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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information.

___X____ New Submission _____ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic Resources Associated with African American Watermen of the Virginia Chesapeake Bay

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)
AFRICAN AMERICAN WATERMEN IN COLONIAL & EARLY 19TH-CENTURY VIRGINIA
AFRICAN AMERICAN WATERMEN IN LATE 19TH -CENTURY VIRGINIA
AFRICAN AMERICAN WATERMEN IN 20TH -CENTURY VIRGINIA

C. Form Prepared by:

name/title Ashlen Stump/Preservation Associate; Kayla Halberg/Preservation Project Manager; Paige Pollard/Principal
organization Commonwealth Preservation Group
name/title Jeffrey "Free" Harris
organization N/A
name/title Nicole Diehlmann/Senior Architectural Historian; Meghan White/Architectural Historian; Laura van Opstal/Architectural Historian
organization Commonwealth Preservation Group
street & number 536 W 35th Street
city or town Norfolk state VA zip code 23508
e-mail admin@commonwealthpreservationgroup.com
telephone 757-923-1900 date 3.2.2023

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.

Julie V. Langan DIRECTOR 3/30/23
Signature of certifying official Title Date

VA SHPO
State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

_____ _____
Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

Historic Resources Associated with African American Watermen of the Virginia Chesapeake Bay — Virginia
Name of Multiple Property Listing — State

Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Create a Table of Contents and list the page numbers for each of these sections in the space below.
Provide narrative explanations for each of these sections on continuation sheets. In the header of each section, cite the letter, page number, and name of the multiple property listing. Refer to *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* for additional guidance.

E. Statement of Historic Contexts

This Multiple Property Document was prepared to recognize the contributions of African American watermen to the seafood industries of Virginia's Chesapeake Bay, as part of a three-state effort to document sites of significance to African American history in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. This MPD provides the historic context for African American watermen within a portion of Virginia's Chesapeake Bay watershed, which is defined as the tidal waters east of the fall line that drain into the Chesapeake Bay. Due to schedule and budget limitations, the architectural field survey associated with this MPD focused on a select number of counties within the study area; however, this historic context is inextricably linked to all of those geographic areas within this portion of the watershed. Since the history of African American watermen in the pre-Civil War period has been examined in detail in other studies, this MPD focuses on resources associated with African American watermen during the Reconstruction period and after.[1] However, in order to document and recognize all possible associations with African American watermen, this historic context begins with an overview of the origins of African American watermen in Virginia's earliest colonial contact period. Resources associated with this historic context may range considerably in dates of construction and period of significance.

AFRICAN AMERICAN WATERMEN IN COLONIAL & EARLY 19TH-CENTURY VIRGINIA

The Chesapeake Bay and its associated waterways have long been a source of food, building materials, and economic prosperity for the inhabitants along its shores. Prior to European contact, fish, crabs, oysters, clams, and mussels provided nutritional sustenance for Virginia Indians, and menhaden fish were utilized by the Algonquians as a natural fertilizer.[2] Later, English colonists harvested oysters and caught fish to eat, and used oyster shells to lay roads and create building materials such as lime mortar and tabby. The reliance on and prominence of the oyster in colonial Virginia is evident in the identification of a major oyster fishery known as White Shoal in the James River by the mid-seventeenth century.[3]

African Americans have been involved in the seafood industry in various capacities for as long as there has been an African American presence in Virginia. Although the occupations and skills of many enslaved African Americans were not recorded, evidence suggests that many white land owners benefited from the skills of enslaved Africans to build canoes and boats, and to work as oystermen, fishermen, and watermen generally.[4] Enslaved Africans utilized skills they brought with them, or inherited from previous generations of watermen

[1]Works that explore the role of African American watermen prior to the Civil War which were consulted as part of this study include: W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997); Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth Century Chesapeake & Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1998).

[2] David M. Schulte, "History of the Virginia Oyster Fishery, Chesapeake Bay, USA," *Frontiers in Marine Science*, 09 May 2017, 2; Carolyn H. Jett, *Lancaster County, Virginia: Where the River Meets the Bay* (Lancaster, VA: The Mary Ball Washington Museum and Library, 2003), 227.

[3] Schulte, "History of the Virginia Oyster Fishery," 2.

[4] James M. Mamary, "African-American Influence on the Chesapeake Bay Log Canoe: Evidence from Nineteenth Century Probate Inventories and Population Census Records of York County, Virginia and Worcester County, Maryland," Thesis, College of William & Mary (1994), vii; Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth Century Chesapeake & Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1998), 243.

who constructed canoes for transportation and fishing purposes along the coast of West Africa.[5] Enslaved Africans have been credited with the development of one of the two major canoe types used in the Chesapeake Bay: the York County Chesapeake Bay Log Canoe (also known as the Poquoson Canoe). Historians have noted "the uniquely African nature of the asymmetrical, improvised York County canoe form" is "based upon West African cultural heritage" of enslaved watermen in the Chesapeake.[6] The prevalence of these watercraft in early Virginia demonstrates both the influence and exploitation of African American expertise.

Records indicate that free and enslaved African Americans composed a majority of the watermen in Colonial Virginia. White Virginians relied heavily upon the efforts of Black watermen, who were responsible for catching or harvesting seafood. As noted by the Carter family tutor, Philip Vickers Fithian in 1774, "great numbers" of fishermen worked the shores, including enslaved Africans of Nomini Hall. Enslaved African American watermen had a greater degree of autonomy and independence than enslaved laborers assigned to field and domestic work.[7] Their work on the water allowed for greater physical separation from the plantation and time without white supervision.[8] In some cases, enslaved watermen were permitted to earn independent income and supplement their rations with fish, oysters, and crab caught during their free time.[9] For free Blacks, watermen activities provided a source of income and security much higher than other skilled professions or trades. Based on activities of watermen, it is likely that free and enslaved Black individuals worked together or encountered one another on the water. The skills and experience of enslaved watermen were highlighted in public notices posted by slaveowners hoping to recapture runaways. Historians have noted that approximately 25 percent of all Bay area runaways were mariners, which likely included watermen as well as other sea-faring occupations.[10] The freedom and economic independence of free Black watermen, as well as the skills and limited autonomy afforded to enslaved watermen, likely influenced a number of recorded instances of enslaved people who sought a life on their own terms.

In the early nineteenth century, enslaved African Americans continued to work as oystermen, fishermen, boatbuilders, and in other seafood and water-related roles as they had during the late eighteenth century. Although a significant number of the state's oystermen were enslaved African Americans during this period, free persons of color also continued to work as watermen during the nineteenth century.[11] The Chesapeake Bay and its waterways provided a way for free African Americans to earn additional income, especially in counties where large-scale agriculture was dominated by slave-owning white farmers.[12] In some counties, early census

[5] Mammary, "African-American Influence on the Chesapeake Bay Log Canoe," 6-7.
[6] Mammary, "African-American Influence on the Chesapeake Bay Log Canoe," 37.
[7] W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997), 133.
[8] Bolster, *Black Jacks*, 135; Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 244; Mammary, "African-American Influence on the Chesapeake Bay Log Canoe," 35.
[9] Bolster, *Black Jacks*, 135; Justin Pariseau, "Enslaved Laborers in the Fishing and Maritime Economy," Encyclopedia Virginia, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/enslaved-fisherman-and-mariners-in-virginia/ (accessed 31 Mar 2022).
[10] Bolster, *Black Jacks*, 21-28.
[11] Larry S. Chowning, *Signatures in Time: A Living History of Middlesex County, Virginia* (Richmond: Carter Printing Company, 2012), 219; Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 244; Mammary, "African-American Influence on the Chesapeake Bay Log Canoe," vii.
[12] James B. Slaughter, *Settlers, Southerners, Americans: The History of Essex County, Virginia 1608-1984* (Salem, WV: Don Mills, Inc., 1985), 142; Tommy L. Bogger and The Black Church Cultural Affairs Committee, *A History of the African-Americans of Middlesex County, 1646-1992* (White Stone, VA: Nohill, Inc., 1994), 32.

records indicate that a majority of free African Americans worked as oystermen or other watermen occupations. This alternative, or addition, to agricultural or day labor employment allowed a significant number of African Americans in the Chesapeake region to purchase their own land and many gained "a significant foothold in the economy prior to the [Civil] War."[13]

Figure 1: Sketch by H.W. Elliott shows typical scene of crabbing in 19th century Mathews County. Courtesy of Mathews County Historical Society.

AFRICAN AMERICAN WATERMEN IN LATE 19TH-CENTURY VIRGINIA

By the mid-nineteenth century, the seafood industry, and specifically the oyster industry, was on the rise in the Chesapeake Bay. In the 1860s, the Bay was the United States' primary source of oysters.[14] Following emancipation and the end of the Civil War, African Americans turned to the local rivers for food, as well as income offered by selling fish, oysters, and crabs.[15] Many freed people worked as watermen and boatbuilders, utilizing the skills they had developed while enslaved. In some counties, African Americans held a majority of the water-related occupations such as oystering.[16] By the 1880s, for example, African Americans accounted for 80 percent of the watermen who worked in the York River. The success of the industry during this period, and the accessibility of the waterways and oyster grounds, made the seafood industry attractive to many freedmen in the region, and created greater opportunities for African Americans to provide for their families, gain

[13] Bogger, *A History of African-Americans in Middlesex County*, 32.
[14] Watermen's Museum, "The Chesapeake Experience: Black Watermen," Exhibit (Yorktown, Virginia, 2021).
[15] Larry Chowning, *Deadrise and Cross-planked* (Centreville, MD: Tidewater Publishers, 2007), 51.
[16] Mammary, "African-American Influence on the Chesapeake Bay Log Canoe," 26-27; Chowning, *Signatures in Time*, 228.

independence, and make economic gains.[17] While some higher ranking positions of skippers, oyster planters, and seafood dealers were often, although not exclusively, reserved for white watermen, African Americans frequently found work as dredgers, tongers, independent watermen, and as shuckers, pickers, and packers in seafood houses.[18]

Figure 2: "Mine Oyster-Dredging Boats in the Chesapeake" in Harpers Weekly, 1872.

Following emancipation, freedmen and freedwomen settled in identifiable communities throughout the Chesapeake Bay region. Some sought work and new homes away from where they were previously enslaved, as seen with the migration of freedmen to Chincoteague Island as early as 1864.[19] Others remained nearby for various reasons, including kinship networks, familiarity with the area, and expertise based on locally available resources. They purchased or rented land and became independent farmers and fishermen, such as those

[17] Watermen's Museum, "The Chesapeake Experience;" Dorothy Norris C. Cowling and the Lancaster County African American Historical Society, *Historical Notes on the life and achievements of Blacks in Lancaster County and the state of Virginia (1619-1974)*, (Richmond: Lancaster County African American Historical Society, 1991), 149.
[18] Kentoya L. Downing-Garcia, *The Struggle over Black Economic Agency in a Small Town: The Onancock Race Riot of 1907* (Salisbury, MD: Salisbury University, 2012), 23.
[19] Kirk Mariner, *Once Upon an Island: The History of Chincoteague* (Williamsburg, VA: Miona Publications, 2003), 60-61.

communities throughout Middlesex County and on Gwynn's Island in 1866.[20] Many who sought freedom behind Union lines during the Civil War settled along waterways in Yorktown and Hampton after the war, while others left these refuge settlements to develop new communities, such as Hobson in Suffolk.[21] In many areas, these watermen became the "economic and political anchors" of their communities. Their work along the waterways such as the Rappahannock, York, James, Potomac, and Nansemond Rivers provided them with the economic means to purchase their own land, establish schools and churches, create mutual aid and community service organizations, and build self-sustaining autonomous communities.[22] Additionally, their contributions to Virginia's seafood industry "served a vital role in [its] initial development," its rapid growth, and its success during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[23]

The Early Oyster Industry in Virginia

The oyster industry in Virginia had its peak during the period from 1865 to 1890.[24] The oyster fishery in the Chesapeake Bay offered work to white and African American oystermen alike, and as an increasing number of oystermen took to the Bay and its rivers after the Civil War, the industry flourished.[25] In Suffolk alone, oyster houses shipped 75,000 bushels of oysters in a single year, and it was estimated that there were over 640,000 acres of oyster beds within state waters in 1869.[26] In his 1880s *U.S. Fish Report* on Virginia's oyster industry, Richard H. Edmunds explained that "at the close of the war, the demand for oysters was very great and high prices were paid. … Men from nearly all occupations, representing all classes of society eagerly entered the [oyster] business, and soon there were hundreds of oystermen where formerly there had been a dozen or so."[27] During the last decades of the nineteenth century, "the average price per bushel" was 60 to 90 cents," and "By the 1890s, a good oyster season could pump $250,000 (in 1890s dollar value) or more into Chincoteague's economy" alone.[28] By 1893, the area in and around Norfolk was home to 23 oyster houses that brought in around 2.5 million bushels a year valued at approximately $2 million.[29] The success found in oystering also led to a "surge of creek landings" where "former slaves and whites rushed to the river during oyster season."[30]

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[20] "History of Gwynn's Island," Gwynn's Island Project. Accessed March 28, 2022. https://www.gwynnsislandproject.com/history; John W. Dixon, *The Black Americans of Gwynn's Island, 1600s through 1900s* (John W. Dixon, 2005), 15; Bogger, *A History of African-Americans in Middlesex County*, 37.
[21] *Historic and Architectural Resources of Hobson Village, Suffolk, Virginia, 1865-1968 Multiple Property Document*, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (2010), 4-5. The history and development of Hobson has been more fully documented in the cited MPD.
[22] Chowning, *Signatures in Time*, 219; Watermen's Museum, "The Chesapeake Experience;" Bogger, *A History of African-Americans in Middlesex County*, 24.
[23] Dixon, *The Black Americans of Gwynn's Island*, 11; Cowling, *Historical Notes*, 152.
[24] Schulte, "History of the Virginia Oyster Fishery," 3.
[25] Larry S. Chowning, *Chesapeake Bay Buyboats* (Centreville, MD: Tidewater Publishers, 2003), 72.
[26] *Historic and Architectural Resources of Hobson Village*, 5.
[27] Chowning, *Signatures in Time*, 219.
[28] Mariner, *Almost an Island*, 75.
[29] Tammy Woodward, "The Legacy of a Disappearing Industry: A Case Study of the J.H. Miles & Company Oyster Packers of Norfolk," Liberty University (unpublished), 10. Accessed August 17, 2022. https://www.waterfrontpropertylaw.com/media/1599/tammy-woodward_oyster-industry-in-norfolk.pdf.
[30] Chowning, *Signatures in Time*, 228.

These watermen manned more than 2,500 licensed dredge boats and harvested approximately 15 million bushels of oysters annually.[31]

Figure 3: Oystermen on the York River display catch and tongs, undated. Courtesy of Larry Chowning.

During this period, small oyster houses were located along the shores of most of the rivers on the Bay. In counties like Middlesex, these oyster houses were one of the largest sources of employment for African Americans, whether they worked as oystermen, shuckers, or packers.[32] While some oystermen were directly employed by a shucking house, others were considered self-employed and earned wages by selling their harvests to the local shucking houses. In areas like the Chuckatuck Township in Nansemond County, numerous African American heads of households were oystermen in the late-nineteenth century, some of whom went on to play prominent roles in the founding of Hobson Village.[33] In the late 1800s, these oyster houses employed predominantly African American men as shuckers; however, over the following decades this demographic shifted to a workforce composed almost entirely of African American women.[34] A number of African American watermen also operated their own small-scale shucking houses along the region's waterways. One such waterman was Judson Jackson, an African American entrepreneur who operated a shucking house in Middlesex County staffed with African American watermen in the 1890s.[35]

[31] Jett, *Lancaster County*, 266.
[32] Chowning, *Signatures in Time*, 228.
[33] *Historic and Architectural Resources of Hobson Village, 6.*
[34] Chowning, *Signatures in Time*, 228.
[35] Bogger, *A History of African-Americans in Middlesex County*, 76.

Figure 4: "Mine Oyster- Filling with Liquor," Harper's Weekly 1872.

As the oyster industry boomed in the late nineteenth century, so did the need for oyster boats. The need for skilled craftsmanship to build and repair boats for Black watermen was met by a select group of African American boatbuilders and carpenters. During the late nineteenth century, many of these skilled individuals had previously served as enslaved carpenters, craftsmen, and even boatwrights. Such individuals also provided a service to African American watermen that was otherwise unavailable to them: they built and repaired vessels that were critical to the economic independence of African American watermen communities throughout the Bay area. Many became well known within their communities, such as William Lomax from Nesting, Virginia, who built five-log canoes and repaired various watermen tools including oyster tong shafts, or William Broadwater from Chincoteague Island, who gained "wide local renown" as a bateau builder.[36] The tradition and prestige of boatbuilding continued into the twentieth century, and evolved with vessel types. By the mid-twentieth century, several marinas and marine railways were owned and operated by African Americans, such as Alexander Burrell in Middlesex County.

[36] Mammary, "African-American Influence on the Chesapeake Bay Log Canoe," 9; Chowning, *Signatures in Time*, 228; Mariner, *Once Upon an Island*, 60-61.

During the early colonial era of oystering, the shellfish was hand harvested from the shore. Later, in the eighteenth century, oystermen began using oyster tongs to gather their harvests, and were known as "tongers" or "tong men."[37] Although there are various types, oyster tongs typically consisted of two long wooden shafts that crossed each other and terminated in metal rakes that could be opened and closed to gather oysters. Oyster tongs continued to be a primary tool for harvesting oysters throughout the nineteenth century, with tongers operating them out of small canoes or skiffs in shallow waters.[38] During the mid-to-late-nineteenth century, however, as the seafood industry rapidly industrialized, another form of oyster harvesting gained popularity: oyster dredging. An oyster dredge consisted of an iron mesh bag held open by iron bars with iron teeth along the bottom of the bag's mouth. The dredge was then pulled behind the oyster boat, allowing oystermen to harvest oysters from greater depths and to harvest more oysters in a shorter period of time. [39] Although oyster dredging made harvesting quicker, it rapidly depleted the oyster supply and damaged natural oyster beds. The pace at which large quantities of oysters were harvested caused a decline in the industry that was noticed as early as the 1870s.[40]

Concern over the depletion of the oyster in Virginia's Chesapeake Bay led to two laws that impacted oyster harvesting. The first, in 1889, allowed "barren oyster flats" to be leased to private individuals. The goal of bed leasing was to encourage private investment in replenishment that resulted in lease holders planting oyster seed that would regrow the Bay's beds.[41] The second act resulted in the 1894 "Baylor Survey," which reviewed Virginia's "tidal waters to locate and identify its most naturally productive oyster beds."[42] As a result of the survey, Virginia designated around 150,000 acres as "public rocks" to be reserved for public use.[43] These late nineteenth-century actions gave oystermen a choice to lease private grounds from the state to plant, tong, and/or dredge, or to purchase an annual license to tong on the public rocks.[44] These public rocks, also known as "Baylor Grounds," were, and continue to be, utilized by many independent African American oystermen. Access to public spaces was critical to Black Virginians who saw their political and civil rights rapidly eroding with the onset of the Jim Crow era of segregation by the late 1890s.

[37] Martha W. McCartney, *Mathews County, Virginia: Lost Landscapes, Untold Stories* (Mathews, VA: Mathews County Historical Society, Inc., 2015), 412.
[38] McCartney, *Mathews County, Virginia*, 412.
[39] McCartney, *Mathews County, Virginia*, 412.
[40] Parke Rouse, Jr., *Along Virginia's Golden Shores: Glimpses of Tidewater Life* (Parke Rouse, Jr, 1994), 80.
[41] Mariner, *Almost an Island*, 41.
[42] Mariner, *Almost an Island*, 41.
[43] Mariner, *Almost an Island*, 41.
[44] Mariner, *Almost an Island*, 41.

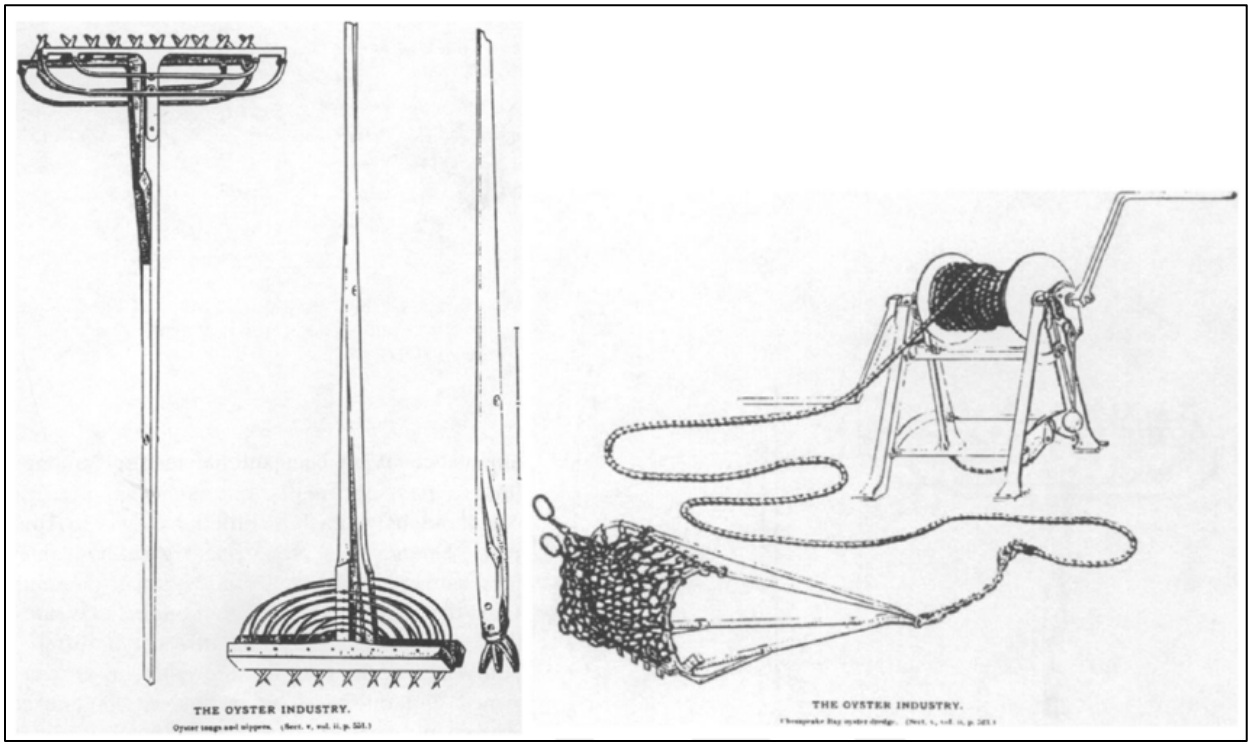

Figure 5: Examples of 19th-century oyster tongs (left) and oyster dredge (right). Courtesy of NOAA/DOC, from Brotwick & McClane, "Landscapes of Resistance."

The Early Menhaden Industry

The oyster industry was not alone in its success during the second half of the nineteenth century; the Chesapeake Bay was also a significant producer of menhaden in the United States. The first patented technique for extracting oil from menhaden fish was developed in Connecticut in 1853 by William D. Hall of the Quinnipiac Fertilizer Company, and by 1866, eleven steam factories in Maine processed oil and fish scrap using this method. Northern fishermen came to Virginia seeking "a more plentiful supply of menhaden and fewer competitors," but the first, and most successful, was Captain Elijah Reed of Maine.[45] Reed arrived in Virginia in 1867, and by the next year had established a small factory on Cockrell's Creek. Soon after, Reed founded a larger menhaden processing factory in Northumberland County and a village grew up around it, later known as Reedville.[46] Although Reedville became the center of the menhaden industry, the Northern Neck was home to many menhaden processing facilities in the nineteenth century that employed a significant number of watermen in the region.

By the late nineteenth century, a relatively standardized method for industrial-scale menhaden fishing had been developed. Large, wooden hulled fishing boats, often schooners or sloops, were accompanied by two oar-powered purse boats and drive boat, or striker. Lookouts would spot a school of menhaden from the crowsnest, and a striker would quickly go out using the drive boat to mark the location. The purse boats would then be launched to encircle the school with the net known as a "purse seine," and a heavy weight, or "tom," was

[45] Jett, *Lancaster County, Virginia*, 229.
[46] Jett, *Lancaster County, Virginia*, 229.

dropped to close the bottom of the net. The men in the purse boats then undertook the arduous task of hauling the net into the boat by hand so that the fish could be gathered into the larger fishing boat.[47]

While the boats and catches were initially small, the number of fish hauled grew exponentially as steam replaced sail and vessels became larger. In the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, purse boats were manned by dozens of fishermen who would do the strenuous work of raising up the nets and gathering the fish.[48] Many of these fishermen were African American watermen from the Northern Neck and Middle Peninsula who worked seasonally in the menhaden industry during the spring and summer, and often worked as oystermen during the winter months.[49] To help pass the time, keep in rhythm, boost morale, and to "find the extra strength to pull the nets," African American watermen embraced the work-song tradition and sang call-and-response songs known as chanteys, discussed in more detail on page 29.[50]

AFRICAN AMERICAN WATERMEN IN THE 20th CENTURY (1900-1980s)

Early Twentieth Century

By the early twentieth century, the commercial seafood industry in Virginia's Chesapeake Bay was well-established and continued to grow. Although independent and commercial watermen harvested a variety of seafood from the Bay, the oyster and menhaden industries emerged as the dominant industries in the region. During this period, a significant number of African American watermen worked in the fishing and oyster industries in various capacities.[51] While some worked hauling seine nets into purse boats, raising pound nets, or tonging oysters, others, including men, women, and children, worked in the processing facilities as packers, pickers, and shuckers.[52] Some African American watermen also operated their own small-scale operations.[53]

Due to the seasonal nature of the seafood industry, it was also common for watermen to move into an alternate seafood harvest at the close of one season, or to work in the agricultural industry during the summer months. This also led some watermen to travel for seasonal work and return home during the off-season. In Hampton, Captain Frank Horton kept a "fish camp" at Buckroe Beach where seasonal African American watermen from the Northern Neck lived while helping raise pound nets, returning home on the weekends and once the season ended.[54] It also was not uncommon for businesses to process more than one type of seafood, depending on the season. For example, most of the operations on Saxis Island in the early twentieth century dealt seasonally in fish, oysters, crabs, and clams, as did facilities in Hampton Roads such as Amory Seafood Company.[55] Some watermen and their wives took on alternative pursuits during the off-season or during harsh weather conditions

[47] Wendy Mitman Clarke, *Windows on the Chesapeake: The Bay, Its People and Places* (Charlottesville, VA: Howell Press, 2002), 60.
[48] Clarke, *Windows on the Chesapeake,* 60.
[49] Cowling, *Historical Notes*, 152.
[50] Clarke, *Windows on the Chesapeake,* 60.
[51] Cowling, *Historical Notes*, 28-29.
[52] Cowling, *Historical Notes*, 29.
[53] Bogger, *A History of the African-Americans of Middlesex County,* 76; James and Daisy Douglas, interviewed by Kayla Halberg and Ashlen Stump, February 25, 2022, in Kinsale, Virginia.
[54] Email from Jamie Chapman to Ashlen Stump (June 23, 2022).
[55] Mariner, *Almost an Island*, 53.

such as oyster mop-making. Oyster mops were made of hickory or corn husks and were used to clean oyster boats. The mops were then sold to oystermen or local country stores, where a "barrelful in the corner were for sale… for thirty-five cents a mop."[56] Others farmed or travelled to locations outside of Virginia to conduct seasonal waterwork.

Figure 6: McKinley Wilson of Urbanna with a hickory oyster mop, undated. Courtesy of Larry Chowning.

Production of tools, equipment, and bait that supported watermen activities was quite common among members of African American communities throughout the Bay area. This included the production of equipment such as crab pots, oyster tongs, dredging equipment, fish nets, and many other critical tools. While some watermen produced this equipment themselves, others were supplied by local craftsmen, many of whom assisted in improving the tools used by watermen. Blacksmiths from watermen communities in Maryland and Virginia's Northern Neck and Middle Peninsula held the first two patents for deep-water oyster tongs, which allowed watermen to harvest oysters much more efficiently and from much deeper waters.[57] Local blacksmiths within African American communities, such as Onancock's Samuel D. Outlaw, created and repaired various tools that were critical to the success of local watermen including oyster tongs, clam rakes, crab scrapes and dredges, boat rudders and shafts, and many other iron tools or equipment components.[58] Though indirectly tied to the seafood industry, these tools and their craftsmen considerably improved watermen labor, while also contributing greatly to the local economy.

[56] Chowning, *Signatures in Time*, 240.
[57] Chowning, *Harvesting the Chesapeake*, 111-113.
[58] Gibson Worsham, "Samuel D. Outlaw," report courtesy of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 1.

The Oyster Industry in the Twentieth Century

At the turn of the twentieth century, the oyster industry continued to boom, with "approximately 15 million bushels of oysters" taken from the Chesapeake Bay yearly, many of which supplied a national market.[59] Counties along Virginia's Chesapeake Bay had oyster houses of varying scales on most creeks and rivers. In Lancaster County alone, the 1910 census reported 23 oyster packing companies, and 38 oyster shucking houses by the 1915-1916 fiscal year.[60] Oysters and other seafood from the Chesapeake Bay continued to supply nearby markets such as Northern Virginia cities, as well as more distant markets including Baltimore, Boston, and New York City.[61]

These early oyster houses were typically one-story, wood frame buildings with gable roofs and were often constructed directly adjacent to, or directly over, the water on wood pilings. Smaller operations may have consisted of one building, while others had multiple or larger buildings, often adding on to their existing buildings as operations grew. Additionally, due to the seasonal restrictions of the oyster industry, many companies dealt in a variety of seafood and transitioned their focus with the seasons.[62]

Figure 7: African American women picking crabs at Samuel Coston's crab factory on the Hampton River in 1900. From The Good Old Days in Hampton and Newport News.

[59] Jett, *Lancaster County, Virginia*, 352.
[60] Jett, *Lancaster County, Virginia*, 263, 278.
[61] Schulte, "History of the Virginia Oyster Fishery, Chesapeake Bay, USA," 2-3.
[62] Mariner, *Almost an Island*, 53.

Throughout the region, most oyster houses tended to employ a large number of African Americans as tongers, dredgers, shuckers, and packers, and in many counties these oyster houses were "the largest source of employment" for African Americans.[63] At many of these oyster houses, along with crab houses, a large portion of the shuckers and pickers were African American women. Similar to the chanteys that were sung by menhaden fishermen, the shucking and picking houses were often filled with singing that not only assisted in passing the time, but aided the shuckers in keeping a rhythm in their work.[64]

Although not all watermen were directly employed by the shucking and picking houses, many sold their harvests to them. Independent oystermen would sell their daily catches either directly to local packers, or to buyboats. These buyboats were typically owned or contracted by local packers, and would buy seafood directly from the watermen while they were still on the water. In an interview with Larry Chowning, African American oysterman Roosevelt Wingfield described the relationship between watermen and buyboats, explaining that watermen typically sold to the same buyboats each day, even if other boats were offering higher prices. He went on to note that there were also African American watermen who captained buyboats, but insofar as who they bought from, he explained that "it wasn't a race thing as much as it was who you knew or who you had been working with."[65]

Height of the Menhaden Industry in the Early Twentieth Century

By the early twentieth century, the menhaden industry had been "firmly established" in the Northern Neck, and Reedville, Virginia in Northumberland County was on its way to becoming "one of the world's largest fishing ports."[66] Although many counties throughout the Chesapeake Bay watershed included fish houses and processing facilities that dealt in various other fish species, many of which employed African American watermen and water-women, the Northern Neck was the primary location for menhaden processing in Virginia. In the first half of the twentieth century, Reedville alone was home to dozens of menhaden processing factories making fish oil, meal, and fertilizer; however, a large number of factories were also incorporated along the waterways of Northumberland and Lancaster counties. The high number of companies also resulted in an increased failure rate, frequently due to the high risk of fires that burned factories to the ground. These fires were typically the result of "spontaneous combustion of the fish scrap," and often left smaller companies without funds to rebuild.[67] However, the abundance of menhaden, the promise of success, and, for African Americans, severely limited opportunities elsewhere, outweighed the risks for many, and the industry continued to thrive in the Northern Neck.

The scale of the menhaden operation determined the needs of the factory; however, most factories of the period included a few basic components that were critical to running a successful factory. A typical menhaden factory

[63] Hollis Earl Pruitt, "No Longer Lost at Sea: Black Community Building in the Virginia Tidewater, 1865 to the post-1954 Era," (PhD diss., College of William and Mary, 2013), 203; Bogger, *A History of the African-Americans of Middlesex County*, 76.
[64] Janice Weatherly Walters, interviewed by Bernie Herman, December 9, 2020, in Machipongo, Virginia. Accessed on January 18, 2022. https://www.barrierislandscenter.org/conversations-in-the-kitchen; Carol Vaughn, "Crab house dedicated, carries on tradition in Hacks Neck," *DelmarvaNow* (July 9, 2018).
[65] Chowning, *Chesapeake Bay Buyboats*, 74.
[66] John C. Wilson, *Virginia's Northern Neck: a pictorial history* (Norfolk: The Donning Company/Publishers, 1984), 68.
[67] Jett, *Lancaster County, Virginia*, 237.

of the early twentieth century would have included docks and a wharf to tie up their vessels and unload their catches, with later factories frequently including a tall structure that housed an "elevator" to unload the fish from the holds of the steamers.[68] These "elevators" typically consisted of a series of buckets on a conveyor that were lowered into a vessel's hold. Fishermen would then shovel, or fork, the menhaden into the buckets to be raised up to the dock for transport into the factory.[69] Afterwards, the menhaden would be cooked, pressed to release their oils, dried, and the "scrap" stored for fish meal.[70] To support this process, factories would have a varying number of tanks to store the processed fish oil, processing buildings with smokestacks associated with the physical menhaden processing, and "large, low scrap sheds" where the dry product, known as fish scrap, was stored.[71] With the exception of the brick smokestacks, most of these buildings and structures were of wood frame construction, which contributed to their frequent destruction from fire or weather events; many were replaced with modern buildings in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Figure 8: Typical early twentieth-century menhaden processing plant, in Carolyn Jett, Lancaster County, Virginia.

During this period, menhaden fishing continued much as it had in the nineteenth century, relying on manpower to haul up purse seines laden with fish to the rhythm of chanteys. One difference in the industry from the nineteenth century was the proliferation of steam-powered vessels after the turn of the century. Elijah Reed first introduced steam-powered ships to the local industry in 1880; however, menhaden steamers remained outnumbered by sail-powered ships until the early 1900s.[72] These new, larger menhaden fishing boats had

[68] Jett, *Lancaster County, Virginia*, 244.
[69] United States Bureau of Fisheries, *Investigational Report of the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries* 1, no. 1-29 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1936), 109-110; John Frye, *The Men all Singing: The Story of Menhaden Fishing* (Norfolk: The Donning Company/Publishers, 1973), 65.
[70] Ann Green, "Beaufort Fisheries: Last Menhaden Plant in State Faces Uncertain Future," Sea Grant: North Carolina Coastwatch. Accessed August 16, 2022. https://ncseagrant.ncsu.edu/coastwatch/previous-issues/2001-2/winter-2001/beaufort-fisheries-last-menhaden-plant-in-state-faces-uncertain-future/.
[71] Jett, *Lancaster County, Virginia*, 244.
[72] Jett, *Lancaster County, Virginia*, 238-239.

crews of around 30 men, and with the exception of the captain and two officers, these crews were heavily composed of African American watermen.[73]

African American watermen employed in Reedville's menhaden industry largely hailed from the Northern Neck counties of Northumberland, Lancaster, Richmond, Westmoreland, as well as the Middle Peninsula counties of Middlesex, and Mathews.[74] While racial segregation and white supremacy limited the professional and economic advancement of African Americans in many industries, working as a waterman provided many African Americans with financial independence and contributed to the "rapid growth of the fishing industry" in the Northern Neck area.[75] Employment in one of the numerous menhaden processing factories was also seen as the "first significant wage-labor employment for many" African Americans who worked seasonally farming or independently fishing.[76]

Post-World War II Advancements in Marine Engineering

In the two decades following World War II, the menhaden industry experienced significant changes that impacted the industry for local watermen. Up to this time, the industry utilized wooden-hull fishing boats and purse boats; however, in the 1950s and 1960s, these wooden-hull boats were phased out in favor of larger, steel-hulled ships. While some of these steel-hulled ships were designed specifically for menhaden fishing, many were war surplus minesweepers, decommissioned war patrol boats, or converted Air Force freighters.[77] These larger ships were able to hold three-quarters of a million to two million fish, and by the 1970s most incorporated refrigeration, which allowed them to take longer voyages to follow the schools of menhaden along the East Coast.[78]

Another significant advancement was the development and refinement of the hydraulic powerblock by menhaden captains from Reedville.[79] The hydraulic powerblock mechanically pulled the purse nets up and into the boat in a shorter period of time and with considerably less physical labor than was previously required.[80] Until this point, this task had been accomplished by dozens of men, typically African American watermen. However, with the mechanization of hauling the nets, the crews on menhaden vessels were reduced by half by the mid-1960s.[81] This change also led to the redesign of purse boats to accommodate the hydraulic power lifts, and many transitioned to steel construction.

[73] Bogger, *A History of African-Americans in Middlesex County*, 78.
[74] Since the menhaden industry was primarily located in the Northern Neck, the majority of the African American watermen who were employed by these factories lived in counties that were located in relatively close proximity to allow for transportation.
[75] Cowling, *Historical Notes*, 152.
[76] Barbara J. Garrity-Blake, *The Fish Factory: Work and Meaning for Black and White Fishermen of the American Menhaden Industry* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1994), 16.
[77] Wilson, *Virginia's Northern Neck*, 171.
[78] Frye, *The Men all Singing*,128.
[79] Garrity-Blake, *The Fish Factory*, 22-23.
[80] Garrity-Blake, *The Fish Factory*, 22-23; Wilson, *Virginia's Northern Neck*, 180.
[81] Garrity-Blake, *The Fish Factory*, 22-23.

Figure 9: African American watermen pull up sein near Reedville, VA, using traditional menhaden fishing practices, date unknown. Courtesy of Mathews Maritime Foundation Museum.

As with the menhaden industry, marine vessels used for oystering, crabbing, and small-scale fishing also changed during this period. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the skipjack became the dominant form of sail-powered transportation for oystermen and crabbers seeking to harvest in shallower waters. However, as sail-powered boats were replaced by steam, and later by gas and diesel, the deadrise became the most popular medium-sized boat used by watermen due to their ability to navigate the choppy waters of the Chesapeake Bay. Although the term "deadrise" originally referred to the V-shaped bottom that could also be found on skipjacks, it came to refer to the boat as a whole as the popularity of the deadrise increased. Like many boats, wooden deadrises were eventually replaced by fiberglass and steel hulls; however, their popularity remained, and in 1988 the deadrise was named the official boat of the Commonwealth of Virginia.[82] Continued industrialization and scaling up of the oystering and menhaden fishing sectors depleted natural resources to a point from which they could not recover and reduced employment and advancement opportunities for watermen and their families.[83]

[82] Larry Chowning, "You can't top the look, ride & smell of a wooden deadrise," *The Rivah* (February 26, 2021). Accessed August 16, 2022. https://www.rivahguide.com/from-the-archives-you-cant-top-the-look-ride-smell-of-a-wooden-deadrise/; "Fishing Boats Evolve," The Watermen's Museum: Yorktown. Accessed August 16, 2022. https://watermens.org/fishing-boats-evolve/.
[83] Wilson, *Virginia's Northern Neck*, 180.

Figure 10: African American watermen shown catching menhaden. A dip net transfers the menhaden from the purse net below, undated. From Robert H. Burgess, This was Chesapeake Bay.

The Post-World War II Oyster Industry

Like most commodities, the prices of oysters and other seafood rose exponentially during World War II. This led many farmers or formerly part-time watermen who lived along the waterways of the Chesapeake Bay to enter into the seafood industry. As a result, oyster houses "sprang up virtually overnight" in many areas.[84] This trend also continued after the war as larger oyster operations constructed new buildings, and independent watermen opened their own local shucking houses.

In basic composition, these new oyster houses reflected their predecessors from the first half of the twentieth century; however, most utilized the new building materials of the mid-twentieth century that were now readily available in the post-war era. Like earlier buildings, these mid-twentieth-century oyster shucking houses were one-story, rectangular in shape, and had a side-gable roof. Unlike the earlier shucking houses, however, this new generation of oyster houses was of concrete block construction and typically included clerestory windows and oyster shucking holes along at least one side of the building. Many were constructed in phases as operations grew and additional space was required, leading many large operations to have an irregular form that evolved over decades.

[84] Robert H. Burgess, *This Was Chesapeake Bay* (Cambridge, MD: Cornell Maritime Press, Inc., 1963), 157.

Figure 11: Oyster holes on the exterior of a typical shucking house. These holes on the exterior of the concrete block structure had a functional purpose for disposing of and collecting shells, and now make oyster houses from the period an identifiable resource. This shucking house may have been referred to as a "three-hole." Ca. 1990. From Close Ties: Reflections from Rappahannock Watermen.

Figure 12: Shuckers at B.G. Smith & Sons in Richmond County. From Close Ties.

As seen in the early years of the twentieth century, these shucking houses, like other seafood processing facilities of the period, relied heavily on the labor provided by the African American community. Men, women, and children worked in the oyster houses as shuckers and packers, and many independent oystermen sold their catches to the local packers. Again, as seen in previous decades, some African American watermen opened their own shucking operations, although typically smaller in scale, within their local communities. Among those who opened their own shucking houses were Roosevelt Wingfield of Middlesex County, Stanley Dixon of Westmoreland County, and Simon Smith of Westmoreland County.[85]

Diversification of Watermen Roles

During the second half of the twentieth century, African American watermen in the Chesapeake Bay also began diversifying their work on the water. Starting as early as the 1930s in counties such as Middlesex, recreational fishing gained popularity and brought tourists to the area. As a result, many African American captains converted their boats, some full time and some in the summer months, into charter fishing boats.[86] By the 1950s and 1960s, charter boat fishing was "in its heyday" in Middlesex County, with about 25 charter boats at Locklies Creek alone.[87] Like other charter boat captains, many of the men in Locklies Creek would oyster during the winter months, and use their boats to take fishing parties out in the summer.[88]

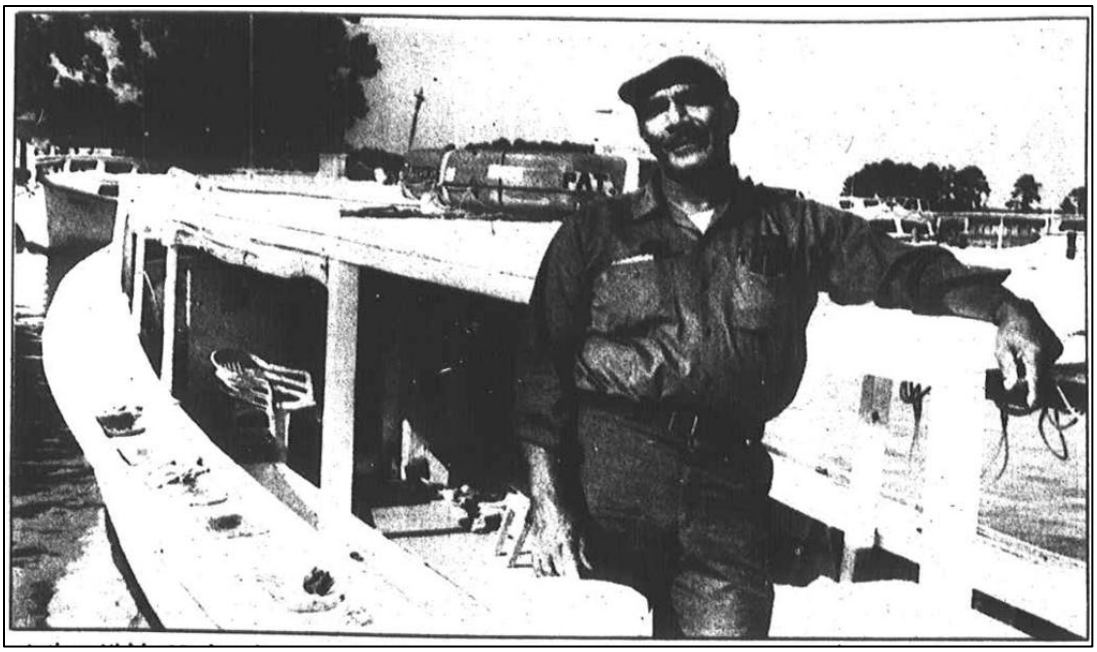

Figure 13: Arthur J. Kidd began his business as a charter boat captain out of Locklies Creek in Middlesex County in the 1950s. Photographed in 1994 for Southside Sentinel.

[85] Lee Walton, interviewed by Kayla Halberg and Ashlen Stump, December 7, 2021, in Urbanna, Virginia; James and Daisy Douglas, interviewed by Ashlen Stump, January 26, 2022, in Montross, Virginia; Howard Smith, Interviewed by Ashlen Stump, January 24, 2022, phone conversation. Wingfield's shucking house still stands near Urbanna and was surveyed in connection with this project; Dixon and Smith's buildings are no longer extant.
[86] Bogger, *A History of African-Americans in Middlesex County*, 78.
[87] Tom Hardin, "Locklies Creek charter boat industry survives despite tough times," *Southside Sentinel* (September 15, 1994).
[88] Hardy, "Locklies Creek."

Disease and Decline in the Chesapeake Bay

Throughout the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries, seafood production ebbed and flowed as a result of disease among marine resources, overharvesting, and habitat destruction. However, a series of changes in the late-twentieth century marked the end of an era for watermen on the Chesapeake Bay. For the oyster industry, this change occurred gradually at first. Several diseases impacted oyster beds over this period: Dermo in 1949, MSX parasite in 1959, and Kepone pollution in the James River in 1976. A dramatic re-emergence of Dermo in 1986 combined with "decades of overharvesting and habitat destruction" brought the Chesapeake Bay's "traditional oyster fishery to a historic low."[89] This decimation of the oyster in the mid-1980s forced many watermen to leave the industry, resulted in the closure of numerous seafood facilities, and also solidified the transition into the modern aquaculture farming that continues today.

Similarly, gradual changes in the menhaden industry led to the decline of the traditional industry in Virginia's Chesapeake Bay. Beginning in the 1940s, menhaden fishing in the Gulf of Mexico gained popularity and over time an increasing number of watermen began working seasonally in the Gulf. The number of factories on the Chesapeake Bay also dwindled as companies merged due to the increasing costs associated with harvesting and processing menhaden.[90] As companies merged, with only five operating in the Northern Neck by the 1960s, and fishing vessels became larger with refrigeration capabilities in the 1970s, the industry moved away from day-to-day fishing and into longer stretches on the water.[91] Since the late 1800s, the region has had over 50 different menhaden plants operating at some point, with multiple examples located in the Reedville area on Cockrell's Creek. By 1997, Zapata Protein (now Omega Protein) acquired American Proteins, Inc (AMPRO) and became the only remaining menhaden processing facility in the region, and retains its location in Reedville.[92]

SOCIAL, CULTURAL, AND ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF OYSTERING, FISHING, CRABBING, AND CLAMMING ON AFRICAN AMERICAN WATERMEN AND WATER-WOMEN

Economic mobility, property ownership, generational occupations

After the Civil War and through the Jim Crow era of segregation in Virginia, water-related occupations provided African Americans with an opportunity for economic independence and mobility that was not always available in other occupations.[93] In many African American communities along Virginia's Chesapeake Bay, independent watermen made a good living from the local waterways and were generally considered leaders in

[89] Ryan B. Carnegie, et al, "A rapid phenotype change in the pathogen *Perkinsus marinus* was associated with a historically significant marine disease emergence in the eastern oyster," *Scientific Reports* (June 18, 2021). Accessed March 11, 2022. https://www.nature.com/articles/s41598-021-92379-6; Michael E. Bender and Robert J. Huggett, "Contaminant Effects on Chesapeake Bay Shellfish," *VIMS Books and Book Chapters* (1987), 379-383. Accessed March 11, 2022. https://scholarworks.wm.edu/vimsbooks/58; Jett, *Lancaster County, Virginia*, 351; Mathews County Historical Society, *History and Progress: Mathews County, Virginia* (Marceline, Missouri: Wadsworth Company, 1988), 110; Shulte, *History of the Virginia Oyster Fishery*, 7.
[90] Alfred M. Biddlecomb, "1997 featured many big deals, new faces, and sad farewells," *Northern Neck News* (December 1997).
[91] Wilson, *Virginia's Northern Neck*, 171; Frye, *The Men all Singing*, 128.
[92] Biddlecomb, "1997 featured many big deals, new faces, and sad farewells."
[93] Chowning, *Deadrise and Cross-planked*, 50.

their communities.[94] This success allowed many to purchase their own land and achieve economic mobility for their families, and also allowed them to provide services to their communities that were otherwise limited due to discriminatory practices. This included establishing organizations and businesses that provided access to services such as financial lending options to assist with unexpected downturns and expanding operations, as well as health and life insurance.[95] Such autonomy created self-sustaining communities that existed and thrived during a period when heightened racial tensions existed between working class black and white communities.

Figure 14: Captain William "Billy" Smith and fellow oystermen tonging in the Nomini River, ca. 1960s-1970s. Courtesy of James and Daisy Douglas.

Due to the seasonal nature of the seafood industry, some African American watermen worked in multiple seafood industries depending on the season, and others worked in different industries entirely in the off season. For example, many African American watermen oystered during the winter months, and farmed during the summer to supplement their income or provide meals for their families. However, some worked independently as watermen year-round, changing focus of their work with each season.[96]

Throughout the twentieth century most industries were segregated by race and most African Americans were relegated to menial jobs. The race relations of watermen industries were complex, however. While many watermen captained their own vessels, working as independent watermen and/or charter boat captains, others found expanding opportunities by moving up the ranks of larger organizations, such as Omega Protein

[94] Cowling, *Historical Notes*, 37; Walter Biscoe Norris, Jr, editor, *Westmoreland County Virginia, 1653-1983* (Marceline, Missouri: Walworth Publishing Co., 1983), 604-605; Bogger, *A History of African-Americans in Middlesex County*, 24
[95] Bogger, *A History of African-Americans in Middlesex County*, 36.
[96] Bogger, *A History of African-Americans of Middlesex County*, 77; Larry S. Chowning, *Images of America: Urbanna* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012), 104.

(formerly Zapata Haynie, Standard Oil, and American Protein). While the racial segregation policies of these larger corporations remain unknown, historical records and oral tradition indicate that a number of African American watermen held high-ranking positions such as captain, pilot, or officer of large menhaden vessels. These men were well-respected within their communities, and frequently held other community leadership roles within local churches or social organizations.[97] Many others were employed as crew members on the many commercial fishing vessels of the Chesapeake Bay, Atlantic Ocean, and Gulf of Mexico. Their income, whether earned working in the Bay or further abroad, provided many with the economic means to provide for their families and purchase homes, farms, boats, and other property on the Middle Peninsula, Northern Neck, and Eastern Shore.[98]

Others worked in occupations that directly supported other African American watermen, like the boat building industry. Following the Civil War, it was common for formerly enslaved carpenters to begin building boats for themselves and other African American watermen. By building boats for formerly enslaved watermen, these boat builders not only contributed to their own economic independence, but also to the economic independence of the African American watermen who utilized their services.[99] Additionally, while some marine railways and marinas allowed African American watermen to use their services during segregation, white watermen were typically still prioritized at these locations. In response, African American watermen such as Alexander Burrell, Jr. opened marinas and marine railways that prioritized the needs of African American watermen.

[97] "Charles Lee Forrest," *Gloucester Mathews Gazette-Journal* (December 18, 2019); "Mathews Gaskins Sr.," *Rappahannock Record* 91, no. 10 (December 6, 2007).
[98] Norris, *Westmoreland County Virginia*, 604-605; Mathews County Historical Society, *History and Progress*, 147.
[99] Chowning, *Deadrise and Cross-planked*, 50.

Figure 15: Advertisement for Alexander Burrell's Marina near Urbanna, Virginia. From Southside Sentinel, *1974.*

For many African American families, working as a waterman was a generational occupation where skills were passed down through families and children began assisting their parents and/or grandparents at a young age. Many watermen described working as cull boys at an early age to assist their fathers, uncles, and grandfathers with oystering, fishing alongside older generations, or shedding soft crabs to earn extra money for themselves or their families.[100] Girls learned skills like shucking, picking, and canning from their mothers, aunts, and grandmothers.[101] While generations of watermen learned these traditional skills and continued to work in the

[100] Howard Smith, interviewed by Ashlen Stump, January 24, 2022; James and Daisy Douglas, interviewed by Ashlen Stump, January 26, 2022; Matthews Gaskins, Jr, Interviewed by Ashlen Stump, December 17, 2021, phone interview.
[101] Elizabeth Marie O'Grady, "You have No Boss Here to Work For": Women and Labor in Chesapeake Bay Fishing Communities," (Thesis, College of William and Mary, 2010), 24; Sara Wood, "Cut it Clean: Oyster Shuckers in Eastern Virginia," *Southern Cultures*. Accessed September 9, 2021. https://www.southerncultures.org/article/cut-it-clean/.

local seafood industry through the twentieth century, the success of many of the Bay's African American watermen also provided the means for later generations to seek advanced educational opportunities and employment in other industries. Although many lament the low number of young African American watermen and water-women in the industry today, many others credit the economic gains they made through their work as watermen in allowing their children to have the opportunity to pursue other industries or professions.[102]

Water-women and Champion Shuckers

In addition to the large number of African American men who worked in the seafood industry in Virginia's Chesapeake Bay, many African American women worked in the industry and contributed to its growth and success. Most commonly, African American women were employed in processing roles within fish, oyster, clam, and crab houses.[103] For oyster, crab, and clam houses especially, the large majority of their shuckers or pickers were African American women, while African American men harvested, unloaded, and cooked the shellfish (when cooking was required).[104]

For many women, working in the shucking, picking, and processing houses provided them with financial independence and personal autonomy, while the work schedule allowed many to still take care of their families or to work additional jobs to make up for the low pay that was typical of the period.[105] Like watermen, African American water-women passed down their trades through generations. Children often worked alongside their mothers, aunts, and grandmothers in shucking, picking, and packing houses, allowing for generational transfer of specialized skills of shucking and picking.[106] Renowned oyster picker Clementine Boyd Macon, who began shucking oysters in the 1970s, learned how to "stab" oysters (a type of oyster shucking) by working alongside her mother and aunts in oyster houses along the Rappahannock River. In turn, she taught the skill to her sister, Deborah Pratt, who won the U.S. National Oyster Shucking Championship in 2013.[107]

Although oyster and crab houses were the most common occupations for African American water-women, some also worked on the water to provide food for their families, to assist their husbands, or to sell oysters and crabs on the side.[108] As mentioned above, some worked to fashion materials, supplies, and equipment for watermen-related activities, such as oyster-mop-making. Similarly, others, such as sisters Lucy Crump

[102] James and Daisy Douglas, interviewed by Kayla Halberg and Ashlen Stump, February 25, 2022.
[103] Cowling, *Historical Notes*, 29; Dixon, *The Black Americans of Gwynn's Island*, 23-24.
[104] Cowling, *Historical Notes*, 32; Howard Smith, interviewed by Ashlen Stump, January 24, 2022; Danny Doughty, Interviewed by Bernie Herman, February 10, 2020, in Machipongo, Virginia. Accessed January 18, 2022. https://www.barrierislandscenter.org/conversations-in-the-kitchen; O'Grady, "You have No Boss Here to Work For," 18; Clementine Boyd Macon interviewed by Sara Wood, February 15, 2013, in Jamaica, Virginia. Interview Transcript courtesy of Sara Wood.
[105] O'Grady, "You have No Boss Here to Work For," 23-24.
[106] In many small-scale, family-owned shucking, picking, and packing houses, work by children was seen as a typical and required role in the family rather than as avoiding labor laws. Additionally, it is unknown what ages were meant by "children," as most sources did not cite specific ages.
[107] Wood, "Cut it Clean;" O'Grady, "You have No Boss Here to Work For," 23.
[108] Mary Jones Day, *Bogey Neck Road: "The Roots Are Still Growing."* (Scotts Valley, CA: CreateSpace Publishing, 2014), 264-270; Wayne LeVere, Interviewed by Ashlen Stump, January 26, 2022, in Montross, Virginia.

Dickerson and Virginia Crump Garrett from Middlesex County worked as sailmakers, providing sails for local African American watermen and boatbuilders in the late-19th and early-20th centuries.[109]

Figure 16: Shuckers from Savage & Mears Oyster and Clam House in Chincoteague break to pose for a photo in c. 1950. From Images of America: Chincoteague and Assateague Islands.

[109] Chowning, *Signatures in Time*, 228.

Figure 17: Crab pickers, c.1945. Courtesy of Watermen's Museum.

Figure 18: Deborah Pratt outside Walton Seafood in Urbanna in 2013. Courtesy of Southern Cultures.

Social and Cultural Institutions

The success experienced by many African American watermen in Virginia's Chesapeake Bay was often reflected within their communities. Economic successes provided the ability to purchase land and establish schools and churches within their communities. These watermen were often well respected within their communities, and held prominent roles in religious and civic organizations. Many watermen served as founding or prominent members of churches in communities throughout the region. Founders of Sharon Baptist Church in Weems, Virginia, for example included Edmond and Herman Gaskins, ancestors of later watermen Captain Matthews "Sonny" Gaskins, Sr. and Captain Matthews Gaskins, Jr. [110] In Susan, Virginia, watermen such as Captain Charles Forrest and Captain Coleman Johnson were active and prominent members of the Antioch Baptist Church congregation.[111]

Watermen also played critical roles in the establishment of social organizations such as The Grand United Order of Galilean Fishermen, which provided services to African Americans during the Jim Crow era (1890s-1960s). The Galilean Fishermen, like other African American lodges and benevolent associations, provided services such as banks, printing plants, life insurance plans, and health benefit plans to African American communities who were refused access to the services of white banks and insurance companies.[112] Groups such as the Galilean Fishermen also created internal judicial systems to "control interpersonal and inter-group relations" which allowed African Americans to "exercise greater social and legal independence in the face of Jim Crow laws and segregation."[113] These organizations not only provided a banking and insurance system to African American watermen, but many watermen also held various positions within the organizations. Prominent members of the Galilean Fishermen include figures discussed in more detail below such as Eldridge Cook of Gloucester County.

Chanteys and Songs

African American watermen and water-women utilized music to assist in physically taxing and repetitive work in the seafood industry. Watermen chanteys are derived from the southern African American work song tradition that was frequently used in lumbering, mining, rail laying, and agricultural work during the slavery era.[114] The most well-known African American watermen chanteys are associated with the menhaden industry. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when menhaden nets were raised by hand, African American watermen used chanteys, or call-and-response songs, to assist in the intense physical labor required to raise the heavy purse nets. In these call-and-response songs, a leader would recite a line and the remaining men would answer together as they pulled up the net. Chanteys helped all of the men pull harder, work together, and work

[110] Cowling, *Historical Notes*, 105.
[111] Charles Forrest, Jr. , interviewed by Ashlen Stump, December 2, 2021; "Coleman R. Johnson," *Gloucester-Mathews Gazette-Journal* (May 31, 2001). Courtesy of *Gloucester-Mathews Gazette-Journal.*
[112] Pruitt, "No Longer Lost at Sea," 80; Bogger, *A History of African-Americans in Middlesex County*, 45.
[113] Pruitt, "No Longer Lost at Sea," 81.
[114] Clarke, *Windows on the Chesapeake*, 60-62; Frye, *The Men all Singing*, 188.

in sync, since if they "couldn't raise the net, they'd lose the set, the fish and ultimately the income."[115] While some songs had gospel roots, the songs were often "quite colorful," and frequently touched on the subject of their women back home.[116]

With the introduction of hydraulic blocks to raise the menhaden nets in the 1960s, manpower was replaced by mechanical equipment, and the era of menhaden chanteys came to a close.[117] Today, the memories of these African American watermen and their chanteys are carried on by the Northern Neck Chantey Singers, a group of former African American menhaden fishermen who continue to perform the work songs around the country. At one performance, a member of the Northern Neck Chantey Singers recalled, "We were singing because it makes the job easier, it makes the time go by faster. It takes your mind…off the misery. And it simply makes some jobs go a little bit more efficiently."[118]

Singing, however, was not limited to the menhaden purse boats, and was commonly heard throughout shucking, picking, and processing houses. Similar to the chanteys sung by the menhaden fishermen, the songs sung by African Americans within the shucking and picking houses helped make the time pass in a repetitive job, but also assisted shuckers and pickers in keeping a rhythm to their work. For oyster shuckers, this singing was often accompanied by a rocking motion, which further assisted in providing a rhythm that allowed women who were paid by the gallon to shuck quickly and efficiently.[119] For many, memories of shucking and picking houses include the sounds of singing, and while these songs were frequently gospel songs, Janice Weatherly Walters recalled in an interview with Bernie Herman that her mother, aunts, and the other women in the shucking houses "probably sang a little bit of everything."[120]

[115] "Northern Neck Chantey Singers and Lewis R. Blackwell Jr.," Virginia Folklife Program, Virginia Humanities. Accessed March 25, 2022. https://www.virginiafolklife.org/sights-sounds/northern-neck-chantey-singers-and-lewis-r-blackwell-jr/; Miriam Haynie, *A Kingdom by the Sea*, (Miriam Haynie, 2001), 144; Clarke, *Windows on the Chesapeake*, 60-62.
[116] Clarke, *Windows on the Chesapeake*, 60-62.
[117] Clarke, *Windows on the Chesapeake*, 60-62.
[118] "Northern Neck Chantey Singers."
[119] Wood, "Cut it Clean."; Cowling, *Historical Notes*, 32.
[120] Janice Weatherly Walters, interviewed by Bernie Herman; Pete Terry, Interviewed by Bernie Herman, August 18, 2021, in Machipongo, Virginia. Accessed January 18, 2022. https://www.barrierislandscenter.org/conversations-in-the-kitchen.

Figure 19: Northern Neck Chantey Singers, including Dr. Elton Smith Jr., Edward Taylor, William Muse, Lloyd Hill, Christopher Harvey, and James Carter in 2011. Courtesy of Virginia Humanities.

Notable African American Watermen and Water-women of the Virginia Chesapeake Bay

Captain Matthews "Sonny" Gaskins, Sr. (1929-2007)

Captain Matthews "Sonny" Gaskins, Sr. lived in Weems, Virginia and worked for Zapata Haynie (later Omega Protein) Menhaden Fishery in Reedville, Virginia. Captain Gaskins, Sr. was one of the first African American Captains to go to Louisiana to work for the company. Most of his crew was also from Weems. Later, his son, Captain Matthews Gaskins, Jr., would go on to be the youngest African American captain for Omega Protein, and the father-son pair were the only father-son African American captains in Lancaster County. When the fishing season, which lasted from April to August, ended, Captain Gaskins, Sr. would return to Weems to oyster from September to March.[121] He also owned the Weems Community Center Teen Shop, and was known as a "landowner, landlord, barber, gardener, oystermen, crabber, oyster shucker, net mender and sports enthusiast."[122]

[121] Mathews Gaskins, Jr, Interviewed by Ashlen Stump.
[122] "Mathews Gaskins, Sr.," *Rappahannock Record.*

Captain Matthews Gaskins, Jr.

Captain Matthews Gaskins, Jr. is from Weems, Virginia, and has been a waterman for over 45 years. Captain Matthews Gaskins, Jr. learned his trade from his father, grandfather, and other "old timers" in the Weems area, and followed in his father's footsteps to become the youngest African American captain for Omega Protein out of Reedville, Virginia. Gaskins, Jr. and his father were one of a handful of African American captains from Weems; however, they were the only father-son African American Captains in Lancaster County. Gaskins, Jr. would return to Weems when the fishing season ended to work alongside his family on their oyster boat from September to March.[123] Gaskins, Jr. continues to work as a waterman in the menhaden industry, traveling seasonally between the Northern Neck and Louisiana.

Figure 20: Captain Matthews "Sonny" Gaskins, Sr. (left) and Captain Matthews Gaskins, Jr. (right), 2006. Courtesy of Captain Matthews Gaskins, Jr.

Captain Charles Lee Forrest, Sr. (1931-2019)

Captain Charles Forrest, Sr. lived in Susan, Virginia, and worked as a local waterman until he began his career in the commercial menhaden fishing industry. During his commercial fishing career, Captain Forrest had a

[123] Mathews Gaskins, Jr., Interviewed by Ashlen Stump.

career catch of one billion fish. Like other local watermen, Captain Forrest was also a lifelong member of Antioch Baptist Church in Susan, Virginia.[124]

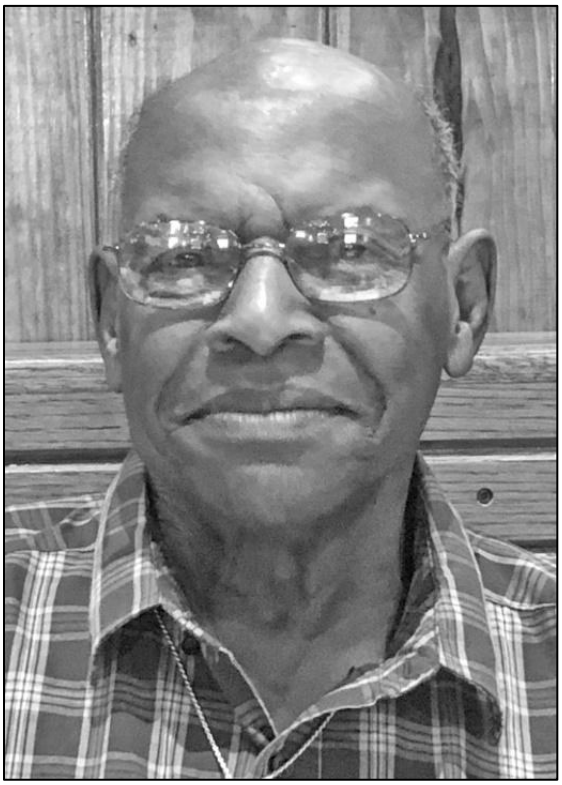

Figure 21: Captain Charles Lee Forrest, Sr. Courtesy of Gloucester-Mathews Gazette Journal, 2019.

Clementine Boyd Macon (1955 -)

Clementine Boyd Macon was raised in Jamaica, Virginia in Middlesex County. Born into a family of watermen, In the 1970s, Macon learned to shuck oysters from her parents and uncle in order to support herself and her son. She worked at a local shucking house in Middlesex County, and later taught her sister Deborah Pratt to shuck on the back steps of their house. During her career as a competitive oyster shucker, Macon has earned dozens of Virginia state oyster shucking titles, including the title of Virginia State Oyster Shucking Champion of the 2014 Urbanna Oyster Festival.[125]

Deborah Pratt (1953 -)

Deborah Pratt was raised in Jamaica, Virginia in Middlesex County in a family of watermen. Both of Pratt's parents were oyster shuckers, and her father worked as a fisherman during the off-season. Pratt learned to shuck oysters from her sister Clementine Boyd, and afterwards went to work at an oyster house to support her family.

[124] Charles Forrest, Jr., Interviewed by Ashlen Stump, December 2, 2021, phone interview; "Charles Lee Forrest," *Gloucester-Mathews Gazette-Journal* (December 18, 2019).
[125] Deborah Pratt and Clementine Boyd Macon, Interviewed by Sara Wood, February 15, 2013; Sara Wood, "Cut it Clean: Oyster Shuckers in Eastern Virginia," *Southern Cultures* 24, no. 1 (Spring 2018).

Eventually, Pratt began competing in oyster shucking competitions, and won the state shucking competition her first year competing. Pratt continued on to compete in competitions at the local, state, national, and international levels. She has won the U.S. National Oyster Shucking title three times and earned third place at the world competition in Galway, Ireland. Pratt continues to shuck oysters at Walton Seafood in Urbanna, Virginia.[126]

Figure 22: Clementine Boyd Macon (left) and Deborah Pratt (right). Courtesy of Southern Cultures, *2018.*

Eldridge Cook (1915-2014)

Eldridge Cook was a prominent African American waterman, business owner, and civic leader in Gloucester County, Virginia. Cook purchased his first truck at age 17, and transported seafood and other perishables across the east coast.[127] By 1940, Cook expanded to own his own fleet of trucks and his hauling routes spanned across the U.S. to the west coast, and shipped from east coast ports to Europe and Turkey. During World War II, his trucks were used to transport lumber for wartime use. After the war, Mr. Cook began oyster planting with his own boat and equipment, and soon after established Cook's Oyster Company, also known as Cook's Seafood Company, in Bena, Virginia, on Sarah's Creek. Cook's Seafood Company became "a leading national seafood processing plant and supplier, employing over 250 people in Gloucester County."[128] Cook closed his company in 2010 after working in the seafood business for over 70 years. Mr. Cook's civic engagements included serving

[126] Deborah Pratt and Clementine Boyd Macon, Interviewed by Sara Wood; Wood, "Cut it Clean."
[127] Parke Rouse, "'El' Cook, A Major Seafood Dealer," *Daily Press* (November 7, 1990).
[128] "Eldridge N. Cook," *Gloucester-Mathews Gazette-Journal* 85, no. 2 (February 13, 2014).

on the Gloucester County Board of Social Services, the Gloucester Planning Commission, the Virginia Marine Products Board, and numerous other civic, social, and religious organizations.[129]

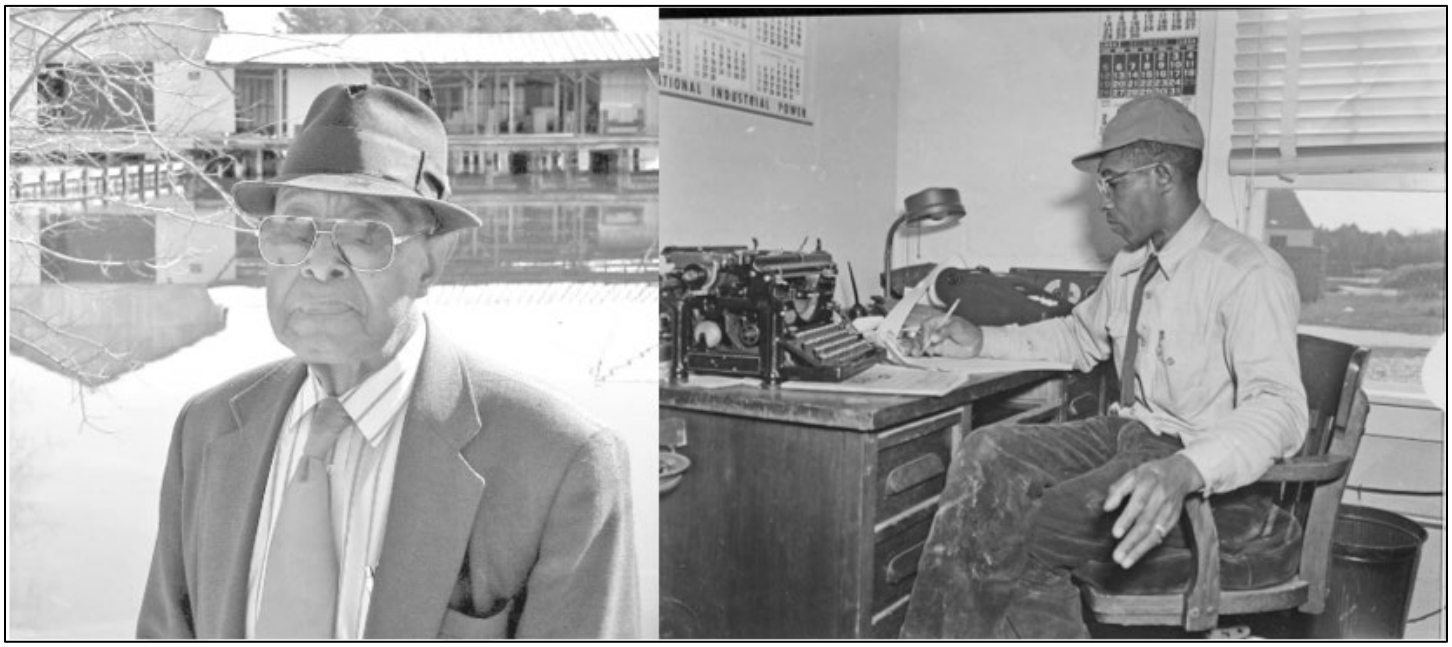

Figure 23: Eldridge Cook at Cook's Seafood (left) and in his office (right), dates unknown. Courtesy of Gloucester-Mathews Gazette Journal.

James Allen Douglas (1938-)

James Douglas worked as an oysterman from 1958 to 1987 in the Yeocomico, Rappahannock, Potomac, Morattico, Poney, and James rivers. During this time, he supplied oysters to Bevans Oyster Company in Kinsale, Virginia, and docked his boat at his home in Sandy Point on the Yeocomico River. The Douglases live on land that has been owned by James Douglas's family since 1877. According to oral history provided by James and Daisy Douglas, Douglas's family was never enslaved, but was one of the county's free Black families.

[129] "Eldridge N. Cook," *Gloucester-Mathews Gazette-Journal*; Matt Sabo, "After 70 years, Cook's Seafood in Gloucester shuts down," *Daily Press* (March 22, 2010).

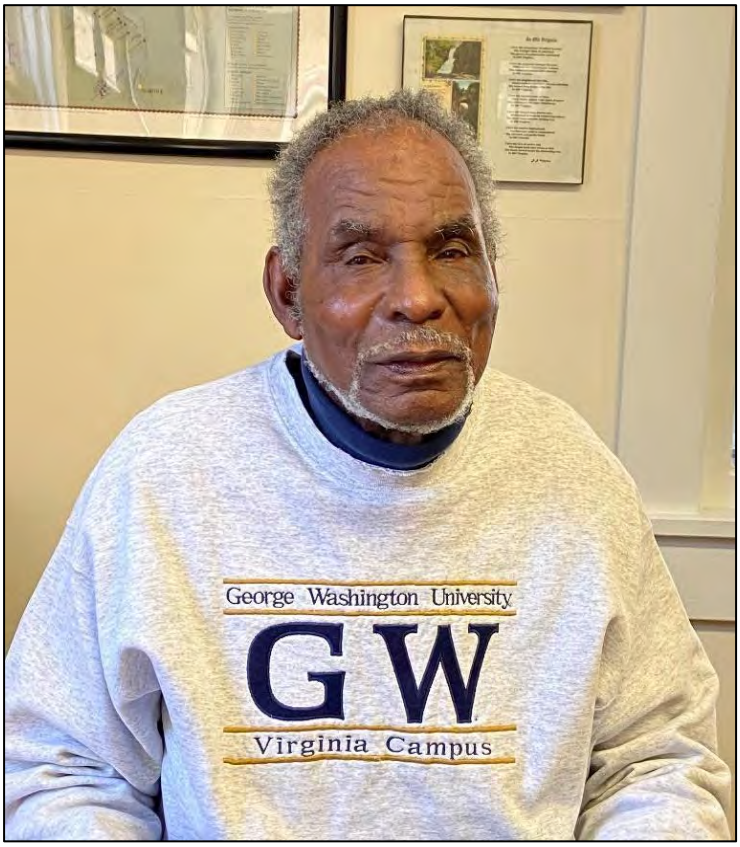

Figure 24: James Douglas, 2021. Photo by Ashlen Stump.

John Mallory Phillips I (c.1857 – 1922)

John Mallory Phillips I was born in York County, Virginia to a white farmer, John Phillips, and a free African American woman, Rachel Banks.[130] Sometime after the Civil War, John Mallory Phillips moved to Hampton, Virginia to live with his uncle, Cary Hopson. Hopson and other family members were oystermen who taught Phillips the trade, and Phillips eventually acquired his own oyster beds in Hampton's waters, amassed a fleet of seven oyster canoes and a large sloop, and founded Phillips Seafood in Hampton.[131] Phillips used his success in the seafood industry to support the local black community, and in 1889 he, along with 10 other black entrepreneurs, formed the Peoples Building and Loan Association (demolished). As the first black bank in the community, the organization assisted hundreds of African American residents purchase homes, and took on a large number of mortgages to save homes for those in need.[132] By 1941, the organization was reported to be the largest of its kind in the country.[133] A decade after the Peoples Building and Loan Association was founded, Phillips again joined black entrepreneurs to purchase land and build the Bay Shore Hotel (demolished) at Buckroe Beach, which would become "one of America's largest and best-known African American resorts."[134]

[130] Mark St. John Erikson, "Oysters made Hampton man wealthy," *Daily Press* (February 17, 2013). Accessed August 17, 2022. https://www.dailypress.com/history/dp-nws-black-history-profiles-3-20130217-story.html.
[131] "John Mallory Phillips (1920-1988)," The Historical Marker Database. Accessed August 17, 2022. https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=151394; Erikson, "Oysters made Hampton man wealthy."
[132] Colita Nichols Fairfax, *Black American Series: Hampton, Virginia* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2005), 49, 55.
[133] Erikson, "Oysters made Hampton man wealthy."
[134] Erikson, "Oysters made Hampton man wealthy."

The legacy of the Phillips Seafood company was carried on by Phillips' grandson and namesake, who also became Hampton's first black councilman since Reconstruction in 1974.

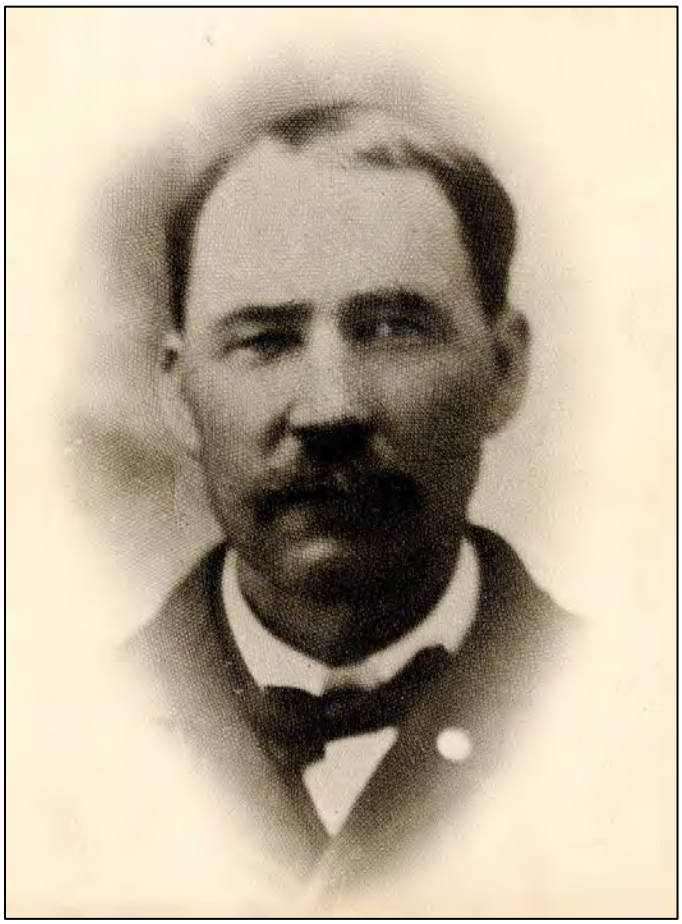

Figure 25: John Mallory Phillips I, undated. Born to a white father and African American mother, Phillips was recorded as "mulatto" in U.S. Census Records, and reportedly utilized the advantages granted by his appearance to promote his business and the African American community in Hampton. Courtesy of Daily Press.

John Mallory Phillips (1920-1988)

John Mallory Phillips was the grandson and namesake of prominent Hampton oysterman and businessman John Mallory Phillips I. Continuing his grandfather's legacy, Phillips owned and operated Phillips Seafood Company for 45 years, and employed African American residents of Old North Hampton, the second oldest African American community in the city of Hampton, during a period when job opportunities were limited for African Americans in the area.[135] Phillips also operated an outdoor seafood stand at Bay Shore Beach in Buckroe, as well as The Flamingo Lounge on North King Street, a popular entertainment venue during the Jim Crow segregation era.[136] In 1974, Phillips became the first African American since the Reconstruction Era to be

[135] "John Mallory Phillips, 1920-1988," The Historical Marker Database. Accessed August 18, 2022. https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=151394; "Old North Hampton: Self-sustaining and Self-contained," The Historical Marker Database. Accessed December 7, 2022. https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=151392.
[136] "John Mallory Phillips," The Historical Marker Database.

elected to the Hampton City Council. He went on to be elected as Hampton's first African American vice-mayor in 1982, receiving a record number of votes, and held this position until 1986. Phillips was also a member of various civic, social, fraternal, and religious organizations in Hampton.[137]

Figure 26: John Mallory Phillips, grandson of John Mallory Phillips I, standing (center right) with his employees at Phillips Seafood Company, undated. From Black American Series: Hampton, Virginia *by Colita Nichols Fairfax.*

Howard Smith (1930 -)

Howard Smith has been a waterman his entire life, starting out soft crabbing around age 8 or 9, and working with his father who was also a waterman. For 20 years Smith worked in the Menhaden fishing industry along the New Jersey Coast, and when he retired, he began commercial fishing for himself. Smith worked primarily on the Potomac and Yeocomico rivers, and sold his daily catch to Bevans Oyster Company in Kinsale, Virginia, or at Mundy Point in Callao, today known as Pride of Virginia Seafood owned by C. W. O'Bier & Sons. In addition to fishing, Smith oystered locally during oyster season. Howard Smith was born and raised in the community that he still lives in today, and where many other African American watermen lived through the years.[138] Smith continues to rock fish in the Potomac and Yeocomico rivers today, and is assisting in the repair of a local marine railway in Sandy Point.

[137] "2020 Hampton Heroes," City of Hampton with the Hampton History Museum. Accessed August 19, 2022. https://hampton.gov/DocumentCenter/View/29272/Hampton-Heroes-Memorial-dedication-program-2020-PDF.
[138] Howard Smith, Interviewed by Ashlen Stump.

Figure 27: Howard Smith and son, undated. From Waterways: Newsletter for the Kinsale Foundation Inc. & Kinsale Museum.

Luther Hackett (1879-1943)

Luther Hackett was an African American log canoe and deadrise boatbuilder from Middlesex County, Virginia. Hackett learned his trade from his father, Samuel Hackett, who was an oysterman originally from Kent County, Maryland.[139] The family lived on Pace's Neck on Cores Creek and built canoes at their property. Luther Hackett worked at Deagle & Sons Marine Railway, where he was one of two African American men and was considered "the best of any men with an adze."[140] Hackett was known for building log canoes that "sat on the water like a leaf," and his skills with an adze and an axe allowed him to smoothly transition to deadrise boat building.[141] In addition to working at Deagle & Sons, Hackett repaired and built log canoes for friends and neighbors, "many of whom continued to use motorized canoes into the 1960s." According to Larry Chowning's book *Deadrise and Cross-planked*, Hackett was "highly respected by blacks and whites in a time when segregation was part of everyday life in Virginia."[142]

[139] David Moran, "Luther Hackett," Deltaville Maritime Museum.
[140] Chowning, *Deadrise and Cross-planked*, 51.
[141] Chowning, *Deadrise and Cross-planked*, 51.
[142] Chowning, *Deadrise and Cross-planked*, 51.

Figure 28: Luther Hackett, undated. Courtesy of the Deltaville Maritime Museum.

Roosevelt Wingfield (1932-2006)

Roosevelt Wingfield was a lifelong waterman around Urbanna in Middlesex County, Virginia. Wingfield entered the seafood industry by culling oysters as a boy, and in the tenth grade he quit school and began regularly working on the water to help support his family.[143] After marrying in 1951, Wingfield began working with his father-in-law, Sterling Ward, on the *Shamrock*, a log canoe that the two built. The pair tonged oysters in the Rappahannock River from September to February, selling their catch directly to J.W. Ferguson Seafood in Remlik, Virginia, or to buyboats. From March to June, they would then take the *Shamrock* to the James River to harvest seed oysters, selling them to buyboats on the James. Wingfield went on to own and captain the *Doris Diane*, named for his two daughters, *Seven Brothers*, *Wild Goose*, and *Try Me*. Roosevelt Wingfield also owned a small "two-hole" oyster-shucking house outside of Urbanna.

[143] Chowning, *Chesapeake Bay Buyboats*, 72-73; David Moran, "Roosevelt Wingfield," Deltaville Maritime Museum; "Homegoing Services for Captain Roosevelt E. Wingfield," Ancestry.com, *Virginia, U.S., African-American Funeral Programs, 1935-2009* [database online] (Lehi, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2020). Accessed December 14, 2021.

Figure 29: Roosevelt E. Wingfield tonging for oysters on his canoe named the Shamrock (left), and fishing (right), undated. Courtesy of Larry Chowning and Wingfield Funeral Program.

Alexander Burrell, Jr. (1907-1979)

Alexander Burrell, Jr. was an African-American waterman and boatbuilder from Urbanna, Virginia. His father, Alexander Burrell, Sr., was also an oysterman who owned land on Robinson Creek. Alex Burrell, Jr. opened Burrell's Marina in the 1950s on Robinson Creek in Urbanna. Although the marina was open to all races, Burrell provided a full-service boatyard, marina, and marine railway that catered to African American watermen at a time when many African American watermen were "moved to the back of the line" at other railways. At the marina, Burrell built boats, ran the marine railway, and rented out boat slips to African American charter boat captains and oystermen.[144]

William Lomax (Dates Unknown)

William Lomax was born into enslavement on Joseph and Lucy Eubank's Nesting Plantation in Middlesex County, Virginia. Utilizing his carpentry skills, Lomax became a boatbuilder after the Civil War, building three- and five-log canoes, as well as flat-bottom, cross-planked skiffs. Lomax was the main boatbuilder at Burnt House Landing and Percifull Landing on Parrotts Creek, building sail-powered canoes for "most of the black watermen in the community, and if they couldn't afford a canoe, he would build them a skiff."[145] Other members of the community, such as Lucy Crump, who was also formerly enslaved at the Nesting Plantation, assisted Lomax by using their skills as seamstresses to sew sails for the sail-powered canoes.

[144] Larry S. Chowning, "Oyster season packs Va. yard; Bay builder revisits workboats," *National Fisherman* 87, no 9 (January 2007), 37-38.
[145] Chowning, *Deadrise and Cross-planked*, 50.

William Powell (c. 1817-1896)

William Powell was a free oysterman and farmer prior to the Civil War in Middlesex County, Virginia. In 1852, Powell purchased approximately 130 acres on Jackson Creek in Deltaville. Following his death in 1896, his property was subdivided by his heirs, and portions remain in the family today. Part of this property now includes Powell's Marina, owned and operated by Leonard H. Powell, Jr., whose father was a waterman and captain of a Deltaville-built deadrise, the *Nellie R.* Powell's Marina and its associated property are representative of the generations of watermen's contributions and the impact that the seafood industry had on African American mobility and economic status in pre-Civil War Virginia.[146]

Joe H. Sommerville (1879 - unknown)

Joe Sommerville was born in North Carolina, and moved to Bayford in 1909. Listed in census records as a general farm laborer, Sommerville was head of the Bayford Oyster Company shucking crew until 1958.[147]

Figure 30: Joe Sommerville, undated. Courtesy of the Eastern Shore Post.

Captain Harry B. Wilson (1880 - unknown)

Captain Harry B. Wilson was an African American waterman from Sandy Point in Kinsale, Virginia. Wilson inherited land on Bull Point from his father, George Wilson, who was also a waterman. The elder Wilson constructed a long pier into the Yeocomico River from his land that remains today, and harvested oysters from along his shoreline. After inheriting the property from his father, Harry Wilson eventually constructed an oyster

[146] "Over 200 attend first Robinson-Powell reunion," unknown source. Courtesy of Deltaville Maritime Museum; "William Powell," *1850 United States Federal Census, Year: 1850, Census Place: Middlesex, Virginia, Roll: 961, Page 211b.* Accessed through Ancestry.com on March 18, 2022; "William Powell," *1870 United States Federal Census, Year: 1870, Census Place: Pine Top, Middlesex, Virginia, Roll: M596_1663, Page 493B.* Accessed through Ancestry.com, March 18, 2022.

[147] "Joe H. Sommerville," *1920 United States Federal Census*, Year: 1920, Census Place: Franktown, Northampton, Virginia, Roll: T625_1897, Page: 19B, Enumeration District: 127. Accessed on Ancestry.com. March 23, 2022; "Joe Sommerville," *1940 United States Federal Census*, Year: 1940, Census Place: Franktown, Northampton County, Virginia, Roll: m-t0627-04280, Page: 1B, Enumeration District: 66-19, Accessed on Ancestry.com, March 23, 2022; Jim Ritch, "Bayford: One of the Eastern Shore's 'Last Frontiers,'" *Eastern Shore Post* (May 21, 2021), 27.

house on the property. He harvested oysters and other seafood from the Yeocomico River and surrounding waterways, and two of his eight children, Leslie Wilson, Sr. and Stanley Wilson also went into the seafood business.[148] Descendants of the Wilson family still own the land where the oyster house once stood.

Lawrence LeVere (1920-1990) and Wayne LeVere (1951 -)

Wayne LeVere owned and operated LeVere's Seafood in Sharps, in Richmond County, and worked as a waterman catching fish, crab, and oysters that he sold at his restaurant. LeVere's Seafood was a family operation, with his wife, Delores, serving as an active participant in the business. Like many watermen families, Wayne learned his trade from previous generations, including his father, Lawrence LeVere. Lawrence LeVere was noted to have been a successful waterman during the 1950s and 1960s, harvesting "as many as 100 bushels a day."[149] Wayne LeVere constructed his own oyster shucking house in 1986.

Figure 31: Lawrence (left) and Wayne (right) LeVere of LeVere's Seafood in Sharps, VA, ca.1990.

[148] Ines Isabel Selden Johnson, "Black Watermen of the Kinsale-Sandy Point Area," *Waterways* (Winter 2003), 4.
[149]Charlene Sydnor, Carla Monroe, and Matthew Harrison, "A Family Business: LeVere's Seafood," *Close Ties: Rappahannock Watermen*, 1990.

F. Associated Property Types & Registration Requirements

Resources associated with the historic contexts described in this MPD may be eligible for listing under one or several Register Criteria and areas of significance, and may range widely in period of significance and level of significance. Specific resource types and subtypes discussed below are based on the results of archival and field investigations completed as of this writing. Future investigations are likely to identify additional resources and areas of significance, at which time this MPD may be updated. Due to the highly specialized nature of many of the resources, a Glossary of Terms is included at the end of this document.

Resources eligible for listing in association with this MPD may include properties owned by African American watermen, as well as properties that were owned by white business owners or watermen. As the research and historic context has revealed, African American watermen made significant contributions to the Chesapeake Bay seafood industry whether they captained their own vessels and owned a marina, or whether they shucked oysters for the leading seafood processing companies in the region. African American history is deeply intertwined into the history of the industry. Therefore, all properties for which sufficient information regarding the contributions of African Americans is available should be considered for listing under this MPD.

National Register of Historic Places Criteria for Evaluation

The National Park Service (NPS) established a set list of criteria for evaluating properties for listing in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). In the National Register Bulletin Number 15*: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, the NPS (Shrimpton et al. 1990:2) states:

> The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and:
>
> > A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
> >
> > B. That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
> >
> > C. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
> >
> > D. That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.
>
> Ordinarily cemeteries, birthplaces, or graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, properties primarily commemorative in

nature, and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years shall not be considered eligible for the National Register. However, such properties will qualify if they are integral parts of districts that do meet the criteria or if they fall within the following categories:

a. A religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or

b. A building or structure removed from its original location but which is significant primarily for architectural value, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event; or

c. A birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no appropriate site or building directly associated with his or her productive life; or

d. A cemetery which derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events; or

e. A reconstructed building when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived; or

f. A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own exceptional significance; or

g. A property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance.

Effect of Maritime Environmental Conditions on Integrity of Resources

Typical damage caused by salty air, seawater, storms, floods, and other hazards have long threatened Virginia's maritime resources. The inevitable damage from the harsh environmental conditions experienced by resources along the water likely have contributed to material, workmanship, and design changes over time. Routine maintenance and repairs to each of these resource types were typically intended to be cost efficient and effective, and original building materials, including elements on maritime vessels, window sash, doors, and siding on buildings, and elements of marine railways, were often replaced with new materials or parts thereof as needed to allow the resource to continue in its intended use. Workmanship required to install new materials may differ from the workmanship of earlier materials. For example, fiberglass materials have differing manufacturing, installation, and maintenance from wood materials. Maintenance and repairs are necessary for ongoing use of most maritime resources as well as continued financial viability of their use and, therefore, do not, in and of themselves, automatically constitute erosion of a resource's integrity. The registration requirements for each resource type discussed below include consideration of the maritime environment's effects.

For those areas where sea level rise and recurrent flooding are adversely affecting a resource type, then remediation work, such as berms, changes to drainage patterns, installation of stormwater retention basins, building of more resilient docks and piers, and/or raising buildings and structures with stilts or tall basements are not automatically detrimental to integrity of setting, design, materials, and workmanship of above-ground resources if their purpose is to enhance preservation of those resources. The National Park Service has issued Flood Adaptation Guidelines[150] that, while focused on buildings, can inform efforts to improve resiliency of many types of maritime resources.

Associated Property Types

A wide variety of resource types documented to date are associated with the historic contexts described herein. Discussed in more detail below, these resource types include marine vessels; marine vessel support resources (marinas, boat landings, wharfs, docks, and marine railways); seafood processing facilities; related community resources; individual residential resources; and historic districts. Reconnaissance survey has identified some sub-types of the resource types discussed below. For example, marine vessels used over time by African American watermen include skiffs, log canoes, skipjacks or deadrises, and buyboats. Only the sub-types for which sufficient information has been gathered to develop specific registration requirements are discussed below. As investigations continue, registration requirements can be developed for more sub-types and this MPD can be updated accordingly.

1) Resource Type: Marine Vessels

Description: This property type includes watercraft that supported the efforts and activities of African American watermen. Marine Vessels vary widely and have evolved over time as new technology and materials have been incorporated and as harvesting methods changed due to changing conditions such as overfishing and a shift from daily local procurement to extended periods at sea. Some of the most prevalent Marine Vessels or watercraft historically used by African American watermen include skiffs, log canoes, skipjacks or deadrises, and buyboats. Vessels may be made of wood or steel, and, in the later twentieth century, fiberglass. Earlier boats typically had shallow or flat bottoms for oyster dredging or navigating through shallow channels, while vessels designed for the open sea had deeper drafts.

Marine Vessels are the primary resource through which African American watermen have conducted their work since the colonial era. Boats were often constructed or adapted by Black boatwrights for use by Black captains, and allowed for upward mobility and economic autonomy within the African American communities throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Significance: Under *Criterion A*, applicable areas of significance for Marine Vessels are (1) **Maritime History,** for their association with the history of the fishing and catching/harvesting of other marine life

[150] Jenifer Eggleston, Jennifer Parker, and Jennifer Wellock, *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation & Guidelines on Flood Adaptation for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings* (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Technical Preservation Services, Washington, DC, 2021), published online at https://www.nps.gov/orgs/1739/upload/flood-adaptation-guidelines-2021.pdf.

such as crabs, oysters, clams, and menhaden. Marine Vessels may also be eligible under Maritime History for their role in navigation of the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries and in fishing. (2) **Commerce,** for their role in local and regional sale of seafood; (3) **Ethnic Heritage: Black**, for their association with the contributions of Black watermen and water-women to their communities economically, socially, politically, educationally and other realms.

Under *Criterion B*, a Marine Vessel must be directly associated with the significant contributions of an individual whose work has been identified and documented through research and field investigations and is associated with one or more of the historic contexts in this MPD. A small number of significant individuals already have been identified to date; however, additional research and oral history interviews will reveal others and/or critically important details to support the development of a Criterion B argument.

Under *Criterion C*, in the area of **Architecture** and/or **Engineering,** a Marine Vessel that embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, and/or represents the "work of a master," and/or displays important engineering methods may be nominated under the MPD. The Marine Vessel subtypes described in Section E and in the Glossary range from skiffs and skipjacks to repurposed World War II-era mine sweepers to late-twentieth-century fiberglass boats. Earlier sub-types, such as log canoes and skiffs, originally used available materials, technology, and construction methods as well as the expertise of Africans and African American watermen who worked the Chesapeake Bay from the colonial era through the early twentieth century. Such vessels typically are composed of locally available materials that were worked according to a combination of traditional knowledge and changing conditions in terms of harvesting methods, diffusion of new technology, and changing climatic effects. By the late nineteenth century, the rapidly increasing pace of technological development meant that manual- and wind-powered boats were superseded by steam-powered vessels which, in turn during the twentieth century, were replaced by diesel-powered engines. Across the same period, materials for hulls changed from locally sourced timber to steel to fiberglass. Each of these have significance along a spectrum that is based on historic periods and area(s) of significance; no one sub-type is automatically superior to others.

Under *Criterion D*, in the area of **Archaeology: Historic – Non-Aboriginal**, submerged vessels may yield significant information that can answer important research questions about how marine vessel-building techniques changed over time, design flaws that may have been abandoned, design improvements that grew to have widespread use, influences of environmental conditions on boat designs and harvesting technology, and aspects of working life such as the number of crew required to operate a vessel and to man fishing nets, and differences between navigation methods for the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries versus the open sea. Due to the proximity of most resources to the coast, erosion, dredging of shipping channels, sea-level-rise, and recurrent flooding may threaten submerged archaeological resources.

Registration Requirements: In order to qualify for listing under this MPD, Marine Vessels must be directly associated with African American watermen under one or more of the criteria and areas of significance cited above. If less than 50 years of age, a Marine Vessel must meet Criteria Consideration G for properties that have achieved exceptional significance within the past 50 years. Due to the harsh environmental conditions and heavy use of Marine Vessels, relatively few surviving historic-age examples have been identified to date. Regardless of age, Marine Vessels that are stored outside of the water, still in active use, or submerged may be nominated under this MPD if the registration requirements are met.

Aspects of Integrity

Location and Setting

Marine Vessels by definition are movable and their location is not required to be fixed. If still in use, a Marine Vessel's historic boundary typically encompasses only the vessel itself. If no longer actively used, the vessel may be stored at a marina, alongside a private pier, on a rack alongside a body of water, or in another outdoor setting that is suitable for the vessel's display and/or long-term storage. Marine Vessels that are on display for public viewing must be in an outdoor setting appropriate to their historic use and displayed in a manner that is dignified and true to the resource type's history and significance.

Design, Workmanship, and Materials

Due to the harsh environmental conditions and heavy use of Marine Vessels, many are repaired repeatedly to maintain seaworthiness. Vessels also may have been modified over time to accommodate new technology and seafood harvesting methods. Additionally, due to financial constraints, materials from earlier vessels may have been salvaged and reused for new construction. For example, a steam engine may have been added to a vessel during the early twentieth century, and the engine may have been replaced with a diesel engine, without eroding the vessel's integrity of design, workmanship, and materials, so long as the alterations were made to allow the vessel's continued use by Black watermen engaged in the seafood industry, including use as a charter boat for fishing. A boat where sein nets were replaced by a hydraulic powerblock is another example of an alteration that does not affect integrity of design, workmanship, and materials. World War II-era boats that were retrofitted for the menhaden industry, vessels designed to include refrigerated holds, and those where damaged elements such as railings, masts, pilot houses, and engines either were replaced in kind or replaced with upgraded equipment also may retain integrity of design, workmanship, and materials, even if their current appearance and use differs from the original. Documented association with African American watermen and understanding of the vessel's evolution over time are necessary to demonstrate its integrity despite modifications.

Feeling and Association

The NPS defines feeling as "a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time," whereas association is "the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property" (Shrimpton et al. 1990:43). Additionally, "because feeling and association depend on individual perceptions, their retention alone is never sufficient to support eligibility of a property for the National Register" and the resource must retain other aspects of integrity, meet one of the four eligibility criteria, and, where appropriate, meet applicable Criteria Considerations (Shrimpton et al. 1990:43). Marine Vessels will have integrity of feeling and association if they are located in a maritime setting that is directly associated with their historic location(s) and operations. Vessels also must retain a measure of design, workmanship, and materials that are appropriate to their period(s) of significance and are illustrative of their historical associations. For example, a vessel with a steel hull that replaced an original wood hull maintains integrity of materials if retrofitting of steel hulls occurred during the vessel's period of significance and was associated with the vessel's continued use by African American watermen engaged in the seafood industry. Historical records, oral history interviews, and other documentary records will contribute to the Marine Vessel's integrity of association as well.

Resource Subtype: Chesapeake Bay Deadrise

The Chesapeake Bay Deadrise is characterized by its sharp bow, flat V-shaped hull, forward cabin and flat open cockpit and area toward the rear. The term deadrise refers to the angle of the bottom of the hull. The shape of the Chesapeake Bay Deadrise was purpose-built to handle the conditions of the Bay, was engine operated, and has evolved over time for use in a variety of seafood industries. While traditionally crafted of wood, as newer construction materials evolved, more deadrises were constructed or repaired using fiberglass.

Aspects of Integrity

Location and Setting: As noted above for the Marine Vessel resource type, setting and location can vary for Deadrises. Like all marine vessels discussed herein, Deadrises were used on the water, and many did not have a permanent location. While some may still be located on the water, others may be drydocked or stored in marinas or boatyards. Some may be stored on private property. These factors must be taken into account and assessed when evaluating this resource subtype.

Design, Materials, and Workmanship: The design, materials, and workmanship of Deadrises varied historically. Advancements in marine technology and exposure to the elements often resulted in alterations or repairs to these vessels in order to maintain their continued usefulness and function. If altered, the Deadrise still must retain character-defining features that make the deadrise an identifiable subtype, as listed below:

Table 1: Common Elements of Chesapeake Bay Deadrises associated with African American Watermen of the Chesapeake Bay

Element	Typical Components and Materials
Shape	Flat-V hull, sharp bow, forward cabin, flat open cockpit
Material	Wood, Fiberglass, Aluminum (Windows)
Equipment	May have a variety of mechanical equipment to operate the vessel, as well as specialized equipment for associated seafood industry

Feeling and Association: The Chesapeake Bay Deadrise subtype may retain integrity of feeling and association through a combination of factors, such as retaining a maritime location within a setting that is representative or illustrative of its historic operation. Integrity of materials, workmanship, and design is likely to be unique to each Deadrise based on its period of significance, length of use, and major events, such as surviving a hurricane, that may have required extensive repairs. Maintenance and repair practices by owners of Deadrises also will be unique to each owner. As with integrity of location and setting, the integrity of materials, workmanship, and design will be such that the vessel conveys its significant historic association and contributes to its integrity of association and feeling. Historical documents, oral history interviews, newspaper articles, research papers, and other primary and secondary sources that discuss the Deadrises historic use and significance also contribute to this subtype's integrity of association.

2) Marine Vessel Support Resources

Description: Marine Vessel Support Resources are a resource type with multiple subtypes that are functionally related to watermen and their marine vessels. These resources typically are associated with launching, docking, storage, construction, maintenance, and repair of marine vessels. Marine Vessel Support Resources often have direct links to watermen activities from vessel launch to hauling in catch to boat storage. They also provide tangible links to notable African American watermen, boatwrights and repairmen, and captains who relied upon these shoreline resources for the sale and processing of their catch, as well as the repair and maintenance of their vessels. Resource subtypes may include marinas, boat landings, boatyards, docks, wharfs, and marine railways, each of which is summarized below. These resources are almost always located on the water with direct access along the Chesapeake Bay's shore or its tributaries. Due to financial constraints, materials from earlier buildings and structures may have been salvaged and reused, often more than once. Marine Vessel Support Resources may also be associated with seafood processing facilities, a property type that is discussed in more detail below.

Summary of Subtypes

Marinas typically include multiple elements, such as docks, landings, wharves, and may also include all of the other resource subtypes summarized below, as well as a building that houses

administrative functions, storage space, and other uses. Marinas associated with this MPD that have been documented to date feature a range of sizes, characteristics, materials, and styles. Marinas often include or are associated with boatyards.

Boat landings may be located on public or private property. They may be paved, gravel, or dirt, and diagonally slope toward the water. They are often associated with other resource subtypes of Marine Vessel Support Resources.

Docks are typically located along the shoreline, and sometimes extend perpendicularly out across the water. They are usually constructed of wood pilings and piers and wood planks. More recently constructed docks may include concrete and decks made of synthetic planks in addition to wood elements. Docks documented to date have varying degrees of physical integrity due to harsh environmental conditions and resultant necessity of repeated repairs or replacement of decks, railings, and pilings. Often historic pilings are located adjacent to updated pilings or new docks.

Wharves are the structural elements that make up the break between shore and water. Historic-age wharves that remain extant are typically constructed of wood and steel. Concrete wharves date to more recent periods and/or are indicative of modifications made to earlier wharves. Wharves were critical elements of marina design, as well as waterfront seafood processing facilities.

Marine railways are typically located on boat landings. They are made of wood and steel tracks, and typically have wood or metal wheels. Later railways employ cradles that travel on the track and are moved by cable connected to a reel in an engine house. The engine house has a gas or diesel engine that operates the cable reel. Marine railways are often associated with boatyards. Based on survey to date, some common elements of marine railways are listed in Table 2, but currently available data is not yet sufficient to establish if these are character-defining features for marine railways as a subtype.

Table 2: Common Elements of Marine Railways associated with African American Watermen of the Chesapeake Bay

Element	Typical Components and Materials
Materials	Wood and steel tracks
Equipment	Later examples include metal cradles and cables to haul in vessels
Secondary Resources	Nearby engine house to run cables; boat landing; dock

Significance: Under *Criterion A*, applicable areas of significance for Marine Vessel Support Resources are (1) **Maritime History,** for their association with the history of the fishing and catching or harvesting

of other marine life such as crabs, oysters, clams, and menhaden; (2) **Commerce,** for their role in local and regional fishing operations and shipment of seafood to markets; (3) **Ethnic Heritage: Black**, for their association with the contributions of Black watermen and water-women to their communities economically, socially, politically, educationally and other realms; and (4) **Transportation** for their association with changing methods of transporting marine harvests from the Bay or open sea to processing facilities and/or markets.

Under *Criterion B*, a Marine Vessel Support Resource must be directly associated with the significant contributions of an individual whose work has been identified and documented through research and field investigations and is associated with one or more of the historic contexts in this MPD. A small number of significant individuals already have been identified to date; however, additional research and oral history interviews will reveal others and/or critically important details to support the development of a Criterion B argument.

Under *Criterion C*, in the area of **Architecture** and/or **Engineering**, a Marine Vessel Support Resource that embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, and/or represents the "work of a master," and/or displays important engineering methods may be nominated under the MPD. The Marine Vessel Support Resources type originally used available materials, technology, and construction methods as well as the expertise of Africans and African American watermen who worked the Chesapeake Bay from the colonial era through the early twentieth century. Extant Marine Vessel Support Resources that have been surveyed to date typically include a mix of historic and replacement materials installed to facilitate continued usage of the resource. The essential function of each of the subtypes has changed little over time, but the technology, materials, and design used to build and maintain them has evolved to accommodate newer boat types, changing climatic conditions, and introduction of materials that are better able to withstand heavy use and harsh environmental conditions. Each of the subtypes identified to date has significance along a spectrum that is based on historic periods and area(s) of significance; no one subtype is automatically superior to others.

Under *Criterion D*, in the area of **Archaeology: Historic – Non-Aboriginal**, submerged Marine Vessel Support Resources may yield significant information that can answer important research questions about how locations of these facilities have changed over time due to the types of seafood being harvested, the marine vessel types in use during a given period, and changing environmental conditions that may be discerned through study of placement of docks, wharves, and landings. As an area's seafood supply dwindled, Marine Vessel Support Resources may have been closed, relocated, or abandoned, but study of their locations can help to illuminate how the local seafood industry evolved over time and the African American watermen and water-women continued to participate in harvesting, shipping, and processing of seafood. Due to the proximity of most Marine Vessel Support Resources to the coast, erosion, dredging of shipping channels, sea-level-rise, and recurrent flooding may threaten submerged archaeological resources.

Registration Requirements: In order to qualify for listing under this MPD, Marine Vessel Support Resources must be directly associated with African American watermen under one or more of the criteria and areas of significance cited above. If less than 50 years of age, a Marine Vessel Support Resource must meet Criteria Consideration G for properties that have achieved exceptional significance within the past 50 years. Due to the harsh environmental conditions and heavy use of Marine Vessel Support Resources, relatively few surviving historic-age examples have been identified to date and there is not yet sufficient survey data to identify specific registration requirements for any of the subtypes listed above. General integrity requirements for the Marine Vessel Support Resource type are as follows.

Aspects of Integrity

Location and Setting: By virtue of their function, Marine Vessel Support Resources identified to date are in waterside locations within maritime settings. Marine Vessels that use marinas, docks, wharves, boat landings, and marine railways may not themselves be of historic age and, if so, will not compromise the Marine Vessel Support Resource's integrity of setting. Construction of new, larger elements, such as docks and cranes, and introduction of new types of shipping containers are to be evaluated on a case-by-case basis in terms of potential impacts on integrity of setting.

Design, Materials, and Workmanship: The design, materials, and workmanship of marinas, boat landings, docks, wharves, and marine railways vary based on their historic functions and how those functions evolved over time. Advancements in marine technology and exposure to the elements often resulted in alterations or repairs to the Marine Vessel Support Resources and the associated subtypes in order to maintain their continued usefulness and function. If altered, the Marine Vessel Support Resources still must retain character-defining features that make them an identifiable type or subtype. Currently, survey efforts have not identified a sufficient range of examples of the subtypes that are known as of this writing: marinas, boat landings, docks, wharves, and marine railways. During future research efforts, more specific integrity requirements for each subtype may be identified, in which case this MPD can be updated accordingly.

Feeling and Association: The waterside location and maritime setting of Marine Vessel Support Resources are essential for this resource type and subtypes to have integrity of feeling and association. Furthermore, documented historical association with the contributions of African American watermen and water-women is necessary in order to demonstrate integrity of association. Such documentation may include oral history interviews, historic photos and aerial views, maps, newspaper articles, company ledgers, census data, and other primary and secondary sources. Analysis of this resource type's and its subtypes' integrity of design, materials, and workmanship will be carried out on a case-by-case basis to establish if historic design elements, materials, and workmanship are present in order to add to a resource's integrity of feeling and

association by conveying historic uses and activities associated with this resource type and its subtypes.

3) Seafood Processing Facilities

Description: Seafood Processing Facilities are resources that are directly linked to the preparation of Chesapeake Bay seafood for market. Although seafood processing activities have been an important part of subsistence patterns along the Bay since long before the colonial era (as evidenced, for example, by large oyster shell middens along shorelines), identified processing facilities to date are of much more recent age, typically dating to the late nineteenth through twentieth century. These facilities also tend to be commercial operations owned and operated by an individual or a company that employed an enslaved or paid workforce (prior to the Civil War) and a paid workforce after the war. Seafood Processing Facilities also often have direct links to African American watermen activities including the return of marine vessels from the Bay or open sea and the sale of seafood by captains to the facility. Employees of Seafood Processing Facilities had specialized skills in processing the different types of seafood, such as shuckers, pickers, and packers who processed and packaged seafood for market. Seafood processing facilities also served as cultural centers where traditions were passed down through generations of men and women. The specialized skills, such as shucking oysters, often were passed from one generation to the next. To ease the drudgery and physical difficulty of the work, workers often sang traditional songs and engaged in physical movements such as rocking or swaying to pass the time more easily and to make their tasks more efficient. Over time, smaller processing facilities may not have been able to compete with larger competitors and therefore were forced either to close or to specialize their operation by filling a niche need.

Subtypes of Seafood Processing Facilities may include, but are not limited to, oyster shucking and canning houses, crab picking and packing houses, menhaden processing facilities, and fish cleaning and packaging buildings. These resources range in size, materials, appearance and setting; however, they share their industrial and/or commercial vernacular character, simple features, and utilitarian, functional design. Most often, buildings are rectangular in shape, constructed of wood or concrete block, with gable roofs. During the historic period, expanding operations often entailed additions to one or more buildings. Due to financial considerations, materials from earlier buildings and structures may have been salvaged and reused at the time of construction or to make repairs. Many Seafood Processing Facilities are large complexes comprising multiple resources, while others consist of a single building. Most facilities have buildings with loading docks for shipping needs, and often have direct access to the water.

Significance: Under *Criterion A*, applicable areas of significance for Seafood Processing Facilities are (1) **Maritime History,** for their association with the history of the fishing and catching or harvesting of other marine life such as crabs, oysters, clams, and menhaden; (2) **Commerce,** for their role in local and regional fishing operations and shipment of seafood to markets; (3) **Ethnic Heritage: Black**, for their association with the contributions of Black watermen and water-women to their communities economically, socially, politically, educationally and other realms; and (4) **Industry** for their association

with changing methods and technology that allowed processing to be scaled up to a level not possible prior to development of specialized equipment and infrastructure.

Under *Criterion B*, Seafood Processing Facilities must be directly associated with the significant contributions of an individual whose work has been identified and documented through research and field investigations and is associated with one or more of the historic contexts in this MPD. A small number of significant individuals already have been identified to date; however, additional research and oral history interviews will reveal others and/or critically important details to support the development of a Criterion B argument.

Under *Criterion C*, in the area of **Architecture** and/or **Engineering**, a Seafood Processing Facility that embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, and/or represents the "work of a master," and/or displays important engineering methods, and/or is a distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction may be nominated under this MPD. The Seafood Processing Facilities resources types that date to the nineteenth century typically used available materials, technology, and construction methods as well as the expertise of African American watermen who worked the Chesapeake Bay. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, mass-produced materials such as concrete blocks, poured concrete, dimensional lumber, and asphalt shingle roofing came into increasing use. Extant Seafood Processing Facilities that have been surveyed to date are astylistic utilitarian resources that require careful inspection and understanding of processing methods to ascertain their historic function. Over time, introduction of automated processes and specialized equipment influenced designs of new purpose-built buildings and structures, while older resources may have been rendered obsolete by these trends or adaptively reused for purposes that supported the facility's operations. Each of the subtypes identified to date has significance along a spectrum that is based on historic periods and areas of significance; no one subtype is automatically superior to others.

Under *Criterion D*, in the area of **Archaeology: Historic – Non-Aboriginal**, sites of Seafood Processing Facilities may yield significant information that can answer important research questions about how locations and designs of these facilities have changed over time due to the types of seafood being harvested, the marine vessel types in use during a given period, and changing environmental conditions that may be discerned through types of seafood being processed and placement of the resources. As an area's seafood supply dwindled, Seafood Processing Facilities may have been closed, relocated, or abandoned. Study of the cultural deposits associated with processing can help to illuminate how the local seafood industry evolved over time and the African American watermen and water-women continued to participate in processing and shipping of seafood. Due to the proximity of most Seafood Processing Facilities to waterfronts, sea-level-rise, recurrent flooding, storm surges, and increasingly powerful storms may threaten these archaeological resources.

Registration Requirements: In order to qualify for listing under this MPD, Seafood Processing Facilities must be directly associated with African American watermen under one or more of the criteria and areas of significance cited above. If less than 50 years of age, a Seafood Processing Facilities must

meet Criteria Consideration G for properties that have achieved exceptional significance within the past 50 years. Due to technological innovations, changing market conditions, and heavy use of Seafood Processing Facilities, alterations are not unusual and do not, in and of themselves, automatically detract from a resource's integrity if the changes were made to allowed continued use of the facility in accord with its historic function. General integrity requirements for the Seafood Processing Facilities type are as follows.

Aspects of Integrity

Location and Setting: By virtue of their function, Seafood Processing Facilities identified to date are in or very close to waterside locations within maritime settings. Some more recent constructed facilities may not be as close to the water depending on whether truck-based shipping is being used to transport catches to the facility in question. Seafood Processing Facilities may be of historic age but within larger settings where many of the elements are not necessarily of historic age. In such cases, the setting within the facility's own boundary and its relationship (where applicable; not all resources are in close proximity) to the waterside are of greater importance when evaluating integrity of setting. New, larger elements, such as larger boats with greater storage capacity, that are reflective of the increasing industrial scale seafood processing operations are to be evaluated on a case-by-case basis in terms of potential impacts on integrity of setting.

Design, Materials, and Workmanship: The design, materials, and workmanship of Seafood Processing Facilities vary based on their historic functions and how those functions evolved over time. Advancements in processing methods and equipment often resulted in the need to add larger buildings and to adaptive reuse or demolition of older buildings. Alterations such as additions or raised roofs to accommodate new equipment are not detrimental to integrity of design if they were necessary to allow the facility's continued competitiveness and operation. Integrity of workmanship and materials is likely to vary substantially depending on the date the facility was constructed and the ways in which it expanded, contracted, or otherwise functioned in competitive market environments. Alterations that are required by local, state, or federal law, and/or local zoning to create universal accessibility to Seafood Processing Facilities are not detrimental the integrity of design as such alterations typically are immediately identifiable and of limited impact, such as a ramp to a main entry or an entry that is wide enough to accommodate wheelchairs; these types of alterations also are reversible if that becomes necessary. Additionally, alterations to improve workplace safety and comply with local building codes are not automatically detrimental to integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. Such alterations can be evaluated on a case-by-case basis within a holistic evaluation of a resource's overall significance and integrity. If altered, Seafood Processing Facilities still must retain character-defining features that make the them an identifiable type or subtype. During future research efforts, more specific integrity requirements for each subtype may be identified, in which case this MPD can be updated accordingly.

Feeling and Association: Documented historical association with the contributions of African American watermen and water-women is necessary in order to demonstrate integrity of association. Such documentation may include historic photos, company ledgers and account books, census data, oral history interviews, newspaper articles, and other primary and secondary sources. Analysis of this resource type's and its subtypes' integrity of location, setting, design, materials, and workmanship will be carried out on a case-by-case basis to establish if historic design elements, materials, and workmanship are present in order to add to a resource's integrity of feeling and association by conveying historic uses and activities associated with this resource type and its subtypes.

Resource Subtype: Mid-Twentieth- Century Oyster Houses

This subtype refers primarily to oyster houses constructed from the 1940s-1970s. The mid-twentieth- century oyster house is a distinct resource type that usually is rectangular in shape and of concrete block construction with a side-gable roof. Along at least one side elevation there are aluminum (or replacement vinyl) clerestory windows that flood the interior workspaces with natural light and small oyster shell holes that run along the bottom half of the masonry walls. These holes were used by shuckers for disposing of oyster shells. Watermen often referred to the size of an individual operation by the number of oyster holes on the side elevation (i.e., 2-hole, 5-hole, 10-hole, etc.). Typically, the rear or opposite side elevation has a loading door and may have a loading dock as well.

Aspects of Integrity

Location and Setting: As noted above for the Seafood Processing Facilities resource type, setting and location can vary for Mid-Twentieth Century Oyster Houses. A waterside location within a maritime setting is typical, but the oyster houses may not be within a large scale industrial setting as, for example, a canning operation may have. Oyster Houses owned by individuals are likely to have locations and settings that differ from those owned by large companies, although the overarching importance of the coastal plain in terms of location and setting is typical for all examples of this resource subtype.

Design, Materials, and Workmanship: The design, materials, and workmanship of Mid-Twentieth Century Oyster Houses varied historically. One visual cue to a building's historic function as an oyster house is the presence of oyster holes through which shells were passed from the interior to the ground outside. Many of the earliest examples were small operations with a handful of employees. As seafood processing operations scaled up with the advent of new technologies, the facilities expanded in size and operating capacity. Advancements in processing equipment may have necessitated changes to the interior floor plan and workflow of individual buildings and structures. Exposure to the typically harsh maritime environment, coupled with heavy use, often resulted in alterations or repairs to the buildings and structures in order to maintain their continued usefulness and function. If altered, the Mid-Twentieth Century Oyster

House still must retain character-defining features that make them an identifiable subtype, as summarized below:

Table 3: Common Elements of Oyster Shucking Houses associated with African American Watermen of the Chesapeake Bay

Element	Typical Components and Materials
Stories	Typically, one story, but generally not more than two
Foundation	Usually continuous (though may have piers) Materials: concrete, brick, wood piers
Structural System	Usually concrete block, sometimes wood frame or other masonry
Exterior Treatment	Exposed concrete block structure, weatherboard, stucco, asbestos, aluminum, vinyl or some combination
Roof	Usually side or front gable with metal, asphalt, or composite shingle sheathing
Entrances	Single leaf entrances, track or overhead loading doors of varying materials
Windows	Often clerestory windows along at least one elevation; some also have sash, casement, or fixed industrial windows Materials: steel, aluminum, vinyl, wood
Additional Elements	Many have concrete loading docks, but not all Oyster shucking holes
Secondary Resources	Some shucking houses may have secondary resources or are part of larger seafood processing facilities/complexes. These are not required for listing. Examples include, but are not limited to: dock/wharf, boat landing, office, storage warehouse, icehouse/coolers.

Feeling and Association: The Mid-Twentieth Century Oyster House subtype may retain integrity of feeling and association through a combination of ***factors***, such as retaining a setting that is representative or illustrative of its historic operation. Integrity of materials, workmanship, and design will vary from one Oyster House to the next, although certain changes, such as additions to expand operations, may occur frequently. Other events, such as surviving a hurricane or flood, or a major change in receiving and shipping practices also may have resulted in changes to design, materials, and/or workmanship. Maintenance and repair practices by owners of Mid-Twentieth Century Oyster House will be unique to each owner. As with integrity of location and setting, the integrity of materials, workmanship, and design will be such that the Oyster House conveys its significant historic association and contributes to its integrity of association and feeling. Historical documents, oral history interviews, newspaper articles, research papers, and other primary and secondary sources that discuss how Oyster Houses functioned and the significant characteristics of its workforce and their labor practices also contribute to this subtype's integrity of association.

4) Related Community Resources (churches, schools, social and community resources, and businesses)

Description: Related Community Resources are resource types that are directly associated with notable African American watermen and water-women and/or known African American watermen communities and that served a larger purpose within the community. Resource types may include, but are not limited to, churches, schools, community centers, fraternal organizations, and other social organization buildings, as well as retail stores that sold supplies to watermen and trade shops, such as carpenter workshops and blacksmith shops, that fabricated customized equipment and components. Resource types such as these typically are individual buildings, structures, or sites located in rural and/or seaside communities, but have a range of sizes, character-defining features, materials, styles, and historical associations. Due to financial constraints, materials from earlier buildings may have been salvaged and reused when erecting new buildings in this category.

Significance: Under *Criterion A*, Related Community Resources applicable areas of significance are (1) **Maritime History,** for their association with the livelihoods of African American watermen and water-women related to direct engagement in fishing and catching or harvesting of other marine life such as crabs, oysters, clams, and menhaden or to providing services and goods that enabled individuals to pursue their livelihoods; (2) **Commerce,** for their role in local and regional fishing operations by providing skilled craftsmanship in fabricating tools, boats and elements of boats, and sale of equipment or materials, such as ropes, chains, engine parts and repairs, and other material needed to conduct fishing operations; (3) **Ethnic Heritage: Black**, for their association with the communities established by Black watermen and water-women and the economic, education, political, and social underpinnings that allowed these communities to endure through periods of prosperity and difficulties; (4) **Education** for schools that provided children with important skills in manual, industrial, and home economics trades during the segregation era of public education as well as instruction in academic topics that opened new possibilities to community children, especially after the segregation era ended; (5) **Social History** for the assorted ways that Related Community Resources provided means to improve conditions in watermen's communities through mutual assistance and support, funerary services, fellowship opportunities, social gatherings, and organizational capacity for advocating for improvements to their communities. Additional areas of significance may be identified that are specific to a particular Related Community Resource as research continues.

Under *Criterion B*, Related Community Resources must be directly associated with the significant contributions of an individual whose work has been identified and documented through research and field investigations and is associated with one or more of the historic contexts in this MPD. A small number of significant individuals already have been identified to date; however, additional research and oral history interviews will reveal others and/or critically important details to support the development of a Criterion B argument.

Under *Criterion C*, in the area of **Architecture** and/or **Engineering**, a Related Community Resource that embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, and/or represents the "work of a master," and/or displays important engineering methods, and/or is a distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction may be nominated under this MPD. The Related Community Resources that date to the nineteenth century and earlier typically used locally available materials, technology, and construction methods and skills. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, mass-produced materials such as ornamental elements, wood siding, bricks and concrete blocks, poured concrete, dimensional lumber, and window sash and doors, came into increasing use. Due to financial constraints, materials from earlier buildings may have been salvaged and reused for new construction. By the second quarter of the twentieth century, standardized building plans, materials, and construction methods were widely available and, simultaneously, with improving economic fortunes, may have presented opportunities to replace older resources with purpose-built buildings and structures that included modern mechanical systems and amenities. Each of the Related Community Resource subtypes identified to date has significance along a spectrum that is based on historic periods and areas of significance; no one subtype is automatically superior to others.

Under *Criterion D*, in the area of **Archaeology: Historic – Non-Aboriginal**, sites of Related Community Resources may yield significant information that can answer important research questions about how locations and designs of community facilities have changed over time due to changes in the local seafood industry that may have drawn residents away from one area toward another, the spatial relationships among different resource types within a watermen's community and how those changed over time, and changing environmental conditions that affected placement of the resources, including adverse or newly emerging conditions that caused a community to withdraw from one area toward another area. As an area's seafood supply dwindled, Related Community Resources may have been closed, relocated, or abandoned due to population loss. Study of the cultural deposits associated with these resources can yield understanding of a community's material culture, subsistence and diet strategies, influences of external forces on local lifeways, and other important aspects of community life over time. Due to the proximity of watermen's communities to waterfronts, sea-level-rise, recurrent flooding, storm surges, and increasingly powerful storms may threaten these archaeological resources.

Registration Requirements: In order to qualify for listing under this MPD, Related Community Resources must be directly associated with African American watermen under one or more of the criteria and areas of significance cited above. If less than 50 years of age, the resource must meet Criteria Consideration G for properties that have achieved exceptional significance within the past 50 years. Due to the harsh environmental conditions of maritime locations, where seawater and salty air, winds, and storms cause deterioration more quickly than in other types of environments, replacement materials may be widely utilized. In-kind materials that replaced deteriorated elements are not automatically detrimental to a resource's integrity. Design alterations and use of new types of materials (such as synthetic materials in lieu of wood or metal) also may be present. Such changes that have allowed continued use of the community facility in accord with its historic function can affect a resource's integrity of design, materials, and workmanship, but such evaluations must be undertaken on

a case-by-case basis. Related Community Resources include an array of different subtypes, each of which served a particular purpose; consequently, registration requirements for each subtype may differ. General integrity requirements for the Related Community Resources type are as follows.

Aspects of Integrity

Location and Setting: By virtue of their historical associations with watermen's communities, Related Community Resources are within the coastal plain and may be within close proximity to the waterside and/or maritime settings. Some more recently constructed facilities may not be as close to the water depending on whether and where local populations may have migrated due to changing circumstances in the local seafood industry, environmental conditions, and external forces such as rural school consolidation, merging or splitting of religious congregations, continued viability of social organizations, and other factors pertaining to a particular sub-type's context. Related Community Resources may be of historic age but within larger settings where other resources are not necessarily of historic age; for example, a church built in 1900 may now be surrounded by dwellings, commercial buildings, and other resource types that date to the late twentieth century. In such cases, the setting within the Related Community Resource's own boundary and its direct association with communities of Black watermen and water-women during the resource's period of significance are of greater importance when evaluating integrity of setting.

Design, Materials, and Workmanship: The design, materials, and workmanship of Community Related Resources vary based on their historic functions and how those functions evolved over time. As noted above, the maritime environment may cause accelerated deterioration of materials when compared to other types of environments. Replacement of materials in kind are appropriate when needed to keep a resource in good repair and active use. Where historic materials have been replaced with functionally and/or visually similar but newer types of synthetic materials, a resource's integrity of materials and workmanship is somewhat diminished depending on the extent of the replacement materials (more extensive use of replacement materials often results in proportional erosion of integrity). Additions on buildings and structures to allow the resource to continue its historic use should be evaluated on a case-by-case basis. Alterations that are required by local, state, or federal law or local zoning to create universal accessibility to community buildings are not detrimental to integrity of design as such alterations typically are immediately identifiable and of limited impact, such as paved walkways, a ramp to a main entry, or an entry that is wide enough to accommodate wheelchairs; these types of alterations also are reversible if that becomes necessary. Integrity of workmanship and materials is likely to vary substantially depending on the date the facility was constructed and the ways in which it expanded, contracted, or otherwise functioned as community circumstances evolved over time. If altered, a Community Related Resource still must retain character-defining features that make the them an identifiable type or subtype. During future research efforts, more specific integrity requirements for each subtype may be identified, in which case this MPD can be updated accordingly.

Feeling and Association: Proximity to or within African American watermen's communities and active use by community residents during a resource's period of significance are essential for Community Related Resources to have integrity of feeling and association. Documented historical association with the lives and contributions of African American watermen as individuals and with their communities is necessary in order to demonstrate integrity of association. Such documentation may include historic photos, organizational records, census data, oral history interviews, newspaper articles, and other primary and secondary sources. Analysis of this resource type's and its subtypes' integrity of design, materials, and workmanship will be carried out on a case-by-case basis to establish if historic design elements, materials, and workmanship are present in order to add to a resource's integrity of feeling and association by conveying historic uses and activities associated with this resource type and its subtypes.

Resource Subtype: Twentieth-Century Blacksmith Shop

To date, research and field investigations have yielded sufficient information to develop registration requirements for the twentieth-century blacksmith shop subtype. As survey efforts continue, this MPD can be updated to include registration requirements for other subtypes. In order to be nominated under this MPD, a twentieth-century blacksmith shop must have a significant association with African American watermen's communities and the historic contexts included herein as well as sufficient physical integrity that conveys its historic associations. The twentieth-century blacksmith shop is a distinct resource type that usually is rectangular in shape with a gable roof. Interior finishes may be minimal, such as wood flooring or a poured-concrete floor while wall studs and roof framing remain visible. A forge with chimney, anvil, vises, and other equipment are important to conveying the historic function and significance of this subtype. In addition to a standard pedestrian door, the shop may have oversized overhead doors or swinging or sliding doors that allow movement of large objects in and out of the shop. A ramp may facilitate this activity as well.

Aspects of Integrity

Location and Setting: As noted above for the Related Community Resources type, setting and location can vary for twentieth-century blacksmith shops. One documented example is along the edge of a residential neighborhood occupied by Black watermen and water-women. Other shops may be found in industrial or commercial settings or part of a larger facility such as a marine railway or boatyard. To have integrity of location and setting, the shop itself should be in its original location or have been moved to its current location during the shop's period of significance. A shop that was moved after its period of significance to a location with a setting consistent with its original site will have no integrity of location and diminished integrity of setting, but if the building has been placed on a site consistent with its original site within the watermen's community, integrity of setting will not be entirely lost.

Design, Materials, and Workmanship: The design, materials, and workmanship of Twentieth-Century Blacksmith Shops are likely to share certain characteristics based on their historic functions. At least one set of large doors, for example, is likely to have been necessary to move large pieces of equipment in and out of the shop. If that opening has been infilled and covered with siding, it would be detrimental to the shop's integrity of design. With regard to historic materials, these architectural features may have been replaced in kind or with newer synthetic materials due to damage caused by the shop's routine operations. In such cases, the integrity of materials is eroded but if the shop's continued operation necessitated replacing materials, then integrity of materials would not be completely lost. The utilitarian character of a Twentieth-Century Blacksmith Shop means that fine workmanship is unlikely to have been deployed when constructing the building. Character-defining features built-in, such as a forge and chimney, however, would have required some expertise in design and workmanship. Heavy use likewise may have necessitated repeated repair or rebuilding, but within the context of continuing shop operations, such actions would not be detrimental to the feature's integrity.

Table 4: Common Elements of Blacksmith Shops Associated with African American Watermen of the Chesapeake Bay

Element	Typical Components and Materials
Stories	Typically one story, but generally not more than two
Foundation	Usually piers (though may have continuous) Materials: brick, wood piers, concrete. Some shops lack a foundation and rest on sill plates instead.
Structural System	Usually wood frame
Exterior Treatment	Typically weatherboard, although materials could include exposed concrete block structure, stucco, asbestos, aluminum, vinyl or some combination
Roof	Usually side or front gable with metal, asphalt, or composite shingle sheathing
Entrances	Single leaf entrances; large barn, track, or overhead loading doors of varying materials
Windows	Often sash or fixed industrial windows Materials: wood, steel, aluminum, vinyl
Interior	Typically one room (although may be subdivided) with simple interior finishes; walls and ceilings may be unfinished. Includes a forge and chimney, typically brick. Some may include multiple layers of flooring in sections of the building to reinforce floor strength.
Additional Elements	May include wood or concrete ramps to loading doors; brick chimney connected to interior forges.

Element	Typical Components and Materials
Secondary Resources	Some blacksmith shops may have secondary resources to store materials and equipment, or for use as an office space. These are not required for listing.

Feeling and Association: The Twentieth-Century Blacksmith Shop subtype may retain integrity of feeling and association through a combination of factors, such as retaining a location within or in close proximity to a watermen's community in a setting that is representative or illustrative of its historic operation. Integrity of materials, workmanship, and design will vary from one blacksmith shop to the next, although certain changes, such as repairs and reinforcements to features subject to heavy use, may occur. Additions that allowed expanded operations also may be present. Adverse events, such as surviving a hurricane or recurrent flooding, may have resulted in changes to design, materials, and/or workmanship. Maintenance and repair practices by owners of Twentieth-Century Blacksmith Shop will be unique to each owner. As with integrity of location and setting, the integrity of materials, workmanship, and design will be such that the blacksmith shop conveys its significant historic association and contributes to its integrity of association and feeling. Historical documents, oral history interviews, newspaper articles, research papers, and other primary and secondary sources that discuss how blacksmiths went about their work also contribute to this subtype's integrity of association. Displays of examples of custom-fabricated tools and equipment are not required to be present to demonstrate integrity of feeling and association.

5) Residential Resources

Description: Based on survey information collection to date, the Residential Resources type typically is a single-family residential building located on a single parcel. Most, but not all, are located within rural communities. The resource may not be in a waterfront or maritime location, especially if the waterman or water-woman engaged in farming as a subsistence strategy or to supplement income during off-seasons for harvesting seafood. Residential properties associated with this MPD are typically modest one- to two-story dwellings; however, they display a range of characteristics, materials, and styles based on their construction date and the means of the person who had them built. On occasion, materials salvaged from earlier buildings may have been incorporated into the new construction. Residential Resources may be accompanied by various types of outbuildings, including outbuildings associated with water-work such as sheds and shops for repairing equipment or boathouses. Subtypes such as duplexes, apartment buildings, and boarding houses may be identified as survey efforts continue, in which case this MPD may be updated accordingly.

Significance: Under *Criterion A*, Related Community Resources applicable areas of significance are (1) **Maritime History,** for their association with African American watermen and water-women who earned their livelihoods through direct engagement in fishing and catching or harvesting of other marine life such as crabs, oysters, clams, and menhaden or to providing skilled services by fabricating goods that enabled individuals to pursue their livelihoods; (2) **Commerce,** for their direct association with

individuals and families engaged in local and regional fishing operations by working the waters of the Chesapeake Bay or open sea either as an owner-proprietor, as part of a crew, or in the employment of a large firm engaged in harvesting and/or processing seafood or by owning or operating a marina, marine railway, seafood processing facility or other commercial endeavor; and (3) **Ethnic Heritage: Black**, for their location within and direct association with communities established by Black watermen and water-women. Additional areas of significance under Criterion A may be identified as research continues.

Under *Criterion B*, Residential Resources provide direct links to notable African American watermen, boatwrights, repairmen, captains, and processing facility employees or owners who lived in these dwellings during their careers or as a result of their successful careers in the seafood industry. This resource type provides a tangible link to the economic mobility and property ownership many African American watermen were able to achieve as a result of their careers in the seafood industry. Therefore, Residential Resources nominated under this MPD must be directly associated with the significant contributions of an individual in some aspect of the maritime industry, including providing services that directly supported the industry, such as skilled tradesmen. Their significance must be identified and documented through research and field investigations and be associated with one or more of the historic contexts in this MPD. A small number of significant individuals already have been identified to date; however, additional research and oral history interviews will reveal others and/or critically important details to support the development of a Criterion B argument.

Under *Criterion C*, in the area of **Architecture**, a Residential Resource that embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, and/or represents the "work of a master," and/or displays important engineering methods, and/or is a distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction may be nominated under this MPD. The Residential Resources that predate 1900 typically feature locally available materials, technology, and construction methods and skills. Significant construction methods of workmanship by skilled tradesmen are of particular note as embodiments of vernacular knowledge passed from one generation to the next. Such skilled craftsmen also may have engaged in boatbuilding, smithing, and other trades that supported the local seafood industry. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, mass-produced materials such as ornamental elements, wood siding, bricks and concrete blocks, poured concrete, dimensional lumber, and window sash and doors, came into increasing use. Due to financial constraints, materials from earlier buildings may have been salvaged and reused for new construction. By the second quarter of the twentieth century, standardized building plans, materials, and construction methods were widely available and, simultaneously, with improving economic fortunes, may have presented opportunities to replace older resources with purpose-built buildings and structures that included modern mechanical systems and amenities. Specific examples of Residential Resources that are directly associated with significant aspects of design, style, or construction method may be demonstrated to have significance under Criterion C.

Under *Criterion D*, in the area of **Archaeology: Historic – Non-Aboriginal**, sites of Residential Resources may yield significant information that can answer important research questions about the

evolution of material culture of dwellings across a lengthy span of time and data for comparison against similar resources in other settings such as a tenant farmer's plot on a rural farmstead or a factory worker's within an urban neighborhood. Such comparative analysis can answer important research questions concerning diet and subsistence strategies, influences of external forces on local lifeways, improvements and/or deterioration in financial standing, and influences of the availability of different kinds of consumer goods over time. Changing environmental conditions that affected placement of the resources, including adverse or newly emerging conditions that forced abandonment of a residential site, also may be discerned through professional investigation of Residential Resource sites, and other important aspects of community life over time. Due to the proximity of watermen's communities to waterfronts, sea-level-rise, recurrent flooding, storm surges, and increasingly powerful storms may threaten these archaeological resources.

Registration Requirements: To qualify for listing under this MPD, the Residential Resources type must be directly associated with an individual African American waterman or water-woman, or with multiple generations thereof. The residences of watermen during their productive careers, or properties they were able to purchase or construct as a result of their economic success in the seafood industry, may be eligible for nomination.

Aspects of Integrity

Location and Setting: As noted above, setting and location can vary for Residential Resources. African American watermen have plied the Chesapeake Bay and open sea continually since the colonial era in Virginia. Their dwellings may be located within small communities, crossroads villages, on larger agricultural parcels, or near commercial or industrial resources where the watermen and water-women earned their livelihoods. To have integrity of location and setting, the dwelling should be in its original location or have been moved to its current location during the building's period of significance. Due to changing environmental conditions, a house may have been moved after its period of significance. In such cases, the dwelling will have no integrity of location and diminished integrity of setting, but if the building has been placed on a site consistent with its original location, integrity of setting will not be entirely lost. Where the larger dwelling of a Residential Resource has changed over time, such as due to redevelopment, loss of buildings cause by storm damage, and other factors, the resource itself may still retain integrity of setting within its own property boundary.

Design, Materials, and Workmanship: Based on results of architectural surveys to date, the design, materials, and workmanship of Residential Resources are highly varied depending on date of construction, availability of materials, technological innovations, financial means of the builder or owner, and skills required to construct and maintain the resource. Single-family, detached dwellings on single parcels are the dwelling type that has been identified to date; subtypes may be identified as survey efforts continue in future years. A particular architectural style (such as Colonial Revival or Ranch) or form (such as American Foursquare) has not been

identified as particularly prevalent in the areas of the Chesapeake Bay area that have been surveyed to date. Where present, decorative elements typically are mass-produced components such as railings, shutters, shingle styles, and siding types and colors. As successive generations inherited property, an additional dwelling may have been constructed on an already-occupied lot. With improving financial fortunes, an existing dwelling may have been renovated, including additions and replacement of exterior materials such as siding, roofing, window sash, and doors. In other cases, the older dwelling may have been vacated and a new dwelling constructed nearby on the same parcel. Such activities and alterations that occurred during a Residential Resource's period of significance do not detract from integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. Routine maintenance and repairs since the resource's period of significance typically include use of replacement materials that may replicate the visual appearance of historic materials, may be easily discerned as newer material, and/or may be composed of synthetics that were not available during the resource's period of significance. In such instances, the resource's integrity of design, materials, and workmanship must be evaluated on a case-by-case basis. Changing environmental conditions, particularly recurrent flooding and increased frequency of strong storms, may necessitate emergency repairs. During programs to improve resiliency of residential resource or for disaster recovery, the National Park Service's guidance document, *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation & Guidelines on Flood Adaptation for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings*[151] may be used to inform repairs and/or alterations to historic Residential Resources.

Table 5: Common Elements of Residences associated with African American Watermen of the Virginia Chesapeake Bay

Element	Typical Components and Materials
Stories	Generally, one to two stories
Foundation	Continuous or pier Materials: Brick, concrete
Structural System	Frame or masonry (brick or concrete block)
Exterior Treatment	Weatherboard, wood shingle, masonry, stucco, masonry veneer, asbestos, vinyl, aluminum, composite, or some combination
Roof	Roof shape varies Materials: most common are standing seem metal, asphalt shingle, composition roll, composite shingle
Entrances	Typically, single or double leaf; Usually wood, metal, or fiberglass
Windows	Windows range in style and may include but are not limited to sash, fixed picture, casement, jalousie Materials: Wood, aluminum, vinyl
Additions	If additions were constructed after the period of significance, they should not overwhelm the original structure

[151] Eggleston, et al. *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation & Guidelines on Flood Adaptation for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings*, published online at https://www.nps.gov/orgs/1739/upload/flood-adaptation-guidelines-2021.pdf.

Element	Typical Components and Materials
Interiors	Interiors were not evaluated as part of this project; however, they should generally retain their historic plan and circulation pattern. Common interior alterations include kitchen and bathroom remodels, removal of flooring materials such as carpeting and asbestos or other vinyl covering, and paint.
Secondary Resources	Residences may have secondary resources, but they are not required for listing. Common secondary resources include outbuildings, garages, carports, and other residential structures.

Feeling and Association: The Residential Resource type retains integrity of feeling and association through a combination of factors, such as occupying its original location within a setting consistent with its period of significance. Integrity of materials, workmanship, and design will vary from one dwelling to the next and must be taken into account on a case-by-case basis. Changing environmental conditions, especially related to flooding and sea level rise, may already have necessitated some alterations. As with integrity of location and setting, the integrity of materials, workmanship, and design will be such that the Residential Resource conveys its significant historic association and contributes to its integrity of association and feeling. Historical documents such as deeds, probate records, and wills, oral history interviews, newspaper articles, research papers, and other primary and secondary sources also contribute to integrity of association.

Historic Districts

Description: Historic Districts have a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of sites, buildings, structures, and/or objects united historically and associated with African American watermen. Historic Districts may include a variety of property types directly or functionally associated with watermen, their communities, their marine vessels, and/or associated seafood processing facilities. In order to be nominated under this MPD, the resources within a Historic District must have direct or functionally associated relationships with African American watermen and water-women, their commercial and industrial operations, harvesting and processing of seafood, and the communities they established. In addition to watermen's dwellings and the maritime facilities that hosted their work, Historic Districts may also feature community support resources, such as schools, churches, cemeteries, fraternal halls, stores, community centers, other organizational spaces, and parks.

Significance: Under *Criterion A*, Historic District applicable areas of significance are (1) **Maritime History,** for their association with African American watermen and water-women who earned their livelihoods through direct engagement in fishing and catching or harvesting of other marine life such as crabs, oysters, clams, and menhaden or to providing skilled services by fabricating goods that enabled individuals to pursue their livelihoods; (2) **Commerce,** for their direct association with individuals and families engaged in local and regional fishing operations by working the waters of the Chesapeake Bay or open sea either as an owner-proprietor, as part of a crew, or in the employment of a large firm

engaged in harvesting and/or activities such as loading and offloading catch, processing and shipping seafood, or commercial endeavors that directly supported the local seafood industry; (3) **Ethnic Heritage: Black**, for their location within and direct association with communities established by Black watermen and water-women; and (4) **Industry** for the Historic District's resources associated with methods and technology for processing seafood, including changes over time that allowed such processing to be scaled up to a level not possible prior to development of specialized equipment and infrastructure. Additional areas of significance under Criterion A may be identified as research continues.

Historic districts nominated under this MPD will have direct association with African American watermen through their collection of resources associated with watermens' activities, including, but not limited to, resources relating to the sale and processing of seafood, marine vessel-related resources, residential resources, institutional resources, and the self-sustaining communities established by African Americans.

Under *Criterion B*, Historic Districts must be directly associated with the significant contributions of an individual whose work has been identified and documented through research and field investigations and is associated with one or more of the historic contexts in this MPD. Historic Districts represent the collective results of the significant individuals working in a range of fields, such as watermen, boatwrights, repairmen, captains, processing facility employees or owners, and skilled tradesmen. One or more significant individuals may be identified within a historic district and Criterion B may be applicable to their contributions, which would allow their inclusion in a nomination for a Historic District. Each individual's significance must be identified and documented through research and field investigations and be associated with one or more of the historic contexts in this MPD. A small number of significant individuals already have been identified to date; however, additional research and oral history interviews will reveal others and/or critically important details to support the development of a Criterion B argument.

Under *Criterion C*, in the area of **Architecture**, a Historic District that is a distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction may be nominated under this MPD. Individual resources within the district also may be identified as having architectural or engineering significance; in such cases, their significance may be discussed in a district's nomination, so long as the district itself is directly associated with the historic contexts discussed in this MPD. A range of materials, technology, construction methods and skills, will be found throughout most Historic Districts as resources were constructed, demolished, rebuilt, or newly built over time. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, mass-produced materials such as ornamental elements, wood siding, bricks and concrete blocks, poured concrete, dimensional lumber, and window sash and doors, came into increasing use. Due to financial constraints, materials from earlier buildings may have been salvaged and reused for new construction. By the second quarter of the twentieth century, standardized building plans, materials, and construction methods were widely available and, simultaneously, with improving economic fortunes, may have presented opportunities to replace older resources with purpose-built buildings and structures that

included modern mechanical systems and amenities. Each historic district nominated under this MPD will require a case-by-case architectural analysis to demonstrate significance under Criterion C.

Under *Criterion D*, in the area of **Archaeology: Historic – Non-Aboriginal**, Historic Districts may include sites that already have yielded or have potential to yield significant information that can answer important research questions about the evolution of Black watermen's communities as a whole. The information potential of individual resource types that may be within a district is discussed above. The cultural deposits and material culture of sites within Historic Districts across a lengthy span of time and data for comparison against similar resources in other settings, such as rural Reconstruction Era freedmen's communities in Virginia's Piedmont, urban neighborhoods in major cities such as Norfolk, Richmond, and Alexandria, or suburban neighborhoods of the mid-twentieth century. Such comparative analysis can answer important research questions concerning diet and subsistence strategies, influences of external forces on local lifeways, improvements and/or deterioration in financial standing, and influences of the availability of different kinds of consumer goods over time. Changing environmental conditions that affected placement of the resources, including adverse or newly emerging conditions that forced abandonment some sites, also may be discerned through professional investigation of Historic Districts, as well as other important aspects of community life over time. Due to the proximity of watermen's communities to waterfronts, sea-level-rise, recurrent flooding, storm surges, and increasingly powerful storms may threaten these archaeological resources.

Registration Requirements: In order to qualify for listing under this MPD, historic districts must have a significant link to African American watermen and one or more of the historic contexts herein, as well as physical integrity that conveys their historical associations. For existing historic districts, nomination updates and/ or boundary increases may be necessary if African American watermen's resources are identified and additional context is required.

Aspects of Integrity

Location and Setting: As noted above, setting and location can vary for Historic Districts. African American watermen have plied the Chesapeake Bay and open sea continually since the colonial era in Virginia. Historic Districts associated with these activities may be located within small communities, as self-sufficient entities, or within commercial or industrial settings where the watermen and water-women earned their livelihoods. To have integrity of location and setting, the Historic District should be in its original location as should the preponderance of individual resources. The built environment within the district should be illustrative of the setting typical during its period of significance; therefore, intrusions that postdate the district's period of significance should be minimized by excluding them from district boundaries wherever possible. To date, no watermen's communities have been relocated in an organized fashion due to rising sea level and/or recurrent flooding. Should such actions occur in the future, this MPD must be updated to include registration requirements for relocated districts.

Design, Materials, and Workmanship: Historic Districts, by definition, are distinguishable entities due to historical associations among the resources that make up the district, including design, materials, and

workmanship of the individual resources. Due to the harsh environmental conditions of maritime settings, where deterioration of materials may occur more rapidly, replacement of historic materials on individual resources within a district may have occurred during or after the district's period of significance. Alterations to individual resources within Historic Districts also may be the result of natural disaster, recurrent flooding, and wind and storm damage. These events can affect integrity of a district as a whole. Furthermore, climate change and recurrent flooding may necessitate resiliency measures such as berms, changes to drainage patterns, installation of stormwater retention basins, building of more resilient specialized components such as docks and piers, and/or raising buildings and structures with stilts or tall basements in order to preserve the continued viability of a district. Alterations due to these circumstances must be considered on a case-by-case basis. The National Park Service has issued Flood Adaptation Guidelines[152] that, while focused on buildings, can inform efforts to improve resiliency of many types of resources in Historic Districts.

Feeling and Association: The Residential Resource type retains integrity of feeling and association through a combination of factors, such as occupying its original location and maintaining an overall setting consistent with its period of significance. In most cases, integrity of materials, workmanship, and design will vary among individual resources and such variations must be taken into account on a case-by-case basis. Changing environmental conditions, especially related to flooding and sea level rise, may already have necessitated some alterations. As with integrity of location and setting, the integrity of materials, workmanship, and design must be sufficient for the Historic District to convey its significant historic association and to retain integrity of association and feeling. Availability of historical documents such as photos, drawings, plat maps, deeds, probate records, and wills, oral history interviews, newspaper articles, research papers, and other primary and secondary sources also contribute to integrity of association by provided bases for narrative statements of significance.

[152] Jenifer Eggleston, Jennifer Parker, and Jennifer Wellock, *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation & Guidelines on Flood Adaptation for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings* (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Technical Preservation Services, Washington, DC, 2021), published online at https://www.nps.gov/orgs/1739/upload/flood-adaptation-guidelines-2021.pdf.

G. Geographical Data

This MPD covers a large geographic area broadly defined as the portion of the Virginia Chesapeake Bay watershed that includes the tidal waters east of the fall line that drain into the Chesapeake Bay. Reconnaissance-level architectural survey of the following counties was undertaken as part of the development of this MPD: Accomack, Northampton, Gloucester, Mathews, Middlesex, Lancaster, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Richmond. Essex and King George counties were also identified in the project scope as areas for survey; however, this phase of the project did not identify relevant sites for survey. Due to scheduling and budget limitations as well as the known high degree of waterfront redevelopment, Hampton Roads was not included as a focus of the survey work. Additionally, the rural nature of the areas surveyed were believed to have the highest potential for the discovery of previously unrecorded resources associated with the historic context. Research suggests, however, that there may be eligible resources within the cities and counties that make up Virginia's Lower Peninsula and southeastern Virginia (Hampton Roads). Information regarding areas not surveyed has been retained at the Virginia Department of Historic Resources for future study.

Through research, public engagement, and fieldwork a range of property types were identified and surveyed in each county in the survey area for their potential association with African American Watermen. A total of 97 resources were surveyed; 89 were found to have at least some historic component extant, five were completely demolished, and three were not observed. Based on additional research, six resources had no known direct association with African American watermen, while 83 properties had some extant, visible, and accessible resource with a direct association to African American watermen. These 83 resources were recorded in the Virginia Cultural Resources Information System (VCRIS) (see section H). As a result of this survey and research initiative, a full list of sites identified both within and outside the survey area have been provided to the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, along with a set of recommendations for future study.

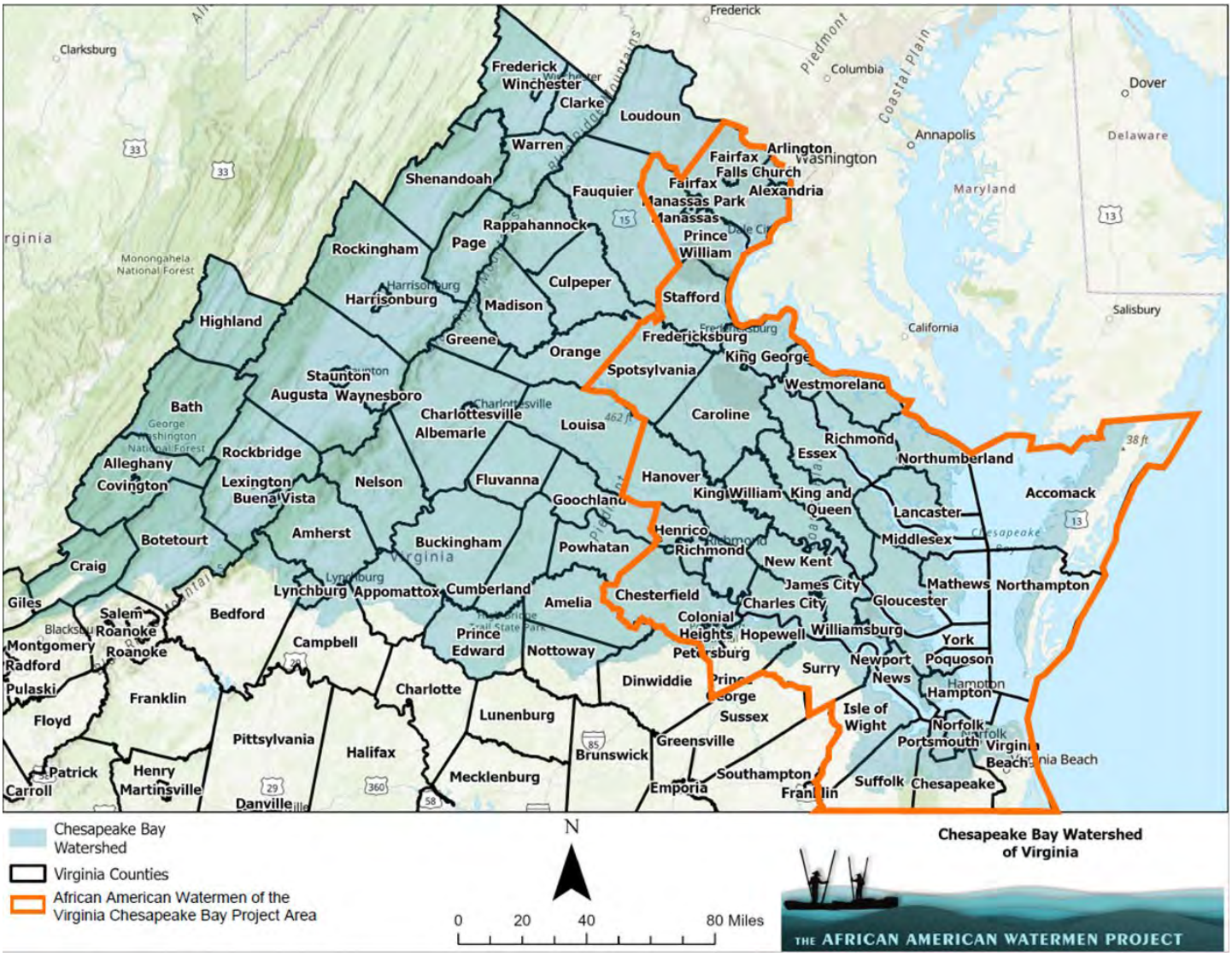

Figure 32: Map of the Chesapeake Bay Watershed in Virginia. The orange line denotes the African American Watermen of the Virginia Chesapeake Bay Project Area.

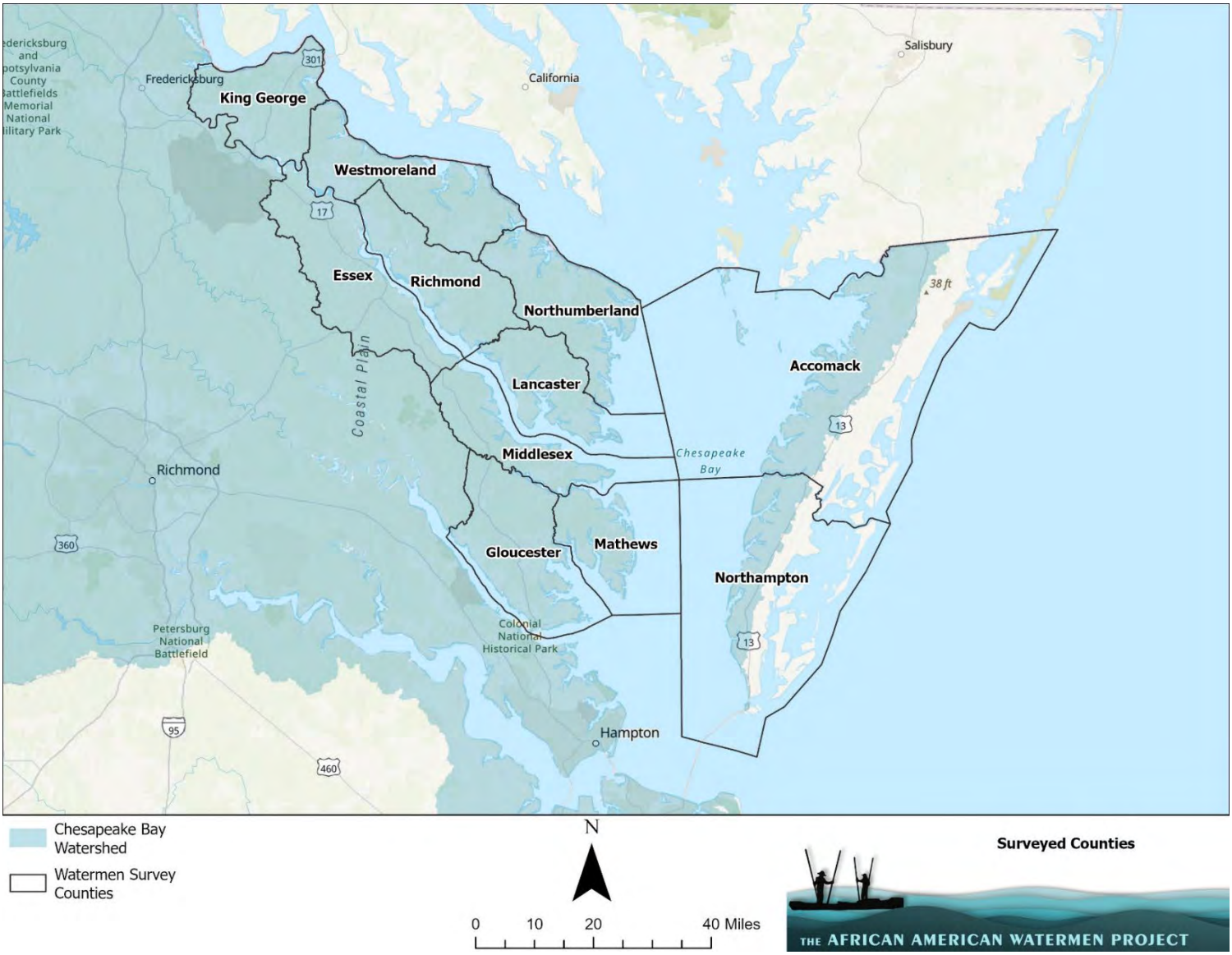

Figure 33: Map of the counties included in the Project Area. Chesapeake Bay Watershed in Virginia noted in blue.

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

This Multiple Property Document was developed as part of a larger initiative to document and preserve sites of significance to African American history in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. This document focuses on the contributions of African American watermen to the seafood industries within a portion of Virginia's Chesapeake Bay watershed, and was prepared by a research, writing, and survey team including Commonwealth Preservation Group, Jeffrey Harris, and RK&K. This team worked with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources and the National Trust for Historic Preservation to identify priorities, engage the public, and prepare this MPD and its associated reconnaissance-level survey.

Public Outreach, Research, & Evaluation Methods

Several public outreach and engagement activities were undertaken as part of the development of this MPD. Due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, the project team was limited to virtual meetings, phone calls, and select in-person meetings. At the outset of the project in September 2021, a virtual public engagement meeting was held to introduce the project, share avenues for engagement, and take input. An online survey was made available for interested participants to share information regarding watermen sites in Virginia. This information was then used to compile a contact list. Those who provided contact information were called, and phone interviews were conducted as appropriate. CPG's team met with several individuals in person at their request. This information was used for the development of this historic context document and to identify sites for survey.

Research for this MPD included a large geographic area. Therefore, a list of potential repositories was compiled, and research visits were scheduled based on the current policies and availability of the organization. At least one repository was visited in each of the three major geographic areas– Middle Peninsula, Northern Neck, and Eastern Shore– and almost every county of the survey. A variety of primary and secondary resources on the Chesapeake Bay watershed and watermen activities were collected and used to prepare this context document. CPG also reached out to known scholars such as Vincent O. Leggett, Bernard Herman, and Larry Chowning.

Individual sites were selected for survey based on a known, tangible link to African American watermen. After surveying, any sites that had been demolished or had been altered beyond recognition were removed from the final list that was entered into the Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS). The following properties were considered potentially eligible for listing if they had a tangible link to the historic context in Section E, and retained physical integrity that conveys their significant historical associations.

Table 6: African American Watermen Sites Documented in VCRIS

DHR ID	Resource Name	Address	County
001-5250	Mount Zion Holy Church	20837 Bayside Road, Onancock, VA	Accomack
001-5251	Jack Johnson's Picking House	21325 Bayside Road, Onancock, VA	Accomack
001-5450	Bayside Historic District	Bayside Road, Onancock, VA	Accomack

DHR ID	Resource Name	Address	County
001-5451	Metropolitan United Methodist Church	21445 Bayside Road, Onancock, VA	Accomack
001-5452	Bayside Elementary School	Bayside Road, Onancock, VA	Accomack
001-5453	Griffin Store	20754 Bayside Road, Onancock, VA	Accomack
001-5454	Doughty Fish House	35044 Lankford Highway	Accomack
001-5455	Nandua Seafood	Killmon Lane, Hacks Neck, VA	Accomack
190-0009	Chincoteague Historic District	Chincoteague, VA	Accomack
190-5002	Oyster House	3681 Main Street, Chincoteague, VA	Accomack
190-5003	Ralph E. Watson Oyster Company	4161 Main Street, Chincoteague, VA	Accomack
273-0014	Samuel D. Outlaw Blacksmith Shop	Boundary Avenue, Onancock, VA	Accomack
296-0001	Saxis Historic District	Saxis Road, Saxis, VA	Accomack
296-0001-0003	Seafood Processing House	9094 Starling Creek Road, Saxis, VA	Accomack
296-0001-0004	Bonawell Bros Seafood	9088 Starling Creek Road, Saxis, VA	Accomack
296-0001-0007	H.V. Drewer & Son Seafood	19396 Saxis Road, Saxis, VA	Accomack
036-5276	Bunting Oyster House	6364 Almondsville Road, Gloucester, VA	Gloucester
036-5277	Boat Ramp	3257 Sandy Point Lane, Gloucester, VA	Gloucester
036-5278	Gloucester Seafood, Inc.	3923 Aberdeen Creek Road, Gloucester, VA	Gloucester
036-5279	Cook's Oyster & Seafood Company	1778 Yacht Club Rd, Hayes, VA	Gloucester
036-5280	Aberdeen Creek Public Landing	Aberdeen Creek Road, Gloucester, VA	Gloucester
036-5281	Perrin Creek Public Landing	Perrin Creek Road, Hayes, VA	Gloucester
051-0212	Rappahannock Marine Railway	25 Shipyard Lane, Weems, VA	Lancaster
051-0223-0033	House	186 Riverside Drive, Morattico, VA	Lancaster
051-0223-0079	Oyster House	123 Waterview Lane, Morattico, VA	Lancaster
051-0223-0081	Oyster House	124 Waterview Lane, Morattico, VA	Lancaster
051-0224	Bellows & Squire Company Store	600 Ocran Rd, White Stone, VA	Lancaster
051-0230	Doggett Brothers Seafood	1167 Johns Neck Road, Weems, VA	Lancaster
051-5220	Weems Historic District	King Carter Lane, Route 708, Weems, VA	Lancaster
051-5223	Morattico Historic District	Morattico Road, Morattico, VA	Lancaster
051-5228	Windmill Point Historic District	Windmill Point Road, Route 695	Lancaster
051-5250	Oyster House	497 Doggett Lane, Lancaster, VA	Lancaster
051-5263	Pride of Virginia Bait & Oysters	3121 Little Bay Road, White Stone, VA	Lancaster
051-5281	Matthews Gaskins, Sr. Residence	388 Gaskins Road, Weems, VA	Lancaster
051-5282	Matthews Gaskins, Jr. Residence	499 Gaskins Road, Weems, VA	Lancaster
051-5283	W. E. Kellum Seafood	96 Shipyard Lane, Weems, VA	Lancaster

DHR ID	Resource Name	Address	County
051-5284	Sharon Baptist Church	1413 Luberlost Road, Weems, VA	Lancaster
249-5028	Kilmarnock Historic District	Main Street, Route 3	Lancaster
057-0076	H.K. Billups & Son Oyster Shucking House	Williams Wharf Rd, Mathews, VA	Mathews
057-5234	Callis Wharf	425 Callis Wharf Rd, Hudgins, VA	Mathews
057-5236	Milford Haven Seafood	407 Risby Town Rd, Grimstead, VA	Mathews
057-5244	Antioch Baptist Church	110 Antioch Rd, Susan, VA	Mathews
057-5577	Winter Harbor Public Landing	2959 Potato Neck Road, Port Haywood, VA	Mathews
057-5578	Captain Charles Forrest Residence	598 Antioch Rd, Susan, VA	Mathews
059-5231	Remlik Marina	485 Burch Road, Urbanna, VA	Middlesex
059-5434	Burrell's Marina	792 Burrells Marina Road, Urbanna, VA	Middlesex
059-5435	Walton's Seafood	5327 Old Virginia Road, Urbanna, VA	Middlesex
059-5436	Locklies Marina	784 Locklies Creek Road, Topping, VA	Middlesex
059-5437	Powell's Marina	256 Kennardstown Road, Deltaville, VA	Middlesex
059-5438	Urbanna Seafood Company	453 Johnsons Drive, Urbanna, VA	Middlesex
059-5439	Locklies Landing	Locklies Creek Road, Topping, VA	Middlesex
059-5440	Roosevelt Wingfield Oyster House	72 Wingsfield Lane, Urbanna, VA	Middlesex
059-5441	Deagle & Sons Marine Railway	548 Deagles Road, Deltaville, VA	Middlesex
316-0009	Urbanna Historic District	Urbanna, VA	Middlesex
316-0009-0033	J.W. Hurley & Son Oyster Packing	71 Oyster Road, Urbanna, VA	Middlesex
065-0484	Bayford Oyster Company	5513 Bayford Road, Franktown, VA	Northampton
065-0523	J.C. Walker Brothers	4509 Willis Wharf Road, Exmore, VA	Northampton
065-0542	Willis Wharf Historic District	Willis Wharf Rd, Exmore, VA	Northampton
065-5127	Harvey L. Bowen Oyster Company	4496 Willis Wharf Rd, Exmore, VA	Northampton
065-5128	Northampton County Seafood Company	5335 Simpkins Drive, Cape Charles, VA	Northampton
066-0083	Reedville Historic District	Reedville, VA	Northumberland
066-0083-0052	Reedville Marine Railway (Parcel 1)	707 Main Street	Northumberland
066-0083-0053	Reedville Marine Railway (Parcel 2)	707 Main Street	Northumberland
066-5058	Morris-Fisher Stack	Morris-Fisher Stack Lane, Reedville, VA	Northumberland
066-5086	Lewisetta Historic District	Lewisetta, VA	Northumberland

DHR ID	Resource Name	Address	County
066-5111	J.L. Sisson Seafood	449 Wicomico View Lane, Heathsville, VA	Northumberland
066-5150	Fleeton Historic District	Fleeton, VA	Northumberland
066-5160	Keyser Brothers Crab House	1146 Honest Point Road, Lottsburg, VA	Northumberland
066-5163	Bogey Neck Historic District	Bogey Neck Road, Heathsville, VA	Northumberland
066-5164	Delano General Store	799 Remo Road, Heathsville, VA	Northumberland
066-5165	C.W. O'Bier & Sons, Inc.	2980 Mundy Point Road, Callao, VA	Northumberland
066-5166	Cowart Seafood	755 Lake Landing Drive, Lottsburg, VA	Northumberland
066-5167	Sunnybank Fishing Wharf	Sunnybank Road, Reedville, VA	Northumberland
079-5099	B.G. Smith & Sons Oyster House	787 Oakley Lane, Farnham, VA	Richmond
079-5100	Sharp's Wharf	395 Front Street, Sharps, VA	Richmond
096-5009	441 Wilson Drive	441 Wilson Drive, Kinsale, VA	Westmoreland
096-5159	Oyster Factory	313-315 Oyster House Road, Montross, VA	Westmoreland
096-5296	Sandy Point Marina	1276 Skipjack Road, Kinsale, VA	Westmoreland
096-5297	James Douglas Residence	447 Wilson Drive, Kinsale, VA	Westmoreland
096-5298	Howard Smith Residence	36 Washington Circle, Kinsale, VA	Westmoreland
096-5299	Captain Harry Wilson Property	Wilson Drive, Kinsale, VA	Westmoreland
096-5300	Harper Seafood	1470 White Point Road, Kinsale, VA	Westmoreland

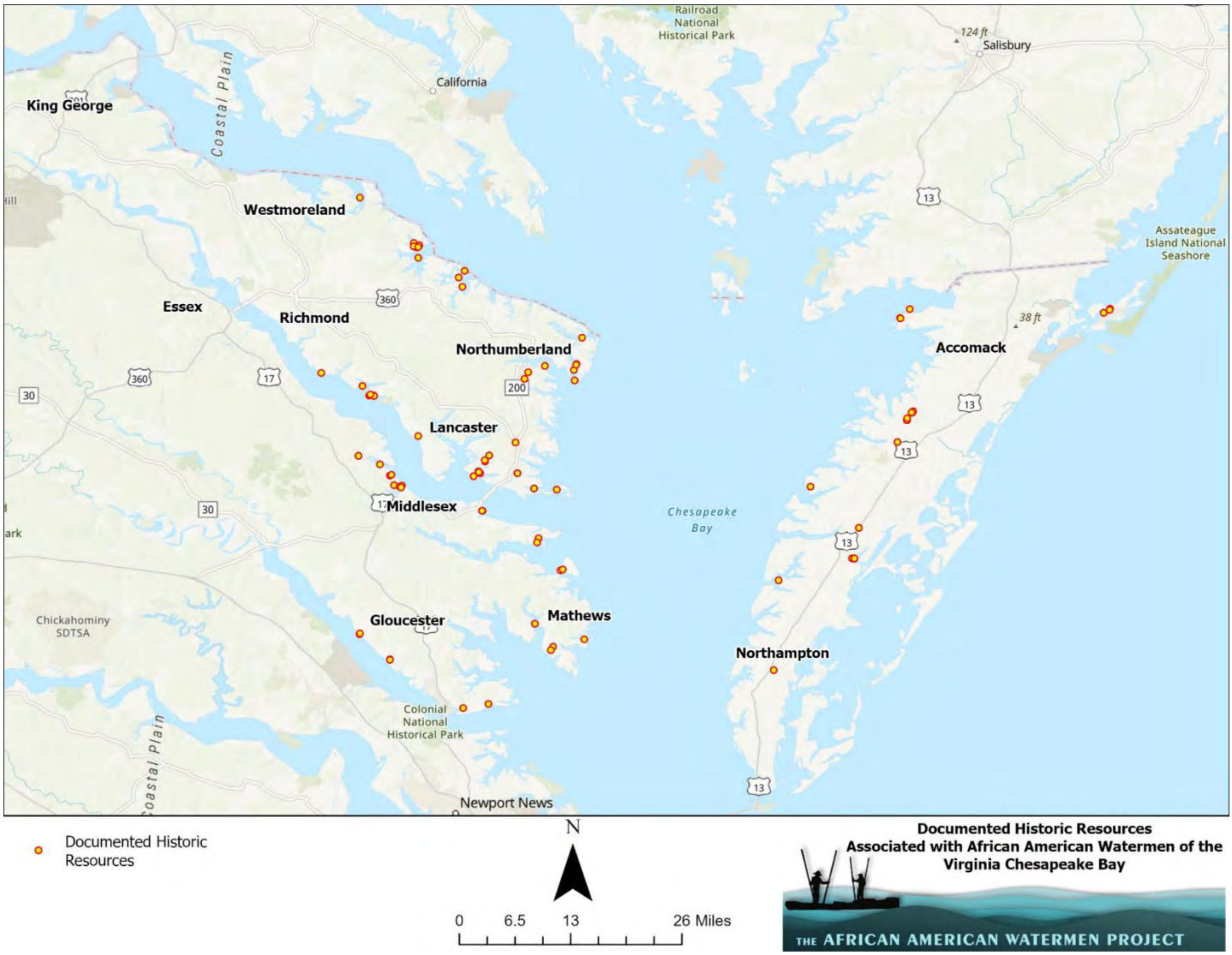

Figure 34: Map of the documented historic resources associated with African American Watermen of the Virginia Chesapeake Bay. These resources have been recorded in the Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS)

Project Parameters and Limitations

This Multiple Property Document (MPD) and its associated survey work necessarily focused on the Chesapeake Bay of Virginia, as defined in Section G above. The primary objective of this MPD is to provide a historic context for evaluating sites within the Chesapeake Bay watershed, and was accompanied by a reconnaissance survey of sites located within the nine counties listed in Section G. Although sites in Hampton Roads were not included in this phase of the reconnaissance survey, known communities such as Hobson[153], Crittenden, and Eclipse in Suffolk, as well as extant sites in Hampton, York County, Newport News, and Norfolk have been identified for potential future survey and may be eligible for listing under this MPD.

Although this project sought to identify 100 resources within the eleven counties listed in Section G, several limitations impacted the final number of resources identified. First, due to COVID-19, public outreach efforts were not able to be carried out as originally planned. In order to limit exposure to vulnerable populations, large gatherings were avoided and in-person meetings limited. The primary method of public outreach was through virtual communication and telephone calls, as well as an online survey hosted by the Virginia Department of Historic Resources. While most libraries had reopened, several still had strict appointment and access policies in place that limited the depth and breadth of research that could be undertaken. Additionally, due to the remote location and seasonal closures of many of the local organizations, several key repositories were not open during the project research period.

Acknowledgements

In addition to the team of consultants listed as preparers of this form, the development of this MPD would not have been possible without the contributions of local experts, scholars, librarians, archivists, and living watermen.

Virginia Department of Historic Resources Staff

Blake McDonald

Elizabeth Lipford

Marc Wagner

Lena McDonald

National Trust for Historic Preservation Staff

Kendra Parzen

[153] Sites in Hobson may also be eligible for listing under the MPD *Historic and Architectural Resources of Hobson Village, Suffolk, Virginia, 1865-1968* (NRHP listed 2010).

Seri Worden

National Trust Advisory Committee

Audrey Davis

Cheryl LaRoche

Jody Lynn Allen

Kendra Hyson,

Leroy T. Hopkins

Mia Carey

Tamara England Wilson

Vedet Coleman-Robinson

Vince Leggett

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Barrier Islands Center

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Deltaville Maritime Museum

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Eastern Shore Watermen's Museum and Research Center

Essex County Museum and Historical Society

The Fairfield Foundation

Gardner Douglas

Gloucester County Museum of History

Gloucester County Public Library

Gloucester-Mathews Gazette-Journal

Gwynn's Island Project

Hampton History Museum

Jessica Taylor

The Kinsale Foundation, Inc.

Larry Chowning

The Mariners' Museum and Park

Mathews Maritime Foundation Museum

Mathews Memorial Library

Middlesex County Public Library, Deltaville

Miles Barnes

The Museum of Chincoteague

Northampton Historic Preservation Society

Northern Neck of Virginia Historical Society and Genealogy Research Library

Northumberland County Historical Society

Reedville Fishermen's Museum

Virginia Watermen's Association

Watermen's Museum, Yorktown

Westmoreland County Museum and Library

Living Watermen and Descendants

Anne Bonniwell

Capt. Matthews Gaskins, Jr.

Charles Forrest, Jr.

Daisy Howard Douglas

Dan Knotts

Douglas Jenkins, Sr.

Evelyn Treakle-Moore

Faith Gaskins Waddy

Gardner Douglas

George Butler

Howard Smith

James Douglas

John Drummond

Lakey Cowart

Lee Walton

Sandra Gaskins Smyre

Smitty Dize

Wayne Levere

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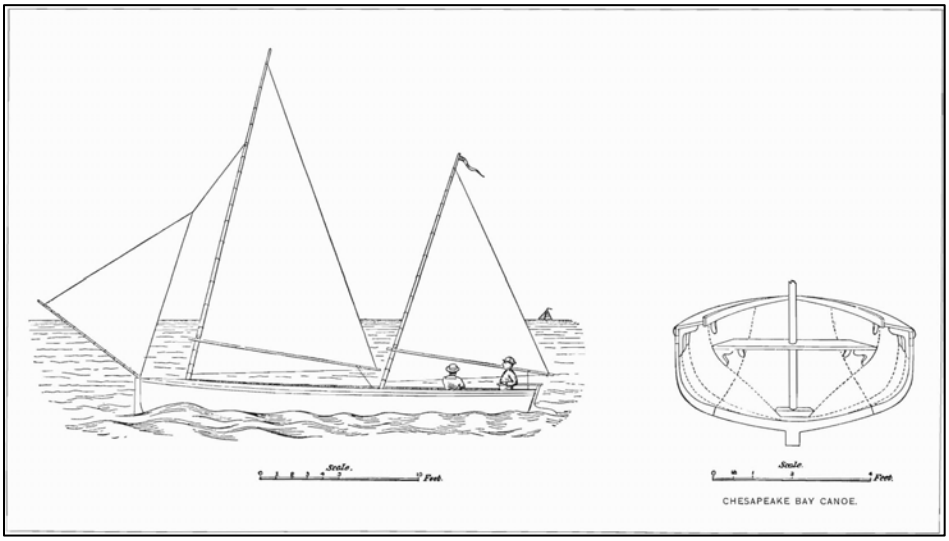
GLOSSARY OF MARITIME TERMS

Skiff: a shallow, flat-bottomed open boat with sharp bow and square stern (image below)

^York River oyster tongers aboard skiffs (Larry Chowning)

Log canoe: an early traditional fishing boat developed in the Chesapeake region; evolved from the dugout canoe, the log canoe is a long, slender, shallow vessel built by carving out, shaping, and then bolting logs together lengthwise to form a hull. Typically constructed from three to nine logs. Early log canoes were inexpensively assembled without the need for shipbuilders and sufficient for the needs of oyster tongers. It was the principal traditional fishing boat of the Chesapeake Bay until superseded by the skipjack.



(MacKenzie, "History of Oystering," p. 5)

Skipjack: developed near the end of the 19th century, Chesapeake Bay skipjacks were specialized sailing vessels that were used for dredging oysters in the Chesapeake Bay (images above and below). Usually 40-50 feet in length, most skipjacks shared several basic traits including their sharp entry, flat bottom, low freeboard, and wide beam. Skipjacks were equipped with a single wooden mast and carried a large triangular sail which extended beyond the stern. Their shallow draft, wide beam, and large sail area allowed these unique vessels to tow oyster dredges across shallow oyster reefs.

^The NRHP-listed *Claud W. Somers* skipjack (DHR ID #066-5049), built in 1911, typifies the design of the sail-powered, oyster-dredging vessels (VLR Online)

Deadrise: a traditional wooden hulled fishing boat characterized by a sharp bow that quickly becomes a flat "V" shape moving aft along the bottom of the hull (images below). A small cabin structure lies forward, with a large open cockpit and work area to the rear. The V-shape of the deadrise was ideal for contending with the Chesapeake's shallow, choppy waters. The "Chesapeake Bay deadrise" has been designated the official boat of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

^Tangier Island watermen aboard a deadrise (John Page Williams, “The Quintessential Chesapeake Boat,” https://chesapeakebaymagazine.com/the-quintessential-chesapeake-boat/)

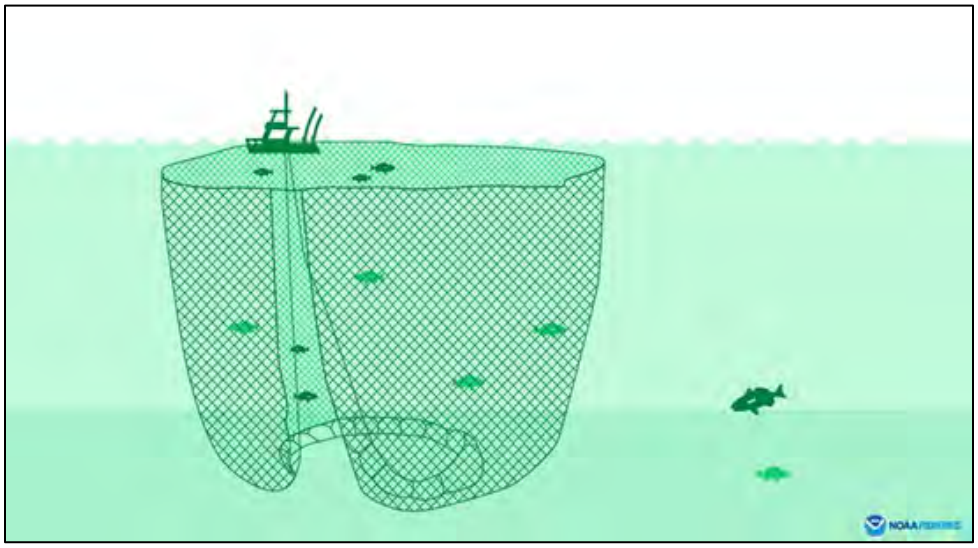
(Photo: Capt. Dave Thompson, from John Page Williams, “Bay Says Goodbye,” https://chesapeakebaymagazine.com/bay-says-goodbye-to-classic-va-deadrise-boatbuilder/)

Buyboat: a variation of the traditional wooden deadrise boat, buyboats or “deck boats” were built for transporting oysters from oyster beds to market, “buying” their oysters from watermen on smaller boats to allow them to continue catching (images below). Buyboats also hauled freight, dredged for crabs, tonged oysters, and planted seed oysters. Chesapeake Bay buyboats ranged from 40 to 100 feet in length and had large open decks, a mast and boom configuration toward the front, and a pilot house or cabin to the rear.

^The NRHP-listed *F.D. Crockett* (DHR ID #059-5013) is a log-hulled deck boat constructed in 1924 by Alexander Gaines, one of the last traditional log boat builders in the Middlesex County area, and is representative of Tidewater region's tradition of log boat construction as well as the Chesapeake Bay buyboat form. (VLR Online)

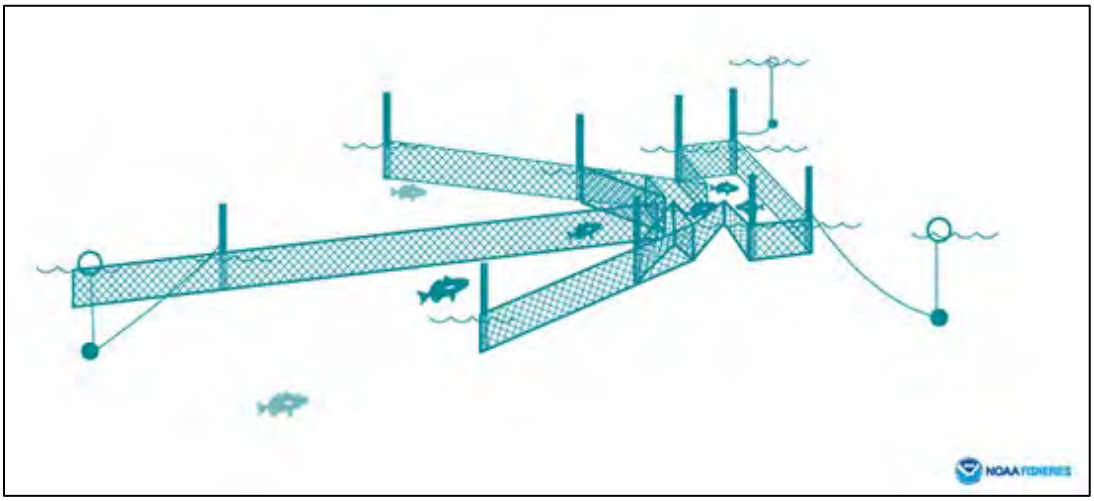
^A buyboat (left) buys oysters from a Chesapeake Bay skipjack (right), ca. 1940s-50s. (MacKenzie, "History of Oystering," p. 50)

Purse seine: a fishing net that hangs vertically, with floats along the top line and a purse cable which acts as a draw string along the bottom, allowing entire schools of fish to be enclosed and brought up (image below). Once a school of fish is located, a skiff encircles the school with the net. The lead line is then pulled in, "pursing" the net closed on the bottom, preventing fish from escaping by swimming downward.



(NOAA Fisheries, https://www.fisheries.noaa.gov/national/bycatch/fishing-gear-purse-seines)

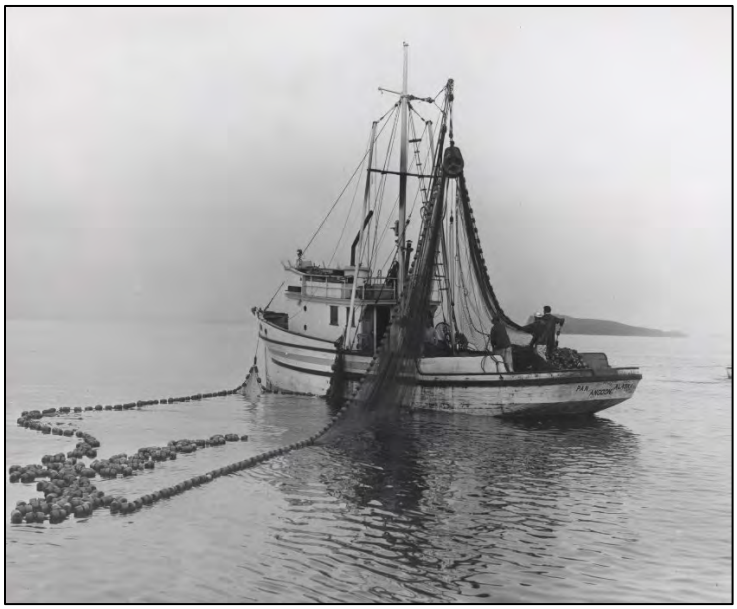
Pound net: Pound nets consist of a fence leader that interrupts the movements of target species and a heart that funnels fish into the trap (pound) via a no return mesh tunnel (image below). The series of nets are anchored to the bottom perpendicular to shore and are set in nearshore areas, with depth often increasing toward the pound. The netting usually reaches above the waterline with the pound open at the surface. Pound nets are harvested by concentrating the catch in one corner and removing it with a dip net.



(NOAA Fisheries, https://www.fisheries.noaa.gov/national/bycatch/fishing-gear-pound-nets)

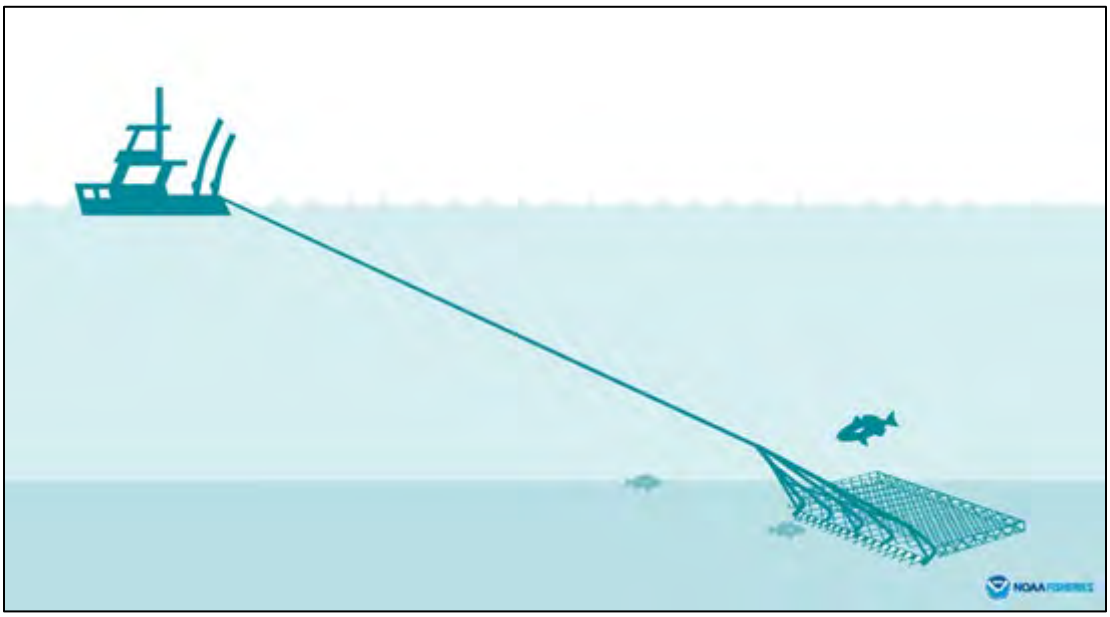
Power block/hydraulic block: Invented by Croatian fisherman Mario Puratić and patented in 1953, the original Puretic power block was a mechanized winch used to haul nets on fishing vessels, reducing the workload/manpower of hauling purse seines (images below). Consists of a V-shaped roller coated with hard rubber and suspended from a davit/crane. Powered from the warp end of the winch by a looping rope.

Contemporary power blocks are powered by hydraulic pumps, with speed, torque, and direction controlled remotely from the bridge, increasing safety and further reducing the manual labor required to haul purse seines.

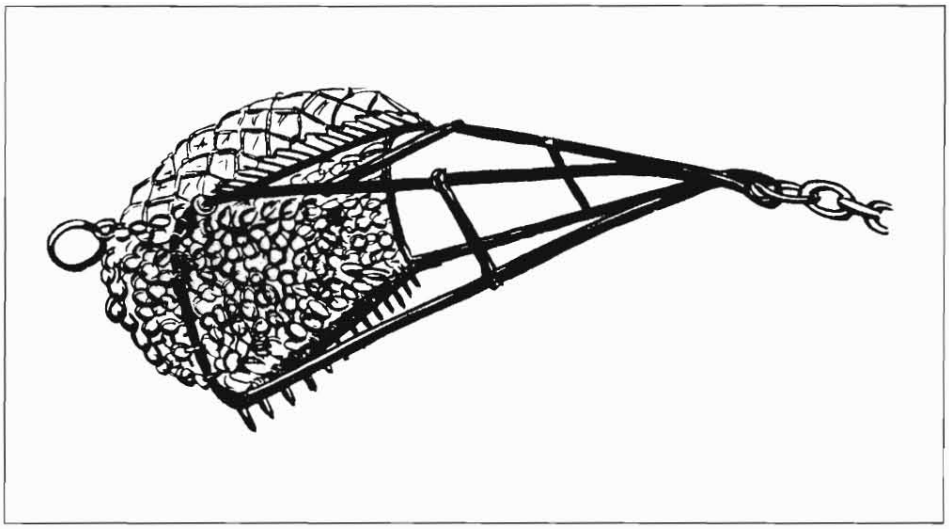


^A purse seiner equipped with a power block (NOAA Central Library Historical Fisheries Collection)

Dredging: a fishing method in which a dredge, usually constructed in the form of a scoop with a heavy steel frame covered in coarse chain mesh open at the front, is dragged across the sea floor, either scraping or penetrating the bottom (image below). The mesh acts as a net, allowing smaller organisms through while collecting oysters, and is periodically winched up and emptied into the boat.



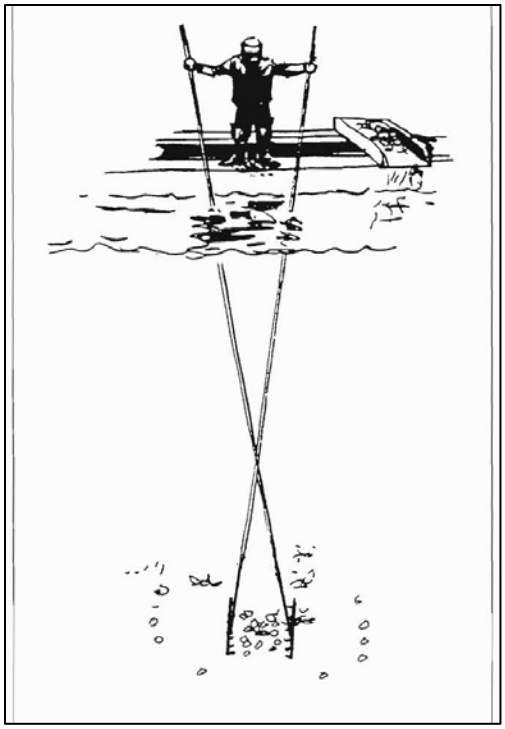
(NOAA Fisheries, https://www.fisheries.noaa.gov/national/bycatch/fishing-gear-dredges)



(MacKenzie, "History of Oystering," p. 5)

Crab scrape: a specialized toothless dredge, consisting of a long round bar with a bag attached, pulled through eelgrass beds where crabs hide during the process of shedding their shells; can be no more than 4 feet wide in Virginia (3 feet in Maryland; image above).

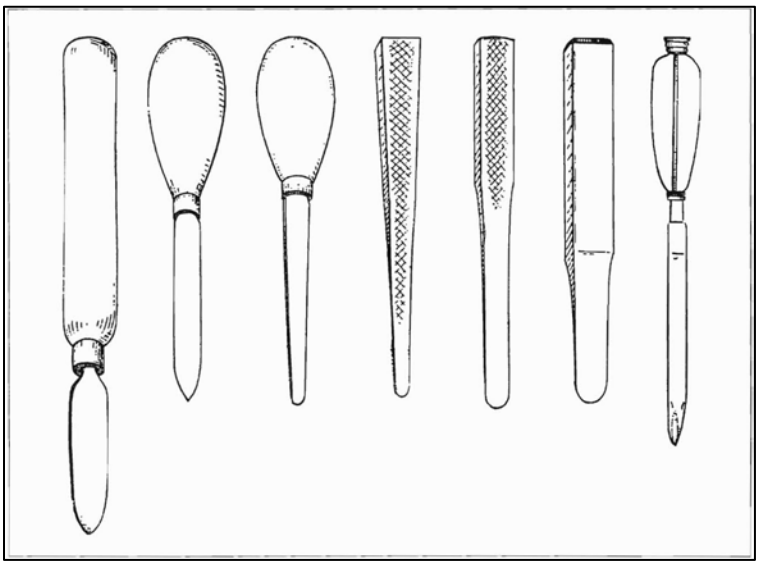
Oyster tongs/tonging: a pair of wooden tongs ranging from 12 to 20 feet long bearing opposing baskets shaped like rakes and used for gathering oysters (image below).



(MacKenzie, “History of Oystering,” p. 4)

Clam rake: a tool designed for digging up and gathering clams, typically made from steel and like a regular rake, but with longer, broader, more knife-shaped, and sometimes curved tines for digging in hard sand or mud. Many have a metal basket attached to the back of the rake for holding clams as they are dug up.

Shucking: the process of opening and removing the outer shell of an oyster to obtain the meat inside. A variety of narrow-bladed knives, most with wooden handles, have been developed to open oysters (image below). Processing plants typically had dedicated shucking rooms with individual stalls for shuckers.



(MacKenzie, “History of Oystering,” p. 8)

Stabbing: shucking method in which the knife blade is inserted between the oyster's valves and the muscle is cut from the top shell. The regional "Chesapeake stabber" knife, characterized by its bulbous, pear-shaped wooden (typically white oak) handle and shorter, thinner blade, is designed to fit easily between the oyster's shell and reach only to the abductor muscle.

Picking (crab): like shucking, the process of removing the outer shell of a crab to obtain the meat inside. Crab processing plants, like those for oysters, typically had dedicated picking rooms (image below).

^The picking room at the Coston crab plant on the downtown Hampton waterfront, ca. 1907 (Erickson, "Crabtown," https://www.dailypress.com/history/dp-crabtown-ladies-20130523-post.html)

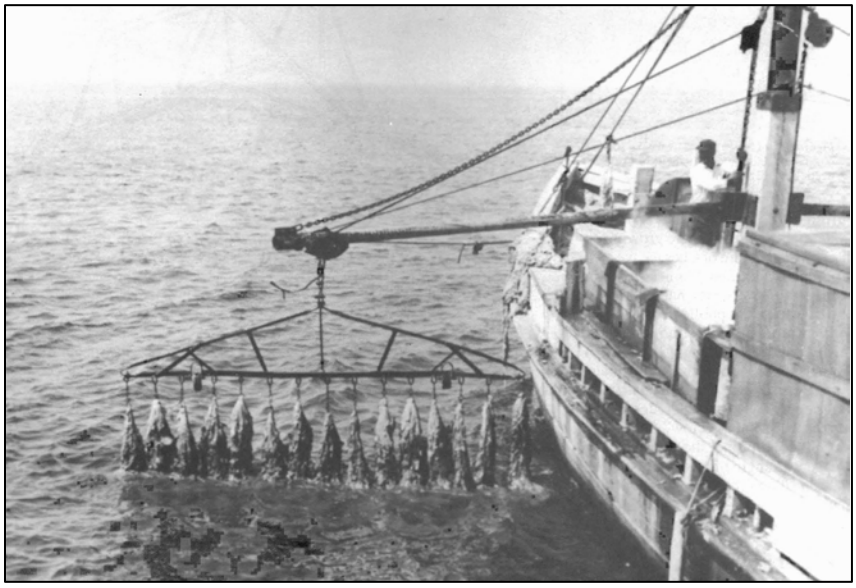
Packing (oyster/crab): the process of preparing and canning oysters and crab for transport and sale. For oyters, the process typically involves straining and washing shucked oysters in cold water, placing the meat in cans and weighing them at a fillers' table, hermetically sealing the cans and steaming them in a process kettle to kill all germs, cooling cans in cold water, and transferring them for labeling.

Oyster planting: in oyster cultivation, oyster shells, ceramic tiles, or other substrate surfaces ("cultch") that hold oyster larvae ("spat") are secured to frames or in cages and submerged along an intertidal area or suspended from a long line, allowing maximum exposure to oxygen and plankton needed for oysters to grow.

Oyster beds/reefs: dense clusters of adult oysters formed in the wild or through cultivation; as generations of oyster larvae ("spat") attach to a substrate surface, such as other oyster shells or

ceramic tiles, and grow into adult oysters, they form dense, self-sustaining clusters that filter all the nutrients they need directly from the water in their environment. In addition, oyster beds form large, complex structures where many aquatic species, such as fish and crabs, hunt for food and hide from predators.

Oyster mop: a wide metal bar trailing large cotton bundles that is dragged over the bottom to remove starfish from oyster beds; the mop would be lifted periodically and dipped into a tank of boiling water to kill the starfish (image below).



^A typical oyster mop (MacKenzie, "History of Oystering," p. 33)

Menhaden processing: the process of cooking or "reducing" menhaden to extract the oil, which is subsequently used in food supplement pills. After oil extraction, the cooked and pressed remains – protein-rich fishmeal – are used in pet foods and fertilizers. The use of menhaden as fertilizer dates to precolonial America, with Native Americans calling the fish "munnawhatteaug," meaning fertilizer. A fish reduction facility has operated continuously on Cockrell Creek at Reedville since 1878, with the current Omega Protein plant the last remaining menhaden factory on the East Coast.

Image Sources

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"Hauling net with power block on salmon purse seiner." *NOAA Central Library Historical Fisheries Collection*. https://photolib.noaa.gov/Collections/Historic-Fisheries/Other/emodule/710/eitem/24032

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number _____ Page_____

N/A
Name of Property
Virginia
County and State
Historic Resources Associated with African American Waterment of the Virginia Chesapeake Bay
Name of multiple property listing (if applicable)

SUPPLEMENTARY RECORD

NRIS Reference Number: 100008967

Property Name: N/A

County: N/A State: VA

Multiple Name: Historic Resources Associated with African American Watermen of the Virginia Chesapeake Bay MPS

This Multiple Property Documentation Form was accepted by the the National Register of Historic Places in accordance with the attached documentation subject to the following exceptions, exclusions, or amendments, notwithstanding the National Park Service certification included in the nomination documentation.

James Gabbert 5/17/2023
Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

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Notes on use of this MPDF

The common theme tying the various property types identified in this submission is the direct and important association with African American Watermen. As such, any property nominated under this MPDF should meet Criterion A with significance in Ethnic Heritage and an accompanying area of significance.

Resource type #4: Related Community Resources (churches, schools, social and community resources, and businesses, must demonstrate a direct and significant association with the theme. For these types of resources, it is important to identify the "community", whether it be an independent, usually rural, community consisting primarily of watermen and those institutions that served it, or a concentration of a group of watermen as a subset of a larger community and then to make the significant associations.

Resource type #5: Residential Resources, must demonstrate a direct and significant association with the theme. The cited potential areas of significance under Criterion A – Maritime History and Commerce – might apply in specific situations but are not universally applied to all associated residential resources. Boarding houses, dormitories, and other such resources targeting the seasonal nature of the industry are the most likely candidates under either of these areas of significance.

The Virginia State Historic Preservation Office was notified of this amendment.

DISTRIBUTION:
National Register property file
Nominating Authority (without nomination attachment)