

A List of Negroes at College

Winkfield

Daniell

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P

a journey of reconciliation

The Lemon Project

The College of William & Mary



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Negroes hired out

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James

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APR 10-11, 2015

The Lemon Project

Spring Symposium

"Ghosts of Slavery:

The Afterlives of Racial Bondage"

and Lucy



CHARTERED 1693

THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY IN VIRGINIA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
P.O. Box 8795
WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA 23187-8795
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**Lemon Project Symposium
April 10 - 11, 2015**

Greetings and welcome to the fifth annual Lemon Project Spring Symposium
“Ghosts of Slavery: The Afterlives of Racial Bondage.”

In 2009, with the support of the Student and Faculty Assemblies, William & Mary’s Board of Visitors resolved to create “The Lemon Project: A Journey of Reconciliation.” The BOV defined the project “as a long-term research project under the sponsorship of the Office of the Provost, involving College faculty, staff, and students as well as members of the Greater Williamsburg community, to better understand, chronicle, and preserve the history of blacks at the College and in the community and to promote a deeper understanding of the indebtedness of the College to the work and support of its diverse neighbors.”

One way of marking the growth of the Lemon Project is the annual symposium. Once again, the symposium is taking place over two days and aims to address the interests of a broad audience. Friday evening will feature the solo performance of “Riding in Cars with Black People and Other Newly Dangerous Acts: A Memoir in Vanishing Whiteness” written and performed by Chad Goller-Sojourner of Seattle, Washington. This performance, which is co-sponsored with the Center for Student Diversity, will give participants insights into the challenges faced by young black men as they navigate their daily lives. Stephen Seals and Hope Wright of Colonial Williamsburg will join us to look at how public history addresses “the Afterlives of Racial Bondage.” For the second year, the program includes a spoken word event where participants will perform works written with the symposium theme in mind. Finally, panel sessions presented by faculty, students, and community members will highlight new research.

While work is well along, there remains much to do, and we want you to join us. Bring your ideas and your enthusiasm. There is no end to what we can accomplish if we work together.

Cordially,

W. Taylor Reveley, III
President



The College Of
WILLIAM & MARY

Office of the Provost

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Williamsburg, Virginia 23187-8795
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Provost Michael Halleran

April 10 – 11, 2015

Welcome to the fifth annual Lemon Project Spring Symposium. I hope that you will enjoy “Ghosts of Slavery: The Afterlives of Racial Bondage.” We are thrilled that Chad Goller-Sojourner and his solo show “Riding in Cars with Black People and Other Newly Dangerous Acts: A Memoir in Vanishing Whiteness” will be included this year. We are also excited that representatives from Colonial Williamsburg are on the program along with scholars from the University of Virginia, UNC-Chapel Hill, Norfolk State University, the Borough of Manhattan Community College (CUNY), The George Washington University, the University of Munich, the University of Richmond, and educators from Washington, DC.

Thinking beyond this weekend, it is my hope that you will continue to be involved with the Lemon Project—we still want and need your input. Please share your ideas with us. There may already be a committee or project that would benefit from your knowledge, experiences, skills, or vision. Of course, yours might be a concept that we have not thought of yet. If this is the case, Lemon staff will work with you to identify like-minded individuals to join you on a new committee.

We really want to hear from you. We are committed to making the Lemon Project a community effort, and any feedback you can give us will help us achieve that goal.

Thank you!

Sincerely,

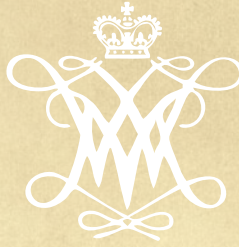
Michael Halleran

Provost

APR 10-11, 2015

The Lemon Project

Spring Symposium
"Ghosts of Slavery:
The Afterlives of Racial Bondage"



FRIDAY, APRIL 10
7:30pm- 10:00pm

Bruton Heights School
Lane Auditorium
301 1st Street Williamsburg, VA

Welcome

Jody L. Allen, Managing Director
and Co-chair of the Lemon Project

Michael Halleran, Provost

"Riding in Cars with Black People and
Other Newly Dangerous Acts: A Memoir
of Vanishing Whiteness" written &
performed by Chad Goller-Sojourner
Followed by community discussion



Spring Symposium 2014, Credit: Anthony Keitt

SATURDAY, APRIL 11

College of William & Mary
School of Education
301 Monticello Ave.
Williamsburg, VA

8:30am – 9:30am

Check-in & Continental Breakfast

9:30am

Matoaka Room

Opening Remarks

Jody L. Allen

Introduction of Speakers
James Padilioni, American Studies
Graduate Student

9:45am – 10:45am

**Humanizing the Dehumanized:
Addressing the Afterlives of
Slavery on the Public Stage**

Stephen Seals, Manager, Program
Development, African American
and Religion Interpretation,
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation
Hope Wright, '97 Actor/Interpreter,
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

10:50am

Remarks

Taylor Reveley, President



Spring Symposium 2014, Credit: Anthony Keitt



Spring Symposium 2014, Credit: Anthony Keitt



Spring Symposium 2014, Credit: Anthony Keitt

Individual Presentations

1:15pm – 2:30pm

Dogwood A

Carol Hill, Burnell K. Irby, & Keith Irby, “I Have Certain Constitutional Rights: The Correspondence of Cornelia Whiting Burrell, 1935 -1986”

MODERATOR: Arthur Knight, Associate Professor of English and American Studies

Classroom 1056

Jacquelyn Y. McLendon, “Earth Matters: Reconstructing Discriminatory Ecocriticism”

MODERATOR: Hermine Pinson, Associate Professor of English, College of William & Mary

Matoaka Room

Brian Palmer & Erin Hollaway Palmer, “Make the Ground Talk: An Update on the Search for the Community of Magruder”

MODERATOR: R. Trent Vinson, Cummings Associate Professor of History

Boardroom

James Padilioni, “One of These Mornings, the Chain is Gonna Break’: Aretha Franklin Schools America on Black Optimism”

MODERATOR: Alphine Jefferson, Professor of History, Randolph-Macon College

2:45pm – 3:45pm

Community Discussion Continued:
Remembering Never to Forget:
Memorializing those workers
who were enslaved and exploited by
the College

3:45pm

Wipe Up

Leah Glenn, Lemon Project
Co-Chair

7:00pm – 9:00pm

The Lemon Project- Spoken Word
Event Sadler Center Lodge 1

11:00am -12:15am

Panel Sessions

Transforming Death & Trauma, Matoaka Room

Jamie Warren, “They are Merely a Decaying and a Death’: Slavery, Death, and the Politics of History”

Kay Wright Lewis, “Did Not I Tell You There Would Be War?” Transhistorical Memories of Trauma and Martyrdom after Nat Turner’s Insurrection”

Whitney Fields, ‘15 “Among the Graves: Constructing Community, Resistance, and Freedom at the Grave”

MODERATOR: Hannah Rosen, Assistant Professor of History & American Studies, College of William & Mary

Slavery and the University, Dogwood A

Al Brophy, “Proslavery Thought and the Southern College Students: Student Literary Society Debates, 1835-1861

Allen Buansi, Antebellum UNC: Training Grounds for the Sons of Slaveholders and the Fathers of Jim Crow.

Kelley Fanto Deetz, “Slavery and Shame at Jefferson’s University: Institutional Honesty and Community Engagement

MODERATOR: Patricia Lott, Assistant Professor of English & Africana Studies, College of William & Mary

The Limits of Freedom, Classroom 1056

Helen Gibson, “Hog Stealing in Virginia’s Colonial Statutes: Racially Discriminatory Seeds of Felon Disenfranchisement Sown in the Colonial Capital”

William Horne, “Labor and Political Alliances among the Uprooted in Post-emancipation West Feliciana Parish

MODERATOR: Susan A. Kern, Executive Director of Historic Campus

12:15pm – 1:00pm

Lunch



APR 10-11, 2015

The Lemon Project

Spring Symposium

Proslavery Thought and the Southern College Students: Student Literary Society Debates, 1835-1861 Alfred L. Brophy, Ph.D.; J.D. Professor of Law University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

"Proslavery Thought and Southern College Students: Student Literary Society Debates, 1835-1861" turns to the debate topics of the student literary societies, as a gauge of the topics of interest to students. It draws on the literary society records from UNC, Wake Forest, Washington College, and William and Mary to gauge what students' ideas towards economic development, immigration, war, duty, religion, and literature, and slavery. The debates reveal the increasing concern students have over the future security of slavery and their increasingly strenuous advocacy of slavery, such as support for re-opening the slave international slave trade, as they also reveal a robust spirit of enterprise and support for a separate southern nation. The debate topics serve as a gauge of the interests of students in the era before public opinion polls. They reflect the connections between the wealthy and well-educated and support for slavery and the market economy.

Antebellum UNC: Training Grounds for the Sons of Slaveholders and the Fathers of Jim Crow. Allen Buansi, third year law student, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

As Nat Turner evaded capture after leading a Virginia slave revolt in August 1831, the undergraduate students at the University of North Carolina decided to take matters into their own hands. These students would lobby the governor for arms to defend themselves against their "restless" slaves. Their letter illustrated the students' inextricable link to the institution of slavery. This paper is essentially a collective biography of the students who graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1854 and 1855, following a robust 1850 Census. This paper examines these students' courses of study, geographical origins within and outside of the state as well as the family and social backgrounds of a few notable graduates. Finally, this paper explores the students' careers following graduation. As the sons of slaveholders themselves, these students would go on to play critical roles in shaping North Carolina during the Civil War and Jim Crow era.

Slavery and Shame at Jefferson's University: Institutional Honesty and Community Engagement, Kelley Fanto Deetz, Ph.D. University of Virginia

They call U.Va. "The Plantation." The African American community in Charlottesville has a long and controversial relationship with the brick-lined ivory tower that occupies a central part of their city. There is no surprise that Thomas Jefferson's university is steeped in historical and contemporary racial politics. The University of Virginia was constructed and maintained by enslaved laborers. Jefferson's acclaimed brilliance in designing the cultural landscape of his university had an ulterior function. His adoration of classical design meshed with the politics of 19th-century racial slavery made his aesthetic choices the ideal stage to manipulate race and place in the public sphere. The ideological foundations of slavery coupled with a landscape built to control Black bodies continue to inform contemporary race relations. The President's Commission on Slavery and the University is addressing these tangled relationships as the ghosts of slavery are seen in almost every brick at the university. These bricks exclude, prevent, and intimidate by design, and they contain a shameful legacy of our collective past. The University of Virginia's nickname "The Plantation" speaks to almost 200 years of racial discourse. What has changed?

"Among the Graves: Constructing Community, Resistance, and Freedom on Nineteenth Century Plantation Burial Grounds" Whitney Fields, '15 History and American Studies, College of William and Mary

This paper examines the uses of plantation graves by enslaved people. Drawing on the Works Progress Administration "American Slave Narratives" and nineteenth century narratives written by formerly enslaved people, I identify the grave as a space of resistance where enslaved people formed community, deliberately resisted plantation owner demands, and reinterpreted the meaning of freedom. During funerals and burials, enslaved people established a distinct form of community and felt a "collective responsibility" to one another through their shared experience of enslavement. In instances where they were denied the ability to form community, they defied the attempted mastery of their time, space, and labor by conducting funerals and running away to cemeteries at the risk of facing severe punishment and death. This thesis also explores how enslaved people used the grave as a symbol to develop resistant and radical interpretations of freedom through death and escape.

"Hog Stealing in Virginia's Colonial Statutes: Racially Discriminatory Seeds of Felon Disenfranchisement Sown in the Colonial Capital" Helen A. Gibson, M.A. University of Munich

Virginia's current practice of felon disenfranchisement is a specter of racial slavery that dates back to colonial-era statutes governing felony conviction and sentencing along racial lines. Conceived in Jamestown and Williamsburg, many early Virginia laws pertaining to felonies were designed to deter property ownership by both enslaved and non-slave Native and African Americans. A pattern of the criminalization of petty livestock theft, including hog stealing, and subsequent singling out of racial minorities for prosecution and conviction was established in Virginia as early as the seventeenth century. Discriminatory petty theft measures were later recalled and reinstated by advocates of racial apartheid and felon disenfranchisement in the post-bellum era. This paper argues that the practice of race-based criminal justice established by the colonial General Assembly continues to haunt Virginia today.

I Have Certain Constitutional Rights: The Correspondence of Cornelia Whiting Burrell, 1935-1986 Carol Hill, Educator and Family Genealogist; Burnell K. Irby, Educator and Family Genealogist; and Keith Irby, Educator and Family Genealogist

Our project examines the correspondence of Cornelia Burrell over a fifty-one year span of time with local, state, and federal officials over family property that was taken through eminent domain. Mrs. Burrell was our mother, grandmother, and great grandmother. She was born in York County, Virginia and moved to Washington DC where she worked for the federal government. Mrs. Burrell was the executrix of her parents estates. These letters were found in her personal effects after her death by her grandchildren. These letters relate to the themes of -Black resistance/activism in response to racial oppression, the memory of events in the letters, and bodily and collective social traumas endured by those injured by racial slavery's after life. The presentation will include the letters, photographs, news articles and memories of her granddaughter Mrs. Carol Hill, and the reading of passages from her letters.



“Ghosts of Slavery: *The Afterlives of Racial Bondage*” Presentation Abstracts

“Labor and Political Alliances among the Uprooted in Postemancipation West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana” William Horne, Ph.D. Candidate, The George Washington University

The advance of Union armies into south Louisiana in the spring of 1862 inspired planters to forge alliances to maintain their control over plantation production just as their former slaves sought allies to protect their newly-won independence, a process that continued into Reconstruction. Employing Simone Weil’s concept of uprootedness, this social history explores the installation of freedom as a period of crisis during which interaction frequently disrupted the existing socioeconomic order, forcing rural Louisianans to reorder their relationships to one another and the land. Rather than viewing postemancipation conflict as rooted strictly in race and class, the paper finds that the mechanisms of change during the Civil War and its aftermath were themselves disruptive and encouraged participants to construct new identities and communities from the ashes of the antebellum plantation system.

“Did Not I Tell You There Would Be War?”: Transhistorical Memories of Trauma and Martyrdom after Nat Turner’s Insurrection” Kay Wright Lewis, Ph.D. Assistant Professor of History, Norfolk State University

Nat Turner’s organized insurrection in 1831 had serious ramifications for enslaved and free African Americans. His war against the institution of slavery was much like other insurrectionary attempts in that the simple objective was freedom from enslavement. Yet no other servile insurrection on American soil generated as much fear and retaliatory violence as did Turner’s. Turner challenged white manhood at its core. This paper argues that the trauma experienced during the aftermath of Turner’s insurrection affected many African Americans deeply. Clearly many of the enslaved did know about Turner’s actions and many revered him for what he attempted to do. Indeed, the memorialization of Turner as a martyr and folk hero is evident. The oral tradition of storytelling and Virginia’s robust participation in the internal slave trade helped to sustain Turner’s memory across the South. And these memories were passed on to future generations.

“Earth Matters: Reconstructing Discriminatory Ecocriticism” Jacquelyn Y. McLendon, Ph.D. Professor Emerita of English, College of William & Mary

This essay argues that the valorized “wilderness” has led to misconceptions and misrepresentations regarding Black people’s interest in and involvement with nature writing and environmental issues, especially in the last several decades with the emergence of ecocriticism in the academy and widespread ecological crises. If a definition of ecocriticism is “the study of the relationship between literature and the environment conducted in a spirit of commitment to environmental praxis” [emphasis mine], then the exclusion of Blacks from this discourse takes on added significance as a debate not simply about literature or other works of art but about environmentalism and ecojustice. Through examining selected “texts” within a Black expressive tradition this essay challenges hegemonic paradigms and ideologies that continue to segregate Blacks from mainstream environmental and ecocritical concerns. These “texts” represent the voices of resistance—those who tell their own stories—and they give voice to those muted by systemized oppression, demonstrating a kinship with earth “matters” that is both metaphorical and material as well as traditional, a legacy owing to its African roots despite the “shadows of slavery.”

“One of These Mornings, the Chain is Gonna Break’: Aretha Franklin Schools America on Black Optimism” James Padilioni, M.A., American Studies Graduate Student, College of William & Mary

The blood of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy forever stain 1968 as a year of racialized violence in US civil rights history. Forming an anticipatory prelude to these unfoldings was Aretha Franklin’s “Chain of Fools,” which sat atop the Billboard Hot R&B chart and rose to #2 on the Billboard Hot 100 chart for three weeks during that winter. Using audio and video recordings of various performances of “Chain of Fools,” this research listens to Aretha as she schools America on the history of Black struggle and jubilee. On the unedited studio recording, three times Aretha sings and hums an aeolian minor chord - the iconic signature of Delta Blues - in a call and response with guitarist Joe South, indicating that the Blues is “the sound of a worried man...having a good time... [and] pain.” Aretha’s musical lesson reveals for us how worry, pain, and levity can all exist within one musical strain, and how this layering of ambivalent meanings is the very source and sustenance of the Black Radical Tradition.

“Make the Ground Talk: An Update on the Search for the Community of Magruder” Brian Palmer & Erin Hollaway Palmer, University of Richmond & Documentary Film Producers

We will present research we have conducted for the documentary *Make the Ground Talk* into Magruder, the predominantly African American Williamsburg-area community that was uprooted in 1942-43 to build Camp Peary. We will also share correspondence that relates to our request of U.S. government officials to preserve Old Orchard Cemetery and honor those interred there. The presentation will comprise photographs, documents, audio—archival and recent—and video, and will be framed by our narration. We look forward to an informal, substantive discussion after the presentation.

“They are Merely a Decaying and a Death’: Slavery, Death, and the Politics of History” Jamie Warren, Assistant Professor of History, Borough of Manhattan Community College (CUNY)

In his work, *Slavery and Social Death*, Orlando Patterson argued that social death marked the essence of enslavement. Cut off from her own cultural roots and claims to the past, the slave was not only a person without a country, she was a living ghost without a history. Yet, more recently, historians have encouraged us to imagine death as a site where the enslaved articulated what it meant to be among the living, and indeed made “the social” their own. Joining this debate, this paper will examine how slaves and slaveholders used myriad concepts of postmortem inheritance to lay claims to a politics of history, and justify post-emancipation visions of social inclusion. While slaveholders invoked an abstracted, dying slave to link present power to an imagined past, at the cusp of emancipation many slaves pointed to the actual dead bodies of their own to articulate a more just vision of the future.

Steering Committee

Jody L. Allen, Project Co-Chair and Managing Director; History
Leah F. Glenn, Project Co-Chair; Theater, Speech, & Dance
David Brown, History
W. Fanchon Glover, Chief Diversity Officer, ex officio
Susan Kern, Executive Director of the Historic Campus

Terry L. Meyers, English
Neil L. Norman, Anthropology
Joel D. Schwartz, Roy R. Charles Center
Francis Tanglao-Aguas, Africana Studies and Theatre
R. Trent Vinson, History

Advisory Committee

Joanne M. Braxton, English
Melvin P. Ely, History
William T. Geary, Mason School of Business
Monica D. Griffin, Office of Community Engagement and Scholarship
Grey Gundaker, American Studies and Anthropology
Edith Heard, Community Member
Anne Charity-Hudley, English
Arthur L. Knight, III, English
Charles F. McGovern, American Studies and History

Jacquelyn Y. McLendon, English
Neil L. Norman, Anthropology
Carol Sheriff, History
James P. Whittenburg, History and National Institute of American History and Democracy
Anthony Conyers, Community member
Maggie Russello, Community member
Robert Braxton, Community member

APR 10-11, 2015

The Lemon Project Spring Symposium

*"Ghosts of Slavery:
The Afterlives of Racial Bondage"*

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Acknowledgements

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Kendra Cabler, Center for Student Diversity
Gail Conner, Lyon Gardiner Tyler Department of History
Christy Fiedler, Office of the Provost
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List of slaves owned by the College of William and Mary. Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, B3590A4.