Biography of Rosanna Harris Scott, 1861-1943

Buried in Historic East End Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia

By Sarah Hodges

Nestled in a peaceful family plot in East End Cemetery, shaded by towering tulip poplar and white oak, Rosanna H. Scott lies surrounded by her family, much as she was all 82 years of her life. Her headstone, captured in this photo taken by the author and engraved with a beautiful rose in full bloom reads, “Our Mother, Rosanna H. Scott, Died Jan. 18, 1943.”

Rosanna Scott was more than a beloved mother, though. She was also a devoted daughter, sister, wife, grandmother, and great-grandmother, serving as the anchor for her family for decades.

Perhaps Rosanna’s devotion to her family was inherited from her mother, Adaline Harris. Adaline is buried in the same plot, in the corner behind Rosanna. Her name, in some form, would carry on through the next two generations of her family.

Although few records exist about Adaline before the 1870 census, sources indicate that she gave birth to 13 children, demonstrating dedication to motherhood, and laying a foundation of

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1 Question, comments, clarifications, and other information about Rosanna Scott and her family are welcome. The author can be reached at sehodges07@gmail.com.
2 Although no official birth certificate could be found, the 1900 census identifies Rosanna’s birth month as June, 1861. Full sourcing for cited censuses is provided at the end of this document.
3 Death date from headstone in East End Cemetery; “Virginia, Death Certificates, 1912-2014,” digital image s.v. “Rosanna Scott” (1861-1943), Ancestry.com
strong family connections that would go on to serve her children, grandchildren, and
great-grandchildren for years to come.

Rosanna, or Rosa as she was called in her youth, was born in June, 1861, to Adaline
and George Harris.\textsuperscript{4} Two months earlier, Richmond had been named the capital of the
newly-founded Confederacy, and it’s not a stretch to imagine that the stirrings of war and
Richmond’s role in it wore heavily on the minds of her parents. On June 4, 1861, the month of
Rosa’s birth, the \textit{Richmond Enquirer’s} front page story began this way: “The enemy is upon
the soil of Virginia, and thousands of troops are flocking from nearly every State to maintain
the honor of our flag.”\textsuperscript{5} Aside from worries about war, Adaline and George harbored additional
worries. They already had at least three other living children when Baby Rosa came along:
her brother, Captain, born in 1848, her sister, Pinky, born in 1852, and another brother,
William, born in 1858.\textsuperscript{6}

Rosa lived with her mother, father, and her three siblings in Monroe Ward. Monroe
Ward was a heavily residential district, in which buildings ran the spectrum from slave quarters
to row houses to large, ornate mansions. Cast iron fences
separated some of the more upscale properties, and many of
the buildings reflected the sedate Greek Revival and Italian
architectural styles.\textsuperscript{8} Photos of Richmond from 1865, when

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotenumbers
\footnotetext{4}{1900 United States Census, Henrico County, Richmond, Jackson Ward, Richmond City, Virginia, Rosanna Scott.}
\footnotetext{5}{While Rosa is clearly a nickname for Rosanna, census takers sometimes misspelled the names of respondents. In
1910, for example, she was identified as Rosetta. In 1920, as Rosana. Her mother’s name also went through various spellings, including Adeline, Arelina in 1870, and Adelane in 1880.}
\footnotetext{6}{Tyler Wise, “The Duty which the Soldier owes to his Country,” \textit{Richmond Enquirer}, June 4, 1861.}
\footnotetext{7}{1870 United States Census, Henrico County, Richmond, Monroe Ward, Richmond City, Virginia, Rosanna Scott; Note: Although “Surky” is listed on this census, it seems likely that “Surky” and “Pinky” are the same person.}
\footnotetext{8}{“Monroe Ward,” Historic Richmond, Building on History, https://historicrochmond.com.}
\end{footnotes}
Rosa was four, show pockets of the city in ruins and strewn with rubble, as depicted in this photograph titled “Rubble in Street, Richmond, VA, April 1865,” displaying the capitol in the center and the custom house on the left.⁹

According to the 1870 census, Rosa’s mother, Adaline--mistakenly reported as “Arelina” by the census taker--kept house. Rosa’s father, George, was identified as a laborer, which appears to be a general term for someone who hired out his services in a variety of fields, based on what work was available at the time. Information for the 1870 census identifies laborers as men who might do farm work, repair roads, or perform “odd jobs.”¹⁰ George listed his personal estate value at $100. “Personal estate value” during that time included things like household goods and livestock, and that $100 in 1870 equals approximately $2077 today.¹¹ Captain, 22, Rosa’s oldest brother, waited tables at a hotel. Pinky, 18, helped their mother keep house, and William, only 12, already worked as a tobacco factory hand. During that era, factory hands like William typically smashed tobacco leaves into smaller particles and then sifted them through screens.¹² William, Captain, and Rosa are the only family members listed as being able to read and write, although the census reports them as having not attended school within the prior year.

Between 1877 and 1880, George Harris, Rosa’s father, died, although no records could be found to document his passing. A map of Jackson Ward from 1877 shows the name G. Harris on the street in which his family would permanently settle, confirming that he purchased

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⁹ Civil War Photos, https://www.civilwarphotos.net
the home, but George was not recorded on the 1880 census. Captain, Rosa’s brother, no longer appears on any record after 1870 either.

By 1880, Adaline, William, and Rosa, now 17, had settled into their permanent home on 1016 St. John Street. This image from F.W. Beers’s *Illustrated Atlas of the City of Richmond* shows that the back of the property touched that of the Colored Orphan Asylum, whose offshoot still survives today as the Friends Association for Children in Jackson Ward. Rosa would live at 1016 St. John Street until her death in 1943, raising her children and grandchildren there.

Jackson Ward was a “flourishing residential locality” in 1880. In the years after the Civil War, “remarkable commerce, entertainment and religious institutions were established and thrived in the face of Jim Crow.” According to Jon Sealy of *The Richmond Times-Dispatch*, “In the first half of the 20th century, Jackson Ward became a prosperous business, financial and entertainment area known as the ‘birthplace of Black Capitalism’ and the ‘Harlem of the South.’” Famous musicians such as Duke Ellington, Louis Armstrong, and Ella Fitzgerald would perform in Jackson Ward’s night spots a couple of decades later, and the

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area was the home of dancer Bill “Bojangles” Robinson. Maggie Lena Walker, entrepreneur and visionary, also lived in Jackson Ward.16

Rosa’s neighborhood was growing and prospering around her as she helped her mother, now a widow, establish a sense of home. In the 1880 census, Adaline was listed as the head of the household. At 59 years old, Adaline, a single black mother, had become part of the minority in terms of family structure. According to Steven Ruggles of the University of Minnesota, only 13.8% of black families in 1880 were headed by the mother alone.17 Conversely, almost 63% of black families in 1880 had both parents to support them. Jackson Ward, known for its strong African-American heritage, probably provided a supportive community for Adaline’s duties as the head of her household.

Later census records, in 1940, indicate that Rosa was also going to school in her early teens. She finished three years of high school, which appears to be the equivalent of finishing junior year today.18 She may have gone to Baker School, which was only a block away from where she lived, but there are no records to confirm that. The school itself was condemned in the 1908-09 school year, with one source calling it “an antiquated fire trap.”19

As a teenager, Rosa was still surrounded by siblings. Her older brother, William, 22, was a cooper, a “maker of casks, wooden vessels, and sometimes coffins.”20 The census also lists an Emma Harris, daughter of Adaline, single and 38, living there as well. There were several Emma Harrises in Richmond records at the time, but this Emma was most likely a

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daughter of Adaline’s who had moved back in with her somewhere between 1870 and 1880. Rosa also lived next door to her older sister, Pinky, Pinky’s husband, William Wilson, whom Pinky had married sometime after 1870, and their two small children, Emeline, 2 years old, and James, 1.

Because the 1890 census was destroyed in a fire, eighteen years elapsed until the next documented appearance of Rosa and her family occurs again. During this time, the Statue of Liberty arrived in New York Harbor. Coca-Cola was invented. AC current was transmitted for the first time. Frederick Douglass died. Racial segregation was approved under Plessy v. Ferguson.21 Closer to home, Richmond became the first city to institute an extensive, fully functioning electric streetcar network.22 Change rocked the United States, socially, technologically, and geographically, but Rosa’s life remained centered on St. John Street with her family.

From 1880 to 1900, as the United States was growing and transforming, Rosa’s life was too. She married John Wesley P. Scott of Amelia County in 1881 and bore eight children, six of which were still living in 1900. In that year, Rosa, John, and their children lived with her mother, Adaline, then 74 years old, who is again listed as the head of the household. Census records indicate that Adaline owned their home on St. John Street, free of mortgage. John, Rosa’s husband, worked as a store porter. The word “porter” may have indicated a worker who carried packages for customers or someone who provided janitorial services for a building. Although Rosa was listed as having no occupation, she was raising their children:

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21 “1890s,” America’s Best History, https://americasbesthistory.com
Adalena, 18, Fannie, 16, William, 12, Celestine, 10, Robert, 8, and George, 3. Fannie, William, and Celestine were attending school.\textsuperscript{23}

In 1898, Rosa’s mother, Adaline, and her brother, Robert, appeared in a society piece in the August 27 issue of \textit{The Richmond Planet}, the prominent African American newspaper of the time. Although Rosa is not mentioned in the article, she and her burgeoning family were living with Adaline at the time, and one can assume she enjoyed the festivities along with her family and friends.\textsuperscript{24} One friend listed in the article, Gertrude Hope, around 20 years old at the time of the party, grew up one street away from the Harrises.\textsuperscript{25}

On December 21, 1905, tragedy struck the family when the longtime matriarch, Rosa’s mother, Adaline, passed away. Rosa and her sisters, Bettie and Pinky, composed a touching obituary in honor of their mother that appeared in the \textit{Richmond Planet} on January 6. Adaline’s funeral had been held on Christmas Eve at Ebenezer Baptist Church, of which she had been a member for almost forty years.\textsuperscript{26} Ebenezer Baptist Church, now considered a historic African American church, still serves the Jackson Ward community today.\textsuperscript{27} The sisters embedded four verses of poetry within Adaline’s obituary, the lines of which connect to

\textsuperscript{23} 1900 United States Census, Henrico County, Richmond, Jackson Ward, Richmond City, Virginia, Rosanna Scott.
\textsuperscript{24} “A Grand Surprise,” \textit{The Richmond Planet}, August 27, 1898.
\textsuperscript{25} 1880 United States Census, Henrico County, Richmond, Jackson Ward, Richmond City, Virginia, Gertrude Hopes.
\textsuperscript{26} “Gone Before,” \textit{Richmond Planet}, January 6, 1906.
their deep love for their mother, the grief they felt at her passing, and their hope at meeting her in heaven.

Nearly a year later, death visited the family again when Rosanna and John’s oldest daughter, Adalena, passed away at the age of 24. No death record could be found, however. Fannie, the second oldest, would die four years later in 1910. Adalena’s headstone, located in East End Cemetery, reads, “Unveil thy bosom faithful tomb/take this new treasure to thy/trust.” Fannie’s headstone, also in East End, includes a finely-engraved rose, similar to the one on Rosanna’s grave.

By 1910, Rosanna and John had been married for 28 years. While Rosanna kept house on St. John Street, John was working as a teamster for an implement company, a business that sold agricultural equipment. According to Neal Tepel, a labor expert, “In 1910 a teamster referred to someone who led a team of draft animals employed to cultivate a farmer's fields or to carry wagons with market goods from one place to another.”

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28 Death date from headstone in East End Cemetery
handiness with horses may have rubbed off on their son, Robert, who drove a wagon and
would later handle horses in World War I.\footnote{The National Archives at College Park; College Park, Maryland; Record Group Title: Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, 1774-1985; Record Group Number: 92; Roll or Box Number: 308}

Four of Rosanna and John’s children were still living with them during the April census
that year. William (22) worked as a baker, Celestine (20) clerked for an insurance company,
Robert (18) drove a wagon for a local bakery, and George (13) attended school. On July 5,
1910, Celestine, Rosanna’s fourth child, married William L. Deane, then 34, who waited tables
at a hotel and lived in Washington Ward, another section of Richmond.\footnote{1910 United States Census, Henrico County, Richmond, Jackson Ward, Richmond City, Virginia, Rosanna Scott.; in some records, the “e” at the end of “Deane” is eliminated} Celestine and William were married in
Rosanna and John’s home. The marriage announcement appeared in the July 16 edition of the \textit{Richmond Planet}.\footnote{“Marriage Announcement,” \textit{Richmond Planet}, July 16, 1910.}

Three years later, on March 12, 1913, a second marriage blessed the family. William, Rosanna and John’s oldest son, married Mary A. Quarles, another Richmond native. She gave birth to their child, William Wesley Scott, four months later.\footnote{“Virginia, Birth Records, 1912-2015, Delayed Birth Records, 1721-1911,” digital image s.v. “William Wesley Scott” (1913-1997).} At
the time, they were living on 907 North 7th Street, approximately ten blocks from Rosanna and
John’s home. William was working as a porter, and Mary was keeping house.

That marital happiness and baby bliss may have been overshadowed, however, in
December by the death of Rosanna’s husband, John. He died at their home on St. John Street,
only 55 years old at the time. He had still been working as a teamster. His death was
attributed to complications related to appendicitis. He joined his mother-in-law, Adaline, and his daughters Adalena and Fannie in Greenwood, which would later become East End Cemetery. His headstone, engraved with a blooming rose, matches Rosanna’s. His name, J. W. P. Scott, carved in large block letters on a proud rectangular stone, marks the entrance to the family plot, as displayed in this photograph taken by the author.

After John’s death, four years elapsed before Rosanna appeared on another government record. During this time, America continued to move forward. In Highland Park, Michigan, Henry Ford developed the first assembly line. Alexander Graham Bell and Thomas A. Watson conducted the first long distance telephone call. Woodrow Wilson won a second term. And on

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34 “Virginia, Death Certificates, 1912-2014,” digital image s.v. “John Scott” (1858-1913), Ancestry.com
April 6, 1917, Congress declared war on Germany and joined World War I, the effects of which would trickle down to the Scott’s home on St. John Street.  

In 1917, Rosanna (56) appeared on Robert’s World War I draft registration card. It identifies Robert H. Scott (23), Rosanna’s fifth child, as the “sole support of mother,” since Rosanna was a widow and he was the only male living at home at the time. Robert was working at The Hotel Rueger as a waiter. The Hotel Rueger, on 9th and Bank Street, “boasted 136 bedrooms, of which about 80 percent had private baths, and ‘modern elevators.’ The dining room could seat 200 guests, there were eight private dining rooms which accommodated 8-36 guests, a basement level grill room for businessmen, and a roof garden above the 10th floor.” Robert may have been working in relatively luxurious conditions at Hotel Rueger, but that was about to change. Within two years of being drafted, Robert was serving in Europe for the U.S. Army’s Veterinarian Hospital Number 4, a special unit devoted to the care of soldiers’ horses. During his military career, Rosanna appeared as his emergency contact for every move across the Atlantic Ocean.

The winter of 1918 brought more tragedy to the world and to Rosanna’s family. The 1918 Flu Pandemic, which killed over 675,000 Americans, claimed Rosanna’s oldest son, William, in January. His death certificate cites the cause of his death as influenza. He was buried in Evergreen Cemetery, adjacent to East End. His death must have been a crushing

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35 “World War One,” American’s Best History Timeline, https://americasbesthistory.com
36 Ancestry.com, U.S., World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918
38 “The Veterinary Corps: Caring and Curing,” The United States World War One Centennial Commission, https://www.worldwar1centennial.org
39 The National Archives at College Park; College Park, Maryland; Record Group Title: Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, 1774-1985; Record Group Number: 92; Roll or Box Number: 308
40 “1918 Pandemic,” Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, https://www.cdc.gov
blow to both his immediate and extended family.\textsuperscript{41} He was only 31, had only been married five years, and he left behind his wife, Mary, and their 5 year-old son, William Wesley Scott. Eventually, Mary would remarry, and she and her second husband, Fred Johnson, would raise William on North 5th Street in Richmond.\textsuperscript{42} In a span of 13 years, by 1918, Rosanna had lost her mother, her husband, and three of her children, Adalena, Fannie, and William.

In 1920, Rosanna still lived on St. John Street, and was identified as the head of the household--being a widow after John’s death earlier in the decade. For the first time, at the age of 52, she is recorded as having an occupation--laundress.\textsuperscript{43} A laundress was employed to clean clothes and linens, and according to the notation in the census, Rosanna did this work in her home.\textsuperscript{44} Although her income wasn’t recorded, information is available about the average weekly income of African American women in the early 1920s. In South Carolina, the average weekly income for a working woman was $5.25. In Tennessee, it was $7.55.\textsuperscript{45} In today’s dollars, that’s $77.27 and $111.13, respectively, for a week’s worth of hard work.\textsuperscript{46}

Similar to her mother forty years earlier, Rosanna now headed a household with three generations. By this time, Celestine and William Deane had two children, Eunice, 9, and Adeline, 7, both attending school. The entire Deane family, along with Rosanna’s sons Robert and George, lived with Rosanna. Celestine helped with her mother’s laundry business, and her

\textsuperscript{41} “Virginia, Death Certificates, 1912-2014,” digital image s.v. “William Scott” (1888-1918), Ancestry.com
\textsuperscript{42} 1930 United States Census, Henrico County, Richmond, Jackson Ward, Richmond City, Virginia, Rosanna Scott.
\textsuperscript{43} 1920 United States Census, Henrico County, Richmond, Jackson Ward, Richmond City, Virginia, Rosanna Scott.
\textsuperscript{44} Lexico, https://www.lexico.com
\textsuperscript{46} Figures calculated using WolframAlpha
husband, William, was still waiting tables at a hotel. Robert, back from the war, was again waiting tables, and George served as a chauffeur for a paper company.

By 1930, three generations remained in the house on St. John Street, but roles had changed. Rosanna continued to live there with her daughter Celestine, her son-in-law William, and their two daughters, Eunice, 19, and Adeline, 17. This time, however, William is listed as the head of the household. He was working as a janitor for a trust company. Robert, 38 years old, worked as a porter for the railroad. It was a porter’s job “to lug baggage, shine shoes, set up and clean the sleeping berths and serve passengers.” From a historical perspective, though, porters like Robert are credited with starting the Great Migration, enlarging the middle class, and being the precursors to the later civil rights movement, because of their travel and far-reaching influence.47

George, Rosanna’s youngest son, is not listed on the 1930 census as being in the house, presumably because he had moved. In October of 1934, records indicate that he married Violet Lacy in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. They ran a boarding house in Dauphin County with at least four lodgers.48

By her seventies, Rosanna had lived through the Civil War, the death of most of her family, World War I, and a pandemic. Perhaps, comparatively, the Great Depression that affected America in the early 30s didn’t seem like such an obstacle. One historian of the time cites that although African Americans were the “last hired and first fired,” “some blacks noted very little change, being ‘used to hard times anyway.””49

Whatever Rosanna’s experience was

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47 “Pullman Porters,” History, https://www.history.com
48 Ancestry.com, Pennsylvania, Marriages, 1852-1968; 1940 census
during the Great Depression, she came out on the other side of it, still owning her home on St. John Street with her children still gainfully employed.

In 1940, Rosanna turned 80 years old. She once again identified as the head of the household. 1016 St. John Street was worth approximately $2500 according to census records, a value around $47,000 today.\textsuperscript{50} Robert, her oldest son, was now working at least 40 hours a week as a steward. The word “steward” has multiple meanings, but he most likely worked as “an employee who has charge of the table, wine, [servers], etc., in a club, restaurant, or the like.”\textsuperscript{51} Celestine did not work, but her husband, William, worked as a secretary, and they still lived with Rosanna. Rosanna’s granddaughter, Eunice (29), had married Leonard Eggleston and was living on 6th Street. Her other granddaughter, Adeline (28), had married Raymond V. Graham. Eunice and Leonard Eggleston and Adeline and Raymond Graham lived together on 6th street. Adeline and Raymond also had a three year-old son named Robert, Rosanna’s only great-grandchild.

The transition into the new year, however, proved to be a cruel one. On January 6, 1941, Rosanna lost her youngest son, George, to a cerebral hemorrhage. He was only 41 years old, and he left behind his wife of six years, Violet. He died in his home in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and was buried in Lincoln Cemetery there.\textsuperscript{52} Robert traveled to Pennsylvania to sign the death certificate of his brother.

\textsuperscript{50}1940 United States Census, Henrico County, Richmond, Jackson Ward, Richmond City, Virginia, Rosanna Scott; Calculated using WolframAlpha, https://www.wolframalpha.com/
\textsuperscript{52}Pennsylvania Historic and Museum Commission; Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; Pennsylvania (State). Death certificates, 1906–1967; Certificate Number Range: 005251-008250
On January 18, 1943, Rosanna died in her home on St. John Street, at the age of 82. The doctor diagnosed the cause of death as hypertensive cardio-renal disease. Although she outlived most of her family, she did leave behind two children, Celestine and Robert, three grandchildren, Eunice, Adeline, William W., and one great-grandchild, Robert C. Graham. According to her simple obituary in The Richmond Times-Dispatch, her funeral was held on Thursday, January 21, at Ebenezer Baptist Church, the church in which her mother’s service had been held almost 40 years earlier.

Rosanna’s daughter, Celestine, died less than six months later of cardiac failure. Robert, Rosanna’s son, lived another 18 years, but died in December of 1961. He was given a veteran’s plot in Richmond National Cemetery for his WWI service, with his rank of sergeant engraved on his headstone. Rosanna’s great-grandson, Robert Graham, would go on to attend Hampton University Institute, Colgate University, Stanford University, and Harvard University. He would also marry twice and have four children. Like his great-grandmother and great-great-grandmother before him, he became a member of Ebenezer Baptist Church. An ambitious student, a man of faith, and a successful businessman, Robert passed in January 2020.

Rosanna’s grave in East End Cemetery is nearly in the middle of the family plot. Her mother, husband, two brothers, and two daughters surround her, just as they did at various times in her life. Her sisters, Bettie and Pinky, are buried in their family plots on either side of her. She rests now as she worked in life--along with those who loved her and whom she loved.

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54 “Scott,” Richmond Times-Dispatch, January 21, 1943.
The rose on her headstone, symbolic of Earthly love,\textsuperscript{58} seems appropriate for a woman who dedicated her life to generations of her family and who gave them a home--the same home--for over 60 years.\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{58} \textit{Flower symbols and meanings on gravestones},https://stoneletters.com.

\textsuperscript{59} Also indicated by census records, 1880-1940.
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