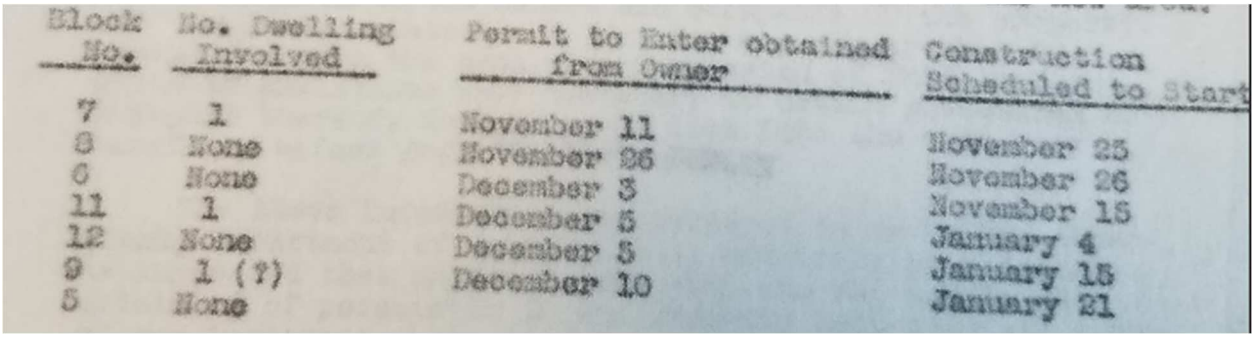
The Navy did not make any changes for the second taking, and the situation became worse. In addition to the overwhelming presence of construction equipment and late notices, construction workers started going on to Magruder residents' property without the Navy's knowledge. On December 8, 1942, Commander Porter wrote: "Additional reports are being received that contractors are entering private properties for construction purposes at Camp Peary without first obtaining permission of the owners."[400] The Navy, by way of the contractors, took away the owners' privacy and infiltrated their land. These were the actions that Judge Way condemned and led to changes for the third taking.

In response to Judge Way's orders, the Navy had a plan for the third taking. By the time the Navy prepared for the third taking, the situation was much different from the first. They had occupied Magruder for four months by then. The Navy had a better understanding of the landscape and the exact land needs for training the Seabees. Mr. Horton lived on the land, which meant they had a more accurate understanding of the population than when they first started. Coupled with Judge Way's directives, the Navy developed a better plan to notify the residents.

Unlike the first two times, on December 10, 1942, the Navy sent out a notice to the residents indicating they "were authorized to build a camp in which to train the Construction

[399] Jean Taylor Edlow, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, May 2010.
[400] C. W. Porter, "Treatment of Magruder Residents," December 8, 1942

Battalions (Seabees)."[401] They planned when to contact each family, counted the number of family members in each house, obtained their permission to move them, and based on their feedback scheduled when they could start construction.



Block No.	No. Dwelling Involved	Permit to Enter obtained from Owner	Construction Scheduled to Start
7	1	November 11	November 25
8	None	November 26	November 26
6	None	December 3	November 15
11	1	December 5	January 4
12	None	December 5	January 15
9	1 (?)	December 10	January 21
5	None		

Fig 8. Navy's Move out Plan for Residents, National Archives, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers (Record Group 77)

The Navy started communicating with each resident during the first part of November 1942. Some residents were ready to move before others. Those who lived on what the Navy identified as "Block 5" were not ready to move out until late January 1943. While the process of notification was smoother the third time, it did not mitigate the Navy's injustice of dispossessing Magruder. The Navy did not pay for new property or the relocation of dispossessed Magruder residents.

Magruder and Supporter Response

Anger and Violation

"They were disgusted," Daniel Johnson made this remark when asked about when they had to move.[402] Brian Palmer, when recounting the story to me, angrily expressed that his father

[401] Public Works Department, Addressed to: "Citizens of the Magruder Area" (Norfolk, Virginia: Naval Operating Base, December 10, 1942). This explained why there was only one letter sent out even though there were three takings.

[402] Daniel Johnson, interviewed by author, October 10, 2018.

"never got over it."[403] During the interview with William Wallace, Edith Heard asked him if he was angry. She cautiously asked the question because, even though her family was not dispossessed from Magruder, they were removed when the Navy created the Weapon's Station. Heard was fully aware of the pain, anger, and violation of being dispossessed. After she asked the question, the room became quiet. Mr. Wallace calmly remarked: "There was, there was. There wasn't much you can do after that."[404] His short response conveyed the weight of the situation. His hesitancy to speak spoke volumes. His statement illustrated a sense of powerlessness. The United States of America, a nation going to war with battalions of soldiers and bombs, told him and the other Negroes living on Magruder they had to go. What could Negroes living in Magruder have told a Navy and construction workers with forklifts and bulldozers?[405]

Negroes living in Magruder were upset about a plethora of issues. In addition to bulldozers shaking their houses and the short notification to move, they were losing all that was a part of their land. For the descendants of the free Negroes, they lost land that had been in their family for centuries. The community created memories with each other and individually in their families. Moreover, the process was oppressive and full of uncertainty. The Navy coming to Magruder was a surprise; being told to move was another surprise. Another major component of the taking that disturbed the residents was the rumor of what might happen next. The three different takings happened at unregulated and sporadic times which meant that the families of the second and third takings did not know when they would be forced to leave. They had to deal

[403] Brian Palmer, interviewed by author, April 5, 2019.

[404] William Wallace, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard July 17, 2010.

[405] The exact feelings of those who were dispossessed is hard to capture. Mr. Wallace was one of the few still alive during the time of the interviews who also remember being moved out. The earliest interviews were conducted in 1984 by James City County and they did not ask specifically about residents' response to the Navy making them move. By 2010 and 2018 when the next set of interviews took place, those who were old enough to remember details were no longer living. Therefore, the only access to their reactions is through the stories that were shared with the younger family members and the descendants.

with the stress of this uncertainty in addition to enduring the trauma of the government coming to take their land.

Protest

Although Negroes in Magruder felt powerless, they still fought back. White and Negro residents protested on the land. White Magruder resident, David Powers, told the Richmond Times Dispatch that he immediately went to the boss of the construction workers about the construction's damaging of property and they responded with "ugly talk" and empty promises.[406] Negroes who stayed at their homes, "with shotgun in hand," and declared they would not leave until they received their money.[407] Lewis Palmer "negotiated hard and did not leave the land until they had check in their hand."[408] Brian Palmer shared that his grandfather was one of the last families to leave in 1943.[409] William Wallace believed that Magruder residents went to Washington to protest the taking.[410] Descendant Burnell Irby indicated that his family had already moved to Washington D. C. before the dispossession, and those family members wrote to the government in protest against the taking.[411] Wallace did not provide a name, but a government official stated that the government would do an investigation the next time an entire community was wiped out.[412] Wallace and the other residents of Magruder who went to

[406] James Latimer, "People Living at Magruder Tell of their Grievances About Navy Land Seizures," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, 1942. Mr. Powers was White, but I would imagine that his was a response similar to that of other residents.

[407] Hope Wynn Carter interviewed by author, April 10, 2019.

[408] Brian Palmer, interviewed by author, April 5, 2019.

[409] Brian Palmer, interviewed by author, April 5, 2019.

[410] William Wallace, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard July 17, 2010.

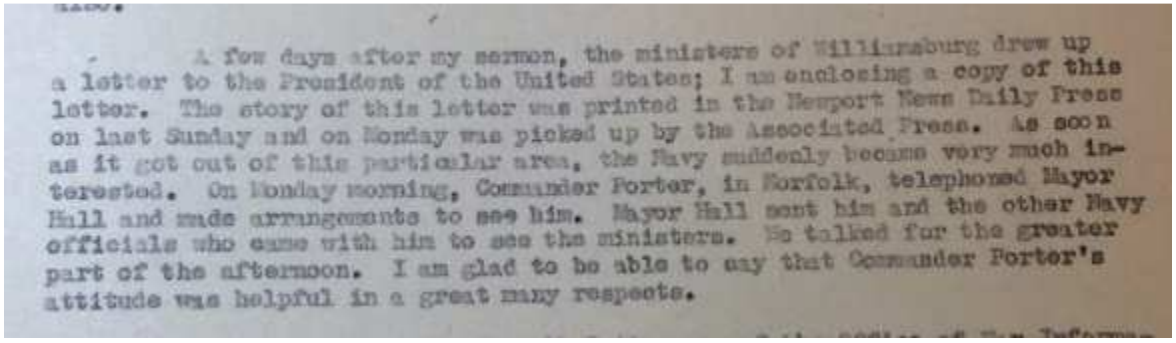
[411] Burnell Irby, interviewed by author, February 9, 2019.

[412] William Wallace, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard July 17, 2010.

Washington protested against taking the land, but the Williamsburg supporters only protested the process by which the Navy took the land.[413]

The Williamsburg Ministerial Union led the charge in protesting how Magruder residents were treated during the dispossession. They created a petition and sent it around Williamsburg for people to sign.[414] The petition had three main points:

> That the people be notified in a decent and courteous manner, and in ample time, if they must move out of their homes.
>
> That the process of appraisal be accelerated to enable the people to meet urgent financial needs.
>
> That immediate provisions be made for the housing of those who are being put out of their homes.[415]



A few days after my sermon, the ministers of Williamsburg drew up a letter to the President of the United States; I am enclosing a copy of this letter. The story of this letter was printed in the Newport News Daily Press on last Sunday and on Monday was picked up by the Associated Press. As soon as it got out of this particular area, the Navy suddenly became very much interested. On Monday morning, Commander Porter, in Norfolk, telephoned Mayor Hall and made arrangements to see him. Mayor Hall sent him and the other Navy officials who came with him to see the ministers. We talked for the greater part of the afternoon. I am glad to be able to say that Commander Porter's attitude was helpful in a great many respects.

Fig 9. Rev. Archibald Ward Letter to Mr. Nelson A. Rockefeller [416]

The ministers involved included Rev. Ward, who preached the aforementioned sermon at Williamsburg Baptist church, and Rev. Charles Pratt. They sent this letter along with the signed

[413] William Wallace, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard July 17, 2010. Wallace's statement about the protest in D.C. informed my interview question about Magruder residents protesting in Washington D. C..

[414] "Williamsburg Protest Based on Method: Land Seizures Rights Not Disputed," *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (Richmond, VA), November 24, 1942.

[415] Williamsburg Ministerial Union, "Letter to the President," November 22, 1942.

[416] Rev. Archibald Ward letter to Mr. Nelson A. Rockefeller, Coordinator of Inter-American Fairs, November 26, 1942

petition[417] on November 22, 1942 to President Roosevelt and "Governor Darden, Senator Glass, Senator Byrd and Representatives Bland and Satterfield."[418] Their contention regarding the inhumane treatment of Magruder residents showed that they believed the injustice was not just done to Magruder residents' property but also to their humanity.[419] Wrapped within their perspective of human rights was their concern for the lack of shelter for people who were once homeowners; as expressed in item three of the petition.

Problems with Moving

Particularly for the Negroes of Magruder, the short notice, living in the Jim Crow South and losing the only establishment they had post slavery, made moving difficult. Many of the White residents did not have this problem because although they owned land in Magruder, they lived elsewhere. I have argued that identifying Negroes who were farmers and oysterman as "poor" was not an accurate assessment because of their ability to utilize the land to harvest their own crops, sell what they harvested and share with their relatives. But in this particular instance, this group did not have the financial resources to move immediately into a new house. One newspaper article discussed how a Negro who asked for help moving "was told by a government representative that he would be helped, only later to be told by the same man that the government was not in the moving business."[420] The Navy was still in the process of securing housing at the CCC camps when Negroes were being forced to move. The uncoordinated and lackluster effort

[417] The newspaper articles, archival files on Rev. Ward or the Navy's documents did not provide the number of signatures the ministers were able to gather.

[418] "Land Grabbing by Navy Denounced," *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg, VA), November 22, 1942.

[419] The Williamsburg Ministerial Union complicated this depiction because in their letter to the president, they still supported the Second World War as sufficient justification for dispossessing the residents of Magruder. Their contention was with how the Navy dispossessed the residents. Complete support by the ministers would have displayed discontent with the entire process, demanded the Navy took land somewhere else or, worst case scenario, question the cost of war.

[420] James Latimer "Say Different Things," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, November 29, 1942.

the Navy invested in notifying and providing housing for Magruder residents heightened the blow of dispossession of Negroes from Magruder.

Conclusion

R. B. Gilliam, a White male Magruder resident, said that he did not leave for some time; "they let me live in my house," and asked him to join the Seabees.[421] Negroes in Magruder did not experience the same fate as Mr. Gilliam, and in 1942 right in the middle of World War II, that was never an options for Negroes. The descendant community's indifference towards the war was an indication of their lack of commitment to the American nationalism that was being propagated during WWII. Why would they celebrate this country? Why would a group of people support a war that dispossessed their families? The Navy did not tell Congress that Magruder was predominantly Negro; they chose Magruder and none of the other locations they scouted; they cared less about the lives of Negroes living in Magruder as evidenced by their lack of planning to remove them; and then they failed to provide assistance in moving a group of Negroes who they knew had nowhere else to go.

Most telling about the Navy's actions was their acknowledgment that the land had been with the families for generations. This raised the level of potency in tearing apart the lives of Negroes in Magruder. Katherine McKittrick's fascinating book, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle* illuminates the ways in which this taking of land from Negroes in Magruder was a form oppression done directly to their bodies. To say it another way, the Navy not only took the land, but dispossessed parts of the people themselves. McKittrick builds her argument by first describing the interconnected relationship between humans and

[421] R. B. Gilliam interview, "Oral History Interview," *James City County Oral History Project*, (James City County, VA: James City County Historical Commission, 1984).

geography. McKittrick contends that "we produce space."[422] In Magruder, the Negroes living there for centuries had made that particular space what it was. They produced that space while living as free Negroes, when hiding self-emancipated Negroes, when they learned how to read and write, when they resisted on Warren's farm, when they got married, had children, had fish fries, played ball, and danced the night away. McKittrick also describes the earth as having skin. McKittrick's explanation of space illustrates the connection between the land and humanity.[423] She provides a way to conceptualize geography as a race and a gender and to think about bodies as a place. Magruder, then, was both the land and the people, intertwined.

Based on this understanding of Magruder, and informed by McKittrick, we can say that the Navy dispossessed both the people and the land. We can think about the land as being Negro and a woman. In many ways, they "raped" the land when they took Negroes away from it and dispossessed Negroes when, like rape, they took the land without asking. They tore apart the land that Negroes had produced, meaning they ripped all that went into producing the land away from Negroes who made it. Mr. Johnson was right: The Navy's dispossession of Magruder was "disgusting."[424] In his response to the situation seventy years later, Mr. Johnson's words describe aptly what the residents of Magruder experienced.

[422] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle*, *1st edition* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), xi.

[423] McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds*, xi.

[424] Daniel Johnson, interviewed by author, October 10, 2018.

Chapter 5 - After the Dispossession

On December 30, 1942, several months after the first taking and directly in the midst of the third taking, Assistant to the Chief of Bureau, L. B. Combs, wrote: "While the White families were able in considerable measure, to relocate themselves, this was not the case with many of the negroes."[425] World War II and the third dispossession in Magruder drastically changed the shape of Williamsburg and York County. The sudden displacement of hundreds of families and the influx of Navy personnel crowded Williamsburg and York County. This created a housing shortage and dire circumstances for the newly dispossessed Negro residents of Magruder. Negroes were also restricted from certain neighborhoods. Descendant Billie Johnson discussed how "they raised the prices" in order "to keep Black people out" of certain neighborhoods.[426] Where would they go? Where would they live and how would they make a living?

In response to the question of displacement, Daniel Johnson shared how part of his family moved to New Jersey and those who stayed in Williamsburg went to "Grove, Highland Park and Ironbound."[427] William Wallace shared that "about 75–100 families had to go to the CCC Camp, the Banks, Forest Ashby's family, Strong family went to New Jersey (Plainfield), [while the] Wynns, Alton Wynn, Ethel Wynn went straight to Highland Park and did not go to the CCC Camp."[428] I calculated that at least thirty-five families went to Grove, at least twenty-five went to Highland Park, at least five families left the state, another twenty-five families went to locations around Williamsburg such as Penniman Road, Ironbound, and Henry St., and the

[425] Combs, L.B., in correspondence with Willard F. Day, October 10, 1942.
[426] Billie Johnson, interviewed by author, March 4, 2019.
[427] Daniel Johnson, interviewed by author, October 10, 2018
[428] William Wallace interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, June 17, 2010.

remaining families went to Newport News, Hampton, and Norfolk.[429] After the dispossession, the diasporic and former residents of Magruder created many new diasporas. These new diasporas formed throughout the East Coast, as far north as New York and as far south as Atlanta. The majority of dispossessed residents went to Highland Park and Grove.

The migration process for Negroes was different from that of the Whites who lived on Magruder. Whites who owned land in Magruder but did not live there did not have to deal with moving. Aside from them, White families who lived on Magruder were able to relocate without difficulty, as the opening sentence by Combs illustrated. Furthermore, no Whites went to the CCC Camp at the College of William & Mary.

The newly dispossessed Negroes had a more difficult migration than Whites. They left in various stages and went to multiple locations. Negroes migrated from Magruder in three different routes. The first was from Magruder to Grove, Highland Park, Newport News, Norfolk, Hampton, and various locations outside of the state such as New Jersey, New York, and Illinois. The second route was directly to the CCC camp. The third route was to the CCC camp and then to Grove or Highland Park. Newly dispossessed Negroes who endured the immediate effect of the sudden creation of Camp Peary included twenty-five families who were left homeless. On October 10, 1942, Combs explained to Mr. Willard Day of the National Housing Agency that forty-five Negro families went to the CCC camp: "the remaining 25 Negro families are still to be rehoused."[430] There were no further comments about the status of those twenty-five families. The descendant community did not offer clues about them in their oral histories, either. What happened to those twenty-five Negro families? Who were they? Where did they go—CCC camp, Highland Park, Grove, or somewhere else?

[429] See Appendix A which provides the last names of families and the location they went to.
[430] L. B. Combs, in correspondence with Willard F. Day, October 10, 1942.

The Johnsons, Tabbs and the Hundleys exemplified route one. The Hundleys moved directly to Highland Park; the Tabbs moved to Grove, and the Johnsons moved back to Plainfield, New Jersey. While Daniel Johnson's family was living in Magruder, his father went back and forth between New Jersey and Virginia for work. Other Johnson family members stayed and lived in New Jersey. Additionally, Cooks went to New York, Dennises and Haileys went to New Jersey, and Pages went to Illinois. The movement of these families out of the state and north was also a part of the Great Migration. The Great Migration added another layer to families traveling the first route, the next generation started to migrate out of Williamsburg.

In the oral history I conducted with Langford Tabb, we solved the ostensible contradiction between the well documented narrative of millions of Negroes moving during the Great Migration and the significant number of Negro families from Magruder who stayed. Similar to the individuals who left Magruder before the dispossession, after the dispossession, children who lived on Magruder during the dispossession took part in the Great Migration. "There wasn't much here in Williamsburg," Tabb expressed, "there weren't any jobs." I shared Tabb's comments with Lloyd Wallace, and he affirmed this perspective. Wallace stated, "quite a few left Williamsburg." Bruton Heights High School had just opened before the dispossession. Bruton Heights provided a high school education for numerous Magruder descendants. Tabb explained that after they graduated high school, they wanted more out of life and "started looking for better opportunities."[431]

These educated Magruder descendants went to college, joined the military, or learned a trade.[432] Langford Tabb left Williamsburg and fought in the Vietnam War. The Johnson's family book portrayed additional children who moved: William Hailey and Howard Banks went to

[431] Langford Tabb, interviewed by author, April 3, 2019.
[432] Langford Tabb, interviewed by author, April 3, 2019

Plainfield, New Jersey, Walter Hailey went to Union County, New Jersey, and John Thomas Staves went to New York by way of Hampton.[433] Additionally, Navy documents (enclosure and district court filings) revealed which descendants migrated and where they went. A limited number of enclosure documents listed the heirs to the deceased descendants. For example, Addison Wallace's enclosure document elucidated that Addison Wallace (grandson) was living in Brooklyn, New York, Moses Wallace was in Baltimore, Maryland, and Melinda Wallace Yarbrough was in New York City in 1957.[434]

William Wallace and Maurice Banks Scott represented the third group. Ms. Scott's family also moved back and forth between New Jersey, New York, and Virginia before and after the dispossession of Magruder.[435] The dispossession affected her family in a particular way because they had just built a new home in Magruder in 1940, two years before the dispossession. Ms. Scott spent some time in the CCC camp, lived in Highland Park, moved to Harlem, New York, and eventually ended back in Highland Park in 1975.[436] William Wallace's family left Magruder, went to Williamsburg, and "was in New Jersey and New York for periods."[437]

Particularly in Williamsburg, York County, and James City County diaspora, dispossessed Negroes established new communities alongside Negroes already living in Grove and built Highland Park from the ground up. The other location mentioned in Williamsburg was Ironbound Road. Junius Hundley's father owned land on Ironbound Road.[438] The Ashbys also lived in Ironbound.[439] But the first step for around fifty families was a temporary stay at the Civilian Conservation Corps Camp on the campus of the College of William & Mary.

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[433] Johnson Family Book
[434] "Enclosure 20 Heirs of Addison Wallace, Parcel 78," United States Navy, May 20, 1957
[435] Maurice Banks Scott, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, April 11, 2010.
[436] Ibid.
[437] William Wallace, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, June 17, 2010.
[438] Junius Hundley, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, September 1, 2010.
[439] Ibid.

Civilian Conservation Corps Camp

The Navy's and College's Mismanagement

The Navy inadequately prepared to notify Magruder residents that they would be seizing their property, they were even less prepared to relocate dispossessed residents after they were displaced. In fact, the Navy did not particularly care about where the dispossessed Negroes from Magruder went as we can see from a letter that Chief Moreell wrote on December 18, 1942 in response to the Williamsburg Ministerial protest:

> When other rehousing efforts failed, the Navy, with the cooperation of Governor Darden and the College of William & Mary, secured the use of an abandoned negro C. C. C. Camp, made repairs through its contractor and moved many negro families with contractor's trucks, all at Navy expense. These acts were not legal duties on the part of the Navy; in fact, they can be justified only through technicalities.[440]

After the Williamsburg Ministerial Association highlighted the inhumane treatment of the Negroes from Magruder, Chief Moreell basically said dispossessed Negroes should be grateful that the Navy even provided temporary housing for them. The Navy's apathy towards Negroes explained why they did not keep track of those twenty-five families left homeless. The Navy justified its actions toward those they did track as benefiting "through technicalities." The Navy might have made a much more concerted effort to find housing and means of income might for Negro families they had dispossessed from the land that had provided their subsistence and had been in their families for multiple generations, dispossessed them of their homes, and decimated the community upon which they all counted for their wellbeing.

[440] Ben Moreell in correspondence with Charles Pratt, December 18, 1942.

His letter also revealed what happened to Negroes who went to the CCC camp at the College of William & Mary and how they arrived. Chief Moreell identified the territory as an "abandoned negro C. C. C. Camp."[441] This camp was one of more than one thousand camps spread across the United States that Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal initiated via Congress in March of 1933.[442] These camps were designed to provide employment for the high number of unemployed young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. Calvin W. Gower, in "The Struggle of Blacks for Leadership Positions in the Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933–1942," illustrated how CCC camps continued racist practices of the past despite their goal of not discriminating against Negroes.[443] The CCC established a temporary camp at College of William Mary in November of 1933 when they moved a camp from Montana to "the baseball field, which is the back of Cary Field" on campus (later the Walter J. Zable Stadium).[444] The descendant community identified the CCC camp as being "where the football field currently is."[445] At that camp, the two hundred Negro men were workers and the White men were officers, "foreman and clerks"—a clearly racist assignment of roles and status.[446] Interestingly, the Negroes from Montana had a "Harlem-like orchestra" that "played for dances in the community."[447] These were the community functions that Magruder residents came to when they traveled on horse and buggy or the bus to Williamsburg.

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[441] Ben Moreell in correspondence with Charles Pratt, December 18, 1942.

[442] Howard Oxley, "The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Education of the Negro," *The Journal of Negro Medicine* 7, No. 3 (1938): 375–383.

[443] Calvin W. Gower, "The Struggle of Blacks for Leadership Positions in the Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-1942," *The Journal of Negro History, Vol. 61 No. 2* (1976), 123-136.

[444] "Temporary C.C.C. Camp with Negro Contingent Established On Campus," *Flat Hat* (Williamsburg, VA: College of William and Mary), 7 November 1933.

[445] This came up in multiple oral histories and interviews.

[446] Gower, Calvin W. "The Struggle of Blacks for Leadership Positions in the Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-1942," *The Journal of Negro History, Vol. 61 No. 2* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1976), 123-136.

[447] "Temporary C.C.C. Camp With Negro Contingent Established On Campus," *Flat Hat* (Williamsburg, VA: College of William and Mary), 7 November 1933.

This history of Negro male laborers at a temporary CCC camp was what Chief Moreell was referencing when he explained how the Navy obtained temporary housing for the dispossessed Negro families from Magruder. What if these temporary quarters had not been available and the CCC had not set up camp at the College of William & Mary? Where would they have housed displaced Negro families then? The history of not allowing Negro male workers in supervisory positions marked that territory as a Jim Crow camp. This practice continued as the Navy trucked the dispossessed Negro families.

The Navy brought dispossessed Magruder residents to what Negroes called "Tent City."[448] The Navy described the composition of the camp as "plywood and masonite partitions."[449] Maurice Banks Scott depicted the CCC camp as being like barracks with two bedrooms, a living room, a dining room and a kitchen area.[450] According to figure 1, the units contained one to five bedrooms. The majority of the units were one to three bedrooms with an average of three to eight people per room. Therefore, in a three-bedroom unit, there would have been around twenty-four people. There was one unit with four bedrooms and one unit with five bedrooms with twelve people and seven people per bedroom respectively.[451] Lloyd Wallace described Tent City as a place with very cold winters due to the brutal winters in the 1940s and the lack of heating inside their units. He said: "All the heat you had was [what] a fire made[;] you couldn't have any heat in the tent, you had a community fire more or less. You gathered around until you got sleepy and go to bed."[452] He continued: "The same as far as cooking. Cloth[es] lines everywhere all through the community. Nobody had a washing machine so they

[448] Ibid, several former Magruder residents and descendants referred to the location as Tent City.
[449] C.W. Porter, in conversation with Lt. Commander F. A. Mason, 30 September 1942.
[450] Maurice Banks Scott, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, 11 April 2010.
[451] Office of the President, John Edwin Pomfret Records, Special Collections Research.
[452] Lloyd Wallace, interviewed by author, September 9, 2018.

must have went to the river to wash the clothes. I could imagine."[453] Negroes also attempted to grow gardens and raise chickens.[454]

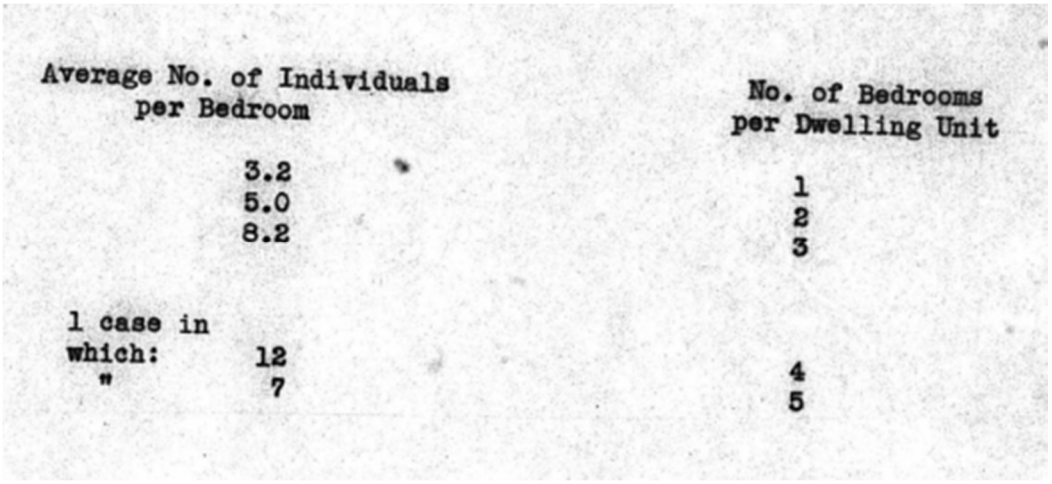

Fig 10. Bedrooms per Housing Unit and Average Persons per Bedroom, Office of the President, John Edwin Pomfret Records, Special Collections Research.

The Navy's apathy and lack of preparation shaped the experiences of former Negro Magruder inhabitants at the Camp. This apathy was compounded by the College's perspective. The College and the Navy communicated back and forth about Negroes at the abandoned camp. President of the College, John E. Pomfret revealed in one communication that he did not want the displaced residents at the College. He wrote to Commander J. G. Ware on June 8, 1943: "I am hoping that in the course of the summer most of those who are temporarily at the camp will take up permanent residence elsewhere, and that the whole problem will soon pass from our joint jurisdiction."[455] In reality, what he called the "whole problem" was not the Negroes' fault, but the result of the Navy's poor planning, the College's mismanagement of rent collection, cleaning

[453] Lloyd Wallace, interviewed by author, September 9, 2018.

[454] Office of the President, John Edwin Pomfret Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary. https://scrcguides.libraries.wm.edu/repositories/2/resources/1519

[455] Office of the President, John Edwin Pomfret Records, Special Collections Research.

of the camp, and maintenance of the camp. Most important, the Navy was not fulfilling the deal they had made with the College.

The most prominent issue was the payment to Negro families, which determined how long they would be at Tent City. The original agreement was that the Navy would pay by January 1943.[456] That meant that displaced Negroes would only be at Tent City for approximately three months. Therefore, the College clearly was not planning on their presence for an extended time period. Additionally, the lack of payment affected their livelihood and well-being at the camp and their transition from the camp to permanent housing.

One issue directly related to Negroes not receiving their payment timely was their inability to pay rent at the CCC camp. Newly dispossessed Negroes had to pay the College of William & Mary fifteen dollars a month. William & Mary offered a fifty percent discount for those working there: they paid only seven dollars and fifty cents per unit.[457] Paying the rent became a problem, not only because of tenants' insufficient funds, but because mismanagement of data between the College and the Navy created utter disorganization, so much so that the College even tried to evict some Negro residents. Field Representative of the State Department of Public Welfare, Kathleen Hagood, wrote on July 19, 1943:

> It is believed that the persons handling rent collection for the College have on occasion been uncompromising and arbitrary in their dealings with the people. Such an attitude is not conducive to good race relations and it bespeaks a lack of understanding of the sacrifices the evacuees have been called upon to make in the interest of the war effort.[458]

[456] Office of the President, John Edwin Pomfret Records, Special Collections Research. The Navy did not reveal why they were not going to pay for eviction. Based on their preparation in notifying the residents, determining where they would go and poor management of the CCC camp, more than likely they did not plan on how they would pay the dispossessed residents.

[457] Office of the President, John Edwin Pomfret Records, Special Collections Research.

[458] Office of the President, John Edwin Pomfret Records, Special Collections Research.

It turned out that some of the residents had in fact attempted to pay rent, but because the College did not have a dwelling unit assigned to them, they would not accept their rent. On July 27, 1943, Ms. Hagood wrote of these residents to Vernon Nunn with the College: "They seem to have incurred the displeasure of Mr. Kyser by moving into an apartment to which they had not been assigned. The family informs me that several attempts have been made to pay rent but that the rent has not been accepted."[459] The breakdown in communication or some other administrative error between the Navy and the College about who was at the CCC Camp led to the College not knowing who was actually staying in Tent City.

Living Conditions

The Navy's and College's mismanagement of the CCC Camp also manifested in horrendous living conditions for Negro families. The determination of who was responsible for the camp laid at the root of the problem between the two entities taking care of the camp. They did not plan who would provide what services. The Navy simply displaced the families and the College collected rent. These factors coupled with the way the Navy and the College viewed "coloured" folks created tension in providing the necessary services at the camp.[460] One issue was the safety of the occupants. The College was "unable to purchase new fire extinguishers"[461] and did not "have a truck or the men available to care for the policing work."[462] Consequently the Navy eventually policed the area and provided the fire extinguishers.

[459] Office of the President, John Edwin Pomfret Records, Special Collections Research.
[460] "Colored" was another term the Navy used to refer to Negroes.
[461] Office of the President, John Edwin Pomfret Records, Special Collections Research.
[462] Office of the President, John Edwin Pomfret Records, Special Collections Research.

Another issue was who would take responsibility for picking up the trash, maintaining the outside lavatories, and servicing the general facilities at Tent City. After W. W. Fuller, M.D. inspected the CCC camp on January 13, 1943, he reported to President Pomfret:

> … and the state of garbage collection. Where there were cans they were full past using. (One citizen of the group stated that her garbage had not been collected since she moved there some two months previously,) and around the whole campus in a sort of a rough circle, garbage was strewn profusely.[463]

In addition to the trash build up, there was a problem with "the outside toilets."[464] One letter indicated that "These facilities were constructed by the Navy and passed upon by the State Board of Health." It seems likely that along with the trash not having been collected regularly, the lavatories also were not cleaned. Dr. Fuller concluded: "It has been a good many years since I have seen such deplorable health conditions around in a community so large."[465]

By January 1943, there were approximately two hundred and fifty Negroes in the camp, making for very crowded and unpleasant living conditions.[466] The crowded conditions meant occupants did not have enough space to garden or take care of their chickens. Furthermore, Negroes dispossessed from Magruder knew how the Navy and College felt about them. Kathleen Hagood's 1943 report on August 2nd to President Pomfret captured how it was for Negroes in these living conditions. Under the subtitle "Spirit of the People," she wrote:

> The people want to leave the Camp. This should be some encouragement to those who have believed that the families would not leave unless forced to do so. The crowded conditions, the lack of garden space, space for chickens and other unsatisfactory

[463] Office of the President, John Edwin Pomfret Records, Special Collections Research.
[464] Office of the President, John Edwin Pomfret Records, Special Collections Research.
[465] Office of the President, John Edwin Pomfret Records, Special Collections Research.
[466] Office of the President, John Edwin Pomfret Records, Special Collections Research.

conditions at the Camp spur them on to make plans for the future. The people feel some uneasiness and uncertainty about the College's attitude toward them.[467]

Negroes at the CCC Camp were dealing with material, psychological, existential, political, and spiritual dispossession. After they lost their land (material) during World War II to the United States government (political), they felt the weight of being despised and rejected by the College and the Navy (psychological). All of these conditions contributed to spiritual and existential dispossession.

Several Negroes living in Tent City became sick. In one family, the wife and mother became ill. This family "had received orders to move out of the Camp on last Monday," but did not move because of "the illness of his wife, who he said is to go to the hospital August 15."[468] Several other narratives from former Magruder residents and descendants affirmed that many became sick while living on the camp. Unfortunately, and tragically, some dispossessed Negroes from Magruder died while at the Tent City—complete existential dispossession. Without a doubt, this challenged how they understood the world and made sense of life and death, the seen and the unseen, which gets at spiritual dispossession.

In line with the grand narrative of African diasporic response to oppression, Negroes living in the CCC camp persevered. At the center of their perseverance was the church. Negroes from Magruder moved Mt. Gilead Baptist church from Magruder to the camp. Reverend Massie, from Charles City, had been the pastor in Magruder and continued to provide pastoral care at Tent City.[469] Negroes there also maintained the kinship networks of their ancestors. These relationships were integral to sharing resources with other family members and helping them when they were finally able to move out. Queen Esther Bartlett Hundley remembered "going to

[467] Office of the President, John Edwin Pomfret Records, Special Collections Research.
[468] Office of the President, John Edwin Pomfret Records, Special Collections Research.
[469] Junius Hundley, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, 1 September 2010.

the CCC Camp to get the leftover parts of the chicken that were given away for free."[470] At a more significant level, it was typically only when other Negroes helped them to obtain the building materials for new homes or sold them property that formerly dispossessed Negroes from Magruder could finally leave Tent City.

Time of Stay in and Moving from Tent City

The movement that marked African diasporic life up to this point continued during the Negroes' time at Tent City. Some families stayed only a few months while others stayed years. By October 30, 1942, there were fifty families totaling about two to three hundred Negroes in the camp. This population was clearly identifiable through August of 1943. Between January and August 13, 1943 twenty-one families left Tent City, bringing the total number of remaining families down to about thirty. After this period, neither the College nor the Navy has records of the population of the camp.

Based on the conditions of Tent City, families were understandably eager to move. A family's ability to move depended on several factors that Kathleen Hagood detailed when communicating with the College about the status of Negroes moving. On August 2, 1943 she stated:

> 1. Building materials are difficult to obtain. Several families have recently been held up for the reason that lumber was not immediately available. 2. About fifty per cent of the families at the Camp have not yet received their money from the Navy. 3. Labor is hard

[470] Queen Esther Hundley, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, 16 September 2010.

to get. Some of the men are having to miss time from their jobs in order to get their homes under way.[471]

Ms. Hagood showed that it seemed impossible for Negro families to leave Tent City. Given that there were around thirty families (60% of those who went to Tent City) still in the camp in August 1943, twenty planned on moving out by October 1943, and nine families did not yet have any definite plans.

Ms. Hagood's description of their difficulties also pointed to the many steps the Negroes had to take in order to be able to move. First, they had to identify land they could use or purchase. Negroes typically used their kinship networks to choose a suitable plot of land. Then they needed to purchase the land. The families who left before August—the Wallaces, for example—were able to move because "black business men sold them property in Grove."[472] Next, Negroes had to obtain the building materials and complete an application for a building permit.[473] After that was approved and they had gathered all the necessary materials, they then had to find time to build their homes all while holding jobs.

Descendant Brandon Lee revealed how they were able to build their house and leave the CCC camp. He indicated that "it was an all-inclusive effort."[474] They assisted each other in "acquiring materials" and "building" the houses.[475] While the men were building, "the women would get together and cook. … The tradition of Saturday Crabs stayed until I was little boy."[476]

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[471] Office of the President, John Edwin Pomfret Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary. https://scrcguides.libraries.wm.edu/repositories/2/resources/1519 Accessed February 23, 2019.

[472] Lloyd Wallace, interviewed by Morgan Flaherty, Will Carmines and Edith Heard, April 23, 2010, https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/handle/10288/1999.

[473] Office of the President, John Edwin Pomfret Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary. https://scrcguides.libraries.wm.edu/repositories/2/resources/1519 Accessed February 23, 2019.

[474] Brandon Lee, interviewed by author, April 5, 2019.

[475] Brandon Lee, interviewed by author, April 5, 2019.

[476] Brandon Lee, interviewed by author, April 5, 2019.

Despite all these obstacles, all Negro families moved off the Camp between 1944 and 1945 and joined the rest of their kinship networks scattered throughout the diasporic communities of New Jersey, New York, and the state of Virginia, with the largest clusters in Grove in James City County and Highland Park in York County. Lloyd Wallace indicated that the CCC Camp operated for three years.[477]

Highland Park

Ms. Nellie Turner captured the sentiments of Negroes finally leaving the horrendous conditions of Tent City and moving to Highland Park:

> I was glad to have a place to stay, but the CCC Camps were not easy living. I was some kind of glad to move to Highland Park. When my house was finally built, it seemed like heaven to me. When I moved to Highland Park, there were about ten families over here. We had to tote groceries and water, but it was heaven to me.[478]

While Ms. Turner and other families moved to Highland Park from Tent City, some dispossessed Negroes were able to move directly to Highland Park. Negroes built Highland Park. In the 1940s, Highland Park was located in York County. It was originally called "Across the Track," and "there was nothing in the area except springs, swamps, snakes, woods and almost impassable roads."[479] Jean Taylor Edlow shared that "Highland Park was nothing but woods and a dirt road."[480] Only a small population of people lived "Across the Track."

[477] Lloyd Wallace, interviewed by Morgan Flaherty, Will Carmines and Edith Heard, April 23, 2010, https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/handle/10288/1999.
[478] Eletha L. Davis, Highland Park Souvenir Booklet, July 2010. Appendix.
[479] Maurice Banks Scott, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, April 11, 2010.
[480] Jean Taylor Edlow, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, May 12, 2010.

The Bartleys[481] had already been living in this area, and after the dispossession, they were joined by Negro families that moved directly from Magruder to Highland Park, such as the Hundleys, the Taylors, and the Moylers. Maurice Banks Scott explained that these families and those who eventually came over from the CCC camp had to do a lot of site clearing in Highland Park in order to build.[482] The land in that location was "pretty cheap at that time."[483] For example, Charles Hundley "only paid about $800 for his land."[484] When they brought the land, they typically purchased some for themselves and their children.[485] The building of Highland Park was a Negro community effort. As Junius Hundley expressed, "they would get together and help one another" to build houses.[486]

Much like the process for those moving out of the CCC camp, after dispossessed Negro families from Magruder purchased the land, they gathered materials and the permits and approval to build. Fortunately, during the early 1940s building supplies were cheap.[487] Communally, they cut down trees, cleared the land, laid foundations and built houses in the same way their ancestors had when they built Magruder. Milton Jones shared how she remembered cutting down trees in order to build the house she lived in.[488] The houses ranged in size; Maggie Lee Jones described "a little house" with "just enough room for the children."[489] On the other hand, in Junius Hundley's description of how Negroes moved to Highland Park, the Taylors "built a big house."[490]

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[481] Union Baptist Church "Highland Park Bicentennial," Williamsburg, October 24, 1976.
[482] Maurice Banks Scott, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, April 11. 2010.
[483] Junius Hundley, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, September 1, 2010.
[484] Maggie Hundley, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, June 11, 2010.
[485] Several of the family members shared a similar story of buying enough land for several family members. Junius Hundley for example purchased land for his children Esterine, Mary Lee, Bert, and Juanita.
[486] Junius Hundley, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, September 1, 2010.
[487] Ibid.
[488] Maggie Lee Jones, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, June 2, 2010.
[489] Esterine Hundley Moyler, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, July 28, 2010.
[490] Junius Hundley, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, September 1, 2010.

The movement of dispossessed Negroes from the CCC camp to Highland Park in 1943 marked a crucial time in its growth.[491] Since the first occupants literally built the community from the ground up, "there were no toilets, everybody had outdoor toilets," and no electricity. [492] Negroes would obtain water from the spring and used outdoor bathrooms.[493] The growth in the population also contributed to the growth in the sense of community. Several Negro families grew gardens.[494] By 1945, Highland Park had electricity and lamp posts on several street corners.[495]

The next marquee year was 1948. When Maggie Hundley moved into Highland Park in 1948, she recollected: "The Bartletts still had their big gardens at that time. They would give away … many of their things. That's what it used to be like – no one would starve because people would share what they had."[496] Hundley's arrival during this year was part of the next wave of Negroes moving to Highland Park who were a part of the kinship network. Also, the Williamsburg Restoration starting to build homes,[497] Additionally, Negroes in Highland Park started to have indoor plumbing, and water flowed in from the city.[498]

The work of former Magruder residents paved the way for the next groups of Negroes to move to Highland Park, including those from Tent City and those late-comers who were nonetheless a part of the kinship network. As Queen Esther Bartlett Hundley recalled, she was

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[491] Union Baptist Church "Highland Park Bicentennial" Williamsburg, October 24, 1976. This booklet stated that "in 1943, the community began growing slowly." I combined their statement with the transitioning of Negroes from Tent City to Magruder.

[492] Queen Esther Hundley, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, 16 September 2010 and Union Baptist Church "Highland Park Bicentennial" Williamsburg, October 24, 1976. Jean Taylor also stated that "running water came in some time before the 50's."

[493] Maurice Banks Scott, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, April 11. 2010 and Queen Esther Hundley, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, 16 September 2010.

[494] Queen Esther Hundley, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, 16 September 2010.

[495] Jean Taylor Edlow, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, 12 May 2010.

[496] Maggie Hundley, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, 11 June 2010.

[497] Robert Braxton, interviewed by Will Carmines, 24 February 2010 and Union Baptist Church "Highland Park Bicentennial" Williamsburg, October 24, 1976

[498] Union Baptist Church "Highland Park Bicentennial" Williamsburg, October 24, 1976

good friends with all the people from Magruder who moved into Highland Park.[499] Highland Park eventually became an all Negro community. In addition to the Turners, the Wallaces, Johnsons, Banks and Joneses all moved there.[500] The few Whites who lived "Across the Track" moved out.[501] The endpoint of this segment was in 1957 when Highland Park was annexed and drawn within the city limits of Williamsburg.

Grove

The other largest concentration of newly dispossessed Negroes from Magruder moved to Grove. In some ways, migration to Grove was similar to Highland Park in that a number of families moved from Tent City to Grove, after the 1940s. But the migration to Grove differed in that an entire Negro community was already living in Grove before the Navy dispossessed Magruder. In fact, in Grove the same steps that Negroes took in building up Highland Park had already started several decades before the creation of Camp Peary. In the "Grove Festival" booklet, general director of the bicentennial event, Madeline Gee, posited this about Grove: "The community has close ties with the beginnings of the James City County, Williamsburg and York County areas. Carter's Grove Plantation provided the name. The history is not merely a matter of dates and places but rather the moving story of its people."[502] Negroes in Grove associated their history with the first enslaved Africans brought over on ships and held in lifetime bondage on plantations in Williamsburg, especially in Carter's Grove.[503]

Directly relating to the dispossessed families from Magruder, ancestors of Negroes within the kinship network owned land all along the York River. The Roberts, for example, owned land

[499] Queen Esther Hundley, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, September 16, 2010
[500] Junius Hundley, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, September 1, 2010.
[501] Maggie Hundley, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, June 11, 2010.
[502] Madeline Gee, *Grove Festival: A Bicentennial Event, July 31, 1976: Roberts District, James City County, Virginia* (Williamsburg-James City County Bicentennial Committee, 1976).
[503] Ibid, 27.

in Magruder and in a Negro community called "The Reservation." The name comes from the relationship between Indigenous peoples and Africans who commingled and intermarried in the sixteenth century.[504] In many ways, The Reservation and Magruder share the same history. The Reservation was located in the Indigenous area identified as Kiskiack. The shifting landscape and boundaries over several centuries starting in the sixteenth century very well could have meant that what became Magruder and The Reservation may have been identified by these two community's ancestors as the same community and location. The Indigenous peoples and Africans occupied the land adjacent to the York River together.

The Reservation was located in Yorktown and South of Magruder along the York River. Similar to Magruder, the family lineage of some people there included mixed ancestry between an Indigenous tribe and dispossessed Africans from their homeland. This was the case in the Roberts family. They were aware of both ancestors, but because White Supremacy kept Africans from knowing what particular part of the African Continent their ancestors had come from and the conflation of Negroes with Indigenous peoples, the Roberts were not sure who exactly were their ancestors.

Further linkages and similarities between Magruder and The Reservation were, after the Civil War, John A. Roberts formed a committee and started St. John's Baptist Church in 1879 in the same way Mt. Gilead and Oak Grove Baptist Churches started in Magruder.[505] Then, just like Magruder, after that community fully established itself at the turn of the twentieth century, during World War I, the Navy dispossessed The Reservation in order to make the Navy Mine Depot. It was this displaced community, which included the Roberts, that moved to Grove.

[504] Darren Banks, interviewed by author, September 15, 2018.
[505] Gee, *Grove Festival: A Bicentennial Event, July 31, 1976.*

Grace Radcliffe and Harris Lee recalled how it was when they were removed off The Reservation and came to Grove:

Q: When you came here (Grove), did you join a church already here or did you start your own church?

A. Radcliffe: Well, you see, you had to build the churches all over because there was nothing here.

Q: So, there was nothing at all here in Grove when you came?

A. Radcliffe: No, nothing.

Lee: Just farming land. And it was already called Grove.

Q: How many families were there in Grove before you all came from Yorktown?

A. Lee: About a dozen or so.

A. Radcliffe: They were all white.

Lee: There were two colored families that I remember over here. [506]

Radcliffe's and Lee's description of Grove revealed the similarities between the area known as "Across the Track" before Negroes moved en masse to Highland Park, and Grove before dispossessed Negroes from The Reservation moved in. In Grove, they did not have to clear the trees because of the open fields, but dispossessed Negroes from the Reservation built up the Negro community and paved the way for future Negroes to come.

In addition to The Reservation, another group of mixed ancestry Indigenous and African peoples moved to Grove as a result of World War I. This time the Army displaced Negroes from Mulberry Island in order to build Ft. Eustis. Martha Washington observed that: "Ft. Eustis used to be an Indian reservation which the government moved black people from, moved to Grove,

[506] Grace Radcliffe and Harris Lee, *James City County Oral History Project*, James City County Oral History Commission, 1984.

Newport News, and Williamsburg."[507] An archeological report on Ft. Eustis detailed the history of Indigenous tribes in that area involving Spanish explorer contact in the 1520s, the Spanish Jesuit Mission in 1570, and intermarriage with White and Black populations.[508] This report identified the Indigenous tribes within the Powhatan Confederation as former inhabitants of the area. Curtis Lassiter's explanation of the relationship between those on Mulberry Island, The Reservation, and Magruder illustrated the kinship network between them:

> From those from The Reservation, they were oysterman. If you look where the crow flies, it's only a mile or two from that area to the Cheatham Annex area you can see directly across the creek. You can see the Magruder area. We matriculated to this area from The Reservation. The people from Mulberry Island, they matriculated up this way. ... We intermingled, mostly with each other. So, for those from Magruder, this area and Mulberry Island, we were all one as the Black community.[509]

Beyond the archaeological evidence and the kinship network Lassiter's statement pointed to another reason why Negroes from Magruder would travel to Mulberry Island and Ft. Eustis: those dispossessed from Mulberry Island shared the same ancestors as those from Magruder.

Subsequent growth in Grove's population resulted from another dispossession in Williamsburg. This time it was caused by the "Restoration" of Colonial Williamsburg. In 1926, Dr. William A.R. Goodwin, former rector of Bruton Parish Church, met with John D. Rockefeller, Jr., businessman and financier, about "restoring not just a few key buildings, but all of Williamsburg to its eighteenth-century appearance."[510] Rockefeller agreed to finance the

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[507] Martha Washington, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, March 11, 2010.

[508] Army Engineer District St Louis, MO Mandatory Center of Expertise for The Curation Management of Archeological Collection "An Archaeological Collections Summary for Fort Eustis Virginia." 1995, 4 - 5.

[509] Curtis Lassiter, interviewed by author, February 2019.

[510] "John D. Rockefeller, Jr. | American Philanthropist," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed February 24, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-D-Rockefeller-Jr and "The Restoration of Williamsburg," accessed February 24, 2019, http://www.history.org/history/teaching/enewsletter/volume4/july06/restoration.cfm.

project that was concluded in 1934 when "the College of William & Mary had been restored, and the Governor's Palace and Capitol had again risen from their old foundations."[511] The restoration took place directly in the center of Williamsburg on the Capitol grounds, Palace Green, and Market Square. As a result, "Colonial Williamsburg's creation displaced historic district enterprises and households, white and black, in the path of demolitions, reconstructions, and restorations. The adjustments were harder on the city's African Americans than on its whites."[512] These displaced Negroes were removed from their homes and lost their businesses. Following the same path as Negroes just a little over a decade earlier, they scattered, created new diasporas—and some moved into Grove.

By 1942, when the Navy took land from Negroes in Magruder, three previously dispossessed Negro communities had settled in Grove. Because these communities were in the same kinship network, Grove was an attractive place to which to move for former Magruder residents. There were several factors that contributed to the way in which dispossessed Negroes migrated to Grove. The history of Grove meant that some houses had already been built and were move-in ready. Lloyd Wallace described Grove as "vacant land"[513] which meant that some families built their houses. Of course, the ability to buy land or a previously built home was based on the family's finances. Langford Tabb's family was one of the families that moved directly from Magruder because they did not wait to receive their compensation. Tabb's father was able to get a house in Grove that already had plumbing.[514] Each dispossessed Magruder

[511] "The Restoration of Williamsburg," accessed February 24, 2019, http://www.history.org/history/teaching/enewsletter/volume4/july06/restoration.cfm.

[512] "A New Deal for Old Places," accessed February 24, 2019, http://www.history.org/Foundation/journal/Summer14/restoration.cfm.

[513] Lloyd and Shirley Wallace, interviewed by Morgan Flaherty, Will Carmines and Edith Heard, April 23, 2010 https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/handle/10288/1999.

[514] Langford Tabb, interviewed by author, April 2009

family was in a different financial situation, but all were waiting on their payment from the government.

The majority of the dispossessed Negroes from Magruder who later moved to Grove went to Tent City first.[515] Martha Washington shared how "some men got together and bought the property" in the section of Grove where she lived.[516] On January 16, 1943, R. W. Abbett told Navy Captain Kirby Smith that "the Whiting committee had purchased a farm for resettlement housing for the dispossessed Negro families."[517] Daniel Johnson explained that Mr. Plushing owned land on Grove. Mr. Whiting and Mr. Blayton "brought the land from him (the White man) and sold it to the Negro families."[518] Lloyd Wallace stated that his family purchased about two hundred acres of land and that this process happened while Negro families were on the CCC camp.[519] Therefore, it was Whiting and Blayton who brought two hundred acres of land from Mr. Plushing and sold it to Negro families living in Tent City.

This narrative circled back to the story told about the CCC camp about those having trouble moving off the camp due to delays in obtaining building permits and not having time to build in addition to working their regular jobs. After Negroes purchased the land from Mr. Whiting and Mr. Blayton, they still needed to find time to build their houses while working jobs and taking care of their families. Some families received helped from Bill Smith, a carpenter who constructed houses for Negroes throughout Williamsburg, York County, and James City County.[520] While Negroes were building new houses, they were also building Mt. Gilead Baptist Church. The church stayed on the CCC camp until they raised enough money to build a proper

[515] Lloyd Wallace, interviewed by author, February 24, 2019.
[516] Martha Washington, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, March 11, 2010.
[517] R.W. Abbett, in correspondence with Kirby Smith, January 16, 1943.
[518] Daniel Johnson, interviewed by author, October 10, 2018
[519] Lloyd Wallace, interviewed by author, February 24, 2019.
[520] Lanford Tabb, interviewed by author, April 3, 2019. Martha Washington, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, March 11, 2010.

structure. Because of all these constraints of time, and money, it took them two years to build their houses, build the church, and leave the CCC camp for Grove.

According to Pastor Glenwood Morgan and Church Clerk Bessie Jackson: "In 1944, the congregation led by the pastor, Rev. S. L. Massie, marched into its new sanctuary at the present site. Under the pastorate of Rev. Massie, the Junior Missionary Society, the Junior Choir, a board of Christian Education, the Youth Association, and the Pastor's Aid Club were organized."[521] Lloyd Wallace believed that after the church moved down to Grove, numerous families followed the church and lived near it.[522] He pointed out the Taylor's, Johnson's, and the Haley's.

The church was located near the houses on the two hundred acres that Mr. Whiting and Mr. Blayton had purchased. These houses were not fully equipped with standard housing amenities. They did not yet have indoor plumbing or wiring for electricity, for example. Mr. Wallace recalled that his family used "outdoor toilets until I was about 16."[523] Since they did not have electricity at first, they used kerosene lamps. Highland Park inhabitants eventually obtained indoor plumbing and electricity around 1950.

While such family narratives were similar to those of Highland Park, the Grove families moved into homes already built. James Tabb, Sr.'s interview response illustrated how these families moved in Grove. "We came to Grove. My father bought a house from a man called Braxton. We were fortunate, my father was fortunate to get a house that was already built and it had plumbing inside."[524] Mr. Tabb did not say specifically who "Mr. Braxton" was but, potentially it could have been Robert Henry Braxton, a local builder, entrepreneur, and well-known man in the Negro community. He "bought a lot of property and then sold lots to

[521] Madeline Gee, *Grove Festival: A Bicentennial Event, July 31, 1976,* 32.
[522] Lloyd Wallace, interviewed by author, February 9, 2019.
[523] Lloyd Wallace, interviewed by author, February 9, 2019.
[524] James Tabb, Sr. *James City County Oral History Project*, James City County Oral History Commission, 1984.

people."[525] The other families who moved into Grove likewise purchased previously built homes. Therefore, dispossessed Negroes from Magruder, by way of Tent City, did not build up Grove like they did Highland Park, but they did contribute to its growth.

Even after Magruder, the military continued to take land and dislodge Negroes. In 1943, the Navy took more land just south of Magruder and Queens Creek and built Cheatham Annex in order to add to the Naval Weapons Station.[526] Those displaced in this expansion also moved to Grove. As a result, by 1945 Grove had grown tremendously. Going into the 1950s, it continued to attract Negroes throughout the kinship network. Martha Washington communicated in her interview that she married a Wallace in 1952 and built a house in Grove.[527] Mr. Lee Hyde had a shop that he also moved to Grove.[528] Grove, along with Highland Park, became a new diaspora after Negroes were displaced from Magruder through the Navy's sudden creation of Camp Peary.

Land Compensation

Shannon Mahoney in her study of Charles' Corner described the compensation the Navy gave Negroes who lost their land in the creation of Naval Weapons Station:

> Since their lands were assessed at low values, however, the price they received did not allow them to buy equal amounts of land in Williamsburg, Yorktown, Grove, or Lackey. Mr. Lee remembers his father receiving '... 50 dollars an acre. He bought this place up here (Williamsburg) at 125 dollars an acre.'[529]

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[525] Braxton Court is located close to the College of William and Mary.

[526] Shannon Mahoney, "Community Building After Emancipation: An Anthropological Study of Charles' Corner, Virginia, 1862-1922," (dissertation, College of William and Mary, 2013).

[527] Martha Washington, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, March 11, 2010.

[528] Junius Hundley, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, 1 September 2010.

[529] Shannon Mahoney, "Community Building After Emancipation: An Anthropological Study of Charles' Corner, Virginia, 1862-1922," (dissertation, College of William and Mary, 2013).

Mahoney's troubling description could also stand for what happened to dispossessed Negroes from Magruder. The families who did get paid were not fully compensated for their loss, and several families proclaimed: "we never got our money."[530] In addition to the Navy's mediocre plan of notifying and moving Magruder inhabitants, their plans for paying the dispossessed residents from Magruder were likewise inadequate. I could not find a single Navy record that outlined how they would contact the residents to ensure they had the correct information, communicate the steps to the families on how to obtain the money, and ensure that every individual received their payment.[531] The clearest indication of when the Navy aimed to pay the displaced residents came from their aforementioned communication with the College of William & Mary—that they would make payments by January, 1943.[532]

The first fiscal problem the dispossessed community encountered was shockingly the expenses that continued to accrue on their formerly owned property. In a letter that Lee Lucy wrote to the Navy on November 5, 1943, he anxiously expressed, "I do not see how I can continue to pay interest, taxes, insurance, and rent indefinitely."[533] His sentiment portrayed how those waiting to receive their compensation felt. In addition to all of the added stress of finding a new location to live and the process of moving, they were still receiving bills from York County, from their homeowner's insurance company, and from their mortgage company (if they had one) for property they no longer owned. It was conceivable that some residents may not have been aware they still had to pay on their old properties, even if the mail did not get sent to their correct

[530] This statement was a constant refrain throughout all the oral histories and interviews with the descendant community.

[531] While I was not expecting to find a document that laid out this plan, the Navy's records entailed a wide array of documents, ranging from phone conversations to memorandums for record. If they did develop an extensive plan without writing it out in a document that they saved, there still could have been a phone call or conversation about how they would pay the displaced residents.

[532] Office of the President, John Edwin Pomfret Records, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary. https://scrcguides.libraries.wm.edu/repositories/2/resources/1519

[533] Lee Lucy, in correspondence with the United States Navy, November 5, 1943.

new address. Thus, the dispossessed Negroes on the CCC camp were responsible for both the expenses on their houses (in which they no longer lived, or houses that the Navy had meanwhile leveled) and for rent to the College of William & Mary while living in the crowded, filthy conditions of Tent City. Also, if the Navy and the College did not have accurate records of who was on the CCC camp, how could they have communicated with the Post Office about where these Negroes were now located?

Mr. Lucy's letter also highlighted the process by which residents were to receive their payment. He wrote:

> [A]fter considerable negotiations with your representative, Mr. E. C. Horton, which negotiations did not start until the latter part of May, we finally agreed on a price. We, in turn, signed an 'Offer of Acceptance' about the twentieth of July, at which time Mr. Horton promised faithfully to deliver a check within two weeks time.[534]

Mr. Lucy had not received payment by November 5, 1943 when he wrote that letter. His situation can be used as a template to look at the process of receiving payment, but Mr. Lucy's exact process was different. Since Mr. Lucy negotiated his payment, he can be included with those that James Tabb mentioned as holding out for more money.[535] The template Mr. Lucy elucidated was to first to come to terms with the Navy on how much money the landowner believed they should receive, then sign the offer to accept and finally receive compensation for their property.

Daniel Johnson's blunt words summed up dispossessed Negroes' perspective of the amount the Navy offered: "They didn't get enough money to buy a house."[536] Attorney

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[534] Lee Lucy, in correspondence with the United States Navy, November 5, 1943.

[535] James Tabb, Sr. *James City County Oral History Project*, James City County Oral History Commission, 1984.

[536] Daniel Johnson, interviewed by the author, October 10, 2018.

Merriweather Armistead echoed Mr. Johnson's sentiment when he notified Congressmen S. Otis Bland in writing: "I have heard from sources I deem reliable that the appraisements have been most conservative, and it seems that if this conservatism is to be followed, that these people are going to be put to the expense of employing lawyers and paying fees in order to get their fair compensation."[537] Attorney Armistead wrote this in December, just several months after the appraisals. The Navy received appraisals from "HOLC," "ICC," Jones, Applewhite, and Albert J. Rissman of Fish and Wildlife.[538] Mr. Rissman had been in contact with the Navy since September when they first came out to survey the land. He offered the first set of appraisals to Navy representative E. C. Horton that same month.

There were inconsistencies in how the Navy used the appraisals they got, and Mr. Rissman's appraisals were consistently lower than the others. In terms of inconsistencies, in one case, the Navy took the average of the three appraisals, while in another case, they chose to go with the highest appraised amount. To get a sense of the disparity between Rissman and the others, in one option, Rissman suggested $7,980 while the other two suggested $10,150 (Jones) and $10,412 (Applewhite). The variation in appraisals and the Navy's choice of price contributed to the disparities in what Magruder residents were offered for their homes and land.

The next step after an amount was agreed upon was the Offer to Accept. In addition to those who held out longer because the Navy's offer was too low, another group of Negro residents never signed an offer to accept. On July 2, 1943, Chief of Bureau administrator, Andrew J. Murphy, in "Acquisition of Land at York County, Virginia" notified Lieutenant Lon Worth Crow, Jr. that several contracts had not been signed. On September 13, 1943 Lieutenant Crow replied to another Navy administrator, Miss Christine Contakos, with the tract number,

[537] M.I. Armistead, in correspondence with S. Otis Bland, December 3, 1942

[538] The appraisers were listed on several documents ranging from proposed settlements to case reports. These were names provided by the Navy about the companies, but they did not provide further details.

certificate number, and deposit amount of each contract requested. Presumably it was Miss Contakos who had written at the top of the documents:

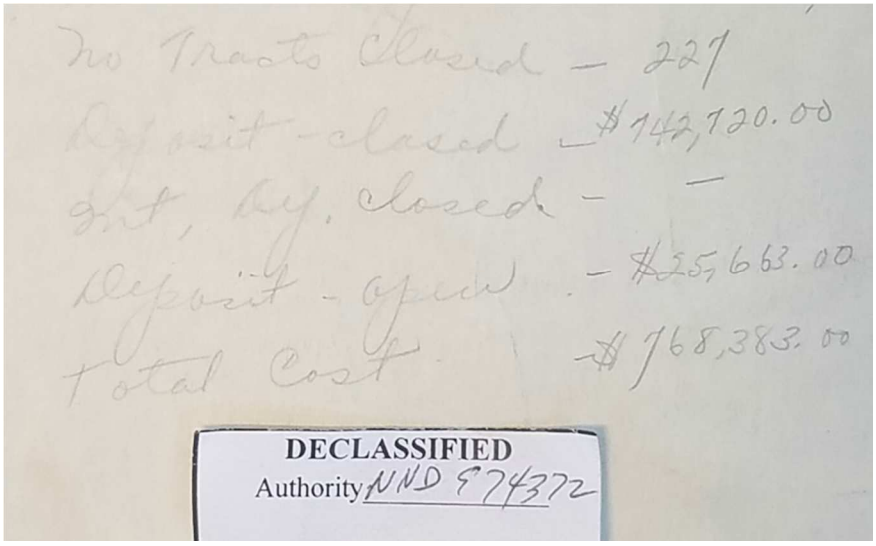


Fig 11. Christine Contakos Calculation of the Navy's Disbursements, Bureau of Yards and Docks, "C-48-9 MA, Camp Peary" Memorandum for File

The handwriting may be hard to decipher here, but it stated that $25,663.00 in deposits were still open. Directly in the middle of that exchange, on July 22, 1943, Assistant Attorney General, Norman Littell, contacted the Navy about three Negroes that were on this same list. He proclaimed: "The records of this Department disclose that no action has taken place for some time in connection with the following acquisitions."[539] The evidence pointed to these particular families never signing their offers.

Following Mr. Lucy's example, Mr. Lucy signed his Offer to Accept Form with Navy field representative Mr. Horton. These particular Negro families may not have known they needed to sign the offer or may not have been notified when the offer was ready. A potential reason they did not sign could have been their location. We know that two of the families moved out of the state of Virginia, which meant that they would either have needed to sign a mailed

[539] Norman Littell, in correspondence with the United States Navy, July 22, 1943.

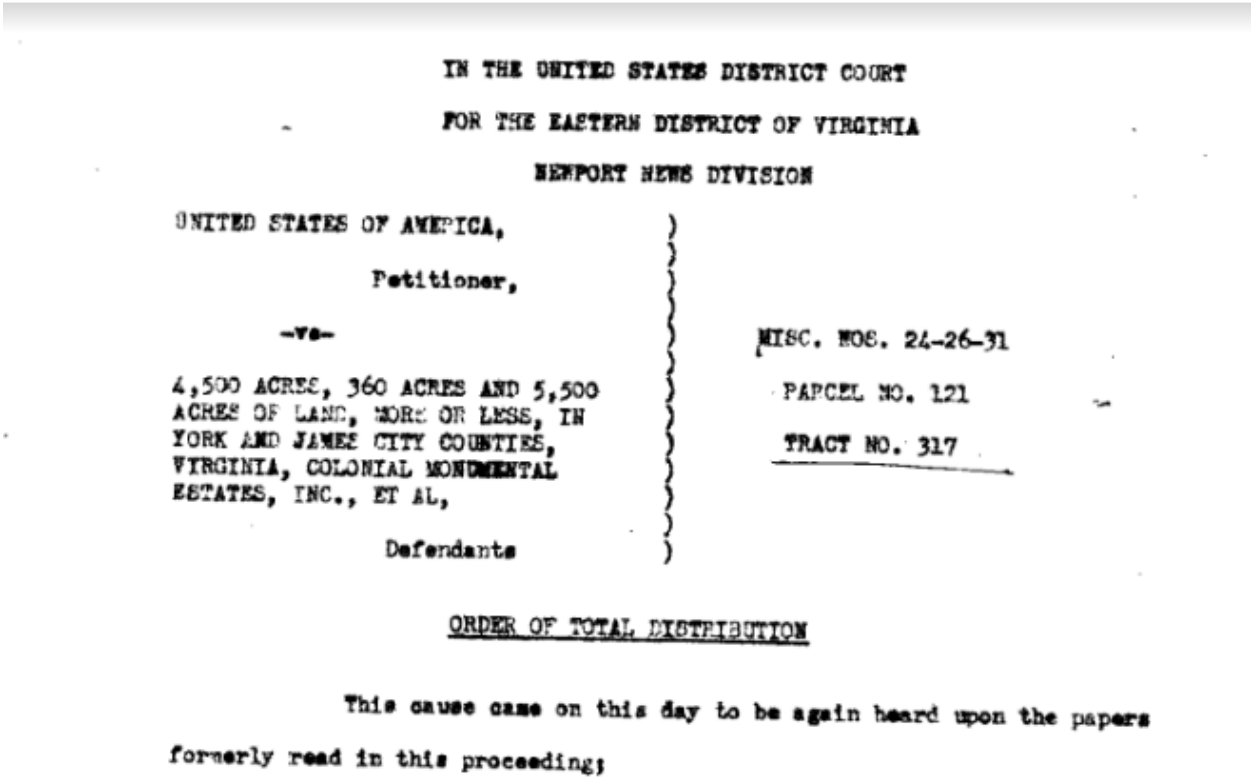
document or travel back to Virginia. If the Navy had the wrong address, then the mail could have gone to the wrong location. The oral histories and interviews did not bring up any specific details about signing the Offer to Accept. Therefore, a number of reasons could have led to former Negro residents not signing but what was clear was they never signed and cashed their checks.

The same issues that may have contributed to signing the Offer to Accept may likewise have contributed to the last stage: obtaining their check. Mr. Lucy waited on Mr. Horton to deliver his check. The Navy sent the signed Offers to Accept form they received from Mr. Horton and their corresponding checks to the Lands Division of the Attorney General's office. This money entered the "registry of the Court," and then the checks were distributed by the District Court of the United States of the Eastern District of Virginia.[540] The "Order of Partial Distributions" provided the final step to Negroes receiving their compensation: "Your respondents represent that the said sums total, and that the sum of [compensation amount] is to be held in Court."[541] Dispossessed Magruder Negroes had to go to the court in order to obtain payment for their land. But if they never received the Navy's communication, then families also did not receive compensation for the property that the Navy took from them.

The "Order of Partial/Total Distributions" disclosed that those who did receive their check signed the document with a notary in their respective locations. Partial distributions were for the situations when the Navy paid the former residents a part of the total compensation. Total distributions were when the Navy paid one total sum to the former residents. For example, one "Order of Partial Distributions" had notarized signatures from Newport News, Norfolk, Philadelphia, and Hartford. In some cases, when the landowner deceased, the heirs received the compensation from the land, which meant that multiple people had to sign the distribution

[540] "Order of Partial Distribution"
[541] "Order of Partial Distribution"

document. All of these signatures occurred at different times. The signature session in Newport News was on May 25, 1944 while the one in Philadelphia was June 13, 1944. These respective individuals went to their local courts and signed for their checks with the notary. The Navy's haphazard maintenance of dispossessed Negroes' biographical information meant that "there were a lot of heirs that were never located."[542] Therefore, many of the heirs of Negro families never knew what they had to do in order to be compensated.



IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA

NEWPORT NEWS DIVISION

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Petitioner,

-vs-

4,500 ACRES, 360 ACRES AND 5,500 ACRES OF LAND, MORE OR LESS, IN YORK AND JAMES CITY COUNTIES, VIRGINIA, COLONIAL MONUMENTAL ESTATES, INC., ET AL,

Defendants

MISC. NOS. 24-26-31

PARCEL NO. 121

TRACT NO. 317

ORDER OF TOTAL DISTRIBUTION

This cause came on this day to be again heard upon the papers formerly read in this proceeding;

Fig 12. Example of Order of Total Distribution

The Navy's lackluster administration of people's records also hindered another Negro family from receiving payment because two of the landowners had similar names. On February 4, 1943, Mr. Horton, the Navy Field Representative who was present in Magruder, wrote to the

[542] James Tabb, Sr. *James City County Oral History Project*, James City County Oral History Commission, 1984.

Lawyers Title Insurance Company: "The heirs of one Magruder resident claim that he did not have a son by the name of Ernest, that there is an Ernest who was the son of an entirely different Magruder resident who owned property not in this area."[543] Granted that the margin of error was wide since both of the Negro Magruder residents had similar names, Mr. Horton's confusion demonstrated how, he even though he was physically near, he was quite distant from the Negroes of Magruder. His presence did not prevent him from grossly confusing two humans by wrongly assigning a son to someone who lived in a completely different location. In this same communication with the Lawyers Title Insurance Company, he admitted that he did not even know who was living in a house they dispossessed.[544]

The first Navy payments went out between May and June of 1943. Lieutenant Lon Crow messaged the Chief of Bureau of Yards and Docks on June 27, 1943 that at least nine checks "have been issued by the Clerk of the Federal Court for payment."[545] When the Navy finally paid some of the residents, they did pay for the additional expenses of interest and taxes. There were also cases of "payment of deficiency judgements."[546] In one particular Negro family's situation, the amount "originally deposited in the declaration of taking" was one hundred dollars less than the Offer to Accept.[547] This family signed the Offer to Accept, but after the "Payment of deficiency judgement," there was no further documentation of their payment status. The absence of an "Order of Partial Distribution" meant no one knew whether they had received the full amount the first time they received their check, whether they received the deficiency payment at a later date, or whether they ever received compensation for their land at all.

[543] E.C. Horton, in correspondence with Lawyers Title Insurance Company, February 4, 1943.
[544] E.C. Horton, in correspondence with Lawyers Title Insurance Company, February 4, 1943.
[545] Lon Crow, "Acquisition of Land to Be Used for the Construction of the U.S. N.T.C.T.." June 27, 1943.
[546] "Payment of deficiency judgement in the case of United States v 4500 acres of land," October 19, 1943.
[547] US Navy, "Walter Jones' Offer to Accept," August 1943.

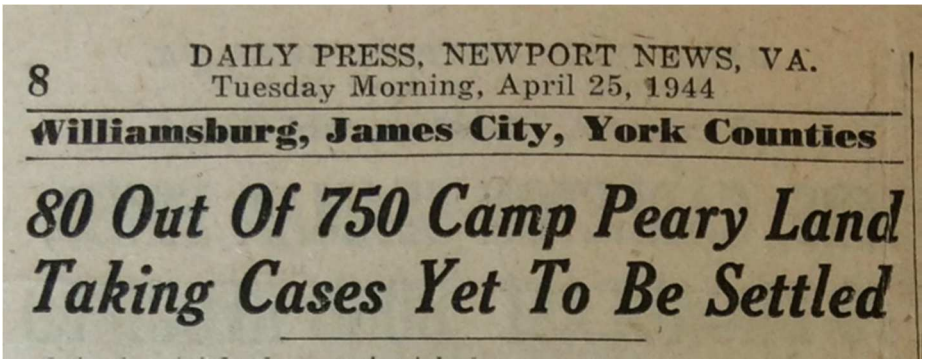

8 DAILY PRESS, NEWPORT NEWS, VA.
Tuesday Morning, April 25, 1944
Williamsburg, James City, York Counties
80 Out Of 750 Camp Peary Land Taking Cases Yet To Be Settled

Fig 13. Daily Press Headline of Unpaid Dispossessed Magruder Residents, Archibald F. Ward, Jr. Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Swem Library, College of William & Mary.

In addition to the reasons already mentioned, another piece of evidence that confirmed the descendant community's claim that their families never received compensation was the Navy's cancellation of contracts. On November 6, 1943, John J. Courtney, by direction of Chief of Bureau, informed the Audit Division of the General Accounting Office that two contracts had been canceled. Some contracts were canceled because the residents did not want to accept the offer made by the Navy. But in this specific case there was no indication that the family had ever received payment. Only one of the two Negroes on this cancellation document signed an offer to accept but this same contract was included in the earlier group of names associated with the more than twenty-five thousand dollars still unpaid. The only record of the other contract was this cancellation advisement.

Conclusion

"It was bad everywhere,"[548] said Curtis "Uncle Buck" Lassiter of the deplorable conditions in Tent City, but his comments might just as well have been made about any of the particular struggles of multiple dispossessed communities during the mid-1940s and early 1950s

[548] Curtis Lassiter, interviewed by the author, February 2018.

in the Williamsburg, York County, and James City County area. Yet through the ancestral power that created the original kinship networks during slavery, these communities banded together in the face of their oppression. It was Mr. Lassiter who provided this link between the ancestral kinship network and those who came together after numerous dispossessions. He explained:

> Highland Park was a close-knit family. I always heard they came out of Magruder. I never thought about this is where that family resided. Then also, by me being raised up in the Grove area, I realized that they were from the Magruder area. They had a bond between them. Those same families, they all came in and they all worked for Colonial Williamsburg. We were like a melting pot of three communities that displaced. We came together and we formed our own community.[549]

The boundary lines between dispossessed communities imposed by those outside of the descendant community did not exist between those inside the descendant community. Mr. Lassiter thought of the descendants from all the various areas—Mulberry Island, The Reservation, and Magruder— that ended up in Highland Park and Grove as one Negro family. His combination expanded the descendant community in this situation to not only include those directly from Magruder, but also those within the kinship network.

[549] Curtis Lassiter, interviewed by the author, February 15, 2019.

Chapter 6 – Enter the Matrix

"Everybody in Williamsburg related to each other." – Hope Wynne-Carter[550]

Dispossession continues today. Black descendants from Magruder are still losing their homes.[551] The descendant community endures the residual effects of their ancestors' dispossession. If my theory of the matrix of dispossession is correct, then we need to think about the ways in which all Blacks are dispossessed and how Blacks can enter the matrix. These introductory comments about Magruder former residents and descendants, along with the opening declaration, provide the trajectory of this concluding chapter. Wynne-Carter's statement links back to Carl Lassiter's description of the dispossessed communities coming together after the multiple dispossessions. If Wynne-Carter is correct, then she raises the question of how well my theory accounts for this interconnection. Before I test my theory in this concluding chapter, I will revisit my method by analyzing how the oral tradition about Magruder passed down through generations. Next, in testing my theory of the matrix of dispossession, I will first briefly discuss the theory again. In this discussion, I am not analyzing the descendant community, I am re-introducing the theory. After this description, I will provide examples from the former Magruder residents and descendant community in order to test the theory. This chapter concludes with implications of entering the matrix and the descendant community's proposals.

Magruder's Oral Tradition

Two primary characteristics define Magruder's oral tradition. First, the further removed from Magruder, the less the younger generations know or have heard about Magruder. Secondly,

[550] Hope Wynne-Carter, interviewed by author, April 10, 2019.

[551] Brandon Lee frustratingly expressed: "Still defending against these predators, my grandmother's house was unjustly condemned" (interviewed by author, April 2019).

the descendants who do know about Magruder have been intentional about hearing the stories themselves. Magruder's narrative has survived, which shows that it has been passed on to the next generation. The survival of the narrative comes from organized trips to Camp Peary, family reunions and organized gatherings. Maria Tabb Norman discusses how her grandparents would bring the families together and share their history.[552] This is one of the ways she learned about Magruder, but, according to Norman, the family has stopped these gatherings.[553] As a result, the younger generations are not aware of their history. Additional reasons why younger generations do not know about Magruder are because some elders never talk about it, some of the descendants did not care to know, or their family roots in Magruder, about which they knew nothing. Carlon Lassiter attributes these reasons to oppression. In response to the question of why descendants do not know about Magruder, he explicates: "I also know that is a spin of what oppression does and all the intricacies of what happens to Black bodies during that time and some things don't want to be talked about."[554]

Passing on the Story

The first aspect of the Magruder story not being shared with the younger generations is a portion of dispossessed adults not telling the story. Crystal Lassiter makes this powerful statement during a group interview after hearing about the details of Magruder.

> I agree but we just spent forty-five minutes talking about the interconnectedness of these communities. …I believe there's just some things you just don't talk about. Williamsburg ain't but so big. You ain't going to tell me people sitting in tents, where the stadium

[552] Maria Tabb Norman, interviewed by author, March 9, 2019.
[553] Maria Tabb Norman, interviewed by author, March 9, 2019.
[554] Carlon Lassiter, interviewed by author, February 15, 2019.

stands now. Come on now. We not talking about in the outskirts of Toano, Croaker and Charles City, we talking about downtown Williamsburg.[555]

Her response is rooted in the emotions of discovering what happened to her ancestors at "Tent City." In a different interview, Veronica Nelson communicates: "I think we didn't even know about this, because not enough elders talked about it."[556] Lassiter and Nelson highlight the significance of the elders in the transmission of the story. Because of the dispossessed Blacks who have not contributed to the discourse, their children are not aware of the details.

My oral histories primarily include former residents who had been children at the time of the dispossession. They have provided some details about life in Magruder, but they emphasized life after Magruder more. For example, Lloyd Wallace mentions how upset his parents had been, but he expresses the most discontent and details about the CCC camp.[557] Another example is Lanford Tabb, whose father did not discuss the dispossession.[558] He is able to recall some details about Magruder, such as dirt roads and people coming to use his father's phone, the only one in the community.[559] On the other hand, he provides precise details about moving to Grove and Black life in Williamsburg after World War II.

The next aspect of the Magruder story not fully being shared with younger generations is that some families do not know their ancestors lived in Magruder. As already mentioned, Ericka Byrd and Liza Daniels have been able to make their connection to Magruder after learning about their family's genealogy. Carl Lassiter had been in the same position as Byrd and Daniels. Interestingly, Carl Lassiter's son, Carlon Lassiter first revealed to me his ancestors who had lived

[555] Crystal Lassiter, interviewed by author, February 15, 2019.
[556] Veronica Nelson, interviewed by author, February 10, 2019.
[557] Lloyd Wallace, interviewed by author, September 9, 2018.
[558] Langford Tabb, interviewed by author, April 3, 2019
[559] Langford Tabb, interviewed by author, April 3, 2019

on Magruder. It is this lineage that contributes to me revealing to Byrd and Daniels their family roots in Magruder.

As a result of the silence from the dispossessed, misinformation has creeped into the narrative. Langford Tabb indicates that eminent domain is the reason "the government came in and took the land."[560] William Wallace, in his oral history with Will Carmines and Edith Heard, accurately claims that the war is the reason for the dispossession. Wallace's claim illustrates that some of the dispossessed residents have a correct understanding about what happened and raises the question of what Tabb's father knows. Tabb also mentions that "everyone got paid."[561]

The elder's silence and unawareness of one's family tree leads to Maria Tabb Norman's summation: "The younger generations don't know."[562] With few exceptions, everyone three generations removed from Magruder or younger either do not know specific details about Magruder or never heard about it at all. Shay Hamilton knows Magruder as the hotel where he has made social connections.[563] A common trope from younger generations is "I don't know about Magruder, you know who you should talk to."[564] The exceptions are Allan Wynne, Darren Banks, Brandon Lee, Carlon Lassiter and Brian Palmer.

The difference between Palmer and other descendants is his father's Magruder talks. In my interview with Palmer, he has provided thorough and picturesque details about the stories his father has told. He explains: "Generationally, what my father passed down to me was a tiny sense of joy living in Magruder and massive sense of anger of being displaced."[565] Although Palmer understands that anger later in his life, the vivid stories from his father has stayed with him years later after his father's passing. In the psychological dispossession section, I will

[560] Langford Tabb, interviewed by author, April 3, 2019.
[561] Langford Tabb, interviewed by author, April 3, 2019.
[562] Maria Tabb Norman, interviewed by author, April 3, 2019.
[563] Shay Hamilton, interviewed by author, April 3, 2019.
[564] Trinity Canady, interviewed by author, September 9, 2018.
[565] Brian Palmer, interviewed by author, April 5, 2019.

discuss his visits to Camp Peary. Palmer knows details about life in Magruder and the standoff between his grandfather and the Navy. Palmer exemplifies what the descendants would know about Magruder if their parents had shared about the dispossession.

Sitting at the Elder's Feet

Brandon Lee is the last of these five descendants that I interviewed. His interview illuminates that younger descendants who intentionally research their history, either through listening to their elders or an online tool, are the ones in the know about Magruder. After mentioning how her mother talked about Magruder, Hope Wynne-Carter proclaims: "I'm one of those elephants," meaning she soaks in as much knowledge and information as she possibly can.[566] Allan Wynne expresses the same sentiment, he has consistently stated how fortunate he has been to have older parents who shared their history.[567] The same for Ericka Byrd, her parents are much older than her and Byrd would go and listen to the elders.[568] Maria Tabb Norman illustrates how descendants have learned from the older generation: "Growing up as a kid, I tagged along with my grandmother. That's why I know so much. I know things even my sister doesn't know."[569] Those who sit under the feet of the elders, hear the stories

Testing Theoretical Results of the "Matrix of Dispossession"

The new question about the connection of Blacks in Williamsburg, York County, and James City County to dispossession, in light of Magruder, affirms that dispossession consists of more than loss of land. The history of Magruder and Black life post Magruder overwhelmingly

[566] Hope Wynn-Carter, interviewed by author, April 10, 2019.
[567] Allan Wynne, during interview with Rev. Davis, September 5, 2018.
[568] Ericka Byrd, interviewed by author, April 6, 2019.
[569] Maria Tabb Norman, interviewed by author, April 3, 2019.

display that an adequate conception of dispossession must account for this prolonged, persistent, multi-dimensional, and multi-generational experience. Hope Wynne-Carter's question pointedly illustrates this dynamic: "They took the land, but what else did they take?"[570] Wynne-Carter points to the dispossession robbing her ancestors of something else along with that land. What is that and how do we make sense of it?

In order to understand Magruder fully, I have proposed a matrix of dispossession that consists of five components: material, political, spiritual, existential, and psychological. This matrix functions in such a way that when an individual or community experience a dispossessive event, they "enter the matrix." Entering the matrix means the individual or community will simultaneously experience one or four of the other components in the matrix. In the case of Magruder, a Black community has experienced one component—material dispossession—when losing land, and as a result, has encountered the other four, political, spiritual, psychological and existential dispossession. Since each component overlaps and affects the others, it is difficult to neatly place a dispossessive act within only one component or category. For example, while Magruder residents' loss of their land is clearly material dispossession, the connection to the land is political, spiritual, psychological, and existential.

Magruder also reveals the ways in which the matrix of dispossession is non-White. A small number of Whites had lived in Magruder, but the dispossession had affected them differently than Blacks. Whites' history, loss of land and life after Magruder differs greatly from Blacks and the Indigenous people who had lost their land. A significant percentage of White Magruder landowners did not actually live in Magruder; their struggle is mainly financial. Therefore, if we do not consider race, then it makes sense to consider dispossession as solely a matter of the loss of land. But, when including dispossession's special manifestation in the

[570] Hope Wynn-Carter, interviewed by author, April 10, 2019.

history of Africans in America, to fully grasp the magnitude of the loss, it is imperative to understand the matrix of dispossession.

In testing my theory of the matrix of dispossession, based on my methodology of working for my ethical clients (the descendant community of Magruder), I highlight at least one event, occurrence, or characteristic of Magruder that aligns with each component. Due to the nature of my theory, events can easily entail multiple components. For example, while Magruder residents may have initially encountered psychological (experiencing their houses being shaken) dispossession, it can easily include the spiritual and existential.

Moreover, there are some key components to my theory that I describe in chapter one that are pertinent to testing the results. Saidiya Hartman, Alfred Moleah and Katherine McKittrick racialize dispossession in that they specifically analyze the dispossession of Black lives and bodies.[571] This perspective situates dispossession within the larger framework of systemic oppression being propagated by White Supremacy. One aspect of my theory, informed by Saidiya Hartman, is that the persistent dehumanizing forces against Black bodies entail a constellation between the cause of death during slavery and the causes of death in a militarized state.[572] Hartman's dynamic notion of dispossession is important to placing my matrix of dispossession within conglomeration of multiple oppressions. Alfred Moleah contributes to my theory how dispossession consists of varying levels of impact. Dispossession can range from losing five dollars, to a family member dying. Hartman, Moleah and Katherine McKittrick all identify dispossession as Blacks losing sovereignty over their lives or bodies, to varying degrees. Imperative to my racialized idea of dispossession, my matrix of dispossession functions within

[571] I point this out because all of authors who have discussed dispossession that I have mentioned in the introduction focus on African Americans.

[572] Saidiya Hartman, "The Dead Book Revisited," History of the Present 6, no. 2 (2016): 208, https://doi.org/10.5406/historypresent.6.2.0208.

the sphere of White Supremacy that influences Black lives. This influence of Black life can range from overt acts of power, such as forcing Black communities out of their homes, to covert hegemony, where Blacks are forced to make decisions based on the limited options they have, like what I have already described as Hartman's coerced agency.[573]

The conversation within the descendant community is around this question: In light of the size of Williamsburg and how well the families know each other, why is this story little known to the descendant community?[574] Based on the matrix of dispossession, the overall answer is: because the descendant community has entered the matrix and has experienced all five components of the matrix. Yet the general answer of the matrix does not specifically address why this story remains untold. The individual components bring some clarity to this situation. The three components that directly relate to passing on the narrative of Magruder through generations are spiritual, psychological, and existential. This untold story of Magruder perfectly highlights one instance of dispossession that overlaps with three components and eventually brings in all five.

African and African diasporic storytelling tradition is "spiritual work" that carries memories throughout generations.[575] M. Jacqui Alexander expounds upon this process by identifying memory as "a Sacred dimension of the self."[576] Therefore, "spiritual work" is the continual work of knowing one's self.[577] Coming from the perspective of a feminist Vodou and

[573] See chapter 1.

[574] This question came up in the group interview with the Lassiters. During this interview, we identified the direct familial connections between those who lived in The Reservation and those who lived in Magruder.

[575] M. Jacqui Alexander, *Pedagogies of Crossing: Meditations on Feminism, Sexual Politics, Memory, and the Sacred* (Duke University Press, 2005), 14.

[576] Alexander, *Pedagogies of Crossing*, 14.

[577] Alexander, *Pedagogies of Crossing*, see introduction and chapter 7. In this text, Alexander illustrates her journey of finding Kitsimba, "one of those captured and forced into the Crossing" (321). During Alexander's journey, she had to work through inadequate sources, reading against the grain was insufficient and books did not provide the framework she needed. Alexander was finally successful after being comfortable and accepting she did not know. She realized that "Kitsimba's plan" was for Alexander to engage her living and not her death. I share this

Santeria priest, Alexander's notion of the "Spirit" does not exclude the political, rather it includes "transnationalism, gender and sexuality, experience, history, memory, subjectivity and justice."[578] Through spiritual work, Africans and African diasporic peoples can realize where they come from and know who they are. The ability of stories to reveal to Blacks their identity in this world connects to the component of existential.

Humanist and religion scholar Anthony Pinn, has developed an African American humanist theology which provides a space to *do theology* without believing in God.[579] Pinn reformulates theology to mean:

> Theology is a method for critically engaging, articulating, and discussing the deep existential and ontological issues endemic to human life. So defined, African American nontheistic humanist theology is a way for African American humanists to speak and critique their collective life stories as these stories are guided by the structures and practices of nontheistic humanism as a quest for complex subjectivity.[580]

Pinn's vantage point of a Black humanist theology provides me the space to address questions and issues usually relegated to the "sacred" or metaphysical within the existential realm. This is important, because, as I will explain later, one hundred percent of the descendants are not Christians and may not hold to a worldview that allows for the spiritual or metaphysical. Therefore, where Alexander identifies the pedagogy of Black's history, in a sense, as "spiritual work," we can then use Pinn to transition to think about the ways in which our teaching is an existential inquiry. As Pinn states: "This reformulation of theology hinges on embodied

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to provide an example of the "spiritual work" and how, according to Alexander, we need to think about memory spiritually in order to grasp diasporic life and know who we are.

[578] Alexander, *Pedagogies of Crossing*, 15.

[579] Alexander, *Pedagogies of Crossing*, 3.

[580] Alexander, *Pedagogies of Crossing*, 6.

aesthetics as opposed to imago Dei."[581] Arguably, the very embodied aesthetics that Alexander discusses can still be utilized in Black's self-discovery. It is important to note that Pinn's reformulation of theology is still Black which means, he still maintains the concerns of Black life amid a White Supremacist world.

In addition to the narrative about Magruder falling within the components of existential and spiritual, the narrative is processed psychologically. Therefore, the initial reasons the descendant community enter what I am calling the matrix through not hearing about Magruder are spiritual, psychological, and existential dispossession. The consequences of not hearing these stories contribute directly to contemporary struggles of the descendant community. In the matrix of dispossession, all these disconnections are interconnected.

Material

Material dispossession consists of the loss of material possessions and the means by which an individual or community obtains possessions. In addition to Blacks from Magruder losing land, the most potent losses are the resources, sustainability, wealth and income potential the Navy has taken away. A common theme throughout the oral histories and interviews is to imagine the worth of waterfront property on the York River.[582] Blacks from Magruder would have had greater wealth if they still owned their land. They would still be able to farm and gather oysters from the York River. Moreover, they could build additional properties or rent out their property as vacation homes. Such high value homeownership opens doors to a variety of

[581] Anthony Pinn, *End of God-Talk: An African American Humanist Theology* (Cary: Oxford University Press, 2012), 6.

[582] Joyce Wynne, Hope Wynne-Carter, Justine Robinson and Jean Taylor Edlow

financial options such as lines of credits—of which they have been deprived.[583] These homes would have been passed down from generation to generation. Blacks still living on Magruder could be business owners, following the legacy of their landowners. These are just a few of the many examples of what the loss of land in Magruder means for Blacks and how it affected their capacity to obtain income and garner wealth.

Material dispossession at Magruder is racialized. Black Magruder ancestors come from various financial backgrounds.[584] Those who had been enslaved already experienced the worst form of dispossession. The dispossession of Magruder had started in 1942, only seventy-seven years after the Emancipation Proclamation. Looking at William Wallace's story, for example, his grandfather had started with very little. Therefore, they only have had three generations to build wealth. When Mr. Wallace's family move to the CCC camp and then Grove, they are starting over. In light of their experience at Tent City and building their new homes from the ground up, the Wallaces--in this instance, but also all of the families whose ancestors had been enslaved, are "making a way out of no way."[585] This compounds when considering that if they had not been dispossessed, they would still be landowners building intergenerational wealth that increased every year.

Following their forced migration out of Magruder, Blacks once again had to deal with another set of limited opportunities. The primary jobs available are service jobs at Colonial Williamsburg, the College of William & Mary, Eastern State, or being a house servant. For

[583] Since none of the Blacks kept their land on Magruder, there is no way to make specific claims about how much wealth they would have accumulated. For a detailed analysis of the home equity gap between Blacks and Whites see: Ajamu C. Loving, Michael S. Finke, and John R. Salter, "Does Home Equity Explain the Black Wealth Gap?," *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 27, no. 4 (2012): 427–51, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10901-011-9256-3.

[584] The variety of backgrounds and the effects of the dispossession point to the ways in which dispossession has varying levels of severity, as explained in the Introduction.

[585] This is a common phrase among Blacks to explain the ways in which they use the limited resources available in order to survive.

Blacks to have a career, they had and still have to leave Williamsburg. Alleyne Blayton describes post Magruder this way: "Our kids still go away for jobs – they don't have jobs for Black kids. We send them to school, and they come back and they cannot find a decent job, so many of us are upset over the fact that our children are away and so far away. They've had to go away in order to get decent jobs."[586]

A comparison to Whites in Magruder clarifies the racialization of resources and the severity of material dispossession for Blacks. Whereas some Blacks had started with very little, Whites, specifically the English, have been profiting from Black labor ever since the seventeenth century. Ms. Ross Gross, a former White resident of Magruder, shares that her "uncle had the farm then (one in Magruder), and he found a farm in Henrico County."[587] She exemplifies how Whites have more property than Blacks. The number of free Blacks and the amount of land Magruder ancestors had owned ran counter to the national trend of land ownership during slavery and leading up to World War II. During the colonial period, free Black landowners had lived up and down the York River and, through their kinship networks, in and around the state of Virginia. James Hill, MD Hundley, Carl Lassiter and Billie Johnson all discuss the land their ancestors owned "from Magruder to the Naval Weapon Station."[588] In addition to families intermarrying between Magruder and The Reservation, the Roberts owned land on both.[589]

In general, what set Whites and Blacks from Magruder apart in land ownership is that no Whites have been enslaved while some Magruder ancestors have been enslaved. As discussed in chapter three, enslaved Negroes have worked the land for White slave holders and not for their

[586]Alleyne Blayton, James City County Oral History Project, Oral History Interview (James City County: James City County Historical Commission, 1984).

[587] Rose Gross, James City County Oral History Project, Oral History Interview, (James City County: James City County Historical Commission, 1984).

[588] MD Hundley, interviewed by author, April 9, 2019.

[589] See chapter 3 for genealogy and chapter 5 for the discussion about The Reservation.

families. Additionally, the one store in Magruder had been owned by a White man, David Powers, and operated by a White man, Ellis Bingley. Blacks and Whites shopped at this store.

Material dispossession closes the distance in economic status between enslaved and free Black Magruder ancestors. Several scholars have conducted studies highlighting the wealth gap between Blacks and Whites.[590] During the 1970s, Blacks' economic status starts declining compared to Whites.[591] One study in particular has traced back a drastic shift to post World War II and the administration of the GI Bill.[592] At the same exact time Whites (including Whites of different ethnicities) are gaining in wealth, partly due to home ownership, Blacks from Magruder are being dispossessed and economically being driven in the opposite direction.

The most telling example of the racialization of material dispossession comes in the form of a letter from a White person to the Navy. In November 1943, Mr. Lee Lucy had written to the Office of the Attorney General with great angst because he had not received compensation for his land. Assistant to the Attorney General, H. H. Holt Jr. wrote to the Navy on November 26, 1943: "I have now received another letter from Mr. L. Lee Lucy indicating that it is necessary that he receive all or some part of his money prior to December 10th; otherwise he will find himself in the position of again borrowing money for the education of his son."[593] While twenty-five Black families had been homeless and another fifty families had resided in the oppressive conditions of Tent City, Mr. Lucy and other Whites' major concern had been the threat of having to take out student loans. This is why material dispossession from Magruder is Black. After

[590] Alexandra Killewald, Fabian T. Pfeffer, and Jared N. Schachner, "Wealth Inequality and Accumulation," *Annual Review of Sociology* 43, no. 1 (2017): 379–404, https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-060116-053331 and Alexandra Killewald, "Return to 'Being Black, Living in the Red': A Race Gap in Wealth That Goes Beyond Social Origins," *Demography* 50, no. 4 (2013): 1177–1195.

[591] Melvin L. Oliver, *Black Wealth, White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial Inequality*, 10th anniversary ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006).

[592] Oliver, *Black Wealth, White* Wealth. Also see Karen Brodkin Sacks, "How Did Jews Become White Folks?" in *Race*, eds. Steven Gregory & Roger Sanjek (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1994

[593] H. H. Holt Jr., in correspondence with the United States Navy, November 26, 1943.

Blacks from Magruder lose their land and means of production, sustenance, and community, they endure the political, spiritual, psychological, and existential components of the matrix.

Political

The initiation into the matrix of dispossession through political dispossession involves traditional politics within the US government, power, and mutual feelings of belonging to a nation. Therefore, political dispossession consists of loss of legal rights, loss of citizenship, loss of power within a nation, and being isolated or situated on the margins of that nation. Blacks from Magruder and the descendant community are politically dispossessed in several ways. As Salamishah Tillet posits, African Americans have experienced civic estrangement in that they do not see the "lives and contributions of enslaved African Americans in their immediate national landscape."[594] Tillet's notion of civic estrangement seamlessly flows between Alexander's spiritual work and Pinn's Black nontheistic theology. Tillet adds to the conversation a political perspective of how diasporic Africans desire to see themselves and their contributions within American society. Depending upon how the descendant community and Blacks in general view the world, they can either take a spiritual or existential approach to also understand the political.[595]

In addition to civic estrangement, another way political dispossession manifests in the lives of former Magruder residents and the descendant community is in their attitude towards the military and World War II. The descendant community's attitude towards the war and the military is generational.[596] The US had wanted full support from its citizens in going to war and

[594] Tillet, "In the Shadow of the Castle," 125.

[595] Both Alexander and Tillet make overt claims about their ideology being political.

[596] The generational attitude towards the war aligns with my explanation of Magruder's oral tradition. The younger generations had not heard about World War II before.

during the war. But, as Carl Lassiter reveals, former Magruder residents and the dispossessed Black community that formed together after the multiple dispossession have been angry with the military. Lassiter explains that Blacks had been fed up from losing their homes on multiple occasions due to the creation of military bases, Ft. Eustis, Naval Weapons Station, and Camp Peary.[597] The oral histories and interviews also reveal the descendant community's (younger generation) nonchalant attitude towards the war. As Carlon Lassiter proclaims, "I didn't care about World War II because I was never able to identify with it. I knew my grandfather was buried, served and got a flag. But other than that, we never knew how it directly affected us."[598] Indeed, some of the descendant community did not consider World War II as part of their history and, before the interview, gave any thought to the war efforts. Considering that it is important for the descendant community to know the crucial role World War II had played in their ancestors' dispossession, their disregard for the war shows their lack of affiliation with the notion of American exceptionalism and being an American citizen.[599]

The protest by dispossessed Blacks and supporting Whites (see chapter five) also point to political dispossession. These protests have portrayed Blacks' discontentment with and feelings of estrangement from the US government. Moreover, they protest because they have few options to express their frustrations. The overall feeling being portrayed through the oral histories and interviews is a sense of powerlessness. Many displaced Blacks have paused, shaken their heads, thrown up their hands, and remark "what can you do?" in response to the government telling them to move. This powerlessness also feeds into spiritual dispossession.

Spiritual

[597] Carl Lassiter interviewed by author, February 15, 2019.
[598] Carlon Lassiter, interviewed by author, February 15, 2019.
[599] Carl Lassiter, Carlon Lassiter, and Crystal Lassiter, interviewed by author, February 15, 2019.

The two components of political and spiritual dispossession significantly intertwine in Magruder. Foundational to Magruder's Black ancestors' identity is that they are dispossessed Africans living in a diaspora. Cultural theorist and diasporic scholar Stuart Hall provides a framework for understanding Black Magruder ancestors' multifaceted relationship with Africa. Building on the Negritude movement, specifically Aimé Césaire's and Leopold Senghor's three presences—Présence Africaine, Présence Europeenne and Présence Americaine—Hall articulates that Présence Africaine captures the repressed aspects of Africa that persist.[600] Since culture is dynamic, the Africa that the enslaved had been taken from no longer exists. Therefore, Africans outside of Africa are perpetually dispossessed and "can't literally go home again."[601] As a result, Africa has become an "imagined community" in which Présence Americaine consists of the "mixes of colour, pigmentation, physiognomic type; the 'blends' of tastes that is Caribbean cuisine; the aesthetics of the 'cross-overs' of cut and mix…"[602] Specifically for Magruder, in response to my question on spiritual dispossession, she expresses: "I feel like they really felt like they were taken advantage of, displaced. They were taken away from their homeland."[603] It is this sense of homelessness that ties in with Tillet's notion of civic estrangement, thereby bringing together political and spiritual dispossession.

Hall's framework makes it easier to understand David Racine's chapter "Concepts of Diaspora and Alienation as Privileged Themes in Negritude Literature," in which he discusses the Negritude movement's notion of double exile. Double exile is, as Jean-Paul Sarte posits, the "exile of the body" and "exile of the heart."[604] Implementing the Negritude writers, Hall and

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[600] Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Theorizing Diaspora* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003).

[601] Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," 241.

[602] Ibid, 244.

[603] Hope Wynne-Carter, interviewed by author, April 10, 2019.

[604] David Racine, "Concepts of Diaspora and Alienation as Privileged Themes in Negritude Literature," in *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1982), 98.

Racine's concepts of diaspora and dispossession onto Magruder, we see first, that Black Magruder ancestors are doubly exiled from the specific country in Africa from which they came. The first generation's memory of Africa had been alive, but as time goes on and cultures change, the Africa they remember no longer existed. African diasporic scholar Joseph Harris describes diasporas "as a continuous and dynamic process."[605] The society and cultures on both sides of the Atlantic constantly change and shift throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Black Magruder ancestors during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had started to create brand new cultures, societies with the "blends of tastes"[606] from the multiple ingredients of those who had been living with the Indigenous people since the sixteenth century, those who had been enslaved and brought over from Africa, and those who self-emancipated. But most importantly during the turn into the nineteenth century, the flow from African countries into Magruder stopped altogether.

Moreover, Magruder reframes "double exile" as double dispossession. In addition to the first dispossession of their ancestors, the removal from Magruder is the second dispossession. James Johnson encapsulates the journey of Blacks from Magruder being doubly dispossessed:

> *How did you feel about Africa? Are you American?*
>
> Respect my history, "I didn't know no better"
>
> We had to say the pledge of allegiance every morning
>
> "I don't know what it (American) means"[607]

Former Magruder resident Jason Langford, shares a similar experience: "I didn't even know anything about Africa. Africa wasn't even mentioned until college."[608] Johnson and Langford

[605] Racine, "Concepts of Diaspora and Alienation as Privileged Themes in Negritude Literature," 9.
[606] Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," 241.
[607] James Johnson, interviewed by author, October 14, 2018.
[608] Jason Langford, interviewed by author, April 9, 2019.

communicate the ways in which their education did not include Africa and contributed to their lack of identification with Africa. They do value Africa, but Johnson expresses how being forced to say the pledge of allegiance on a regular basis is antithetical to his Africanness. The multiple dispossessions they have endured have devalued Africa, elevated America, and placed Blacks directly in the tension between the two.[609] Even though they are African Americans, they do not know their "African" identity, thereby undergoing spiritual (loss of African) and political (ostracized in America) dispossession.

In my interview with Hope Wynne-Carter, she stated: "If you really want to understand (spiritual dispossession) just go to Camp Peary and look at how they treated the Black church and cemetery and the White church and cemetery. Make sure you take pictures, that says it all."[610] Following Wynne-Carter's suggestion, I obtained several photos (above and below) of the Mt Gilead Church and Oak Orchard cemetery (Black) and the cemetery outside of the York River Presbyterian Church (White). As displayed through the pictures, the most straightforward instance of spiritual dispossession is how the Navy treated the three churches and cemeteries associated with Magruder.

[609] W. E. B. Du Bois, *Soul of Black Folks*
[610] Hope Wynne Carter, interviewed by author, April 10, 2019.

Fig 14. Mt. Gilead, 1965, U.S. Department of Defense by way of Brian Palmer, 1965.

A member of the descendant community, Brian Palmer, had visited Camp Peary after his father died in 2011 and discloses that the all-White Presbyterian Church is still standing while "the town's two black churches were razed."[611] Further, the White community's cemetery continues to be well kept while the Black cemeteries are "as humble as it looked in the photo; the burial ground had been allowed to revert to nature, but personnel had raked the field before our arrival."[612] The Navy had wiped out two structures that possessed memories, times of healings and encouragement, and that had been the bedrock of Magruder community. The spiritual dispossessions of these two churches are not at the maximum level of severity because these two churches are still in existence today. There is, however, some level of spiritual dispossession in that services performed in those two buildings are no longer possible. The severing to which I

[611] Brian Palmer, "All our Sorrows Heal," March 16, 2016. Accessed on May 14, 2016 http://www.readingthepictures.org/2016/03/brian-palmer-all-our-sorrows-heal/

[612] Palmer, "All our Sorrows Heal." Permission received from Brian Palmer. © 2012 Brian Palmer/brianpalmer.photos.

am referring is the tangible building itself. I am not arguing for a disconnection from memories, photos of the church or in the church, or any other artifact that's connected to the church.

Fig 15. Oak Orchard Cemetery and York River Presbyterian Church Cemetery, Brian Palmer, "All our Sorrows Heal." Permission received from Brian Palmer. © 2012 Brian Palmer/brianpalmer.photos.

The difference in the maintenance of these graveyards points to a continual spiritual dispossession. Palmer's visit portraying how they "raked the field" right before his arrival raises additional questions as to how much the Navy valued Magruder Blacks' graves. If the contractors had been allowed to walk through Blacks' gardens and the Navy has not maintained the graves well, one might wonder whether the Navy also conducted training exercises on the graves. Did the Navy drive over, trample, bomb, or tear gas the area they devalued? The Navy has memorialized the grave of an unknown Confederate soldier in the exact opposite way. This memorial is within a fence and is maintained in immaculate condition. In addition to disregarding Black history, the Navy celebrated the Confederates who fought to oppress Blacks, thereby strangling the life out of Black memory. The Navy has shown they do not even value Black life in Black death.

Alexander's spiritual work exceptionally characterizes the descendant community's idea of spiritual dispossession. It seems as if the descendant community read Alexander's work and decided to provide these answers. Across the board, the responses to the question on spiritual

dispossession focus on telling the story. [613] Descendants have discussed the importance of telling the story of Magruder, knowing their history and making sure the next generations know it. For example, Maria Tabb Norman shares: "God has a way to bringing it to the light. …It hurts me because the children don't know. We heard the story growing up, but now they are not sharing the story. We shared it."[614] Norman, from a Christian perspective, believes that the spiritual loss within the Magruder descendant community is that next generation does not know about Magruder and their history. She says that it hurts her. This pain comes from her being fortunate enough to know her history but the next generations not having that same fortune. I repeat this fact--the importance of telling the story to the descendant community---along with Alexander's notion of spiritual work because Alexander created space in her work to be guided by the Spirit and let her African diasporic family speak. Kitsimba had told her to study "the texture of her (Kitsimba) living."[615] If Alexander is right, and that is the same Spirit guiding my work and the Spirit can interconnect Alexander, the descendant community and myself.

Hope Wynne-Carter provides a thorough answer to the question about spiritual dispossession that I must quote a length:

> It was a disruption to their spirit as a people. They took the land, but what else did they take? They took the future and the dream. They took away the opportunity for the unborn to grow up on that land. They took a whole generation away. I don't know the words, but I know it had an effect on them spiritually. They took their willingness to fight. We haven't been willing to fight. It was a physical reality for me, but the spiritual impact is

[613] Brandon Lee, Hope Wynne-Carter, Maria Tabb Norman, Allan Wynne, Veronica Nelson, Carlon Lassiter, Carl Lassiter and Crystal Lassiter are some examples.

[614] Maria Tabb Norman, interviewed by author, March 3, 2019.

[615] Alexander, *Pedagogies of Crossing*, 295.

that God has finally sent someone who has the insight to unearth what the ground has talked about.[616]

Wynne-Carter opens and closes her statement with the dispossessed Magruder resident's spirit and the spiritual impact of God portraying spiritual lost from a Christian perspective. I highlight the opening and closing to show how Wynne-Carter moves from a point of devastation to a point of divine intervention. Within these two markers, she depicts how the descendant community will never be able to grow up in Magruder. This disconnection from the land also affects former Magruder residents' and the descendant community's aspirations. Instead of staying in their homes, passing a legacy down that they had received from their parents, Wynne-Carter posits that their very will to fight is gone. These are two opposite extremes, dreaming and legacy building on one end and surrendering to the dispossession on the other. Allan Wynne also answers the question about spiritual dispossession but from a non-Christian perspective; he provides insight into the descendant community who would be categorized as existential.

Existential

The political and spiritual dispossession revealed through the oral histories and interviews, of not telling the story of Magruder, also interact with existential dispossession. The component of existential is the most difficult to describe because I am creating it out of the liminal space between the components of spiritual and psychological. In "'Ain't It Evil to Live Backwards?': A Hip Hop Perspective of Religion," Cassandra Chaney and I lay out the scholarly arguments on religion that question whether or not religion is sui generis and/or a function of Europeans' definition of their and non-European behaviors. We conclude that due to the competing definitions of religion, those being studied should define religion for themselves.

[616] Hope Wynne Carter, interviewed by author, April 10, 2019.

Former Magruder residents and the descendant community do not have one uniform view of religion. Whereas many of the comments have come from Christians, how do we make sense of the non-Christian descendants? They need to find a different way of understanding dispossession that is not spiritual. The variety of religious and non-religious beliefs throughout the descendant community is immeasurable because "those within the same religion may differently understand and define religion."[617]

Critical theorist and Afromanticist, La Marr Jurelle Bruce, mentions existential dispossession in his discussion of Lauryn Hill's "madness."[618] He states: "To have him (Rob Harvilla, reviewer for *Village Voice*) tell it, Hill is suffering an existential dispossession before his eyes and ears: losing her audience, losing her mind, and losing her voice."[619] Existential dispossession is not Bruce's focus, understandably, he does not provide further details about what exactly Hill lost. I posit that existential dispossession in this case is the loss of mind, "madness," going along with the subject of the article. If true, Bruce briefly presents a conception of existential dispossession that involves losing one's mind. This aligns with my initial thinking in developing existential dispossession but, it overlapped with psychological dispossession.

Ultimately, I have determined and defined existential dispossession as the varying levels in which an individual or community loses its identity. My theory of existential dispossession zeroes in on the individual's and community's existence. It asks such questions as who am I?

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[617] Travis Harris and Cassandra Chaney, "Ain't it Evil to Live Backwards*" Journal of Hip Hop Studies* 5, No. 1 (2018): 6-34.

[618] Bruce develops a critical theory of madness: "On one hand, 'madness' is both a floating and wildly flitting signifier. On the other, the phenomenon of madness entails lived experiences that demand critical, ethical attention." La Marr Jurelle Bruce, "'The People Inside my Head, Too': Madness, Black Womanhood, and the Radical Performance of Lauryn Hill." African American Review 45, no. 3 (2012): 371+. Literature Resource Center (accessed April 12, 2019). http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A342678984/LitRC?u=viva_wm&sid=LitRC&xid=c020c065.

[619] Bruce, "'The People Inside my Head, Too'."

What is my purpose and how do I fit in this world? The answers to these questions can fall under the spiritual component but, as Pinn reveals, there is also an opportunity for those who do not believe in the spirit to answer these same questions. In order to under the "dispossession" part of existential dispossession, I bring back up Katherine McKittrick, Saidiya Hartman and Alfred Moleah. Moleah and Hartman contend Europeans dispossess in stages and dispossessions can range in severity. Therefore, existential dispossession ranges from not knowing one's place in this world to no longer existing – dying. Disorientation and loss of place in this world make McKittrick striking claim about black women stronger. McKittrick states that Blacks women are "seemingly in place by being out of place."[620] Our conception of existential dispossession makes sense of this warped reality where, in focusing on Magruder, the former Magruder residents and descendant community is in place by being out of place. This positioning is not material, although there are stark parallels in being forced out of place, but more so about their identity.

For the former Magruder residents and the descendant community, this out-of-placeness existentially involves not knowing their history, the disconnection from Africa and from Magruder and the civic estrangement of not fitting into American society. Descendant Allan Wynne portrays his family's existential dispossession from the perspective of a Five Percenter. To contextualize his comments, I ask him what it means to be a Five Percenter. First, he explains that Islam is an acronym for I am Self Lord and Master.[621] He does hold to the Five Percenter view that many other Muslims are aware of: eighty-five percent are the unconscious humble masses, ten percent know the truth and use it to control the masses and five percent are the poor righteous teachers who educate the masses. According to Wynne, Five Percenters believe that

[620] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), xv.
[621] Allan Wynne, interviewed by author, April 15, 2019.

the five percent "are teaching the poor" because they "have knowledge of self."[622] Wynne's emphasis on knowing one's self directly aligns with my conception of existential dispossession. His response to spiritual/existential dispossession shines more light on how former Magruder residents and the descendant community have been existentially dispossessed:

> I look at it as if it furthermore proves what Master Farad Muhammad been saying.
>
> The whole concept of the law of attraction. I feel like this is what we are supposed to be doing. I feel like this is the journey.
>
> This is all about White Supremacy. It doesn't boil down to nothing but that.
>
> How do you tell somebody, you not somebody, and then take their land from them?
>
> Several years later, the story is being told. This is what it's about, in a way, we are gaining. To me, I'm proud of that pain. I don't know nothing but pain. My people had to be motivated off pain. The only thing the White man could have done was miseducate they kids. So, the only thing to figure out how to hurt them is to miseducate them.[623]

What stands out about Wynne's statement is its non-linear pattern. He first starts with Master Farad Muhammad, next mentions the journey and then goes back to White Supremacy. I only highlight this to show that his answer is not straightforward, rather it has layers. Another key component to understanding his answer is that Wynne and I have a close relationship. Since he has been my barber for four years, this is one of many conversations we have had about Magruder. He starts with Muhammad and then goes to the law of attraction because he believes we are meant to work together on the Magruder Project and ensure the story is told. Wynne heavily emphasizes telling the story because, as a Five Percenter, this is the way to educate the masses.

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[622] Allan Wynne, interviewed by author, April 2, 2019.
[623] Allan Wynne interviewed by author, April 2, 2019.

Another aspect of his response is how both the oppression and work to be done take place existentially. Wynne centers the work of White Supremacy in dispossessing former Magruder residents and the descendant community. He presents the dispossession in stages in the same way Moleah describes. What Wynne reveals is that the stages do not have to be linear. While listening to Wynne, he's communicating dehumanization *and* taking their land but not necessarily in that order. In other words, Wynne is not saying they devised a plan in which they would keep them miseducated and then come in and take their land. Moreover, his voice emphasized the "and," meaning, he is most concerned about his family experiencing multiple forms of oppression. Wynne closes his statement by bringing up miseducation. Miseducation is imperative to understanding existential dispossession because that is the tool by which White Supremacy keeps African diasporic people from knowing their true identity.

Magruder reveals the ways in which the converging of political dispossession with spiritual dispossession coagulate and create existential dispossession. James Johnson states:

> Author: What type of impact did the dispossession have on you? Did it affect your family? Did it impact your descendants?
>
> JJ: I was only 8. It was passed (the dispossession).
>
> I would go back. It's beautiful, real beautiful.
>
> I wanted to go back.

Johnson had been a child at the time of the dispossession, thereby making Magruder a distant memory. He does not have memories of growing up in Magruder past eight years old, like Wynne-Carter refers to. He has animosity towards the government's actions during World War II because the Navy "only took Blacks' land."[624] I followed up in the oral history by inquiring where is home. Johnson shares that where he currently lives outside of Virginia is home. Johnson

[624] James Johnson, interviewed by author, October 10, 2018.

does not know what it means to be American and indicates that he "didn't know no better" about Africa.[625] Therefore, neither Africa—due to spiritual dispossession, America—political dispossession, nor Magruder is home; although those are where centuries of Johnson's ancestors have lived. Magruder is just a distant memory of beautiful scenery to which, unfortunately, this former Magruder resident and others do not have an adequate existential connection.

Magruder also elucidates how existential dispossession does not occur in and of itself.[626] It happens as a result of another component of dispossession or the combination of components within the matrix of dispossession. Another existential dispossessive event is, unfortunately, the death of Blacks at Tent City. Due to the nature of Magruder's dispossession, violent acts that have affected Black lives occur indirectly. Those who had died on the campus of William & Mary had been "root shocked." Root shock, according to Mindy Fullilove, MD, is "the traumatic stress reaction to the destruction of all or part of one's emotional ecosystem."[627] As a result of root shock, Blacks are negatively affected in three ways: first, directly—meaning the actual dispossession leads to illness; second, indirectly—the places to which Blacks move have substandard living conditions, which leads to illness which in turn affects the communities receiving the displaced; and third, dispossession is considered a "fundamental cause" of diseases, meaning "those factors in the environment that influence the distribution of and access to resources."[628] This is precisely what has happened to dispossessed Magruder residents. First, they were quickly and forcefully moved. While still hemorrhaging from the sudden departure and loss of all that had been associated with Magruder, they were living in deplorable conditions.

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[625] James Johnson, interviewed by author, October 10, 2018.

[626] There are cases when the onset of the matrix could be existential dispossession. One unfortunate and common example is the direct violation of Black bodies such as rape.

[627] Mindy Thompson Fullilove, *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, and What We Can Do About It* (New York, NY: One World/Ballantine, 2005), 11.

[628] Mindy Thompson Fullilove, "Root Shock: The Consequences of African American Dispossession," *Journal of Urban Health : Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine Vol. 78, No. 1* (New York, NY: New York Academy of Medicine, 2001), 74,

Furthermore, they had to wait to receive their insufficient compensation from the Navy, working service jobs, and trying to find land and time to build their new homes. These perpetual, persistent, and pervasive actions led to Blacks no longer existing—some died, and some lost their sense of self.

Based on the worldview, the loss of a sense of community after 1942 can be either spiritual dispossession or existential dispossession. In William and Sue Washington's oral history, they contend that people are not together as much as they used to be because Bible study is no longer an integral part of the community's life.[629] Therefore, they would describe the rupture in the community as spiritual dispossession. On the other hand, another perspective points to the communal sense of belonging to a Black community that is not necessarily "spiritual" but resulting from their existence as Blacks in Magruder. The disruption in this sense is existential dispossession. This description of Black community life can be both existential and spiritual but for the non-religious, existential provides an acceptable conceptual space.

Psychological

The Navy's violent removal of Blacks, their subsequent treatment of Blacks and their property, and the erasure and control of the collective memory of the traumatic events psychologically dispossessed Blacks. Cultural anthropologists, Sten Hagberg, associates psychological dispossession with the pain that results from material loss or a loss of identity.[630] Hope Wynne-Carter, after reflecting on her experience with her family who had been dispossessed states: "It was an unspoken loss. It had a bigger impact on them that they never

[629] William and Sue Washington, interviewed by Will Carmines and Edith Heard, Spring 2010.

[630] One example is Sten Hagberg in "Learning to Live or to Leave? Education and Identity in Burkina Faso," who uses psychological dispossession in this manner: "These experiences have had serious consequences for Africans among which one notes the separation of the self, material and psychological dispossession and the loss of dignity" (31).

discussed." Wynne-Carter hints at a loss her family experienced but they may not be aware of that loss. Ralph Ellison provides an explanation of her family's unawareness that I will use to shape my notion of psychological dispossession. Ellison writes: "Why, they even tried to dispossess us of our dislike of being dispossessed!" Ellison reveals how dispossession functions in such a way that the dispossessed do not know they are dispossessed. In *Invisible Man*, when the narrator gives this speech, he is speaking out against dispossession, yet he is unaware of the influence that the Brotherhood has on him. As such, Ellison's notion of dispossession does not have to involve a traumatic event. My racialized conception of psychological dispossession is multifaceted and can result from trauma or White Supremacy's propagation of systemic oppression, in the same way that the Brotherhood have influenced the narrator's actions. It is the process by which a stressor traumatically produces stress associated with loss to the point that individuals and communities do not adequately cope and grieve. Referring back to Hartman, Moleah's and McKittrick's explanation of dispossessed Black's lack of sovereignty, psychological dispossession can also entail a lack of mind control for the dispossessed. Furthermore, psychological dispossession ranges in severity and happens in stages in the same manner of the other components of dispossession.

The onset of psychological dispossession has occurred with the powerful presence of massive construction machinery plowing through houses and suddenly being in their yards with little or no warning. It is exacerbated when the Navy gives an eviction notice to a population that did nothing wrong. Theories of stress elucidate that this random event to Blacks at Magruder—unpredictability—will lead to "increased anxiety, a potentiated startle reflex, and greater

avoidance when the occurrence of aversive stimuli is unpredictable or random."[631] This unannounced arrival creates bitterness and resentment for Blacks and Whites. Ms. Gross shares: "How would anybody feel? Just uprooted like that, you know. … My mother came when she was just, maybe three years old. And I think there was some bitterness over it by a lot of people." The difference in psychological dispossession between Blacks and Whites is the Navy's treatment of the two after the dispossession. The Navy directly invest into the lives of displaced Whites or Whites had material and political resources with which to cope but not Blacks.

Rose Gross' and Brian Palmer's stories elucidate the psychological dispossession unique to Blacks. Ms. Gross (a White former resident) visited Camp Peary several years after the dispossession and recounts her visit:

> But then afterwards we went to one of the officer's clubs and they had refreshments for us, and they had displayed pictures of all these places, all the buildings and things that had been on Camp Peary. The old school that I used to go to, and that I attended after the school was built, I mean after the Navy took over. …Yeah, we went to school there. And I got a set, they sent me a set of pictures of my grandfather's farm that I have now that I just really treasure…. Well, it was just a wonderful, wonderful day, a hot day but it was wonderful just to see and try to remember, you know. Now, I did not remember most of the places that we went because I was so young at the time. But of course, the farm, I just remember so that, certain other areas of it I remember but that's because I was so closely associated with it. As you go into Camp Peary there to the left was where the school was.

[631] Alexa M. Tullett, Aaron C. Kay, and Michael Inzlicht, "Randomness Increases Self-reported Anxiety and Neurophysiological Correlates of Performance Monitoring." *Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience* 10, no. 5 (2015): 628.

> Well, the school is torn down, of course, but that's where the school was. I remember that. I have some of the fondest memories of that…. but it was just really wonderful.[632]

Palmer also has visited Camp Peary three times, 2012, 2014, and 2016. This is how he retells the visit:

> It was so much so fast. The only reason I organized that trip was because Erin (wife) found this photo. When I saw that, I kind of had an idea of where Matt Palmer was. My whole interest at that times was about the secret military base. I had just completed a six-year term working with a group, I am pretty sure was the CIA. I set up this trip and got everyone's social security number. The Public Affairs representative took us to the first spot. That rage didn't really explode until he took us to another cemetery on the base. It had a fresh coat of paint. That cemetery was still standing. It was beautiful. It was as if a preacher could have stepped out from 1943. I think they took us there by mistake. I know it pissed Hope off. I was raging. I asked: Where's Mt. Gilead? It was allowed to rote and then bulldozed in 1965.[633]

These two experiences are polar opposites. Whereas Ms. Gross has fond and wonderful memories, Mr. Palmer encounters anger. Additionally, they have toured differently. There may have been Blacks on Gross' tour but none of them mention that same tour in the interviews or oral histories. Furthermore, since the Navy has destroyed Black's property, the tour would likely not have elicited the same sentiments from all attendees. Overall, the City of Williamsburg, York

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[632] Rose Gross, James City County Oral History Project, Oral History Interview, (James City County: James City County Historical Commission, 1984).

[633] Brian Palmer, "Neglected Cemeteries Reveal History's Priority," The Root, accessed March 14, 2017, https://www.theroot.com/neglected-cemeteries-reveal-history-s-priority-1790899057.

County, and the Navy have treated Blacks and Whites differently even in the grave, from the time of the initial dispossession to events leading up to present day. It is this treatment that intentionally and unintentionally psychologically dispossessed Blacks from Magruder.

Rose Gross' (a White former Magruder resident) discussion about the old White Magruder School[634] elucidates how the Navy has reached out to the dispossessed Whites and aided in their healing. She states:

> Oh, we had fond memories. We were allowed to go to school there for a few years after the Navy took over. …What all they didn't do for us! They put bathrooms in the school and put up playgrounds, just all kinds of things. Not only that, they brought buses and bused us to the mess hall on Thanksgiving and Christmas. … But anyway, the Navy did a lot for us. They would have programs; they would bring their little bands over and sing and play for us.[635]

While the Navy did not hire counselors to go out to the dispossessed White community, they clearly show they recognize their humanity and portray that they care. Blacks, on the other hand, are invisible to the Navy. Since the Navy is responsible for Blacks' dispossession, they should have provided the same outreach to dispossessed Black communities. Not only did they ignore Blacks, the Navy has made dispossessed Black life worse.

On top of some Negroes not receiving their pay, being homeless, and living in pitiful conditions at the CCC camp, the Navy has not created a space for Blacks to process the dispossession mentally and emotionally. Blacks who have not heard the stories about their enslaved ancestors are forced to deal with a situation without any preparation or training. If their

[634] Ms. Gross explains in the interview that the Magruder School was torn down and rebuilt in a different location.

[635] Rose Gross, James City County Oral History Project, Oral History Interview, (James City County: James City County Historical Commission, 1984).

ancestors had shared with the descendants how they endured slavery, then when another dispossessive event came along, they would have been prepared. As a result, the dispossession and erasure of Magruder becomes a topic that a portion of the former Black Magruder residents and descendant community do not discuss. The psychological dispossession that prevents them from engaging with the dispossession of 1942 aligns with an Ellisonian notion of dispossession. Former Black Magruder residents and the descendant community have been dispossessed of the fact that they have been dispossessed. To say it another way, one of the effects of the dispossession is to take away psychological comprehension of the dispossession while still feeling the traumatic effects of the event. Some former Black Magruder residents and some of the descendant community are in the matrix of dispossession and do not even know it.

Another consequence for those Blacks that have not discussed Magruder is residual trauma. The immediate impact on the silent Black dispossessed is that they never address the shock and experience of unresolved grief. Pratyusha Tummala-Narra identifies unresolved grief resulting from social oppression as "disenfranchised grief."[636] Disenfranchised grief "involves feelings of sadness, anger, guilt, shame, and helplessness that are more intense than comparable feelings accompanying a typical mourning process."[637] Blacks that bear this type of grief develop coping mechanisms. In other words, some Blacks dispossessed from Magruder just keep pressing on in order to survive, never deal with the trauma, and do not share the story with other family members or future generations.

As a result of not reclaiming the narrative and sharing it, future generations suffer indirectly from a tangible event they have not directly encountered. Tummala-Narra posits that

[636] Pratyusha Tummala-Narra, "Addressing Social Oppression and Traumatic Stress" in *Psychoanalytic Theory and Cultural Competence in Psychotherapy* (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2016). http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/14800-007.

[637] Ibid, 157.

"unresolved, traumatic grief is transmitted across generations and shapes identity and emotional distress, as manifested in problems such as substance abuse, depression, and suicide."[638] Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart builds on this notion of unresolved grief and develops the historical trauma theory. Brave Heart defines historical trauma as the "cumulative emotional and psychological wounding, over the lifespan and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma experiences."[639] Brave Heart discusses the ways in which not properly dealing with trauma leads to it building up and spreading across time and throughout the community.

Historical trauma and unresolved grief are then reinforced by the Navy's, York and James City Counties,' and the College of William & Mary's lack of action. When the incident first had happened in 1942, there had been little media coverage, or the narrative focuses on Camp Peary. Overall, the events are covered only lightly in the news. What follows are the headlines from almost all of the articles that reported the displacement: "Navy Builds Station Near Williamsburg" (*Washington Post*); "People Living at Magruder Tell of their Grievances About Navy Land Seizures" (*Richmond Times-Dispatch*); and the most direct one comes from the African American Newspaper in Norfolk, "450 Ousted From Homes in Magruder: Object to Methods Used in Moving Families" (*New Journal and Guide, 1916–2003)*. *The Flat Hat* reports on the work of the local ministers in "Inhumanity of Navy Cited in Petition to Roosevelt."

The lack of news coverage and attention to this event continues up to present day. The current Library of Virginia's "Chronology of WWII and the Cold War" states:

'1941- The build-up of defense industries nearly doubled Tidewater's population.'

[638] Tummala-Narra, "Addressing Social Oppression and Traumatic Stress," 157.

[639] Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart, "The Impact of Historical Trauma: The Example of the Native Community," in *Trauma Transformed: An Empowerment Response*, edited by Marian Bussey and Judith Bula Wise, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 176–93, http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7312/buss13832.16.

> By the end of the year, the build-up of defense industries in and around Norfolk, the naval bases at Portsmouth, and the shipbuilding facilities at Newport News had nearly doubled Tidewater's population. Similar growth took place during World War II near the large munitions plant at Radford, Camp Pickett near Blackstone, Camp Lee near Petersburg, and the Quantico Marine base. The army opened new bases at Camp Peary in York County near Williamsburg and Camp A. P. Hill in Caroline County.[640]

There is hardly any information about Magruder available to the general public. The first known event, "Memorializing a Labored Legacy: William & Mary's Forgotten People – A Lemon Project Porch Talk," to discuss the destruction of Magruder was held by the Lemon Project in 2014. Although the College of William & Mary had owned the CCC camps, the College has not held any commemorations. Given that Magruder had been located in York County, county officials too should acknowledge their role in the displacement.

Further, the collective memory does not account for the magnitude of the devastation Blacks are still experiencing. The interviewers of the James City County Oral History project rarely bring up the removal of the citizens of Magruder, though on numerous occasions the respondents mention Camp Peary or the history of the area. In *Tales From James City County, Virginia Oral Histories*, a publication based on selected portions of close to one hundred interviews, the dispossession of Blacks from Magruder is likewise rarely discussed. Of the sixty-one stories, from twenty interviews selected, the editor, Nancy Bradshaw, only includes one story—from a White female named Rose Gross—about the displacement of Blacks and Whites

[640] Library of Virginia, "Virginia Memory: Chronology By Period," accessed March 14, 2018, http://www.virginiamemory.com/reading_room/chronology_by_period/17.

from Magruder.[641] This story communicates the bitterness that some felt, but her experience is redemptive and "wonderful."[642]

The intentional manufacturing of history to communicate only certain parts of the story is a common component of American exceptionalism[643]—especially in Williamsburg. As a result of this Whitewashed history and the popularity of Williamsburg as a tourist destination, James City and York County citizens and tourists from all over the world hear about Camp Peary on their visit but nothing about Magruder. The collective national memory of the creation of Camp Peary, absent of any prior history, feeds into the psychological dispossession Blacks from Magruder bear.

The continual weight of enduring double dispossession,[644] knowingly and unknowingly, has gravely affected Blacks from Magruder and the descendant community. Rightly so, there is continual concern of another dispossessive act that has manifested as a result of psychological dispossession. Samantha Wynne communicates: "There are rumors once in a while about how the neighborhood is going to be bought out. There is a fear of relocation still lurking in the back of some people's minds."[645] The residual trauma initiated by psychological dispossession and bringing Blacks from Magruder and the descendant community in the matrix of dispossession has led to an uneasiness and restlessness in their own current neighborhoods. There are implications and tangible effects of entering the matrix of dispossession.

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[641] Nancy Bradshaw, ed, *Tales from James City County, Virginia Oral Histories* (James City County: James City County Historical Commission, 1993).

[642] Bradshaw, ed, *Tales from James City County*, 24.

[643] Vaclav Smil defines American exceptionalism as the belief "that Unique Blend of ideals, ideas, and love of liberty made so powerful by great technical and economic accomplishments—is alive and well." "American exceptionalism," in *IEEE Spectrum*, vol. 52, no. 11, pp. 24-24, 2015. doi: 10.1109/MSPEC.2015.7335894 URL: http://ieeexplore.ieee.org/stamp/stamp.jsp?tp=&arnumber=7335894&isnumber=7335873

[644] For a definition of double dispossession, refer to the earlier section in this chapter on spiritual dispossession.

[645] Samantha Wynne, interviewed by author, December 13, 2018.

Implications of Entering the Matrix

The following comments from an interview exemplify the results of Blacks from Magruder entering the matrix. "In the early 90's, Highland Park had a well-deserved reputation for drug dealing. On the corner of Dunning and N. Henry Street was the main hit spot. There was a sting operation in the 90's and the city got involved to make sure that it did not get that bad again."[646] There is a direct correlation between what happened at Magruder and contemporary Black communities who are struggling with the places to which Magruder residents have been dispossessed. Looking at Highland Park for example, one thing is very clear: if Blacks had not been dispossessed in 1942, Highland Park would not have existed in the 1990s. Dispossessed Blacks from Magruder built Highland Park. Also, the matrix of dispossession has led to the story of Magruder not being told, thereby contributing to perpetual dispossession. If the descendant community does not know about Magruder, they are unable to connect the past with the present. Subsequent generations do not know their history of double exile and dispossession. They are distanced from Africa and Magruder. Unlike those who remember the beautiful scenery, they never knew Magruder ever existed.

Focusing on those who have committed deviant actions, in addition to the disconnection from Africa and Magruder, they are unconsciously experiencing residual trauma. The cancerous effects of double dispossession run through their beings, psychologically, existentially, and spiritually. The fabric of the descendant community as a whole and as individuals within interact with this plague of double dispossession. No two individuals are the same, therefore how this double dispossession affects each person differs. But it is this internal battle that contributes to negative external behaviors. We cannot adequately understand the community makeup of all the

[646] Jessica Johnson, interviewed by Will Carmines, February 2010.

diasporas created from Magruder if we do not account for this double dispossession. Unaccounted for, comments made about the "hooligans" in Grove or the "dope dealers" in Highland Park will be absent their definitive contexts and causes. When I shared with descendant Darren Banks about this perspective, he became immediately upset and proclaimed: "They do not know us or what they are talking about."[647] Banks' response makes plain how younger generations feel about older generations who make unsubstantiated claims.

Another major implication of understanding the matrix of dispossession in light of Magruder is comprehending the dispossession for all Blacks. I contend that all African diasporic peoples who have been forced to migrate from Africa have entered the matrix of dispossession. In many ways, the story of Magruder is the story of Blacks in diasporas around the world. It is our story because Magruder ancestors are our ancestors and we are part of the African diasporic family. Magruder is our story because many of us have been removed from our homes while living in America, thereby experiencing double dispossession.

One of the primary aspects of my matrix of dispossession is that the loss of land is not the only way to enter the matrix of dispossession. Therefore, if an individual or community faces any of the five components, they can enter the matrix. For example, if we consider rape as a form of dispossession. I identify the dominating of one's body as existential dispossession. Rape will lead to both psychological and spiritual dispossession. As Alexa Tullet et al. article reveal how unpredictable events lead to anxiety, avoidance and potentiated startle reflex.[648] Rape victims may also experience depression and/or posttraumatic stress disorder.[649] The spiritual

[647] Darren Banks, interviewed by author, March 5, 2019.

[648] Alexa M. Tullett, Aaron C. Kay, and Michael Inzlicht, "Randomness Increases Self-reported Anxiety and Neurophysiological Correlates of Performance Monitoring." *Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience* 10, no. 5 (2015): 628.

[649] Katherine M. Iverson, Matthew W. King, Katherine C. Cunningham, Patricia A. Resick, "Rape Survivors' Trauma-Related Beliefs Before and After Cognitive Processing Therapy: Associations with PTSD and

dispossession could be a paradigm shift in how they understand and make sense of the world. For example, some rape victims believed that only strangers committed rape.[650] They could also question their faith and belief in God's protection.[651] Rape victims then are at the risk of material dispossession. Several studies have found that "21–60% of IPV (intimate partner violence) victims lose their jobs for reasons stemming from the abuse."[652] The loss of a job exasperates the struggles of rape victims. Therefore, rape enters an individual into the matrix of dispossession.

Another clear example is if someone loses their job (material dispossession) without clear reason such as discriminatory firing or in the previous case, because of another component of dispossession. When they lose their job inexplicably, they not only lose their source of income, but question why they are fired, become anxious about their daily needs, and may try to hide it from their loved ones as long as possible. An understanding of not only the loss of land entering an individual or community into the matrix allows us to explain the multiple ways in which African diasporic peoples can enter the matrix of dispossession. Since African diasporic peoples can enter in multiple ways, we can now begin to think about next steps of addressing all dispossessed African diasporic peoples around the world who are in the matrix of dispossession.

Proposals

Depression Symptoms, Behaviour Research and Therapy," 66, (2015): 49-55, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.brat.2015.01.002.

[650] Iverson, King, Cunningham, and Resick, "Rape Survivors' Trauma-Related Beliefs Before and After Cognitive Processing Therapy" https://doi.org/10.1016/j.brat.2015.01.002.

[651] Lucy A. Forster-Smith shares her story of being raped in a church and eventual healing in *Crossing Thresholds: The Making and Remaking of a 21st-Century College Chaplain* (Eugene Or: Cascade Books, 2015).

[652] Emily F. Rothman et al., "How Employment Helps Female Victims of Intimate Partner Violence: A Qualitative Study*," Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 12, no. 2 (2007): 136. doi:10.1037/1076-8998.12.2.136

In light of former Magruder residents and the descendant community entering the matrix of dispossession, the "Lost Tribe of Magruder" provides the following proposals. Magruder descendants have played the primary role in determining what should happen next. The three major proposals former Magruder residents and the descendant community have made are: for the story to be told *from their perspective*; streamlined access to the cemetery at Camp Peary; and reparations. The descendant community is adamant about the story being communicated in the way they want it to be shared. They have expressed concerns with the ways in which Whites have portrayed Blacks' history. Therefore, it is crucial that the discussion about Magruder be guided by the descendant community. Based on my theory of the matrix of dispossession, I also recommend that the Navy provide counselors and create a healing space for dispossessed Blacks.

Cemetery Access

Currently, the descendant community can access the cemetery; what they are requesting is that access to the cemetery is streamlined and here is why. Hope Wynne-Carter and Brian Palmer with seven other family members visited Camp Peary. From their visit, they report to me that the York Presbyterian Church has not only been maintained well with a fresh coat of white paint on the fences but also: "Whites had access all along. They could go to their church and get married."[653] Also, "there were people buried in the White church in 1969."[654] Brian has taken several trips. He adds that the "Navy had ceremonies" inside the White church and "one time when we visited, the weeds in burial ground were knee high."[655]

Wynne-Carter and Palmer are understandably frustrated by this situation. Wynne-Carter, Rosa Lee, Leon Jones, Nici Taylor and several other descendants want access to tend to their

[653] Hope Wynn-Carter, interviewed by author, April 10, 2019.
[654] Hope Wynn-Carter, interviewed by author, April 10, 2019.
[655] Brian Palmer, interviewed by author, April 5, 2019.

dead. Wynne-Carter expresses to me that: "The biggest injustice in my lifetime is the people who had access to it and we didn't. People came and desecrated our grave. We didn't have the power, privilege to continue to tend to our dead."[656]

In order to address this "grave injustice" Palmer has already written to the Central Intelligence Agency asking them to provide better care to the cemetery. They never responded to him but sent a response to Congressmen Rob Whitman. I have shared their request with additional descendants and they too have been talking to their family members. The descendent community would like an annual trip to the Oak Orchard Cemetery in order to tend to their dead.

Telling the Story

In addition to a streamlined process for visiting their ancestors, the descendants want the story to be told properly. Telling the narrative of Magruder requires that all the entities involved discuss what actually happened. The Navy needs to include Magruder, and the other towns they had destroyed, in their history of World War II. In addition to the military, York County, James City County, and Williamsburg should tell the story of Magruder. The history books of these respective locales need to provide an account that includes at least Black life of Magruder, a full account of the Navy's takings, and post Magruder life. The narrative of post Magruder will differ based on the area; James City County will discuss Grove; York County and Williamsburg will discuss Highland Park. The Historical Society of York County, the Historical Commission of James City County, and Colonial Williamsburg can independently or as a group develop programs, events, and ways in which to tell the full story. The Williamsburg-James City County school system should also make the story of Magruder a part of the curriculum. Essential to all of

[656] Hope Wynn-Carter, interviewed by author, April 10, 2019.

this is that the descendant community be contacted and involved from the beginning in telling the story of Magruder.

The last entity responsible for discussing Magruder is the College of William & Mary. Two things are needed from the College: to enable former Magruder residents and the descendant community to communicate to the William & Mary community about Tent City; and for Magruder residents and the descendant community to discuss the College's role in the dispossession. The ideal approach to fulfilling these two responsibilities is to work with the Lemon Project. The Lemon Project already has worked with Brian Palmer, and a reason for its existence is to build stronger relationships with the community of Williamsburg. The College's discussion about its role in dispossession can occur in a number of ways: as a COLL course dedicated to community and dispossessions; within already established courses, especially Africana, Sociology, American Studies, Psychology, Philosophy, Religion, and History courses that intersect with African diasporic dispossession. Lastly, Tent City or the CCC camp should be elevated in the history of the College and disseminated on campus tours and visits.

Reparations

The descendant community also made the creative proposal that Magruder become the subject of a documentary. During an interview with a recent college graduate and descendant Capri Lassiter, he heard about Magruder for the first time. I asked him about the most effective way to communicate with his generation and younger generations, and he indicated that videos would be effective.[657] In response to the younger generation's use of YouTube, Netflix, and other streaming sites, a documentary has the potential to grab their attention and provide information. Some members of the descendant community have requested that a team come

[657] Capri Lassiter, interviewed by author, February 15, 2019.

together, apply for a grant or take other necessary steps in order to garner the resources to fund and produce a top-notch documentary. Several of the members of the descendant community already have the technical skills to create the film.

The most important and potentially most difficult action is for all the Black families who have been dispossessed to receive reparations. This will require some teamwork because the goal is to receive payment that is commensurate with the losses in terms of the current economy.[658] This team would likely consist of representatives of the Black dispossessed families, economists, lawyers, and activists in the Williamsburg, York, and James City County area. The Black families who have received compensation should receive the difference between the amount their land had been valued at and what they had been paid in today's dollars. Then, this difference should be recalculated to contemporary home values and lost interest that would have accrued on the amount they should have but did not receive. Those who never received their checks should be paid the present value of their home as if they had stayed. The Navy not only had taken their subsistence in 1942, but also the wealth they would have accumulated between 1942 and the present, more than seventy-five years.

The last proposal that I am suggesting based on the residual effects of entering the matrix of dispossession is for the Navy to provide means by which dispossessed Blacks can heal. This can be done in multiple ways. The descendant community might identify trained counseling professionals and the Navy could pay for them. The Navy could coordinate events where they create healing spaces with input from the descendant community on who should lead the event.

[658] This is a good point at which to remind the reader that my dissertation is a part of the Magruder project. The Magruder project is a bigger project that aims to get justice for the Black dispossessed families of Magruder. The three primary goals of the Magruder Project will be guided by the descendant's community's proposals. In conversation with the descendant community, our hope is that "Lost Tribe of Magruder" can be used to get the story out to the rest of the descendant community. With "Lost Tribe of Magruder" as a rallying point, we will then assemble a core team that will be solely dedicated to the project and develop an infrastructure that will allow multiple ways of involvement.

There are members within the descendant community who have training in mental health services and can be the point of contact for coordinating counseling for the descendant community.

Conclusion

> *The ancestors are speaking right now bruh. That's because I heard the stories passed along through word of mouth. Now it's time for the story to be told but told our way.*
>
> —Allan Wynne

A repeated question I raised throughout the interviews is "What do you want me to make sure 'Lost Tribe of Magruder' communicates?" Allan Wynne's answer drives home one of the strongest statements of the descendant community:

> As much as they tried to dispossess, take what was ours, brainwash us and rewrite our history, we still gonna tell our story. Tell our story the right way. We don't believe you gon do right by us, the least you can do is tell our story and tell our story right. I was blessed to have family members tell me about the story. I had the aunts and family members ninety years old telling me the story.[659]

In light of the fact Black Magruder ancestors had intermarried with Indigenous peoples and created kinship networks that will eventually spread around the United States; in light of the free Blacks of Magruder who became educated, owned several acres of land and actively aided in freeing enslaved Blacks; in light of Magruder becoming a thriving tight knit Black community with two churches, business owners, and land being passed down through the generations; in light of the disruption of the Navy leading to double dispossession and residual trauma

[659] Allan Wynne, interviewed by author, February 14, 2019.

unconsciously affecting the descendant community today—in light of all of this, Mr. Wynne's remarks affirms that having a thorough and substantial discussion about Magruder is the way to repossess this dispossessed community.

There is power in Blacks telling their story. Mr. Wynne accounts for the Navy, the College of William & Mary, York County, James City County, and Williamsburg not addressing the proposals. The descendant community expects these entities to provide lip service. But what they do have now is the ability to thoroughly discuss Magruder. Wynne has been "blessed" by learning about Magruder. He has a better sense of his history and identity. He does not only see his ancestors as enslaved, but as those who became free. Through knowing about his ancestors, he contends that we should listen to them now and move beyond the limits placed on Blacks.

The progress of Blacks, and not just those in the descendant community, aligns with Magruder being representative of the stories of all dispossessed Blacks. Through becoming aware of our dispossession, we can better understand how to repossess ourselves, individually and collectively. If dispossessed Blacks continue to be unaware of their dispossession, then they will continue to unknowingly experience its effects. How many other Black neighborhoods are consistently being chastised for selling drugs, not only by non-Blacks but by Blacks as well? How many other Black women who have been existentially dispossessed through sexual assault are experiencing problems on their job or at school? How many times does the media talk about Chicago and gun violence without any mention of the long history of dispossession that Drake and Cayton highlight in *Black Metropolis* (1949)? The examples of the ways in which African diasporic peoples are in the matrix of dispossession are too many to count. Yet we can start to exit the matrix of dispossession by telling our stories about the many "Magruders." The ground of the dispossessed Black residents from Magruder is crying out. Can we hear their cry?

Appendix A – Family Distribution After Dispossession

Grove	Highland Park	Stayed in Williamsburg	Stayed in Virginia	Left State
Roberts	Hundley	Cook	Parker - Newport News	Hundley - New Jersey
Roberts	Taylor	Williams	Wynn - Newport News	Johnson - Plainfield, New Jersey
Palmer	Banks	Ashby	Carter - Newport News	Johnson - Plainfield, New Jersey
Palmer	Taylor	Cook Heirs	Banks - Newport News	Dennis - New Jersey
Palmer	Porter	Cook Ottis	Parker - Newport News	Cook - New York
Wallace	Banks	Cook Bartlett	Parker Newport News	
Tabb	Bartlett	Cook Howard	Stokes - Newport News	
Hailey	Wallace	Cook Burrell	Carter - Norfolk	
Jackson	Cook	Cook	Williams - Hampton	
Hyde	Wynn	Cook	Williams - Hampton	
Pierce	Taylor	Cook	Carter Ford - Eastern Shore	
Scott	Green	Carter		
Jackson	Lyons	Johnson Jr.		
Jones	Williams	Jones		
Whiting	Ashby	Hundley		
Whiting	Hundley	Ashby		
Taylor	Lyon	Norcum		
Wallace	Ashby	Dreuit		
Potter	Ashby	Parrott		
Wallace	Scott	Johnson		
Potter	Lyon	Hillman		
Potter Heirs	Banks	Cook		
Wallace Heirs	Taylor	Williams		
Haley Heirs	Taylor	Scott - rt 60 b4 Grove		
Hailey Lightfoot		Williams - Penniman Rd		
Johnson				

Wallace				
Tabb				
Wallace Heirs				
Robinson				
Whiting Estate				
Burwell				
Roberts				

I developed this appendix through a combination of oral histories, census data and Naval records.

Appendix B – Navy's Directory of Magruder Residents

A. H. Newman
Ada Wallace
Addison Wallace
Albert C. Hunt
Albert Franklin
Alex and Roxie Tabb
Anna Fenne
Annie Cook Bartlett
Annier Maynard
B. D. Peachy
B. F. Jenson
B. Jackson and M. Cook
B. W. Taylor
Berta Cook Ottis
Bertha L. Thomas
Bettie Cook
Bettie Dennis
C. M. Evans
C.C. Briggs
Calvin Taylor
Carrie Robinson
Cemetery
Charles Carter
Charles F. Hillman
Charles Johnson
Charles Scott
Clara E. Waller
Clifton and Nancy Bailey
Clovice D. Dooley
Coleman Banks
Colonial Monument Estate
Colonial Parkway
Cora N. Robins
Cora Robins
D. A. Powers
Daniel Johnson
Daniel Wynne
David A. Powers
Dora Johnson
E. D. Calkins
E. D. Souders
E. S. Bingley
E. W. Maynard
Eddie Williams
Edward D. Saunders
Elias Williams
Elijah James
Eliza A. Russell
Eliza Whiting
Elizabeth Hundley
Ellen Taylor
Elmer Wynn
Elston E. and Alice D. Pearce United Piling Corporation
Emily C. Lary
Emma Cook Burrell
Estate of Matt Ashby and Sam Alvis
Eva Jackson Johnson
Everett W. Phillips
F K Ashby
F. Armisted
F. E. Pierce
Flora Bozarth
Frank Cook
George C. Banks
George Carter
George E.B. Tabb
George E.B. Tabb et al (Mary A. Tabb, Alexander Tabb Jr. and Roxie Tabb, Ossa Leroy, and Marion Jane Tabb)
George W. Cook
George W. Gage
Good Samaritan Lodge
H. F. Houquin
H. G. McCartney
H. L. Chilton
H. L. Cushing
H. Wallace
Haley Estate
Harry Jackson
Hazel Saxby
Heirs of Wesley Bartlett
Heirs of William Scott
Henry L. Cook
Henry Wallace
Herbert T. Thomas
Hezekiah Cook
Howard James
Hugh Jones
Isaac Dreyvey
Isham Johnson
Israel Jones
J. A. Bozarth
J. C. Briston
J. C. Maynard
J. F. Simonson
J. J. Hovey
J. M. Dennis
J.D. Hansford
Jackson Williams
Jacob Jackson
James E. Wallace
James Haley Estate
James Hudson
James Hundley
James J. Parrott
James Lyon
James N. O'Neill
Jas. Hundley
Jeff Potter
Jim Banks Estate
John & Parker Estate
John Ashby
John Gillet
John H. Roberts
John L. Hailey
John L. Parker
John Olvis
John Parker
John Potter
John T. Roberts
John Whiting
John Wise Estate
Joseph Cook
Joseph Page et al

Joseph T. Mizell
Joshua Banks
Joshua Bias
Joshua Hundley
Joshua Jackson
Julia Palmorest
L. Lee Lucy
L.R. Hyde
Leah J. Goward
Lee Scott
Levolia Bartlett
Lewis and Amelia Palmer
Lewis Billups
Lewis Palmer et al,
Trustees of Mt. Gilead Church
Longan Gordon
Louise Hall Mahone
Lucy Ashby et al
Lucy Coles Carter et al
Lula C. Williams
Lula S. Windsor
Maggie L. S. Monson
Magruder Holding Company
Magruder Lodge of Odd Fellows
Malachi Taylor
Margaret Banks and Lucy Taylor
Margeret Jones
Maria Ashby Lyons
Martha S. Henderson
Mary Cook Howard
Mary E. Roberts
Mary Jones
Mary L. Powell
Mary Potter
Matt Ashby
Matt Palmer Estate
McKinley T. Whiting
Milton Cook
Missouri Dennis
Moses Williams
Nelson Stokes
O. House Estate
Oak Grove Baptist Church
Oscar House Estate
P. W. Hiden Estate
Pearl Jones
Preston Jackson
Public Landing-Biglers
R. C. Benschoten et. al
R. L. Banks
R. W. Mahone
R.B. Gilliam
Redall Jackson Arrington
Robert Taylor
Royal Ashby
S. P. Lary
Sadie K. Major
Sam Dreuit
Samuel N. Jensen
Samuel Towler
Sarah Norcum
Sidney Green
T. Rutherford Goodwin
T. Wallace
Talef E. Fenne
Thomas Ashby
Thomas Cook
Thomas Hall
Thomas L. Thomas
Thomas Potter
United Piling Corporation
VA State Highway Dept
Velma Bradley
Violet A. Powell
Virginia N. Potts
Virginia Route 168
W. L. Palmer
W. L. Schenck Estate
W. M. Carter
W. R and J. H. Poindexter
W. S. Street
W.J. Anderson
Walter and Mary Mildred Bishop
William Andrew Dennis
William Bartlett
William Burwell
William Dennis
William H. and Mary E. Parker
William J. Dennis/Moses Dennis
William P. Cooke Estate
William R. and Estelle D. Wallace
William Taylor
William Wallace
William Whiting Estate
Williams M. Dennis
Willie Williams
York County
York County School Board
York River Lights
York River Presbyterian Church
Zebedee Taylor
Zebedee Taylor Jr.

The spelling of the names is based on how the Navy spelling the landowners' names. The Navy misspelled some of their names.

Appendix C - Magruder Descendants Interview Questions

What was Black community life like in the 1930s?

Were you all connected to Blacks in Magruder? Did you have family there?

Did you go to Oak Grove or Mt. Gilead?

What were your thoughts about WW2 and Blacks?

Did you hear about the dispossession? How? Family members?

I understand some people protested the removal in Washington D.C. Were you a part of that protest? Do you know how it was planned?

Darren says that all of the takings are "connected" in a way, like you all don't talk about them separately, more like "they took my land." Is this true for you?

Did you know people who were moved when the Naval Weapon Station was created?

Did you know people who were moved when Colonial Williamsburg was created?

Have the College of William & Mary, City of Williamsburg, James City County, York Country or any other entity done anything about the dispossession? Meaning, have they recognized you, provided money or resources, memorialized what happened in any way?

What type of impact did the dispossession have on you? Did it affect your family? Did it impact your descendants?

How are you doing now? How is your faith?

Did you feel like you are an American citizen? What is your home?

How did you feel about Africa? Did you visit or want to go back?

Did you know Africans or Blacks that traveled to Africa? Were you a part of any of the freedom fighting organizations?

Appendix D - Magruder Descendants Interview Questions

How much did you hear about Magruder? What did you hear?

How did your family obtain the land?

What was the community life like?

What did they do for fun?

Some family members have talked about going to Williamsburg either by horse and buggy or the bus. What did you all do in Williamsburg?

How many White families were there?

Did you hear about Mocann Farm or the Todd Brown company?

When were you or your family notified they had to leave?

Did you receive compensation for your land?

Where did you move to after the departure?
Was family already there?
Did you build a new house?
How did you get the materials?
Did you have running water and electricity?
Did you ever live on the CCC Camps? What was that like?

I understand some people protested the removal in Washington D.C. Were you a part of that protest? Do you know how it was planned?

Did you know people who were moved when the Naval Weapon Station was created?

Did you know people who were moved when Colonial Williamsburg was created?

Did the Navy provide any assistance after you were removed?

Have you gone back and visited? How as it going back? Did you see the cemeteries or any other recognizable landmarks?

Have the College of William & Mary, City of Williamsburg, James City County, York Country or any other entity done anything about the dispossession? Meaning, have they recognized you, provided money or resources, memorialized what happened in any way?

What type of impact did the dispossession have on you? Did it affect your family? Did it impact your descendants?

How are you doing now?
Do you see any connections to what descendants experienced today based on what happened in the past?
Are people still losing their homes today? Can you talk a little more about this?

Did you feel like a citizen of the world?

What were your thoughts about WW2 and Blacks?

How did you feel about Africa? Did you visit or want to go back?
What is "home"?
Where is home to you?

Did you know Africans or Blacks that traveled to Africa? Were you a part of any of the freedom fighting organizations?

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Oral Histories

Daniel Johnson
Maurice Scott
Langford Tabb
George Wallace
Lloyd Wallace

Interviews

Darren Banks
Corinthia Brown
Ericka Byrd
Trinity Canady
Rev. Dr. Reginald Davis
Liza Daniels
Marlon Hamilton
Edith Cookie Heard
Mia Hill
MD Hundley
Burnell Irby
Billie Johnson
Junio Jones
Sharon Jones
Iris Judkins
Brian Lassiter
Capri Lassiter
Carlon Lassiter
Crystal Lassiter
Mary Lassiter
Brandon Lee
Veronica Nelson

Maria Norman
May Roberts
James Robinson
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Brittani Robinson
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Prince Wallace
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Hope Wynne
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Summer Session 1 Adjunct Faculty, **Is There a Heaven for A G: An Exploration and Engagement of Hip Hop and Religion** (RELG 308, AFST 306, AMST 350, MUSC 363),

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Publications

Books

Forthcoming Fall, 2020 *Hip Hop and the Bible,* cowritten monograph with Eric Jarrad, New York: Lexington/Fortress Press.

Forthcoming Fall, 2019 *Beyond Christian Hip Hop: A Move Towards Christians and Hip Hop*, coedited with Erika Gault, New York and London: Routledge.

Special Issues

Forthcoming 2019 "If I Ruled the World: Special Issue on Global Hip Hop Studies" coedited with Simran Singh and Daniel White Hodge in *Journal of Hip Hop Studies* (Vol. 5, Issue 2)

2018 "Hip Hop and Religion *And*: Special Issue on Religion and Hip Hop Studies" coedited with Cassandra Chaney in *Journal of Hip Hop Studies* (Vol. 5, Issue 1)

Journal Articles

Forthcoming 2019 "Can It Be Bigger Than Hip Hop" in *Journal of Hip Hop Studies* (Vol. 5, Issue 2)

2018 "Introduction: Ain't It Evil to Live Backwards: A Hip Hop Perspective of Religion"

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2017 "Anthropology Is in Trouble, Especially Since World War II ~ William Willis" in *Journal of Historical Archaeology & Anthropological Sciences* (Vol. 1, Issue 4)

2016 Review of *Hip Hop and Religion,* by Monica Miller, *Journal of Hip Hop Studies* (Vol. 3, Issue 1)

2013 "Refocusing and Redefining Hip Hop: An Analysis of Lecrae's contribution to Hip Hop" in *Journal of Hip Hop Studies* (Vol. 1, Issue 1)

Book Chapters

Forthcoming 2020 "Dispossession-less Wakanda" in *Theology and Black Panther*, coedited by Kimberly Hampton and Matthew Brake, New York: Lexington/Fortress Press.

Fall 2019 "Introduction" in *Beyond Christian Hip Hop: A Move Towards Christians and Hip Hop*, Erika Gault and Travis Harris (eds.), New York, Routledge.

Fall 2019 "A History of Christians and Hip Hop" in *Beyond Christian Hip Hop: A Move Towards Christians and Hip Hop*, Erika Gault and Travis Harris (eds.), New York, Routledge.

Forthcoming 2019 "They Schools: Hip Hop as a Pedagogical Process for Youth in Juvenile Detention Centers" with Daniel White Hodge in *Hip Hop Dismantling the School to Prison Pipeline*, Anthony Nocella, Ahmad Washington, Don Sawyer and Daniel White Hodge (eds.) New York, Peter Lang

2017 "Blackness Viewed: How Media Shapes Race in Contemporary America" in *Ideas and their Influences* 4th ed., April T. Manalang and Andrew Arroyo (eds.) Kendal Hunt

2016 "They Got Me Trapped: Structural Inequality & Racism in Space and Place within Urban School System Design" with Daniel White Hodge in *Addressing Environmental and Food Justice toward Dismantling the School-to-Prison Pipeline: Poisoning and Imprisoning Youth*, Anthony Nocella (ed.) Palgrave

Academic Conference Presentations

December 2018 *Closing Plenary: What Happens Next: The Possibilities of a Hip Hop Studies Association,* Show & Prove Hip Hop Studies Conference, Riverside, CA

December 2018 — *From the Streets to Academia*, Show & Prove Hip Hop Studies Conference, Riverside, CA

November 2018 — *The Black White Supremacists?: An Interrogation into 'Christian Hip Hop's' Relationship with White Religious Expressions*, American Academy of Religion Annual Meeting, Denver, CO

November 2018 — *Wakanda Forever!: Dispossession-less Wakanda*, American Academy of Religion Annual Meeting, Denver, CO

March 2017 — *Dispossessing Blackness: How a Black Community Struggled, Again*, Southern American Studies Association Biennial Conference, Williamsburg, VA

November 2016 — *Re-envisioning William & Mary in Light of Three Centuries of African American History*, American Studies Association Annual Meeting, Denver, CO

June 2016 — *Putin on for Da' Lou: Hip Hop's Fight Against Institutional Racism in St. Louis, Missouri*, International Hip Hop Conference, Cambridge, UK

March 2016 — *An Examination of Blacks in Williamsburg During "Reconstruction*," Lemon Project Annual Symposium, Williamsburg, VA

November 2015 — *Performing Resistance: Hip Hop's Fight Against Institutional Racism in St. Louis, Missouri*, American Academy of Religion Annual Meeting, Atlanta, GA

March 2015 — Panel Discussion: *Music and Justice*, Festival of Faith and Music, Grand Rapids, MI

March 2015 — *Hip Hop's Activism: From "Represent" to "Welcome to America,": An Exploration of Hip Hop's Role in Furthering the Cause of Justice*, Festival of Faith and Music, Grand Rapids, MI

Guest Lectures

November 2018 — *Hip Hop and Youth Culture*, College of William & Mary, HIST 211 "Youth Cultures Since the Progressive Era"

February 2018 — *Panelist,* Students of Hip Hop Legacy at William & Mary*, "Hip Hop and Misogyny"*

February 2018 — *Hip Hop Justice and Sound,* College of William & Mary, COLL 100 "Music, War Protest and Power"

February 2018 — *Black Lives Matter and the Black Freedom Struggle*, Lee University, HUMN 493 “African American Literature & Culture”

February 2017 — *Hip Hop Justice and Sound,* College of William & Mary, COLL 100 "Music, War Protest and Power"

February 2017 — *Panelist*, Norfolk State University, “Black Lives Matter Under a Trump Presidency”

November 2015 — *Hip Hop, an Introduction and Connection to Religion*, Delaware State University, HIST 204 “African American History from 1865”

November 2015 — *Black Lives Matter and the Black Freedom Struggle*, Lee University, HUMN 493 “African American Literature & Culture”

Grants and Fellowships

2014 – 2016 — *Graduate Studies and Research Recruitment Fellowship*, College of William & Mary, $6,000

Awards

2017 - 2018 — *S. Laurie Sanderson Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Mentoring in the Humanities and Social Sciences*, College of William & Mary, A&S Graduate Studies Advisory Board and the A&S Committee on Graduate Studies

2014 – 2015 — *Original Group Effort Image Award*, College of William & Mary Campus Chapter of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Service – Local, Organizations

2014 - 2017 — *Organizer*, Black Lives Matter, Williamsburg, VA

Present — *Organizer*, The International Black Freedom Alliance