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THE NORTH QUEEN STREET CEMETERY  
AND THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE  
IN SHIPPENSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

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n a small hill two blocks from downtown Shippensburg, Pennsylvania can be found a two hundred year-old African-American burial ground called the North Queen Street Cemetery.<sup>1</sup> Sometime in the eighteenth century, that piece of rocky ground on the outskirts of the town became a graveyard for the area's slaves, and by the 1830s, it also provided a site for the community's first African-American church. For most of the nineteenth century, that space served as the social, cultural, and spiritual center of the town's growing African-American population, a place where they could celebrate, mourn, and build together the foundations of an African-American community.<sup>2</sup>

This study is a micro-history focusing on a specific piece of land in Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, that became the physical nexus of the town's African-American community. The lot on North Queen Street became a location where the complex racial dynamics of a rural central Pennsylvania town became manifest as the area's African-American minority transitioned from slavery to freedom. At that site, the town's white elite helped the

African-American community to create institutions that would serve their spiritual needs while also seeking to control, exclude, and subordinate them. For more than one hundred years, the church and cemetery on North Queen Street reflected Shippensburg's racial order by providing the community's most obvious and consistent sites of racial separation, part of a complex and fluid set of social boundaries that reflected the peculiar nature of race relations in rural Pennsylvania. The conditions of small-town life meant that whites were often the neighbors, employers, co-workers, and friends of African Americans, and the relatively small numbers of African-American residents often made separate accommodations expensive or impractical. It was only when the local African-American population grew in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that racially distinct institutions appeared. And despite their origins as instruments of white supremacy, those institutions provided the African-American community with important spaces for mutual support, free expression, and collective advancement. The tiny lot on North Queen Street became one of the innumerable, often overlooked locations where ordinary African Americans and whites living in Pennsylvania's small towns struggled to negotiate race relations in their communities and, by extension, the nation.

While the story of Shippensburg's North Queen Street church and cemetery provides a useful case study for exploring the institutions and experiences of African Americans in one central Pennsylvania community, it also provides an important addition to the literature on the experience of African Americans in Pennsylvania's small rural communities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. While the historiography on African Americans' history in Pennsylvania has expanded considerably over the last three decades, the experience of African Americans living outside Pennsylvania's cities, and particularly in the Commonwealth's towns and rural communities, has received much less attention from scholars.<sup>3</sup>

This gap in the literature is particularly significant because of African Americans' enduring presence in rural Pennsylvania. The first national census in 1790 identified African Americans (both slave and free) living in every county in the Commonwealth. By 1860, free blacks inhabited all but five Pennsylvania counties, and over twenty-three thousand of the state's nearly fifty-seven thousand African-American residents (40.6 percent) lived in communities with fewer than twenty-five hundred residents. In 1900, every county in the state again had an African-American presence, with nearly 25 percent, or more than 39,500 of the 156,845 individuals

designated “Negroes” by the U.S. Census living in communities with fewer than twenty-five hundred residents.<sup>4</sup> African Americans living in the state’s towns and villages thus constituted a significant and enduring part of the African-American experience in Pennsylvania. By examining the case study of Shippensburg, this work also seeks to illuminate the experience of the tens of thousands of other Pennsylvania African Americans who lived, worked, and died in the Commonwealth’s rural towns.

### Slavery in Shippensburg and the Creation of the “Negro Graveyard”

It is unlikely that we will ever know when the first African-American burial took place on the rocky hill that would become the North Queen Street Cemetery, but it probably occurred sometime at the middle or end of the eighteenth century to accommodate the growing number of African Americans being brought involuntarily to central Pennsylvania as slaves.<sup>5</sup> While the cemetery’s creation can be viewed as a generous act that provided the area’s African-American residents with a sacred space to bury their dead according to their own traditions, it also must be understood as an act to impose the white elite’s racial worldview on the community’s physical and spiritual landscape.

Only a small minority of Shippensburg residents ever owned slaves, but the evidence suggests that the number of slaves and slaveholders in the area grew in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The Cumberland County tax collector first noted slaves on the county’s tax roll of 1765, listing them with other property and livestock owned by county residents.<sup>6</sup> That year, Hopewell Township (which encompassed the town of Shippensburg) had 169 individuals listed on its tax rolls, four of whom were slaveholders owning a total of eight slaves. Two of the slaveholders, Benjamin Blyth and Francis Campbell, held three slaves while the other two, William Duncan and Robert McKee, each owned one. On the eve of the American Revolution in 1775, the practice of slaveholding had increased only slightly with six of the 139 individuals listed on the Hopewell Township tax rolls owning slaves, though the total number of slaves decreased from eight to seven.<sup>7</sup> Consistent with Gary Nash and Jean R. Soderlund’s finding for other rural Pennsylvania counties, slavery in Shippensburg increased during the years of the American Revolution.<sup>8</sup> When Pennsylvania’s newly enacted Act for the Gradual Emancipation of Slavery prompted an accounting of all local slaves in 1780, Hopewell Township residents registered forty-seven slaves. Amid the rhetoric

of liberty and freedom espoused by patriots, the number of Shippensburg's bondsmen had increased more than six-fold in the five years between 1775 and 1780, from seven to forty-seven.<sup>9</sup>

The expansion of slavery in the region continued after the Revolution. Between 1790 and 1810, despite the passage of the Act for the Gradual Emancipation of Slavery, the number of slaves in Cumberland County (where Shippensburg was located) rose from 223 to 307 as the total number of slaves in Pennsylvania declined from 3,707 to 795. By 1810, Cumberland County held more slaves than any other county in the Commonwealth.<sup>10</sup> John Alosi's detailed study of slavery in Cumberland County attributed the popularity of slave labor to their economic benefit to the region's economy. He noted, "Slaves [in Cumberland County] were utilized to fill a portion of the labor needs of county employers. In agriculture they were needed to help fill a small shortage of white farm labor and in the iron industry they were needed in order to lower the wages. The tanneries used slaves because it was traditional and because the work there was hot and smelly."<sup>11</sup> Moreover, the impulse to abolish slavery may have been less strong than in other parts of the state. Gary Nash suggested that slaveholders in border counties like Cumberland County may have been influenced by the close proximity to Maryland where slaveholding was viewed as more socially acceptable.<sup>12</sup> Finally, the small number of Quakers in the region and the dominance of the Presbyterian Church (which did not embrace abolition as early or as consistently as the Society of Friends) also meant that slaveholders faced less religious pressure to manumit their slaves.<sup>13</sup> The demand for labor, the weakness of abolitionist sentiments in central Pennsylvania, and a flooded slave market as Philadelphia slaveholders sought to rid themselves of their human chattel created the conditions for the rapid expansion of slavery in Cumberland County during the American Revolution.

Some enslaved African Americans did make an effort to free themselves as illustrated by two advertisements for runaway slaves posted by Shippensburg-area slave owners in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in 1789 and 1793. Samuel Blyth's notice offered an eight dollar reward for the return of Will, a forty year old "negroe man" described as follows: "5 feet 7 inches high, full faced, hat on, and took with him one pair of leather breeches, white wool stockings, two shirts, two pairs of trowsers, new wool hat, and smoke coloured knapsack."<sup>14</sup> Blyth asked that he be captured and "secured in gaol, so that he may be had again."<sup>15</sup> Robert Culbertson had two African-American runaways in April 1793, one an indentured servant, "upwards of twenty years of age" named Dick Richards who was "tall, well made [and] very talkative," and the

other a slave-for-life named Ben who was “near twenty years of age” described as having a “slouching walk, with his knees turned inward.”<sup>16</sup> Culbertson offered eight dollars to “whoever takes up and secures said negroes, so as their master may get them again,” or four dollars for either man.<sup>17</sup> The fate of the runaway slaves is not known, but it seems likely that the decision to place an advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* meant that the men had, at least initially, eluded their owners. As the Gradual Abolition law took effect and the state’s population of free African Americans grew, conditions improved for enslaved people to seize freedom. It certainly became more difficult to distinguish free blacks from runaways, particularly when individuals reached Philadelphia where they could blend in amid the masses of newly emancipated slaves arriving in the city each day.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, escape remained the exception for the hundreds of men and women who continued to be enslaved in central Pennsylvania in the early nineteenth century.

By the end of the last decade of the eighteenth century, a separate cemetery had been established in Shippensburg to accommodate the growing African-American population. Shippensburg’s original proprietor, Edward Shippen III (1705–1781) had purchased the cemetery’s land as part of a larger purchase from the Penn family in 1737, but no records have been found that pinpoint when the graveyard first came into existence. The earliest reference to the cemetery can be found on a hand-drawn survey of the town circa 1790–1800 that was used by the Shippen-Burd family to record their landholdings in the town. Along the east side of North Queen Street is a large, irregular lot clearly labeled “Negro Graveyard.”<sup>19</sup> Several local histories state that Edward Shippen gave the land to African-American community for a cemetery but no documentation has been located to confirm that account.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, it seems quite plausible that Edward Shippen might have set aside land for a separate African-American cemetery in his town. Shippen had donated the land for other cemeteries and churches in the eighteenth century; including a plot for the town’s Presbyterians in 1768, and one for its Germans in 1778 (the German Reformed and Lutheran churches shared a building and a cemetery).<sup>21</sup>

Additionally, Shippen’s changing views on slavery may have motivated him to provide a burial ground for the African-American residents of his town. Shippen owned slaves, though he became increasingly uncomfortable with the practice of slavery in his old age. Hannah, a slave who worked in his Lancaster home, was married to a male slave named Thomas who lived with a different master seventy miles away in Chester, Pennsylvania. When Thomas

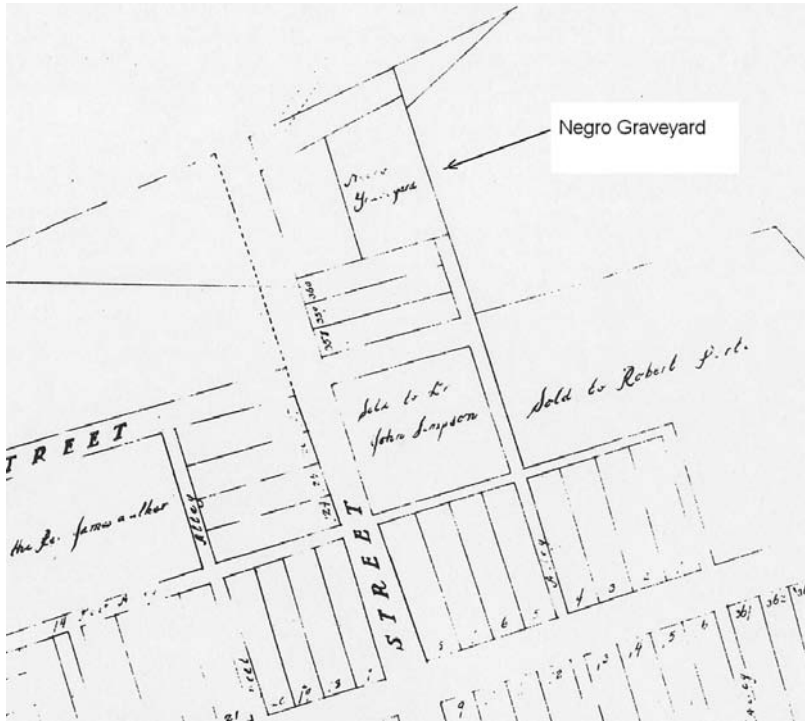


FIGURE 1: This plan of Shippensburg created by the Shippen-Burd family shows the original size and orientation of the “Negro Graveyard” around 1800. Courtesy of the Shippensburg Historical Society.

visited his wife, Shippen noted Hannah’s joy, but also “her Grief in parting with him, not knowing whether she will ever see him again.”<sup>22</sup> For Shippen, these episodes led him to comment on the humanity of African Americans, concluding “[the] African-American has natural affection as well as we have.”<sup>23</sup> As a result, he contacted Thomas’s owner and arranged for Thomas to come live with Hannah at his house in Lancaster and to open his own cooper’s shop. Moreover, three years before his death, Shippen expressed his doubts about slavery to his son-in-law James Burd, noting the poor condition of most slaves and his belief that “Strictly Speaking, I think none of any colour ought to be bound longer than Seven years.”<sup>24</sup> Upon his death, he granted his slaves their freedom.<sup>25</sup> This growing sympathy for slaves, combined with his history of providing land for churches and cemeteries, makes it plausible that he may have provided the slaves of his town with a place to bury their dead.

Whatever its origins may have been, the African-American cemetery reflected the social order of eighteenth-century Shippensburg. It is notable that of the town's three cemeteries, one was identified by religious affiliation (Presbyterian), one by European ancestry and religious affiliation (German Reform-Lutheran), and one by skin color. The cemeteries thus reflected the community's dominant Scots-Irish and German communities, but also the racial hierarchy that separate African American and white residents. Despite decades of abolitionist advocacy and a growing population of free blacks, slaves continued to appear in Shippensburg wills and county tax rolls as property listed together with an owner's swine, sheep, and horses. Shippensburg's "Negro Graveyard" perpetuated the hierarchy of racial supremacy by making skin color the first determinant of where one would be buried. A separate "Negro Graveyard" ensured that the community's racial boundaries would be maintained and perpetuated even in death.

The cemetery's land and location also conveyed Shippensburg African Americans' inferior status. The land that would become the cemetery was notable for its sloping, rocky terrain, with limestone bedrock running just below the thin soil and often emerging from the surface. And while a soil analysis suggests that the land was farmed for several years before it became a cemetery, plowing likely accelerated the topsoil's erosion, rendering the land even rockier and less suitable for farming. Pockets of iron-rich clay did lie nestled between the veins of limestone, in some places only a few inches deep, in other over locations extending down more than six feet.<sup>26</sup> The land was suitable for a graveyard, though finding usable burial locations would be a difficult, and often frustrating, undertaking.

In addition to the rocky soil, the burial ground was also situated on the periphery of the community in an area of town that drew little interest from prospective settlers.<sup>27</sup> This was in direct contrast to the Presbyterian and German Reform-Lutheran cemeteries which were placed on the town's main thoroughfares. Although the land was only three blocks from the original town center at the intersection of King and Queen Streets, it was removed from the core of development that occurred along the east-west route of King Street and south along the Baltimore Road (South Queen Street). Evidence of the land's low perceived value can be found in the lot numbering system employed by the Shippen-Burd family. As local historian William Burkhart has noted, James Burd numbered the town's lots to reflect the likely pattern of development, with the lower numbers representing the areas most likely to attract buyers and the higher numbers representing the lots least likely



to sell.<sup>28</sup> Of the 404 numbered Shippensburg lots available for purchase, those nearest the cemetery were 358, 359, and 360. Apparently, James Burd's ability to gauge the market for land proved accurate because by 1800 the Shippen-Burd family had been unable to find buyers for any of the neighboring lots.<sup>29</sup>

The soil's unsuitability for farming and the lot's undesirable location during the early history of the town most likely explain why the proprietors made the land available to the African-American community as a burial ground. The Shippen-Burd family probably saw little potential gain from the land and thus could allow it to be used for non-commercial purposes without incurring a significant financial loss. Marginal land on the settlement's periphery also conveyed a powerful message to the town's residents about the social position of African Americans in their community. Yet, what may have been deemed marginally valuable and inferior property to the town's proprietors likely proved to be of extraordinary importance to the evolving African-American community. The roughly four dozen slaves and free blacks certainly lacked the financial resources to purchase even a small lot for a burial ground. For example, it was only in 1820 that the first African American, Isaac Miller, would appear on the county tax rolls as a Shippensburg land owner with property valued at \$50.<sup>30</sup>

Moreover, the factors that made the land undesirable to potential white buyers may have proved attractive to African Americans. The lot's relative isolation may have provided Shippensburg's African-American residents with a welcomed degree of privacy. In their own cemetery, they could assemble and bury their dead out of view of the dominant white community. They could know the location of their dead and feel comfortable that the graves would not be forgotten or plowed over as was common for slaves buried in fields or along the margins of owners' properties. For individuals who were enslaved or only recently freed, the land probably would have represented a space of enormous spiritual and cultural significance—a plot of ground where they could ensure their loved ones could be properly laid to rest.

### **The Burd Proprietors and the Transformation of North Queen Street**

When Edward Shippen died in 1781, his sons Edward Shippen IV and Joseph Shippen became joint proprietors of Shippensburg. They were both absentee landlords who collected rent on their properties in the community

but otherwise did little to influence the town or its institutions. However, following the death of Edward Shippen IV in 1806 and then Joseph Shippen in 1810, control of the family's properties in Shippensburg passed to their nephew Joseph Burd.<sup>31</sup> Unlike his uncles, Joseph Burd took great interest in his town, relocated there, and played a major role in restructuring the community and transforming many of its institutions—including the “Negro Graveyard.”

In August 1813, Joseph Burd shared his intentions to move to Shippensburg with his sister Margaret Burd Hubley. He wrote, “I intend to sell off part of my farm [in Dauphin County, Pennsylvania] to pay for my Shippensburg purchase.”<sup>32</sup> Embracing his role as proprietor, Burd established himself in a two-story weatherboard house on East King Street near the middle of his town and began actively managing his Shippensburg holdings.<sup>33</sup> To reduce the expense for maintaining the community's deteriorating roads and bridges, he incorporated Shippensburg Borough in 1819 and transferred responsibility for the town's public works to its elected officials.<sup>34</sup> He also helped to establish the town's first public water system by giving the Shippensburg Borough a spring lot on King Street, the right to convey water from the spring, and land for installing public water pipes.<sup>35</sup> Last but not least, Burd began locating buyers for many parcels of land that the earlier proprietors had been unable to sell, including part of the “Negro Graveyard.”

During Joseph Burd's tenure as Shippensburg proprietor from 1813–1834, the cemetery's boundaries changed dramatically. Sometime between 1813 and 1826, Joseph Burd subdivided the lot that had constituted the “Negro Graveyard” and sold off three-quarters of it to Dr. John Simpson.<sup>36</sup> All that remained from the lot's original 35,100 square feet (.8 acres) was a 130' × 64' square lot at the hilltop measuring approximately 8,320 square feet (.19 acres). Unfortunately, nothing is known about how Shippensburg's African-American residents reacted as Joseph Burd sold off the land that they had used as a burial ground for decades, ostensibly with the Shippen-Burd family's blessings. Perhaps to compensate for the lost land, sometime before 1834 Joseph Burd began renting Shippensburg's African-American residents the empty, square lot that lay between the cemetery and North Queen Street. The land provided the town's African-American residents with much-needed space, but the transaction also served the interests of Joseph Burd. Shippensburg's African-American community provided a tenant for an otherwise vacant lot, and paid Burd an annual rent of \$20.00 per year for use of the tiny parcel until his death in 1834.<sup>37</sup>

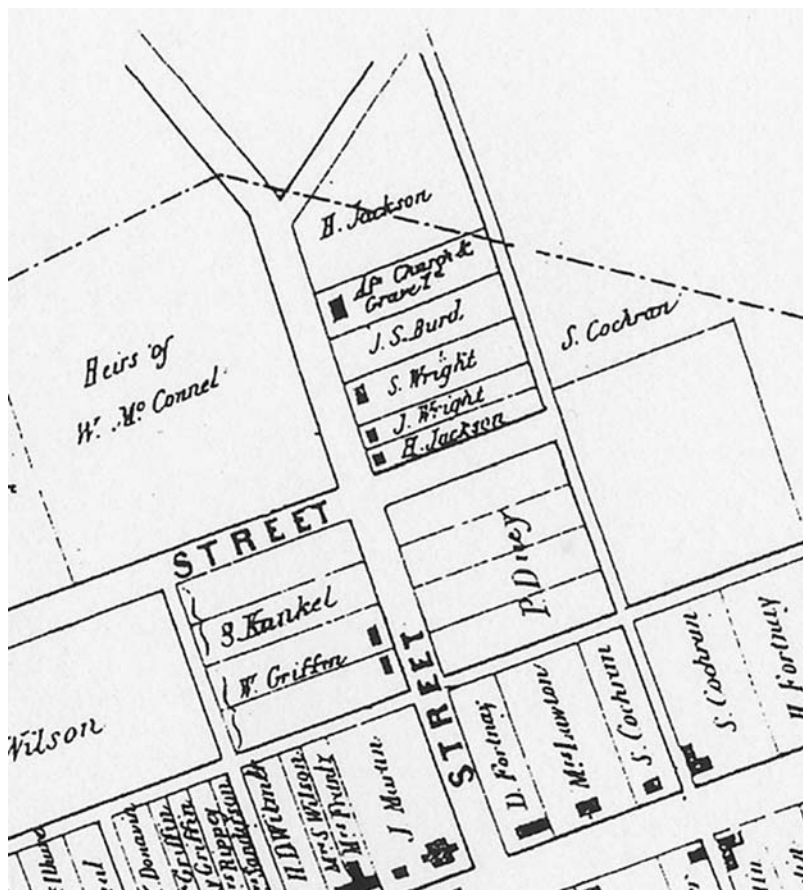


FIGURE 2: By 1858, the cemetery (top center of map labeled “Afn Church & GraveYd”) had been significantly reduced in size and transformed to resemble the dimensions of a typical Shippensburg lot. Note the black box indicating the location of the A.M.E. Church building. From F.W. Beers Company, *Atlas of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania*. (Philadelphia, Pa.: Wagner and McGuigan, 1858). Courtesy of the Shippensburg Historical Society.

On the lot rented from Burd, the African-American community constructed Shippensburg's first independent African-American church.<sup>38</sup> It is significant that the development of the church on the grounds of the "Negro Graveyard" paralleled events in Philadelphia. In 1790, Philadelphia's Free African Society began administering the Strangers' Burial Ground as an African-American cemetery. The Free African Society's role caring for the cemetery expanded,

leading the organization to begin officiating at marriages, and then holding religious services in 1791.<sup>39</sup> Just as Philadelphia's African-American burial ground preceded and led to the rise of the city's independent African-American churches, Shippensburg's African-American cemetery predated its church and was linked to its development, though the precise circumstances are not known.

At the first Annual Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church held in Baltimore in 1817, Shippensburg was identified as one of the "preaching places" in the Harrisburg area that had been visited by Reverend Daniel Coker and that were part of the A.M.E. Church's Harrisburg circuit. The A.M.E. Church had only been founded the previous year, 1816, when a group of independent African-American congregations joined together to start a new religious organization dedicated to establishing separate churches where African Americans could hold leadership roles and worship free from discrimination. Shippensburg was thus a relatively early participant in the emerging A.M.E. movement.<sup>40</sup>

Shippensburg's inclusion as part of the early A.M.E. circuit and its ability to support an independent church reflected the growth of its free African-American inhabitants. In 1800, the United States Census recorded that free blacks in Shippensburg numbered more than twice the population of slaves, thirty-seven free blacks to seventeen slaves.<sup>41</sup> By 1820, the African-American population of Shippensburg Borough and Township had grown to eighty-five, with eighty-two free people and only three slaves. In 1830, the free black community had expanded to 103 individuals, while only a single slave resided in Shippensburg (the 1840 United States Census listed two slaves in Shippensburg—the last official record of slavery in the borough—a full sixty years after the enactment of the Act for the Gradual Emancipation of Slavery).<sup>42</sup> The growth of the free African-American population stemmed not only from natural births but also from a steady influx of freed slaves from the upper-South. Shippensburg, like other Pennsylvania border communities, benefitted from Virginia's 1806 law (not always enforced) that required emancipated slaves to leave the state within twelve months or face re-enslavement.<sup>43</sup> Given its location just a two-day walk north of the Mason-Dixon Line and along the natural corridor of the Shenandoah-Cumberland Valley, Shippensburg became a logical destinations for freed slaves.<sup>44</sup>

Shippensburg's African-American congregation's first ministers were the Reverend David Smith, a former slave from Baltimore, and his associate the Reverend Shadrack Bassett who visited Shippensburg as part their

Harrisburg-to-Frederick circuit. As Smith would later write, “We traveled this circuit afoot, and had our appointments arranged for every two weeks. Great revivals followed from point to point. ‘The people were willing in the day of God’s power.’ Scores were brought into the Church by our humble efforts.”<sup>45</sup> Other traveling A.M.E. preachers also made their way to Shippensburg. An early account of the Shippensburg A.M.E. congregation is contained in the writings of Jarena Lee, the A.M.E. Church’s first female preacher, who visited Shippensburg in 1825. Her visit was part of a larger Pennsylvania tour that also included stops in Harrisburg, Carlisle, and Chambersburg. She described her experience in Shippensburg this way:

There was great success at this place; fifteen joined the Church; some of the most hardened sinners became serious and reformed. I was astonished at the wonderful operations of the Spirit, and the immense congregations. At the first sermon the house was crowded, and I had the good attention of the people. A man came into the house intoxicated, and offered to interrupt by speaking, but a gentleman put him out so quietly that it had no effect upon the meeting.<sup>46</sup>

As these accounts suggest, by the early nineteenth century Shippensburg possessed a dynamic A.M.E. church that helped to organize and unify the community’s African-American residents.<sup>47</sup>

Moreover, the congregation’s connection to the A.M.E. movement linked them to a larger network of people and ideas.<sup>48</sup> The national A.M.E. church took strong positions against slavery and in favor of greater right for African Americans. For example, Jarena Lee denounced slavery, calling it “that wretched system that emanated from the bottomless pit, [and] is one of the greatest curses to any Nation” and which she predicted would result in the “lowering Judgments of God to be let loose upon the Nation and Slavery.”<sup>49</sup> Many A.M.E. churches also took an active role in assisting freedom-seeking slaves, though it is unclear what role the Shippensburg A.M.E. church played in the Underground Railroad activity occurring in the town.<sup>50</sup> While no records remain documenting the early history of the church, it seems likely that the Shippensburg church filled the same vital role as other black churches in providing mutual support, education, social activities, and community leadership.<sup>51</sup>

Early in its history, the African Methodist Episcopal Church spearheaded a campaign to erect church buildings on its circuits, and the Shippensburg

church likely resulted from that effort. The A.M.E. ministers sought to assist local congregations by aiding fundraising efforts and by cultivating white benefactors. As Reverend David Smith later recalled, “The white as well as the colored people were so much taken up with us that they would contribute very liberally to the support of colored churches.”<sup>52</sup> The Reverend Daniel Croker systematically cultivated white financial assistance by approaching wealthy white individuals and requesting that they serve as trustees to the A.M.E. churches in their communities. Building on Croker’s work, David Smith described his work with local communities and philanthropists on his circuit to “buy lots and build churches, which I did there very successfully, and soon were seen the temples of God lifting their towering heads nearly all over the circuit.”<sup>53</sup> The precise date when the Shippensburg A.M.E. church building opened is not known, but by 1834, the local congregation had erected its own building on the land rented from Joseph Burd.<sup>54</sup>

It is possible that Burd may have been one of the white patrons described by David Smith who supported the A.M.E. movement with land and money. According to his nephew, Edward Shippen Burd, Joseph Burd desired to transfer the land to the African-American community, but did not do so because “the black people are not a Corporate Body for any purpose as Congregation or otherwise so as to enable them to receive a Deed for said Lot.”<sup>55</sup> If Shippen Burd’s statement is true, it underscores Joseph Burd’s suspicion of the African Americans living in his town. Clearly, an A.M.E. congregation operated in the town since at least 1817, but Burd did not feel comfortable transferring the land to them. Moreover, Burd could have deeded the land to a minister or other member of the church, but he obviously did not believe they could be trusted with the land’s ownership. Whether it was Joseph Burd’s desire to continue collecting rent on the property, or his unease with transferring land to African Americans, he continued to own both the cemetery lot and the church lot until his death in 1834.

At the time of his death, Joseph Burd had made no provision for the future of the North Queen Street lots. When he died, his will instructed his executors to sell off all his real estate holdings to generate money for his widow.<sup>56</sup> For the next seven years, the fate of the A.M.E. Church and “Negro Graveyard” remained uncertain as the estate was slowly settled and his landholdings were liquidated. Finally around 1841, Joseph Burd’s nephew, Edward Shippen Burd of Philadelphia, gained control of a sizable portion of his uncle’s Shippensburg land-holdings, including the African-American cemetery and church lots.<sup>57</sup>

Edward Shippen Burd, a wealthy Philadelphia lawyer, philanthropist, and generous financial backer of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, decided to give the North Queen Street land to Shippensburg's African-American residents and to formalize the cemetery's legal status.<sup>58</sup> As an abolitionist, Shippen was probably well aware of the condition of the recently-freed African Americans living in Pennsylvania and the efforts of reformers to assist their transition to freedom. Moreover, as a resident of Philadelphia, he was also probably well aware of the growing racial tensions caused by white anxiety about the city's growing African-American population, including mob violence that targeted the city's African-American neighborhoods and churches in 1834.<sup>59</sup> The Pennsylvania Abolition Society took an active role in trying to improve race relations in the early nineteenth century by encouraging African Americans to be humble, modest, and free of vice. Promoting African Americans to attend church was seen by Pennsylvania abolitionists as an important means for fostering socially-acceptable behavior.<sup>60</sup>

In this context, Shippen Burd's decision to grant the land to the African-American community may be understood as both generous and as an act of benevolent paternalism aimed at "uplifting" Shippensburg's African-American population.<sup>61</sup> By supporting the black church in Shippensburg, Burd granted the town's African Americans a valuable gift that he may have hoped would also foster racial harmony and social order. Burd deeded legal title to the land on June 17, 1842, transferring the property forever to "the black people of Shippensburg."<sup>62</sup> The document states:

Now be it known to all people whom it May Concern that I said Edward Burd hereby agrees and binds himself his Heirs and Assigns forever to Leave undisturbed said piece of ground for the Consideration of twenty cents a year and yearly forever which is to be and for the purpose of erecting a place of worship and Burying the Dead of the black people of Shippensburg and for no other purpose whatever.

Whatever Shippen Burd's motives may have been, the grant was an extraordinarily generous gift that ended decades of uncertainty and established in perpetuity the legal title to the church and cemetery land.

The terms of the gift were extraordinary in that the land belonged to all the town's African Americans collectively, rather than to any single individual or organization. Moreover, they owned the land forever. And though the deed did specify a yearly quit-rent of twenty cents, that sum was trivial even

in 1840, particularly in comparison to the yearly \$20.00 rent paid under Joseph Burd (in 2008 dollars, 20¢ = \$4.30 and \$20.00 = \$430.20).<sup>63</sup> Twenty cents surely represented only a token gesture to satisfy the legal requirements for a lease, and Edward Shippen Burd, it appears, made no attempt to collect the monies as he made no mention of it anywhere in his 1840s rental account books.<sup>64</sup> For the first time, the African-American community could pray, meet, and bury their dead without being beholden to a member of the Shippen-Burd family. Edward Shippen Burd may have seen his act as promoting order and morality, but he had also conveyed Shippensburg's African-American residents the precious gifts of autonomy and freedom.

### Independence, Growth, and Segregation

In the decades after the African-American community took ownership of the site, significant changes occurred in the church and the cemetery. Sometime around 1850, the congregation decided to tear down the original log church and to erect a "commodious brick edifice" in its place.<sup>65</sup> The brick church consisted of a single 25 × 35 foot room which was oriented with its longer side parallel to the street and its entrance on the east side facing away from Queen Street.<sup>66</sup> Though the structure itself was relatively small, its brick construction conveyed a new sense of permanence and stature that reflected an African-American community coming into its own. Moreover, the church became the anchor of Shippensburg's first African-American neighborhood along the east side of North Queen Street. In 1858, the African-American Wright and Jackson families owned all of the lots on the street with the exception of one adjacent to the cemetery. David Deadford, an African American, purchased that property from the Burd family by 1872.<sup>67</sup>

The financial means to build a new, brick church demonstrated the economic resources of the African-American community in the mid-nineteenth century. Part of this can be attributed to the increased number of African Americans, but also to the growing number of skilled craftsmen. The African-American population in the Shippensburg area doubled from 119 in 1850 to 241 in 1870, and grew from 6.8 percent of Shippensburg's total population to nearly 10 percent (compared with the state average of 1.8 percent in 1860).<sup>68</sup> According to research conducted by Carol Appenzellar on employment patterns in Shippensburg in the 1860s and 1870s, the great



majority of Shippensburg African Americans were employed in unskilled manual labor. Over 60 percent of men worked as laborers for the area's farms, shops, and factories. Thirty-five percent of the area's African-American women also worked outside the home, and all worked in some form of domestic service, including as maids, cooks, nurse-maids, and washerwomen (two-thirds of these jobs required the women to live in the home or business of her employer). However, the African-American workforce also included one teacher, one minister, six barbers, a basket maker, two blacksmiths, a brick maker, two coopers, a shoemaker, a stone mason, two tanners, a whip maker, and a butcher. There was also one African American who owned his own farm, Stanton Perry, a forty-four year old Maryland-born mulatto with land valued at \$800.<sup>69</sup> While most of Shippensburg's African Americans were poor, collectively they possessed appreciable financial resources.

As the Shippensburg African-American community enjoyed increased numbers, autonomy, and economic resources, the white community in Shippensburg began instituting segregation as a means to circumscribe the actions of African Americans and maintain their subordinate position in society. In her study of Jacksonian Philadelphia, Emma Jones Lapansky noted that the combined "threats" of an increasing African-American population, the growth of independent black churches, and rising African-American affluence contributed to growing animosity and violence from white Philadelphia residents.<sup>70</sup> While Shippensburg did not experience an outbreak of violence comparable to the riots that wracked Philadelphia, it was experiencing the same growth, affluence, and organization that had triggered a white backlash. Rather than violence, African Americans faced intensified segregation and exclusion in Shippensburg. By 1858, Shippensburg had segregated its public school system by establishing a separate "colored school" on a prominent hill on the town's west end called Bull's Eye Rock.<sup>71</sup> The town's Masonic lodge, formed in 1858, barred African Americans (a separate Prince Hall Mason's Lincoln Lodge #38 formed in 1868 for African Americans).<sup>72</sup> Even most government officials and merchants were careful to place the notation "Col," "Col<sup>d</sup>," or "colored" in their ledgers behind the names of African Americans to ensure their racial identity would be distinct from their white citizens and customers.<sup>73</sup> The practice of formal segregation also extended to Shippensburg's burial grounds.

In their *History of Cumberland County* published in 1885, P. A. Durand and J. Fraise Richards noted that by the mid-nineteenth century, "The burial places of Shippensburg had become full of the bodies of those who, during

more than a century of its existence, had taken up their “abode in the dark house and narrow bed’ in the various inclosures.”<sup>74</sup> To address the shortage of space in the church and public burial grounds, a group of local businessmen purchased an expanse of farm land on Shippensburg’s northwest side for use as a new public cemetery. On January 18, 1861, the Commonwealth incorporated the Spring Hill Cemetery Corporation. The new organization’s by-laws allowed anyone to purchase cemetery lots, but allowed plot owners to bury only “such *white persons* [emphasis added] as they may choose to admit.”<sup>75</sup> Even though the cemetery was a private corporation, it served as the community’s public burial ground—particularly as many of the town’s churches (e.g.: Lutheran, German Lutheran/Reformed, Presbyterians, Methodist Episcopal) closed their cemeteries and reinterred the dead together in Spring Hill Cemetery.<sup>76</sup> The North Queen Street Cemetery ceased to be one of many cemeteries in the community, but instead it became one of two—part of the racial dyad of segregation—the only option for those excluded from burial in the public cemetery.<sup>77</sup>

As the community’s racial boundaries became more distinct, in at least one respect the funerary practices embraced by the town’s white and African Americans became more similar. Starting in the 1860s, African-American families began marking the graves of the dead in the North Queen Street cemetery with professionally-carved, stone grave markers. The oldest extant, dated tombstone in the cemetery is that of Eliza Jones Deadford, a carved marble marker dating from 1869. While it is possible that earlier grave-stones may have sunken or been removed, it also is likely that the appearance of commercially produced marble slabs reflected a cultural shift in funerary practice. According to anthropologist John Vlach, traditional West-African burial rituals emphasized temporary grave marking that utilized plantings and items such as pebbles, seashells, pottery, glass, medicine bottles, spoons, coins, cigar boxes, flower pots and other personal belongings of the deceased. Remembering the precise location of an individual’s remains was less important than knowing they were located within a community’s burial ground.<sup>78</sup> Such African-inspired burial practices were continued by slaves and their descendants into the twentieth century, and have been widely documented at African-American burial sites throughout North America.<sup>79</sup> The perpetuation of African traditions, combined with the poverty of the area’s African-American residents who would have been unable to purchase commercially-carved gravestones, could help explain the lack of burial markers at North Queen Street before 1869.

The tendency to leave graves unmarked and to recycle burial space was not unique to African Americans, but also occurred in European and American cemeteries into the nineteenth century. It was common practice to leave many individual graves unmarked, to “pack” burials close together, and to reuse space by interring newly deceased persons in ground where others had been previously buried. Such practices allowed even relatively small spaces to accommodate nearly unlimited burials.<sup>80</sup> By the late eighteenth century, practices in European and American cemeteries began to change. Growing out the humanism of the Enlightenment, a new interest emerged in preserving one’s identity after death, a movement that took expression in cemeteries through the purchase of permanent headstones and individualized cemetery plots.<sup>81</sup> As recent studies by Drew Gilpin Faust and Mark Schantz also suggest, the death and destruction of the American Civil War also transformed Americans’ attitudes towards death and the heightened the nation’s desire to remember the dead.<sup>82</sup> The appearance of professional tombstones in the North Queen Street Cemetery thus may reflect the decline of West-African traditions and the embrace of the majority culture’s views of death. At the same time, the growing affluence of Shippensburg’s African Americans offered the disposable income needed to purchase professionally-crafted tombstones which were also becoming more affordable due to improved stone-cutting technology and mass production.<sup>83</sup> After 1900, unmarked or temporarily marked graves would continue but would never again be the dominant pattern at North Queen Street.

TABLE 1. Decade of Burial as Indicated by the Death Date on Standing Tombstones in the North Queen Street Section of the Locust Grove Cemetery

DECADE OF BURIAL	NUMBER OF EXTANT MARKERS <sup>84</sup>	OTHER KNOWN BURIALS (NO HEADSTONES)	TOTAL KNOWN BURIALS
1861–1870	2	n/a	2
1871–1880	3	n/a	3
1881–1890	10	n/a	10
1891–1900	12	19	31
1901–1910	8	5	13
1911–1920	16	9	25
1921–1930	0	1	1
Unknown	5	3	8
Total	56	36	93

Among the growing numbers of African-American families who adorned the graves of their loved ones with commercial gravestones were the families of Shippensburg's Civil War veterans who received government-issued tombstones free from the county government. Fully 41 percent of all marked graves in North Queen Street Cemetery (twenty-one out of fifty-one) belonged to Civil War veterans. Shippensburg's men responded enthusiastically to the opportunity to serve in the Union army provided by Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. Among the earliest volunteers from the area were the three Shirk brothers, James, John, and Casper, who traveled to Readville, Massachusetts, in the Spring of 1863 to join the newly-forming Massachusetts regiments—the first Northern combat units for African Americans. Another group of seven Shippensburg men composed of four Pennsylvania-born men and three former slaves enlist together in the 127<sup>th</sup> United States Colored Troops on August 31, 1864. Other Shippensburg residents served in the 24<sup>th</sup>, 25<sup>th</sup>, and 43<sup>rd</sup> USCT. Despite Frederick Douglass's belief that once African-American men donned the uniform of their country that there would be “no power on earth which can deny that he has earned the right to citizenship in the United States,” the Shippensburg men served in segregated units and returned home to a community where they continued to be treated as second-class citizens.<sup>85</sup>

In death, however, the veterans finally received a measure of equality. As part of the generous array of benefits awarded to Union veterans, the Pennsylvania General Assembly enacted a law in 1885 requiring counties to appoint individuals in every township and ward who would “look after, bury and provide a headstone for the body of any honorably discharged soldier, sailor, or marine who served in the army or navy of the United States during the late rebellion” and who had “insufficient means to defray the necessary burial expenses.”<sup>86</sup> Most of the families of Shippensburg veterans who died after 1885 availed themselves of this program.<sup>87</sup> The government award of a marble headstone provided beneficiaries with a memorial larger and more substantial than what many families would have been able to purchase on their own. More important, the great majority of Shippensburg's white veterans lay beneath the exact same type of marble slabs as the African-American veterans. The free burial and glistening monument symbolized that the African-American veterans had earned in death the right to be recognized fully and equally as all other Pennsylvania servicemen—though the Shippensburg men's honor would be displayed within the confines of the community's segregated graveyard.

## Decline of the Cemetery and Church

As the North Queen Street Cemetery filled with gravestones, the small burial ground's rocky soil began to run out of usable lots. Much of the growth of the Shippensburg African-American community in the late nineteenth century had been driven by the arrival of adult former slaves from the Upper South, a trend that skewed the age distribution of the African-American community and that resulted in a surge of deaths and burials by the century's end. By the first decades of the twentieth century, most of the available land on the rocky hill had been used. The cemetery that had served the African-American community for more than a hundred years was almost full.

At the same time as growth of Shippensburg's African-American community threatened to outstrip the space in the community's cemetery, changing demographics of Shippensburg's African-American population also contributed to the decline of the A.M.E. Church on North Queen Street. Ironically, the growth of Shippensburg's African-American population allowed the community to support several new churches that competed with the older A.M.E. Church for members. For example, a separate African-American Baptist church opened around 1870; a splinter group from the North Queen Street A.M.E. church left and formed the Mt. Pisgah A.M.E. Zion Church after 1850 and bought its own building in 1878, and a St. Peter's A.M.E. Zion Bethel Church began operation in 1892.<sup>88</sup> The proliferation of African-American Baptist and A.M.E. Zion churches after the Civil War was not unique to Shippensburg. Across the country, the A.M.E. Zion Church experienced "explosive growth" in the decades after the Civil War, offering a dynamic style of worship that proved especially appealing to newly free African Americans.<sup>89</sup> The North Queen Street A.M.E. Church seemed to appeal to the older generation of Pennsylvania-born African Americans while the newer churches attracted the younger generation and new arrivals from the South.<sup>90</sup>

By the 1880s, the A.M.E. Church on North Queen Street began to experience difficulties. The departure of members to the new Mt. Pisgah A.M.E. Zion Church thinned its ranks and reduced its financial resources. When the church building required repairs in both 1868 and 1886, the congregation found it necessary to make a public appeal to raise the needed funds.<sup>91</sup> In 1879, the church lost its long-time minister, Richard Baker, a barber who had also served as the church's leader for decades. He had been born a slave in Shippensburg in 1797 from a mother of "Spanish or Creole

descent,” gained his freedom sometime before 1825, and was described in his 1879 obituary as “a respected colored citizen’ who was ‘upright in his dealings, a consistent Christian, and respected by all.’”<sup>92</sup> A few years after his death, a reporter for the *Shippensburg News* commented on church’s shrinking congregation: “the membership at the present is not numerically very strong, but they are zealous and warmly attached to the old altar stones where they first made a profession of faith.”<sup>93</sup> After Richard Baker’s death, his wife Hannah Baker continued to serve as the church’s matriarch, and their sons took over the ministry of what was renamed the “Richard Baker A.M.E. Church” in 1886. Baker’s eldest son James died at age thirty-four in 1882.<sup>94</sup> Following the death of Hannah Baker in 1896 at age ninety-five, and the death of Edward in 1899 at age forty-eight, the Richard Baker A.M.E. church declined and eventually ceased operation. It still existed in 1904, but by 1910 a Sanborn insurance map indicated that it was “Old & vac.” (i.e.: old and vacant). By 1921 no trace of the Richard Baker A.M.E. building remained.<sup>95</sup>

The last person buried in the North Queen Street appears to have been the fifteen-year old Anna May Robinson, the daughter of Reverend Joseph Robinson. She died and was buried in the cemetery following an appendicitis operation at the Harrisburg Hospital on December 2, 1922.<sup>96</sup> Soon after her burial, the committee overseeing the North Queen Street Cemetery opted to close it because the large number of unmarked graves made it difficult to identify vacant space on the grounds.<sup>97</sup> It may also be significant that the committee’s decision came after the death of Samuel Wright who had served for many years as the Richard Baker A.M.E. Church’s sexton and gravedigger. With Wright’s death in 1920, the knowledge of the location and identity of individuals buried in unmarked graves may have been lost, and thus it no longer became possible to ensure new burials would not disturb unmarked graves.<sup>98</sup> In 1922, the North Queen Street Cemetery closed and the new Locust Grove African-American Cemetery opened adjacent to the old cemetery.

## Memory and Remembrance at North Queen Street

After 1922, the older North Queen Street section was allowed to go fallow. Once or twice a year—particularly for Memorial Day<sup>99</sup>—the men of the African-American community would gather to mow the tall grass with scythes, but the cemetery otherwise was left undisturbed.<sup>100</sup> To casual

observers, the North Queen Street lot seemed to vanish into undergrowth. When the Sanborn Map Company surveyed Shippensburg in 1921 and 1929, their surveyors denoted the space occupied by the North Queen Street Cemetery as “vacant fields.”<sup>101</sup>

Yet the site continued to hold extraordinary importance to the African-American community, both as the site where many ancestors and family members lay, but also as a sacred place for honoring the community’s heroes—particularly the Civil War veterans. At about the same time that the North Queen Street Cemetery closed to new burials, the local African-American community began organizing its own Memorial Day observances to honor its deceased veterans. Shippensburg had been holding Memorial Day (originally known as Decoration Day) observances since the first on May 30, 1868, but earlier commemoration had only focused on the graves of white veterans.<sup>102</sup> The African-American veterans were ignored until 1920 when a *Shippensburg News* reporter noted that a separate ceremony had been organized in addition to the customary afternoon parade and service at Spring Hill Cemetery. The reporter observed, “In the morning the colored folks of town held their Memorial service. The music was furnished by a colored band from Harrisburg which received much favorable comment.”<sup>103</sup> It is not coincidental that the ceremony began after a new generation of African-American veterans returned to Shippensburg from World War One and took it upon themselves to see that the earlier generation of warriors received the recognition they deserved.

Sometime in the 1920s, the observance at the North Queen Street Cemetery expanded to include a separate Memorial Day parade, an event years later referred to by African-American residents of Shippensburg simply as the “Black Parade.”<sup>104</sup> World War One veterans took the lead as the parade marshals. Other participants included the community’s last surviving United States Colored Troops veteran, John Hinton, who rode in an automobile provided by his former employers. The parade then included both white and African-American participants, including the Shippensburg Band, the American Legion firing squad, The Jolly Dramatic Club, sons of colored veterans, “other folks in automobiles,” and children carrying bouquets of flowers to place on veterans’ graves. African-American women who took time off from their jobs as domestic servants joined the parade adorned in their finest outfits and carrying hand-painted signs. Filled with joy and pride, and accompanied by music from the band, the entire party staged a “triumphant

march to the little cemetery” where a minister delivered the Memorial Day address on the grounds of the North Queen Street Cemetery.<sup>105</sup>

The Black Parade’s route reflected the geography of Shippensburg’s African-American community and highlighted both its connection with and separation from white Shippensburg. The parade assembled at the intersection of Locust and West Orange Streets, near the Reverend Joseph Robinson’s Mt. Zion Baptist Church. Proceeding east along Orange Street, the procession passed through or close to Shippensburg’s three principle African-American neighborhoods (Locust and West Orange Street, South Penn Street—also known as Wrightsville—North Queen Street), and by two of the three black churches (the Mt. Zion Baptist Church and the Mt. Pisgah A.M.E. Church on East Orange Street) before turning onto Queen Street and continuing to the North Queen Street Cemetery. Following an oration and the laying of flowers, the parade then marched west on Burd Street past the segregated “colored” school at the corner of Burd Street and Gettle Avenue, turned south onto Penn Street, and ended at the third black church, St. Peter’s A.M.E. Bethel.<sup>106</sup>

The Memorial Day observance represented more than simply an alternative observance, but served as a testimony to the African-American community’s organization, pride, and patriotism. As Susan G. Davis noted in her study of nineteenth century Philadelphia parades, “parades and public ceremonies are political acts. People use street theater, like other rituals, as tools for building, maintaining, and confronting power relations.”<sup>107</sup> After the town’s African-American Civil War veterans had been snubbed for decades, the parade forced the community to acknowledge that African-American veterans also deserved to be honored. For one day a year, the men and women who toiled in the fields, kitchens, and basements of Shippensburg took their place at the center of the public’s attention, marching together to show the town their numbers, their pride, and their dignity. Marching through Shippensburg served as a powerful statement of defiance. As the African-American community marched through the streets of Shippensburg filled with pride and joy, temporarily rejecting their status as second-class citizens confined to the margins of society, their destination was the cemetery on North Queen Street. There, in the presence of their ancestors and the graves of the Civil War veterans, the community stood together in remembrance, energized by the collective act of marching, remembering, and displaying their collective might to the white residents of Shippensburg.<sup>108</sup>



Some whites supported the parade and even marched in it, such as the members of the Shippensburg Band and the American Legion firing squad, but others looked on the event with a mixture of fascination and disdain. Whites lined the streets on Memorial Day morning to watch the procession that was referred to by some whites as the “Nigger Parade.”<sup>109</sup> The writings of one observer, Ruth K. Duke, a young, white woman who wrote about the parade for her English class at the University of Pennsylvania, suggest the range of feeling elicited by the event. She described the World War One veteran leading the parade, “Hooker” Hinton as “having the distinction of having had more ‘cooties’ than any other darky in the A.E.F,” and mocked female marcher Lizzie Clark as “slovenly” and obese, noting that her “three hundred pounds of flesh are held in stays for the first time in as many days” as she “waddle[d] down the line.”<sup>110</sup> She called the parade’s destination, the North Queen Street Cemetery, simply “Nigger Hill.”<sup>111</sup> Though Duke’s observation were meant to be humorous, they reinforced negative stereotypes of African Americans as unclean, sloppy, and comical, while also highlighting the ease with which some whites used racial epithets to describe African Americans and their institutions. Because the Black Parade placed organized African Americans in public view, whites may have denigrated the event in order to minimize its significance and to maintain their own sense of racial superiority.

Memorial Day continued to be observed at the North Queen Street and Locust Grove Cemeteries, but the Black Parade ended around the time of World War Two. The parade’s end coincided with the precipitous decline of Shippensburg’s African-American population that fell from 194 African-American residents in 1920, to 101 in 1930, and down to eighty-four in 1940. The African-American community also declined as a total proportion of the town, from 4.7 percent of the total population in 1920 to 1.6 percent in 1940.<sup>112</sup> Several factors may have contributed to this drop. Part of the change appears to have been generational. As the Civil War-era cohort of migrants to Shippensburg died off, their children and grandchildren opted to leave the area. The decision to depart probably reflected the pull of such urban centers as Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York City that promised both better jobs during the boom of the 1920s and the lure of large and dynamic African-American communities fostered by the Great Migration.<sup>113</sup> The Great Depression and World War Two led other individuals to leave Shippensburg in search of work or for military service. At the same time, the limited economic opportunity for African Americans in

Shippensburg, the continuing humiliation of segregation in the town, and the presence of a highly visible chapter of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s and 1930s probably spurred many younger African Americans to leave town if they could.<sup>114</sup>

The North Queen Street Cemetery gained new importance to Shippensburg's younger generation of African Americans in the 1960s when a publication produced by the Shippensburg Historical Society called into question the African-American community's stewardship of its history and cemetery.<sup>115</sup> In 1964, the Shippensburg Historical Society published *Shippensburg in the Civil War* to coincide with the war's centennial anniversary. In the chapter called "Shippensburg's Colored Veterans of the Civil War," local historian William Burkhart described the impact of neglect and time on the North Queen Street Cemetery when he first went there in 1949. He wrote, "[T]here was something disgusting about the way civilized 20<sup>th</sup> century citizens were abusing this burial ground. To abandon a graveyard to old mother nature was one thing ... but to maltreat a grave site is another thing."<sup>116</sup> Burkhart, working with two African-American World War Two veterans in the 1950s and 1960s, helped to clean the grounds and restore many of its broken tombstones. However, he connected the maltreatment of the cemetery to a wider disrespect that he believed existed among Shippensburg's African Americans. In his introduction to "Shippensburg's Colored Veterans," he wrote a scathing criticism of the town's African Americans, stating that "the average colored man does not place a high value on his background or heritage and tends to lose even important papers such as discharges and deeds to property."<sup>117</sup>

In response to those charges, a small group of young African-American men calling themselves "The Real Regulars" took it upon themselves to prove their commitment to their history by assuming responsibility for the care of the African-American cemetery grounds. Three decades later, Gerald "Jake" Burke explained their motivation, "A bunch of black youth from Shippensburg—we were youth then—got together. Our parents were getting older and couldn't take care of the place. We decided that these are our people up here. It's not the responsibility of anyone else."<sup>118</sup> Driven by a sense of pride and responsibility that was certainly informed by the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, the young people of Shippensburg took responsibility for the North Queen Street Cemetery as a way to publicly demonstrate their commitment to their ancestors and the community's African-American history. More than forty years later, that group of men and women who took responsibility for the cemetery in the 1960s continues to

care for North Queen Street Cemetery and Locust Grove Cemetery grounds. They also launched a major campaign in 2006 that enlisted the support of the broader community, particularly the Shippensburg Historical Society and Shippensburg University Applied History program, to help restore, document, and preserve the site. The campaign culminated in a ceremony on Memorial Day 2007 dedicating a new Pennsylvania Historical Marker recognizing the history and significance of the Locust Grove Cemetery.<sup>119</sup>

With the end of legal segregation in the 1950s and 1960s, Shippensburg's African-American cemetery assumed a new role in the community. Desegregation opened new choices for Shippensburg's African Americans beyond the separate institutions to which they were once confined. They could choose where to eat, attend school, worship, or be buried when they died. The successor burial ground attached to the North Queen Street Cemetery, Shippensburg's Locust Grove Cemetery, continued to operate and accept new burials. Significantly, to be laid to rest in Shippensburg's Locust Grove Cemetery became a choice reflecting a desire to be among family and friends in ground that held a special connection to the African-American community, not a mandate required by one's ancestry or skin color. After almost two hundred years of segregation and exclusion, burial in Shippensburg's African-American cemetery at last symbolized that Shippensburg's African-American residents had achieved equality under the law—a right that they could exercise by choosing to lay their bodies down on North Queen Street with generations of men and women who had been denied that most basic freedom.

## NOTES

1. I would like to thank Christine Senecal, Charles Loucks, Christopher Gwynn, and three anonymous *Pennsylvania History* reviewers for their insightful feedback that greatly improved this work. Nancy Hodge, Mai Nocho Baltimore, Carl Bell Jr., Gerald Burke, and John Rideout Jr. provided a wealth of information about the North Queen Street/Locust Grove Cemetery and Shippensburg's African-American history. Shippensburg University C-FEST, the Shippensburg University Foundation, and the Pennsylvania State System of Higher Education provided generous support for this research. I am also deeply indebted to the students of the Shippensburg University Applied History program for their outstanding research into Shippensburg's African-American history. The fruit of their labor is evident throughout this essay. Last but not least, I want to thank Erica, Lucy, and Sam for their love and support.
2. In 1922, a second cemetery was opened adjacent to the North Queen Cemetery called the Locust Grove Cemetery. The Locust Grove Cemetery Committee took responsibility for the care of both

## THE NORTH QUEEN STREET CEMETERY

cemeteries, and for convenience, the two cemeteries are often referred to simply as the Locust Grove Cemetery.

3. The historical literature on African Americans in Pennsylvania outside Philadelphia or Pittsburgh is remarkably limited, and what exists largely focuses on life in small cities such as Harrisburg, York, Erie, Lancaster and Scranton rather than African Americans in towns and villages. One of the best studies of race relations and violence against African American in a small town in the nineteenth century is Willis L. Shirk's study of Columbia, Pennsylvania, "Testing the Limits of Tolerance: Blacks and the Social Order in Columbia, Pennsylvania, 1800-1851," *Pennsylvania History* 60 (January 1993): 35-50. Christopher Osborne, "Invisible Hands: Slaves, Bound Laborers, and the Development of Western Pennsylvania" *Pennsylvania History* 72 (Winter 2005): 77-99, addresses the significant gap in the historical literature regarding slavery in the largely rural counties of Alleghany, Fayette, Greene, Washington, and Westmoreland in the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Gary Nash, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) focused primarily on Philadelphia, but also examined slavery primarily in nearby Chester County. Leroy T. Hopkins examined African Americans in a small town in Lancaster County in his article, "Hollow Memories: African Americans in Conestoga Township" *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 101 (Winter 2000): 145-66, while Marlene Garrett Bronson examined their experience in a Greene County community her book, *Early American Life in Waynesburg, Green County, Pennsylvania* (Indiana, PA: A. G. Halldin Publisher, 2002). John Alosi addressed the transition of slaves in rural Cumberland County in his book, *Shadow of Freedom: Slavery in Post-Revolutionary Cumberland County, 1780-1810* (Shippensburg, PA: Shippensburg University Press, 2001). Essays written by Shippensburg University graduate students on topics including African-American military service, occupations, freemasonry, education, and religion in Shippensburg, Pennsylvania were compiled in Steven B. Burg, ed., *Black History of Shippensburg, 1860-1936* (Shippensburg, PA: Shippensburg University Press, 2005). A full length county-level treatment of western Pennsylvania can be found in Sony Stewart, *Working Together: African American Migration and Settlement in Indiana County, Pennsylvania* (unpublished Master's thesis, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, 1996). Several popular works have attempted to document rural African-American communities by assembling photographs and genealogical data, such as Emerson I. Moss, *African Americans in the Wyoming Valley, 1778-1990* (Wilkes-Barre, PA: Wyoming Historical and Genealogical Society, 1992), Debra Adleman, *Waiting for the Lord: Nineteenth Century Black Communities in Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania* (Camden, ME: Picture Press, 1997); and Betty Dorsey Myer, *Segregated in Death: Gettysburg's Lincoln Cemetery* (Gettysburg, PA: Lincoln Cemetery Association, 2001).
4. Statistics for 1790 are from *Historical Census Browser*, University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, <<http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html>> (July 15, 2008); the statistics for 1860 are compiled from Secretary of the Interior, Superintendent of the Census, *Population of the United States in 1860 Compiled from the Original Census Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), 406-37. The five counties that had no African-American residents in 1860 were Cameron, Forest, Lackawanna, McKean, and Mifflin-Centre. The statistics for 1900 are from U.S. Census Office, *Census Reports, Volume 1, Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Office, 1901), 637-41.

5. For a history of slavery and emancipation in Cumberland County, see Alosi, *Shadow of Freedom* and Burg, *Black History of Shippensburg*, 4–13.
6. For example, the Cumberland County Tax Rates of 1765 for Benjamin Blyth lists “4 H[orses], 8 C[ows], and 6 Sheep valued at 10 pounds, 16 shillings, and 3 Negroes valued at 12 pounds.” See Tax Rates for Hopewell Township, Cumberland County Tax Rates, 1765, Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.
7. Tax Rates for Hopewell Township, Cumberland County Tax Rates, 1765 and 1775, Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.
8. Jean R. Soderlund, “Black Women in Colonial Pennsylvania,” in Joe William Trotter and Eric Ledell Smith, *African Americans in Pennsylvania: Changing Historical Perspectives* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press; Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1997), 75; Nash, *Freedom by Degrees*, 4–5, 74–98.
9. The data from Cumberland County’s Slave Registration was compiled by John Alosi in Appendix C of his book, *Shadow of Freedom*. The Gradual Emancipation Act of 1780 stated that all slaves born before the law’s enactment remained slaves for life and all those born after its passage remained in bondage until their twenty-eighth birthday unless voluntarily manumitted by their owners. The law also stipulated that all slaveholders must register their slaves and their ages with their respective counties, and report the birth of any slaves to the county. See Leroy Hopkins and Eric Ledell Smith, “African Americans in Pennsylvania” (online), Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission web site, <<http://www.phmc.state.pa.us/ppet/africanamericans/page1.asp?secid=31>>. (Accessed January 15, 2004); Ira V. Brown, *The Negro in Pennsylvania History* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania Historical Association, 1970), 6–9.
10. *Historical Census Browser*, University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, <<http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html>> (Accessed March 10, 2008).
11. Alosi, *Shadow of Freedom*, 75.
12. Nash, *Freedom by Degrees*, 4–5.
13. *Ibid.*, 82–85. In his study of Philadelphia slaveholders, Nash found Presbyterian slaveholders to be less likely to free their slaves than their Quaker counterparts. Central Pennsylvania fell under the control of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia which endorsed gradual abolition in 1787 and condemned slavery outright by 1800. However, the Synod “allowed local governing bodies to apply those principles to local situations,” thus leaving it to congregations to determine their own positions on slavery. See Andrew Murray, “Presbyterian Church,” in Randall M. Miller and John David Smith, *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988).
14. “Eight Dollars Reward,” *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 15, 1789.
15. *Ibid.*
16. “Eight Dollar Reward. Ran Away from Subscriber on the 13<sup>th</sup> Inst. from the Subscriber,” *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 24, 1793.
17. *Ibid.*
18. For information on African-American migration patterns to Philadelphia, see Jean Soderlund, “Black Importation and Migration to Southeastern Pennsylvania,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 133 (June 1989): 144–53.
19. Shippen-Burd Family Map of Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, c.1790–1800, Map Drawer, Archives Room, Shippensburg Historical Society. The Historical Society also produced a copy of the map

## THE NORTH QUEEN STREET CEMETERY

- drawn by Joel Frelin, Early Plot Plan of Shippensburg (1972). Map Collections, Ezra Lehman Memorial Library, Shippensburg University, Shippensburg, Pennsylvania. According to Paul Barner, the map had been given to Shippensburg resident Wilbur Goodhart by the last proprietor of Shippensburg in the 1940s when he bought the lot on top of Bull's Eye Rock. Paul Barner used this map extensively for his 1987 Shippensburg University Master's thesis. In the course of his thesis research, he compared the information on the map with the information contained in property deeds and found that "while a few of the angles, proportions, etc. are slightly inaccurate, the lot numbers shown have been confirmed almost without exception by the information given on the deed." See Paul Barner, "Shippensburg Township in 1800: A Portrait." (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Ezra Lehman Library, Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, 1987), 21.
20. The earliest known version of this story was published in the *Shippensburg News* in a story entitled, "Repairs to a Church" published on February 13, 1886. According to William Burkhart, the Reverend Joseph Robinson told him in 1963 that he had seen a copy of the deed from Edward Shippen among the papers of the Baker family but that it had been lost in a fire. See William H. Burkhart, *The Shippensburg Story* (Shippensburg, PA: Shippensburg Historical Society, 1970), 176. The author of this article has examined the Edward Shippen papers at the American Philosophical Society and the Shippen-Burd Family Papers at the Pennsylvania State Archives, but could not locate any mention of the cemetery.
  21. Burkhart, *The Shippensburg Story*, 180; William H. Burkhart, *Cumberland Valley Chronicles* (Shippensburg, PA: Shippensburg Historical Society, 1976), 344.
  22. Edward Shippen to Reverend George Craig, July 13, 1778. Edward Shippen Letterbooks, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
  23. Ibid.
  24. Randolph Shipley Klein, *Portrait of an American Family: The Shippens of Pennsylvania Across Five Generations* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975), 182. Jerome H. Wood, Jr., *Conestoga Crossroad: Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730-1790* (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical And Museum Commission, 1979), 164-66; Edward Shippen to James Burd, July 17, 1778, Shippen Family Papers, VIII (1772-1821), Historical Society of Pennsylvania, quoted in Wood, *Conestoga Crossroad*, 166.
  25. Klein, *Portrait of an American Family*, 182.
  26. Soil scientist Dr. John Wah examined the soil and took a soil core sample from the road near the top of the hill in the North Queen Street section sample on July 24, 2006. He determined that the soil showed clear indication that the land had been farmed for many years prior to its use as a cemetery. His core sample also showed that the cemetery had areas of deep soil (at least five feet deep) interspersed between the limestone outcroppings. He also speculated that the rock outcroppings were the result of erosion produced by farming the thin topsoil that rested on the limestone bedrock.
  27. Shippen-Burd Family Map of Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, c.1790-1800, Map Drawer, Archives Room, Shippensburg Historical Society.
  28. Matt Miller with Bill Burkhart, *Olde Shippensburg* (Shippensburg, PA: Shippensburg University Press, 1987), 4.
  29. Barner, "Shippensburg Township in 1800: A Portrait," 88.
  30. Cumberland County Tax Roll, 1820. Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Due to a clerical error, the tax records did not indicate the exact property owned by Miller.

31. Klein, *Portrait of An American Family*, 201–2; Biographical information on the Shippens is drawn from John W. Jordan, *Colonial and Revolutionary Families of Pennsylvania: Genealogical and Personal Memoirs* (New York: Lewis Pub. Co., 1911) and the Shippen genealogy site <<http://homepages.rootsweb.com/~marshall/esmd35.htm#id308>> (Accessed March 13, 2007). The triennial tax rolls for Shippensburg, Cumberland County, also confirm the tenure of the proprietors. Edward and Joseph Shippen (as well as a John Shippen) are listed in the tax rolls for 1805. The only listing in the 1808 taxes was for the heirs of John Shippen. In 1811, Edward Burd held \$7,000 of property, and then in 1814 taxes, Joseph Burd [spelled Bird in the tax rolls] held \$7,000 of property and no other Shippens or Burds were listed.
32. Joseph Burd to Mrs. Margaret Hubley, August 13, 1813, Shippen-Burd Family Collection, Folder 19, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg.
33. Burkhart, *Cumberland Valley Chronicles*, 181.
34. Burd discusses this in his correspondence found in Shippen-Burd Family Collection, Folder 19, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg. The original articles of incorporation from 1819 are on display in the second floor of the Shippensburg Historical Society.
35. For deeds relating to Joseph Burd's establishment of the public water system, see deeds 1-II-174, 1-KK-461, and 1-KK-466, available at the Cumberland County Recorder of Deeds, Carlisle, PA.
36. The Manuscript copy of the Original Deed of Edward Burd to People of Color of Shippensburg, 17 June 1842, sworn before Cumberland County Justice George McGinnis. Shippensburg Historical Society, Shippensburg, Pennsylvania mentions the sale to Dr. Simpson. While no deed has been found documenting that transaction, a deed showing the subsequent sale of the property after Dr. Simpson's death has been found, see Edward Simpson, Esq. to Dr. William A. Simpson, Cumberland County Deed I-OO-205 (1829), Cumberland County Register of Deeds, Carlisle, Pennsylvania. That deed, which is the oldest known written reference to the cemetery in a public document, noted that the parcel was bounded by "a Lot occupied as a burying ground for people of colour." Additionally, Paul Barner's study of Shippensburg deeds shows that the lot remained intact in 1800. See Barner, "Shippensburg Township in 1800," 88. Dr. Simpson died in 1826, see Miller and Burkhart, *Olde Shippensburg*, 14.
37. Entry for Joseph Burd, Esqr.'s heirs, Shippensburg, Cumberland County Tax Rates, volume 1835, Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.
38. Ibid. The Cumberland County Tax Rates, volume 1835, list income from the two lots "at Negro Church."
39. Gary Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Foundation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720–1840* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 109.
40. Daniel Alexander Payne, *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the A.M.E. Sunday School Union, 1891), 42.
41. Figures for African-American population in 1800 are taken from Barner, "Shippensburg Township in 1800," 9.
42. Cumberland County Septennial Census of 1800 and Cumberland County Septennial Census of 1807, *Afrolumen Project*, <<http://www.afrolumens.org/slavery/>> (Accessed February 16, 2005); David Poletto's "Introduction: The Historical Development of Shippensburg's African-American Community, 1730–1860" (unpublished paper in possession of author, 2004).

## THE NORTH QUEEN STREET CEMETERY

43. For information about the Virginia law, see the website *Friends of the Thomas Balch Library*, “Black Laws of Virginia-Excerpts” drawn from June Purcell Guild’s *Black Laws of Virginia: A Summary of Legislative Acts of Virginia Concerning Negroes From Earliest Times to the Present* (Westminster, MD: Willow Bend Books, 1996) at <<http://www.balchfriends.org/Glimpse/BlackLawsOfVA.htm>> (Accessed June 20, 2007).
44. The birthplaces of African Americans can be viewed in the United States Manuscript Census of 1860, accessed from HeritageQuest Online, <<http://persi.heritagequestonline.com/>> (Accessed March 13, 2007).
45. *Biography of Rev. David Smith, of the A.M.E. Church Being a Complete History, Embracing over Sixty Years’ Labor in the Advancement of the Redeemer’s Kingdom on Earth. Including “The History of the Origin and Development of Wilberforce University”* (Xenia, Ohio: Xenia Gazette Office, 1881), 37–38, accessed electronically via *Documenting the American South*, <<http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/dsmith/dsmith.html>> (Accessed June 8, 2007). See also James A. Handy, *Scraps of African Methodist Episcopal History* (Philadelphia: A.M.E. Book Concern, 1902), 342, accessed electronically via *Documenting the American South*, <<http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/handy/handy.html>> (Accessed June 8, 2007).
46. Jarena Lee, *Religious Experience and Journal of Mrs. Jarena Lee, Giving an Account of Her Call to Preach the Gospel* (Philadelphia: self published, 1836), 42. Accessed via *Digital Schomburg: African American Writers of the Nineteenth Century* <[http://digilib.nypl.org/dynaweb/digs/www9716/@Generic\\_\\_\\_BookView](http://digilib.nypl.org/dynaweb/digs/www9716/@Generic___BookView)> (Accessed June 8, 2007).
47. Ibid.
48. Payne, *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*, 42.
49. Ibid., 63.
50. The exact operation of the Underground Railroad in Shippensburg remains to be explored. William Switala, *Underground Railroad in Pennsylvania* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2001), 102–5, mentions Shippensburg as part of the Underground Railroad route linking Mercersburg to Carlisle. The movement of runaway slaves through Shippensburg was noted as part of the effort to return runaway slaves to their Maryland owners that culminated in the Carlisle Riot or McClintock Riot of 1847, see George R. Crooks, *Life and Letters of the Rev. John McClintock, D.D.* (New York: Nelson and Phillips, 1876). Also, accounts of the trial of Daniel Kauffman for aiding the escape of twelve runaway slaves in 1847 noted that the slaves had walked to Chambersburg, and then they spent the night in Shippensburg before being transported to Miller’s Furnace and then to Kauffman’s house in Boiling Springs. See the “In the Supreme Court of Penn’a, Decision of a Slave Case,” *Herald and Expositor* (Carlisle, PA), June 27, 1849.
51. An excellent discussion of the role played by the early African-American church in building an African-American community in Philadelphia can be found in Nash, *Forging Freedom*.
52. Smith, *Biography of Rev. David Smith*, 37–38.
53. Ibid.
54. It is not known precisely when the church began operations, but the church building had been constructed by December 1834 due to the mention of the income from the two lots “at Negro Church” in the entry for Joseph Burd, Esqr.’s heirs, Shippensburg, Cumberland County Tax Rates, volume 1835, Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.



55. The Manuscript copy of the Original Deed of Edward Burd to People of Color of Shippensburg, 17 June 1842, sworn before Cumberland County Justice George McGinnis. Shippensburg Historical Society, Shippensburg, PA.
56. Will of Joseph Burd, April 1, 1834, Cumberland County Wills, A-J, Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, PA.
57. Edward Burd [spelled Bird in the tax rolls] is first listed in the Shippensburg tax rolls of 1842 which were compiled in 1841. See Cumberland County Triennial Tax Rate volumes, 1802–1842, Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Original Deed of Edward Burd to People of Color, 17 June 1842.
58. The biographical information on Edward Shippen Burd is based on a review of his papers and biographical notes found at the Dickinson College Special Collections. A ledger documenting Edward Shippen Burd's wealth at the time of his death estimated his holdings to be worth approximately \$560,000 in 1848. For the eighteen years before his death, he had given \$100 a year to the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. See Ledger "Settlement of the Edward Shippen Burd Estate," box 1, folder 14, Edward Shippen Burd Papers, Dickinson College Special Collections, Carlisle, PA., Widener-Spahr Library, Carlisle, PA.
59. See Emma Lapansky, "'Since They Got Those Separate Churches': African Americans and Racism in Jacksonian Philadelphia" in Trotter and Smith, *African Americans in Pennsylvania*, 93–96.
60. See Beverly Tomek, "Seeking 'An Immutable Pledge from the Slave Holding States': The Pennsylvania Abolition Society and Black Resettlement." *Pennsylvania History* 75 (Winter 2008): 26–53.
61. Ibid.; Emma Lapansky, "'Since They Got Those Separate Churches': African Americans and Racism in Jacksonian Philadelphia" in Trotter and Smith, *African Americans in Pennsylvania*, 93–120.
62. Original Deed of Edward Burd to People of Color, 17 June 1842.
63. Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, "Consumer Price Index (Estimate) 1800–2007" accessed online at <<http://www.minneapolisfed.org/research/data/us/calc/hist1800.cfm>> (Accessed May 22, 2007).
64. Edward Shippen Burd, Account Book for Rental Collections, c.1845, box 1, folder 12, Edward Shippen Burd Papers, Dickinson College Special Collections, Carlisle, PA; also Edward Shippen Burd Legal Notebook and Correspondence, Shippen-Burd Papers, Clements Library Special Collections, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
65. "Repairs to a Church," *Shippensburg News*, February 13, 1886.
66. Ibid.; *Digital Sanborn Maps, 1867–1970*, Map for Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, 1899, <<http://sanborn.umi.com/>> (Accessed on February 1, 2007). The location of the doorway and path became visible during a hot, dry period in August 2006 when its imprint became visible in the compacted earth indicating both the path's route and the location of the doorway.
67. H. F. Bridgens, *Atlas of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, 1858* (Philadelphia, PA: Wagner and McGuigan, 1858, reprint Carlisle, PA: Cumberland County Historical Society, 1987) and F. W. Beers, *An Atlas of Cumberland Co., Pennsylvania, From Actual Surveys by and Under the Direction of F. W. Beers*. (New York: F. W. Beers Company, 1872).
68. Burg, *Black History of Shippensburg*, 12. The exact percentage in 1870 was 9.8 percent, or 241 African-Americans in a total combined Shippensburg Borough (population 2,065) and Shippensburg Township (population 381) population of 2,446. See the Ninth Census of the United States (1870),

## THE NORTH QUEEN STREET CEMETERY

- The Statistics of the Population of the United States, volume 1* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), 248.
69. Carol Appenzellar, "Shifting Occupations and Economic Opportunities" in Burg, *Black History of Shippensburg*, 185–236. See also United States Manuscript Census of 1860 and 1870 accessed from *HeritageQuest Online*, <<http://persi.heritagequestonline.com/>> (Accessed June 30, 2008).
  70. Emma Lapansky, "'Since They Got Those Separate Churches,'" 93–120. Gary Nash also discusses the development of racial animosity and segregation in Philadelphia in *Forging Freedom*, especially 172–212. Though he focuses on segregation in the South, Howard N. Rabinowitz, "From Exclusion to Segregation: Southern Relations, 1865–1890," *Journal of American History* 63 (September 1976): 325–50, provides a useful examination of the evolution of segregationist policies from exclusion to the formal creation of separate African-American spaces and institutions. Gerald G. Eggert's "'Two Steps Forward, a Step-and-a-Half Back': Harrisburg's African-American Community in the Nineteenth Century," in Trotter and Smith, *African Americans in Pennsylvania*, 220–53, provided a brief but useful discussion of segregation in Pennsylvania, noting it was neither "absolute or rigid," an observation that applied equally well to segregation in Shippensburg.
  71. It is likely that Shippensburg's segregated school system was created in response to the School Act of 1854. Section twenty-four of that act required districts with twenty or more African-American students to maintain segregated schools unless the school district was integrated. See Edward J. Price Jr., "School Segregation in Nineteenth Century Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania History* 43 (April 1976): 121–37.
  72. John Bland, "Select Brotherhood: The Shippensburg African American and White Freemasons, 1858–1919," in Burg, *Black History of Shippensburg*, 121–52.
  73. John Rohrbaugh, "African American Consumer Culture in Shippensburg, 1860–1920" in Burg, *Black History of Shippensburg*, 191.
  74. P. A. Durand and J. Fraise Richards, *History of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, Containing the History of the Counties, Their Townships, Towns, Villages, Schools, Churches, Industries, Etc.; Portraits of Early Settlers and Prominent Men; Biographies History of Pennsylvania, Statistical and Miscellaneous Matter, Etc., Etc.* (N.P.: 1886), 267.
  75. Charter and By-Laws of the Spring Hill Cemetery, 18 January 1861, Shippensburg Historical Society.
  76. Some rural cemeteries in the Shippensburg area allowed African-American burials, such as the Mountain Green Cemetery in Stillhouse Hollow where African-American Civil War veteran David Burls was buried in 1913. See William Burkhart, *Shippensburg in the Civil War*, 209, 212.
  77. Significantly, the Spring Hill Cemetery would remain a whites-only institution for more than one hundred years, only accepting its first African American burial in 1996. According to local historian Edward Sheaffer who helped to create a listing of all known burials in all Shippensburg cemeteries called *Records in Stone*, the first known African-American burial in Spring Hill Cemetery did not take place until February 1996. The first African American buried in the Spring Hill Cemetery was Edna Bradberry, an elderly African-American woman who froze to death in her South Penn Street home after her furnace ran out of oil. She was buried there on February 13, 1996. See "Woman Dies of Hypothermia" and "Edna C. Bradberry" in *Shippensburg News-Chronicle*, February 12, 1996.

78. John Michael Vlach, *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1978), 139–44. While excavating the bases of tombstones at the North Queen Street Cemetery as part of the restoration efforts undertaken in the summer of 2006, our team discovered large quantities of such items near and around burial sites. In addition to large quantities of glass and broken bottles, just below the surface, we uncovered spoons, medicine tins, iron spikes, seashells, and variety of other types of buried bric-a-brac. These items were reburied at their original location.
79. Ibid., and Chicora Foundation, *Grave Matters: The Preservation of African-American Cemeteries*, 1996. Online at <<http://sciway.net/hist/chicora/gravematters.html>> (Accessed January 16, 2007).
80. James Deetz, *In Small Things Remembered: An Archeology of Early American Life*, revised edition (New York: Anchor Books, 1977, 1996), 123–24; Chicora Foundation, *Grave Matters*, 7.
81. See James Deetz, *In Small Things Remembered*, 123–24.
82. Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Knopf, 2008); and Mark Schantz, *Awaiting the Heavenly Country: The Civil War and America's Culture of Death* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008).
83. For information about the increasing economic prosperity and consumer spending by Shippensburg African Americans, see Carol Appenzellar, "Shifting Occupations and Economic Opportunities" and John Rohrbaugh III "African-American Consumer Culture in Shippensburg," in Burg, *Black History of Shippensburg*, 185–36. Also, see John Rohrbaugh III, "In Search of American Consumerism: African Americans as Participants in Shippensburg, 1860–1920" (Master's thesis, Shippensburg University of Pennsylvania, 2005). As for the cost of commercial tombstones, according to the Sears, Roebuck & Company catalogue for 1900, a complete tombstone and base complete with carved lettering included could be purchased for \$9.98 including the shipping cost. That would be approximately \$250.00 dollars in 2007. *Sears, Roebuck & Company Consumer Guide for 1900*, reprint (Northfield, Illinois: DBI Books, 1970), 739.
84. Carl Kramer, Locust Grove and North Queen Street Data Analysis, unpublished paper written for Introduction to Applied History at Shippensburg University, December 12, 2003. In possession of the author.
85. Marisa Fenice, "Shippensburg's Black Soldiers in the Civil War," in Burg, *Black History of Shippensburg*, 19–44; also Burkhart, "Shippensburg's Colored Veterans of the Civil War," in William H. Burkhart et al., *Shippensburg in the Civil War* (Shippensburg, PA: Shippensburg Historical Society, 1964), 201–32. Frederick Douglass, "Should the Negro Enlist in the Union Army?" National Hall, Philadelphia, July 6, 1863, published in *Douglass' Monthly*, August 1863.
86. *Laws Enacted in the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Passed at the Session of 1885*, Act 20 (Harrisburg, PA: Edwin Meyers State Printer, 1885), 17–19.
87. For the original "Application for Burial of Deceased Soldier" forms submitted by the veterans' families, see Veteran Affairs Commission, Burial Records, Cumberland County, 1885–1940, 4 vol., Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.
88. Burkhart, *Shippensburg Story*, 176–78, 180; see Jessica Nourse, "Shippensburg's African-American Churches in the Nineteenth Century," in Burg, *Black History of Shippensburg*, 77–85.
89. For the "explosive growth" of the A.M.E. Zion church after the Civil War, see "Methodism" in the *New York Public Library African American Desk Reference* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc, 1999), 150.

## THE NORTH QUEEN STREET CEMETERY

90. This pattern is also seen in settlement patterns in Shippensburg where African Americans congregated in three different neighborhoods, and the location of the churches corresponded to those neighborhoods. I have been unable to discern whether this may also have reflected class or occupational differences among African Americans.
91. *Shippensburg News*, January 11, 1868; "Repairs to a Church," *Shippensburg News*, February 13, 1886.
92. Quoted from Burg, *Black History of Shippensburg*, 10; quotes in the passage are from Baker's obituary, "Death of Richard Baker" *Shippensburg News*, September 27, 1879.
93. "Repairs to a Church," *Shippensburg News*, 13 February 1886.
94. Ibid.
95. Digital Sanborn Maps, 1867–1970, Maps for Shippensburg Borough, Pennsylvania, 1904 and 1921, <<http://sanborn.umi.com/>> (Accessed on February 1, 2007).
96. Edward L. Sheaffer, *Records in Stone, volume IV* (Shippensburg, PA: Shippensburg Historical Society, n.d.)
97. William Burkhart, *Shippensburg Story*, 177.
98. Burkhart, *Shippensburg in the Civil War*, 231.
99. By 1920, the holiday previously known as Decoration Day was called Memorial Day in local newspapers.
100. Based on conversations with Nancy Hodge, August 2006, Gerald Burke, October 2006, and Carl Bell Jr. in 2008, in Shippensburg, Pennsylvania.
101. *Digital Sanborn Maps, 1867–1970*, Maps for Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, 1921, and January 1929–April 1949, Sheet 17, <<http://sanborn.umi.com/>> (Accessed on February 1, 2007).
102. *Shippensburg News*, May 23, 1868. Based on an analysis of coverage of Memorial Day observances in the *Shippensburg News* from 1868–1920, especially the *Shippensburg News*, June 7, 1879, and *Shippensburg News*, May 27, 1882. Local coverage made no mention of the North Queen Street Cemetery or African American veterans.
103. *Shippensburg News*, June 3, 1920.
104. *Shippensburg News*, June 2, 1931. The Black Parade was discussed in an oral history of John Rideout Jr. conducted by Steven Burg in July 2005, in possession of the author. It was also discussed in conversations with Carl Bell Jr. and Nancy Hodge several times in 2006 and 2007.
105. *Shippensburg News*, June 2, 1931; Ruth K. Duke, "Memorial Day in Shippensburg," unpublished paper written November 7, 1927, for University of Pennsylvania English 1 T Special. Reference Local Box for Teachers, Shippensburg Historical Society, Shippensburg, Pennsylvania.
106. *Shippensburg News*, June 2, 1931.
107. Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theater in Nineteenth Century Philadelphia*. (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1986), 5.
108. The Black Parade was discussed in conversations between Steven Burg and John Rideout Jr. in July 2005, and also Carl Bell and Nancy Hodges several times in 2006 and 2007. All noted with pride the joy and energy of Shippensburg's African-American community reflected in the parade. The end of the Black Parade is still regarded with sadness by long-time African-American residents.
109. Conversation with local historian Helen Fulton at the Shippensburg Historical Society, June 2005.

110. Ruth K. Duke, "Memorial Day in Shippensburg," 2.
111. Ibid.
112. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920, volume III, Population 1920 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922); Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States:1930, Population, volume III, part 2, Montana-Wyoming (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1932); and Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States:1940, Population, volume II, part 6, Pennsylvania-Texas (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943).
113. For a good overviews of the impact of African-American migration on the cities of the North, see James Gregory, *The Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migration of Blacks and Whites Transformed America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), and Nicholas Lehman, *Promised Land: The Great Migration and How It Changed America* (New York, NY: Vintage, 1992).
114. For information on the Ku Klux Klan, see John W. Fague, "Do You Remember?: Shippensburg and the Ku Klux Klan—Part II," *Shippensburg News Chronicle* (Weekend Extra Edition), January 27, 2006, 2.
115. This controversy and the response are described more fully in Steven B. Burg, "'From Troubled Ground to Common Ground': The Locust African-American Cemetery Restoration Project: A Case Study of Service Learning and Community History" *The Public Historian* 30 (May 2008): 51–82. That article describes the community's ongoing effort to restore the cemetery and educate the public about Shippensburg's African American history.
116. Burkhart et al., *Shippensburg in the Civil War*, 204.
117. Ibid. Both passages were removed when the Shippensburg Historical Society reprinted the book in 2003.
118. Marijon Shearer, "Care of Locust Grove Cemetery is Labor of Love," *Shippensburg News-Chronicle*, June 10, 1993.
119. For information about the community effort to restore the cemetery, see "Historical Society Supports Efforts to Preserve Cemetery," *Shippensburg Sentinel*, February 1, 2006; "Historical Society to Aid African-American Cemetery," *Chambersburg Public Opinion*, February 8, 2006; and Burg, "'From Troubled Ground to Common Ground.'" For coverage of the historical marker unveiling, see Joya Ellertson, "'Proud Moment' for Shippensburg" *Shippensburg Sentinel*, May 30, 2007.