The Diaspora of the Seneca Villagers: How Historical Erasure and Silences of Black Freedom

Created Central Park

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Introduction

Every year, a grand 42 million people visit Central Park. Spanning 843 precious acres of nature, Central Park is one of New York's most beloved treasures— a recreational escape from the urban jungle and the busyness of city life. But beyond the dedicated benches and welcoming lawns lies a history largely overlooked. Before the creation of Central Park was approved in 1853, this land was home to Seneca Village, a small yet thriving neighborhood of middle-class, landowning Black Americans who offered a snapshot of progress, hope, and freedom. In an era defined by racial violence and systemic barriers, Seneca Village stood as a rare symbol of Black freedom actualized.

However, in order to build Central Park, Seneca Village was razed, and its inhabitants were forced to leave. However, the destruction of Seneca Village did not just eliminate a lively and budding neighborhood; it also reinforced the systemic marginalization and disempowerment of Black communities. Consequently, the destruction of Seneca Village marked a distinct but not isolated moment in history in which urban planning and the "common good" were weaponized against disadvantaged communities. Furthermore, while the United States certainly has progressed as a society, the system that displaced the Seneca Villagers remains deeply embedded in the very fabric of American society. It continues to persist, evolve, and manifest in both implicit and explicit ways, contributing to the gentrification and displacement of Black communities prevalent today.

Seneca Village first came to be in 1825 with the purchase of land in middle Manhattan by Andrew Williams. Williams, who was a 25-year-old African American shoe shiner, bought three

¹ Tricia Kang, "160 Years of Central Park: A Brief History," Central Park Conservancy, June 1, 2017, https://www.centralparknyc.org/articles/central-park-history.

lots of land for \$125— a remarkable feat considering that slavery was not completely abolished until 1827.² According to a 2011 report on the Seneca Village excavation, it is likely that the village was settled in to create a space to nurture an African American community secluded from the rampant racism of the 19th century.³ And for a while, it was. In fact, historical archaeologists Diana diZerega Wall and others compare Seneca Village to "Little Africa," noting that its residents were more established and aligned with the middle class.⁴ This community of free Black people in the early 19th century was less prosperous and its inhabitants were less likely to live in single-family homes compared to the residents of Seneca Village. Furthermore, before it was finally demolished in 1858, the community had three churches and one school, with two-thirds of the men being able to read and write.⁵

Indeed, Seneca Village was a rare beacon of Black prosperity in an era defined by the unrest and violence of slavery. Even as the United States championed Manifest Destiny and acquired several new territories that would perpetuate sectional tensions, this community stood as proof that Black people could establish themselves. Yet this vision of Black success was abruptly cut short in 1853 when New York City invoked eminent domain—the government's power to seize private land for public use⁶—and destroyed the village to make way for Central

² See *An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery*, Laws of New York, 22nd sess. (1799), chap. 62, sec. 1.

³ Diana diZerega Wall, Nan A. Rothschild, Meredith B. Linn, and Cynthia R. Copeland, Seneca Village, A Forgotten Community: Report on the 2011 Excavations (New York: Institute for the Exploration of Seneca Village History, 2018), 1, http://s-media.nyc.gov/agencies/lpc/arch_reports/1828.pdf

⁴ Wall, Diana diZerega, Nan A. Rothschild, and Cynthia Copeland. "Seneca Village and Little Africa: Two African American Communities in Antebellum New York City." *Historical Archaeology* 42, no. 1 (2008): 97–107. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25617485.

⁵ Diana diZerega Wall, Nan A. Rothschild, Meredith B. Linn, and Cynthia R. Copeland, Seneca Village, A Forgotten Community: Report on the 2011 Excavations (New York: Institute for the Exploration of Seneca Village History, 2018), 3, http://s-media.nyc.gov/agencies/lpc/arch_reports/1828.pdf.

⁶ "Eminent Domain," Legal Information Institute (Cornell Law School), https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/eminent_domain.

Park. This decision echoes the sentiment of antislavery activist Frederick Douglass, who once said, "The rich inheritance of justice, liberty, prosperity and independence, bequeathed by your fathers, is shared by you, not by me." In a nation founded on the ideals of opportunity, freedom, and self-determination, it is deeply ironic that so many were excluded from those very promises, subjected instead to systems of oppression that contradicted the founding principles themselves.

While New York City's use of eminent domain was a logical procedure to establish Central Park, it was also, in many ways, a calculated display of power. Under state law, citizens could theoretically challenge the land acquisition by proving either that the seizure did not serve a legitimate public purpose or that the compensation offered fell below fair market value. For Seneca Village, however, neither argument held realistic promise. The land was, in fact, designated for public use, which eliminated the first possible legal challenge. As for compensation, residents like Andrew Williams attempted to push back. Williams argued that his property was worth at least \$3,500, yet he was granted only \$2,335.8 Williams and his neighbors confronted an insurmountable power imbalance, one that city officials, from the mayor to the Central Park Board of Commissioners, leveraged and understood all too well. Although slavery had been abolished in New York and property ownership technically allowed some Black men to vote, Black Americans were still denied full citizenship, political voice, and true legal standing. The 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments—abolishing slavery, guaranteeing equal protection, and protecting voting rights—had yet to be ratified at this time. As a result, Seneca Village residents had virtually no means of resisting their forced removal. The law offered no meaningful protections or avenues for recourse, and the courts were not designed to serve them. Their

⁷ Douglass, Frederick. "What to the Slave Is the Fourth of July?" 5 July 1852. https://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/teagle/texts/frederick-douglass-fifth-of-july-speech-1852/

⁸ "Andrew Williams' Affidavit of Petition (1856)," SHEC: Resources for Teachers, accessed June 10, 2025, https://shec.ashp.cuny.edu/items/show/2942.

dispossession may have been "legal," but legality itself functioned as a weapon of displacement and setback. Consequently, New York affirmed a harsh truth: in America, the security of property and prosperity has often been contingent on race and power.

In 1856, the New York Times Daily released a section titled, "The Present Look of Our Great Central Park." In it, the New York Times referred to Seneca Village using derogatory racial slurs and labeled the residents as "simple minds." Furthermore, the article goes as far as to describe Seneca Village as a shanty town. Shanty towns, which refer to poor, deprived, and makeshift neighborhoods usually on the very outskirts of a town, were the farthest thing from the flourishing reality that was Seneca Village. By recasting Seneca Village as a mere shanty town, the New York Times and its use of language erased the hard-earned success of Seneca Village and made its destruction seem necessary or even desirable, ultimately manufacturing public consent.

It is important to note that the destruction of Seneca Village is not an anomaly. It is part of a long-standing pattern in American history in which Black communities are discredited, devalued, and ultimately destroyed. In 1921, the Greenwood District of Tulsa, Oklahoma was burned to the ground by a white mob, aided by local authorities. Widely known as "Black Wall Street" for its thriving economy, the conflict first began when 19-year-old Black Dick Rowland was accused of raping 17-year-old white elevator operator Sara Page. A group of angry white men gathered around the courthouse, "fueled by holiday drinking and a small news item in the afternoon paper." As armed Greenwood residents came to protect Rowland from the commotion, tensions rose, and eventually a shot was fired. Over the course of two days,

⁹ "The Present Look of Our Great Central Park," New York Daily Times, July 9, 1856, 3.

¹⁰ Pusey, Allen. "Precedents: May 31, 1921. A Race Riot Erupts in Tulsa." *ABA Journal* 100, no. 5 (2014): 72–72. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44160144.

Greenwood would be destroyed; more than 1,250 homes were burned, millions of dollars in property were damaged, and the town was set back irrevocably. Similar to the razing of Seneca Village is the immense and incalculable loss of potential, and this includes the generational wealth that could have promised the futures of so many young black children. Notably, in a 2001 state commission report, forensic anthropologist Clyde C. Snow emphasizes that the events at Tulsa could have happened anywhere else in the United States in a time like 1921. This harrowing reality illuminates that the destruction of Black communities like Greenwood was not unique, but reflective of broader societal conditions and systemic vulnerabilities present in the United States.

This pattern only intensified after the passage of the 1949 Federal Housing Act, which gave cities the authority to use eminent domain to clear so-called "blighted neighborhoods" to "facilitate community development." While cities and housing authorities were required to prove that a neighborhood was "blighted" to exercise eminent domain, the threshold was remarkably low, and thus the standard evolved into a justification to remove Black people for the sake of "higher uses." As a result, in just 24 years, nearly 1,000 cities launched urban renewal projects that displaced over one million people, two-thirds of whom were Black. ¹⁴ These projects made room for highways, commercial developments, and luxury housing that catered to

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¹¹ See Yuliya Parshina-Kottas et al., "What the Tulsa Race Massacre Destroyed," New York Times, May 24, 2021, accessed June 10, 2025,

https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/05/24/us/tulsa-race-massacre.html.

¹² Oklahoma Commission to Study the Tulsa Race Riot, *Tulsa Race Riot: A Report by the Oklahoma Commission to Study the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 2001), 120, https://www.okhistory.org/research/forms/freport.pdf.

¹³ United States. *Housing Act of 1949*. Public Law 81-171. U.S. Statutes at Large 63 (1949):

^{413.&}lt;u>https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-63/pdf/STATUTE-63-Pg413.pdf</u>

¹⁴ Mindy Thompson Fullilove, "Eminent Domain & African Americans: What Is the Price of the Commons?," Institute for Justice Perspectives (2015): 2, https://ij-org-re.s3.amazonaws.com/ijdevsitestage/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Perspectives-Fullilove.pdf.

wealthier, often whiter, populations. Above all, they shattered the joy and pride in which Black neighborhoods were beginning to flourish.

A similar account only a few years earlier would displace 903 African Americans in East Arlington, except this time for the purpose of building the Pentagon. ¹⁵ With only a month to move out, families, friends, and homes were fractured. Some former residents recall the prosperity of their early childhood: businesses and churches emerged, people began buying property, and a close-knit community of Black Americans formed. However, this growth and stability were systematically dismantled yet again through eminent domain. Thus, it is unsurprising that the wealth gap between Black and White families remains stark in present times. In fact, the average White household had over nine times the wealth compared to the typical average Black family as of 2021. ¹⁶ This disparity is both the product of present-day inequities and a historical recurrence in which Black communities were consistently forced to start over again and again.

Today, this dynamic often continues in the form of gentrification. In cities like San Francisco, Washington, D.C., and Brooklyn, historically Black and low-income communities are consistently displaced by rising rents and development projects that prioritize profit over people.¹⁷ In 1991, Atlanta's Techwood Homes, the first federally funded public housing project,

¹⁵ Barbara Noe Kennedy, "Queen City: The Lost Black Community Swallowed up by the Pentagon," *BBC Travel*, June 19, 2024, https://www.bbc.com/travel/article/20240619-queen-city-the-lost-black-community-swallowed-up-by-the-pentagon.

¹⁶ Rakesh Kochhar and Mohamad Moslimani, "Wealth Gaps Across Racial and Ethnic Groups," Pew Research Center, December 4, 2023, https://www.pewresearch.org/2023/12/04/wealth-gaps-across-racial-and-ethnic-groups/.

¹⁷ U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, Displacement of Lower-Income Families in Urban Areas Report (Washington, DC: HUD, May 2018), https://www.huduser.gov/portal/sites/default/files/pdf/displacementreport.pdf

were demolished to build Centennial Olympic Park, displacing more than 30,000 predominantly Black residents under the guise of urban revitalization. ¹⁸ Seneca Village helped lay the groundwork for this trajectory by setting a powerful precedent: that Black neighborhoods could be sacrificed for a vision of progress that excludes Black lives. The idea that such communities are incompatible with urban advancement has remained embedded in policy, planning, and public discourse ever since.

The Central Park Conservancy estimates that approximately 225 residents who lived in Seneca Village, mostly Black, were forced to leave. ¹⁹ While this number may pale in comparison to the 42 million annual visitors of Central Park, it is imperative to recognize that Seneca Village never had the opportunity to fulfill its potential to grow. The potential generations of educated, economically stable Black individuals that could have been nurtured by this neighborhood are lost to history and erased by the passage of time. In this vein, the systematic obstruction of Black prosperity by systems of power is often carried out by sacrificing their land, homes, and communities in the name of "progress." Sarah S. Evans, a senior historical archaeologist at the Michigan State Historic Preservation Office, coins this phenomenon as "traumascapes," in which urban redevelopment forces the erasure of the past and leaves the communities that once lived there to experience disorientation and emotional suffering. ²⁰

¹⁸ Danyelle Solomon, Connor Maxwell, and Abril Castro, Systematic Inequality: Displacement, Exclusion, and Segregation: How America's Housing System Undermines Wealth Building in Communities of Color (Washington, DC: Center for American Progress, August 2019), 4, https://cdn.americanprogress.org/content/uploads/2019/08/06135943/StructuralRacismHousing.p https://cdn.americanprogress.org/content/uploads/2019/08/06135943/StructuralRacismHousing.pdf

¹⁹ "Before Central Park: The Story of Seneca Village," Central Park Conservancy, January 18, 2018, https://www.centralparknyc.org/articles/seneca-village.

²⁰ Sarah Surface-Evans, "Traumascapes: Progress and the Erasure of the Past," in Blurring Timescapes, Subverting Erasure: Remembering Ghosts on the Margins of History (New York: Berghahn Books, 2020), 149-170, https://doi.org/10.1515/9781789207118-012.

Central Park is often hailed as a "generator of economic activity," adding over \$26 billion to the market value of nearby properties as of 2015. Its benefits are undeniable: increased tax revenues, elevated tourism, and support for the city's job market. On the surface, Central Park represents an urban ideal—a green space serving the public good and a sanctuary in the city. But while Central Park flourishes, its roots are buried in a history of dispossession. The park's creation required the erasure and sacrifice of Seneca Village, and yet, this vision of progress continues to exclude the very futures of the Black families it displaced. As Evans highlights in the cases of many communities subjected to redevelopment, "None of these improvements provided relief for those in need in the community." Instead, the land that once nurtured Black success was transformed into a public good that intended to conveniently leave its original community behind.

Conclusion

A broken glass bottle, a comb, a teacup in Gothic script—these are some of the remaining artifacts of Seneca Village, unearthed by archaeologists decades after its destruction.²² But Seneca Village is more than these battered fragments; rather, it continues to serve as a powerful reminder of how Black achievement is too often silenced, dismantled, and omitted from the popular narrative. Yet even in silence, it resists erasure. In 2022, pop icon Lizzo stood in Central Park and invoked the memory of Seneca Village, honoring its living legacy. Her shoutout

²¹ The Central Park Effect: Assessing the Value of Central Park's Contribution to New York City's Economy (New York: Central Park Conservancy, November 2015), 10, https://assets.centralparknyc.org/pdfs/about/The Central Park Effect.pdf.

²² New York City Archaeological Repository, "Seneca Village Project (2018)," NYC Landmarks Preservation Commission, accessed June 10, 2025, https://archaeology.cityofnewyork.us/collection/map/seneca-village/project/seneca-village-project-2018.

underscored that the communities razed to make way for public works like Central Park were never disposable. They were rich with culture, dignity, and ambition, all qualities that form the cornerstone of American society.

Yes, Central Park is vital to New York City's identity. "It's where people go to breathe," as some have said. But if we celebrate the park without fully acknowledging the community it displaced, we risk breathing in only half the truth. After all, an informational sign cannot encapsulate the irreversible and immeasurable pain inflicted on the residents of Seneca Village, nor the millions of Black Americans who suffered because of its precedent. Indeed, Central Park continues to achieve a version of the common good, but that goodwill was not initially extended to everyone. Remembering and honoring Seneca Village—with all its uncomfortable and difficult actualities—is not about undoing the park's legacy. It is about completing it with the whole truth.

Primary Sources

An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery. Laws of New York, 22nd sess. (1799), chap. 62, sec. 1.

This document marks the beginning of New York's legal process to abolish slavery. It is referenced in the essay to contextualize the historical conditions under which Seneca Village was founded, and it demonstrates that the village's early Black residents had pursued land ownership, community, and enfranchisement even before the passage of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments.

"Andrew Williams' Affidavit of Petition (1856)." *SHEC: Resources for Teachers*. Accessed June 10, 2025. https://shec.ashp.cuny.edu/items/show/2942.

This primary source document shows Andrew Williams, a key resident of Seneca Village, advocating for fair compensation after the city seized his property. It helped me understand that even though some of the residents attempted to challenge the market value of their property, it was ultimately futile. This source also illustrates the legal and racial power imbalances that disadvantaged Black landowners during the forced displacement.

Douglass, Frederick. "What about the Fourth of July?" July 5, 1852,

https://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/teagle/texts/frederick-douglass-fifth-of-july-spee ch-1852/.

Douglass's powerful oration is used to highlight the irony of American ideals of liberty and justice that excluded the lives of Black Americans. It illustrates the systemic silencing of Black freedom and prosperity in the broader narrative of American

democracy. Additionally, it backs up the notion that the taking of Black land often went against the very ideals American democracy promotes.

Pusey, Allen. "Precedents: May 31, 1921. A Race Riot Erupts in Tulsa." *ABA Journal* 100, no. 5 (2014): 72–72. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44160144.

Pusey summarizes the legal and racial context of the Tulsa Race Massacre. It offers a legal lens through which to interpret historical racial violence similar to the destruction of Seneca Village.

"The Present Look of Our Great Central Park." *New York Daily Times*, July 9, 1856, 3.

This article refers to Seneca Village using derogatory language, and labels it a "shanty town." It reflects how media narratives helped legitimize the displacement of Black communities under racist assumptions. Overall, the source illuminates the attitudes towards the Seneca Villagers by white New Yorkers and aids in understanding the context in which Central Park was ultimately created.

United States. *Housing Act of 1949*. Public Law 81-171. U.S. Statutes at Large 63 (1949): 413.https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-63/pdf/STATUTE-63-Pg413.pdf
This primary source provides the foundation of eminent domain abuse in the 20th century. It explains why so many communities were upended under the banner of progress and how the U.S. government justified it. It helped me better understand the circumstances in which the progress of millions of Black Americans were repeatedly and systematically set back.

Secondary Sources

Barbara Noe Kennedy, "Queen City: The Lost Black Community Swallowed up by the Pentagon," BBC Travel, June 19, 2024,

https://www.bbc.com/travel/article/20240619-queen-city-the-lost-black-community-swall owed-up-by-the-pentagon.

The following source depicts yet another instance of a Black neighborhood being destroyed through eminent domain. It further highlights the repercussions and pain caused by land acquisitionsL breaking up families, homes, and hope for a better future.

"Before Central Park: The Story of Seneca Village." *Central Park Conservancy*. January 18, 2018. https://www.centralparknyc.org/articles/seneca-village.

This article provides a public history narrative of Seneca Village, its development, and its destruction. It reinforces the importance of public memory and the Conservancy's role in recognizing Black history on land now viewed as communal. The source helped me by providing the initial background needed to understand Seneca Village and its history.

"Eminent Domain." Legal Information Institute. Cornell Law School.

https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/eminent domain.

This legal overview defines eminent domain and outlines the legal pathways for contesting it. It helped me underscore how the law's structure and the historical context of the time failed to protect Seneca Village residents from forced removal.

Fullilove, Mindy Thompson. "Eminent Domain & African Americans: What Is the Price of the Commons?" *Institute for Justice Perspectives* (2015): 2.

https://ij-org-re.s3.amazonaws.com/ijdevsitestage/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Perspecti

ves-Fullilove.pdf.

Fullilove explores the racial consequences of eminent domain, framing it as a mechanism that has historically undermined Black wealth and community formation under the guise of public good.

Kang, Tricia. "160 Years of Central Park: A Brief History." *Central Park Conservancy*. June 1,2017. https://www.centralparknyc.org/articles/central-park-history.

Kang offers a timeline of Central Park's creation and historical milestones. While not focused on race, this source provides essential context about the park's development and its framing as a public benefit.

New York City Archaeological Repository. "Seneca Village Project (2018)." NYC Landmarks Preservation Commission. Accessed June 10, 2025.

https://archaeology.cityofnewyork.us/collection/map/seneca-village/project/seneca-village-project-2018.

This repository offers findings and documentation from the excavation of Seneca Village, including recovered artifacts. It provides concrete archaeological evidence of the community's existence and richness. The photos of the everyday items also provide a unique perspective in the remains of Seneca Village.

Oklahoma Commission to Study the Tulsa Race Riot. *Tulsa Race Riot: A Report by the Oklahoma Commission to Study the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921*. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 2001. https://www.okhistory.org/research/forms/freport.pdf.

This government report investigates the Tulsa Race Massacre, offering official recognition of the systemic violence that destroyed Black communities. It helped me

draw connections to the fate of Seneca Village and emphasize that there is a pattern being repeated throughout American history.

Parshina-Kottas, Yuliya, et al. "What the Tulsa Race Massacre Destroyed." *New York Times*, May 24, 2021. Accessed June 10, 2025.

https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/05/24/us/tulsa-race-massacre.html.

This interactive feature visualizes the devastating loss of wealth and infrastructure in Tulsa's Black community. It draws a vivid line connecting physical destruction and the generational pain of losing potential prosperity, reinforcing parallels with Seneca Village.

Rakesh Kochhar and Mohamad Moslimani, "Wealth Gaps Across Racial and Ethnic Groups,"

Pew Research Center, December 4, 2023,

https://www.pewresearch.org/2023/12/04/wealth-gaps-across-racial-and-ethnic-groups/. The source illustrates tangible data that characterizes the significant consequences of systemic blocks to Black progress. I used this source to link past historical precedents to the current status quo, thus driving the notion that legal processes like eminent domain have been weaponized against African American communities.

Solomon, Danyelle, Connor Maxwell, and Abril Castro. Systematic Inequality: Displacement, Exclusion, and Segregation: How America's Housing System Undermines Wealth Building in Communities of Color. Washington, DC: Center for American Progress, August 2019.

https://cdn.americanprogress.org/content/uploads/2019/08/06135943/StructuralRacismHousing.pdf.

This report provides modern data and analysis on how America's housing policies have

disproportionately hurt communities of color. It supports the essay's broader argument that the systemic displacement seen in Seneca Village continues today.

Surface-Evans, Sarah. "Traumascapes: Progress and the Erasure of the Past." In *Blurring Timescapes, Subverting Erasure: Remembering Ghosts on the Margins of History*, 149–170. New York: Berghahn Books, 2020.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781789207118-012.

Surface-Evans introduces the idea of "traumascapes," showing how redevelopment projects can erase history and traumatize communities. Her work supports the argument that the displacement of Black communities through eminent domain is emotionally destructive and painful.

The Central Park Effect: Assessing the Value of Central Park's Contribution to New York City's

Economy. New York: Central Park Conservancy, November 2015.

https://assets.centralparknyc.org/pdfs/about/The_Central_Park_Effect.pdf.

This economic report quantifies the financial impact of Central Park. It contrasts the park's benefits with the costs of its creation, highlighting who profits from its public space. This information was used in two ways. Firstly, it illustrates how the success of Central Park could not have been achieved without Seneca Village. Secondly, the information was used to acknowledge the success and achievements of Central Park in achieving the common good. However, I emphasize that this vision initially excluded the communities it was built upon.

Wall, Diana diZerega, Nan A. Rothschild, and Cynthia Copeland. "Seneca Village and Little

Africa: Two African American Communities in Antebellum New York City." *Historical*

Archaeology 42, no. 1 (2008): 97–107. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25617485. This scholarly article compares Seneca Village with other free Black communities, revealing the economic and social success of its residents. It provides a strong counterpoint to narratives that downplay Seneca Village's stability and prosperity.

Wall, Diana diZerega, Nan A. Rothschild, Meredith B. Linn, and Cynthia R. Copeland. Seneca Village, A Forgotten Community: Report on the 2011 Excavations. New York: Institute for the Exploration of Seneca Village History, 2018.
http://s-media.nyc.gov/agencies/Ipc/arch_reports/1828.pdf.
This archaeological report documents artifacts and findings from the Seneca Village site.
It offers concrete evidence of daily life, household items, and community structure. It highlights the humanity behind the historical erasure.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development andResearch, *Displacement of Lower-Income Families in Urban Areas Report* (Washington,DC: HUD, May 2018),

https://www.huduser.gov/portal/sites/default/files/pdf/displacementreport.pdf

This report was utilized to support the statement that gentrification perpetuates the dynamic in which communities suffer due to displacement. In particular, the source notes that Black and Hispanic neighborhoods had a greater number of unhealthy food chains compared to higher income communities. Thus, it demonstrates the modern consequences of precedents such as Seneca Village.