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THE
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HOUSE TO HIGHWAY

RECLAIMING A COMMUNITY HISTORY



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WHO IS JACKSON? WHAT'S IN A NAME

It began with a simple question—"Who is the Jackson in Jackson Ward?"

In October 2020, this inquiry led me to the Library of Virginia and little did I know, but those seven words would help to unearth some of the hidden histories of the nation's first historically registered Black urban neighborhood. My question intrigued Dr. Gregg D. Kimball, who was serving as Director of Public Services and Outreach for the Library—and he, along with other archivists and librarians, would help to guide me towards the answer. And unbeknownst to either of us, in the midst of a pandemic, not only would a project and partnership be born out of this inquiry about the ward's origin story, but more importantly, so would a deep friendship that would eventually embrace others at the Library.

Since that initial introduction four years ago, the Library of Virginia and The JXN Project would forge a partnership that began with a summer lecture series in collaboration with Richmond Public Library to share the findings of our collective research—and House to Highway: Reclaiming a Community History serves as a capstone to share the untold story of Abraham Peyton Skipwith as "The Founding Father of Jackson Ward". Through this exhibition, Skipwith's life, liberty, lineage, and legacy as the first known Black homeowner in Jackson Ward, a home commonly called the Skipwith-Roper Cottage, will be used to tell to the Black American experience as part of the U.S. Semiquincentennial—to include the fate of his home due to the Richmond-Petersburg Turnpike, which devastated the community in the city's sixth ward.

The Library served as the Project's first official partner and we hope that our exhibition helps to encourage future community collaborations as so many more untold stories are waiting to be found in the research room. Onward always.

— Sesha Joi Moon, Ph.D., Co-Founder and Executive Director, The JXN Project



Enjoli Moon (left) and Seshai Joi Moon, Ph.D. (right)

BECOMING A BLACK FOUNDING FATHER: ABRAHAM PEYTON SKIPWITH

Born into slavery, probably sometime before 1750, Abraham Peyton Skipwith became a skilled and successful businessman who purchased his freedom and left his heirs with the financial resources to prosper.

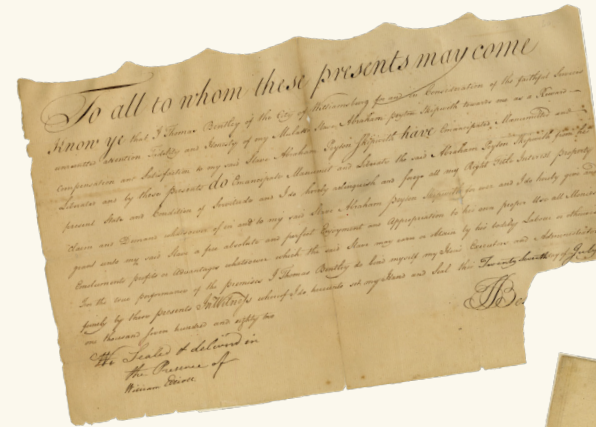
Racial slavery defined Virginia society in the eighteenth century and made gaining freedom almost impossible. Perhaps no more than two dozen Black people were freed in Virginia between the 1730s and 1782, a power closely held by the government. In 1782, the Virginia General Assembly enacted legislation that allowed enslavers to free a person by deed or will without government approval. Freedom, however, did not convey legal status equal to white men, and freed Black Virginians were required to carry documents proving their free status.

Influenced by the Revolutionary spirit, Skipwith seized the moment to make a bid for freedom. During a brief period in the nation's early history when religious fervor, ideas of natural rights, and the American Revolution loosened constraints on freedom, enslaved people pursued avenues to achieve their freedom.

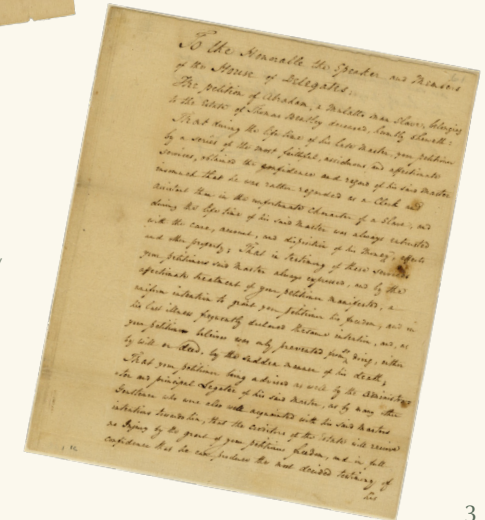


(left) Skipwith-Roper Cottage. This gambrel-roof house was home to Abraham Peyton Skipwith.

The road to freedom was fraught with twists and turns, but Skipwith took the initiative to achieve his freedom. He earned the trust of his white enslavers, Jaquelin Ambler and Thomas Bentley, working as a clerk and managing their business ventures while still enslaved. Bentley died before completing his planned manumission of Skipwith, who later petitioned the General Assembly for his freedom in 1785 with support from former governor Benjamin Harrison V, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and Ambler, then treasurer of Virginia. Although his petition was denied, Skipwith purchased his freedom in 1789 for the significant sum of £40.



Thomas Bentley purchased Abraham Peyton Skipwith from Jaquelin Ambler in February 1782 and in May wrote a deed of manumission to free him (top). The deed was not recorded in the court and Skipwith legally remained the property of Bentley's estate when Bentley died in 1785. Skipwith then petitioned the Virginia General Assembly for his freedom (right) and provided a copy of Bentley's deed of manumission.



In 1793, Skipwith bought several lots from Martin Baker, who operated nearby Goddin's Tavern, to build his home. Originally part of William Byrd III's landholdings sold by lottery in 1768, the land was annexed by the City of Richmond in 1793. When Skipwith purchased his land, Richmond was a city of only about six thousand souls. He knew and lived near prominent white merchants and workers, free Black residents, and enslaved laborers. Among his neighbors was Jewish merchant Isaac Judah, as well as Judah's foster son, Benjamin Wythe Judah, a prominent free Black man. Benjamin's aunt, Lydia Broadnax, who was emancipated by famed Virginia jurist George Wythe, also lived nearby. Brook Road, close to Skipwith's home, became a major artery for organizers of Gabriel's Conspiracy, the aborted 1800 uprising of the enslaved in Richmond.

Skipwith died in 1799, only ten years after gaining his freedom. His will demonstrates his keen business acumen, his regard for his kin, enslaved and free, and his belief in education. He left his house and furnishings to his wife, Cloe, whom he had purchased and freed in 1794, and left instructions on investments for the benefit of his granddaughter, Maria, whom he also purchased and freed.

(below) Manumission for Cloe and Maria Skipwith.
(right) Page from Abraham Peyton Skipwith's will.

The goods and property Abraham Peyton Skipwith bequeathed to his wife, Cloe, and granddaughter, Maria, both of whom he had manumitted, included gold coins, silver buckles, clothing, furniture, a gun, and a cart and horse. Skipwith also left clothing and money to his other children who remained enslaved—daughter, Betsy, and her daughter, Louisa, and his sons, Benjamin and Samuel Jarret. Skipwith directed his executor, Reverend John D. Blair, to invest his capital for the education of Maria.

FACT:

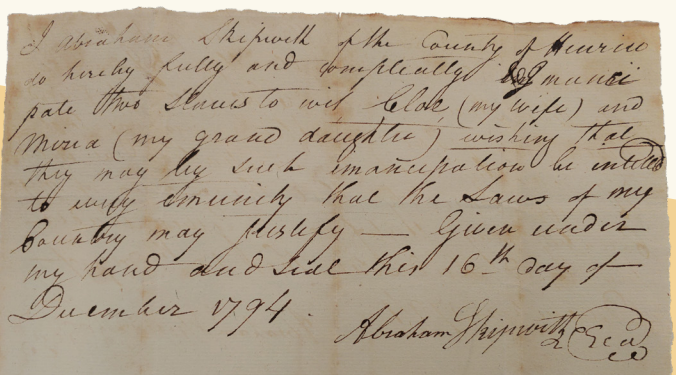
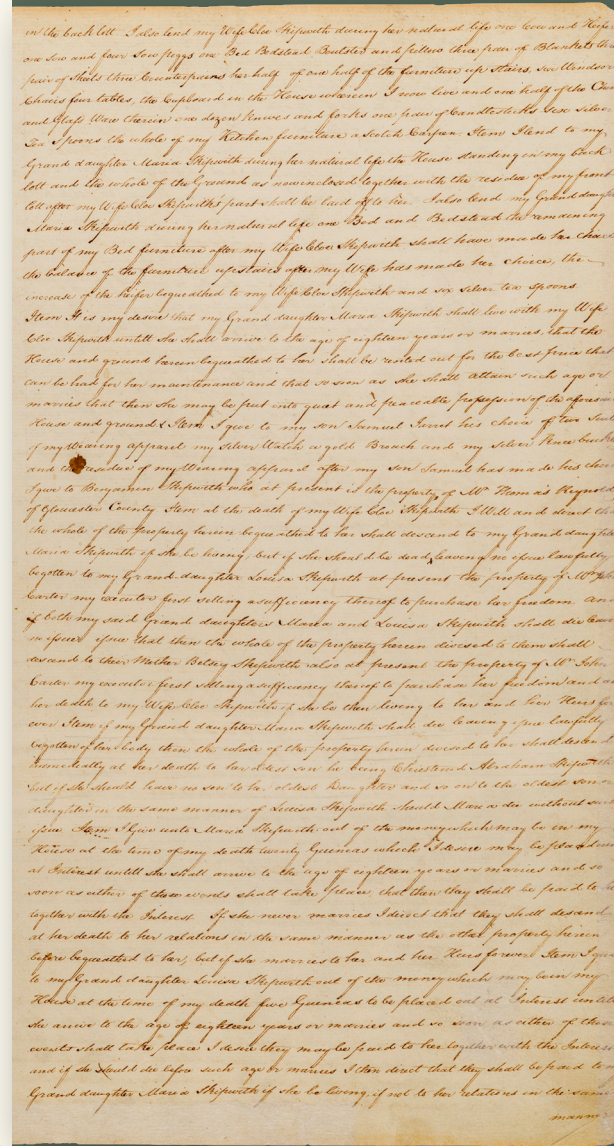
Abraham Peyton Skipwith died in 1799. Can you name two other founding fathers who died in 1799? Also passing on that year were Patrick Henry, who enslaved 67 people, and George Washington, who personally enslaved 123 people, although 317 enslaved people worked at Mount Vernon at the time of his death.

DID YOU KNOW?

Benjamin Harrison V was the father of the ninth president and the great-grandfather of the twenty-third president of the United States.

FACT:

In "Variety, or the vicissitudes of Long life," an unpublished story intended to instruct proper deportment for young women, Eliza Ambler, daughter of Jaquelin Ambler, mentioned Abraham Peyton Skipwith as serving tea.



BUILDING A BLACK COMMUNITY: THE ROPERS

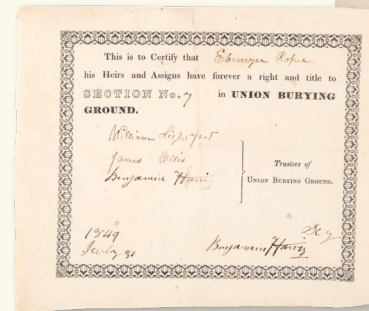
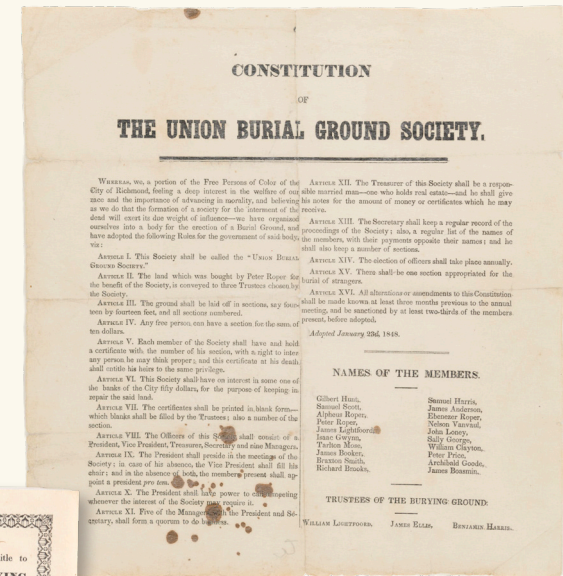
Abraham Peyton Skipwith's entrepreneurship enabled his descendants to establish themselves in Richmond as skilled artisans, community builders, and, later, political leaders.

By achieving social independence through his financial success, Skipwith created a model of Black success that his descendants followed. When Skipwith's granddaughter, Maria, married Peter Roper, a free Black man, she brought to the marriage property inherited from her grandfather. Peter Roper purchased his freedom from Hezekiah Wight in 1799, and in 1805, married Maria Skipwith. A skilled artisan, Roper enjoyed financial independence and helped build the city. Before and after the Civil War, the Ropers and their children helped construct a new Black independence through entrepreneurship, community building, and political action.

As in every other major southern city, free and enslaved Black laborers worked on virtually every structure in pre-Civil War Richmond. Building trades were not typically segregated before the Civil War. White artisans apprenticed and vouched for the skill of Black workers, as John Hillyard did for Ebenezer Roper, Peter's son. In the 1840s and 1850s, some white tradesmen, such as printers, ironworkers, and stonecutters, tried to exclude Black workers through trade unions and strikes. Labor competition increased with the growth of immigrants in the city. The Ropers advanced their community's interests through entrepreneurship and organizing in the face of laws preventing all free Black Virginians from voting, serving on juries, testifying against a white person, and many other activities.

Alpheus and Ebenezer Roper, sons of Peter Roper and Maria Skipwith, were founding members of the Union Burial Ground Society, established in 1848, one of several Black organizations that provided death benefits for its members. The society bought land near several existing Black cemeteries, the earliest established in 1815. Free Black Virginians formed fraternal and beneficial organizations to strengthen their communities and to provide for the sick.

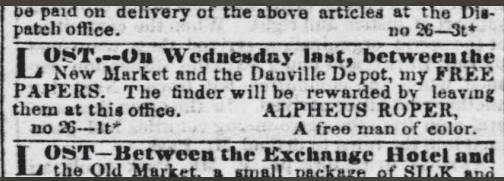
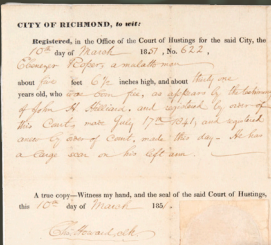
(right) Union Burial Ground Society Constitution.



(left) Ebenezer Roper's membership.

By 1803, Virginia law required free people of color to register and carry their "free papers"—documents attesting to their free status—at all times. In the wake of Gabriel's Conspiracy, an 1806 law required freed people to leave the state within one year of their emancipation unless they received government permission to stay. White leaders and citizens increasingly saw free Blacks residents as threats to a cultural and economic system that made Richmond the largest slave-trading center in the Upper South after the transatlantic trade in enslaved people ended in 1808.

The Ropers and other Black Richmonders built on Abraham Peyton Skipwith's legacy by advancing economic and political freedom. Being free enabled families like the Ropers to accumulate wealth and to gain some education. Likewise, enslaved people exploited Richmond's urban and industrial landscape, where many were hired out to businesses and manufacturers. Often housed away from both hirers and enslavers, they built secret societies, formed Black churches, established businesses, and surreptitiously learned to read and write. In 1861, the Confederate government identified several Ropers as "enemy aliens" because of their outspoken advocacy for the end of slavery. Timothy Roper, a son of Peter and Maria Roper, joined the 24th United States Colored Infantry when it was organized in Pennsylvania in March 1865.

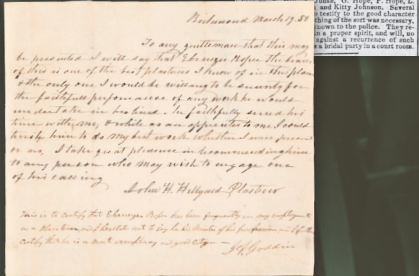


(above) In 1855, Alpheus Roper advertised in the Daily Dispatch that he had lost his free papers. Without proof of his freedom, Roper was vulnerable to arrest and the possibility of being sold into slavery.

(above left) Free papers of Ebenezer Roper.

(center left) Years after Peter Roper's death, Maria Skipwith Roper married Pleasant Miles, a Pamunkey native, in September 1853. To celebrate their wedding, they gathered with friends and family at the Skipwith-Roper Cottage, where all were arrested for violating the city code outlawing unauthorized assemblies of Black people. The mayor acknowledged their standing in the community and had them released, illustrating the capriciousness of the law.

(bottom left) Letter of recommendation from John Hillyard for Ebenezer Roper's skill as a plasterer.



ESTABLISHING A BIRTHPLACE OF BLACK ENTREPRENEURSHIP: JACKSON WARD

When Emancipation came in April 1865, Black Richmonders were ready to lead, and the Ropers helped build the new society that emerged from the ending of slavery. In addition to owning Skipwith's cottage, the family purchased additional lots and houses for rental income.

Alpheus Roper took part in sweeping reforms after Emancipation, attending Black political conventions and holding elected office. When Jackson Ward was created as a gerrymandered political district in 1871, he was elected as one of the first two of thirty-three Black men elected to the Richmond Common Council between 1871 and 1900. Roper and his allies organized a massive voter mobilization effort that resulted in the election of twenty-four Black delegates to the 1867–1868 state constitutional convention that created Virginia's first statewide public school system and made Black Virginians full citizens. More than ninety Black men served in the General Assembly from 1869 to 1892.

MASS CONVENTION OF THE UNION REPUBLICAN PARTY OF VIRGINIA.

The undersigned, members of the STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, appointed by the STATE CONVENTION held at ALEXANDRIA on the 19th of May, 1866, in view of the passage, by Congress, of the MILITARY RECONSTRUCTION BILL, and, subsequently, of the SUPPLEMENTARY BILL, deem it advisable that a CONVENTION of the LOYAL PEOPLE should be held at an early day, for organization. After a full consideration of the matter, we do, therefore, request a MASS CONVENTION of the LOYAL PEOPLE of the STATE, without distinction of color, to assemble in the AFRICAN CHURCH, at RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, on WEDNESDAY, the 17th day of April, 1867, at 12 o'clock, M.

Delegates are invited to come from all the Counties of the State.

- LYSANDER HILL, Chairman.
- JOHN HAWXHURST,
- BURNHAM WARDWELL,
- W. R. SMITH,
- JAMES H. CLEMENTS,
- LEWIS MCKENZIE.

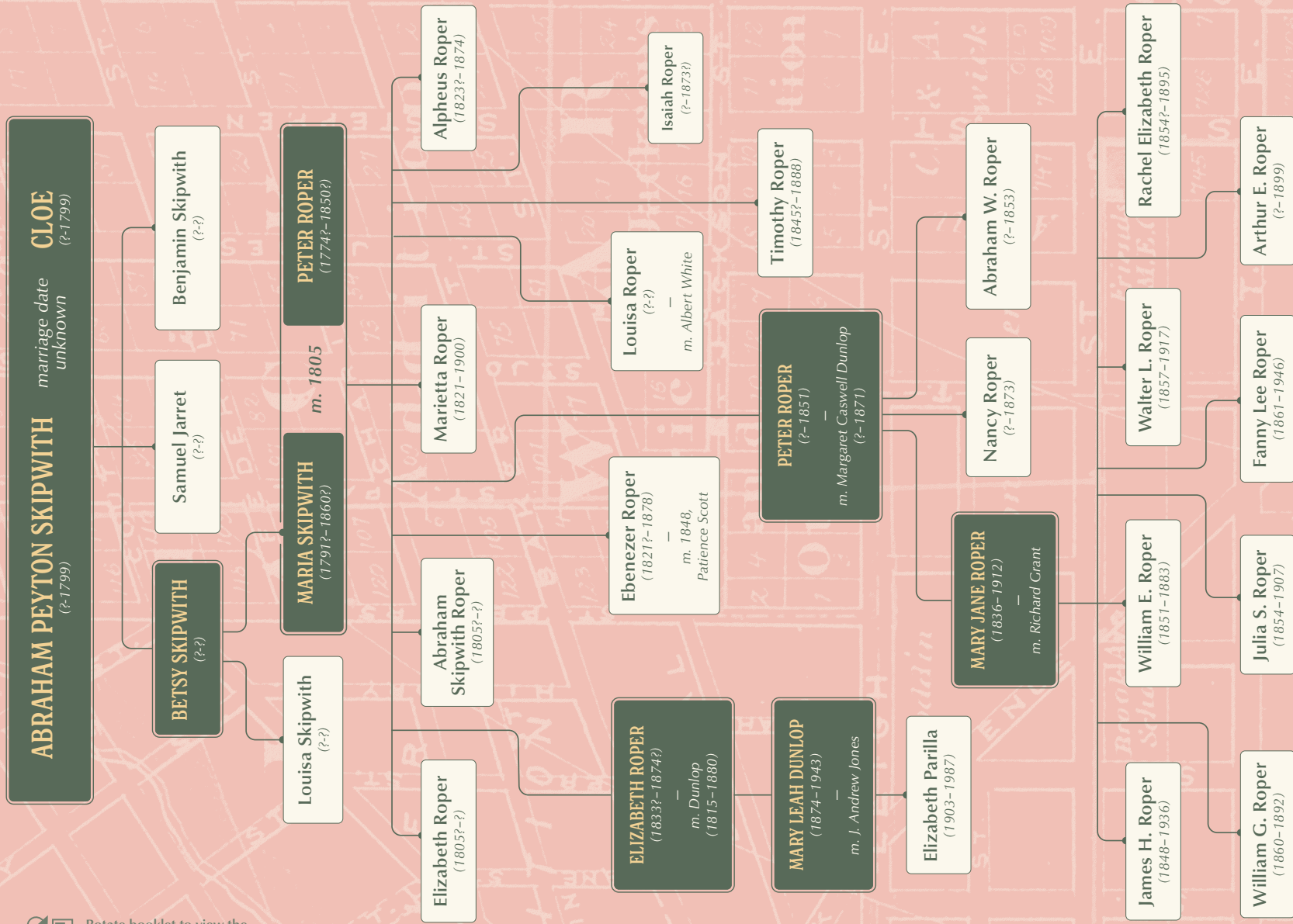
(right) Broadside, Mass Convention of the Union Republican Party of Virginia.



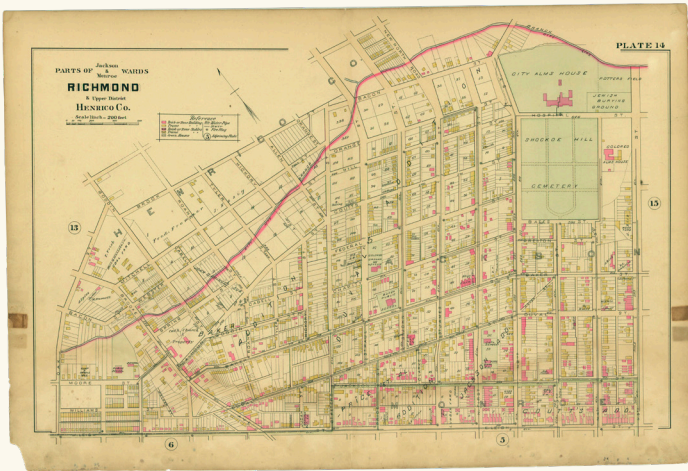
SKIPWITH-ROPER FAMILY TREE



Rotate booklet to view the Skipwith-Roper family tree.



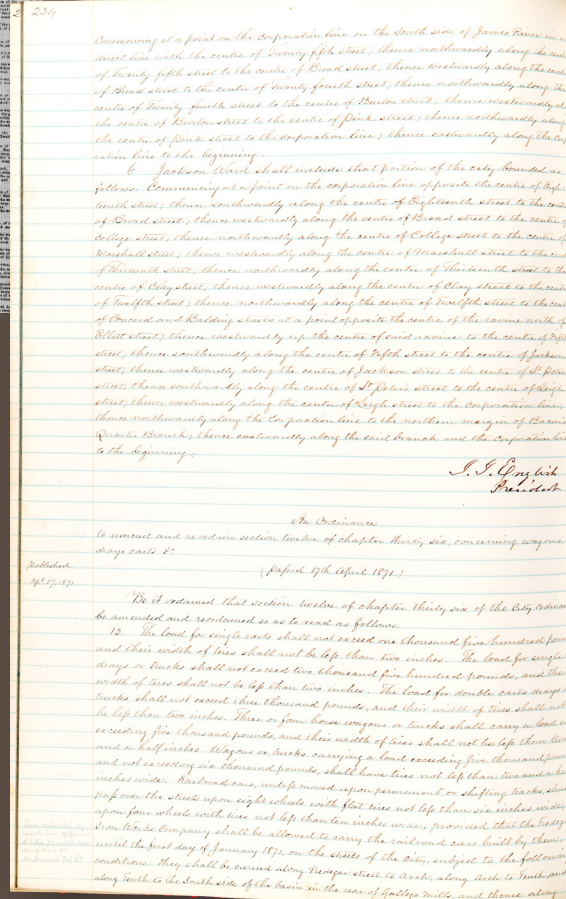
Jackson Ward, the newly created city ward that Alpheus Roper represented in Richmond's Common Council, was designed to limit Black political power by encompassing as many Black voters as possible. Known as the "shoestring ward," its original boundaries stretched across northwest Richmond, where the Skipwith-Roper Cottage stood, and down to Shockoe Valley. After the passage of the 1902 state constitution that removed almost all Black voters from the rolls, the ward as a political unit was disbanded, and the term "Jackson Ward" then designated a Black neighborhood hedged in by segregation.



(left) Map of Jackson Ward



(above) Jackson Ward "As It Was. As It Is." This map, published in the Daily State Journal, shows how Richmond Common Council carved out Jackson Ward.



(right) Richmond Common Council minutes establishing Jackson Ward from 1871.

Black Richmonders built their own vibrant institutions and sustained them even as their political power eroded. As one of the original "Black Wall Streets," Jackson Ward became the crown jewel for Black Richmond. Burial societies of the antebellum years grew into insurance companies, while fraternal orders thrived and businesses and banks were developed, such as the country's first banks to be owned and operated by a Black man and Black woman. The city's sixth ward also became known as a "Harlem of the South," with venues along Second Street appearing in *The Negro Motorist Green Book*.



(left) Maggie Lena Walker and St. Luke Penny Savings Bank Staff. Maggie Lena Walker established the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank in 1903 and became the first Black woman to charter a bank.



SHATTERING BLACK EXCELLENCE: THE RICHMOND-PETERSBURG TURNPIKE

The expansion of urban renewal projects in the twentieth century focused on inner city Black or minority communities that were deemed blighted or slums by white political leaders. These projects removed access to capital and eroded generational wealth created by people such as Abraham Peyton Skipwith and his Roper descendants.

Redlining, residential segregation, absent white ownership of rental housing, and chronic employment discrimination were just some of the factors that led to the decimation of Jackson Ward. In 1941, The City of Richmond built Gilpin Court, the first federally funded public housing project in the city, in the north part of Jackson Ward. When city officials proposed the Richmond-Petersburg Turnpike late in the 1940s, Jackson Ward became the prime target for “slum clearance.”

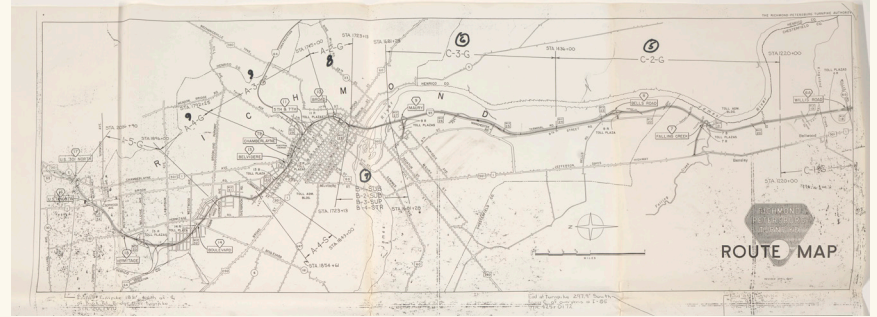


With the death of Marietta Roper in 1900, the last descendant of Abraham Peyton Skipwith, the cottage passed into the ownership of Abram Coleman by 1904. The Coleman family and their heirs retained ownership of the cottage until 1957, when the Richmond-Petersburg Turnpike Authority and the City of Richmond seized the property by eminent domain. Through purchase, condemnation, and eminent domain, more than 1,000 residents and business owners in Jackson Ward were displaced.

(left) Gilpin Court in 1941

Gilpin Court was named for Charles Sydney Gilpin, a native of Jackson Ward who became a prominent African American stage actor.

(above) The Skipwith-Roper Cottage, 400 West Duval Street.



(above) Key Map, Richmond–Petersburg Turnpike.
 (left) Destruction of Houses in Jackson Ward.
 (right) The Skipwith–Roper Cottage in Goochland County.

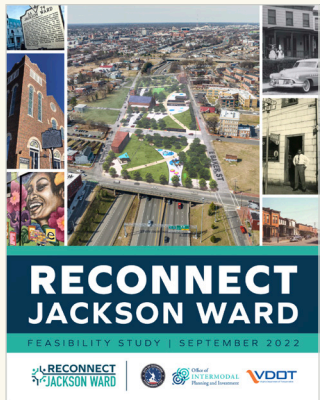
Construction of the turnpike sliced Jackson Ward in two, and Skipwith's most tangible legacy—his house and property—faced demolition. Recognizing the architectural importance of the house but ignoring its historical significance for Black Richmond, a white preservationist purchased the cottage for approximately \$25 in 1957, and moved the house to Goochland County. It was rebuilt on the former tobacco plantation of the secretary of war for the Confederacy. Subsequent renovations and reworkings have left little of its original fabric. Removed from its historical context, the house and the contributions of Abraham Peyton Skipwith and his descendants to the American Revolution, Civil War, and Civil Rights Movement largely became invisible.



Richmond–Petersburg Turnpike in 1957. Sixth Mount Zion Baptist Church (right) and the Southern Aid Insurance building (left) remain silent sentinels to the destruction caused by the turnpike construction.

RECLAIMING A COMMUNITY HISTORY: RECONNECTING JACKSON WARD

Infrastructure projects like the Richmond–Petersburg Turnpike shattered communities of color across the United States. Beginning in the 2010s, many cities began to re-examine the urban renewal and slum clearance projects of the previous century, such as the City of Richmond’s first city-wide master plan in 1946 by Harland Bartholomew and Associates, which helped to split Jackson Ward. Grassroots organizations established reparative justice initiatives, such as The JXN Project, to help heal the communities and neighborhoods that had been devastated by such projects. The Project introduced “The Skipwith–Roper Homecoming” as an initiative to reconstruct the home of Abraham Peyton Skipwith. The reconstruction will sit on land donated by the Maggie Walker Community Land Trust and Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority, which oversaw the development of Gilpin Court.



City of Richmond’s conceptual design for Reconnect Jackson Ward.

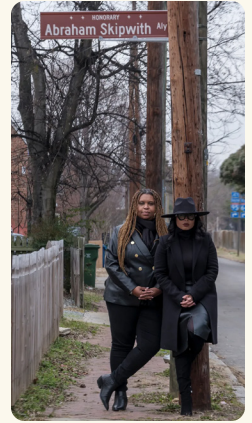
Indigenous and People of Color Historic Preservation Fund, a grant program “to protect and support Virginia’s historically underserved and underrepresented communities and the cultural and historical sites associated with them.”

With support from the Virginia Office of Intermodal Planning and Investment and the Virginia Department of Transportation, the City of Richmond created “Reconnect Jackson Ward” to conduct a feasibility study to determine how the two sections of Jackson Ward might be reconnected physically and economically. In 2023, the city received a grant from the U.S. Department of Transportation to continue community engagement and develop design concepts for Reconnect Jackson Ward. Through legislative enactment in 2022, the Virginia Department of Historic Resources established the Black,

UNCOVERING A HIDDEN HISTORY: THE JXN PROJECT

The JXN Project, also known as JXN, is a historic preservation nonprofit organization dedicated to capturing the pivotal role of Jackson Ward in the Black American experience as the nation’s first historically registered Black urban neighborhood —after gaining its designation from the U.S. Department of the Interior in 1976. Founded in 2020 by sisters Sesha Joi Moon, Ph.D. and Enjoli Moon, JXN has partnered with the Library of Virginia to examine the origin story of Jackson Ward, including the recovery of the untold history of Abraham Peyton Skipwith, the first known Black homeowner in Jackson Ward —and for whom the project considers as “The Founding Father of Jackson Ward.”

Since its inception, JXN has helped to establish a series of honorary street designations for Black Richmonders and has invested over \$250,000 in sponsorships for community-based organizations and/or scholarships for marginally-serving institutions.



*(above) Abraham Skipwith Alley.
(middle) August Moon Way.
(left) Giles B. Jackson from Unveiling The Vanguard.*

THE
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(above) Groundbreaking Ceremony for “The Skipwith-Roper Homecoming”.

(below) Baskervill’s concept design for the Skipwith-Roper Cottage and The JXN Haus.

JXN also coordinated a year-long sesquicentennial celebration to mark the 150th anniversary of Jackson Ward in 2021, beginning with “Illuminating Legacies: Giles B. Jackson Day” and followed by a six-part “The JXN Project Summer Lecture Series” with the Library of Virginia and the Richmond Public Library. The celebration culminated with the city’s largest

mass honorary street installation for “Unveiling The Vanguard,” which included “Abraham Skipwith Alley” named in tribute to Abraham Peyton Skipwith.

“The Skipwith-Roper Homecoming” is an initiative to commemorate the 250th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence through the lens of the life, liberty, lineage, and legacy of Abraham Peyton Skipwith and his Roper descendants. To interpret the role of Jackson Ward in the origin story of the United States of America, JXN reconstructed the Skipwith-Roper Cottage as a historic site as part of the U.S. Semiquincentennial. The cottage sits alongside The JXN Haus as the project’s operational headquarters—which upon full completion will include a research lab and library, as well as a co-working space and green space for community programming and placemaking.



HOUSE TO HIGHWAY: RECLAIMING A COMMUNITY HISTORY

The House to Highway: Reclaiming a Community History exhibition resulted from a lively partnership between The JXN Project and the Library of Virginia with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Virginia Humanities, and The Community Foundation for a greater Richmond, as well as the Mellon Foundation for programming. Riggs Ward Design and Mindhatch Creative designed the exhibition, which began at the Library of Virginia and will be transferred to the Skipwith-Roper Cottage and The JXN Haus as its permanent site as part of the U.S. Semiquincentennial during Jackson Ward’s Founding Week from April 17-19, 2026. The JXN Project recognizes its research partners who supported this exhibition, including the Black History Museum and Cultural Center of Virginia, the Virginia Museum of History and Culture, The Valentine, Preservation Virginia, Historic Richmond, the Poe Museum, the Richmond Times-Dispatch, the Richmond Free Press, the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, and the William & Mary Bray School Lab.

The reconstruction team for the Skipwith-Roper Cottage and The JXN Haus includes Baskervill, Team Henry Enterprises, Timmons Group, Jones Archaeology Consulting, Schnabel Engineering, and Habitat for Humanity. As part of the reconstruction process, JXN hosted an archaeological community dig, as well as a community build day in partnership with Habitat for Humanity and Richmond Public Schools. The project also worked with PBS (Public Broadcasting Service), and VPM (Virginia’s home for public media) to document the homecoming initiative in a documentary by director Stacey Holman titled *Declarations of Independence* for release in 2026.

Among the community partners who have contributed to The JXN Project and “The Skipwith-Roper Homecoming” are the Commonwealth of Virginia, City of Richmond, Maggie Walker Community Land Trust, Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority, Mellon Foundation, Dominion Energy Charitable Foundation, Nike Jordan Brand, Airbnb, Weissberg Foundation, The Mary Morton Parsons Foundation, Cabell Foundation, iF: A Foundation for Radical Possibility, Greater Washington Community Foundation, Richmond Memorial Health Foundation, and Meyer Foundation—as well as grassroots gifts and grants from the community.