

BOOKED 1240-1
NPS

American Public History Laboratory

*COMING TO MANASSAS: PEACE, WAR,
AND THE MAKING OF A VIRGINIA COMMUNITY*

A Historic Resource Study for
Manassas National Battlefield Park
Manassas, Virginia
National Park Service

Cooperative Agreement No. 1443-CA-3840-01-001

Dr. Linda Sargent Wood
Chief Historian

Dr. Richard Rabinowitz
Principal Investigator and Project Director

October 2003

American Public History Laboratory
588 Seventh Street
Brooklyn, NY 11215

<i>Blackburn's Ford</i>	87
<i>The Battle of First Manassas</i>	88
<i>Caring for the Dead and Wounded: Shallow Graves and Makeshift Hospitals</i>	96
<i>Relic Gathering</i>	101
<i>Confederates Winter in Manassas and Centreville</i>	101
<i>The Battle of Second Manassas</i>	105
<i>More Makeshift Hospitals and Community Loss</i>	107
<i>Continued Unrest and Terror</i>	109
<i>Black Military Experience</i>	111
<i>The Railroad and Military Strategy</i>	114
<i>Conflict between Neighbors and between the Military and Civilians</i>	117
<i>Relations between Blacks and Whites</i>	120
<i>Life for African American Civilians</i>	121
<i>Life for White Women</i>	122
<i>Confederate Defeat and Surrender</i>	124
 CHAPTER IV: AFTER THE WAR: DEATH, REBIRTH, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR A NEW ORDER	 126
<i>A Landscape of Human Suffering and Environmental and Economic Ruin</i>	128
<i>Reconstruction at the National Level</i>	130
<i>Reconstruction Years Around the Manassas Battle Sites: Villages, Business Interests</i>	134
<i>The Agricultural Economy and the Labor System</i>	140
<i>Labor Arrangements</i>	143
<i>Agricultural Recovery</i>	145
<i>Railroads</i>	150
<i>Developing Manassas</i>	152
<i>Community and Racial Strife</i>	154
<i>Public Schools Open in Virginia</i>	156
<i>Manassas Becomes an Incorporated Town</i>	165
<i>Conclusion</i>	166
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 168

American Public History Laboratory

COMING TO MANASSAS: PEACE, WAR, AND THE MAKING OF A VIRGINIA COMMUNITY

ILLUSTRATIONS

	<i>After page</i>
Fig. 1. James Robinson house, 1862	23
Fig. 2. The Stone House, 1862.....	59
Fig. 3. "Portici" plantation mansion, 1862.....	61
Fig. 4. "Liberia" plantation home in wartime, 1862	84
Fig. 5. Braddock Road, Centreville, Virginia, 1862.....	105
Fig. 6. Manassas Gap Railroad	116
Fig. 7. Thornberry House, 1862.....	139
Fig. 8. George Round, leading citizen of post-war Manassas.....	153
Fig. 9. Jennie Dean, educator and religious leader	163

American Public History Laboratory

COMING TO MANASSAS: PEACE, WAR, AND THE MAKING OF A VIRGINIA COMMUNITY

Preface

Manassas National Battlefield Park is located approximately twenty-five miles southwest of Washington, D.C., and sits within the Virginia counties of Prince William and Fairfax. The 5,072-acre park preserves the sites of the first and second battles of Manassas in the American Civil War. These battles took place within a community whose history has been largely unexplored. This report, undertaken through a cooperative agreement between the National Park Service and the American Public History Laboratory of Brooklyn, N.Y., represents the beginnings of a study of this community, rich and poor, slave and free, male and female, black and white. The report traces the history of the local community from the antebellum years, through the Civil War, and Reconstruction until the time when Manassas was incorporated as a town in 1873. It pays special attention to the impact of the war upon the local civilian population, including enslaved and free African Americans. Dr. Richard Rabinowitz served as project director and principal investigator, Dr. Linda Sargent Wood as chief historian, Robert T. Chase as research historian, and Lynda B. Kaplan as project manager.

The Study Area

This study focuses on the area beyond the preserved battlefield itself, roughly comprising the terrain east and west between Gainesville and Centreville, and between Sudley and Manassas Junction north to south. Because this area straddles the boundaries between Prince William and Fairfax counties, because the population was in flux during some of this period, and because much of it was not incorporated into municipalities for most or all of this time, it is often difficult to make definitive judgments, for example, about demographics, agricultural statistics, or political positions over time. The study looks most carefully at households and individuals close to the battlefield itself, but the larger story of economic and social change must take account of what was happening in Manassas (which dominated the region after the focal period), and in Alexandria, the Shenandoah Valley, and in northern Virginia generally. On occasion, the study area has been labeled the "Manassas region," although that name would have

been unfamiliar before that time came to dominate the region in the last years of the century.

Conclusions and Limitations of the Study

This is by no means an exhaustive analysis of the battlefield park area's history. Indeed, the study has only begun to uncover some of the rich history within the Manassas area. Much more research needs to be done on the economic, political, and social characteristics of the community and the military events that helped circumscribe and influence its evolution, in order to make definitive judgments. For example, on the question of secession, more work needs to be done to uncover and analyze local political sentiment. Digging further into local correspondence, public and private, and more reading of newspapers might provide further important evidence. The same holds true for assessing the effects of the Confederate occupation of the community and periods of Union domination. Additional work also demands further examination of the Native American presence, the lives of African Americans, the use of slaves on local railroad work, the enlistment of blacks in the Union Army, and the involvement of northerners and local individuals in Reconstruction politics.

That said, the study establishes an overall account of a significant transformation of the region during the antebellum era. Through shifts in agricultural practice, the coming of the railroads, an influx of northerners, and greater participation in a market economy, area residents made important changes in their way of life. Before the Civil War altered life in fundamental ways, the community had already evolved during the antebellum years from a "slave society" to a "society with slaves." The institution of slavery remained an important and fundamental part of the society, but slavery became more diverse and porous than it had been during the era of great tobacco cultivation in the eighteenth century. The number of slaves decreased and the number of free blacks rose. Landowning elites, confronted with agricultural crises and the inevitable difficulty of passing down enough property to each heir in the next generation, scrambled to find new ways of sustaining economic and political power. The region, slowly redefined as a transportation corridor (first for the turnpike and subsequently for the railroads) between the docks of Alexandria's port and the farm fields of the Shenandoah Valley, was materially affected by economic patterns at both ends of that corridor.

Acknowledgments

The American Public History Laboratory is grateful to the staff and volunteers at Manassas National Battlefield Park who generously supported this project. Special thanks go especially to park superintendent Robert K. Sutton, who initiated the project and gave it his full support. Museum specialist James Burgess and cultural resource manager Ray Brown shared their extensive knowledge of the Park, the battles of Manassas, and the region with us. Mr. Burgess, especially,

spent hours retrieving the Park Library's files and folders and discussing details of the contours of the Park's key historical themes and contexts. All three of these individuals also offered extensive comments on earlier outlines and drafts. The APHL has endeavored to respond to each comment carefully. Chief archaeologist Stephen R. Potter of the National Capitol Region of the National Park Service provided valuable insight into the archeological digs that have been conducted at the Park and shared his research and understanding of the early railroads through the Manassas area. APHL is indebted also to the work of local historians who have conducted painstaking research and volunteered their thoughts and findings. Special thanks go to Charlotte Cain, Rebecca Cumins, Melinda Herzog, and Joan Peters.

Thanks also to the many librarians who pulled files, answered countless questions, and gave considerable time to this project. This includes librarians and research specialists at the African American Historical Association in The Plains, Virginia; the Alexandria Black History Resource Center; the Alexandria Library; the Bull Run Regional Library in Manassas; the Fairfax County Library and Circuit Court Archives in Fairfax; the Library of Congress, Washington; the Library of Virginia, Richmond; the Manassas Museum; the National Archives, Washington; the University of Maryland Libraries; the Digital Library and Archives of the Carol M. Newman Library, Virginia Tech University, Blacksburg, Virginia; and the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond. Their help was invaluable.

American Public History Laboratory

COMING TO MANASSAS: PEACE, WAR, AND THE MAKING OF A VIRGINIA COMMUNITY

Chapter I: *Proprietors, Tobacco, and the Building of a Slave Society in Virginia's Northern Neck*

The Land and its Indigenous People

The Manassas area sits within the piedmont region of Virginia's Northern Neck. Its rolling hills and woodlands are cut by steep ravines, through which streams of water flow. One such stream, Bull Run, emanates from the Bull Run Mountains and empties into the Occoquan River and then into the Potomac near Mason Neck. Bull Run Mountain is an extension of the Catocin range. Further west sits the Blue Ridge Range of the Appalachian Mountains. After the first major land battle of the Civil War — the First Battle of Manassas (also known as the Battle of Bull Run)¹ — in the hot, humid summer of 1861, soldiers flavored their battle accounts with renderings of this terrain. Confederate Charles Minor Blackford wrote his wife Susan, "We were thrown into line about sunrise on the brow of a hill which overlooked Bull Run, with quite a valley (two hundred yards at least), below us. On the other side the bluff rose quite steeply, but on top of it there was an open field." On the opposite side, Union soldier William Thompson Lusk punctuated his letter home with a more vivid description: "[W]e rushed by the flank, over fields, through woods, down into ravines, plunging into streams, up again onto rising meadows, eager, excited, thrilled with hot desire to bear our share in routing the enemy."²

¹ This battle, like many Civil War campaigns, has two names: The First Battle of Manassas (or First Manassas) and First Bull Run. The second major campaign in the Manassas area also has two names: The Second Battle of Manassas (or Second Manassas) and Second Bull Run. The South named battles after the nearest town, while the North named them for the nearest geographical feature. These names can be used interchangeably, though I have followed National Park Service's practice and favored the name used by the side that won the battle. Hence, in the case of First and Second Manassas, where the Confederates emerged the victor in both engagements, I have used the southern name throughout.

² Susan Leigh Blackford and Charles Minor Blackford, *Letters from Lee's Army or Memories of Life In and Out of the Army in Virginia During the War Between the States*, ed. Charles Minor Blackford III (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1947), and printed in Joan M. Zenzen, *Battling for Manassas: The Fifty-Year Preservation Struggle at Manassas National Battlefield Park* (University Park, Pa.: State

Centuries earlier, the hills along Bull Run had been the hunting grounds of the nomadic Manahoac Indians. Periodically, these Native Americans burned the forested areas to promote grass growth and buffalo life. By 1669, the Manahoac disappeared from the Virginia Piedmont, driven off by invading Iroquois Indians and English settlers. Further south, the Dogue (also spelled Doeg, Doag, Toag, and Taux) Indians lived along the Occoquan Bay and Mason Neck peninsula, bountiful in fish. The Necostins (Nacotchtanks, Anacostins, or Algonquins) made their home across the Potomac.³ In 1608, John Smith, the first Englishman to explore the Potomac area, recorded seeing these Native American peoples and described the Northern Neck as rich in fish and wildlife, especially below the geological fall line of the Potomac River.⁴ Bays and inlets along the Potomac provided boat landings, and tributaries linked the Piedmont to the coastal plains. Other Englishmen and their settlements followed Smith, pushing indigenous populations west. Buying the land from the Dogues and other Indians was never a question. Condemning the local people as "thieves, liars and murderers," the English simply seized the ground.⁵ By the middle of the seventeenth century, the new settlers had patented much of the riverfront from Chopawamsic (also spelled Chapawamsic and Chapawansic) Island to Mount Vernon as their domain.

The Proprietary and Early Land Grants

Throughout the colonial period, the Northern Neck of Virginia — extending from the Rappahannock River to the Potomac River and consisting of over five million acres — was held as a proprietary. In 1649, King Charles II, though exiled at the time, granted a group of seven English noblemen the rights to govern the land. With proprietary patents in hand, they could build towns, establish schools and churches, and sell or lease parcels of the land. In 1719, Thomas, the sixth Lord Fairfax, assumed total control of this vast spread. Fairfax maintained the proprietary for the rest of his life, though the colony of Virginia gained political

University Press, 1998), 25-26; William Thompson Lusk, *War Letters* (New York: privately, 1911), 55-59.

³ Frank B. Sarles, Jr., "A Short History of Manassas National Battlefield Park," June 1955, 5-7, on file at Manassas National Battlefield Park Library, Manassas, Va. [henceforth cited as "MANA"]; Zenzen, *Battling For Manassas*, 25; Fairfax Harrison, *Landmarks of Old Prince William: A Study of Origins in Northern Virginia* (Berryville, Va.: Chesapeake Book Company, 1964), 24-25; Nan Netherton, Donald Sweig, Janice Artemel, Patricia Hickin, Patrick Reed, *Fairfax County, Virginia: A History* (Fairfax, Va.: Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, 1992), 2-3 [henceforth Netherton, *Fairfax County*]. For more information on Native American life in the Potomac region, see Ben McCary, *Indians in Seventeenth Century Virginia* (Williamsburg: Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration, 1957); Stephen R. Potter, *Commoners, Tribute, and Chiefs: The Development of Algonquian Culture in the Potomac Valley* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993); and J. R. Swanton, *The Indian Tribes of North America*, Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 145 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1952), 68-70.

⁴ Spanish explorers probably saw the region before Smith. For Smith's account, see *The General Historie of Virginia, New England & the Summer Isles, Together with The True Travels, Adventures and Observations, and A Sea Grammar* (1624; reprint, Glasgow, Scotland: J. MacLehose and Sons, 1907).

⁵ R. Jackson Ratcliffe, *This Was Prince William* (Leesburg, Va.: Potomac Press, 1978), 5.

page 3, 4 missing from original

quisitions corresponded with the 1722 Treaty of Albany. At this New York meeting, the Iroquois agreed never again to cross the Potomac or the Blue Ridge into Virginia without European consent. Without the Iroquois threat, Carter and others were emboldened to move into Virginia's wilderness.¹³

While Carter was amassing his holdings and political power, English, Scottish, and Irish indentured servants struggled to gain a foothold. This was never easy. If they survived the harsh frontier conditions, diseases, and Indian attacks, they lived a life of almost unending toil in isolated areas. After a time of service, indentured servants obtained their freedom. Some of these worked as tenants. Others acquired land, often in small tracts of two hundred to five hundred acres, and settled on it. As elsewhere in Virginia, these tenants and small landholders found the political system undemocratic and their control of taxes and revenue limited. In 1732, fifty of the Scotch-Irish settlers in the Northern Neck, doubly frustrated by enduring poverty and new tobacco laws, took up arms and tried to destroy the tobacco warehouses. Though their protest was quelled, it signaled that life in colonial Virginia was prone to conflict.¹⁴

Slavery's Beginnings in the Chesapeake

The first black people to inhabit the Chesapeake were a mixed group of Africans and Atlantic creoles. Creoles were those who by experience were acquainted with the various worlds that converged in the Atlantic littoral, participated in the Atlantic's commerce and languages, and borrowed from one another's cultures.¹⁵ Some of the "twenty Negars" sold to John Rolfe in 1619 came directly from Africa on Dutch trading boats. But others came from various places in the New World, were familiar with European customs and religion, bore English and Hispanic names, and had acquired skills that helped them negotiate their way in North America. From the time of that first slave sale at Jamestown until about 1680, most of the slaves entering the colony were Atlantic creoles. They hailed from Barbados, Jamaica, and other islands. A handful of free blacks immigrated freely.¹⁶

These and other members of what historian Ira Berlin has called the "charter generation" of black people to the continent were few in number — until the 1670s, they never constituted more than five percent of the Chesapeake's popu-

300,000 acres of land, 1,000 slaves, and 10,000 pounds in cash (Ratcliffe, *This Was Prince William*, 6). Harrison states that he had at least 125,000 acres (*Landmarks of Old Prince William*, 251, n. 4).

¹³ Harrison, *Landmarks of Old Prince William*, 240-52, and 87; Mitchell, "Centreville Community," 31-33.

¹⁴ Harrison, *Landmarks of Old Prince William*, 234-37.

¹⁵ Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 17.

¹⁶ For the emergence of creoles in the Chesapeake and their experience, see chapter I of Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*. See also Alden T. Vaughan, "Blacks in Virginia: A Note on the First Decade," *William and Mary Quarterly* 29 (1972): 469-78; and T. H. Breen and Stephen Innes, "Myne Owne Ground": *Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

lation — and their lives differed dramatically from later plantation generations.¹⁷ Though they often occupied the lowest rung on the socio-economic ladder and while many suffered from brutal exploitation, they nevertheless enjoyed privileges and opportunities denied to later generations. Most lived and labored alongside white servants, and their status as slaves was not clearly defined. They worked under English customs and benefited from the rights accorded English servants. Half of Saturday, all of Sunday, and numerous holidays were their own. Tradition dictated that slaveholders provide food, clothing, and shelter, but did not give them sovereign power. If masters wanted to discipline their slaves, they presented the matter in court.

In their struggle to gain some autonomy, slaves negotiated the right to labor independently for a short time every week. In exchange, they agreed to provide their own food and clothing. Hence, slaves gardened, hunted, tended livestock, produced objects to sell or barter, and engaged in business transactions. As they did so, they created the beginnings of the North American slaves' economy. Some bought their freedom through their additional work, testifying to the permeable boundary between slavery and freedom that characterized life in the mid-seventeenth century Chesapeake. The slaves' exchange network, which grew and promoted independence, generated consternation among planters but it was not until the last decades of the century that the elite began to curtail these activities.

At mid-century, of the approximately 1,700 blacks who lived in all of Virginia and Maryland, about one-fifth were free.¹⁸ Most of these free blacks resided on the eastern shores of the two colonies. Some lived in the Northern Neck. They acquired property, cultivated their own tobacco, engaged in commerce, married (whites as well as blacks), joined churches, baptized their children, paid taxes, bore firearms, and even held other slaves. They became members of the civil community, enjoyed the rights of other free men, and used the courts to protect their business interests and defend their social actions. Indeed, as historians of Virginia's free blacks in the period before 1676 have surmised, "it is tempting to view them as black Englishmen, migrants who . . . learned to handle complex legal procedures and market transactions, and who amassed estates that impressed even their contemporaries."¹⁹ Hence, slavery for the first fifty years in the colony was but one labor system of several, and race was but one marker — and not always the deciding one — in the social order.

All of this began to change in the 1670s and 1680s when the supply of white indentured servants shrank and tobacco prices soared. Then the insatiable quest for profit by English settlers made slavery the preferred labor system. During the next decades, slavery changed from being but one part of the labor pool to the

¹⁷ Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 12, 29.

¹⁸ Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 38.

¹⁹ Breen and Innes, "Myne Owne Ground," 17.

major labor source of the plantation economy. By the eighteenth century, the tobacco plantation economy in the Chesapeake had made it a slave society.

Tobacco Cultivation and Slave Labor

The tobacco revolution in the Chesapeake was the beginning of the transformation of North America from a society with slaves to a slave society.²⁰ As the plantation system moved throughout the South, staple crop harvests of rice, sugar, and cotton became the economic base of British North America. The northern colonies (and later, states) contributed to this economy by providing capital, factories, food, and technology. Legislative and judicial systems provided the institutional legitimacy for the slave society.

For most of the colonial period, tobacco was the core of Virginia's economy. Ben Jonson's "tawney weed" was the primary export crop and the medium of exchange. Its importance reached its peak around the end of the seventeenth century. As Hugh Jones declared in 1699, "Tobacco is our meat, drinke, cloathing and monies."²¹ This was true for much of Virginia, including the Northern Neck, though tobacco did not enjoy the same success there as it did in southern Virginia.

Tobacco cultivation and its need for almost constant attention throughout the year set the agricultural agenda and shaped everyday life. It influenced where people lived and how they worked. It also contributed more than anything else to the forced immigration of black people to the Chesapeake.²² As tobacco became more profitable in the last decades of the seventeenth century and as the number of white laborers dwindled, planters turned to Africa for more slaves. Before 1698, Chesapeake residents observed that only "very seldom, whole ship Loads of Slaves have been brought here directly from Africa."²³ After this date, the trade in slaves reversed. Shiploads of slaves arrived more frequently from Africa, and the Chesapeake's slave population jumped by about 3,000 between 1675 and 1695. By 1700, black slaves outnumbered white servants. By 1720, blacks composed one-quarter of the region's population, and forty percent fifteen years later.²⁴ While exact figures for the region are not available, blacks in the

²⁰ Berlin defines a "society with slaves" as a region where slavery existed alongside several competing labor arrangements and where slavery did not provide the primary impetus for all economic, political, and social power arrangements, *Many Thousands Gone*, 7-9.

²¹ Michael Kammen, ed., "Maryland in 1699: A Letter from the Rev. Hugh Jones," *Journal of Southern History* 29 (1963): 369-70; and as quoted in Lorena S. Walsh, "Slave Life, Slave Society, and Tobacco Production in the Tidewater Chesapeake, 1620-1820," in *Cultivation and Culture*, ed. Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993): 170.

²² See T. H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of the Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); Alan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 1986); and Walsh, "Slave Life, Slave Society, and Tobacco Production in the Tidewater Chesapeake, 1620-1820," 170-99.

²³ Maryland's colonial governor, as quoted in Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 39.

²⁴ Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 110.

Northern Neck increased steadily during this time period as well. In the 1730s and 1740s, it stood at about thirty percent of the total population. The Truro Parish vestry book recorded a total population in 1733 of about 1,500 whites and 600 blacks.²⁵

Those forced to board these slave ships and endure the "middle passage" were not the cosmopolitan creoles of earlier days but provincials captured from the interior of Africa. The difference was evident to all. With their hair plaited, their teeth filed, and their bodies marked by ritual scarification, these new African arrivals announced a distinct heritage. Their customs, religions, languages, and domestic and political ideas further disassociated them from Europeans.

With the Africanization of the work force, separations between black and white lives sharply increased, and Virginians began to identify being black with enslavement. Plantation masters sent more blacks to the fields and laboring whites began to do more skilled tasks. White men worked as blacksmiths, coopers, shoemakers, and wagon makers. White women generally did domestic and dairy chores. By the Revolution, this included weaving, sewing, and candle making. The law followed these labor distinctions. Particularly after Bacon's Rebellion in 1676, plantation and political grandees changed the legal codes and practices to recognize black people as slaves and to make slavery a condition in perpetuity.²⁶

As the unskilled work force grew more African, prior rights and privileges disappeared. Chores and work time increased and living conditions deteriorated. By 1730, slaves only enjoyed three holidays — Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. They worked all day on Saturdays and many worked Sundays. Moreover, masters extended the workday to reach into the night. By firelight, slaves stripped tobacco and husked corn. As slaveholders pushed for more work, they restricted slave activities and hampered the slave economy. New laws required slaves to carry a pass when they left the plantation. They lost the right to bear arms and trade was restricted. As the burdens increased, the resources were correspondingly diminished as well. Many masters failed to provide adequate housing, food, and clothing. They segregated blacks in separate and inferior quarters, distant from the masters' house and isolated from indentured servants and other whites.

Masters also began to treat these new arrivals with a different hand. Robert "King" Carter, for instance, took extra measures to gain power over new slaves and break their spirits. He gave them new names to erase their African heritage, treated them as children, and condemned them for their "gross bestiality and rudeness of manners, the variety and strangeness of their languages, and the

²⁵ Netherton, *Fairfax County*, 18, n. 15 and Table II on p. 19.

²⁶ The literature is extensive on Virginia's growing dependence on slavery. See, for example, Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, chap. 5; Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: 1975); and Walsh, "Slave Life, Slave Society, and Tobacco Production in the Tidewater Chesapeake, 1620-1820."

weakness and shallowness of their minds."²⁷ When words were not enough, Carter and other masters turned to violence and invented harsh and grotesque punishments. They and their overseers employed fist and lash to beat and whip slaves into submission. And when this was not enough to tame their work force, courts gave slaveholders complete discretion. After 1669, the colony no longer considered it a felony if a slave "chance to die" while reprimanded. In 1707, county officials gave Carter "full power to dismember" when he asked them for permission to cut off the toes of "two Incorrigible negroes ... named Barbara Harry and Dinah." Two years earlier, Virginia had passed a slave code that made clear the slaveholders' authority.²⁸

In this plantation world, hierarchy was the rule and the enslaver the ruler. The master's authority extended over their dependents in every realm. Slaveholders controlled their families, slaves, and land. They also dominated political, judicial, economic, and religious worlds and the parallel sphere of recreational pleasures. In the "plantation's social hierarchy," historian Ira Berlin notes,

'dependencies' dominated the landscape, the physical and architectural embodiment of the planters' hegemony. But the masters' authority radiated from the great estates to the statehouses, courtrooms, counting-houses, churches, colleges, taverns, racetracks, private clubs, and the like. In each of these venues, planters practiced the art of domination, making laws, meting out justice, and silently asserting — by their fine clothes, swift carriages, and sweeping gestures — their natural right to rule.²⁹

Yet, even as the masters extended their power, they never enjoyed complete control. Even in their immediate families, patriarchs, as Landon Carter of Sabine Hall lamented, failed to achieve full dominion. Their advice sometimes fell on deaf ears and they confronted open rebellion at times. In his diaries, Carter chastised his sons for their disobedience and disrespect. Robert Wormely Carter, nicknamed "Wild Bob," especially grieved his father with his carousing. Landon regarded him a "species of filial disrespect" and, by 1776, believed that his son would put him "out of the way" if the law did not stand in the way of patricide. "Good God, that such a monster should have descended from my loins." Wild Bob's brothers, John and Landon Carter (who lived on the Bull Run plantations), also vexed their father. The old Titan determined, though perhaps not always with reason, that every act of disobedience was a challenge to his patriarchal value structure.³⁰

²⁷ Walsh, "Slaves and Tobacco in the Chesapeake"; and Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, chap. five, quote on 112.

²⁸ Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 116.

²⁹ Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 97-98.

³⁰ Greene, *Landon Carter: An Inquiry*, 23-24, 76-81, quotations taken from Landon Carter's colorful diary appear on pp. 77, 79. See also Jack P. Greene, ed., *The Diary of Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778*, 2 vols. (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1987).

As the eighteenth century wore on, masters faced a rapidly changing world that also threatened their supremacy. Tobacco production hit several lows in the eighteenth century and staple crop growers were forced to look for other means of profit taking. At the same time, new ideals of equality and liberty challenged traditional notions of hierarchy. When Americans declared independence from Britain in 1776, it shook the world the grandees held dear.

The labor force, too, underwent significant alterations. By the middle of the eighteenth century, new generations of African Americans replaced Africans. Born on North American soil, these slaves enmeshed themselves much more into daily life than did their parents and grandparents, though they never completely assimilated. English was their native tongue. The Virginia landscape, customs, and economy were familiar to them. They were, therefore, more equipped to improve their lot, and in the continual contest between master and slave, slaves used their knowledge and skills to gain more control over their lives. In limited ways and with some variation according to the place, slaves pushed for greater economic opportunities and rights. Some even lobbied for freedom and won it.

The Turn to Grain

Though tobacco cultivation dominated the Potomac and Rappahannock regions and was always the primary cash crop in the colonial period, the large harvests that characterized the turn of the eighteenth century began to disappear by the 1720s and 1730s. For the rest of the century, tobacco production decreased and grain production increased. In 1773, when another depression began, Councilor Robert Carter of Nomini Hall — a grandson of Robert “King” Carter — illustrated the retreat from tobacco cultivation. He wrote his overseers at his Leo Plantation on Bull Run that the “present appearance of the tobacco trade forbids the making of leafe Tobacco, and I . . . forbid prizing into hogsheads even one pound of Tobacco made at my two plantations in Loudoun and Prince William County this year, except such tobacco as shall be stemmed.”³¹

To compensate, the Carters and other planters responded to the demand for rye, oats, wheat and corn in European and West Indian markets. In the Manassas area, for example, Landon Carter of Pittsylvania and John Carter of Sudley — operating two of the first large-scale operations in the region — sowed their fields in grain.³² So did Willoughby Newton, one of the first to patent the land on which present day Centreville sits.³³ A shrinking amount of land for cultivation,

³¹ Morton, *Robert Carter of Nomini Hall*, 131.

³² Greene, *Diary of Landon Carter*, 1: 132, 148. John and Landon Carter were the sons of Landon Carter of Sabine Hall and the brothers of Robert Wormely Carter. Landon Carter, Sr. was the son of Robert “King” Carter. See also Matthew B. Reeves, *Views of a Changing Landscape: An Archeological and Historical Investigation of Sudley Post Office (44PW294)*, Occasional Report No. 14, National Capital Region, National Park Service (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1998), 2.7.

³³ Eugenia B. Smith, *Centreville, Virginia: Its History and Architecture* (Fairfax: Fairfax County Office of Comprehensive Planning, 1973), 10.

microbial infections of tobacco plants, soil depletion, and a decreased demand for tobacco in Europe encouraged this shift.³⁴ After 1750, grain production in the Chesapeake contributed almost one-half of the total revenue on big plantations, and after the revolution, following a short rise and then fall in tobacco prices, planters concentrated specifically on wheat, oats, timothy, corn and other small grains.³⁵

As farmers gradually cultivated more grain than tobacco, the more progressive among them altered their methods of farming. They sought to improve their lands and adopted better farm implements. They switched from hoe to plow, spread manure, rotated crops annually, and diversified work patterns, all to keep the ground fertile and help raise agricultural productivity. Northerners who moved to the area in the 1840s and 1850s particularly encouraged better agricultural practices. Despite these improvements, grain production in the Northern Neck produced some of the worst long-term ecological degradation to the environment. Tobacco cultivation had indeed harmed the land, and poor methods of corn production caused problems, but sowing grain proved the most devastating of all. The blame lay with the resistance of many wheat growers in Virginia to improve agricultural methods. Instead, they increased farm production with additional labor, failed to allow the land to lie fallow, did not use fertilizers, and worked the land to exhaustion. Planters and their overseers drove their slaves and the land to produce, and as John Taylor admitted in 1818, "unite[d] in emptying the cup of fertility to the dregs."³⁶

The ascendancy of grain production not only damaged the environment; it had dramatic implications for the labor force. Tobacco farming required extensive labor throughout the growing season, but cereal production required steady work only during planting and harvesting. Not needed in the fields year round, slaves therefore performed a variety of jobs off-season and gained new skills and opportunities. In addition to cultivating and milling grains, they cared for draft animals, maintained wagons, and worked as tanners, blacksmiths, harness makers, shoemakers, and saddle makers. They also tended other livestock and orchards and produced wool, honey, and dairy goods. Still, even with these new tasks and assignments, grain production required fewer laborers. This was especially evident when progressive planters made changes in their crop and cultivation techniques. Putting some of their land into pasture and hay reduced the acreage for market crops. Shifting from hoes to plows and relying more on draft animals diminished the need for slaves further.

³⁴ The agricultural curator at the Smithsonian Institution reports that microbes depleted the tobacco plants and probably contributed more to the demise of tobacco than soil depletion, according to Robert Sutton, Superintendent, Manassas National Battlefield Park, Manassas, Virginia.

³⁵ Walsh, "Slaves and Tobacco in the Chesapeake," 180.

³⁶ [John Taylor], *Arator: Being a Series of Agricultural Essays, Practical and Political: In Sixty-four Numbers* (5th ed., 1818), as quoted in Walsh, "Slaves and Tobacco in the Chesapeake," 195.

Some masters, especially those influenced by Revolutionary-era political or evangelical egalitarianism, responded to this dwindling need for slave labor by emancipating their bondpeople. Others hired out their slaves or employed them in nonagricultural pursuits. Yet others, ever anxious for profit, sold their extra hands. When the importation of slaves into the United States was legally stopped in 1808, the internal slave trade expanded to feed the growing cotton plantations in the South. Virginia became one of the largest exporters of slaves in antebellum America. The proportion of slaves in Virginia's population dropped from forty percent in 1800 to thirty percent in 1860. In Fairfax and Prince William counties, the numbers were more dramatic. Prince William had 5,416 slaves in 1800, which represented forty-three percent of its population. Fairfax had 6,078, forty-six percent of the total population. Between 1810 and 1840, Fairfax County lost nearly half of its slave population, dropping from 6,485 to 3,453. In 1860, the number of slaves in Fairfax County dropped to 3,116, comprising only twenty-six percent. Prince William had 2,356 slaves or twenty-eight percent of the total. The chief reason for the decrease was the sale of slaves.³⁷

In the Northern Neck, King Carter's slave community and the slaves of his children and grandchildren typified this demographic transformation. Through the years, just as the land was apportioned among relatives, so were the slaves. Some of them passed to heirs, some faced the auction block, and some were hired out. A few were emancipated, and some were taken south and west with migrating white families. In the face of these continued disruptions and divisions, slaves struggled to maintain their familial bonds and kinship networks. The threat of separation from one's family was one of the most excruciating aspects of slavery, worse in some ways than the lash and never-ending days of work.

While many slaves left the region in droves in the antebellum era, many of those who stayed found themselves scattered around the region on smaller farmsteads. Some large plantations remained and they still contained the largest numbers of slaves. But the grand eighteenth-century planters increasingly gave way to small farmers who owned and leased small plots of land. Many did so on land that the Carter family gradually sold off. Through the whole eighteenth century, only five renters occupied the Bull Run tract.³⁸ By the beginning of the next century, however, many of King Carter's land-rich heirs had become cash-poor. The farmers who bought this land could afford only a few slaves, and many of those were hired on a yearly basis each January.

Free Blacks

After the Revolutionary War, but particularly in the antebellum period, the nation grew increasingly divided over slavery. Northerners and southerners ar-

³⁷ Populations taken from the U.S. Census. Contrast these numbers in Virginia with the increase in slaves to the Deep South and the trade in slaves becomes obvious. Between 1850 and 1860, Arkansas's slave population grew by 136 percent and Texas's slave population increased 214 percent.

³⁸ Reeves, *Views of a Changing Landscape*, 2.1.

gued about the spread of slavery to the western territories and the enforceability of fugitive slave laws. Some, including many prominent Virginians, proposed sending African Americans to Africa to solve the country's race problems. In 1817, these individuals founded, with diverse motives, the American Colonization Society.³⁹

A year later, American opinions flared when pro-slavery Missouri applied for statehood. Thomas Jefferson declared it "a firebell in the night," a signal of coming conflagration. Compromises like those of 1820 provided only momentary calm against the expanding crisis. African Americans and white abolitionists outside the confines of Congress intensified their protest. In 1827, New York blacks initiated *Freedom's Journal*, the nation's first black newspaper. In 1829, David Walker's *Appeal* called for a continent-wide slave revolt. In 1831, Virginia slave Nat Turner led one of the most successful and violent slave insurrections. That same year William Lloyd Garrison began printing the abolitionist newspaper *Liberator*. Two years later, he established the American Anti-Slavery Society. By that time, American blacks had founded over fifty black anti-slavery organizations in the United States. Congress became so agitated over slavery that in 1836, legislators imposed a gag rule that tabled any anti-slavery petition. In 1839, slaves led a mutiny on the Spanish ship *Amistad*, and found their way to freedom through American courts. Sojourner Truth began her fierce campaign of lectures against slavery beginning in 1843, and hundreds of slaves followed Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass in escaping to states where slavery had been abolished since the Revolution. Reports of these escapes, and of the conditions left behind on southern plantations, fed a growing sense of the immorality of slaveholding, whatever its legal status was in the United States.

The free black population began a slow increase in Virginia after the Revolutionary War. In 1790, this select group represented about four percent of the total African American population. By the Civil War, this proportion had almost tripled. Just before the Civil War, one in ten African American Virginians was free.⁴⁰ The Manassas region proved no exception. Indeed, the northern part of the state contained more free blacks than the southern, tobacco-growing regions. In this area, some of the plantation-owning families, faced with mounting debts and a proliferation of heirs, freed their slaves. Others hired slaves out for added income and allowed slaves to share in the profit. Some slaves managed to save enough of their earnings to buy their freedom. Others escaped. And some were born free.

One of the most prominent free blacks in the Manassas area was James Robinson. He was born free in Prince William County around 1799 and lived until 1875. Robinson's parentage remains unclear. While his death certificate lists Philip and Susan Robinson as his parents, family legend holds that Robinson was the son of

³⁹ For a history of the American Colonization Society, see P. J. Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961).

⁴⁰ Mia T. Parsons, ed., *Archeological Investigation of the Robinson House Site: A Free African American Domestic Site Occupied from the 1840s to 1936* (44PW288), Occasional Report No. 17, National Capital Region, National Park Service (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2001), 6.

an African American slave woman and her master. If this was true, then Robinson's father may have emancipated Robinson's mother before his birth to give their son free status. As commonly practiced, Robinson was bound out to learn a trade before he reached the age of twenty-one. But, he later reported, "they never taught it to me. They wanted me in the field until my time was out."⁴¹

In the 1820s, this "bright mulatto man" stood "five feet five and a quarter inch high" and worked for Prince William County commissioner and businessman Thomas R. Hampton as a waiter at Hampton's hotel and tavern in Brentsville. The establishment stood adjacent to the Clerk's Office in the Courthouse Block and boasted twenty-four beds as well as a mercantile store, stables, a granary, an icehouse, and an inventory of oxen, wagons, carts, and horses.⁴² By 1840, from his tavern earnings and other jobs, Robinson was able to purchase 170 acres along the Warrenton Turnpike from John Lee. The land had at one time been part of Landon Carter's inheritance from his grandfather, Robert "King" Carter.⁴³ In 1848, Robinson sold twenty acres of his property to Thomas O. Clarke and built a one and one-half story log home. Later he added rooms and a stone chimney to his dwelling, erected other buildings, and increased his land holdings.⁴⁴

While Robinson achieved notable success during his life, freedom for him and other blacks did not mean the same as it did for whites. In every sphere of Virginia life — economically, politically, and socially — blacks faced enormous obstacles. County courts often sent poor, illegitimate, or orphaned African American children, or even freeborn children of African American women, to be apprenticed in a craft-based trade until they reached twenty-one years of age. Parents sometimes bound out their children too.⁴⁵ As adults, free blacks encountered obstacles at every turn. Especially in the wake of the 1831 Nat Turner rebellion,

⁴¹ James Robinson, "Case No. 241," Records of the Treasury, Southern Claims Commission, 1871-80, Record Group 217, National Archives, College Park, Md. [hereafter all Southern Claims files cited as "Southern Claims" file with the name of the filer.] Partial transcripts of Robinson's case are on file at MANA and in the "Robinson Family File" at the Relic Room, Bull Run Regional Library, Manassas, Va. For free blacks in Virginia, see Paul Heinegg, *Free African Americans of North Carolina, Virginia, and South Carolina: From the Colonial Period to About 1820*, 2 vols., 4th ed. (Baltimore: Clearfield, 2001).

⁴² Parsons, *Archeological Investigation of the Robinson House Site*, 35-36; and Donald Sweig, ed., "Registration of Free Negroes Commencing September Court 1822, Book No. 2" and "Register of Free Blacks 1835 Book No. 3" (Fairfax, Va.: Office of Comprehensive Planning, 1977), 22. Hampton described his property when he listed his establishment for sale in the *Alexandria Gazette* on November 22, 1828, and February 11, 1829. He acquired the property about 1824. He also bought and sold other property and buildings in Brentsville (*Alexandria Gazette*, May 5, 1826). For some of his activity as a commissioner, see the *Alexandria Gazette*, June 15, 1825, and February 1, 1826, for the commission's call for proposals to build a bridge over Cedar Run. For the advertisements, see Ronald Ray Turner, *Prince William County, Virginia, 1784-1860 Newspaper Transcripts* (Manassas: privately, 2000), 125, 127, 130, 135, 139-41 [hereinafter cited as Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*].

⁴³ For the record of land transactions from "King" Carter to Robinson, see Parsons, *Archeological Investigation of the Robinson House Site*, 33.

⁴⁴ Parsons, *Archeological Investigation of the Robinson House Site*, 33-38.

⁴⁵ Parsons, *Archeological Investigation of the Robinson House Site*, 36.

state legislators passed law after law constraining the rights of free blacks. Robinson could not own a gun. He could not obtain an education, vote, or serve on a jury. Laws restricted his movement, his freedom to congregate with others, and his ability to conduct business. Free blacks could not meet for religious gatherings without the permission of local authorities. None could act as a minister. Most fundamentally, free blacks had to confront restrictive residency codes. By law, those emancipated had to leave Virginia within twelve months of receiving their freedom. And there was always the possibility of being stolen away by slave traders with few scruples about snatching blacks and selling them to planters hungry for laborers in Alabama, Mississippi and other places in the plantation south. Though free blacks increased in number during the antebellum period in northern Virginia, they did so within an atmosphere of relentless persecution, suspicion, and danger.⁴⁶

Given these realities, some free African Americans chose to migrate out of the state. Some traveled to free states or left the United States entirely and settled in Canada. Some ventured west, perhaps joining other Virginians in Ohio or Kentucky. A few responded to the calls of the Colonization Society and boarded ships bound for Liberia. Robinson chose none of those options. He, like many other free blacks, stayed close to kin and friends. At the same time, he took measures to insure his free status. To prove his freedom, as well as comply with the law, he registered in the County Court of Fairfax. His registration reads as follows:

I William Moss Clerk of the County Court of Fairfax in the Commonwealth of Virginia do hereby certify that the bearer hereof James Robinson a bright mulatto man about twenty four years of age, five feet five and a quarter inches high, has no visible mark or scar, this day produced to me a certificate of Register from Philip D. Dane Clerk of the County Court of Prince William from which it appears that he was born free in the afore-said County of Prince William. Whereupon at the request of the said James Robinson I have caused him to be registered in my Office pursuant to Law. Given under my hand this 12 day of February 1825.⁴⁷

In 1793, the Virginia General Assembly had passed legislation "to restrain the practice of negroes going at large." Confessing their fears in the statute's preamble, the legislators claimed that "great inconveniences have arisen ... within this commonwealth, from the practice of hiring negroes and mulattoes, who pretend

⁴⁶ See Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: Free Press, 1974); William W. Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large, Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia*, 13 vols. (Richmond: Samuel Pleasants, 1819-23); June Guild, ed., *Black Laws of Virginia: A Summary of the Legislative Acts of Virginia Concerning Negroes from Earliest Times to the Present* (1936; rpt. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969); Paul Heinegg, *Free African Americans of North Carolina and Virginia*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Clearfield Company, 1995); and Donald M. Sweig, "Northern Virginia Slavery: A Statistical and Demographic Investigation" (Ph.D. diss., College of William and Mary, 1982).

⁴⁷ Sweig, ed., *Registration of Free Negroes*, 22.

to be free, but are in fact slaves." They thus enacted a law requiring "every free negro or mulatto" to register with the city or county clerk of the court where he or she resided. Yearly registration was required in the cities and every three years in the counties. After registering, the court gave the free person a copy of the registration to prove freedom, allow freedom of travel, and gain employment.⁴⁸ While many southern states had registration laws, none were strictly enforced, except perhaps after a slave rebellion. Many blacks, therefore, scorned the law. Robinson proved an exception. For him, having papers to prove his status overcame whatever antipathy he surely felt for white authority.

Robinson remained in the countryside, but other free blacks flocked to Virginia's cities. Alexandria was a popular destination. In 1800, free blacks made up seven percent of the city's population, much higher than the one to three percent populations in Fairfax, Fauquier, Loudoun, and Prince William counties. By 1850, Alexandria's free black population had jumped to fourteen percent. Skilled blacks labored there as bakers, barbers, bricklayers, coopers, carpenters, domestics, gardeners, mechanics, and painters. Others, competing with Irish and German immigrants, worked in menial positions building roads and bridges.⁴⁹

Mills, Artisans, Roads, and Town Growth

While planters reorganized the plantation's labor system to accommodate new crops and a more skilled work force, a pattern of community development emerged throughout the piedmont. Planters built mills and pushed for internal improvements to get their grains to market. Skilled artisans settled beside these mills to service the needs of a growing community. While the larger Carter plantations continued to own or hire skilled slaves to serve their needs, smaller landowners generally sought the services of local craftsmen at these mills or along major roads and crossroads. Gradually, churches, courts, post offices, schools, stores, and taverns began to change the landscape, and the region emerged as a productive clustering of farming communities.

Mill production in the Northern Neck began around the middle of the eighteenth century. By the dawn of the nineteenth century, fifty grist and saw mills could be found in Prince William County.⁵⁰ In neighboring Fairfax County, Willoughby Newton built a mill on Big Rocky Run in 1746.⁵¹ John and Landon Carter produced enough grain in the 1760s to convince John Carter to build a mill complex along Catharpin Run. Most mills in the Northern Neck were custom mills, serving the needs of the local population, but Sudley Mill, reflecting the wealth of the Carters, probably operated as a merchant mill, grinding wheat into flour for ex-

⁴⁸ Sweig, ed., *Registration of Free Negroes*, Introduction, p.1.

⁴⁹ Netherton, *Fairfax County*, 217; and U.S. Census.

⁵⁰ "Prince William: A Past to Preserve," Prince William County Historical Commission, 1982, 13.

⁵¹ At one point, Newton owned over 6,000 acres of Centreville in 1749 (Eugenia B. Smith, *Centreville, Virginia: Its History and Architecture* [Fairfax, Va.: Fairfax County Office of Comprehensive Planning, 1973], 8-10).

port.⁵² Initially, this flour traveled to the port at Dumfries, Prince William's county seat from 1759 to 1822. Silt eventually made this port unnavigable, however, and Alexandria became the destination in the nineteenth century.

To get their products to market, planters began to develop the transportation network. During the Colonial era, what roads existed in the Northern Neck were, as one traveler exclaimed, "excrable and scarcely deserved the name."⁵³ Most were old Indian trails that traversed heavily forested lands and were navigable only by foot or horseback. Not until 1750, when Prince William and Fairfax counties began to witness dramatic population growth, did Virginians construct the first bridges to cross the Neck's numerous streams. While there was marked improvement in the nineteenth century, roads remained primitive, uncomfortable, and at times hazardous until well after the Civil War. Still, Northern Neck residents steadily improved the roads and these new thoroughfares promoted regional growth.

One Indian trail was developed by "King" Carter in 1729 to transport deposits of ore from his mine at Frying Pan to the Occoquan. Though the mine proved a failure, the road offered many back woods settlers their first road to the Potomac. It also led to the town of Colchester. About the same time, Griffin's Rolling Road opened. It also followed an old Indian trail and linked the upper Pope's Head Creek to farmers in the west. This road opened the opportunity for the development of the settlement called Newgate, later established as the town of Centreville. The best lands surrounding Newgate were patented by Carter and his wealthy planter friends in the 1720s and 1730s. Men of lesser means took less attractive tracts or were pushed into the frontier. Carter's road and Griffin's Rolling Road became known as the Colchester Road. It was the only route to the markets and court house of old Prince William — located at this time at the Occoquan ferry landing — for Newgate residents and settlers further west.⁵⁴

In 1790, another road opened from Alexandria to the courthouse in Fauquier County, the site of the future town of Warrenton. This road linked the Newgate area to the commercial center of Alexandria as well as to points south. It promoted the establishment of the towns of Centreville (1792), Buckland (1798), Haymarket (1799), Providence (1805), and Warrenton (1810). To maintain public roads, county courts assigned "tithables" — "all male persons ... sixteen years and upwards, and all negro, mulattoe, and Indian women of the same age ... and

⁵² E.R. Conner, "Sudley Mill at Sudley Springs," *Echoes* 4 (September 1974): 75-77; and L. M. Mitchell, "Old Mills in the Centreville Area," *Historical Society of Fairfax Yearbook* 6 (1958-1959): 23-29.

⁵³ Albert J. Beveridge, *The Life of John Marshall* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916).

⁵⁴ Carter's road to his mine at Frying Pan eventually became known as Ox Road or Route 123. Mitchell, "Centreville Community," 37. See also Fairfax, *Landmarks of Old Prince William*, 314-315 and 476-77. For Prince William's Court Houses, see *Landmarks*, 314-17.

all wives of free negroes, mulattos, and Indians" — to maintain the roads in their neighborhoods.⁵⁵

The 1790s Fauquier and Alexandria Road was superseded by the Fauquier and Alexandria Turnpike (commonly known as the Warrenton Turnpike). In 1808, Alexandria merchants planned and incorporated the road. By an 1810 Act of the Virginia Assembly, directors represented Alexandria, the District of Columbia, Fairfax, Fauquier, Frederick, Loudoun, Prince William, and Shenandoah counties. In 1812, the board elected Humphrey Peake president and contracted George Britton to pave the first ten miles of the road from the Little River Turnpike at Fairfax Court House to Bull Run. By 1827, the road was complete to Warrenton at a cost of about \$2,000 per mile. The work included the stone bridge over Bull Run, a landmark improvement in transportation through the region. During the long completion process, the turnpike construction crews garnered the wrath of local residents. In 1821, Manassas area resident William Cundiff filed a complaint with Prince William County. He contended that the road between Dogan's Hill and Bull Run was "unfit for a Turnpike." Two years later, Warrenton residents informed the Board of Public Works that the roadbed was so bad that travelers preferred fields and open woods. These complaints spurred resurfacing in 1823.⁵⁶

Building the Warrenton Turnpike was part of a broad internal improvement initiative in Virginia and the capital region that began at the end of the eighteenth century. The Board of Public Works, started in 1816, helped push and guide the effort. Commercial ties and westward movement sparked initiative. Virginia had chartered the first local toll road company in the colonies in 1772. The company built a road that started in Alexandria and led to Snicker's Gap in Loudoun County. When Alexandria merchants financed the Warrenton Turnpike to carry goods from Fauquier and Culpeper farms, three other turnpikes already operated in the state.⁵⁷ Toll gates erected along the road helped pay the expenses. But, like most turnpike companies, the Warrenton Turnpike failed to turn a profit.⁵⁸

Extending and improving roads encouraged commerce and village growth, though never as much as merchants and developers hoped. Service facilities catering to the needs of turnpike travelers sprang up along roadsides. Drover's taverns and wagon stands serviced the needs of farmers and herders moving their crops and livestock to market. They offered food and drink to the workers and a space for resting sheep, cattle, and horses. Blacksmith shops repaired wag-

⁵⁵ William Walter Hening, *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619* (Richmond: University of Virginia Press, 1969), 6: 40-41, and quoted in Smith, *Centreville*, 5-6.

⁵⁶ Netherton, *Fairfax County*, 198, Mitchell, "Centreville Community," 39, and Matthew B. Reeves, *An Archaeological and Historical Investigation of Stone House*, Occasional Report No. 16, National Capital Region, National Park Service (Washington, D. C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 2001), 2.4.

⁵⁷ Netherton, *Fairfax County*, 190-94.

⁵⁸ Netherton, *Fairfax County*, 198.

ons. Stagecoach taverns accommodated the needs of other travelers, providing food and lodging. Limited in capacity and far from lavish, these taverns often were nothing more than a space in a farmer's home. Food came from the farmer's gardens and farm and the business was often a family affair. A farm widow often took up tavern-keeping after her husband's death.

Taverns often operated as a community gathering place for news and socializing. It was often the first to receive newspapers and the site of local post offices. A person had to be of good standing in the community to establish oneself as a tavern owner. To secure a license for public entertainment and a grant to serve liquor, tavern owners had to come before the local court accompanied by reputable witnesses ready to vouch for their character.⁵⁹

The small cluster of homes designated Groveton and Gainesville were by-products of the turnpike, but neither could be called a village. Groveton sat at the crossroads of the turnpike and the road to Sudley Mill. Gainesville, located by the Gaines family farm, began as a stage stop along the turnpike. By 1827, it was servicing two stagecoaches every week.⁶⁰

Continued development of mills, farms, and roads sparked more growth. To their mill operations, proprietors added auxiliary stores and services to meet the needs of local residents. About two miles north of Groveton and the Warrenton Turnpike sat the small settlement of Sudley, sometimes called Sudley Mill. When John Carter's son, Landon, took over Sudley Mill in 1789, he added a store and blacksmith shop. During Landon Carter's ownership (he sold the business in the 1830s), Thomas Fortune operated Sudley Mill and probably lived in the miller's house.

The large merchant mill on Catharpin Run lined the pockets of the Carter family until the 1850s. Roads radiated from the mill to the Woodland and Sudley plantations, to Groveton and Haymarket and the Stone House. Farmers from Fairfax, Fauquier, Loudoun, and Prince William counties, and even from as far away as the Shenandoah Valley, came to turn their grain to flour. They arrived upon "drags and ox-carts, great conestoga wagons with their six horses as well as many on horseback with their sacks of grain." Some residents recalled that "Sudley Mills did such a large business that sometimes the wagons would be lined an eighth of a mile along the road."⁶¹

During Landon Carter's term, Sam, a slave, worked first as the mill's handyman, then as the store manager. The store provided a common meeting place for the community. Sam sold ginger cakes and twist tobacco to men as they exchanged

⁵⁹ Reeves, *Archaeological and Historical Investigation of Stone House*, 2-4-2.5.

⁶⁰ Laura J. Galke, ed., *Cultural Resource Survey and Inventory of a War-Torn Landscape: The Stuart's Hill Tract, Manassas National Battlefield Park, Virginia*, Occasional Report No. 7. National Capital Region, National Park Service (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Department of the Interior, 1992), 23.

⁶¹ Susan R. Morton, unpublished manuscript (1940), reproduced in *Genealogical Records, Elizabeth McIntosh Howell Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution* (Manassas, Va., July 1973), 72.

community news and waited for their wheat to be ground or for repairs to be made to their harnesses and wheels.

Carter's relationship with his enslaved man Sam is worth noting. In addition to food and clothing provisions, Carter allowed Sam some of the store's proceeds. With this money, Sam planned to buy his and his wife's freedom. When he had saved \$500, Carter agreed that Sam could purchase their freedom for \$1,000. Though Sam died before reaching his goal, his negotiations with his master reflected some of the changing opportunities for African Americans in Prince William County. Sam's life did not mirror those of his eighteenth-century ancestors who toiled on tobacco plantations.⁶²

Landon Carter's interests extended beyond business ventures. After the death of his uncle, Landon of Pittsylvania in 1801, he "exerted more social and economic influence than did any other of the surviving Carters in the Sudley neighborhood." One of the ways he exerted this influence was through religious support. In 1822, he and his wife, Courtney Norton, deeded land to build the Sudley Methodist Church. Though they never joined the church (they probably were Episcopalians), many in his family as well as other prominent members of the community did. Landon and Courtney had five children: Sarah married Alfred Ball; Edmonia married Benjamin Tasker Chinn; Ann Cary married Robert Lewis; George Hartley married Emma Steinrod; and Edward married Mary Arnest. The three daughters and their husbands joined the church and so did Landon's brother, William Fitzhugh Carter, his wife and about eighteen other relatives. Both Ball and Chinn became class leaders in the church. The first trustees for the church were George Tennille, Garner Fortune, Landon Carter, Jr., William F. Carter, and Robert Hamilton. Members came from Prince William and surrounding counties.⁶³

Two north-south roads connected Sudley Mill to the Turnpike, the Sudley-Groveton Road and the Sudley-New Market Road. New Market, which lay south of the Warrenton Turnpike, was named for the "new market" that gave the area its name. It also boasted a tavern, and post office.

These small settlements served as local gathering spaces, but many had dreams of much more. Centreville, located where the Warrenton Turnpike crossed Brad-dock Road, was one of the first in the Manassas region to profit from the increased road activity. This town, built on the older settlement of Newgate was "elevated and highly picturesque affording one of the best mountain prospects in the state of Virginia." Though Centreville never became a thriving metropolis, especially after it was bypassed by the Orange & Alexandria Railroad in the

⁶² Susan Rogers Morton, "Site of Sudley Mill," in W. R. Hobbs, Teresa A. Kelley, and Sallie C. Pusey, comp., *WPA Records of Prince William County, Virginia* (Westminster, Md.: Willow Bend Books), 588.

⁶³ Elizabeth Harrover Johnson, E. R. Conner III, and Mary Harrover Ferguson, *History in a Horse-shoe Curve: The Story of Sudley Methodist Church and Its Community* (Princeton, New Jersey: Pennywitt Press, 1982): 31-37.

1850s, it was not for want of trying. Citizens promoted the town's real estate and advertised its healthful climate. In 1799, they petitioned the Assembly to establish the District Court in their town but lost out to Haymarket. In 1808, prominent area citizens, including Spencer Ball of Pohoke (later renamed Portici) Plantation, founded the Centreville Academy to teach boarding students Latin classics, English grammar, arithmetic, and reading.⁶⁴

In 1820, as an advertisement in the *Alexandria Gazette* reveals, a camp meeting was conducted in Centreville. But religious enthusiasm would not be purchased, the sponsors hoped, at the cost of social disorder. Wormely Carter and other large landholders including George Lane, Enoch Grigsby, James Hooe, and James Triplett, among others, declared in the newspaper announcement that "[a]s the primary object of these meetings is sometimes in a degree defeated from the want of proper order, considerable pains have been taken to secure the preservation of good order and management." These responsible citizens "have united to discourage hucksters and venders of spirituous liquors from making any preparation to come to this meeting with a design to traffic, for such will be countenanced by none, and opposed by all." They added that all who pitch their tents at the meeting must "pledge themselves in writing that all persons in their tents shall strictly preserve the rules of the meeting, or be dismissed."⁶⁵

By this time, in the 1820s and 1830s, Centreville had become an active community of 220. Leather tanning was one of its more successful businesses. An 1835 gazetteer described it as a town of "30 dwelling houses, 1 Methodist meeting house, 2 taverns, 3 merchantile [sic] stores, 1 common school, and a well organized Sunday school." Within these homes, varied artisans lived, including two tanners, two blacksmiths, four shoemakers, two house carpenters and a saddler, a cabinet maker, and a tailor.⁶⁶

One of the town's most impressive buildings was the "Four Chimney House." Probably built in the 1790s, the house was occupied in 1815 by Humphrey Peake, a lawyer, Centreville Academy trustee, and president of the board of directors of the Fauquier and Alexandria Turnpike Company. Peake also served as a United States customs collector for the port of Alexandria and a commissioner of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia.⁶⁷

Economic Downturn and Recovery

In the late 1820s, the Warrenton Turnpike had linked the area's farms and tiny villages to the port of Alexandria and the nation's capital, about twenty-five miles northeast. The road, many hoped, would pave the way to greater prosperity and business success. Instead, the area and the nation were hit with economic decline, worthless bank notes, and a tumultuous cycle of depressions and panics.

⁶⁴ Smith, *Centreville*, 39.

⁶⁵ *Alexandria Gazette*, July 13, 1820, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 110.

⁶⁶ Smith, *Centreville*, 46.

⁶⁷ Smith, *Centreville*, 43.

Demand for grains declined, and wheat prices dropped. Many farmers abandoned the area, following the promise of the open frontier. They moved their families and often their slaves to Kentucky, Tennessee, or places further south. Others stayed and tried to make do by selling land and trying to supplement farm income by a variety of business ventures. When these businesses failed, as they often did, the farm property could be lost with it.

The trials of Humphrey Peake illustrate some of the decline. Heavily in debt by 1829, Peake put his estate up for sale. He sold the four-chimney house and soon after probably headed for Kentucky or Illinois.⁶⁸ Peake's financial situation reflected some of the struggles of other Centreville residents who were hit hard by the economic downturn in the 1820s and 1830s. Many left the town. Things were not much better anywhere else in Virginia. Up to 1820, the state was the most populated in the Union. It dropped to second place in 1820 and to fifth in 1860.⁶⁹

If they did not move west, some of the more prosperous farmers began to diversify. They invested in urban real estate, bank stock, road building, and eventually railroads. Thirty years after the Warrenton Turnpike was laid, Virginians rushed to create a railroad system that linked fertile valleys and busy ports. The center of their ambition lay in coupling the north-south Orange & Alexandria Railroad with the east-west Manassas Gap Railroad. Where they joined at the post office called Tudor Hall (later named Manassas Junction), the region would eventually develop its long-term economic and political hub. But first Manassas Junction would achieve historical renown as a strategic prize in the war between the Union and Confederate armies.

⁶⁸ Smith, *Centreville*, 43 and 48, n. 30.

⁶⁹ Smith, *Centreville*, 43.

Chapter II: *Antebellum Shifts in Agriculture, Demographics, Slavery, and Transportation*

For James Robinson, 1840 was a year of achievement and promise. This was the year he purchased one hundred and seventy acres along the Warrenton Turnpike and began to lay the foundation that would make him one of the most prosperous free blacks in Prince William County. He built a house and outbuildings, and by 1850, he owned four horses, three milk cows, six pigs, and some sheep. In that same year, he produced one hundred pounds of wool, 400 pounds of butter, five tons of hay, and seven bushels of potatoes. More important than all his material possessions, Robinson won the freedom of his slave wife, Susan, and some of his children and grandchildren. For the man who became known throughout the area as "Gentleman Jim," the 1840s and 1850s brought opportunity and progress.¹ (Fig. 1)

Judith Carter Henry, Robinson's closest neighbor, did not enjoy the same success. Instead, her life followed a downward spiral. Born to the wealthy and influential Landon Carter, Jr., of Pittsylvania, she was accustomed to a life of privilege and prominence. Perhaps she felt she had secured her favored lifestyle when she married Dr. Isaac Henry of Philadelphia in 1803. A man of some prominence, he had been the surgeon aboard the navy frigate *U.S.S. Constellation*. After marrying, the couple had seven children. Three sons and one daughter lived to maturity. Around 1822, the family moved to the "Spring Hill" farm along the Warrenton Turnpike and the Sudley-Manassas Road. During the next few years, the Henry financial situation grew increasingly troublesome. By October of 1826, while Henry was on a trip to Philadelphia, his relative and neighbor Robert Hamilton wrote:

You knew before you left this that there were several Executors against you, well, Fewell has levied them on your property to the amount of upwards of \$600 besides your taxes which he says he must have immediately and I know not what to do unless you can enclose me some money forthwith[.] [S]ome of the Exec. are for your securityship to Lewis. I was compelled to give Fewell a list of every one of your negroes to satisfy him. He did not take them away but they will have to be forth coming at our De-

¹ James Robinson paid John Lee \$485 for the property. For this and other information about Robinson's life, see James Burgess's transcription of the "Robinson Papers," Manassas National Battlefield Park Library [hereafter "MANA"]; "Robinson House" file at MANA; and Mia Parsons, *Archeological Investigation of the Robinson House Site 44PW288: A Free African American Domestic Site Occupied from the 1840s to 1936*, Occasional Report No. 17, National Capital Region, National Park Service (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, 2001).



Fig. 1. James Robinson house, near the intersection of the Warrenton Turnpike and the Manassas-Sudley road (see Map, detail), 1862. "Gentleman Jim" Robinson was one of the most prosperous free blacks in the area before the Civil War. The house was enlarged after the Civil War, probably with the proceeds from Robinson's award from the Southern Claims Commission. Library of Congress collection, courtesy of the Manassas National Battlefield Park Library, Manassas, Va.

cember Court. . . . unless you can bring on or send the money to pay them off.

Henry responded in anger. In a return letter to Hamilton, he attacked the character of his creditors: "John Lewis's Sermons are not accordant with his practice. He ought to be shut out of the Pulpit." Henry then predicted that he would have to sell land to pay off his debts. To appease those he owed money, Henry included a twenty dollar note "which I dragged out of one of our Tenants after Taxes paid."²

Henry never did regain his footing. In 1829, he died of pneumonia and the family was forced to sell more land to meet their obligations. By 1850, Judith Henry farmed only one hundred acres. Still, this was not an easy task for the widow, as her sons had scattered and only her daughter, Ellen, lived with her on the farm. Landon had enlisted in the armed services in 1836 and fought in the Seminole War. After his discharge from the army, he stayed in Florida, where he died of yellow fever in 1841. John and Hugh became teachers and found employment locally and in Alexandria.³

Throughout most of the antebellum years, wealthier white landholders lived south and west of the Henry family. John Dogan of "Rosefield" and Alfred Ball — later Frank Lewis — of "Portici" fared much better. Benjamin Chinn, who acquired "Hazel Plain" in 1853, also prospered. But a landowner yet a little further south exceeded them all.

² For the correspondence between Robert Hamilton and Isaac Henry regarding Henry's financial woes, see the "Henry House: Material of Dr. Isaac Henry" file at MANA.

³ For information on Isaac Henry's naval service, see a letter from D. W. Knox, Office of Naval Records and Library, Navy Dept, Washington, to Edward F. Corson, Philadelphia, February 6, 1934, which read: "Isaac Henry was appointed Assistant Surgeon, U.S.N., from Philadelphia, Pa., on March 9, 1798, and Surgeon on July 12, 1799. He was ordered to the U.S. Frigate CONSTELLATION, commanded by Captain Thomas Truxton, in 1798 and continued to serve aboard that ship throughout his entire naval career." In the same file, see a letter to Henry on May 30, 1801 which read: "Agreeably to your request you are hereby permitted to retire from the Public Service." He was allowed four months' extra pay, allowed by the Peace Establishment Act. . . . "his contribution toward the health and welfare of the Navy was outstanding." Both of these transcriptions from the letters may be found in the Edward Corson Papers in the "Pittsylvania and Rosefield" file at MANA. Corson was a descendant of the Pittsylvania Carters. For the sale of Henry's land after he died, see an advertisement in the *Alexandria Gazette* on September 6, 1831 listed for sale "sundry SLAVES" and 330 acres of the deceased Henry's land that "may be improved by the use of Plaster and Clover," reprinted in Ronald Ray Turner, *Prince William County, Virginia, 1784-1860 Newspaper Transcripts* (Manassas: privately, 2000), 151 [hereafter cited as Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*]. For further information on the Henry's, see the "Henry," "Henry House," and "Pittsylvania" files at MANA; Joy Beasley, "Pittsylvania: A Carter Family Plantation in the Virginia Piedmont," unpublished report submitted to the National Park Service, National Capitol Region, under the auspices of the Cooperative Agreement between the National Park Service and the Department of Anthropology, University of Maryland; College Park, 2000; and Mia Parsons, "Southern Portion: Cultural Landscape Inventory," (Manassas, Va.: Manassas National Battlefield Park, 1996), sect. 3: 5-8.

According to David Burr's 1839 map, "Liberia" stood about half way between Centreville and Brentsville, in the area that would become Manassas. This site figured as noteworthy for the cartographer because it claimed a post office and was the home of one of the largest and most prosperous planters, slaveholders, and businessmen in Prince William. William J. Weir and his wife, Harriet Bladen Mitchell — a granddaughter of Robert "Councillor" Carter — settled on the property in 1825, when Harriet inherited it from her mother. They built a large brick Federal-style home and, in 1829, Weir became the postmaster. He also farmed and conducted business in Alexandria and the surrounding area. In addition to the post office, he served as a lawyer and operated a blacksmith shop, store, and warehouse. Not far away, he ran a mill. The store, according to an 1835 *Gazetteer*, traded in "dry goods and groceries, and the purchase of country produce." According to a descendent, "This was the first, and for many years the only store, between Centreville and Brentsville, which were in those days, the most important villages of their respective counties." The Liberia school offered boys from well-to-do families a classical education.⁴

Though the Latin word *liber* means free, the region could not be characterized as a place of freedom for many of the people who lived there. In 1840, over forty slaves labored on the plantation performing agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial jobs. On the eve of the Civil War, Weir owned eighty slaves. He held more than any other slaveholder in Prince William County and competed in number with some of the largest planters in Virginia. Few in northern Virginia could even compare. Of the 273 slaveholders in Prince William County in 1860, only nineteen others held more than twenty slaves. Edmund Berkeley of Evergreen and Frances Gibson of Fleetwood, were the next largest slaveholders; each enslaved fifty-two. Most, however, owned between one and ten.⁵

⁴ The post office moved a short distance in 1839 to Millford (also spelled Milford) Mills and the school probably did not start sessions until the late 1840s. For information on Liberia and the Weirs, see "Recollections of Paul L. Weir," *Manassas Journal* June 17, 1910, reprinted in Charles A. Mills, *Echoes of Manassas*, ed. Donald L. Wilson (Manassas: Friends of the Manassas Museum, 1988), 1, and Eugene M. Scheel, *Crossroads and Corners: A Tour of the Villages, Towns and Post Offices of Prince William County, Virginia Past and Present* (Historic Prince William, Inc.), 56. See also Florence Lion, "Liberia," in W. R. Hobbs, Teresa A. Kelley, and Sallie C. Pusey, comps., *WPA Records of Prince William County, Virginia* (Westminster, Md.: Willow Bend Books, 2001), 320-27 [hereafter "Hobbs, WPA Records"]; and WPA Writers, *Prince William*, 124 for the quote from Joseph Martin's 1835 *Gazetteer*. For the school, see *Alexandria Gazette*, January 15, 1847, Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 216. For an example of Weir's legal service, see an advertisement in the *Alexandria Gazette*, December 12, 1848, where he was listed as William J. Weir, Esq., for John Towles.

⁵ In 1860, in the state of Virginia, 52,128 slaveholders owned 490,865 slaves. Of those slaveholders, 243 held a total of 70-99 slaves and 114 held 100 to 500 slaves. In Prince William County the 273 slaveholders owned 2,356 slaves. No slaveholder in Fairfax owned more than 50 slaves; four in Fauquier and two in Loudoun owned between seventy and 200. See the 1860 census, University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center. *United States Historical Census Data Browser*. ONLINE. 1998. University of Virginia. Available: <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/>, accessed April 4, 2003. Fleetwood plantation was nine miles from Nokesville. Frances Gibson inherited Fleetwood from her husband, John Gibson, a lawyer who settled near Brentsville after it

Some accounts credit slaves with the naming of "Liberia," a name they no doubt viewed satirically, whether it originated with them or not. Most probably, however, Weir — or his wife — named it. Perhaps he or she was inspired by the newly settled colony, "Liberia," in West Africa.⁶ This coastal region, seized by the American Colonization Society, was established for the purpose of removing former United States slaves to Africa. Weir belonged to the Society, served as a repatriation sponsor, and followed with interest the colonization efforts in West Africa in the early 1820s.⁷

Juxtaposing the Robinson, Henry, and Weir families tells much about the area in the 1840s and 1850s. Their lives reveal that Prince William County was still a society with slaves, yet they also indicate that the relationship between black and white was not firmly set. This was not the slave society of the eighteenth century when the great grandees of the Carter family exercised unparalleled dominion. Instead, this was a tumultuous and fluid time of both great possibility and great hazard. For slaves, the internal slave trade between the Upper and Lower South threatened individual and family stability. At the same time, a more porous system of slavery allowed for a little more freedom and a minimal chance to improve one's situation. For whites, too, this was a dynamic time. All across the Manassas area, with varying degrees of success, farmers, businessmen, males and females, slaves and free blacks, experimented with new agricultural methods, new labor arrangements, and economic endeavors. Shifts in demographics, the advent of the railroad, and more access to the world market: all of these marked the appearance of a market economy and new economic, political, and social relationships. Combining these new relationships with older patterns of working and living, however, was never easy.

became the county seat. The Gibson family was prominent in Prince William politics, according to Workers of the Writers Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Virginia, *Prince William: The Story of Its People and Its Places* (1941; rpt., Manassas, Va.: Bethlehem Club, 1988), 154 [hereafter cited as "WPA Writers, *Prince William*"].

⁶ According to the 1840 census, fifty-seven persons lived at Liberia. Twelve of those were white males and two were white females. The rest were slaves laboring in agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing jobs, Ronald Ray Turner, "Prince William County Virginia 1840: An Annotated Census," (Manassas: privately, 1994), 216. According to the 1860 Slave Schedule Census, National Archives, Washington, D.C., William Weir owned eighty slaves. Another idea is that Liberia was named for one of the signs of the zodiac. "King" Carter had named his plantations as such, but the place that the Weirs settled on was part of the "Cancer" plantation, not "Libra," so this is suspect. See Lion, "Liberia," in Hobbs et al., comps., *WPA Records*, 324. WPA writers concluded that the name of Liberia reflected local interest in the American Colonization Society and the new colony in Africa, WPA Writers, *Prince William*, 124.

⁷ For more information on the American Colonization Society and the actions and beliefs of northern Virginia slaveholders, see P.J. Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961); for the establishment of the "Liberia" colony specifically, see 65-66.

Demographics

The economic and demographic decline that tormented farmers of the Northern Neck during the first three decades of the century persisted in the fourth. Farmers continued to struggle with the loss of their staple crop and economic depressions. In many ways, conditions had not changed much since 1826 when Robert Hamilton lamented that many in the community suffered. The "the great press for money at this particular time is very affective," he explained; "the sheriffs are more urgent in their demands upon us than I ever knew them to be; and very few of us are able to pay our taxes."⁸ In the 1840s, many travelers through the region described it as forlorn and desolate.

The dispersal and demise of the Pittsylvania estate serves as a good example of plantation decline. Landon Carter, Jr., though never as prosperous as his father, Landon Carter, Sr. of Sabine Hall, kept a wealthy estate along the middle Bull Run tract. When he died in 1801, his estate claimed one hundred and fifty-two slaves and was valued at \$30,500. His will dictated that his eldest daughter, Mary Bruce, who was already married, receive "a Negro Woman named Lucy" and three hundred pounds. His other three daughters, Elizabeth, Margaret, and Judith, obtained his "dwelling house at Pittsylvania, with the out houses. . . the yard and garden to contain 10 acres of land and five wood." He divided the rest of his property between his four sons. Wormeley Carter inherited most of his father's Prince William lands, which totaled about 2,000 acres and lived at Rosefield until his sisters married.⁹ Before Wormeley died, however, he had to sell close to half of this land to cover his debts. Hence, the inheritance for his nine children was much reduced: Ann, who married Robert Hamilton, inherited the house at Rosefield; Landon gained the Pittsylvania house and about two hundred and thirty acres of cultivated land and fifty acres of woodland; the others received much less. After that, as the story of Judith Henry has already demonstrated, many of the Pittsylvania Carters struggled to stay afloat.¹⁰

Another story of economic hardship could be found at the "Waverly" plantation, located about two miles from Haymarket. In 1836, Frederick Foote bought the land and with help from an uncle in Alexandria built a seventeen-room house. By 1850, he owned twenty-two slaves, and possessed \$40,000 in real estate, an exceptionally large amount. Foote's fortune did not last, though. He lost favor with the uncle who had helped finance his operation, and like other prosperous landowners he fell heavily in debt and was forced to mortgage the place. He

⁸ See Robert Hamilton's letter to Isaac Henry, October 16, 1826 in the "Henry House: Material of Dr. Isaac Henry," file, MANA. Also see the "Henry House" and "Rosefield and Pittsylvania" files, MANA.

⁹ Joseph, "Northeast Quadrant: Cultural Landscape Inventory," sect. 3: 4.

¹⁰ See Beasley, "Pittsylvania," for information on the Carter family's decline.

managed to keep the property until after the war, but only because of his wife's money.¹¹

With little hope for improvement in Virginia, some landholders moved south to try their hands at cotton, rice, and sugar cultivation. Some members of the Carter family relocated to Kentucky, Missouri, and further west and south.¹² In 1853, Alfred B. Carter announced his intention to go south through his advertisement to sell his sheep.¹³ The *Alexandria Gazette* chronicled some of this outward migration in northern Virginia in the land advertisements they printed. For example, Benjamin Dyer, "determined of removing to the west," offered his land and grist and saw mill for sale on August 19, 1838. If it was not sold within a couple weeks, Dyer pledged to sell it to the highest bidder at public auction.¹⁴ He wanted out. Perhaps this was the same sentiment held by members of Mary "Polly" Clarke's family, for they, too, left for the Shenandoah Valley in the 1850s.¹⁵

As a result of this outward migration, by 1850, the county's total population sank to its lowest mark of the antebellum period. In 1800, the county had boasted 12,733 people. Fifty years later, there were only 8,129, a loss of just over thirty-six percent. Through Virginia, as a whole, increased in population during these fifty years, it still exported more emigrants than any other state during this era.¹⁶ Some 375,000 probably left during the 1830s alone. Some scholars estimate that almost one million people emigrated from Virginia during the eighteenth and, particularly, the nineteenth centuries.¹⁷

Despite this decline, not all suffered. Many who stayed sold off large sections of their land, divested themselves of their slaves through emancipation or sales, and diversified their business interests. The subdivision of their plantations

¹¹ Letter from Librarian Don Wilson to Betty Duley, December 4, 1990, in "Frederick Foote of Waverly" Family File Folder, RELIC Room, Bull Run Library, Manassas, Va..

¹² Edward Corson, a descendant of the Pittsylvania Carters, said that many in the Carter and Hamilton families moved to Missouri before the Civil War, "Corson Papers," MANA. John Carter, the eldest child of John and Janet Hamilton Carter of Sudley, migrated to Kentucky; see Elizabeth Harrover Johnson, E.R. Conner, and Mary Harrover Ferguson, *History in a Horseshoe Curve: The Story of Sudley Methodist Church and its Community* (Princeton, N.J.: Pennywitt Press, 1982), 33.

¹³ *Fauquier Flag*, July 18, 1853, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 265. For more on Virginia's emigration, see David Hackett Fischer and James C. Kelly, *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000).

¹⁴ *Alexandria Gazette*, August 19, 1838, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 173.

¹⁵ Matthew B. Reeves, *An Archaeological and Historical Investigation of Stone House (44PW298)*, Occasional Report No. 16, National Capital Region, National Park Service (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, 2001), section 2, p. 14.

¹⁶ In 1800, according to the United States Census, Virginia's population stood at 885,171. By 1850, it had risen to 1,421,661.

¹⁷ John G. Selby, *Virginians at War: The Civil War Experiences of Seven Young Confederates* (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources Books, 2002), xxxix; and *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970, Part 1* (Washington, DC, 1975), 24-37.

opened the door for smaller farmers, some of whom made the most of the smaller parcels. Hazel Plain, once the wealthy province of Bernard Hooe, still provided Benjamin T. Chinn a comfortable income in the 1850s. Hooe had built the grand two and one-half story, four-chimney, gable-roofed home at Hazel Plain in 1809 and, in 1810, over eighty slaves worked 2,000 acres of his land. In 1825, when Hooe died, his will distributed over 8,000 acres to his wife and daughters. For the next few decades, the various lots passed through a series of owners. Chinn purchased Hazel Plain in 1853. It consisted of about 550 acres, larger than Judith Henry's one-hundred acre farm, but only a fraction of the size of Hooe's former spread. Still, by 1860, Chinn almost tripled the 1850 livestock value and substantially increased crop production.¹⁸

One of the families that benefited from the decline of Pittsylvania was the Dogan family. When the Carters started selling their land, William H. Dogan purchased and settled at Peach Grove. John D. Dogan claimed Rosefield. Peach Grove comprised some seven hundred acres and Rosefield four hundred and fifty acres. By the time of the Civil War, Rosefield was one of the most successful farms in the area, worth about \$8,100.¹⁹

Out migration was not the only significant demographic shift. Northern Virginia also witnessed an influx of people from Maryland, New Jersey, New York, and other northern states. While the Dyers, Carters, and Clarkes chased their dreams west, these new arrivals saw possibility. Dr. Jesse Ewell and his wife Ellen MacGregor Ewell emigrated with their two children from Maryland in the 1830s. He came to practice medicine; she aspired to an aristocratic lifestyle. They settled at the foot of Bull Run Mountain in a densely wooded, rocky area and called their home, "Dunblane," with its romantic connotations of medieval Scotland. Ellen was shocked to discover how remote and isolated they were. Though only eight miles north of the "thickly settled" village of Haymarket and five miles from Aldie in Loudoun County, Ellen betrayed her genteel roots when she told her granddaughter, Alice Maude Ewell, that it was a "crude neighborhood . . . still a sort of backwoods, — and thinly settled." She denounced impoverished whites as "benighted and ignorant." She preferred to socialize with "the gentry," but they were "mostly miles away, with very bad roads between." Her nearest neighbors were Indians and runaway slaves who had fled to the mountainous terrain. The Briscoes, who were Ellen's cousins and the family that had sold Jesse

¹⁸ Benjamin T. Chinn purchased Hazel Plain in 1853 and held it until after the war. For details on the agricultural census, see Parsons, "Southern Portion: Cultural Landscape Inventory," sect. 3: 4-9.

¹⁹ In 1810, Henry Dogan purchased land from Wormeley Carter in 1810. Henry died in 1823 and left part of estate to oldest son, William H, which included Peach Grove. William added to the holdings and built on his father's success. Peach Grove grew to 700 acres. Henry Dogan's other son, John D., bought Rosefield from Robert Hamilton, the husband of Ann Carter, one of Wormeley's daughters. Based on the agricultural census, John D. Dogan's farm was thriving before the Civil War, see Maureen De Lay Joseph, "Northwest Quadrant: Cultural Landscape Inventory," sect. 3: 7-8.

and Ellen their property, had left for the west. The Ewells, however, did not come alone. They brought their slaves. And Jesse's father, also named Jesse Ewell, relocated too. He settled at Edge Hill.

To build Dunblane, Ellen's brother sent slaves who were "experienced joiners" from Maryland. "The house was a 'Salt Box' one," their granddaughter reported, "a style of a house in New England." Slave quarters sat close by. Gradually, Dr. Ewell's practice improved. Road conditions did too, and by the 1850s, Ellen was enjoying what she said were her happiest years.²⁰

Northerners, generally not of the patrician mindset of Ellen Ewell, moved to occupy many of the farms that Virginians vacated. Attracted by low land prices, people from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York bought property in the Northern Neck and altered the demographic and social landscape. In the Manassas area, Rutt Johnson and various members of the Lee family were some of the earliest settlers to arrive from New Jersey. In 1770, Johnson acquired Clover Hill from Patrick Hambrick. In 1811, Matthew Lee bought one hundred and seventy-two acres from George Carter. John Lee, whom the Pohoke tutor referred to as "a cunning old fox of a New Jersey planter" resided at Willow Green.²¹ In the 1840s and 1850s, during the time of the largest migration to the area, other northerners included Abraham Van Pelt who settled on the Warrenton Turnpike close to Pennsylvania. Physician R.C. Machan crossed the Potomac from his home state of Maryland and bought the Sudley Mill complex in 1847.²²

Thus, in the two decades before the Civil War, Fairfax, Loudoun and Prince William counties became more diverse. By 1847, some two hundred northern families had settled in Fairfax County alone; one in three white men living in Fairfax had migrated there from the North or from outside the United States. Many were grain and subsistence farmers. Some ran dairy operations. A few operated large and prosperous farms. And some were professionals, including lawyers, teachers, physicians, and clergymen.²³

Many of these farmers did not buy slaves. They relied instead upon free workers and they espoused a free labor ideology. Some brought abolitionist ideas and notions of equality that ran counter to southern practices. Historian Patricia Hicken concludes that Fairfax County "[s]lowly but surely . . . was turning from

²⁰ A. Foote described the area around Haymarket in the *Alexandria Gazette*, April 8, 1844, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 196-97. Since Foote desired to sell his land, he may have overstated the location's advantages, though he was probably correct in his count of churches and mills. For the Ewell observations, see Alice Maude Ewell, *A Virginia Scene, or Life in Old Prince William* (Lynchburg, Va.: J.P. Bell Co., 1931), 9-13, 40.

²¹ WPA Writers, *Prince William: The Story of Its People*, 116, 117, 125, 127.

²² Matthew B. Reeves, *Views of a Changing Landscape: An Archaeological and Historical Investigation of Sudley Post Office* (44PW294) Occasional Report No. 14, National Capital Region, National Park Service (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1998).

²³ Nan Netherton, Donald Sweig, Janice Artemel, Patricia Hicken, and Patrick Reed, eds., *Fairfax County, Virginia: A History* (Fairfax, Va.: Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, 1992), 259.

an aristocratic, structured society dominated by the great planters of the Potomac into an increasingly middle-class society holding middle-class values and middle-class attitudes."²⁴ While many Prince William County residents still retained strong southern sentiments and values, they, too, felt the influence of these northerners. Gradually, they also helped to reverse the county's population decline. After its antebellum low in 1850, the population started to grow again.

Agricultural Economy

Agriculture remained of chief importance to the Manassas region and farmers continued to strive for economic independence, self-sufficiency, and prosperity. Other industries and businesses, such as grist and saw mills, blacksmith shops, transportation systems, and stores, generally catered to farmers.

Planters and their slaves still practiced some of the same mixed farming that became common in the first years of the nineteenth century. Seasoned by the booms and busts of tobacco cultivation and the country's economic depressions, most did not rely on a staple crop. Instead, they planted a variety of crops — some for market and some for subsistence — to insure some measure of independence. They cultivated corn, hay, oats, rye, wheat, and a variety of vegetables. They raised cattle, pigs, bees, and sheep and produced butter, honey, and wool. In their orchards they harvested apples and pears and made jams, jellies, and wine. Some built distilleries. At "Willow Green," near New Market, the William Wheeler family made apple brandy in their two-and-a-half story distillery that had been constructed of reddish-brown stone. Some had tanyards and a few tried silk-production. In 1836, William Fitzhugh Carter's slaves tended mulberry trees and experimented with a cocoonery at his Mountain View home. The cost, time, and climate never favored the silk industry, however.²⁵

Surrounding their property, farmers erected fences to mark boundaries and contain animals. Typically these fences, constructed of chestnut, oak, and cedar, were either "worm" or "post-and-rail" style. Worm fences, consisting of crossed rails supporting one another, formed a zigzag or snake-like pattern. Fences also contained woodlots, which provided farmers with lumber for building materials, cord wood for fuel, fence posts, and shingles. Foresters promoted woodlot management to supply families with quality lumber and fuel for annual use. The

²⁴ Netherton, *Fairfax County*, 259. By 1860, Netherton et al. conclude that the County could not be described as predominantly slaveholding. A changing population and agricultural patterns brought this change, quote on 270.

²⁵ "Willow Green," the Wheeler home, had formerly been the residence of John Lee, WPA Writers, *Prince William*, 126-27. For evidence of tanyards, see many of the land sales in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*. For Carter's silk production, see Johnson, *History in a Horseshoe Curve*, 28. Farmers in various parts of the United States experimented with silk production during the 1830s and 1840s. For New England's attempt at the silk industry during this time, see Brenda Bullion, "The Agricultural Press: 'To Improve the Soil and the Mind,'" in *The Farm*, Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife, Annual Proceedings, ed. Peter Benes (Boston: Boston University Press, 1986), 11: 88.

wood also offered a source of income. Farmers established woodlots on steep, sloping ground. Often they could be found alongside streams and in the floodplain of Bull Run. Poor-quality land, with rocky, shallow soils that were not suitable for crops, made good woodlots.

Poor soil was a problem that many farmers faced. Residents and travelers commented on the land's deteriorated condition and suggested how it could be improved. Samuel M. Janney, a Loudoun County Quaker, wrote in 1840 that an "air of desolation" hung over Fairfax County. Once luxurious fields of tobacco, wheat, and corn lay abandoned.²⁶ Gazetteer Joseph Martin determined that the soil "was of a universally good quality, but has been much abused by a system of miserable cultivation; it is yet susceptible of a high degree of improvement by the use of clover and gypsum, of which many farmers have commenced to use."²⁷

To revive the soil, farmers practiced diversified farming and continued to experiment with fertilizers and crop rotation. Real estate advertisements suggested as much. When Isaac Henry died and his family sold three hundred and thirty acres and "sundry SLAVES" to pay his debts, they claimed that the land was "adapted to cultivation of all kinds of Grain; may be improved by the use of Plaster and clover, and has a sufficiency of wood for its support."²⁸ The use of fertilizers and other methods did help. In 1842, a Quaker from the Hudson Valley, Jacob Haight, purchased the Sully estate, located not far from Centreville. Haight brought his farm to "new life" through crop rotation, sheep manure, guano, and the sowing of timothy and clover.²⁹ Probably a fair number of farmers turned to new techniques because of the success of a fellow Virginian. Edmund Ruffin of Prince George County experimented with fertilizers, manures, field drainage, and crop rotation, then published papers and promoted his results. He particularly increased his crop yield by "sweetening" his soil with a calcareous manure called "marl." He published information about his successes and, in the 1840s, he was recognized as a leading agriculturalist. (During the 1850s and 1860s, he became a rabid secessionist and slavery promoter. He was at Fort Sumter when the first shots were fired, and, despite his sixty-seven years, he joined the Confederates at the Battle of First Manassas. He committed suicide when the South lost the War.)³⁰

To generate larger crops and a more bountiful purse, farmers turned to technological equipment also. William Cundiff's 1822 estate demonstrated his progres-

²⁶ Samuel M. Janney, *The Yankees in Fairfax County, Virginia* (Baltimore, 1845), 4, 5, 11; and as quoted in Netherton, *Fairfax County*, 251. See also Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States*, 2 vols. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904), 1: 238; and Charles Lyell, *Travels in North America: With Geological Observations on the United States, Canada, and Nova Scotia*, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1845), 1: 198.

²⁷ WPA Writers, *Prince William*, 124.

²⁸ *Alexandria Gazette*, September 6, 1831, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 151.

²⁹ Netherton, *Fairfax County*, 255.

³⁰ Richard Pindell, "The Unrepentant Rebel," *Civil War Times Illustrated* (September 1985): 13-50.

sive farming philosophy. In addition to his wagon, ox cart, and horse cart, he owned cultivators, harrows, mowing scythes and cradles, and a number of different plows.³¹ In the 1830s, farmers in the Manassas area could invest in even more advanced implements. In 1837, Vermont blacksmith John Deere developed a self-polishing and scouring plow. About the same time, Virginia native Cyrus Hall McCormick invented and later improved the reaper.³² Both of these implements increased crop yield. Depending on their means, Manassas farmers took advantage of these and other tools.

These reforms took place within a wider agricultural movement designed to improve not only the soil and crop production, but also the farmer/citizen and the nation. Agriculturalists lauded the nation's farmer as the emblem of United States' citizenry. Eager to help define the self-consciousness of the new republic, they extolled the virtues of the yeoman farmer and linked farming with independence. One New Englander, whose words echoed across the country, enthused, "for by the axe and the plough were laid the immense foundations on which was reared this mighty and prosperous republic: and its patriotic and independent yeomanry now constitutes seven-tenths of the entire population."³³ In addition, reformers trumpeted agricultural progress as a demonstration of patriotism and moral improvement. As early as 1786, educator, physician, and political leader Benjamin Rush articulated his ideal of the model settler. He was one who owned property and managed lands to produce the greatest yield. This ideal farmer plowed lands with efficient horses, not plodding oxen, kept dairy cows for local marketing, cultivated a variety of grains, improved land, and built "a commodious dwelling-house, suited to the improvements and value of the plantation."³⁴ Especially from the 1820s to the 1850s, agriculturalists cultivated a spirit of reform through stirring addresses and rallying speeches at society meetings and through sundry articles in journals, newspapers and almanacs. The farm became the symbol of change and the icon of the nation. One periodical's motto read to "improve the mind and the soil." Improving the landscape, in one historian's view, became the "collective spirit of the American agrarian conscience."³⁵

³¹ William Cundiff died in 1821. His inventory was taken on January 24, 1822, as reported in Laura J. Galke, ed., *Cultural Resource Survey and Inventory of a War-Torn Landscape: The Stuart's Hill Tract, Manassas National Battlefield Park, Virginia*, Occasional Report #7, National Capital Region, National Park Service (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1992), 88.

³² Richard J. Hooker, *Food and Drink in America: A History* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1981), 95.

³³ Gen. Henry A.S. Dearborn's address before the Worcester Agricultural Society in 1841, as quoted in Bullion, "The Agricultural Press," 74-94, quote on 74.

³⁴ Rush's comments were published in *Columbian Magazine*. See Bernard L. Herman, "The Model Farmer and the Organization of the Countryside," in *Everyday Life in the Early Republic*, ed. Catherine E. Hutchins (Winterthur, Delaware: Winterthur Museum, 1994), 35-36.

³⁵ Bullion, "The Agricultural Press," 74-94, quote on 74, and Elise Manning-Sterling, "Antietam: The Cultural Impact of Battle on an Agrarian Landscape," in *Archaeological Perspectives on the American Civil War*, ed. Clarence R. Geier and Stephen R. Potter (Gainesville: University Press of

Agriculturalists encouraged farmers to be more efficient with their time, labor, and money. This included practical stock selection, increased crop variety, and the use of modern farm implements. To communicate the virtues of a strong work ethic and encourage a disciplined lifestyle, the agricultural press juxtaposed its version of what many understood to be the "model farmer" with a slovenly one. In one article, "Farmer Snug" met "Farmer Slack." Farmer Snug's farm contained well-fed livestock that "serenely grazed over equally stylish farmhouses, gardens, and yards. Trash was neatly deposited in excavated pits and not suffered to clutter the yard. Wood-efficient paling and post-and-rail fences replaced wasteful worm fences." Farmer Slack, on the other hand, lived in a "dilapidated shack which sat in the midst of a trash-littered, unfenced yard, trampled by underfed and uncontained livestock, and surrounded by untended fields"³⁶ The message was clear. Maintain a farm like Snug and enjoy success. In addition to publishing articles on how to improve crops, maximize productivity and efficiency, the southern press also offered advice on how to manage recalcitrant slaves better.³⁷

How much Prince William and Fairfax County residents read this literature is not clear. Certainly some Virginians, like John Walker in King and Queen County, Virginia, did. As his papers show, he studied the leading agricultural journals and experimented with their recommendations.³⁸ Others may not have read but surely they heard about new techniques and methods through their neighbors. Certainly, some of the northerners introduced some of the reform methods and influenced native Virginians. And, from the 1850 agricultural census, it is clear that some around the Manassas area were following the advice. One of the more successful farmers was William Lewis of "Brownsville." He farmed his 409-acre tract along Groveton Road with his some two dozen slaves utilizing new farm implements, following more modern scientific farming, and practicing animal husbandry.³⁹

Florida, 2000), 188-190, and Herman, "The Model Farmer and the Organization of the Countryside."

³⁶ David J. Grettler, "Farmer Snug and Farmer Slack: The Archaeology of Agricultural Reform in Delaware, 1780-1920" *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology* (1991): 5, and Manning-Sterling, "Antietam," 189.

³⁷ Jeffrey R. Kerr-Ritchie, *Freedpeople in the Tobacco South: Virginia, 1860-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 103.

³⁸ Claudia L. Bushman, *In Old Virginia: Slavery, Farming, and Society in the Journal of John Walker* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

³⁹ George N. Brown acquired two tracts of land between 1769 and 1787 and built "Brownsville." The plantation was purchased in 1835 by William Montgomery Lewis, who enlarged it. Nannie Neville Leachman Carroll, "Folly Castle Folks" with comments by William L. Litsey, Talk given to the Hugh S. Watson Jr. Genealogical Society of Tidewater Virginia, 1976, 24, n. 1, in "Folly Castle" file in MANA; and Galke, *Cultural Resource Survey and Inventory of a War-Torn Landscape: The Stuart's Hill Tract*, 53-55.

Women, Domestic Life and Work

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, few European women had ventured into Prince William County. Of these, some came as indentured servants, some as brides of wealthy landowners. For many, life in the Chesapeake was difficult, cut short by disease and childbirth. While much had improved by the 1840s, life was by no means easy. Most worked long, hard hours and many still died in childbirth. William Dogan's first wife, Jane, died in 1839 at the age of twenty nine. He then married Lucinda Lewis. She outlived William by more than half a century and experienced great heartaches, including the death of some of her children, the burning of her house in 1860, and the devastation of the Civil War.

Nineteenth-century plantation slaves and farm women performed many domestic tasks. Cooking proved to be one of the most time-consuming and onerous chores, involving hours in front of back-breaking, inefficient labor in front of the hearth. To ease the work, some equipped their fireplaces with swinging cranes, hooks for hanging pots, and spits powered by servants, children, dogs, or mechanical devices. Still, even with this assistance, the cook still had to lift and shift heavy pots and kettles, control the fire, and try and contain coals, ashes, soot, and smoke. As a result, many women suffered wrenched backs, blistered hands, smoke-filled eyes, and singed hair.⁴⁰ Iron cook stoves, patented first in 1815, began to appear in the United States with some frequency in the 1830s, especially among the upper classes. Though rural areas generally continued to rely on the fireplace until after the Civil War, a stove was found in the basement of Hazel Plain that probably predated the war.⁴¹

In northern Virginia, families depended on the fruit, potatoes, corn, beans, butter, honey, and livestock that they raised. Some, including slaves and free blacks, also took advantage of local markets to buy other items. Washington's markets in the 1850s contained "every luxury of earth and sea, and that at a price which gives the owner of even a moderate purse a leaning towards epicureanism." An Alexandria visitor found "exquisite" fish, oysters, crabs, and foreign fruits, wild ducks, small and poor vegetables, potatoes of poor taste, and "indifferent" fowls, lamb, and veal. Market officials regulated and policed prices and product quality. Butchers had to obtain licenses and unwholesome food was banned. Increased use of ice and icehouses, common on many farms and plantation by the late eighteenth century, helped preserve perishable food.⁴²

Slaves enjoyed far less food variety than whites. Few had any choice in their nourishment, eating mostly what the master doled out. Slaveowners, mindful of their investment but generally ignorant about nutritional standards, sometimes

⁴⁰ The James Cookstove was patented in 1815 in Troy, New York. Others followed. See Hooker, *Food and Drink in America*, 95-6.

⁴¹ Hobbs, *WPA Records*, 282.

⁴² Hooker, *Food and Drink in America*, 98-101, quote on 99.

followed set formulas prescribed by agricultural journals to keep their slaves healthy and profitably employed. Pork, cornmeal, salt, and occasionally a small portion of molasses were common. Often rations would be seasonal. Sweet potatoes might replace cornmeal during the winter. Many slaves ate little meat, though the northern traveler Frederick Law Olmsted on one of his trips to the South reported that the "general impression among planters is, that the negroes work much better for being supplied with three or four pounds of bacon a week."⁴³ While laws prohibited hunting, some slaves did supplement their diet with game, fowl, and fish. House slaves often fared better given their access to the family kitchen and table.

Social Networks, Marriage, Religion, and Education

Kinship networks and religion helped unite the Manassas area community. Intermarriage among neighbors was common and strengthened communal bonds. The daughters of William and Anne Mitchell Lewis of Brownsville, for example, married men in the community and settled nearby. The Reverend Alexander Compton performed many of the ceremonies.⁴⁴

Marital relations, however, did not always prove harmonious. William B. Brawner made explicit that fact in 1803 when he put a notice in the *Alexandria Gazette*, stating that "WHEREAS my wife, Harriot Brawner, has without cause, eloped from by bed and board, I am under the disagreeable necessity of forewarning all and every person or persons from crediting her on my account, as I shall not pay any debt the contracts after the 'date hereof.'"⁴⁵ Some couples, perhaps anticipating difficulties or intent on preserving their assets, made prenuptial agreements. Before Wilmer McLean and his wife, Virginia Beverly Hooe Mason, married and moved to her family estate, Yorkshire, in January 1853, she placed the property in trust with Samuel Chilton of Washington. The agreement read:

Whereas a Marriage is intended to be had and solemnized between the said Virginia B. Mason and the said Wilmer McLean and it has been agreed between them that notwithstanding the happening of such marriage the said Virginia B. shall thereafter hold, possess and enjoy to her sole and separate use and behoof and subject to her sold disposition all the estate real and personal to which she is entitled in any right whatsoever, . . . a tract of land situate in said County of Prince William called Yorkshire estimated to Contain Twelve hundred acres, also a tract of land in Fairfax County aforesaid containing by estimation three hundred and thirty acres

⁴³ Hooker, *Food and Drink in America*, 178-79; Olmsted, *Seaboard Slave States*, 432.

⁴⁴ William H. Dogan (b. 1795-1854) first married Jane A, who died in 1839 at age 29, then he married Lucinda M. Lewis (b. 1817-1910). William and Lucinda were married April 7, 1842 by Rev. A. Compton, Dogan Bible family tree, Dogan Family File Folder, RELIC Room, Bull Run Library, Manassas, Va..

⁴⁵ *Alexandria Gazette*, October 17, 1803, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 53.

more or less, and two other tracts of land in Prince William County estimated to contain about five hundred acres more or less, fourteen slaves and all other property.⁴⁶

Religion

Religion formed a meaningful part of many people's lives in Prince William County and the churches were plentiful. In 1844, when A. Foote wished to move west, he told prospective buyers that within seven to eight miles of his farm there were "many Churches of Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist" denominations. Eight or ten mills sat within five miles of his property.⁴⁷ Traveler James Redpath concurred that there was no shortage of churches in Prince William County. "The county," he reported, "has church accommodations for nearly five thousand souls. It is evident, therefore, that although the peoples' minds must be dark; their souls have a very fair chance for salvation."⁴⁸

The Protestant evangelical religion dominated the region, as it did throughout the South. White Southerners mostly practiced a Baptist, Methodist, or Presbyterian faith. A few were Episcopalians. Ellen Ewell said she gave up many privileges, social and religious when she moved to the County, but she still maintained her Episcopalian faith at St. Paul's in Haymarket. Many of her neighbors however switched to what her granddaughter called a more "cheerful and lively Methodism." Alice Ewell added that the tone of the Episcopal Church "was very puritanical. . . The cross was frowned upon; also card-playing and dancing. . . . Even the music in churches must be severely plain. There was no organ at St. Paul's. . ."⁴⁹

Some of the concern for religion was evident in some of the Carter correspondence. In 1842, one of the Carter women wrote Sarah Hamilton at Groveton of her concern for John Wormly's "spiritual welfare." "I hope he's joined the church — tell him that in *union* there is strength, and he may rely on it he will need all the help he can obtain both from the *church* and the Bible to keep alive the sacred germ of religion — which I sincerely believe was emplanted in his heart at the Camp Meeting. Mr. Thos. Carter has, I am informed, kept on his course thus far — may the spirit of grace ever lead him in the right way."⁵⁰

Sudley Church continued to be one of the more prominent congregations in the area. The Balls, Chinns, Comptons, Cushings, Dogans, Leachmans, Lewises, and

⁴⁶ Prince William County Deed Book 28, p. 130, and as quoted in Francis F. Wilshin, "The Stone House: Embattled Landmark of Bull Run," [unpublished ms. on file at MANA], Vol. 1, 1961, p. 135.

⁴⁷ *Alexandria Gazette*, April 8, 1844, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 196-97.

⁴⁸ James Redpath, *The Roving Editor, or Talks With Slaves in the Southern States*, ed. John R. McKivigan (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, [1859], 1996), 236.

⁴⁹ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 41-42.

⁵⁰ E.F. Corson papers, "Rosefield and Pittsylvania" file, MANA.

Thornberrys were a few of those associated with Sudley. Some of the lay preachers included Alexander Compton. He and his wife, F  licia, moved from their former residence near Brentsville to Greenville Farm in 1838. Not far from New Market, their farm neighbored Willow Green, Brownsville, and Hazel Plain. They and at least three of their children, Alexander, Marianne, and James, attended Sudley. Some traveled a fair distance. John Trone walked from Buckland to preach.⁵¹

By 1857, slavery had split Baptists, Methodists, and New School Presbyterians along sectional lines after church assemblies debated whether holding slaves fundamentally violated church doctrine. Many Virginians preferred to follow another creed, one that did not find slavery abominable. One Virginian wrote that when Christ walked on this earth, he had not "troubled himself with the political or social condition of men."⁵² To the Virginian, this was enough to leave the status quo alone.

Education

When New York editor James Redpath walked from Centreville to Warrenton along the turnpike in the 1850s, he may have been impressed with the number of churches, but he was unimpressed with the meager expenditures made for schooling, noting that the county's "annual educational income is \$695.00. Only 316 pupils attend the public schools. Seven hundred and eighty four white adults can neither read nor write, and nearly two thousand youths, between five and twenty years of age, are in the same benighted state of ignorance."⁵³ Had Ellen Ewell invited Redpath to tea, she would have shared his consternation. She found that her neighbors were not very bookish. While the Ewell family read all they could, they found "Good old Eighteenth Century libraries were not being added to, but gradually disappearing, and too often not being replaced by newer ones. For one thing paper was scarce. There were few daily newspapers. Many an old English classic went first to the attic and then was used to kindle the fire. As for new books, they were not so easy to get."⁵⁴

Though some, including President Thomas Jefferson, had tried to establish a public school system in Virginia, the state resisted doing so until after the Civil War.⁵⁵ Before that, well-to-do children attained an education either at home un-

⁵¹ Johnson, *History in a Horseshoe Curve*, 65, 67.

⁵² Kenneth M. Stampp, *America in 1857: A Nation on the Brink* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 114.

⁵³ Redpath, *The Roving Editor*, 236.

⁵⁴ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 44.

⁵⁵ In 1779, the Virginia State Assembly rejected Jefferson's plan for public education, largely because the wealthy saw no need to tax themselves to establish an institution they would not use. Private schools and tutors were the standard for Virginia's well-to-do citizens. Jefferson argued that public schools supported democratic principles. An educated citizenry aided democracy and teaching political principles to children gave the chance to nurture virtuous citizens. See Sarah

der a private tutor or governess who lived with the family. In Prince William County, for example, Spencer Ball hired John Davis in 1802 to teach his and other neighboring children.⁵⁶

For secondary education during the colonial period, the wealthier classes sent their sons abroad. Scotland, whence many Prince William settlers had originated, was a frequent destination. Other places in the colonies were also attractive. Spencer Ball left Virginia for the College of New Jersey.⁵⁷ By the end of the Revolutionary War, however, parents could also choose from several schools in their own neighborhood. In 1784, the Concord Academy opened to accommodate young scholars in Latin, Greek, and French. These student boarders could, according to its advertisement, learn bookkeeping, mathematics, philosophy, geography, and astronomy, all for a price of fifteen guineas per year. Teaching many of the same subjects, the Dumfries Academy promised parents and the public at large that their seminary offered a "useful learning in this growing Commonwealth" and promised that "proper attention will be paid to the mortals" who attended. Adding to the competition, John Goolrick started his own school two years later to teach male pupils reading, writing, math, surveying, navigation, geography, and the English language. Those living within the Manassas area might have opted to send their sons to the Hay Market Academy or to a school at Centreville.⁵⁸ In the 1840s and 1850s, students may have attended Liberia Mathematical and Classical School where, in 1847, tuition and board cost \$110 for the year. Here, P. Thomas Renney promised geography with the use of maps and globes and their projection, Greek, Latin, and French in addition to basic reading, writing, mathematics, and English Grammar.⁵⁹

For girls, very few schools existed. In 1848, Rebecca S. Ewell of Buckland announced in the *Alexandria Gazette* that she and her brother would teach six to eight girls at her mother's home. The school was located on the Warrenton Turnpike, thirty-five miles from Washington. Each session would continue for ten months for a cost of \$120. The teachers charged an extra \$45 for music lessons. The advertisement read, in addition, "The religious instruction will be entirely

Mondale and Sarah B. Patton, eds., *School: The Story of American Public Education* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001), 13, 22-24. The legislature set up a Literary Fund in 1810, which eventually formed the basis for public support of education. An 1811 Act designated that the fund be used to provide "schools for the poor in any county of the State." See Cornelius J. Heatwole, *A History of Education in Virginia* (New York: Macmillan, 1916), 100-105, citation on 105.

⁵⁶ WPA Writers, Prince William, 125.

⁵⁷ WPA Writers, Prince William, 125.

⁵⁸ *Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser*, June 10, 1784 and December 9, 1784; and *Republican Journal and Dumfries Weekly Advertiser*, August 11, 1796. The Hay Market Academy, according to a trustee announcement, was in operation by 1812 (*Alexandria Gazette*, September 17, 1812), and the Hygeia Academy, which may have been the same, was operating in 1813 (*Alexandria Gazette*, November 9, 1813); all reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 1, 4, 38, 85, 88.

⁵⁹ *Alexandria Gazette*, January 15, 1847, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 216.

under the care of a Presbyterian or Episcopalian minister. A clergyman will reside in the family. No Sectarian influence will be exerted."⁶⁰

During the antebellum period, while some gentry families could afford to send their young men to college, many could not. As Alice Ewell noted, "Many owners of large estates were 'land-poor,' others indifferent. Their sons went only to some small near-by academy, or perhaps did not even get beyond the 'Old Field School.' This curious term suggests . . . a rough school-house, perhaps of logs, set in a former tobacco field, worked down to the point of being good for nothing else but a play-ground."⁶¹ The Groveton School was one of these field schools for white boys. It sat on the south of John Dogan's farm road and the west side of the Groveton-Sudley Road.⁶²

Charles Edward Jordan, born in Haymarket on October 29, 1851, remembered his school days in a "little red school house that stood between Haymarket and Gainesville." His teacher, Mr. John Henry, the eldest son of Isaac and Judith Carter Henry, "charged one dollar per month for each pupil, but I doubt if his collections totaled more than twenty-five dollars a month. No paper was used in school work other than copy books, in which the teacher had to write the headline. There were no desks; just one long, slanting shelf, with a high bench where the children sat to write in their copy books. The next long bench was a little lower than this, and the next lower still, where we sat according to length of leg. There was a similar arrangement on each side of the room, with the boys occupying one side of the room, and the girls the other. . . with an old fashioned stove in the middle of the room. There was a bucket of water with a gourd for a dipper. The writing was done with quill pens, made by the teacher." John's brother, Hugh Henry, tutored the children of Dr. Cyrus Marsteller at "Pageland."⁶³

While schooling was sometimes limited for the wealthier set, the poor and orphaned fared far worse. They rarely had access to education. Still, some opportunities were available. Some parishes opened schools. In the eastern part of the county, the Reverend Thomas Harrison established the Dettingen Parish school for the poor in 1786. Some children of the poor and free blacks received training in an apprenticeship program, too. In 1810, the state established a Literary Fund for indigent children's education. This was the first step towards state responsibility for education. Scant funds from "fines, escheats, and confiscations" trickled

⁶⁰ *Alexandria Gazette*, July 28, 1848. See also *Alexandria Gazette*, January 20, 1849 for an advertisement for a school for boys at the same home, both reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 225 and 229.

⁶¹ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 100.

⁶² The Groveton School was destroyed in the second battle of Manassas, and lessons moved to a one-room building. Sue Monroe was the teacher and one of her students was May Leachman who eventually taught at Groveton from 1873 to 1890. See Phinney, *Yesterday's Schools*, 121, and Joseph, "Northwest Quadrant: Cultural Landscape Inventory," sect. 3: 3-25.

⁶³ Charles Edward Jordan, "A Letter from Charles Edward Jordan to Family and Friends," (Self-published, 1932); reprinted in Haymarket Historical Commission, *Haymarket: A Town in Transition*, (Stephens City, Va.: Commercial Press, 1998), 97.

into the program, however, and in 1827, Prince William only had two schools for impoverished children. Only twenty of the four hundred who were eligible attended. Subsequent state laws in 1846 and 1850 attempted to boost public education dollars and encourage adoption of a free school system, but with little result. Prince William attempted to provide a few schools for whites and blacks, but did not take advantage of the 1846 District Free School System legislation. In the 1850s, what few schools existed averaged a school term of only forty days, a teacher's salary equaled only three or four cents per student, and little to nothing was spent on school supplies. Not surprisingly, by 1866, one in seven of the County's whites was illiterate.⁶⁴

For slaves and free blacks the possibility of learning the alphabet was even slimmer. Especially during the antebellum years, laws prohibited slaves and free blacks from learning to read or write. If any left the state and gained literacy skills, an 1848 statute forbade their re-entrance. Despite these barriers, African Americans learned. Before the State Assembly — in reaction to the 1831 Nat Turner Rebellion — passed the most rigid of these laws, a few blacks attended local Quaker schools. Even after white Virginians imposed harsher restrictions, some black children continued to learn the alphabet from white peers. Some were taught to read by their masters and mistresses. At Ewell chapel — a little church in northern Prince William County that was founded by the elder Jesse Ewell — Alice Ewell remembered, "There was a service now and then, and a Sunday School for the mountain folk and others. My grandmother helped to teach it along with my mother and aunt, all working happily together, and also taught the slaves in a Sunday-afternoon school."⁶⁵ This literate few, in turn, educated others. Some met in secret places. Others opened quasi-schools.⁶⁶ Overcoming severe legal and social obstacles, about five percent of the South's black population could read before the Civil War.⁶⁷

Slavery Life, Work, and Culture

Slave traders and slave holders moved a million slaves from the upper South to the deep South during the antebellum period and produced one of the greatest migrations in all of United States history.⁶⁸ Virginia became one of the largest ex-

⁶⁴ Lucy Walsh Phinney, *Yesterday's Schools: Public Elementary Education in Prince William County, Virginia, 1869-1969* (N.p.: privately, 1993), 7-8; "Historical Development of Virginia's Public School System, 1870-1970," *News Magazine of the State Department of Education Centennial Issue 5* (Winter 1970), 6.

⁶⁵ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 47.

⁶⁶ Brenda Stevenson discusses the aspirations of blacks in neighboring Loudoun County and the Virginia laws restricting them during the antebellum period. See *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 275-77.

⁶⁷ James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1988), 16.

⁶⁸ Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African American Slaves* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003), 168-70.

porters of slaves. Despite this mass exodus, numerous slaves remained in the Old Dominion and continued to experience the brutal system of chattel bondage. Though plantation size and the number of slaves overall diminished in northern Virginia, slavery remained an accepted institution.⁶⁹ Slavery continued to be a fundamental part of the economic, political, and social structure, shaping the culture and individual psyche of blacks and whites. At the same time, slaveholders and slaves reconfigured the system to meet new labor regimes, a changing economy, and shifting demographics.

In northern Virginia during the 1840s and 1850s, slave labor continued to revolve around a diversified agricultural life. Slaves cultivated and harvested several crops, not just one staple. They herded livestock, constructed buildings and fences, made shingles, tended gardens and wood lots. Many slaves acquired sophisticated skills. Henry Grimes, for example, probably made tools at Portici. Archaeologists, working in the 1990s, suspect that they have recovered a wedge that Grimes fashioned from a horseshoe.⁷⁰

Slaves also made handicrafts and engaged in household industries. During the colonial and part of the post-colonial era, northern Virginia residents relied on homespun items and plantation industries. Planter wives and female slaves engaged in cloth and garment making. Alfred Ball of Portici established his slaves in various plantation industries. Inventories taken in 1853 and 1854 indicated that Ball raised seven hundred head of sheep and owned a flax wheel, two spinning wheels, and carding tools. Making woolen and linen fabrics and garments proved taxing and time-consuming, and perhaps, some of the assignments fell to unmarried daughters and sisters as well as slaves. Slaves, however, surely did the brunt of the work at Portici. In addition to working in the field and making homespun garments, Ball's slaves made soap and candles, kept bees, tanned hides, and probably manufactured fertilizer.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Of the 12,733 people who lived in Prince William in 1800, 5,416 or 43 percent were slave and 342, or three percent, were free blacks. In 1840, census takers counted 8,144 residents. Slaves represented 34 percent of the total population. By 1860, the total population and the free black population increased slightly while the slave population fell to a low of 28 percent. Northern Virginia was, more and more, losing its hold on slavery as a labor system, and some blacks took advantage of the opportunity, wriggling their way out of slavery, acquiring land and property, and eking out a better life for their children (*United States Historical Census Data Browser*. ONLINE. 1998. University of Virginia. Available: <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/>, accessed April 4, 2003).

⁷⁰ For a picture of Grimes's tool, see "Lost, Tossed and Found," ONLINE on the Regional Archeology Program, National Capitol Region website of the National Park Service, <http://www.nps.gov/rap/exhibit/mana/text/ltf02.htm>, last updated September 20, 1999, accessed March 14, 2003.

⁷¹ Kathleen A. Parker and Jacqueline L. Hernigle, *Portici: Portrait of a Middling Plantation in Piedmont Virginia* Occasional Report # 3, National Capital Region, National Park Service (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1990), 228-34. Parker and Hernigle suggest that Ball's slaves also manufactured gunpowder, but James Burgess of the National Park Service finds this highly unlikely. Making gunpowder safely and functional requires specialized equipment and skill, he

The twenty to thirty slaves who worked the Brownsville plantation during the 1840s and 1850s under their master William Lewis performed similar tasks. They, too, plowed, planted, and harvested a variety of crops, including oats, rye, corn, potatoes, hay, and grass seed. They also tended his sheep and sheared wool. Others milked cows and churned butter, produced beeswax, gathered honey, fashioned pottery (colonoware), and manufactured items for sale. Some of Lewis's slaves also worked off the plantation. Andrew Redman, one of Lewis's slaves before the war, ran a blacksmith shop on the Warrenton Turnpike at Groveton. Probably Lewis enjoyed Redman's income.⁷² If he, like his many neighbors, hired out some of his slaves, then he gained additional income from their labors.

In nineteenth-century Virginia, slaveholders commonly practiced slave hiring. This involved the transfer of slaves temporarily to farmers, railroad companies, and others longing for another hand or two. These transactions usually took place at the first of January and lasted for a term of one year. This practice occurred in rural and urban places and included male and female slaves of a variety of ages.

Even before the establishment of Centreville in 1792, black people knew the town of Newgate and especially its tavern as a place for the hiring and selling of slaves. Dubbed the "Eagle Tavern" because of the spread eagle on its sign, the tavern was the busiest spot in town in the eighteenth century.⁷³ Travelers like George Washington frequented the place to change horses, eat, or sleep. Though the traffic through the region diminished during the late antebellum period, local farmers, such as the Machens, still traveled to Centreville at the beginning of January for the yearly rental of slaves. Machen family letters from the 1850s record payments of \$30 for a house girl and \$95 for Jack and another man to help on their farm.⁷⁴

contents. Furthermore, commercially manufactured gunpowder would have been easily obtainable to a person of Ball's means.

⁷² For the history of the Brownsville plantation and an overview of Lewis's holdings, see Galke, *Cultural Resource Survey and Inventory of a War-Torn Landscape: The Stuart's Hill Tract*, 47-84. For a picture of colonoware found at the Manassas National Battlefield Park, see the Regional Archaeological Website of the National Park Service, September 14, 1998, <http://www.nps.gov/rap/exhibit/mana/text/09link1.htm>, accessed May 2, 2003. Andrew Redman declared in his deposition at Lucinda Dogan's Southern Claims hearing that he was a slave of William Lewis before the Civil War. See Lucinda Dogan's Southern Claims file in Records of the Treasury, Southern Claims Commission, 1871-80, Record Group 217, National Archives, College Park, Md. [hereafter all Southern Claims files cited as "Southern Claims" file with the name of the filer].

⁷³ Eugenia B. Smith, *Centreville, Virginia: Its History and Architecture* (Fairfax, Va.: Fairfax Co. Office of Planning, 1973), 21. See Cornelia McDonald, *A Diary with Reminiscences of the War and Refugee Life in the Shenandoah Valley, 1860-65*, annotated and supplemented by Hunter McDonald (Nashville: Cullom and Ghertner, 1935), 483.

⁷⁴ Smith, *Centreville*, 45, and taken from Arthur W. Machen, comp., *Letters of Arthur W. Machen with Biographical Sketch* (Baltimore: privately, 1917).

For some slaves, "living out" had advantages. In urban spaces, this generally included more freedom of movement, opportunities to gain additional skills, and "overwork payments." All of these helped slaves gain economic opportunities, experience, and a measure of independence. Some used these to take steps toward freedom.⁷⁵ For slaves in rural areas such as Prince William County, however, these advantages proved elusive. Instead slave hiring brought additional challenges to slave families, kinship and friendship ties.⁷⁶

Hiring out separated husbands from wives, children from parents, brothers from sisters, and friends from friends. Frequently it was a lonely exile from home, as individual slaves scattered about the countryside. Even if a master might hire out a number of his slaves, he rarely sent them to the same place. Thus, the group was separated from the home place and from each other. The next year an individual might be sent out again, but often he or she went to a different place so that no attachments might develop and be sustained. Slave hiring involved women and children as well as men. The practice of hiring out mother and child units was common in Virginia during the nineteenth century. Once the child could work on his or her own, around nine to eleven years, the child was often sent out alone. And the master, not the parents, determined when the child was old enough.

Occasionally, a slave's wishes were considered in the decision of where he or she might be sent. A slave might ask the master to be placed near a spouse or within walking distance of the plantation so he or she could walk home to be with family. But often these wishes went unheeded. Certainly if a slave faced the auction block to be hired out, there wasn't much to do but beg for a kind owner. Former Virginia slave Nancy Williams recalled her attempts to influence who hired her: "De young marsa hired you out for a year. . . . When dey put me on de block to 'cry me off,' all de po' white bacy-chewin' devils [were] stanin' 'roun waitin' to get me. . . . [so, I yelled] loud's I could, 'I don' wan no po' white man git me. . . . [but] as de devil would have it, one got me."⁷⁷

Slaves, if they could not have a say in where they would go, may have expressed their disgust in other ways. Some challenged the new master and made life difficult at the new place. One Virginia overseer, William McKean, told an owner that hired slave Sam Price did not want to be hired out at all: "When I can get any person to hire him it is well enough. . . . but no person that hires him once will

⁷⁵ For urban slave hiring, see Clement Eaton, "Slave Hiring in the Upper South: A Step Toward Freedom," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 46 (March 1960): 663-78 and Richard C. Wade, *Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964). For material betterment through slave hiring, see Charles B. Dew, *Bond of Iron: Master and Slave at Buffalo Forge* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994).

⁷⁶ On the practice of slave hiring in rural Virginia, see John J. Zaborney, "Slave Hiring and Slave Family and Friendship Ties in Rural Nineteenth-Century Virginia," in *Afro-Virginian History and Culture*, ed. John Saillant (New York: Garland Publishing, 1999), 85-107.

⁷⁷ Charles L. Perdue, Jr., Thomas E. Barden, and Robert K. Phillips, comps. and eds., *Weevils in the Wheat: Interviews with Virginia Ex-Slaves* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 318.

have him again."⁷⁸ Other slaves resisted going to a new place altogether. They chose to run instead of serve. The Ewell family knew that Bull Run Mountain harbored runaways, and some, no doubt, ran because they did not like being hired away from their kin and friends.

On the new place, even if a slave went willingly, he or she might encounter challenges mixing with the other slaves. "When asked what price he would give for the hire of a particular slave, Fairfax County slave owner James Coleman responded that he 'would not be willing to have him at all . . . If I had no blacks, I might be willing to have him, but they would bother him and he would do nothing for me.'"⁷⁹

Of course, not all slave hiring proved unharmonious. Some slaves may have appreciated getting away from their masters; others may have found the new circumstances better. Perhaps their workload was reduced or they established stronger ties with the people. Then the problem was in facing the end-of-the-contract separation. Regardless of the experience, good or bad, the devastating frustration was that slaves had little control of their lives, where they went, whom they served, and with whom they worked and lived.

In December, slaves generally returned to their masters and enjoyed a brief respite from work. For at least three to four days during the holidays, they would have time to socialize with their families and hear what they had missed throughout the year. For some, the reunion may have been marked by sad news of the sale or death of friends or family. But there was also jubilation. L.H. Machen of the Centreville area explained that during the Virginia Saturnalia, "the negro has by courtesy the inside seats of stage coaches, and the whites by necessity the outside. The darkies alone can frolic, dance and keep Holy Time between Christmas and New Year's and one or two days before and after."⁸⁰ The reunion and frolic did not last long, though. Masters cut the time of celebration short. On January 1, they began the hiring-out process all over again, forcing some slaves to serve another for the year.

Slave hiring varied from place to place and person to person, yet consistently, for those hired and those left, family and friendship relationships met numerous challenges. In 1846, members of the Briery Presbyterian Church in Prince Edward County, Virginia, recognized this and protested their church's practice of hiring out the church's slaves. They wrote, "The Condition of the slaves [owned by] good and humane masters would be better than at present." Hiring them annually disrupts their family relations. Their "family connections [are] formed one year in one neighbourhood and the next [the slaves are] removed so far [away]

⁷⁸ Zaborney, "Slave Hiring and Slave Family," 93.

⁷⁹ Zaborney, "Slave Hiring and Slave Family," 91. Zaborney drew his material from the papers that comprise *George Gunnell v. Samuel Coleman*, 1841, CFF #36N, (2 of 4), Fairfax Circuit Court Archives, Fairfax County Judicial Center, Fairfax, Va..

⁸⁰ Smith, *Centreville*, 45.

see
197

that they can but seldom visit or be visited by their families and in that way [they are] liable to . . . [be] broken up, and new connections formed" and so on year by year. The church members concluded, "we think [slave hiring] is very unfavourable to their moral and religious characters."⁸¹

As traumatic as slave hiring could be for some, it did not have the permanency of a slave's sale. Some slaveholders tried to be sensitive to the needs of their slaves, even if selling them. Elizabeth Carter, daughter of Landon Carter of Pittsylvania, owned twenty-three slaves when she died in 1822. Her will directed executors to "divide the families in such a way as will occasion the least distress."⁸² But for many slaveholders, a slave's welfare was of little concern and little attention was paid to his or her fate. Numerous advertisements of slave sales in the *Alexandria* attested to this disregard. In these, owners occasionally named the slaves to be sold, but rarely treated them so humanely. The sale of Reuben and Nancy proved an exception. "Reuben is between fifty and sixty years of age, an excellent manager and waggoner," an 1846 ad read. It continued: "Nancy, the wife of Reuben, is valuable as a seamstress and dairy hand. J.H. Reid, the administrator of John Hooe's estate, announced that he would sell Reuben and Nancy to "the highest bidder, for cash, before the front door of the Court House."⁸³ Still, while the advertisement distinguished the slaves through their names and made known their relationship, there was no guarantee that the two would be kept together. They may have begged for such on the auction block, but it was the bidders and not the slaves who had the final say.

Slave sales at plantations and community gathering spaces in towns such as Brentsville, Haymarket, and Centreville marked everyday life. Farmers bought and sold slaves regularly, and for all, it was a common sight. Many of these sales involved individual trades between farmers. Others involved slave traders who sold large numbers south.

Alexandria was an early center for the slave trade. John W. Smith and E. P. Legg numbered among the slave traders. Between 1828 and 1836, Franklin and Armfield operated a large trading business on Duke Street. By the 1830s "local planters 'were sensitive to criticism by the abolitionist press and retained a strong prejudice against selling slaves.'" This may have contributed to the closing of the Duke street business. But that did not stop the trade. Others stepped in. After 1836, George Kephart and Joseph Bruin were major slave traders in Fairfax County.⁸⁴ In Prince William County during the 1850s, one of the slave traders was W. R. Millam. He frequented the Courts of Culpeper, Rappahannock, and

⁸¹ Zaborney, "Slave Hiring and Slave Family," 93.

⁸² Prince William County Will Book L: 478, as quoted in Beasley, "Pittsylvania," 39.

⁸³ *Alexandria Gazette*, March 19, 1846, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 206.

⁸⁴ Donald M. Sweig, "Slavery in Fairfax County, Virginia, 1750-1860: A Research Report," (Fairfax, Va.: Office of Comprehensive Planning, 1983), 62-70. See also Donald Sweig, "Reassessing the Human Dimension of the Interstate Slave Trade," *Prologue: The Journal of the National Archives* (Spring 1980).

Prince William in search of slaves and advertised his desire to "purchase for the New Orleans market 200 LIKELY NEGROES," promising to pay the highest cash price as well as commissions to those who supplied information leading to a purchase.⁸⁵

Another prominent trader in the Manassas area was the owner of the Four Chimney House in Centreville. Alexander Spotswood Grigsby, by the 1850s, was one of the town's best-known businessmen. Between 1830 and 1860, Grigsby made money in land speculation, trading real estate in and around the small community. He also made money in the trafficking of human persons, partnering with Robert M. Whaley. In an 1849 agreement, the two verbally agreed "that each of them should purchase as many negroes as his means and opportunities would allow, sell them in Richmond, or elsewhere, to the best advantage, and divide equally the ... profits."⁸⁶ Grigsby may have done more than buy and sell slaves, however. He probably bred them, too.

Perhaps no role in the slave trading business was more pernicious than that of the slave breeder. While it is unclear how many masters kept women for child-bearing purposes for the explicit purpose of trade, some demographic evidence suggests that Grigsby bought women for that reason. In the 1830s and 1840s, Grigsby possessed a large number of women of childbearing age, only a few men, and fewer children. During that same time, he sold children. Between 1839 and 1840, at least, Grigsby sold three young children to slave trader Joseph Bruin, indicating that Grigsby specifically raised children to be sold.⁸⁷

Slave control was exercised throughout the community through patrols and individual violence. J. K. Conner, a Manassas resident, related a story he had heard from his relatives: "Just across Brentsville Bridge on Lucasville Road on a hill they used to take unruly slaves in the morning at appointed times and whip them as examples to other slaves. Down at the bottom of the hill is Broad Run . . . they used to get water and mix it with salt and mash them with it after, healing them. This set them on fire. Cousin Emma Chapman said she could hear them scream two and one-half miles away. The plantation owners did this. Very few plantation owners were going to call on the sheriff to have him watch when they whipped somebody. They were suppose to but they didn't."⁸⁸

⁸⁵ *Virginia Gazette*, June 19, 1853, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 265.

⁸⁶ Smith, *Centreville*, 43 and 45.

⁸⁷ In his demographic study, Sweig concludes that Grigsby probably was raising children for trade. Acquired women probably for raising slaves for sale. It would "explain the purchase of the women, the biased sex ratio, the lack of children, and the sale of three young children to a slave trader in 1840. Alexander Grigsby was apparently a slave breeder. The demographic profile of his slaveholdings will support such a conclusion." Sweig also concluded that Grigsby's venture was probably an isolated case. No other slave sales in the county revealed a similar pattern. See Sweig, "Slavery in Fairfax County," 73.

⁸⁸ J. K. Conner, Oral Interview, reprinted in Charles A. Mills, *Echoes of Manassas*, ed. Donald L. Wilson (Manassas, Va.: Friends of the Manassas Museum, 1988), 2.

Of course masters had to be careful in how much they wielded the lash, for, if the sheriff did not watch them, their own slaves surely did and some retaliated. Alice Ewell reported that a Dunblane neighbor, George Green, was murdered by a slave and his dismembered body thrown into a well: "The fiendish plot was laid by a woman who had nursed him in infancy."⁸⁹

While most did not resort to killing their masters, slaves did find ways to express their disgust with the system. Some resorted to running, either for a short time or to escape permanently. If they were found, the punishment was harsh for some, lenient for others. When one of Spencer Ball's slaves ran away in the early part of the century, he evidently did not fear too much reprisal upon his return. When asked why he ran, he retorted, "Because I was born to travel."⁹⁰

Others felt "born to travel," too, though what spurred flight was not always evident. Obviously, escaping slavery, its drudgeries, inhuman treatment, violence, and oppression certainly compelled action. But slaves used running as a method of protest, too, signaling their displeasure with a new task or work assignment. They also may have been running to a loved one on another plantation.

Masters pursued runaways with vigor, advertising their disappearance in area newspapers. In 1848, John Dogan offered up to one hundred dollars for a twenty-three-year-old slave. "David," according to Dogan, was "five feet ten or eleven inches in height, of a dark copper colour and has a full suit of hair, stout and well made, and when spoken to he is apt to raise his hat wearing at the same time a very pleasant countenance. He left in his shirt sleeves, had on a pair of striped twilled cotton pants, new boots." Typical of other masters, Dogan offered twenty dollars if his slave was found in the state, fifty if captured in D.C. or Maryland, and one hundred if found in Pennsylvania. Dogan promised to also pay jail expenses or travel costs. In the same year, Frederick Foote of Waverly also promised a \$100 reward for the recovery of Anthony and John. Anthony had a wife at John Gibson's near Brentsville and John had been hired out for several years in Loudoun County.⁹¹ Foote probably supplied this information to alert those in the area that the runaways may have escaped to be with kin or friends.

While it is unclear how many slaves ran successfully from their masters in the Northern Neck, several anecdotal accounts detail the risk involved. Joseph C. Hackett, a clerk of the Northern Virginia Baptist Association, said that Peter Nelson ran from his cruel master, James Ford of Stafford County. Hackett also reported that on Christmas Eve 1855, a Loudoun County group consisting of Barnaby Gregory and his wife, Elizabeth, Frank Wanzer, Emily Foster, Robert Scott and Ann Wood took their master's horses and carriages and set off for Canada. Armed with pistols, daggers, and butcher knives, they fought off the slave hunters who eventually caught up with them, yelling to their would-be-captors, "We

⁸⁹ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 46.

⁹⁰ WPA Writers, *Prince William*, 125.

⁹¹ *Alexandria Gazette*, September 26, 1848, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 231.

are ready to spill blood, kill or die rather than to be taken." The slave catchers withdrew when the slaves drew arms, and the group embarked again, this time arriving at their final destination of Canada. In 1856, Frank Wanzer returned for others. He rode the train until he deemed it unsafe, then traveled the rest by foot at night. At Aldie, he helped free slaves Robert Stewart, Vincent Smith, Betsy Smith, and Fannie Jackson. He also aided John Thompson's escape from Warrenton. Thompson later wrote his mother, Matilda Tate, that he had settled in Syracuse, New York.⁹²

Though some did escape, many more did not. One of the reasons may have been a limited grasp of how close the free states were geographically. As escaped slave Frederick Douglass noted, "The real distance [between Maryland and Pennsylvania] was great enough, but the imagined distance was to our ignorance, much greater. Slave holders sought to impress their slaves with a belief in the boundlessness of slave territory, and with their own limitless power. Our notions of the geography of the country were vague and indistinct — the nearer the line of the slave state — the greater the trouble."⁹³

At the same time that slavery was a brutal, demeaning, and inhumane system, filled with harrowing moments, fears, and loss, it was also, to the slaves' credit, a point of great creativity. Though downtrodden, slaves cannot be defined only as victims. Instead they acted on their own behalf and for their children and community. Together, they generated a powerful and meaningful community and culture.

Northern Neck slaves participated in this creative ferment. In his study of Fairfax County slavery, historian Donald Sweig concluded that a slave culture existed from the time that Fairfax County began in 1742 until slavery's end. He also determined that the "central agency of slave culture and society was the family." The slave family, he determined, transmitted culture. In spite of multiple separations, many families still remained together and the general slave culture endured. Part of the reason for this endurance rested on an inter-plantation regional family network. Sweig conjectured that another reason rested on the fact that the county was "not an overly oppressive area, such as the West Indies, where slaves were worked to an early and often inhuman death." Compared to the Deep South too, Fairfax slaves may have been better off. Thus, slaves may have been able to communicate more easily and fraternize more often.⁹⁴ The same could be said of Prince William.

⁹² Joseph C. Hackett, clerk of Northern Virginia Baptist Association detailed these account and Commodore Nathaniel Bennett self-published them in *View of the Mountain: Jennie Dean of Virginia*, (Manassas, Va., 1967), 2-3.

⁹³ Frederick Douglass, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (Hartford: Park, 1881), 159. Available at <http://docsouth.unc.edu/douglasslife/douglass.html>, accessed September 28, 2003.

⁹⁴ Donald M. Sweig, "Slavery in Fairfax County, Virginia, 1750-1860: A Research Report" (Fairfax, Va.: Office of Comprehensive Planning, 1983), 81.

Along Bull Run, slaves and free blacks met on various occasions, both formally and informally, and for many reasons. Certainly some assemblages resembled white gatherings at local taverns and post offices. They met along roads or in the fields to exchange family news and neighborhood gossip. News traveled via those who could move more freely. Free blacks and those slaves on errands helped pass along information to slaves tied to the plantation. Slaves gathered for other purposes as well. Some met to worship and pray; others conspired to meet in order to learn the rudiments of spelling and writing. Still other meetings were more surreptitious, involving the delivery of food and other assistance to a runaway, helping someone to escape, gathering information on the Underground Railroad, or passing along news of an impending slave sale.

Judging from the large cache of archaeological evidence uncovered around the Manassas area, African Americans also gathered to reaffirm their African ethnicity, practice traditional African religious beliefs and rituals, and to teach their children survival strategies. At plantation slave quarters and free black households, blue beads, colonoware ceramics, an ebony ring, mankala gaming pieces, marine shells, and quartz crystals testify to a world left by African Americans that was separate and unique from the world of their masters and white households. The fact that these items have only been recovered where African Americans once lived and not where white people did suggests that African Americans probably participated in some sort of cultural practices that at once united them as a group and separated them from their masters and white neighbors. While understanding exactly what meaning slaves and free blacks placed on these artifacts is limited, no doubt the assemblage at Manassas African American sites and other regions throughout the Chesapeake indicates a vital, evolving, and dynamic culture.⁹⁵

Slaves and free blacks may have associated these items with their African ancestors and employed them to reinforce their ethnic identity. Keeping objects that came from Africa or carried some cultural marker of African identity may have strengthened a slave's sense of well-being in an otherwise oppressive system. Archaeologist Stephen R. Potter noted that the ebony ring found at the Portici mansion's kitchen wing, in all likelihood, came from Africa. Only one other ebony ring like it was found in the United States and that in a dig at Monticello.⁹⁶ Other items may have held functional, symbolic, and ritual value. Buttons have been found in abundance at African American sites at Manassas. These may have

⁹⁵ For further reading on the development of African American culture, see Lawrence Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977); Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price, *The Birth of African American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1976); Charles E. Orser, Jr., ed., "Historical Archaeology on Southern Plantations and Farms," *Historical Archaeology* 24 (1990): 7-19; and Lorena S. Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997).

⁹⁶ Mark Vane, "Manassas Dig Hits Slave Days: Plantation History Harvest," *Washington Times*, November 8, 1991. Copy of article in "Archeological Survey: Stuart's Hill," MANA.

been a substitute for "cowrie shells" and been used for currency. Archaeologist Theresa Singleton suggests the possibility of slaves wearing blue beads to ward off the evil eye and protect the person from evil. Other scholars note the value of quartz crystals in rainmaking ceremonies and religious rituals.

Free blacks Philip and Sarah Nash lived near Groveton. They probably moved there to farm sometime around the Civil War and perhaps before. They probably lived in an old slave house that once was part of the Brownsville plantation.⁹⁷ At their home, archaeologists uncovered multiple items indicating connections with African culture. In an "apparent ritualized context," researchers found six quartz crystals, a piece of galena, and a Native American quartz arrowhead. The Nashes and their guests may have used this stash for divination and conjuring rituals. The Nash place was on the Warrenton Turnpike and close to Andrew Redman's place. Slaves from several nearby plantations could have traveled there fairly easily and it may have made a good gathering spot. But they were not alone in harboring such items. Brownsville's slave quarters yielded more blue beads.⁹⁸

At the Robinson home, the Nash site, and at slave quarters at Portici and Brownsville, African Americans left multiple ceramic shards. These geometrically-shaped smooth pieces may have been used to play the African game "mancala" or "mankala." Similar pieces have been found at plantation sites around the Chesapeake and Caribbean, including Thomas Jefferson's Monticello. "Mankala" is an Arabic word meaning "to move." People living in sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, Arabia, and Central, South, and Southeast Asia play any number of variations of the game. Players move tokens across a series of holes that are in rows either on a gaming board or dug into the ground. The goal is to capture as many pieces as possible and redistribute the tokens. A winning player exercises cunning, foresight, vigilance, resilience, perseverance, discretion, memory, and self-control. Cultural archaeologists read it as an enculturating device that sharpens moral, intellectual, and social values. Slaves and free blacks may have played the game to exercise skills in negotiating and surviving in their oppressive society.⁹⁹

African Americans may have secreted themselves away from the watchful eyes of white people when playing mankala or practicing rituals. Still others may have felt safe to wear their beads and amulets, confident that whites would not understand their significance. To an unpracticed and unknowing outsider, these objects probably were but trinkets. If linked to any religious practice, they may

⁹⁷ Oswald Robinson in Galke, *Cultural Resource Survey and Inventory of a War-Torn Landscape: The Stuart's Hill Tract*, 123.

⁹⁸ Laura J. Galke, "Free Within Ourselves," in Geier and Potter, eds., *Archaeological Perspectives on the American Civil War*, 265-66; Erika K. Martin Seibert, "The Third Battle of Manassas: Power, Identity, and the Forgotten African-American Past," *Myth, Memory, and the Making of the American Landscape*, ed. Paul A. Shackel (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001).

⁹⁹ Erika K. Martin Seibert and Mia T. Parsons, "Battling Beyond First Manassas" in Geier and Potter, eds., *Archaeological Perspectives on The American Civil War*, 284-85.

have been thought of as heathenish or superstitious nonsense. But to the oppressed, in fear of speaking against their oppressors, these "trinkets" may have been laden with meaning and value, and served as a means of independence and protest.

Archaeologist Laura Galke suggests that the gathering of slaves and free blacks may have helped them develop a sense of "unity, pride, and courage for the daily struggle they endured."¹⁰⁰ It may have been a subtle form of resistance against their masters' religious preferences and dictates. Gathering on their own, away from their owners, gave them some sense of autonomy in a world that demanded deference and dependence.

By the time of the Civil War, many in the black community had converted to Christianity. No doubt many in accepting the tenants of Christianity denied the efficacy of African belief systems. Yet others were probably more syncretic, combining their knowledge and understanding of Christianity with their ancestors' rituals. The fact that the Robinson family belonged to the Baptist denomination yet also had a wide array of African cultural markers may indicate such syncretism.

Free Blacks

Freed blacks lived in a precarious zone of freedom on the margins of white society and slave society, mingling at times with both. Though never granted the rights accorded whites, they, nonetheless, walked a better path than those still ensnared in slavery. Still, they knew that the line that separated them from bondage was thin. Some fell back into slavery. Others struggled to put food on the table and stay free from the law and unscrupulous slave traders. Many Prince William free blacks were hired out for a time for failure to pay their taxes. In the fall of 1860, for example, several members of the Gaskins family were hired out by the sheriff for delinquent taxes. Others faced jail time for miscellaneous reasons, one of which surely was fear, suspicion, and unjust prejudice. In 1845, Martha Long sat in prison because the court judged her a lunatic. In 1807, Robin Barber escaped a murder charge but was jailed anyway because the court deemed him a "person of bad frame."¹⁰¹

To evade punishment and slavery, free blacks acted cautiously. Some registered as free blacks at county court houses and carried their papers to prove their status. Others left the area, finding protection in the free states, in nearby cities,

¹⁰⁰ Laura Galke, *You Are Where You Live: A Comparison of Africanisms at Two Sites at Manassas National Battlefield Park, Virginia*. Presentation, Regional Archaeology Program, National Capital Region, (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, February 1992), 10.

¹⁰¹ Prince William Court Minute Books, 1804-07, p. 487 and Court Minute Books, 1843-46, p. 208, 62, recorded in "Slave and Free Negro Record, Prince William County Court Books," 5, 41; all from notebook compilation of Prince William Court Records in the African American Historical Association Library, The Plains, Va..

or in wooded mountainous areas. The unusual case of the Curtis family suggested another strategy. They removed themselves but only for a short time. In 1828, Charles Curtis, a white man, freed his slaves. In the manumission papers, he declared that these "Mulattoes and tauney coulored persons," he wished to set free "in consideration of the natural Love and affection which he bears for" them for they were his children and grandchildren. Given their freedom and mindful of the 1806 Virginia law requiring emancipated slaves to leave the state, the family left. After eighteen months, however, most of the family returned to their homestead. While they presumably lived out their lives in relative freedom, one son experienced some of the hardships of being black in Northern Virginia during the antebellum years. James Curtis settled in Fauquier County for a while, but by the Civil War he was "living on the road leading from Manassas to the historic Bull Run battlefield." Like many other free blacks, Curtis fraternized with slaves. At nineteen, he married Nancy, a slave woman, and they had several children. But the marriage did not last. Nancy's master sold her and the children and they left for Mississippi. Jim remarried another slave named Margaret. Yet, again, after they had several children, her master sold her and the children south. Curtis did not take another chance with a slave woman. In 1853, he married Lucy Pinn who was free.¹⁰²

Of those who chose to stay, a fair number managed to eke out a subsistence and some did quite well. Those who did gain a degree of material success were those who acquired property, worked hard, and relied on communal relations to help when needed. In the Manassas area, James Robinson achieved probably the most success.

Individual aspirations and hard work could only insure partial success. Free blacks also needed other people, white and black, for security and support. As was the case in many places throughout the United States, the free black community in northern Virginia was tightly knit, related by blood and united in experience. Neighbors and kin relied on each other for aid. Close relations between the Gaskin, Harris, Pinn, and Robinson families, for example, testify to this type of mutuality. Intermarriage among the Harris and Pinn and Robinson families provides one glimpse of this.¹⁰³ A labor agreement between James Robinson and Elizabeth Gaskins also hints at mutual reliance. The Gaskins family lived not far south from Robinson. Their small home was in between the Comptons and the Wheelers on the old Warrenton road. In 1845, Robinson hired one of Elizabeth's "girls named nancy for this present year for which he agrees to give twenty dol-

¹⁰² For the Curtis family manumission papers, see Prince William County Deed Book 11, p. 341. For a summary of the family, their registration as free blacks, and other family history, see the family papers at the RELIC Room, Bull Run Library, Manassas, Va.

¹⁰³ An example of intermarriage between free blacks was the marriage in 1858 of Charles Harris and Mary Pinn, both of Prince William County. See the "Harris" file in the Family file in the RELIC Room of the Bull Run Regional Library, Manassas, Va.. One of Robinson's daughters married Jesse Harris; see the family tree in Parsons, *Archeological Investigation of the Robinson Home Site*, 42.

lars and two suits of Summer Clothing and her usual winter Clothing also two pair of Shos.”¹⁰⁴ Robinson’s hiring of Elizabeth’s daughter would have helped support the Gaskins family, provided Robinson with assistance on his farm, and perhaps kept Nancy from being hired out to a less than desirable situation.

Ties also existed between local black enclaves and black communities in the neighboring cities of Alexandria, Baltimore, and Richmond. It was not uncommon for free blacks to move to the cities where more opportunities existed. Those who did frequently sent money back to their relatives at home.¹⁰⁵

In addition, free blacks often tried to establish good relationships with their white neighbors. At the least, this allowed them to live with some measure of peace. But, more than that, free blacks sometimes turned to whites for help in acquiring property, securing bonds, or to testify for them and vouch for their character. Some emancipated slaves gained property and assistance from their previous owners. Robinson, especially, made wise choices and created good working relations with his white neighbors.

As a young man, Robinson made the most of his years in Brentsville. Working in a tavern in the county seat, Robinson, no doubt, learned much about county and court affairs. He knew who held power and who was in trouble. He saw who sold slaves, who traded land, who conducted business, and he watched how deals were struck and transacted. Perhaps he became acquainted with some of Prince William’s powerful. Whatever his experience was in this political town, Robinson appears to have learned some valuable lessons that he may have practiced later in his own transactions. He also appears to have built a solid relationship with his employer, the owner of the Brentsville tavern, Thomas R. Hampton. In 1831, Hampton wrote a note of recommendation for his waiter, noting that his character is “unexceptionable.”¹⁰⁶ This probably helped Robinson build on the wages he made in Brentsville, eventually enabling him to buy his first acres in 1840.

Robinson created good relations with many whites after Hampton. In the Manassas area, Robinson was a well-respected member of the community, often referred to as “Gentleman Jim” and he conducted business with prominent whites including Alfred Ball, Edward L. Carter, John Dogan, William Forsyth, Richard Graham, A.S. Grigsby, Douglas S. Hooe, Wilmer McLean, and Henry P. Matthew. Robinson parlayed his good relations to his advantage, using them not

¹⁰⁴ Doc. #21460, “Robinson Papers, MANA”

¹⁰⁵ In her research of northern Virginia’s free black communities, historian and genealogist Joan Peters has found numerous cases of husbands relocating in Alexandria, Baltimore, and Richmond, particularly in the 1850s. They then sent money home to their wives for support. Joan Peters, “Identifying Free People of Color in 19th Century Virginia: Using a Record Matrix as a Model and Research Tool,” Workshop at Bull Run Library, Manassas, Va., January 18, 2003.

¹⁰⁶ Thomas R. Hampton, Letter of Recommendation, 1831, New Baltimore, Va., Doc. # 21444, “Robinson Papers,” MANA.

only to acquire land, lease crop land, and purchase materials, but to also buy at least one of his sons out of slavery and to arrange good working situations for other members of his family. In 1846, Robinson signed a contract with John Lee for hiring Tasco Robinson. Later, Robinson testified to purchasing his son out of slavery.¹⁰⁷ In 1847, Robinson went to Alfred Ball and asked him to join with John Dogan and "act as Master for his daughter Mima."¹⁰⁸

John Lee of "Willow Green" sold him his first land and, when he died, Lee's will assigned Robinson "a negroe woman Sucky and her daughter Henny forever." Sucky was likely Susan, James Robinson's wife — or "consort," as Robinson's death certificate referred to her. By law, slaves could not marry. She and their children worked as slaves of John Lee. According to family history, two of Robinson's daughters took especially good care of Lee in his old age. As a reward, Lee directed in his will that they be transferred to James Robinson. Lee did not, however, free the entire family. At least two of Robinson's sons Tasco and Bladen remained slaves and stayed in the area. Another two, James and Albert, were sold south. Lee's heirs put them on the auction block and traders carried them to New Orleans. As trained stonemasons, the two men, potentially brought a fair amount of money, certainly more than a field hand would have. In the 1880s, Albert returned to the Manassas area, but no one in the family heard from James again.¹⁰⁹

Robinson conducted business with numerous white people around him. But this does not mean that he always did so happily. He undoubtedly knew that Alexander Grigsby was one of the biggest slave dealers in the area, yet, he still visited Grigsby's store in Centreville.¹¹⁰ Chances are he did so begrudgingly, but he probably gave no indication of his animosity.

Robinson, like any free black person, always had to be circumspect. Especially as he prospered and some of the nearby whites saw their estates diminish in value, he may have been especially scrupulous. The modest size of his house indicates this possibility. When he constructed his house around 1849, it was only four hundred square feet. Though he prospered during the 1850s and though the house had at times to shelter six or eight people, Robinson kept his abode small.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ See the "Robinson Papers," MANA, for various business dealings. For the contract for hiring Tasco, February 18, 1846, see Doc. #21465. For Robinson's statement that he bought Tasco, see his Southern Claims file.

¹⁰⁸ Letter from A Balle to Dogan, March 5, 1847, Doc. #21469, "Robinson Papers," MANA.

¹⁰⁹ Richard Robinson, great-grandson of James Robinson and son of Oswald Robinson. Interview by Lynda Kaplan, Richard Rabinowitz, Gary Rowe, and Linda Sargent Wood, March 31, 2003, Manassas National Battlefield Park; see also Oswald Robinson's parallel account in Parsons, *Archaeological Investigation of the Robinson Home Site*, 41.

¹¹⁰ "Robinson papers," MANA.

¹¹¹ Perhaps Robinson was particularly mindful of his closest neighbor (who may have also been kin), Judith Carter Henry, whose economic situation declined at the same time that his rose. Oral history holds that Robinson's father was a Carter, either from the Pittsylvania or Woodlawn line.

While Robinson obtained a great deal, his life was always circumscribed and monitored. Most of the time, he stood clear of the authorities and maintained good relations. But he did not stay entirely clear of the courts. In 1852, Edgar Matthew took him to court for failure to pay a \$4.43 debt.¹¹² In many ways, Robinson kept his place and did not challenge the system.

Political anthropologist James C. Scott contends that oppressed peoples caught in positions of relatively little power developed two systems of interaction with others, a public transcript and a hidden transcript. Not able to express their thoughts candidly without facing repercussions, the public words of an oppressed people often follow a script of deference and loyalty. Especially to those in power, the oppressed offer a language of obedience. Robinson's decision to keep his house small may have been a response to the oppression he undoubtedly felt.

In private conversations with other slaves or in hidden transcripts and behaviors, however, another language emerged. Out of anger and resentment, the powerless demonstrate a critique or condemnation of the status quo. The slaves' arsenal of weapons included, in part, running away, breaking tools, stealing, poisoning, pretending ignorance, lying, and slowing work patterns. Hidden transcripts allow an oppressed people a measure of dignity and autonomy. Of course, slaves and free blacks did not always play by the status quo. According to Scott, "[t]he first open statement of a hidden transcript, a declaration that breaches the etiquette of power relations, that breaks an apparently calm surface of silence and consent, carries the force of a symbolic declaration of war."¹¹³

A Sprinkling of Small Villages and Business Interests

In the 1840s, the Warrenton Turnpike still served as the major thoroughfare through northern Prince William County and several businesses catered to its traffic. The small villages sprinkled along its path had hardly grown in size, however. Even by 1860, few buildings existed in the community of Groveton. In 1831, Thomas Hood became the neighborhood's first postmaster. One year later, William Henry Dogan assumed the post office duties and ran a store. When Dogan died in 1856, James W. Wilkins and Richard Graham followed as post-

Robinson's death certificate, filed by Bladen Robinson, lists Philip and Susan Robinson as his parents, "Robinson House" file, MANA. Archeologists Mia Parsons and Erika Seibert suggest the possibility that Robinson may have resisted adding on to his dwelling out of deference to the Henrys. They also allow for the possibility that he kept his house small because he was swayed by African traditions, which made a practice of using outside space as an extension of the home. See Seibert and Parsons, "Battling Beyond First Manassas," 270-86; and Parsons, *Archeological Investigation of the Robinson Home Site*, 31.

¹¹² See the promissory note from Robinson to Edgar Matthew, February 3, 1852, Doc. #21491, and a summons to the Fairfax County Court House, August 8, 1852, Doc. #21492, "Robinson Papers," MANA.

¹¹³ James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 9.

masters.¹¹⁴ Lucinda Dogan maintained the Peach Grove farm. Across the road, William Lewis's slave, Andrew Redman, ran a blacksmith shop. To the south was William Lewis's "Brownsville" plantation and the Reverend Alexander Compton's farm, "Greenville." Further north, there was a schoolhouse for white boys.

The little community of Sudley, about two miles north of the turnpike, was not much bigger, though the wheelwright, John Thornberry, who moved into the area in the 1840s, kept busy repairing broken axles and wheels damaged by the area's heavily-rutted roads. Thornberry attracted business by positioning his house and business at the base of two crossroads. It was close to Sudley Mill and one of the area's most prominent churches, Sudley Methodist. John, his wife, Martha, and their children became active members of the church. He built coffins and served as an undertaker and educator. Between 1847 and 1860, the Thornberry household value grew fourfold. Their home expanded in size, their taxable property jumped from nothing to a combined personal property of \$1,500, and they purchased two slaves and four acres of land. In all, he attained a comfortable position in the community.¹¹⁵

Laura Thornberry Fletcher recalled that, prior to the war, Sudley Springs boasted a health spa and summer resort. Some families that had moved from Virginia to Louisiana and Mississippi vacationed at Sudley to escape the heat and yellow fever of the Deep South. In 1852, these families and tourists could travel to this resort on the Manassas Gap Railroad to the new station at Gainesville. In a half-hour, a wagon would carry them the five miles to the accommodations at the Sudley Springs Hotel.¹¹⁶

During the nineteenth century, mineral springs had become popular destinations for those seeking health cures. Doctors praised the warm bitter fluids and patrons sought a variety of cures. Often they became playgrounds with dancing, drinking, gambling, and partying more than convalescent centers. Fashionable crowds especially flocked to southwest Virginia's mountainous resorts. Though Sudley never drew the same numbers as their southern counterparts, some did think the chalybeate springs of northern Prince William medicinal and sought to capitalize on the natural setting. When Benjamin Mackell advertised the sale of Sudley Springs in 1858, he listed "a valuable medicinal Spring on the prem-

¹¹⁴ Scheel, *Crossroads and Corners*, 45.

¹¹⁵ Laura [Thornberry] Fletcher, "'A Few Memories of the 'War Between the States' by an eye witness, for my grandson Westwood Hugh Fletcher," December 12, 1936 in "Sudley Church, Sudley Community" file at MANA; Reeves, *Views of a Changing Landscape: Sudley Post Office*; and "To Be Public or Private: Changing Uses of Landscape at Sudley Post Office, 1840s-1920s," National Park Service Archaeological pages, <http://www.nps.gov/rap/exhibit/mana/text/sudley01.htm>, accessed March 5, 2003.

¹¹⁶ Fletcher, "A Few Memories," 27; Scheel states that the Sudley Spring Hotel arose after the Railroad passed through Gainesville, but newspaper advertisements in the 1840s indicate there was some accommodation before that, *Crossroads and Corners*, 88.

ises."¹¹⁷ James A. Evans promoted his business at Sudley Springs in a June 1846 issue of the *Alexandria Gazette*. He could "accommodate" about thirty boarders," he declared, and though the "establishment does not offer the inducements of fashionable watering places to those in pursuit of pleasure, but to the invalid and others who are disposed to spend a few weeks in a very pleasant part of the country, and at the same time have the benefit of as good Mineral Waters as any in Virginia, we think their time can be spent as pleasantly here as at any other establishment of the kind." He charged guests \$5.00 per week, half for children and servants.¹¹⁸

Turnpike Taverns, Stores, and Shops

During the height of the turnpike era, taverns provided a valuable service for both travelers and community residents. These establishments varied in their accommodations, some catering more to drovers; others more to traveling passengers. In general, they functioned, as some scholars have noted as one of the "most important social, political, and economic institutions in early American life." They sold food and tobacco, and they provided overnight lodging. In addition, they offered a public space for informal conversations, formal business meetings, gaming, banquets, and a place to hear the news.¹¹⁹

Stagecoach taverns catered to passengers while drover's taverns generally accommodated animals. On the Old Georgetown-Leesburg Turnpike, a former tavern owner described his clientele. The most frequent visitor was the drover who parked his "heavy Winchester wagon, with the enormous hind wheels reaching to his shoulder" on the hillside. After seeing that his oxen and horses were fed some corn, he helped himself to the Brunswick stew (rabbit, quail, squirrel, bacon and vegetables) out of the common pot swung in the basement fireplace."

¹¹⁷ For information on Virginia's spring resorts, see Charlene M. Boyer Lewis, *Ladies and Gentlemen on Display: Planter Society and the Virginia Springs, 1790-1860* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001); Kenneth W. Noe, *Southwest Virginia's Railroad: Modernization and the Sectional Crisis* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 64. See also Percival Reniers, *The Springs of Virginia: Life, Love, and Death at the Waters, 1775-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941). For works by resident spring doctors, see William Burke, *Mineral Springs of Western Virginia, with Remarks on their Use, and the Diseases Which They are Applicable* (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1842); and John J. Moorman, *The Virginia Springs* (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1847). For Mackell's sale, see *Alexandria Gazette*, October 14, 1858, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 296.

¹¹⁸ *Alexandria Gazette*, June 17, 1846, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 210-11.

¹¹⁹ For information on taverns in antebellum America, see Stephen W. McBride, W. Stephen, Susan C. Andrews, and Sean P. Coughlin, "For the Convenience and Comforts of the Soldiers and Employees at the Depot: Archaeology of the Owens' House / Post Office Complex, Camp Nelson, Kentucky," in Geier and Potter, eds, *Archaeological Perspectives on the American Civil War*, 99-124; J. Winston Coleman, *Stage Coach Days in the Bluegrass* (Louisville, Ky.: Standard Press 1935); Reeves, *An Archaeological and Historical Investigation of Stone House*, 2.4-2.5; Diana D. Rockman and Nan A. Rothschild, "City, Tavern, Country Tavern: An Analysis of Four Colonial Sites," *Historical Archaeology* 18 (1984): 112-21; and Paton Yoder, *Taverns and Travelers: Inns of the Early Midwest* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969).



Fig. 2. Stone House tavern on the Warrenton Turnpike, 1862. The tavern is one of two Civil War era buildings still standing today in the Manassas National Battlefield Park. The other is the former home of Lucinda Dogan. Library of Congress collection, courtesy of Manassas National Battlefield Park Library, Manassas, Va.

Then he "went off to bed in his wagon, or underneath it, or lay down with as many others as the floor would accommodate, before the kitchen fire." The tavernkeeper noted that the traveler would not have left the next morning without a hearty breakfast of spare ribs, hominy, and maybe some Johnny cake. Other patrons were men on horseback and foot, "driving to market their stock-horses, cows, sheep, hogs, even geese and turkeys." Occasionally an "infrequent Brahmin" stopped, though he rose above the common traveler's treatment. He took his meal in his upstairs room and his food was not the ordinary fare. Even more infrequently, a woman stopped. His front room also served as a hub for the community to exchange news, collect mail, or read the newspapers that often reached the tavern before anywhere else. The tavernkeeper on the Leesburg Turnpike said they also kept a country store and post-office with an "old pigeonholed desk that held the mail." And at one point the tavern boasted a race course and dancing pavilion with a fiddler and perhaps fifty or sixty cutting a jig.¹²⁰

In the Manassas area, several tavernkeepers served travelers along the Warrenton Turnpike. Near Sudley Road, where John Sudduth served as a turnpike tollkeeper, Mary "Polly" Clarke operated a wagon stand. Business along the pike must have been fairly successful. Clarke's son, Thomas O. Clarke, most likely built the large Stone House around 1848 and operated it as a tavern. (See Fig. 2) He may have equipped his establishment with the standard fare that graced many antebellum taverns: a wooden clock, maps of the United States and Virginia, a copy of the Declaration of Independence, and a mirror, hairbrush and comb.¹²¹ Across the road, Robinson may have kept a drover's tavern at some point before or after the war, or both. Oral history suggests that he operated one about the same time that he built his house. Family members state that the tavern "was down on the Pike in front of [Robinson's] house" and that it was used by farmers and drovers traveling to market with livestock and products. Travelers, they said, could spend the night. One of Robinson's neighbors, a white farmer named Albert Flagler, also recalled that Robinson was "a good deal of a public man, and does more business than most people." Archaeological reports indicate some evidence for a drover's tavern too. Robinson's long experience at Hampton's tavern and his frequent purchases of whiskey bolster the case that he kept a "house of entertainment."¹²²

¹²⁰ Pearl E. Young, "Drover's Rest," *Historical Society of Fairfax County Yearbook* 6 (1958-1959): 30-33, quotes on 30.

¹²¹ There is some discrepancy over when the Stone House was built. According to Edwin Corson, Ottway Carter, a Carter descendent, built the house in 1812, but there are no land records to verify this ("Corson papers," MANA). For the more likely possibility that Clarke built the house in 1848, see Reeves, *An Archaeological and Historical Investigation of Stone House*, section 2, p. 15 and section 3, p. 2.

¹²² See Robinson's Southern Claims file. Contracts #21482 and 21490, "Robinson Papers," MANA, document Robinson's whiskey purchases. See also Stephen R. Potter, "The Search for the Drover's Tavern" in Parsons, *Archeological Investigation of the Robinson Home Site*, 103. James Burgess, museum specialist at Manassas National Battlefield Park, suggests that Robinson may have

A little further west, John Dogan farmed "Rosefield" along the Warrenton Turnpike by Groveton and served as a captain of a local militia company. No doubt, he paid attention to the traffic that passed by his house and perhaps intuited that stagecoach tavernkeepers could make more than three hundred dollars a year during the 1830s. So in 1842, to supplement his income, he applied to the county for a license to operate as a tavern keeper. The Court deemed him a "man of good character and not addicted to drunkenness or gambling" and granted the license.¹²³

Other farmers also supplemented their income by operating other businesses. One of the most prosperous planters, Edmund Berkeley, ran a spoke manufactory. For at least part of the time, he hired Connecticut-born Charles Whitlock to be his spoke maker. Other white laborers from the North assisted Whitlock and they lived in twelve houses built close to the mill. Boilers generated steam to run the factory. The spoke mill burned shortly before the war, ending a successful business. When it burned, a few thousand spokes were ready for shipment to New York and New Orleans.¹²⁴ Another farmer who relied on outside business interests was thirty-year-old John Cundiff of Meadowville. In 1850, he operated his farm with the help of a seventy-eight-year-old white man named James Gaines, a twenty-five-year old male slave, and a few younger slaves. They raised livestock, churned butter, tended an orchard, and harvested rye, oats, hay, and vegetables. To complement his farming venture and perhaps to sell some of his surplus, Cundiff operated a mercantile store in Gainesville.¹²⁵

Wagons loaded with produce from area farms moved over the turnpike to the markets in Alexandria. But they did not return empty. They brought the goods to stock Cundiff's and others stores. Goods included tea, coffee, kitchenware, and clothing. In 1831, a Haymarket store inventory included "dry goods, groceries,

worked in conjunction with the Stone House Tavern: "Since his establishment (perhaps too generous a word) has been described as a "drover's tavern", he likely provided overnight containment for the cattle and livestock being herded to markets by drovers on the turnpike. The drovers may have availed themselves of the accommodations at the Stone House rather than sleep with the herd. Horses for other turnpike travelers and Stone House patrons could possibly have been kept at Robinson's overnight but there are also wartime references to a stable across the road from the Stone House," email from Burgess to Linda Sargent Wood, February 21, 2003.

¹²³ Stagecoach taverns serviced animals and passengers. During the 1830s, the average tavern keeper earned \$350 per year for care of a coach team and driver, according to Oliver W. Holmes and Peter T. Rohrbach, *Stage Coach East: Stagecoach Days in the East from the Colonial Period to the Civil War* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983), 147. For Dogan's license, see Prince William County Court Minutes, 1842: 284, and Reeves, *An Archaeological and Historical Investigation of Stone House*, 2.5.

¹²⁴ Isabel Carter submitted by Steven Phillips, "Praying for Southern Victory," *Civil War Times Illustrated* (March/April 1991): 12-69, in "Carter's Green" file at MANA, 52. See especially the notes accompanying the article in the file; and Susan R. Morton, "Evergreen," in W. R. Hobbs, , *WPA Records*, 234-35.

¹²⁵ "The Stuart's Hill Tract," in "Archaeological Survey: Stuart's Hill," MANA.

hardware, crockery, glass, stationery."¹²⁶ Other stores carried beeswax, chestnuts, hides tallow and home-manufactured gloves, socks, books, boots, calico, flannel, silk, combs, coffee, cotton, farm implements, knitting needles, nails, shoes, soap, sugar, tableware, tumblers, and tobacco. Some bartering certainly characterized these deals, but, as the region shifted to a market economy, monetary exchanges became more common. Some merchants probably also loaned money and supplied credit to customers, especially as merchant capitalism became more common.¹²⁷

At the same time that mercantile shops grew, emerging capitalists built on the growing merino sheep business. In 1838, Henry Schenck opened the Franklin factory in Buckland, a community just southwest of Gainesville on the Warrenton Turnpike. He took in wool to manufacture into cloth, flannel, blankets, carpets, and jeans "all of various patterns and warranted colours." Customers could also bring their wool in to be carded."¹²⁸

The turnpike, an influx of stores, taverns, and commercial goods, plus the advent of new industries such as Buckland's mill, brought changes to the local rural economy and its people. Some of the industries that had defined slave and domestic life on plantations such as Portici continued to some degree, but gradually planters and farmers acquired store-bought goods. One example could be found in dishware. Throughout the Chesapeake region, colonists and citizens of the new Republic had generally relied on the locally made pottery called colonoware for their kitchen and table use. Colonoware manufacturing began early in the southern colonies and continued through the first decades of the nineteenth century. Slaves and Native Americans fashioned these low-fired, unglazed dishes. During the early nineteenth-century, potters and merchants began to offer northern Virginians another choice. They set up shops in Alexandria to display their work which included a variety of chamber pots, churns, crocks, jugs, pitchers, pots, and water coolers. By the 1840s, much of the colonoware production ceased as northern Virginians adopted the new commercially manufactured utilitarian stoneware. The more wealthy planters led the way. The Ball family likely purchased new ceramic services around 1820 when they moved from the older and lesser Pohoke house to their new mansion house Portici.¹²⁹ (See Fig. 3)

Turnpike travel and stores, in many ways, helped initiate rural farmers to the wider market. The advent of railroads furthered the shift to a market economy.

¹²⁶ From the November 8, 1831, sale of the Haymarket store from Dixon and Knight to Robinson and Tyler, Prince William County Deed Book 12, p. 356-67 as quoted in Francis Wilshin, "The Stone House: Embattled Landmark of Bull Run" (Manassas: Manassas National Battlefield Park, 1961), Part I, Narrative and Appendix.

¹²⁷ Southwest Virginia merchants loaned money and offered credit at this time; probably northern Virginia merchants were no different. Noe, *Southwest Virginia's Railroad*, 54-55.

¹²⁸ *Alexandria Gazette*, June 7, 1838, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 173.

¹²⁹ Kathleen A. Parker and Jacqueline L. Hernigle, *Portici: Portrait of a Middling Plantation in Piedmont Virginia* (Washington: National Park Service, 1990): 80-96.



Fig. 3. "Portici" plantation mansion, 1862. Portici, one of the most impressive houses in the region, had descended in the Carter family. Frank Lewis was the owner at the time of the Civil War. Courtesy U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle, Pa.

Throughout the United States, including Virginia, railroads sparked a transportation revolution, encouraged growth, facilitated the shift to a market economy, and stimulated the processes of modernization. To be sure, some benefited more from modernization than others. Some lost land to railroad tracks, lost their turnpike businesses, and lost their way of life. Furthermore, railroads contributed to a continued use of slave labor, as most of the railroads relied heavily upon slaves to construct lines and run and maintain trains. Still, for many, railroads meant new life. For the Manassas area, railroad tracks also ensured the area a central role in the Civil War.

Railroads

The first railroad charter went to the Baltimore and Ohio in 1826. Within a few years, short lines connected Charleston, Boston and other cities with their surrounding communities. In the 1840s and 1850s, growing railroad corporations exhibited tremendous innovation and made major advances. During the 1850s especially, railroads created an impressive network of inter-city and inter-regional lines serving all states east of the Mississippi. By 1860, railroad transportation routes exceeded canal routes by about ten times, covering a distance of some thirty thousand miles. The Northeast and Midwest especially developed extensive and dense rail systems that connected the two sections ever more tightly geographically and economically. The South constructed a simpler and less efficient system, but still had relatively adequate lines. Individual railroad companies built lines using different track gauges, hindering the flow of traffic and making rail travel more expensive than in the North. These problems proved especially troublesome for the Confederacy during the War.¹³⁰

Powered by hazardous wood-burning engines that blew soot and sparks into the air, trains pushed through the countryside on iron rails. Subject to the elements, iron rails proved less than ideal, as they rusted and cracked fairly quickly. Though they rails could bear only a fraction of the weight that later steel rails could, iron rails still carried tiny freight and passenger cars from farm to city and impressed people with their technology, power, and speed. It was unlike anything ever seen before.

Virginia railroads followed the national pattern of linking cities, ports and farming communities. In 1850, the state had 515 miles of railroad. By 1860, mileage had increased by 244% to 1,771. To accomplish this, Virginia, more than most states, provided the financial backbone for the development of railroads. Typically, the state invested three-fifths of the equity capital in each of the state's railroads. In addition, the Old Dominion loaned money to rail companies. By 1861, the loan figure reached \$3,904,918. The state endorsed an additional \$300,000 in railroad bonds. After supplying money, the State watched over its interests care-

¹³⁰ Robert C. Black, *The Railroads of the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); and John F. Stover, *The Railroads of the South, 1865-1900: A Study in Finance and Control* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), xiii, 3-11.

fully, dominating board rooms and stockholder meetings. The Board of Public Works closely monitored each railroad's annual report and the State Legislature regulated intrastate rates and fares. Rail transportation in Virginia was a public business.¹³¹

Railroad companies throughout the South relied on slave and free black labor to build and run their trains. They owned some slaves and hired out the rest. Typically, railroads would advertise for slaves. In December 1861, the Virginia and Tennessee placed an advertisement in Richmond's *Daily Examiner* saying it wished to "hire, for the ensuing year, to work on the repairs of their road and in their shops, the following described slaves, viz: 400 laborers, 50 trained hands, 33 carpenters, 20 blacksmiths and strikers." During the summer of 1861, Raleigh & Gaston stockholders appropriated \$125,000 to purchase slaves. About the same time, the Nashville & Chattanooga spent close to \$130,000 to acquire their own slaves. Virginia railroads generally hired slaves annually rather than buying them outright. Regularly, the Virginia & Tennessee and the Richmond & Danville employed around three hundred, the Virginia Central around one hundred. In Abingdon, Virginia, an overseer told traveler Frederick Law Olmsted that he could find few slaves for hire to work his fields: They "had all been hired by the railroad, at \$200 a year." While that may have been a slight exaggeration, individual slaveholders would have had a hard time competing with corporation dollars.¹³²

Slave contracts between railroads and slaveholders detailed not only how much money would be exchanged but how the slave would be cared for. They detailed the lessee's responsibilities of food, shelter, and clothing. Most included medical care, and if the slave should die, the owner was paid. In 1859, the Richmond & Danville paid almost \$1,400 to the owner of a slave who died while working for the company. Copies of these contracts were sent to Virginia's Board of Public Works, testifying to the seriousness of the contracts and to the involvement of the state in railroad affairs. With their high economic stake in railroad transportation, the state stayed involved in all railroad undertakings.¹³³

African Americans generally carried out the most menial, difficult, and dangerous tasks. This involved initial construction of the lines as well as the running and maintenance of the trains. Roustabouts manned wood stations and filled the tenders of passing trains. But many also filled skilled positions as masons, brakemen, firemen, and mechanics.¹³⁴ In sum, blacks contributed much to the

¹³¹ Stover, *Railroads of the South*, 5, and Black, *Railroads of the Confederacy*, 42.

¹³² The advertisement is quoted in Black, *Railroads of the Confederacy*, 305, n 7. Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Back Country in the Winter of 1853-54*, 2nd ed. (New York: Mason Brothers, 1863), 271. Olmsted should be read with care, given his negative bias toward the South. According to records at the Board of Public Works, a skilled hand could command an annual wage of \$140, nearly double the sum of an unskilled laborer, Black, *Railroads in the Confederacy*, 30.

¹³³ Black, *Railroads of the Confederacy*, 30, 42.

¹³⁴ Black, *Railroads of the Confederacy*, 30.

building and running of the South's railroads. Indeed, as the historian Kenneth Noe has written of the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad, "the completed railroad functioned as a silent monument to the abilities and tenacity of the black laborers who performed most of the line's construction and maintenance. Hired slaves cut wood, graded, broke up stone for ballast, laid track, and cleared snow from obstructed tracks. The skilled toiled as blacksmiths, carpenters, and mechanics. Many also served on train crews as freight hands and brakemen."¹³⁵

The use of slave and free black labor on the railroads created tension between groups. Often Irish immigrants vied for the same work as blacks and lost. Some whites, if hired, refused to work next to blacks. If railroads could not accommodate these demands, officials usually chose blacks over whites. The decision was not hard. Slave labor proved less expensive.¹³⁶

The first tracks ran through the Manassas area in the 1850s. The Orange & Alexandria [O&A] Railroad began at the city of Alexandria in 1849 and, in 1851, reached the rural community of Tudor Hall, the site of modern day Manassas. Virginia's General Assembly incorporated the O&A in March of 1848 and promised three-fifths of the finances. The city of Alexandria also voted overwhelmingly by a vote of 416-3 to fund the project. Stock sales and bond revenue provided the rest. By May 1849, stock subscriptions totaled \$170,000 and a three-day organizational meeting was held in Warrenton. Most of the men who gained elected office at this meeting hailed from Alexandria, not surprising given that most of the financial stock originated in the port city. George Smoot and Dr. William Powell, both of Alexandria, were elected president and vice president. Henry Daingerfield, also of Alexandria, was elected director. The State Board of Public Works appointed three other directors: John S. Barbour, Jr., Charles Hunton (a well-to-do farmer from the Manassas area), and Charles J. Stover. The most notable exception to Alexandria's control over the O&A was the Culpeper aristocrat, lawyer, and politician John Barbour. A member of the House of Delegates for four consecutive sessions and eventually a member of both houses of the United States Congress, he oversaw the Railroad's activities first as a director, then as president.¹³⁷

The O&A seemed to get off to a good start. The board hired T. C. Atkinson as the chief engineer who began work immediately. For the line, the company purchased iron U rails from a New York group and imported them from England.

¹³⁵ Black, *Railroads of the Confederacy*, 29-30; and Noe, *Southwest Virginia's Railroad*, 82.

¹³⁶ Noe, *Southwest Virginia's Railroad*, 82-83.

¹³⁷ For railroad development through the Manassas area, see Fairfax Harrison, *Landmarks of Old Prince William: A Study of Origins in Northern Virginia*, (Berryville, Va.: Chesapeake Book Company, 1964): chapter 31. See also Joyce E. Wilkinson, "The Early Orange and Alexandria Railroad, 1849-1854," *Pioneer America* 1 (July 1969); Black, *Railroads of the Confederacy*, 31; and "National Register of Historic Place, "United States Department of the Interior National Park Services, on file under "Railroads Manassas Gap" in the Virginia Room, Fairfax Library, section 8, p. 4-5.

They relied on local residents to supply the lumber for crossties.¹³⁸ Soon, however, the railroad overextended itself. Costs exceeded budgets and stockholders failed to make their installment payments. In the Manassas area especially, residents balked at railroad demands that the tracks be given a free right-of-way. Railroad officials had expected landowners to allow for land damages, since close access to the railroads would increase land value. Instead, the railroad was hit with cries for compensation. As a result, the Manassas station opened six months later than planned. In 1851, a discouraged President Smoot resigned and Barbour took the helm. He rallied the company, raised the necessary money — much of which came from Europe — completed the line, and began offering service. He remained in office until 1885.¹³⁹

In October of 1851, two passenger and freight trains passed through the Manassas area daily, except Sundays. By 1854, the completed line stretched a total of 170 miles from the port city of Alexandria to its final destination of Lynchburg and took passengers eight hours to travel from one end to the other. Soon another railroad complemented the O&A service.

On March 9, 1850, Virginia's General Assembly authorized the incorporation of the Manassas Gap Railroad. This railroad was designed to link isolated farmers and their rich supply of agricultural products in the Shenandoah Valley, with eastern commerce and the port at Alexandria. Rather than concede the business to Baltimore (and the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad), Alexandria hoped it would be the entrepôt for the Shenandoah Valley trade. The plan called for constructing a line from Harrisonburg to Strasburg in the Valley, then through the Blue Ridge at Manassas Gap (hence the name of the railroad) and on to Tudor Hall, where it would connect with the Orange & Alexandria Railroad.¹⁴⁰ At their first meeting, investors elected Edward Carrington Marshall president. The youngest son of the United States Supreme Court Chief Justice John Marshall, he was a wealthy, Harvard-educated, Fauquier County planter, worth over \$120,000 in 1850. He also had founded a turnpike company and had served as a state representative in Virginia's House of Delegates. A booster for internal improvements and miffed that the O&A would not serve his section of Fauquier County, Marshall had pushed for a new railroad. Some of the wealthiest citizens of the area, including

¹³⁸ Edith Sprouse, Transcription of *Alexandria Gazette* articles. Fairfax County Archives, Fairfax, Va..

¹³⁹ Black, *Railroads of the Confederacy*, 26-27, and Wilkinson, "The Early Orange & Alexandria Railroad," 50-53.

¹⁴⁰ For a discussion of the rich agricultural production of the Shenandoah region and its importance, see Kenneth E. Koons, "'The Staple of our Country': Wheat in the Regional Farm Economy of the Nineteenth-Century Valley of Virginia," in Kenneth E. Koons and Warren R. Hofstra, eds., *After the Backcountry: Rural Life in the Great Valley of Virginia, 1800-1900* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000), and "The Colored Laborers Work as Well as When Slaves: African Americans in the Breadbasket of the Confederacy, 1850-1880," in Geier and Potter, eds., *Archaeological Perspectives on the American Civil War*, 229-252.

planters, doctors, merchants, and lawyers, joined him in this endeavor. He held the office of president for sixteen years.¹⁴¹

Stockholders in the Manassas Gap Railroad — many of whom were businessmen and plantation owners and Marshall's personal friends — held their first annual meeting in September 1851 at Salem (later renamed Marshall) in Fauquier County and elected James K. Marshall, a sibling of Edward's, chairman. President Marshall announced that workers had surveyed the line to Strasburg and graded it between Manassas and the Blue Ridge. The railroad had also stockpiled, upon the recommendation of Chief Engineer John McD. Goldsborough, "rails of the T pattern, a heavy rail weighing 52 pounds to the linear yard." At the next annual meeting, Marshall proudly proclaimed that service had begun between Manassas Junction and Rectortown and that the railroad had signed an agreement with the Orange & Alexandria to use its tracks to Alexandria. The train's service reflected the Episcopalian and strict Sabbatarian views of its president. It never ran on Sunday.¹⁴²

By 1853, the Manassas Gap line was open for business between Strasburg and Manassas Junction, as Tudor Hall came to be called, but railroad officials grew more and more uneasy with the annual rental of \$33,500 of the O&A track. As Marshall explained, his railroad would get fifteen cents for moving a barrel of flour sixty miles from Strasburg to Manassas Gap. The O&A would get the same amount for moving that same barrel only twenty-eight miles to Alexandria. Finding this fee division unjust and cutting into potential profits, the Manassas Gap Railroad decided to lay its own track to the port city. They designed an independent line that diverted from the mail line at Gainesville, passed over Bull Run near Sudley Church, crossed Cub Run, moved by Chantilly Post Office, across the Little River Turnpike, through Fairfax Court House and on to Alexandria. As it passed through the Manassas area, the line would run through the Marsteller, Douglas, Dogan, Newman, and Cushing family properties. In 1854, railroad officials purchased an eighty-foot wide right-of-way along the proposed

¹⁴¹ For the Manassas Gap Railroad and its construction projects, see Joseph, "Northwest Quadrant: Cultural Landscape Inventory," sect. 3: 10-11; H. H. Douglas, "The Unfinished Independent Line of the Manassas Gap Railroad," *Echoes of History* 5 (November 1975); "Edward Carrington Marshall and His Manassas Gap Railroad," *Ties: The Southern Railway System Magazine* 13 (July 1959): 7-10; L. Van Loan Naisawald, "The Manassas Gap Railroad," *Virginia Cavalcade* (Spring 1970); "National Register of Historic Places," United States Department of the Interior National Park Services, on file under "Railroads Manassas Gap" in the Virginia Room, Fairfax Library; and "Unfinished Railroad," *Ties: The Southern Railway System Magazine* (July 1954). See also Susan Jane Noble, "Remnants of the Independent Line of the Manassas Gap Railroad," *Echoes of History* 5 (April 1975): 1, 24-25; and the helpful map by Earl B. McElfresh, "The Manassas Battlefields" Map (Olean, New York: McElfresh Map Company, 1996); an essay on the unfinished railroad accompanies the map.

¹⁴² Goldsborough came from Maine where he had already built a railroad. See "History Rides the Rails," *Journal Messenger*, December 19, 1968, in Virginia Railroads: Manassas Gap Railroad File in the Virginia Room at Fairfax County Library; and "Edward Carrington Marshall and his Manassas Gap Railroad," 7-9, quote on 8.

line and began construction. After surveying the route, laborers, including slaves and Irishmen, felled trees and cleared the path. Then they graded the line. Archaeological evidence suggests that workers also began quarrying operations on the Douglas farm. Masons began setting the foundation for the necessary trestles and bridges.¹⁴³

During the grading process, the Manassas Gap Railroad used gangs of hired slaves to make the cuts and fills. The railroad paid local masters between eighty and one hundred dollars per slave per year. The company fed and housed them during that time. For the slaves, the job proved less than ideal. On at least one occasion, in June of 1853, they rioted and thwarted construction of the line.¹⁴⁴ The railroad turned to Captain Turner Ashby and his cavalry company to regain control. By 1858, engineers and laborers had completed the grading operations. But the railroad had also run out of money and had to postpone the project.

Part of Manassas Gap Railroad's financial problems stemmed from overly ambitious ideas. At the same time the company laid the groundwork for the Independent Line, it also began working on a Loudoun Branch that would connect with coal fields in western Virginia. Poor wheat crops in the Shenandoah in 1857 and 1858 made the venture even more difficult as lower yields diminished business. Marshall did not lose heart. In spite of the need for another \$900,000 to complete the line, a failed wheat crop, and little sign of new capital, he promised stockholders in 1859 that the work would resume with the "utmost vigor" when a better day dawns.¹⁴⁵ That day, however, never came.

Though hindered, the already completed railroad lines and the Independent Manassas Gap Line revealed much about the hopes and dreams of local residents and the development of the area's future. And in many ways they were successful. The Manassas Gap Railroad owned nine locomotives, two hundred and thirty cars of various kinds, fifteen brick buildings, and twenty-four wooden buildings along the line. It carried more than 23,000 passengers a year and 28,000 tons of freight. The O&A had, by 1860, carried over 2,000,000 bushels of corn and 1,000,000 bushels of wheat, in addition to mail and other freight. Passengers traveled at thirty miles per hour, sat on upholstered seats, and enjoyed heated cars, water coolers, and gas lights. Since there were no dining cars, trains stopped for fifteen to twenty minutes at railroad eating houses.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ "Edward Carrington Marshall and his Manassas Gap Railroad," 8; "National Register of Historic Places," Interior Department Report on Manassas Gap Railroad, section 8, p. 14; and McElfresh map.

¹⁴⁴ "National Register of Historic Places," Interior Department Report on Manassas Gap Railroad, section 8, p. 14.

¹⁴⁵ McElfresh map.

¹⁴⁶ See "History Rides the Rails"; Harold W. Hurst, *Alexandria on the Potomac: The Portrait of an Antebellum Community* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1991), 6-7; Stover, *Railroads of the South*, 12.

But it also came at a cost and disgruntled some, including the farmers along the path of the Independent Line. Land disputes between the company and local landholders spilled into court and attest to farmer dissatisfaction. The railroad offered to compensate these owners for damages done to their property during construction. William Dogan, Sr.'s will stipulated that his heirs should "receive the awarded damage against the Manassas Gap Railroad when paid by said Company in due proper proportions which may incur by said road spanning through these lands and lots."¹⁴⁷ Little did the railroad or the farmers know, however, what injury and destruction the unfinished railroad would bring to the area in the coming years.

Most of the rolling stock that moved across the South's rails was constructed of wood. Metal could be seen only on couplers, springs, axles, and wheels. Passenger and freight cars had to be braked individually. By 1861, railroads regularly moved baggage, mail, and express cars. Only rarely did a sleeping car pass through the South. Though a more common sight by the Civil War, trains were still dangerous. The United States led the world in accidents.¹⁴⁸

To ride the train, a passenger generally paid about four cents for every mile for first class and three cents per mile for second class. Passenger trains consisted of about three to four cars — each was about forty feet long and held thirty to forty passengers — plus an express car. Passengers sat on wicker or sometimes mohair-upholstered seats. Most railroad supplies and equipment came from Northern and European sources.¹⁴⁹

Railroads fundamentally altered the landscape and lifestyles of the Manassas region. It spurred economic growth and development while it also whittled away at older patterns of living. Turnpike establishments and towns diminished. Centreville, for example, which had already been hard hit by the economic depression and western migration, lost its early luster and fell to what one Union soldier described, in 1860, to be a "dingy, aged, miserable little handful of houses." Captain Francis F. Meagher of the 69th New York Infantry, Sherman's Brigade, continued his account of what he saw:

It is the coldest picture conceivable of municipal smallness and decrepitude. Set down on certain military maps in flaming capitals as CENTREVILLE, one is astounded on entering it, to find that a mole hill has been magnified into a mountain. . . . I wager that there is not a village of shabbier aspect and such reduced resources, as that of Centreville. It looks, for all the world, as though it had done

¹⁴⁷ See the "National Register of Historic Places," Interior Department Report for a short summary of land disputes between the company and 58 Fairfax landowners. Dogan died shortly after the railroad started work. See his will in the Prince William County Deed Book 24: 308, as quoted in Joseph, "Northwest Quadrant: Cultural Landscape Inventory," sect. 3:11.

¹⁴⁸ Black, *Railroads of the Confederacy*, 19-20, 32.

¹⁴⁹ Angus James Johnston, *Virginia Railroads in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), 14-15, 19.

its business, whatever it was, if it ever had any, full eight years ago, and since then had bolted its doors, put out its fires and gone to sleep. . . . Most of the houses in Centreville are built with stone — rugged, grayish, gloomily speckled and mottled stone — and you follow them up and down two or three little hills and hollows, over a road or through a street which has ruts and rocks, boulders and pit-falls in it, enough to rattle to pieces and disable a thousand waggons [sic]. Some of these houses retreat a little from the road or street, behind a dingy fence and two or three leafless and colorless and dwarfed old trees. Others break in with an uncouth and bold protuberance upon the road or street.¹⁵⁰

Though this colorful Irish soldier may have been expressing some northern bias against anything southern, pictures of Centreville during the Civil War corroborate his account.

Other locales prepared for changes when they knew that the O&A was going to lay a track through the area. Many had high hopes that the railroad would spur growth. One Brentsville resident said that people in the county seat naturally expected that the line would pass through Brentsville. It held the county court house and was a place of importance. They spoke excitedly about the prospect of what it would mean to the town, and together they decided to charge a premium price for the railroad's right of way. But they never had the opportunity to collect, as the railroad chose nearby Bristoe instead for its station.¹⁵¹ As a result, Brentsville lost business to that town and eventually, in 1892, it lost its position as the county seat to Manassas.

While Brentsville and small villages along the Warrenton Turnpike diminished in importance during the 1850s, other areas found new life through the railroad. And some seized the initiative. One active Prince William agent and land developer was the O&A's treasurer, James H. Reid. He involved himself early in land deals surrounding Manassas Junction. The land known as Tudor Hall had been part of a 1740 land grant of 623 acres from Thomas Lord Fairfax to William Davis. During the nineteenth century, the land changed hands several times and was subdivided. In 1824, William Brawner bought 172 acres and eventually the family referred to it as Tudor Hall. At about the same time that Brawner died, James H. Reid, a former clerk of the court for Prince William County, had taken over the duties of treasurer for the Orange & Alexandria Railroad. Acting in concert with his railroad interests, Reid purchased Tudor Hall from the Brawner estate for \$2121. In 1856, Reid advertised the store house and farm at Manassas Station for sale or rent. Saying its location by the junction "presents inducements to manufacturers of Agricultural Implements and other like business."¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ Time-Life Books, eds., *Voices of the Civil War: First Manassas*. (Alexandria, Va.: Time-Life Books, 1997), 86. See also Francis F. Meagher, "Last Days of the 69th in Virginia." Unpublished manuscript, n.d. from the Doubleday/Catton Papers. Washington: Library of Congress, Manuscript Division.

¹⁵¹ Wilkinson, "Early Orange & Alexandria Railroad," 52 n. 3.

¹⁵² *Alexandria Gazette*, March 15 1856, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 279.

In 1858, Reid sold the property back to the Brawner family.¹⁵³ During the eight years that he held the title, Tudor Hall changed dramatically, as the company laid the tracks and built a depot. Tudor Hall became the post office and stores, warehouses, and homes clustered around, displacing farms. When the Manassas Gap Railroad intersected at Tudor Hall and formed the junction, businessmen had more reason to build. E. T. McInteir announced at the beginning of 1852 that a warehouse was ready for use. A store and farm awaited "an active merchant a rare opportunity." And an "extensive market garden" was ready to rent.¹⁵⁴

When Reid sold the land back to the Brawners, he reserved a right of way for "the

roadway of the Orange & Alexandria Railroad and also the ground for tracks and depot privilege. . . and reserving the privilege to the Manassas Gap Railroad of removing upon six months notice from the grantee in this deed a building erected by M.M. Welch for the said company for a dwelling or boarding house for railroad hands. . . ."¹⁵⁵ Doing so, Reid protected the interests of the railroad.

When plans were laid for building a depot at Bristoe, the post office that William Weir had moved from Liberia to Milford Mills in 1839 moved again. Bristoe Post Office opened in 1852 with Thomas J. Fewell serving as the first postmaster.¹⁵⁶ Farmers and businessmen also exchanged farms and started several establishments. Charles Hunton (probably the same Charles Hunton who was a director for the O&A) advertised his nearby property, declaring his intent to move to New Baltimore in Fauquier County. He promised the prospective owner that "crops grown on the land the present year" held "good prospects of doing a profitable business." Adding a tavern, a store, and maybe even a female boarding school, he added, "must further recommend this farm."¹⁵⁷ While Hunton did not announce any ill feeling about the O&A running through his land or the expectation of a depot, the fact that railroad tracks went through his land may have been his push to leave the area. Judging by the numerous advertisements of people wishing to sell their property that sat adjacent to the railroads, some may have wanted to cash in. Most likely, Hunton and others saw financial opportu-

¹⁵³ Kay McCarron and Sharon Doyle, "The Search for Tudor Hall," A Report Prepared for the Manassas Museum, November 1989, MANA.

¹⁵⁴ E.T. McInteir, Agent, *Alexandria Gazette*, January 1, 1852, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 252.

¹⁵⁵ 1858 deed between James H. Reid and the Brawner family. Reid sold Tudor Hall plus 190 acres to William Brawner's heirs, Lewis Butler and his wife Susan Brawner Butler, for \$5700, as quoted in McCarron and Doyle, "The Search for Tudor Hall," 6.

¹⁵⁶ Scheel, *Crossroads and Corners*, 17.

¹⁵⁷ Charles Hunton, *Fauquier Flag*, February 14, 1852, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 252-53.

nity. Eppa Hunton, a commonwealth attorney for Prince William before the Civil War, was also involved in land sales along the rail line.¹⁵⁸

The Hunton family took advantage of the situation in other ways too. Two Huntons acted as agents for the Manassas Gap Railroad and promoted the transfer of produce and merchandise. In March 1852, Robert H. and John B. Hunton announced the "receipt of a large stock of GROCERIES, HARDWARE, heavy DOMESTICS, Etc., Etc., to which they would respectfully invite the attention to purchasers" at their company in Gainsborough (an earlier name for Gainesville).¹⁵⁹ Another person to take advantage of increased commerce brought by the railroad was John Chapman. In 1858, he enlarged his mill at Thoroughfare Gap.

Train tracks through the Manassas region stimulated economic growth, but it did not act as the initial stimulus of a capitalist economy in the region; certainly farmers, merchants, and business people had begun to make the transition to a market economy before the railroad. Still, railroad transportation did bring in more outside corporate monies and control, close alliances between outsiders and local political leaders, and greater integration into the national market economy. And as a result, the railroads boosted town growth and weakened more traditional, co-operative forms of living and working. At the same time, just as trains brought additional growth to the area and would form the long-term economic grounding of the region, the laying of railroad tracks was also the step that earned the attention of opposing forces in the Civil War and led to the devastation of local landscapes and social arrangements from 1861 to 1865.

County Courts and Politics

During the 1840s and 1850s, the Hunton, Lewis, and Leachman families were active in politics in the Manassas area. Eppa Hunton served as Prince William County commissioner in the 1850s.¹⁶⁰ One of the Brawner men ran for a seat in the Virginia legislature in 1844 but was narrowly defeated by Dr. James W. F. Macrae.¹⁶¹ Where Brawner failed, Benjamin Franklin Lewis succeeded. He represented the county in the state legislature. John T. Leachman, who married William Lewis's daughter Josephine, was appointed by the governor to serve as a county commissioner. For some years, the Leachman family lived at Brentsville, the county seat. The town, according to Leachman's daughter Nannie Neville Leachman Carroll, operated as a political town, but nothing more. It attracted no industries; instead, it was a place for governing. "But," she added, "Court Days

¹⁵⁸ See for example, *Alexandria Gazette*, April 5, 1852, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 255.

¹⁵⁹ *Alexandria Gazette*, March 12, 1852, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 254.

¹⁶⁰ *Alexandria Gazette*, December 17, 1853, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 266 and 271.

¹⁶¹ No first name is listed in this announcement, *Alexandria Gazette*, May 1, 1844, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 198.

were always important and the whole male population spent the day — shall we say ‘gossiping’? The first Monday in every month was a Big Day and many farmers from distant points spent the night at the hotel and usually returned home next day — wiser, but much poorer, for their experiences.”¹⁶²

Court days revealed the county’s divisions. As Leachman Carroll continued to describe these days, she noted that though they offered a holiday for some — giving opportunity to visit the county seat, shop, visit, gamble, and play — they also were places of business and not always of the most pleasant kind.¹⁶³ Land sales and rentals, slave sales, and slave hirings took place at the front doors of the court house. The court also heard cases involving land feuds.

African Americans found themselves before the bench for a variety of reasons. One of the more frequent causes for free blacks was failure to pay their taxes. Even Gentleman Jim Robinson, who had numerous successful business dealings with the area’s prominent whites, ran into some difficulty. Others appeared for burglary and running away. In 1859, the Court found Jim, a slave of William M. Lewis, guilty of attempting to murder John Thompson. For his punishment, he was to be sold and transported out of the United States and commanded never to return to Virginia. Some of the cases indicated troubled race relations and problems between master and slave. In 1857, Betsy, Elias, and three others were found guilty of murdering their master, George E. Green. All were sentenced to be hanged. In the fall of that same year, free black George Dade was sentenced to ten years in the state penitentiary for the rape of Alivida Jane Shirley, a white woman. Many times the cases brought against blacks were initiated by whites. But not always. In November 1858, Susan Gaskins was brought to court by Oliver Gaskins for nonpayment of the \$66.50 she owed him. The Court found for Oliver, but suspended execution of judgment for thirty days to allow Susan to apply for a writ of error.¹⁶⁴

Prince William and surrounding counties joined in state and national discussions over slavery, especially during the tumultuous decade of the 1850s. Many slaveholders were dedicated to the preservation of the institution, especially as Republicans and abolitionists proved unrelenting in their attack against slavery. National events like the Wilmot Proviso, the Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and abolitionist protests threatened their way of life. Much of the constitutional reform that Virginians undertook in the 1850 Constitution and their push for capitalist expansion through internal improvements were built on visions of a united South dedicated to preservation of slavery.

¹⁶² Leachman Carroll, “Folly Castle Folks.”

¹⁶³ See Sutherland, *Seasons of War*, 22-23 for a comparison with Culpeper County.

¹⁶⁴ Court Minute Books 1856-61, p. 281; Court Minute Book, 1856-61, 445; O.B. 10, 1812-14, p. 111; Court Minute Books 1843-46, page 257; Court Minute Books, 1856-61, p. 332; Court Minute Books, 1856-61, p. 70; and Court Minute Books 1856-61, p. 139, all summarized in the African American Historical Society notebook on Prince William County Court cases involving African Americans (at the African American Historical Museum, The Plains, Va.)

Visitors to the antebellum South noted vast discrepancies in wealth between the landed slaveholders and poor yeoman farmers holding no slaves and living in poverty. To prop up this social order, planters employed racism to appease the lower classes. As historian James L. Abrahamson writes, "planters had wooed the region's yeomen by combining the prospect of future slave ownership with the incredible notion that black inferiority made all white men equal."¹⁶⁵ Hence, America's creed of equality continued to exist side by side with the institution of slavery. Racial solidarity among whites muted tensions to some extent, but planters conceded and mollified small farmers through political actions too, by giving them the vote in the 1850 constitution.

Some in the Virginia legislature continued to push for a gradual end to slavery through colonization, and in 1850, they convinced the General Assembly to appropriate \$35,000 for five years to encourage blacks to emigrate. Some free blacks responded not by emigrating to Liberia but to Canada. Finding discrimination on the increase everywhere, they grew discouraged. They viewed the Federal government as little help when Congress chose to appease the South by passing the Fugitive Slave Law. The North was no safe refuge, given those who willingly turned fugitives over to southern bounty-hunters. Many in the North shared the same prejudices regarding blacks that existed in the South. Racism was by no means a Southern phenomenon. It appeared their plight would not improve and that there was no hope of emancipation. Lincoln, too, gave some support to southern views — colonization views and against amalgamation.¹⁶⁶

During the 1840s and early 1850s, Virginians generally welcomed and even encouraged settlement by northerners. When selling some of his land by Buckland in 1850, Eppa Hunton placed an advertisement describing the land and stating: "The attention of Northern immigrants is especially invited to this land."¹⁶⁷ Hunton and others had a financial stake in appealing to northern buyers, but neighbors also welcomed the Yankees. The *Alexandria Gazette* extended greetings in 1848: "We are glad to notice that quite a number of Northern men are buying up and settling on the waste lands of Fairfax and Prince William. . . nearly all the northern farmers who come here are industrious and enterprising men." Again in 1849, the editors wrote of the "great benefits" garnered from northerners. They improved the land and proved themselves "worthy and capable."¹⁶⁸

As anti-slavery debates increased and the political situation between North and South intensified, however, Southerners started to pull back the welcome mat. Especially those northerners who engaged in anti-slavery activities or espoused

¹⁶⁵ James L. Abrahamson, *The Men of Secession and Civil War, 1859-1861* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 2000), 83.

¹⁶⁶ See Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement*, and Kenneth M. Stampp, *America in 1857: A Nation on the Brink* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

¹⁶⁷ *Fauquier Flag*, August 21, 1850, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 244-45.

¹⁶⁸ *Alexandria Gazette*, December 4, 1848, and "The Yankees in Fairfax," *Fairfax News* reprinted in *Alexandria Gazette*, February 5, 1849.

abolitionist ideas lost any advantage they may have enjoyed earlier. Growing sectional division between North and South was highlighted in more and more vitriolic discussions, political debates, and speeches. The Compromise of 1850, the Kansas controversy, and the 1857 *Dred Scott* decision by the United States Supreme Court demonstrated that northern and southern interests diverged even more widely. In Prince William, northerners and abolitionists who hoped to sever the South's relationship with slavery drew the wrath of their native-born neighbors.

One who hoped to convert the South was John C. Underwood, a New Yorker who had spent some time in northern Virginia. By early 1857, he had returned to New York and was busy enlisting other Republicans in a scheme to transform Virginia into a free state. He turned to Eli Thayer for help. Thayer, a Massachusetts congressman, had founded the New England Emigrant Aid Company to help move emigrants against slavery to Kansas. Thayer agreed with Underwood that buying Virginia land, distributing small plots to settlers, and selling the rest at a profit sounded promising. Underwood also enlisted the help of Republican editor and reformer Horace Greeley. With this and other Republican support, Underwood obtained a New York charter for the North American Emigrant Aid and Homestead Company. The Company envisioned a strong entourage of freeholders moving to Virginia to develop strong agricultural and industrial enterprises, build railroads, and establish villages of free artisans. They hoped that these freeholders would also encourage slaveholders to sell their lands and move further South, hence, leaving Virginia to be converted into a free state. To Underwood's chagrin, the program collapsed by the end of the year. The company started only one colony, and southerners, rather than converting, only poked fun at the plot.¹⁶⁹

Still, this did not dissuade Underwood and, having returned to Virginia, he continued his vociferous campaign against slavery. He called for the emancipation of slaves, the education of blacks, and a social reconstruction. In the process, he alienated many of his neighbors. Prince William residents finally had enough of his activities and convicted him in court in August of 1857 for maintaining that owners had no right to property in slaves.¹⁷⁰ But this would not silence him either.

During the Civil War, Underwood served as the fifth auditor of the United State Treasury where he did "his utmost to make the Civil War a thorough-going social and economic revolution." In December 1862, he wrote Loyal Virginia Governor Francis H. Pierpont: "I am doing all I can in this Treasury Department to bring the old plantations of the rebel and emigrant refugees in the East to sale for taxes hoping that they will thereby soon pass into the hands of loyal liberty lov-

¹⁶⁹ Stamp, *America in 1857*, 141-42.

¹⁷⁰ *Prince William Court Minute Books 1856-61*, p. 128; 151-2; in Joan Peters, comp. "Slave and Free Negro Record, Prince William County Court Books," African American Historical Association Library, The Plains, Va., p. 97.

ing and labor honoring men and that in this way the east may be prepared to enter on a race of competition with the West for the blessings of education, moral mental and physical, resulting in an improved condition of arts manufactures agriculture and all the comforts and refinements of the highest civilization." After the war, Underwood returned to the state and presided over the 1867-1868 Constitutional Convention.¹⁷¹

Prince William County residents did not just exhibit their frustration with northerners in the courthouse. It spilled over into the churches. Sudley Church had shown national rivalry and political divide in 1847 when the old Baltimore Conference appointed a minister of northern sympathies to the congregation. Parishioners, with one exception, refused to receive him. At this point, the Virginia Conference took over the role of assigning ministers to Sudley.¹⁷²

At the same time southerners expressed frustration and animosity with northerners, they also feared slave insurrection. Of course, fear of slave rebellion was nothing new, but as the national context and debate grew more heated, Virginia residents grew more anxious. In the fall of 1856, the *Richmond Enquirer* reported "recent rumors of impending insurrection" had "excited a sensation of uneasiness and apprehension throughout the community." There was evidence, the paper printed, of a "very prevalent spirit of mutiny, if not a general purpose of revolt, among the slave population." The *Enquirer* called for more protection "against the danger to which we find ourselves perpetually exposed."¹⁷³ A few years later John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry confirmed southern white fears of slave rebellions and northern abolitionist actions. White men responded by swelling enlistment rolls in militia companies and forming new ones. The "Prince William Rifles" organized at Haymarket in November 1859. After Virginia's vote for secession, this and other prewar militia companies would be integrated into Confederate forces.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ Netherton, *Fairfax County*, p. 350, 376, 379. See also Patricia Hickin, "John Curtis Underwood and the Antislavery Crusade, 1809-1860," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 63 (April 1965): 156-68.

¹⁷² L. VanLoan Naisawald, "The Little Church at Sudley" *Virginia Calvacade* in the "Sudley Church" file at MANA.

¹⁷³ As quoted in Stamp, 1857, 35-36.

¹⁷⁴ Email correspondence from James Burgess, museum specialist, to Linda Sargent Wood, April 17, 2003.

Chapter III: *When the Homefront Becomes a Battlefield*

Dr. Jesse and Ellen Ewell's daughter Eleanor was in the nation's capital when South Carolina angrily renounced the election of Abraham Lincoln as president and seceded from the Union. "There was of course much excitement, a great deal of talk — but no panic," Eleanor recalled. "No one spoke of such a thing as war. Trouble was in the air, but everybody hoped for the best." When she returned home, however, she found a greater sense of urgency. Most of her friends, family, and neighbors, who "were nearly all ardent secessionists," expressed confidence that "the 'Yankees' might soon be wiped out." And she also noted alarm. Her eldest brother, John, surmising that "[s]lave property in Virginia was too near the reach of the government to be considered safe at this time," removed his slaves to Texas to establish a plantation.¹

The Nation Split in Two

South Carolina seceded from the United States on December 20, 1860. By the first of February, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas had followed suit. Within days, these seven states formed the Confederate States of America, chose Montgomery, Alabama, as the capital, and placed Mississippi senator and West Point-educated soldier Jefferson Davis in the presidency. Other slave states, including Virginia — the richest and most populous among them — called their own secession conventions to decide whether they would stay in the Union or join the Confederate commitment to slavery, states' rights, and southern honor. In Virginia, however, no resolution came easy and delegates quarreled furiously with one another.²

These contentious state debates came to a quick conclusion on April 12, when Confederate Brigadier General Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard issued an order to fire at the federally held Fort Sumter in Charleston, South Carolina's harbor. President Abraham Lincoln responded immediately by calling for 75,000 volunteer soldiers to suppress the rebellion. He asked for military service against "combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial

¹ Alice Maude Ewell, *A Virginia Scene, or Life in Old Prince William* (Lynchburg, Va.: J.P. Bell Co., 1931), 53-56. John Ewell found things less settled in Texas than Virginia and returned in the spring of 1861. Whether he brought his slaves back with him, however, is unknown.

² Much has been written about the secession crisis. See, for starters, James L. Abrahamson, *The Men of Secession and Civil War, 1859-1861* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 2000); James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); David M. Potter, *The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861*, ed. Don E. Fehrenbacher (New York: Harper & Row, 1976); and James A. Rawley, *Secession: The Disruption of the American Republic, 1844-1861* (Malabar, Fla.: Robert E. Krieger, 1990).

proceedings.”³ His actions provoked more than northern volunteers, however. On April 17, the Virginia convention ended its stalemate over secession and decided to withdraw from the United States. It did so after westerners stormed out of the convention and initiated their own secession from Virginia.

Major Robert Anderson and his United States garrison surrendered Fort Sumter two days after the siege began. No soldier on either side died during the battle. Still, the attack initiated one of the nation’s most defining events. For the next four years, long-simmering contentions between the North and South erupted in horrific battles. Scores were wounded; over 300,000 died in battle, and another 300,000 were victims of disease. Thousands witnessed the destruction and loss of their property. In the end, northern victory assured the endurance of the Union and the death of slavery.⁴

Though West Virginians, African Americans, and northern transplants remained steadfast in their loyalty to the Union, secession sentiment ran strong throughout Virginia; so strong, in fact, that James Minor Botts, a Unionist in Richmond, snarled, “To reason with [my fellow citizens] would be like darting straws against the wind.”⁵ On May 23, 1861, voters overwhelmingly supported the Ordinance of Secession and opened the door to moving the capital of the Confederacy to Richmond. The Northern Neck also favored rebellion. In Fairfax County, the vote was three to one in favor with those opposed generally being northerners. Voting at this time was not by secret ballot. The first to cast a vote in the Centreville district was Alexander Grigsby. He and all the others who voted in Centreville endorsed secession.⁶ Prince William’s white men, the only ones eligible to vote, largely cast their ballots in favor, too. Most were, as Manassas area farmer Benjamin F. Lewis declared about himself, “southern to the core.”⁷

For the slaveholder, breeder, and trader Alexander Grigsby there can be little doubt that slavery served as the motivating factor. He rushed to the polls to defend his right to hold slaves and profit from the slave system. He was far from alone. Slavery was the key underlying issue that had plagued relations with the North for decades. It served as the pivotal point in determining the balance between federal and state power, the future of western territories, and the character

³ President Abraham Lincoln’s April 15, 1861 proclamation, Abraham Lincoln, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 4:332.

⁴ For the beginnings of the Civil War, see Ethan S. Rafuse, *A Single Grand Victory: The First Campaign and Battle of Manassas* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 2002); James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, and McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 2 vols. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1993).

⁵ Rafuse, *A Single Grand Victory*, 20.

⁶ Brian A. Conley, *Return to Union: Fairfax County’s Role in the Adoption of the Virginia Constitution of 1870* (Fairfax, Va.: Fairfax Public Library, 2001), 6.

⁷ Deposition of Benjamin F. Lewis in court case of *Thomas Pringle v. the United States* in Ronald Ray Turner, comp., “Mixed Commission on British and American Claims: Cases of Thomas Pringle, Arthur C. and Frances Evans,” Prince William County, Virginia, 2000, copy available in the “Lomond” file at Manassas National Battlefield Park Library (henceforth “MANA”).

of the nation's democracy. And now, on the brink of war, slavery was central to southerners' cries to "be let alone," as President Jefferson Davis demanded, central to their demand for states' rights, and central also to southern insistence that republican values gave them the inalienable right to direct their lives. Slavery was, to the southern mind, the key to liberty. And no one, especially not the "tyrannical government of the North," was going to subjugate them.

Thus, for both slaveholders and aspiring slaveholders, the defense of their peculiar institution was worth the fight. The Confederate Vice President Alexander Stephens articulated this concisely when he declared that the "new [Confederate] constitution has put to rest, *forever*, all agitating questions relating to *our* peculiar institution. . . . Our new government is founded..., its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro [sic] is not equal to the white man; that slavery — subordination to the superior race — is his natural and normal condition."⁸ Although some took up arms in defense of their homes and out of loyalty to their states, for many, it was this belief in white supremacy and the right to enslave blacks that motivated slaveholders and nonslaveholders alike to fight for the Confederacy. Many southerners also held that individual states and not the federal government should decide the question of slavery.

Though a majority, secessionists did not win over all white Virginians. For a variety of reasons, some resisted the Confederate appeal. Northern farmers who had settled in Virginia numbered the strongest among those who opposed secession. A Pennsylvania transplant to northern Virginia, Isaac Baldwin, confessed:

I sympathized with the cause of the union with my whole soul; I regarded it as the cause of civilization, christianity and human liberty; and the government of the United States as the best ever instituted by man; and the rebellion as wicked beyond comparison. I thought the manner and spirit in which it was prosecuted was perfectly fiendish and I used all my influence against it and in favor of the union.

Some natives agreed. Richard Ennis, who was born in Prince William County and lived near Dumfries, was poor, uneducated, and without slaves. He represented another group who did not fall in line with secessionists. And he suggested one of the reasons. He said he "had no negroes to fight for and thought that those who had the negroes might do the fighting." He claimed that for his opinion, rebels threatened and molested him.¹⁰

⁸ Alexander Stephens, "Cornerstone" Speech, Savannah, March 1861, as quoted as an epigraph in Abrahamson, *The Men of Secession and Civil War*. See also an excerpt of Stephens's famous speech in Rawley, *Secession*, 248-49.

⁹ Isaac Baldwin Southern Claims file, Records of the Treasury, Southern Claims Commission, 1871-80, Record Group 217, National Archives, College Park, Md. [hereafter all Southern Claims files cited as "Southern Claims" file with the name of the filer].

¹⁰ Richard Ennis Southern Claims file.

Union sympathizers had two chances to sway Virginians away from secession. The first came in February when citizens went to the polls to decide who would represent them at the secession convention. Candidates ran on a union or secession platform and voters could take their pick. Thomas Claggett, who lived with his mother in New Baltimore, said he was too young to vote, but he still went to the polls and voted for the Union candidates. They were the first votes he ever cast.¹¹ Not all were so brave. Many expressed anxiety for their own safety, spoke cautiously, and avoided the ballot box.¹²

The second opportunity to vote for or against secession came in May when the Ordinance for Secession came up for ratification. At this point, Union people had much more to fear. Brentsville resident George Robertson said, "Some of my neighbors said if I voted against it I would be killed or hung and I staid away."¹³ John Cross, a farmer who lived about two miles from Groveton, publicly professed his Union fidelity. "I sympathized with the Union cause," he explained, "I could see no need of a war and was opposed to it and spoke against it. I told people I was no secessionist, that the government we had was good enough for me." Despite his public voice, this farmer did not go to the polls to vote on secession. "I knew from threats that were made," he confided, "that I would have been subject to some violence if I voted against it as I wanted to." Though he did not vote, Cross came to the aid of another who did. When Bailey Robertson cast his ballot against secession in Haymarket, a crowd gathered "to black him and ride him on a rail." Cross and a few other men successfully interceded for him, but not many others dared to do what he had done.¹⁴

Northerners also were afraid to voice their opinions or vote. Some like the New Jersey native George Trimmer who bought a farm not far from Bristoe in 1852, voted for the Union delegates to the secession convention in February, but by May he and his friends thought it "safer" to stay at home. Trimmer said he avoided talking directly with his southern neighbors about secession; instead he chose to deflect questions and skirted the issue. Only with those whom he felt some solidarity did he make known his feelings. At least "everyone of my neighbors whom I talked to knew [I was against secession]; we knew it among ourselves; we did not think it policy to go out blabbing these things to everybody; we had our own friends and we knew each other and sympathized with one another and when we met a person whom we knew we could speak to openly in regard to our sentiments we did so."¹⁵ Others expressed the same apprehension about voicing their loyalty to the United States.

¹¹ Julia Claggett Southern Claims file.

¹² Testimony in the Southern Claims files document the widespread fear among Union sympathizers.

¹³ George Robertson Southern Claims file.

¹⁴ Depositions of John Cross and Thomas Gaskins (May 24 1874), John Cross Southern Claims file.

¹⁵ George Trimmer Southern Claims file.

Angry southerners stoked these fears in conspicuous displays of hostility against Lincoln, the United States, and Union sympathizers. At the southern Prince William community of Occoquan, some men staged their displeasure by cutting down a Union flag. John C. Brawner, farming the Douglass property by Groveton that was not far from John Cross's land, was among this crowd, according to the African American Jackson Tippins.¹⁶ Even if Tippins was wrong, no doubt many in northern Prince William County would have been sympathetic with the dismantling of the Union flag. Isaac Baldwin, a loyalist, wrote that Cross lived in a "community not noted for its loyalty."¹⁷

Similar troubles fell upon Union loyalists in Fairfax County. Vienna resident B. S. Carpenter, betraying his own Union bias, described some of the panic that had spread throughout the Northern Neck in a letter he wrote on May 30, 1861: "Men are persecuted and threatened with violence and even with hanging for wishing to cling to that government which has protected them in their civil and religious liberty, which has thrown over them and around them a halo of Freedom and prosperity that no other government under heaven has." These threats, actions, and suspicions proved too much for many northerners and Union sympathizers. Not a few escaped to the north, Carpenter indicated, as he continued his letter, "Men are fleeing for their lives for wishing to preserve the *union* of these States which was formed for the protection of our lives and property. Secession leaders marched about breathing vengeance on all who would not enroll themselves with them under the black banner of *Treason*." Finally he said that the threat of violence "has destroyed the confidence between friends and neighbors. . . . Thirty four families left Vienna in two days with what they could hastily gather up."¹⁸

African Americans, though cautious and apprehensive, expressed their loyalty to the Union. To them, any talk of impending war revolved around slavery, and they viewed northerners as liberators. They feared that if the South won, black people would suffer further ills. Free black James Robinson expressed how much he had at stake in the outcome of the war. He said that he was a Union man because "there was a great deal of talk about the breaking up of our freedom and I was a free man and of course I couldn't be [pleased?] with that idea — I scorned the view of it." He feared that if the South succeeded that he would be sold into slavery.¹⁹

¹⁶ See Tippins's testimony before the Southern Claims Commission, John C. Brawner Southern Claims file. Though Brawner and his daughter professed that they had always been for the Union, Tippins testified that Brawner was a southern loyalist. The Commission agreed with Tippins and denied Brawner's claim.

¹⁷ Isaac Baldwin became a special Commissioner for Virginia and oversaw many Southern Claims forms. See his own Southern Claims file, and, for his comment, see Cross's Southern Claims file.

¹⁸ B. S. Carpenter, a civilian, to Col. J. S. Crocker (May 30, 1861). After the war, Crocker moved from Cambridge, New York and became an influential citizen of Vienna. See Robert L. Lisbeth, "Letters Postmarked Fairfax County 1861-62," *Historical Society of Fairfax, Virginia Yearbook* 19 (1983): 34-64, sections of Carpenter's letter on 36.

¹⁹ Robinson Southern Claims file.

Preparations for War

Despite protests by Union sympathizers, Virginia joined the Confederacy and those loyal to the southern cause joined local military organizations, reorganized existing militia forces, and formed new ones. By the time that Lincoln issued his call for volunteers to put down the rebellion, more than 60,000 southerners had already pledged themselves to the Confederate cause. His call led even more to enlist in the southern army. One recruit exclaimed, "So impatient did I become for starting that I felt like ten thousand pins were pricking me in every part of my body."²⁰

In northern Virginia, the Prince William Rifles, which had organized in Haymarket after John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry, became Company F of the 17th Regiment Virginia Infantry on May 27, 1861. Winston Carter became a second lieutenant in this company.²¹ Other units formed after Virginia's initial vote for secession in late April 1861. One of these was the "Evergreen Guards" (eventually Company C, 8th Regiment, Virginia Infantry). Since the company was named for his plantation, the large slaveholder Edmund Berkeley fittingly took charge of this regiment. Robert H. Tyler from the neighboring "Shelter" plantation served under Berkeley as a first lieutenant. (He later was promoted to captain and assumed command of the company upon Berkeley's promotion to major of the regiment.) Albert Ewell, a son of Jesse and Ellen Ewell, would have logically joined this group, but he was in Washington at the time. Instead, he joined the "Washington Volunteers" in Alexandria on April 26, 1861. A couple weeks later this group of southern sympathizers was mustered into state service as Company H of the 7th Regiment Virginia Infantry. The regiment was accepted into the service of the Confederate States on July 1 and saw action at Bull Run.²² Frank Lewis of "Portici" enlisted in the Piedmont Rifles, Company B of the 8th Virginia Infantry. He was assigned to Colonel Eppa Hunton's command.²³ These men were but a few of the many who joined the Confederate cause. About five hundred Prince William men served and perhaps close to three hundred of those were from the northern part of the county.²⁴

²⁰ Southern soldier, quoted in *Voices of the Civil War: First Manassas*, 13. Rafuse gives the 60,000 figure in *A Single Grand Victory*, 19.

²¹ Winston Carter served in Company F, 17th Virginia Infantry. He was killed at Williamsburg on May 5, 1862, and survived by his wife and 6 children. He was a brother of Isabel Carter of Carter's Green. See her article submitted by Steven Phillips, "Praying for Southern Victory," *Civil War Times Illustrated* (March/April 1991): 12-69. See the article and the notes accompanying the article in the "Carter's Green" file, MANA. For a list of Prince William troops in the Confederate Army, see Appendix B in WPA, *Prince William*, 208-38.

²² Email correspondence from James Burgess, MANA museum specialist, to Linda Sargent Wood, April 17, 2003. See also Carter, "Praying for Southern Victory."

²³ Kathleen A. Parker and Jacqueline L. Hernigle, *Portici: Portrait of a Middling Plantation in Piedmont Virginia*, Occasional Report #3, National Capital Region, National Park Service, (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1990), 25.

²⁴ Estimates from James Burgess in conversation with Linda Sargent Wood, June 9, 2003.

Not to be outdone, women put their hand to the war effort. Eleanor Ewell reported that "the ladies of our neighborhood began to be very busy making uniforms for our soldiers" in the spring of 1861. "With my sister-in-law, Mrs. Alice Ewell, I went to 'Evergreen,' the home of Colonel Edmund Berkeley, to assist in this work. We found Mrs. Berkeley, Mrs. Josiah Carter and others, engaged in cutting out the gray flannel fatigue shirts, which, trimmed with green, formed the first uniform of the 'Evergreen Guards,' the company of then Captain Berkeley, afterwards Lt. Colonel of the Eighth Virginia Regiment." Mrs. Berkeley played "Dixie" on the piano and the women decked Eleanor's six-year-old nephew in his own green-trimmed fatigue shirt and gave him a Confederate flag to wave. "Truly," Eleanor shuddered later, "we had not yet realized the terror of what was to come."²⁵

While local residents scurried to prepare for battle, so did the government and military. State legislators, quick to realize the consequences of secession, instructed Governor John Letcher to fortify the states' borders and new Confederate capital. Even before citizens ratified the Ordinance of Secession, the Virginia militia seized the Federal Arsenal at Harpers Ferry and the Gosport Navy Yard. At the same time, northerners moved to secure Washington. Lincoln and General Winfield Scott moved troops into the capital, despite the mob violence Marylanders inflicted on northern soldiers and railroad lines.

After Virginia formally seceded in late May, the Union army occupied Alexandria. Private Harrison H. Comings, 11th New York Infantry (Fire Zouaves), was one of the first northern soldier on Virginia soil. Upon arrival, he witnessed an Orange & Alexandria train disappear around a bend. Colonel Elmer Ellsworth, who was killed a little later by an innkeeper who balked at orders to remove his Confederate flag, had ordered the seizure of all O&A trains and equipment. Though the Union lost that train, it nevertheless destroyed the switches and took control of the O&A round house. Later Comings said he "strolled into the slave pen of Alexandria, where I found a negro chained to a ring in the floor. He was asked what he was doing there, and replied that he was a runaway. He asked who we were and we said we were Yankees. The negro said, "Golly, boss, glad you's come." Yankee soldiers, perhaps indicating some of their own prejudice, did not release the slave until he had performed some labor for them."²⁶

²⁵ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 55-56. At the beginning of the war, local women made most uniforms. As a result, it was not unusual for each company to don different uniforms, or at least different shades of gray. This led to some confusion on the battlefield, especially during First Manassas, as troops were not exactly sure who was whom. In June 1861, the Confederate Government adopted uniform regulations though few conformed completely to the standard. Email correspondence from Burgess to Linda Sargent Wood, April 17, 2003. Berkeley was Captain of the 'Evergreen Guard,' Company C of the 8th Virginia Volunteer Infantry. He later became Lt. Colonel of the regiment. See notes in "Carter's Green" file.

²⁶ *Voices of the Civil War*, 28.

Virginia McGuire, a Fairfax County secessionist, was not as glad as the imprisoned slave to set her eyes on the invading northerners. "When her slave, Henry, told her about their arrival, she shuddered."²⁷ Another Fairfax woman felt the same and bolted as soon as she learned northern soldiers had crossed the Potomac. She left everything behind, including her steaming-hot breakfast.²⁸

Some fleeing the Washington area sought refuge in Prince William County. William Slade and his two daughters felt that their home near Langley was "no longer safe as it was constantly raided by the Union soldiery." They ran to the Ewells at Dunblane and spent close to a year at the Edge Hill property. After he made sure his daughters were safely settled, Slade attempted to retrieve his household goods. But when he returned to Langley, Union troops took his wagon and servant and only he escaped. The next spring the Slade family went to Richmond.²⁹

The Road to Manassas Junction

With the capitals of both the North and South just a little over one hundred miles of each other and the confident belief on both sides that differences could be settled with one grand victory, both factions began to anticipate a decisive meeting somewhere in between. Between May and July 1861, Union and Confederate armies gathered their forces and positioned themselves. For the U.S. Army, Brigadier General Irvin McDowell commanded the Army of Northeastern Virginia assembled in the Alexandria area. Major General Robert Patterson headed an army in western Maryland, and Brigadier General George B. McClellan led a military force in southern Ohio. For the Confederates, Brigadier General Joseph E. Johnston commanded the Army of the Shenandoah at Harpers Ferry, and, on June 1, 1861, Brigadier General P.G.T. Beauregard took command of the Army of the Potomac at Manassas Junction.

Soon all eyes focused on Prince William County. On June 3, the War Department asked McDowell for "an estimate of the number and composition of a column to be pushed towards Manassas Junction, and perhaps the gap, say in four or five days." Everyone within the Union's leadership, with the exception of Major General Winfield Scott, argued for an advance against the South at Manassas.³⁰

The Confederates also anticipated a battle around the junction and the movement of troops into the area during May and June unsettled and excited area

²⁷ *Voices of the Civil War*, 32.

²⁸ Anne S. Frobel, *The Civil War Diary of Anne S. Frobel of Wilton Hill in Virginia* (Florence, Ala.: Mary H. and Dallas M. Lancaster, 1986), 21.

²⁹ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 56-57.

³⁰ Scott never favored a campaign into Virginia. Instead, he advocated the "Anaconda Plan," which was designed to cut off supplies from the South and force a surrender. For his views and more discussion of both the North's and South's initial plans, see Rafuse, *A Single Grand Victory*; for Scott's views, see especially, 34-35, 43-47, and 69-74.

residents. Many felt an immediate effect, as their homes and fields fell to military occupation. The first troops to the Manassas area arrived even before the state ratified their secession ordinance. Under the command of Brigadier General Philip St. George Cocke, soldiers streamed in the first week of May and began fortifying the junction. Brigadier General Milledge Bonham of South Carolina moved more troops in on May 21. The number of soldiers swelled further after President Jefferson Davis, in consultation with his military advisor General Robert E. Lee, appointed Brigadier General Beauregard to assume the command at Manassas from Bonham on June 1. For William Weir, his family, and slaves, life radically changed. The Liberia plantation eventually became Beauregard's headquarters. For others too, the constant presence of soldiers drilling and preparing for battle disrupted normal activities.³¹ (See Fig. 4)

The Manassas region drew attention because of its close proximity to Washington and because of its railroad access. Military strategists for both the North and the South recognized the value of the Orange & Alexandria and the Manassas Gap Railroad lines for moving troops and supplies to battle and for securing a position in the Commonwealth that gave access to both Alexandria and the Shenandoah Valley. One of Beauregard's first jobs entailed building a series of earthwork fortifications to defend the railroad station. His troops and conscripted slaves constructed twelve redoubts, the largest of which, "Fort Beauregard," was erected on William Weir's farm. One of those pressed into Confederate service was a free black man, Richard Thomas. He farmed near Thoroughfare station and claimed that before First Manassas, he was forced to work on breastworks at Manassas for two days.³²

The railroads also readied themselves for war. Both the O&A and the Manassas Gap moved their locomotives and cars to Manassas Junction and points further south. They could not, however, move everything. When the Federal Army seized Alexandria on the 24th of May, the O&A lost its extensive round house facilities and was forced to rely on temporary measures at Gordonsville until more permanent facilities could be constructed at the southern terminus of Lynchburg.

³¹ For information on Civil War generals, see Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Commanders* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959) and *Generals in Blue: Lives of the Union Commanders* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964). Brigadier General Samuel Cooper served as General Scott's counterpart in the Confederacy. Somewhat ironically, Cooper was a New York native, while Scott was born near Petersburg, Virginia. On May 10, Lee assumed command of all the forces in Virginia. On May 14, he was made Confederate General and served as a military advisor to Davis. Lee inspected the troops at Manassas on May 28. On May 31, Lee, President Jefferson Davis, and Beauregard met in Richmond at the Spotswood Hotel and decided that Beauregard would take charge at Manassas. Rafuse, *A Single Grand Victory*, 60 and Douglas Southall Freeman, *R.E. Lee: A Biography* 4 vols. (New York: Scribner's, 1942), Vol 1: 512. I am in debt to James Burgess for his explanations of the military experience around Manassas.

³² Joseph, Richard, and William Thomas's Southern Claims file.

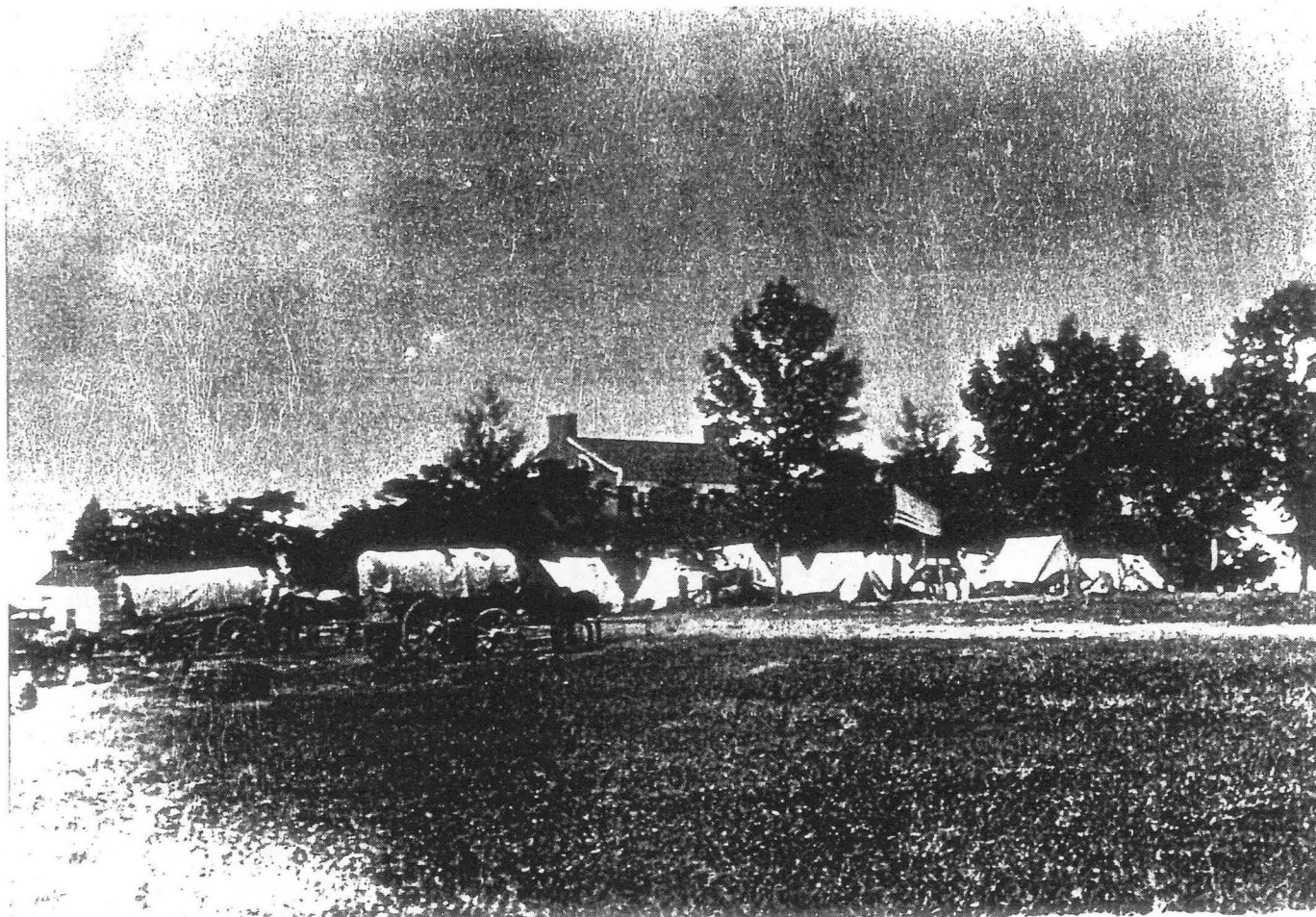


Fig. 4: "Liberia" plantation home surrounded by military tents and soldiers, 1862. At various times during the war, Confederate and Union generals made their headquarters at the home. President Abraham Lincoln reportedly visited General Irvin McDowell there. Courtesy U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle, Pa.

The Manassas Gap, too, lost 1,100 tons of imported rails that it had purchased for extending the line in the Shenandoah and had stored in Alexandria.³³

Voicing the initial optimism that this would be a short war, Beauregard conceived a battle plan that would make quick rout of the enemy. He wrote General Johnston his scheme on July 13:

I write in haste. What a pity we cannot carry into effect the following plan of operations! That you should leave four or five thousand men to guard the passes of the Blue Ridge, and unite the mass of your troops with mine; we will probably have in a few days about forty thousand men to operate with. This number would enable us to destroy the forces of Genls Scott and McDowell in my front; then we could go back with as many men as necessary to attack and disperse General Patterson's Army before he could know positively what had become of you; we could then proceed to General McClelland's theatre of war, and treat him likewise; after which we could pass over into Maryland, to operate in the war of Washington. I think this whole campaign could be completed brilliantly in from fifteen to twenty five days.³⁴

Simultaneous to fortifying railroad facilities at the junction and planning strategies to end the war soon, Beauregard spent time bracing southerners for an attack. He immediately began establishing a bond with his young and inexperienced soldiers. He visited their camps, talked with them, and bolstered their confidence. Reliance on his troops was not enough, however. He also turned to the local population for added support. First, he recruited civilian spies, trusting especially on a network of women located throughout northern Virginia and Washington who kept him informed of the enemy's movements. Second, the General used his persuasive tongue to rally Virginians. On June 5, he warned that no one was safe. Virginia, he predicted, was about to be invaded by a "reckless and unprincipled tyrant" who has discarded "all rules of civilized warfare." He proclaimed that "Abraham Lincoln, regardless of all moral, legal, and constitutional restraints, has thrown his abolition hosts among you who are murdering and imprisoning. . . committing other acts of violence and outrage too shocking and revolting to humanity to be enumerated." Beauregard's inflammatory words incensed the North and further agitated his own adherents. For some of the farmers around Manassas, Beauregard's warning may have caused them to pack their bags.³⁵

³³ James Johnston, *Virginia Railroads in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), 13, and Black, *The Railroads of the Confederacy*, 57, 84-85.

³⁴ Beauregard to Johnston, 13 July 1861, as quoted in *First Manassas: Voices of the Civil War*, 83.

³⁵ Beauregard, as quoted in Rafuse, *A Single Grand Victory*, 62-63, 93. His full proclamation can be found in U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 70 vols., in 128 parts (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), series 1, 2: 907.

Of course, civilians posed trouble as well as help to Beauregard. His soldiers expressed concern about the local population. At Fairfax, staff officer Thomas J. Goree exclaimed, "There are hundreds of Tories who we dread more than the Yankees. The traitors are not native Virginians but Yankees who have settled here. And they are not a few."³⁶

Residents sympathetic with the South became wary of neighbors sympathetic with the North, too. Anne Frobeld declared her shock when she found out that her neighbor James Davis and his family, recently from New York and frequent guests at her home, conducted "secret missions" at Fairfax Courthouse in aid of the Union. What "poor foolish creatures that we were!" Anne explained. We never "suspected any thing. . . these people we thought our friends." Hence, having no idea what the Davis's "coming and going almost every day" meant, they had "talked so unreservedly" and "told them thousands of things that we should not."³⁷

Like Beauregard and his southern compatriots experienced, northern commanders turned to civilians for help. When Union General Daniel Tyler first brought his troops into Centreville on July 18, he asked for "any respectable looking citizens" that might be found to provide him with information about Confederate movement. In a short time, six residents helped him ascertain the movement of Confederate forces. Yet, while some came to the aid of the North, others jeered. A few miles from Centreville, a woman stepped out of her small log house when soldiers passed and delivered a scornful warning: "Confederates enough ahead to whip [you] all out," and her "old man" was among them.³⁸

As troops descended upon them, residents around Bull Run made difficult decisions about whether to act as informants and aid whichever side they were on, flee for safety, or try and stay unnoticed and protect their property. With about 22,000 Confederate soldiers camped around the Junction and reports of Union movement, all knew that something was imminent. Suspecting danger, the Pittsylvania Carters moved to Pageland, a farm owned by Dr. Cyrus Marsteller. The Benjamin and Edmonia Chinn family left Hazel Plain a few days before the first battle, but they left Matilda, a slave girl, behind. The Lewis family deserted Portici just prior to the battle. They left twelve slaves and one free black to work the land.³⁹ For safekeeping, Fannie and Frank Lewis entrusted their silverware to James Robinson. The Robinson family, the Henrys, Comptons, Leachmans, and Dogans were among those who opted to stay.

³⁶ Thomas W. Cutrer, ed., *Longstreet's Aide: The Civil War Letters of Major Thomas J. Goree* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1955), 21.

³⁷ Frobeld, *Diary*, 5.

³⁸ Rafuse, *A Single Grand Victory*, 103 and 123.

³⁹ Laura J. Galke, "Free Within Ourselves," 259. For the Lewis family's flight, see Parker and Her-nigle, *Portici: Portrait of a Middling Plantation in Piedmont Virginia*, 20.

One man who chose not to run was Wilmer McLean. This "amiable" farmer, with a "big belly laugh" and stocky build, raised corn, wheat, and peas on his "Yorkshire" plantation. His farm ran along Bull Run, only two miles from the junction. If he had left, he would have missed the arrival of Confederate troops at his home and the Union shelling that followed soon after.⁴⁰

Blackburn's Ford

July 18 brought a skirmish between the troops at Blackburn's Ford over Bull Run. In anticipation of McDowell's attack of the Confederate line, Beauregard had placed Brigadier General James Longstreet in command of the brigade guarding Blackburn's Ford and transferred his own headquarters from Liberia to Yorkshire. Union Brigadier General Daniel Tyler, in command of McDowell's First Division, sent troops to the ford to scout out Beauregard's strength. Though under orders from McDowell not to "bring on a general engagement," Tyler decided to test Longstreet's position anyway. His test backfired, and he withdrew his men. Both sides viewed the thunderous roar of musketry and cannon fire over Bull Run as a Confederate victory. It was but a prelude to what was to come.⁴¹

During the fracas, a Federal shell crashed into McLean's kitchen (a separate building a short distance from the main house). The shell exploded in the fireplace and spewed an iron kettle and its contents throughout the room. The stew that had been simmering for General Beauregard and his host's dinner splattered walls, ceiling, and floor. Outside, in McLean's yard, Captain Edward Porter Alexander, Beauregard's chief signal officer, witnessed the battle. He reported that the barn was used as a military hospital and prison for captured Union soldiers.⁴²

Florence, a woman who was staying with relatives near Groveton, heard the sounds of battle at Blackburn's Ford. She had come to be near her husband who

⁴⁰ "Yorkshire" file at MANA. For McLean's life, see Frank B. Cauble, *Biography of Wilmer McLean* (Lynchburg, Va.: H.E. Howard, 1987), and Carol Drake Friedman, "Wilmer McLean: The Centre-ville Years," *Yearbook: The Historical Society of Fairfax County, Virginia* 23 (1991-1992): 60-81.

⁴¹ For accounts of the skirmish at Blackburn's Ford and the campaign of First Manassas, see John J. Hennessy, *The First Battle of Manassas: An End to Innocence, July 18-21, 1861* (Lynchburg, Va.: H.E. Howard, 1989); William C. Davis, *Battle at Bull Run: A History of the First Major Campaign of the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981); Joanna McDonald, "We Shall Meet Again": *The First Battle of Manassas (Bull Run), July 18-21, 1861* (Shippensburg, Pennsylvania: White Mane Books, 1999); Rafuse, *A Single Grand Victory*; and Russell H. Beatie, *Road to Manassas: The Growth of Union Command in the Eastern Theatre from the Fall of Fort Sumter to First Manassas* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1961).

⁴² Beauregard wrote: "Pending the development of the enemy's purpose, about 10 o'clock A.M. I established my headquarters at a central point (McLean's farmhouse), near to McLean's and Blackburn's Fords, where two 6-pounders of Walton's guns were in reserve," as quoted in Francis F. Wilshin, "The Stone House: Embattled Landmark of Bull Run," [unpublished MSS on file at MANA] Vol. 1, 1961, pp. 137. See Rafuse, *A Single Grand Victory*, chapter 7, for a description of the battle at Blackburn's Ford. For information on the McLeans, see Marian E. Wack, "The Saga of Wilmer McLean," summary report in "Wilmer McLean" file at MANA.

was in the Confederate army. Anxious for information, she prepared her horse for a ride to see if she could glean more news. Before she mounted, however, alarming news arrived. She later recounted her experience:

All day the 18th the distant roar of cannon saluted our ears, but so secure did we feel that in the evening I determined to ride over to Groveton to see if I could hear anything reliable from the scene of conflict. My horse was at the door, and I lingering, whip in hand, to exchange a few last words with Aunt Lizzie, when the door was burst open by an old negro woman from an adjoining plantation, her dark face ashy and her gray hair seeming actually to stand on end from the excess of terror. "Oh! Miss Lizabeth," she exclaimed, as soon as her eyes fell upon my aunt, "run for your lives — de Yankees is right up here in de big woods back of our place. Mars Jeemes seed em hisself and sent me to tell you dey was comin! Then ensued a scene that beggars description. Aunt Anne flew into her room and slammed the door, Uncle William started running to the stables, Aunt Lizzie burst into tears, and the children screamed in concert. As soon as I could disencumber myself of my hat and riding-skirt I ran out to find Aunt Lizzie, who had disappeared. When I reached the porch, alarmed as I was I could not help laughing as I recognised her tall form almost flying over the high weeds in an adjacent field to secrete a tin box containing her valuable papers in a stone pile.⁴³

The report of approaching "Yankees" proved a false alarm, as it turned out to be the 8th Virginia Regiment marching from Leesburg to re-enforce Beauregard. Nonetheless, on that day and for many days after, whites hid their valuables or entrusted them into someone else's hands for safekeeping.

That Florence, Aunt Lizzie, and Uncle William learned that "Yankees" approached via the feet and mouth of a slave was not surprising. Neighbors passed news through word of mouth. Slaves and free blacks especially had developed an effective means of communicating with one another. Anne Frobel found it most remarkable. It was, in her words, "a perfect telegraphic system of communication all over the country." They "transmit the news from one to another." Having heard on July 21, 1861, that the "tumult" she was hearing was of a battle at Bull Run from one of her slaves, Frobel commented, "No doubt she knew every thing that is going on in both armies, when they were going to fight, and where and had been listening for the sounds of battle long before it was light."⁴⁴

The Battle of First Manassas

Though Tyler's disobedience at Blackburn's Ford annoyed and frustrated General McDowell, they did reveal that the direct road from Centreville to the train

⁴³ Florence unfortunately remains without a surname in the historical record. See a copy of her letter in the "Florence Letter" file at MANA.

⁴⁴ Frobel, *Diary*, 24.

depot at Tudor Hall was heavily defended. Hence, McDowell decided to flank Beauregard's forces by first concentrating his 30,000-strong Union army at Centreville. Then, while creating diversions at Stone Bridge and Mitchell's and Blackburn's Fords, he would send Hunter's division over Bull Run at Sudley Ford and Heintzelman's division across at Poplar Ford. Once across, they would link together to crush the Confederate left and rear, then move on to seize the junction. The plan may have worked had Patterson's army in the Shenandoah completed its assignment and prevented Johnston from taking the train to the junction and reinforcing Beauregard. But, by the time McDowell was making his final plans, Johnston's troops were already on their way.

On the evening of July 18, Johnston began moving his Confederate troops to Manassas. They broke camp in Winchester and marched to the Shenandoah River. Fording it exhausted the inexperienced and ill-trained soldiers. After Private George S. Barnsley made it through the frigid water, he was "so cold, so stiff, so prostrated. . . [he] dropped by the side of my stack in the dust."⁴⁵ Johnston's soldiers continued to march through Ashby's Gap in the Blue Ridge, bivouacked at Paris, and early the next day arrived at Piedmont Station on the Manassas Gap Railway. At Piedmont, the men slept and interacted with the local population, while they waited their turn to ride the train to Manassas Junction. According to Captain Robert Grant, they "met every kindness and attention, wagons of cooked provisions, barrels of milk, water, etc., were there, and served by fair hands to brave hearts. Along this whole line, at every village, the ladies were out handing edibles and water to the boys."⁴⁶

Tyler heard the trains coming while he was at Centreville and told McDowell, "I am sure as that there is a God in Heaven, you will have to fight Jo. Johnson's [sic] Army at Manassas tomorrow."⁴⁷ Despite the rumbling of trains and Tyler's forecast, in the early hours of July 21, Union soldiers moved forward on McDowell's command. Tyler positioned his artillery east of the Stone Bridge, and, about six o'clock that morning, he ordered the first shots of the battle of Bull Run. Lieutenant Peter Hains obeyed by firing his 30-pounder Parrott directly at a large white house. The house, ironically, belonged to Unionist Abraham Van Pelt. It was under occupation, however, by Confederate Colonel Nathan Evans. At the same time as these diversionary tactics set the stage, a larger Union force was headed north. But the road they took proved hardly a trail and soldiers had to cut trees, hack foliage, and clear a wide enough trail to move wagons, supplies, and weaponry. Though the troops eventually made it to their river crossings, the head of the column did not make it until 9:30 A.M., three hours later than planned. From Sudley Ford, Colonel William Averell and Captain Amiel Whipple mounted

⁴⁵ Private George S. Barnsley, 8th Georgia Infantry, Bartow's Brigade, as quoted in *First Manassas: Voices of the Civil War*, 93.

⁴⁶ Captain Robert Grant, 8th Georgia Infantry, Bartow's Brigade, as quoted in *First Manassas: Voices of the Civil War*, 94. See also Walton Faber for Johnston's troops waving to civilians while riding the train.

⁴⁷ Tyler as quoted in Rafuse, *A Single Grand Victory*, 117.

their horses and moved down Sudley Road to explore the situation. They passed by Sudley Church where plans for worship would soon yield to battlefield prayers. Further on, the scouts gained a view of the home of Edgar Matthews. What they saw sent them scurrying back to their commanders at Sudley Ford.

An astute Colonel Evans at the Van Pelt home had begun to suspect, at 8:00 A.M., that Tyler's advance was a feint. He became convinced when pickets he had deployed near Sudley Church reported the movement of a large Federal force toward them. About the same time, General Beauregard's signal officer, Captain E.P. Alexander, detected the Union flanking column beyond the Confederate left. With his wig-wagged flags, Alexander signaled a warning to Evans, "Look out for your left, you are turned."⁴⁸ Leaving four companies behind to guard the approaches to Stone Bridge, Evans turned the rest of his command to Matthews Hill and confronted the advancing enemy. Then on that Sunday morning, the usually quiet neighborhood of the Carters, Henrys, Matthews, Robinsons, and Van Pelts, resounded with musket and cannon fire.

On the way to battle, conversations among Union soldiers revolved around bravado and fantastic dreams of conquering the enemy. In the heat and humidity of the July summer morning, the pace had been leisurely for the green, undisciplined soldiers. Politicians, government workers, journalists both foreign and domestic, shopkeepers, and other citizens of Washington accompanied the troops. This crowd included a few women, and, since it was an eight-hour ride from the city, they brought picnic baskets along for the day's refreshments. These Washingtonians, who followed the army as far as Centreville, expected to watch a grand show of valor and Confederate defeat. In fact, they were little prepared for the horror.⁴⁹

Union forces eventually got the better of Evans and the Confederate forces on Matthews Hill. As the Confederates retreated in disorder, they paused to regroup. But McDowell's celebration was short-lived. By noon, 500 South Carolinians formed a line on the Warrenton Turnpike in front of and east of Robinson's gate. Colonel Wade Hampton, one of the wealthiest slaveholders in all of the South had marched his South Carolina infantry companies onto Henry Hill just in time to see the Confederates routed from Matthews Hill. The slaveholder positioned his men near James Robinson's house and helped cover the retreat. The arrival of his troops signaled that this was just the beginning of a long and very gruesome battle. Many other Confederates were on their way by train.

⁴⁸ Rafuse, *A Single Grand Victory*, 126.

⁴⁹ For a sampling of first-hand civilian accounts, see Elihu Benjamin Washburn in Guillard Hunt, *Dictionary of American Biography*, 201-02, copy on file at MANA.

At some point — presumably before the fight resumed and “a cannon ball drove through” Robinson’s house — the family took flight.⁵⁰ “During the first battle of Bull Run,” Tasco Robinson reported,

they were fighting near my father’s house. My mother, myself and my wife and children went over to Mr. Van Pelts for protection as he had a basement cellar and we thought it would be the safest place. Our house was like between the lines and the shells were falling all around it. When I got to Van Pelts I met the Union army. About an hour before the retreat took place, When I [reached] Van Pelt’s I found that he had taken his family and gone.⁵¹

By this time, Evans had shifted his troops to Matthews Hill. Jim Robinson tried to join his family at the Van Pelt’s, but the fighting grew too close and he secreted himself — and possibly the Portici silverware — under the turnpike bridge over Young’s Branch.

While Robinson hid under the bridge, Laura Thornberry Fletcher, only seven years old, espied the battle from her uncle James Wilkins’s place on Stony Ridge off the Groveton-Sudley Road. Years later she remembered “the firing of the muskets and the canons [sic], and the falling men. In a short time the army wagons began coming by piled as high as anyone would pile up wood, with the bodies of dead men that had been killed that day.” The corpses, she said, were dumped in a pit by Sudley Church. Never would she forget the horrific scene: “I remember their faces yet.”⁵²

A little further south, Lucinda Dogan and Andrew Redman perched themselves on the top of a hill [probably Douglass Heights or Monroe’s Hill] and watched the action. They had seen Burnside’s advance out of Sudley woods and “could hear the sharp cracking of the muskets and the loud reports of the cannon and could hear men shouting.” She then recalled, “After fighting [on the Matthews

⁵⁰ “Visit to the Battle Field Near Manassas Junction,” *New York Herald* Aug 5, 1861. The *Richmond Enquirer* first printed this report. See the *Herald* clipping in the “Henry” file at MANA.

⁵¹ Deposition of Tasco Robinson, Van Pelt Southern Claims file. The historical record is not clear about Tasco’s status at the time of the Civil War. In his deposition before the Southern Claims Commission concerning the claim of Abraham Van Pelt, Tasco testified that at the time of the Civil War, he was a “slave” of William Clove [spelling is unclear in document. It could possibly be Williston Clover in Fairfax County, according to James Burgess]. However, Tasco’s father, James Robinson, declared in his own Southern Claims file that he had purchased Tasco from slavery. While this appears contradictory, one possibility may be that Tasco had been purchased by his father and then hired out.

⁵² Laura [Thornberry] Fletcher, “A Few Memories of the ‘War Between the States’ by an eye witness, for my grandson Westwood Hugh Fletcher,” December 12, 1936, and accompanying notes by James Burgess in “Sudley Church, Sudley Community” file at MANA.

place], our boys ran back from Buck Hill over the Henry place, and the Yankees after them. More men kept coming from Manassas."⁵³

The men Dogan saw advancing were thousands of Confederate reinforcements. Brigadier General Thomas J. Jackson — whose stoicism on this day of battle would prompt General Bee to issue his famous lines, "Yonder stands Jackson like a stone wall" — marched his five regiments on the farm road between Portici and the Henry property and took up a concealed position along the edge of some pine thickets on the eastern slope of Henry Hill. While Jackson established his new line of battle, Beauregard and Johnston arrived on the field. Earlier, about noon on the 20th, Johnston had arrived at Manassas Junction by rail and joined Beauregard at Yorkshire. Beauregard thought McDowell would move forces down the Centreville-Manassas Road toward Mitchell's Ford; hence, the Confederate leader planned an attack on the Union left flank. That, of course, was not McDowell's strategy. When Beauregard and Johnston realized this, they redirected their men toward Henry Hill. Once there, they decided that Beauregard would remain to conduct the fight while Johnston, the senior commander, would oversee the entire situation from Portici. Both had many men to direct. The railroad continued to bring soldiers from Johnston's Army of the Shenandoah to the junction. And other troops from Beauregard's lines along Bull Run continued to flock to the scene of action.⁵⁴

Local residents numbered among those troops. Colonel Eppa Hunton commanded the 8th Virginia. Earlier that day, his men and Colonel Robert E. Wither's Eighteenth Virginia had guarded Lewis and Ball's Ford. In the early afternoon, Beauregard instructed them to move to Henry Hill and "go into action as speedily as possible." The soldiers jumped at the opportunity and were "so anxious to get at the Yankees that it [was] impossible to keep them in line."⁵⁵ John Leachman also served the Confederates as a guide.⁵⁶

As more and more men flocked to the area, "The shooting had got so furious," Lucinda Dogan recalled, "that we couldn't hear any single musket, and the firing of the cannon was so fast that only once in a while could we pick out a single shot."

⁵³ Lucinda Dogan, as quoted in "Relics of the Battlefield of Bull Run," from an undated scrapbook, c. 1900-1906, in the "Dogan House" file at MANA. For another civilian account of the battle, see Florence's account in the "Florence Letter" file at MANA.

⁵⁴ Bee's words are quoted in Rafuse, *A Single Grand Victory*, 165; see 149-52 for a description of Jackson, Beauregard, and Johnston's arrival. For Johnston's movement and account, see "Responsibilities of the First Bull Run," in Robert Underwood Johnson, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* 4 vols. (New York: Century, 1887-1888).

⁵⁵ Rafuse, *A Single Grand Victory*, 181.

⁵⁶ Nannie Neville Leachman Carroll, "Folly Castle Folks" with comments by William L. Litsey. Talk given to the Hugh S. Watson Jr. Genealogical Society of Tidewater Virginia, 1976 in "Folly Castle" file in MANA, 2 and 34, note 3.

The country down there [she continued] was now so covered with dust and smoke that we couldn't see the men, and though they were shouting we could not distinguish the shouting from the shooting. Now and then we could see lines of men running across the Chinn place, this side of the Henry farm, as though they were running to get into the smoke and dust and shooting. It was an awful sight. Every little while a cannon ball or shell would come over our way, but we were all too interested and excited to mind it. About four o'clock in the afternoon the noise was at its loudest and we could see small bodies of men going back across the Matthew's place and on towards Sudley. . . . The shooting quieted down so we could hear single shots, and the dust in the Henry field got higher and thinner.⁵⁷

Dogan's eyes may have been peeled on her friend Judith Henry's house. It lay in the center of the battle and she knew the woman was ailing and bedridden. Henry's daughter, Ellen, and their hired slave Lucy lived with her. Lucy belonged to the Compton family and Alice Maude Ewell recalled that Lucy was "hardly more than a child" at the time of the battle. Hugh, one of Judith's sons, came and went frequently to check on them. He had started a school for boys in Alexandria and was not home, but his brother, John, had ridden down from Loudoun to spend the day. When it was obvious that the battle was headed for Henry Hill, John, Ellen, and Lucy planned to move Judith to a neighbor's home. But as the confusion and gunfire grew, they dismissed this plan. Southwest of the house, there was a spring house in a depression which seemed less exposed to the gunshots. Initially, they carried her there, but she begged to be taken back to her own bed. When the spring house appeared no safer than the main house, they carried her back. This proved a fatal decision.

Renewing his offensive, McDowell ordered Captain James B. Ricketts's and Captain Charles Griffin's batteries to advance their artillery from Dogan Ridge to Henry Hill. When they did, Ricketts reported receiving hostile fire from the direction of the Henry House. He later testified that he promptly "turned my guns upon the house and literally riddled it." Unbeknownst to him, the 85-year-old Judith, Ellen, and Lucy also came under fire. John may or may not have been in the house at the time of the firing. One shell slammed through the wall to the bedroom, wounding Judith in the neck and side. One foot was partially blown off, her bed smashed, and she was thrown to the floor. Lucy suffered a wound in her ankle and Ellen, hiding in the chimney, escaped shells, but suffered a loss of hearing from the reverberating sounds. Judith died later that day, the only civilian fatality in the battle.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Lucinda Dogan, as quoted in "Relics of the Battlefield of Bull Run," from an undated scrapbook, c. 1900-1906 in the "Dogan House" file at MANA.

⁵⁸ For the Henry story, see the "Henry" file at MANA; Rafuse, *A Single Grand Victory*, 158-9, quote of Ricketts on 159, and in the U.S. Congress, Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, 3 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1863), 2: 243. Ricketts testified before a Congressional Committee the following year. Alice Ewell said that "Lucy was lamed, shot through the ankle. The house was a wreck." While there are several accounts and several dis-

Other residents around the battlefield remained safe, but just listening to the conflict from their homes terrified them. The elderly minister Alexander Compton, living a little southwest of Judith Henry, was sick in bed during the battle. He called it "the most awful day of my life. . . . The booming of the Cannon, and the horrible clatter of small arms, were calculated to agitate stronger nerves than mine, besides every hour and sometimes two or three times an hour some messenger would come with intelligence anything but cheery. . . . The battle raged fiercely around old Mrs. Henrys house. The house was pretty much riddled and the old lady killed."⁵⁹

While Compton's nerves rattled and Dogan and Redman watched in horror, soldiers encountered the terrifying experiences of the battlefield. J.W. Reid of the 4th South Carolina described the experience later in a letter to his family:

I cannot give you an idea of the terrors of this battle. I believe that it was as hard a contested battle as was ever fought on the American continent, or perhaps anywhere else. For ten long hours it almost seemed that heaven and earth was coming together; for ten long hours it literally rained balls, shells, and other missiles of destruction. The firing did not cease for a moment. Try to picture yourself at least one hundred thousand men, all loading and firing as fast as they could. It was truly terrific. The cannons, although they make a great noise, were nothing more than pop guns compared with the tremendous thundering noise of the thousands of muskets. The sight of the dead, the cries of the wounded, the thundering noise of the battle, can never be put to paper. It must be seen and heard to be comprehended. The dead, the dying, and the wounded; friend and foe, all mixed up together; friend and foe embraced in death; some crying for water; some praying their last prayers; some trying to whisper to a friend their last farewell message to their loved ones at home.⁶⁰

At approximately four in the afternoon, with two fresh brigades of Confederates rushing over Chinn Ridge — and the arrival of President Jefferson Davis to bolster his soldiers — northerners determined that they had had enough. "The men," Captain James Fry recalled, "seemed to be seized simultaneously by the conviction that it was no use to do anything more and they might as well start home."⁶¹ What had started as an orderly retreat, though, soon turned into a

crepancies between the accounts of what happened at the Henry home during the battle, I have favored Marianne Compton's, since she was most closely involved. See the Compton and Henry House files at MANA, and Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 163-65.

⁵⁹ Letter from Alexander Compton to Mrs. Davis, July 30, 1861 in "Compton" file, MANA.

⁶⁰ J.W. Reid letter to his family, July 1861, Michael Litterst, "First Battle of Manassas: An End to Innocence," Lesson Plan #12 in *Teaching With Historic Places*, A Program of the National Park Service's National Register of Historic Places and the National Trust for Historic Preservation, National Park Service bulletin, 8.

⁶¹ "First Manassas: Afternoon July 21, 1861," Manassas Battlefield History, Manassas National Battlefield Park Website http://www.nps.gov/mana/battlefield_history/afternoon.htm accessed May 20, 2003. See the website for a more extended description of the battle.

stampede. Union soldiers fled to Centreville in utter disgrace, covering the ground in only a fraction of the time that it took them to arrive, despite their exhausted condition. Civilians that had come to watch the glory scattered and fled in the panic, too. Union artilleryman John Tidball watched them go:

Each of the picknickers as they got back to where the carriages had been left took the first at hand, or the last if he had his wits about him enough to make a choice. Thus jumping into the carriages, off they drove so fast as lash and oaths could make their horses go. Carriages collided tearing away wheels or stuck fast upon saplings by the road-side. Then the horses were cut loose and used for saddle purposes, but without saddles. A rumor was rife that the enemy had a body of savage horsemen, known as the *Black Horse Cavalry*, which every man now thought was at their heels; and with this terrible vision before them of these men in buckram behind them they made the best possible speed to put the broad Potomac between themselves and their supposed pursuers.⁶²

When the soldiers returned, poet Walt Whitman, visiting Washington as a correspondent for the *Brooklyn Standard*, recorded his impressions of them walking down Pennsylvania Avenue:

During the forenoon Washington gets all over motley with these defeated soldiers — queer-looking objects, strange eyes and faces, drench'd (the steady rain drizzles on all day) and fearfully worn, hungry, haggard. . . . They come along in disorderly mobs, some in squads, stragglers, companies. Occasionally, a rare regiment, in perfect order, with its officers (some gaps, dead, the true braves,) marching in silence, with lowered faces, stern, weary to sinking, all black and dirty, but every man with his musket. . . . The sidewalks of Pennsylvania Avenue, Fourteenth Street, &c, were jammed with citizens, darkies, clerks, everybody, lookers-on; women in the windows, curious expressions from faces, as those swarms of dirt-cover'd return'd soldiers there (will they never end?) move by; but nothing said, no comments; (half our lookers-on secesh [secessionists] of the most venomous kind — they say nothing; but the devil snickers in their faces).⁶³

As Whitman suggested, the South was far more jubilant and hopeful. President Davis, Beauregard, and Johnston met at Beauregard's headquarters after the battle to plan a pursuit, but rain on the 22nd dissuaded them. Virginia farmer Edward Tayloe wrote that he felt the battle vindicated the South. His letter reassured his sister Olivia that "God has helped us with a glorious unparalleled vic-

⁶² John C. Tidball, "Bull Run," *Civil War Journal*: 283-84, on file at MANA. See also Eugene C. Tidball, "The View from the Top of the Knoll: Captain John C. Tidball's Memoir of the First Battle of Bull Run" *Civil War History* 44 (September 1998); and William Howard Russell, "Beyond Cub Run Bridge" in *My Diary North and South* (New York: Harper and Row, 1954).

⁶³ *Voices of the Civil War: First Manassas*, 75.

tory. We cannot doubt that it is His work thro' the feable [sic] instruments which accomplished it."⁶⁴ This was, he declared, the dawning of the second American Revolution:

What a just retribution upon those who brought with them 30,000 handcuffs to manacle us rebels! No rightminded person, be he Northern as well as Southern, can do otherwise than rejoice at the defeat of the hosts of an insatiate despot, aiming to subjugate people of his own race, who are claiming to exercise the right guaranteed to us in the Declaration of Independence — that governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the *consent of the governed*, 'to secure life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness,' and 'that, whenever *any form* of govt becomes destructive of these ends, *it is the right of the people* to alter or to *abolish* it, & to *institute a new government*, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall *seem most likely to effect their safety & happiness*.' The Bill of Rights of Virginia, coeval with its Constitution & older than the Constitution of the U.S. guarantees the same rights to us; and these have never been surrendered, *nor will they be* until the extermination of the race of Southern men.⁶⁵

The Battle of First Manassas, fought in piecemeal fashion, with multiple mistakes, frustrations, missed communications, and not a little bravery or blood sent a signal to northerners and southerners alike that one decisive battle would not settle the war. Though jubilant for its victory, the South counted 1,982 casualties: 387 killed, 1,582 wounded, and 13 missing. The North suffered 2,896 casualties: 460 killed, 1,124 wounded, and 1,312 missing.⁶⁶ Together the almost 5,000 casualties sent a clear message that this war would not be swift, romantic, bloodless, or easy. The Washingtonians who had come for a show with their picnic baskets and binoculars in tow had quite another conception of the war after the carnage at Manassas. And the next time Lincoln asked for recruits, he called for a term of service of three years, not three months.⁶⁷

Caring for the Dead and Wounded: Shallow Graves and Makeshift Hospitals

Immediately after the battle, the Manassas community surveyed the damage. Fields of corn and wheat stood no more, and the former grazing grounds of live-

⁶⁴ Tayloe, as quoted in *Voices of the Civil War*, 156.

⁶⁵ Tayloe to his sister Olivia in Washington, D.C., August 2, 1861, as quoted in *Voices of the Civil War*, 156.

⁶⁶ *Statistics and Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*.

⁶⁷ While some of the picnickers did not get within sight of the battle, others trudged closer and witnessed the bloodshed. And, certainly, all who went out in their Sunday carriages and buggies knew from the run of soldiers and civilians after that this was no fight that they had seen in pictures. See Second U.S. Artillery John Tidball's account in "Bull Run," 265-84. Transcribed parts are on file at MANA.

stock lay filled with human corpses. Robinson found thirteen dead Confederates in his yard, six from Wade Hampton's Legion.⁶⁸ By the sides of fallen soldiers lay bloated horse carcasses, caissons, cartridge boxes, knapsacks, and muskets. The red soil around the battlefield, rich in oxidized iron, now gave at least one resident the "impression of being stained with blood."⁶⁹ And the stench of death, the smell of gunpowder and smoke, the foul odor of decomposing bodies lingered in the sultry summer air.

Some comrades had hastily buried the dead in shallow graves; others covered their friends with a little underbrush. As the South Carolina soldier continued his letter home, he wrote, "Although the fight is over the field is yet quite red with blood from the wounded and the dead. I went over what I could of the battlefield the evening after the battle ended. The sight was appalling to the extreme. There were men shot in every part of the body. Heads, legs, arms, and other parts of human bodies were lying scattered all over the battlefield."⁷⁰

Wounded and disoriented soldiers murmured and cried for help. And civilians quickly came to their aid. Marianne E. Compton, about fifteen years old at the time of the battle, went to the battle site, "The 22nd dawned through clouds. It drizzled early and in the afternoon rained heavily. Many dead and wounded still lay in the field. To get the latter under shelter in one day was not possible. On Tuesday I went with a party upon the blood-stained scene. What we saw cannot be forgotten while memory lasts. Dead men and dead horses everywhere in all attitudes ranging from peaceful slumber to stark, agonized rigidity."⁷¹

Dr. Jesse Ewell also visited Henry Hill and cared for some of the injured. He went with his son, John, and William Slade, a Washington man who had fled the capital when the Federals took control and taken refuge near Dunblane. (Albert Ewell had contracted the measles while at camp, and had returned home to recuperate, and hence missed the battle.) Eleanor Ewell recalled that they returned with "thrilling tales. . . Mrs. Henry's death was the one that made the most impression upon us; but many dead and wounded were still on the field. My father spoke of a mere boy, badly wounded, to whom he carried water, and who seemed to leave a painfully strong impression on his mind. Mr. Slade was much excited. He told of another very young man in the agonies of death, and most fervently praying, to whom he ministered as well as he could. I cannot remember whether these were Federal or Confederated wounded. It made no difference to our people."⁷²

⁶⁸ "Corcoran's Irish Legion, A Visit to the Bull Run Battle-field," *Irish-American*, New York City, August 1, 1863. A copy is in the Robinson file at MANA.

⁶⁹ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 163.

⁷⁰ J.W. Reid letter to his family, July 1861, Litterst, "First Battle of Manassas, 8.

⁷¹ Charles A. Mills, *Echoes of Manassas*, ed. Donald L. Wilson (Manassas: Friends of the Manassas Museum, 1988), 5. Marianne Compton's age can be gleaned from the 1850 census.

⁷² Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 59.

In those immediate moments, many residents expressed the importance of caring for the needy first, and taking sides later. But, to be sure, the secessionists did make certain their loyalty. Lucinda Dogan fed three Union stragglers who came to her house for food. But the next day, she turned them over as prisoners.⁷³

If they could, civilians carried the wounded to obtain care. During and after the battle, army surgeons transformed homes and churches into hospitals, and many of the area's men and women nursed, comforted, and fed the wounded. With limited supplies, primitive equipment, scant medical knowledge, and short staff, doctors did what they could to save lives, but each so-called hospital was the scene of much suffering. Many times doctors amputated limbs, sometimes saving an individual's life, at other times speeding death. One soldier in Colonel J.E.B. Stuart's cavalry described a makeshift hospital that they encountered as they traveled Sudley Road to the battle:

Tables about breast high had been erected upon which screaming victims were having legs and arms cut off. The surgeons and their assistants, stripped to the waist and all bespattered with blood, stood around, some holding the poor fellows while others, armed with long bloody knives and saws, cut and sawed away with frightful rapidity, throwing the mangled limbs on a pile. . . . The prayers, the curses, the screams, the blood, the flies, the sickening stench of this horrible little valley were too much for the stomachs of the men, and all along the column, leaning over the pommels of their saddles, they could be seen in ecstasies of protest.⁷⁴

Matilda, the slave left alone by the Chinn family, knew exactly what horrors these soldiers described. She camped at the house throughout the battle and stayed there when Hazel Plain became an infirmary. She listened to the soldiers' screams when doctors amputated limbs. And she saw the discarded limbs that doctors pitched into the well, fouling the water. Worrying about sanitation in the midst of the chaos was not a priority. A member of the Lewis family reported that he watched surgeons at Portici throw limbs on the porch. After they piled high, he would gather them and dump them in the ditch.⁷⁵

Surrounding homes also became makeshift hospitals. "Pittsylvania," described as "the grandest of all these old Carter mansions," was transformed from a home of splendor into a medical facility. Its fine English interior and rich wallpaper, "some of the oldest and handsomest made," held little value during the war as the casualties poured in from the battlefield. The wounded sank into "great cra-

⁷³ From an obituary of Lucinda Dogan in a Manassas newspaper, dated 1910, located in "Dogan House" file at MANA.

⁷⁴ W.W. Blackford, *War Years with Jeb Stuart* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945), 27.

⁷⁵ George Sutton, "Transcript of Oral interview between George Reaves, Manassas National Battlefield Park historian, Jack Ratcliffe of Manassas and George W. Sutton of Fairfax Co (former owner of a dairy operation next to Pittsylvania)," October 24, 1970 in "Pittsylvania," file, MANA, Reel 2, Part 1, transcript page 3 of 26. For more on the hospital at Portici, see Parker and Hernigle, *Portici: Portrait of a Middling Plantation in Piedmont Virginia*, 21-25.

ven four-poster" beds in "huge old rooms with that English wall paper hanging in strips."⁷⁶ Some of the injured lay on pallets; others on tables, and some took the floor. Further south, "Ben Lomond" served as a Confederate hospital. Edward A. Craighill of the 2nd Virginia Infantry was detailed as a medical steward and treated scores of soldiers at Ben Lomond. He recorded the primitive conditions under which the doctors worked.⁷⁷

Provisional medical quarters extended beyond the immediate battleground. Ellen and Sarah Gray remembered that St. Paul's Church in Haymarket was converted into a hospital on July 22, 1861. News of the battle had disrupted the regular morning service a day earlier. Then the town was overwhelmed by the fallout of battle. Initially, tents outside the church provided shelter for patients and surgery. But a bad windstorm blew the tents down and all crowded the sanctuary. Parishioners removed the pews and laid straw on the floor to serve as beds for the wounded. No cots could be found. Neighboring women brought linen for bandages and sheets, blankets, and pillows. They also brought milk, broth and jellies. Despite their work, eighty people died there. As many as four at a time were buried in one grave.⁷⁸

Confederate surgeons and area residents cared for soldiers of both sides. When the Union army finally fled the scene, some soldiers tried to take the wounded with them. Others barely tarried in their haste. Many northern surgeons elected to remain with the wounded and all were subject to capture. Some Federal soldiers languished for a time and died. Still, others found mercy from their enemy. One of those men was John L. Rice of the 2nd New Hampshire. During the fighting, he was hit in the chest. His comrades carried him back to Sudley Church, but then abandoned him by a fence. Fearing he had died and seeing the approach of what they thought was the "Black Horse Cavalry" (actually, it was Stuart's 1st Virginia Cavalry), they felt justified in leaving him. Rice, however, was not dead, and in two days he regained consciousness. Amos and Margaret Ann Benson, who farmed five acres near Sudley Church, found him, cleaned the dirt and flies out of his wound, and brought him to an overworked surgeon at the Sudley Church hospital. After one look, the doctor waved his hand as a sign of no hope. Despite this dour prognosis and the fact that the Bensons felt no sympathy for the North, they continued to nurse Rice. Years later they told Rice that they "looked upon [him] as an enemy whom they might justly slay in honorable war, but whom, as Christians they felt it their duty to minister to in the extremity in which they found me." Still, when the Yankee recovered enough to ride a freight car, the Bensons sent him off. Afterwards, Amos enlisted in the Prince William Cavalry (Company A, 4th Virginia Cavalry), which was part of Stuart's cavalry brigade. The next time the two men met was probably on the battlefield. Rice

⁷⁶ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 167-68.

⁷⁷ For an account of medical activities at the "Pringle House," see Peter W. Houck, ed. *Confederate Surgeon: The Personal Recollections of E.A. Craighill* (Lynchburg, Va.: H.E. Howard, 1989), 18-25.

⁷⁸ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 223-25.

surmised that he and Benson had "literally fought face to face in a dozen desperate battles during the next 12 months, while his wife had remained at their home and again succored our wounded, left behind by Pope when he was driven from that same bloody field in 1862." Years later, Rice visited them. He repaid their kindness and softened the still unreconstructed Margaret Benson by raising money in Massachusetts to help the Methodist congregation pay off the debts they had incurred when they rebuilt the church.⁷⁹

Though they moved quickly and opened all available spaces, the Manassas area could not care for all the wounded after First Manassas. Some patients were treated at Warrenton, Culpeper, and Gordonsville. Some traveled to Charlottesville to be cared for at the hospital, the University of Virginia, and private homes. Such a demand for nurses, cooks, and seamstresses led to slave and free black staff recruitment.⁸⁰

On the Union side, in addition to the various field hospitals set up at Sudley Church and other available structures in the immediate vicinity of the battlefield, medical officers tended to the wounded at Centreville. Expecting only a minor conflict on July 21, the medical director for McDowell's army, Surgeon William S. King, had only arranged to use a church, a hotel, and a large dwelling (possibly the Four Chimney house) as hospitals in Centreville. But he grossly underestimated the casualties. "Soon," he wrote, "I became convinced that a most desperate engagement was at hand." Surgeon Frank H. Hamilton of New York's 31st Regiment alone "dressed the wounds of over two hundred men." When room and provisions ran out there, ambulances carried the wounded to Fairfax Court House and Alexandria. King's inadequate preparation for First Manassas resulted not only in his removal but in legislation to reorganize the Union medical services. Unfortunately, medical standards had scarcely improved by the time of Second Manassas.⁸¹

King can hardly be blamed for all the deficiencies in medical care that day. A Massachusetts soldier wrote, "In this poverty-stricken town, it was impossible to find supplies of any kind or description. The few people who remained had either hidden, sold or deprived of their stores, and neither wounded nor sick could obtain anything beyond what was brought out in the regimental teams."⁸²

⁷⁹ For the Benson farm site, see Maureen DeLay Joseph, "Northwest Quadrant: Cultural Landscape Inventory," (Manassas, Va.: Manassas National Battlefield Park, 1996), sect 3: 5. For the Benson/Rice story, see their 1886 letters and articles from the Springfield, Massachusetts newspaper, *The Republican*, quotes taken from the November 24, 1886, issue, in "Sudley Church, Sudley Community" file at MANA. See also Harold Bradley Say, "Episode in Virginia," *The Rotarian* (January 1949): 30-34.

⁸⁰ William Blair, *Virginia's Private War: Feeding Body and Soul in the Confederacy, 1861-1865* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 38.

⁸¹ Smith, *Centreville*, 53.

⁸² Smith, *Centreville*, 54.

Relic Gathering

Area residents took more than the wounded from the battlefield. They also absconded with relics of the day. When Marianne Compton went to the site, she reported, "The ground was strewn with shells and balls, mostly in fragments, some whole; with guns, swords and haversacks, not to speak of things less war-like flung aside by the fleeing foe. I have seen an iron breastplate there picked up, one of a pair stitched into a cloth waistcoat. Its owner, a Federal officer, was shot from behind. I myself secured a cannonball, small, but heavy as I could well carry. All were seeking some relic of the fray."⁸³ Within a week of the battle, Compton and others had picked the field clean. A writer visiting the battle-grounds on the 29th said the ground had been thoroughly trampled. He saw numerous dead horses and prostrate fences, but few relics.⁸⁴ Some of the civilians capitalized on their haul by selling relics to the tourists that soon flocked to the area. Others kept them. Eleanor Ewell confessed years later that her family still had a relic taken from a wounded Union soldier.⁸⁵ Even the damaged and abandoned Henry House was not immune from scavengers in search of souvenirs.

Confederates Winter in Manassas and Centreville

Shortly after the Union army "skedaddled" back to Washington, Confederate forces reoccupied Centreville and Fairfax Court House. They also established outposts near Falls Church and Munson's Hill. In October 1861, Confederate General Johnston pulled his army back to Centreville for the winter. In October 1861, 40,000 troops descended on the forlorn spot. Immediately they constructed five miles of earthwork fortifications for protection around Centreville. Seventeen more miles stretched between Centreville's plateau and Union Mills and between Occoquan and Dumfries. One soldier described the work:

Engineers were soon at work; forts, breastworks, rifle pits and batteries, marked the high points around. Regular details from every regiment in the army were daily made for ditching and digging, and the adjacent country for miles became alive with men. The 'big balloon' of the enemy appeared often in the direction of the Court House, and, no doubt, its oc-

⁸³ Mill, *Echoes of Manassas*, 5.

⁸⁴ "Visit to the Battle Field Near Manassas Junction," *New York Herald*, August 5, 1861; the article originally appeared in the *Richmond Enquirer*. A copy of the article can be found in the "Henry House" file at Manassas National Battlefield Library. The writer also said he saw where "a cannon ball drove through" the Robinson house. The Henry house had been "riddled with cannon and musket shot. Hissing projectiles from the cannon of our enemies had passed through the walls and roof, until the dwelling was a wreck." See Edwin J. Meeker's sketch of the "Ruins of the Henry House," in Stephen W. Sears, ed., *The American Heritage Century Collection of Civil War Art* (New York: American Heritage, 1974), 129.

⁸⁵ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 59. For more information on relic gathering see Margaret Leech, *Reveille in Washington*, George H. Hart, "A Visit to Bull Run," *New York Herald*, May 1863; and the section on Bull Run in Stephen W. Sylvia, *The Illustrated History of Civil War Relics* (Orange, Va.: Moss Publications, 1978).

cupants took the southern army for a large body of 'Sappers and Miners,' as men and officers, for days and weeks were in the 'ditch.'⁸⁶

At "Artillery Hill," soldiers could view all roads into Centreville and watch for possible attack. For defense, they constructed embrasures for artillery pieces. But instead of filling each with a real cannon, Confederates fashioned logs shaped like guns, painted the "muzzle" ends black and positioned them to look like guns from a distance. These were cleverly named "Quaker guns."

To house, feed, and protect the soldiers was a mixed affair, requiring not only military coordination, transportation, but pillaging (or termed "foraging" by the troops). Many tents, storage facilities, and subsistence-oriented buildings sprung up. For buildings and fuel, soldiers turned to civilian property. One of the girls at Level Green said, "There was enough firewood on our farm to last us for hundreds of years." It did not last that long, however, for during the winter, Confederate soldiers "cut down every last bit of it. They built log houses to live in and they even used our logs to corduroy the road from Centreville to Manassas. And all during the winter they burned our trees for firewood." The family worried what they would do the next winter to keep warm.⁸⁷ Soldiers also helped themselves to cows, pigs, corn, and other vegetables.

The troops visited civilians not only when they needed food or blacksmith work. Some came in search of fresh recruits. If an able man had not enlisted, Confederates went to his home and escorted him back to camp. George Robertson of Brentsville explained:

I was ordered to appear at Brentsville with my gun for the purpose of drilling and to be put in the militia. I did not go. After three days had passed, a Lieutenant Williams and four men came for me and compelled me to go to Brentsville where I was kept with others drilling for about two weeks. This was in 1861 about the time of the first battle of Manassas. After the battle was over, I was permitted to go home and attend to my crops and never went near them again. Later in the war, whenever they were after conscripts I secreted myself in the bushes for about two weeks.⁸⁸

More than a few parents protested conscription officers, too. Loyalist Julia Claggett, who "sympathized with the Union side all the time" and "was so much exercised about our national trouble that when the states seceded I was seized with paralysis and have never been well since," refused to give up her son, Thomas, to the Confederates.⁸⁹ Two of John Cross's sons fought for the Confederacy but he would not let his youngest son go.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Smith, *Centreville*, 55.

⁸⁷ Smith, *Centreville*, 57.

⁸⁸ George Robertson Southern Claims file.

⁸⁹ Julia Claggett's Southern Claims file.

⁹⁰ Cross Southern Claims file.

Claggett's son-in-law, C. J. King, lived two and a half miles north of Haymarket. He refused to join the "rebel army." "No sir. I would have suffered these things [his ears] to have been cut off before I would go in." Confederates arrested him and charged him with being a Yankee sympathizer. He remained on his farm, though he determined that it "was not safe for [Union men] there I assure you, but I was hackled pretty badly. I was a cripple and consequently they could not make a soldier of me and I had to remain on the list of neutrality and do the best I knew how and stay and protect my family."⁹¹

In camp, military regulations controlled the soldier population somewhat. This included commercial exchanges and private businesses that offered the soldiers goods and services. One of the most common of these establishments were sutler stores. Sutlers were merchants who followed the army and sold provisions to the troops. Most operated under army contracts, although they could be individually licensed as well. Sutlers sold dried and fresh fruit and vegetables, canned condensed milk and butter, canned and bottled condiments, crackers or "hard tack," cookies, fried pies, canned meats and oysters, dried beef, smoked tongue, bologna sausages, dried and salted fish, sardines, eggs, flour, soda water, and alcohol. While the army restricted or sometimes forbade the sale of alcohol, many ignored the order.⁹²

Some of the area's residents took advantage of the soldier occupation. They tried to create profitable relations with the troops. Thomas Pringle, an immigrant from the British Isles and tenant at the time of the Civil War at the Ben Lomond plantation, was one who did. According to Benjamin F. Lewis, Pringle's "sympathies were with the South." He tried to continue farming, but he also sold dried goods and groceries to soldiers during the war.⁹³ George Trimmer, though a Union man, hauled supplies for both Confederates and Union soldiers during the war. Everyone had to scrape to get by, he said, explaining his aid to the Rebel army. He lived in Manassas and hauled supplies. He said that he was like all his neighbors. It was "hard scratching to get something to eat." George Roseberry concurred. Everyone scrambled to make it during the war. If anyone had anything to sell, they took it to the occupying camp.⁹⁴

Roseberry or Trimmer may have done business with soldiers who were also area neighbors. Frank Lewis of Portici helped move supplies. He stayed in Manassas

⁹¹ Julia Claggett's Southern Claims file.

⁹² Francis A. Lord, *Civil War Sutlers and Their Wares* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1969); W. Stephen McBride, Susan C. Andrews, and Sean P. Coughlin, "For the Convenience and Comforts of the Soldiers and Employees at the Depot: Archaeology of the Owens' House/Post Office Complex, Camp Nelson, Kentucky" in *Archaeological Perspectives on the American Civil War*, ed. Clarence R. Geier and Stephen R. Potter (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 99-124; and Donald P. Spear, "The Sutler in the Union Army," *Civil War History* 16 (1970), 123.

⁹³ See Turner, "Mixed Commission on British and American Claims: Cases of Thomas Pringle Arthur C. and Frances Evans."

⁹⁴ Trimmer Southern Claims file.

with Eppa Hunton's regiment (8th Virginia) and supervised supply shipments out of Manassas Junction. Mules packed some grain and general supplies, though wagon trains did most of the hauling.⁹⁵

Any good relations that were established between civilians and soldiers were severely tested when the Confederates left. In March of 1862, the exiting troops burned Centreville and Manassas, leaving anything that might be of use to the Yankees in ashes and smoke. A reporter for the *Philadelphia Enquirer* reported:

The sight here cannot be portrayed. The large machine shops, the station houses, the commissary and quartermaster's store houses all in ashes. On the track stood the wreck of a locomotive, and not far down the remains of four freight cars which had been bombed. To the right five hundred barrels of vinegar and molasses had been allowed to try experiments in chemical combination. Some fifty pounds of pork and beef has been scattered around in the mud, and a few hundred yards down the track dense clouds of smoke were arising from the remains of a factory which had been used in rendering of tallow and boiling bones. About a thousand hides were stretched out on the field close-by upon stakes and remained uninjured. A car upon the tracks which ran to Centreville, a short distance up, had on it the whole effects of a printing office; types, cases and all that was needed for an office, two large lots of paper and a Washington press — this car will be a great prize for the regiment into whose hands it falls.⁹⁶

Watching the Confederates pull out probably prompted William Weir and his family to leave also. In March, they moved to Fluvanna County, Virginia. Weir died there in 1866.⁹⁷

Almost as soon as the Confederates departed, the Union Army entered Manassas Junction and set up headquarters. General McDowell occupied Liberia as his headquarters in June 1862 and President Lincoln reportedly visited the plantation when McDowell was recovering from a riding accident. For local secessionists, the Union presence caused a great deal of consternation and trouble. This relationship was further exacerbated by newly instituted Union policies. In the summer of 1862, Union Major General John Pope assumed command of a new "Army of Virginia." He ordered his men to live on whatever products they could obtain from Confederate households, force civilians to swear oaths of loyalty or abandon their homes and communities, and punish any who resorted to guerilla warfare. Even before Pope's general orders, the Union army had already encountered a generally hostile reception. Now, with Pope's new policies, animosities increased. One Virginian lambasted Pope as a "contemptible scoundrel." Another called the Federals "Great Rascals" and promised to "kill them if I can."

⁹⁵ Parker and Hernigle, *Portici: Portrait of a Middling Plantation in Piedmont Virginia*, 25.

⁹⁶ *Philadelphia Enquirer*, March 1862, reprinted in Mill, *Echoes of Manassas*, 5-6.

⁹⁷ "Architectural Overview," a paper on Liberia in "Liberia" folder in MANA, 26.

Lucy Buck complained of property seizures and cried, "Oh, I'm so tired of tyranny!"⁹⁸ (See Fig. 5)

The Battle of Second Manassas

For several days at the end of August 1862, Confederate and Union armies met again at Manassas and once more the Confederates emerged the victors, bringing them to the height of their power during the entire war. This time, however, the engagement was even more costly. Over 3,000 soldiers died, and the Manassas community endured and suffered extensive damages. Homes became hospitals and most civilians sustained wide-scale property destruction. Soldiers burned homes, plundered supplies, trampled crops, and took basic necessities.

On August 26 and 27, in a prelude to the battle, Stonewall Jackson's forces derailed two military supply lines on the Orange & Alexandria Railroad — now run by the Union Army — at Bristoe Station, then captured and plundered the Union's supply depot at Manassas Junction. They captured more than 300 Union soldiers, eight cannon, dozens of horses, and vast storehouses. The junction had become the central supply station for the Union Army of Virginia, with the O&A Railroad as its supply line. When Jackson's men saw the spoils, they proclaimed disbelief. One artilleryman who viewed the multiple boxcars and warehouses exclaimed that there was "an amount and variety of property such as I had never conceived of (I speak soberly)." With great jubilation, the men plundered all they could. "It was hard to decide what to take," Virginian John Worsham wrote, "Some filled their haversacks with cakes, some' with candy, and others with oranges, lemons, canned goods, etc." They also seized bread, French mustard, lobster salad, oysters, and Rhine Wine. Most of the alcohol, however, Jackson destroyed. Worried about keeping his men in fighting form, he ordered a captain to "spill all the liquor there. . . . I fear that liquor more than General Pope's army."⁹⁹

Learning of the attack at the junction, Major General John Pope left his strong positions along the Rappahannock to pursue Jackson. But Jackson's Confederates did not remain at Manassas Junction long. At midnight on the 27th, Jackson burned all the supplies that could not be carried off and relocated his divisions north of the crossroads of the Warrenton Turnpike and the Groveton-Sudley Road at Groveton. The conflagration of burning stores, exploding ordnances, and sizzling bacon left an orange glow of fire that could be seen for ten miles, signaling yet more trouble to the civilians who still lived in the area.¹⁰⁰

Groveton, according to Jed Hotchkiss's map, consisted of Lucinda Dogan's home (formerly the overseer's house) on the northwest corner, the Redman home and

⁹⁸ Blair, *Virginia's Private War*, 79.

⁹⁹ For an account of Jackson's actions at Bristoe and Manassas Junction, see John J. Hennessy, *Return to Bull Run: The Campaign and Battle of Second Manassas* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993), 111-30, quotes on 123, 129, and 130.

¹⁰⁰ Hennessy, *Return to Bull Run*, 138.



Fig. 5. Braddock Road in Centerville, Va., 1862. Courtesy National Archives, Washington, D.C.

blacksmith shop on the southwest corner, and another complex of buildings further north. Some of this surely included the barn and the ruins of the main house at "Peach Grove," which had burned in an earlier fire and forced the Dogan family to the overseer's house. South of the barn there was an orchard and a little further north stood the old field school. Also north of the turnpike was a heavily wooded area. Within these woods, Jackson hid his troops.¹⁰¹

On the 28th, from his position near Groveton, Jackson took advantage of unsuspecting Union soldiers who marched eastward along the Warrenton Turnpike. "Drowsily we swung along the grassy roadside, taking in the soft beauty of the scene," recollected one of the unprepared Union soldiers, "and no one dreaming that danger and death lurked in those [nearby] quiet woods." Jackson, in contrast, was not unaware. Seated on his horse, he watched Brigadier General Rufus King's column passing by and ordered his men to assail the enemy.¹⁰²

The fierce battle that followed occurred on the property of Lucinda Dogan and Augusta Douglass, with heavy losses on both sides. That night, soldiers in blue and gray carried lanterns to the field to search for their comrades and to carry the wounded to makeshift hospitals. The Cundiff house served wounded Union soldiers, while Sudley Church opened its doors to Confederates.¹⁰³ Civilians were also affected. During the battle, Josephine Lewis Leachman, whose husband was working for the Confederates, scrambled to protect her children. Even as cannon balls struck the house, she put her five small children behind a large sideboard and there they huddled all day.¹⁰⁴ John Brawner, Douglass's tenant farmer, returned the day after the battle to find his house still standing, but barely inhabitable. The house had been riddled with bullets and the household and kitchen furniture, the farm tools, food supplies, and livestock destroyed. Lucinda Dogan and her children, who took refuge in the cellar of the Leachman home during the battle, also returned to devastation.¹⁰⁵

The battle was far from over, however. At the same time that Jackson's "Left Wing" fought along the turnpike, Lee was moving east with James Longstreet's "Right Wing" to reunite his army. Facing little resistance from a late arriving Union division under the leadership of Brigadier General James B. Ricketts, Lee and Longstreet gained control of Thoroughfare Gap that evening.¹⁰⁶ The next

¹⁰¹ Joseph, "Northwest Quadrant: Cultural Landscape Inventory," sect. 3: 19; and Hennessy, *Return to Bull Run*, 145.

¹⁰² Hennessy, *Return to Bull Run*, quote on 167.

¹⁰³ For a description of the battle, see Hennessy, *Return to Bull Run*, chap. 10; for casualty figures, see 187-88.

¹⁰⁴ Leachman Carroll, "Folly Castle Folks," 2.

¹⁰⁵ Brawner Southern Claims file and "Brawner (or Douglass) Farm" file, MANA. Brawner began farming the Douglass property in 1857. For a history of the property, see Joseph, "Northwest Quadrant: Cultural Landscape Inventory," sect. 3: 8-9.

¹⁰⁶ See Edwin Forbe's sketch of Longstreet's troops moving through Thoroughfare Gap in Sears, *Civil War Art*, 128.

morning Longstreet's 30,000 Confederates marched through Haymarket and following the turnpike from Gainesville, took position on Jackson's right, southward from the Brawner farm. Pope's failure to adequately defend the passes through Bull Run Mountain gave the Confederates a great advantage. Without Longstreet's men, Jackson would have been greatly outnumbered and vulnerable. Instead, he received crucial support when he needed it the most.¹⁰⁷

On the morning of the 29th, Pope, still without a clue that Lee and Longstreet were so close, ordered an assault on Jackson. Confederate forces spread along the unfinished railroad north of the Warrenton Turnpike. Union brigades formed along Dogan Ridge. Some troops advanced as far north as Sudley to attack Jackson's left. Throughout that same afternoon, Union and Confederate soldiers clashed, but the South's defensive position along the incomplete railroad did not fall.¹⁰⁸

After a quiet morning on the 30th, Pope reasoned that the Confederates had decided to retreat and ordered a pursuit. But he judged incorrectly and his mistake almost cost him his Army. The fight continued along the unfinished railroad line, in the vicinity of the "Deep Cut," until at last, Jackson's wing, with the aid of Longstreet's artillery on Douglass Heights, pushed Union soldiers back. As they retreated, Longstreet took the offensive. Fighting continued over Chinn Ridge, across the Sudley Road, and on to Henry Hill. Finally, under cover of darkness, the Union Army made an orderly withdrawal across Bull Run to Centreville. Before Pope managed to get his army across the Potomac, however, the two sides met yet again in battle, this time at Chantilly (Ox Hill) in Fairfax County. In this fight on September 1, two Union generals, Phillip Kearny and Isaac Stevens, died.¹⁰⁹ As the Union retreated to their defenses at Washington, all of northern Virginia now lay in Confederate hands and General Lee now had an opportunity to invade the North. Within a short time, Lee did just that. As he did, he left northern Virginia yet again open to Union incursion.

More Makeshift Hospitals and Community Loss

After the Second Battle of Manassas, residents again poured out of their homes and onto the battlefields. They swept the field for survivors, nursed those they could, buried those they could not. And again their homes turned into infirmaries. At her place, Lucinda Dogan remembered,

Doctors were cutting off legs and arms and the moaning was awful. They hadn't brought in all the wounded. There were hundreds scattered all around the farms. The children and I took buckets of water out into the fields and we worked that day and into the night, doing what we could for the poor fellows. Most of the wounded on our farm were Yankees but

¹⁰⁷ Hennessy, *Return to Bull Run*, 153-61.

¹⁰⁸ For a full description, see Hennessy, *Return to Bull Run*.

¹⁰⁹ Netherton, *Fairfax County*, 340-43.

that didn't make any difference to us after they got hurt. All of our bed sheeting and table linen went for bandages.¹¹⁰

Union soldiers again turned the Stone House into a field hospital, too. And across the road at the Robinson farm, where Major General Franz Sigel had established his headquarters, surgeons operated and amputated as well. Confederate reporter Felix Gregory de Fontaine wrote: "The Robinson house is used as a Yankee hospital. In a visit there this morning, I found 100 of them [Yankees] packed in the rooms and yard as thick as sardines. Several of them are officers, and one of the corpses was that of a brigadier general. I did not learn his name. The wounds of the majority were undressed, the blood had dried upon their persons and garments, and altogether there the most horrible set of beings it has been my lot to encounter."¹¹¹

Once again, the stench of death and blood and gunsmoke lingered. Oswald Robinson said that his great-aunts started smoking long clay pipes after Second Manassas to "smother the stench of bodies."¹¹² The land suffered, too. Trees that had not been destroyed in First Manassas were now toppled and splintered. Crops that planters hoped might offer some sustenance during the lean war years had been flattened. "Most of the fences have been demolished," according to the *Rebellion Record* after the second battle of Manassas. "The race of fences, in this part of Virginia, seems to have expired. . . . The timbers were shattered, broken, and scarred with powder. The stream is deep, rapid and impetuous. On the opposite bank a high bluff arises, covered with scanty foliage, and overhung in some places with trees and shrubbery We can see traces of the conflict in shattered trees and broken trunks, limbs and boughs."¹¹³

Economically, farmers suffered tremendous losses. While Sigel had occupation of Robinson's house, Union troops pillaged the farmer's supplies. Robinson reported a loss of \$2,608 worth of personal property. This included twenty-five tons of hay, sixty bushels of wheat, twenty bushels of harvested corn, twelve acres of standing corn, twenty-five acres of oats, two horses, seven hogs, two cows, three barrels of fish, eight hundred pounds of bacon, groceries and provisions, beds and furniture, and fence rail.¹¹⁴

Robinson was not alone. In her diary for November 9, 1862, Anne Frobel of Fairfax County wrote, "All who come down represent Prince William County as a perfectly desolated waste, without food in it for man or beast, and the few houses that are left standing as without occupants. O, it makes me so sad to hear

¹¹⁰ Dogan, "Relics of the Battlefield at Bull Run," Dogan file, MANA.

¹¹¹ Felix Gregory de Fontaine, *Charleston Daily Courier*, September 11, 1862.

¹¹² Erika K. Martin Seibert and Mia T. Parsons, "Battling Beyond First Manassas," in *Archaeological Perspectives on The American Civil War*, ed. Clarence R. Geier and Stephen R. Potter (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 275.

¹¹³ Seibert and Parsons, "Battling Beyond First Manassas," 275.

¹¹⁴ Robinson Southern Claims file.

it, Poor old Prince William! how well I remember it, how often have I traveled through it on horseback with my two dear brothers, and so many nice beautiful places, and so many kind people, and so much generous, kind hospitality as was dispensed there."¹¹⁵

Frustrated, despondent and fearful that yet another day would dawn to the sound of battle, more people left. Wilmer McLean finally gave up any hope of farming at his Yorkshire home. Though he removed his family during First Manassas, he had returned after the fighting concluded and worked for the Confederate Quartermaster until February 1862. That fall, he moved his family to the southern Virginia community of Appomattox Court House.¹¹⁶

McLean had the luxury of being able to pursue tranquility elsewhere. The impoverished sometimes had no choice. Though devastated, Brawner remained on the Douglass property for the rest of the war. He had no place to go and no fortune to help him get established elsewhere. His daughter, Mary, reported that with either the Union or the southern armies passing "backwards and forwards all the time" they "were not able to cultivate the farm after the first year." The small crop they managed to plant in 1862 had no chance of surviving the battle of Second Manassas.¹¹⁷

Continued Unrest and Terror

After the second battle of Manassas, area residents continued to experience the tumult of war and many feared for their lives. Marauding soldiers still plundered, raided, and searched at will, and neighbors remained suspicious of one another. In November of 1862, Union troops (probably General Sigel's troops) burned Haymarket. Around the same time, and perhaps on the same night, Pittsylvania, Portici, and Rosefield were all torched.

"The fall of '62," Eleanor Ewell recalled, "was indeed a time of terror. It was unsafe to go abroad, unsafe to stay indoors." The residents of Haymarket felt this especially when one night Federal soldiers searched every house. They then told occupants to leave quickly because they were going to torch the village. In the midst of the panic, people grabbed a few of their belongings. "Mrs. Newman, a widow with several young children, one of them a sick infant, was driven out, her entreaties unheeded. Her baby died that night, out of doors. A very old couple, Mr. and Mrs. Harry Hale, was also rendered homeless. They had been born into affluence. Next morning after the Haymarket fire they were seen on the

¹¹⁵ Frobel, *Diary*, 92.

¹¹⁶ Marian E. Wack, "The Saga of Wilmer McLean," summary report in "Wilmer McLean" file at MANA.

¹¹⁷ Brawner, Southern Claims file. See also Stephen R. Potter, Robert C. Sonderman, Marian C. Creveling, and Susannah L. Dean, "'No Maneuvering and Very Little Tactics': Archaeology and the Battle of Brawner Farm," in *Archaeological Perspectives on the American Civil War*, ed. Clarence R. Geier and Stephen R. Potter (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000): 3-28.

Carolina Road seeking shelter, Mrs. Hale with a shawl over her head. They walked, I believe, by slow stages from Haymarket to Aldie."¹¹⁸ Though some may have made it to Aldie, at least a few stopped at Evergreen, at the invitation of Mrs. Berkeley. She offered the homeless the twelve houses that the white laborers had occupied when the Evergreen spoke factory operated.¹¹⁹

Paying heed to the Haymarket tragedy, other residents prepared for further raids. The Ewells hid their silver and jewelry and kept clothes and bedclothes "tied in bundles ready to be snatched up at a moment's notice."¹²⁰ Raids were not the only thing that kept civilians nervous. During October 1863, the battle at Bristoe Station and its accompanying campaign brought the armies to Prince William yet again, setting residents on edge as they were once more at the seat of war.

During the war, secessionists faced Union troop harassment, while northern sympathizers and Union soldiers encountered southern partisans under the command of Major (later Colonel) John Singleton Mosby. Beginning in early 1863 and extending throughout much of northern Virginia, Mosby and his mounted Rangers captured soldiers and horses, raided supply trains, and even kidnapped Union Brigadier General Edwin H. Stoughton from his bed at Fairfax Court House. Nicknamed the "Gray Ghost" for his tactics of surprise and quick disappearance, Mosby led his followers along back roads and hid in civilian homes. His wild exploits and guerrilla escapades made him famous among southerners and they celebrated him as their "savior." Eleanor Ewell, whose home and chapel was the scene of at least one Mosby attack, said, "[W]e found some cheer and excitement in the exploits of Mosby." Northerners found no cheer. They denounced him as a "terrorist."¹²¹ Some Manassas area residents reportedly aided Mosby, either by providing him sanctuary or by riding with him. According to Lewis family tradition, Frank Lewis aided Mosby as a scout and accompanied him on a raid.¹²²

Though perhaps not in so dramatic a fashion, some southerners faced capture, too. Marie Janney reported: "Uncle Robert Leachman, who was an Old School

¹¹⁸ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 70.

¹¹⁹ Susan R. Morton, "Evergreen," in *WPA Records of Prince William County, Virginia*, comp. W. R. Hobbs, Teresa A. Kelley, and Sallie C. Pusey (Westminster, Md.: Willow Bend Books, 2001), 235.

¹²⁰ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 71.

¹²¹ For an account of Mosby's actions around northern Virginia, including the Ewell Chapel, see Thomas J. Evans and James M. Moyer, *Mosby's Confederacy: A Guide to the Roads and Sites of Colonel John Singleton Mosby* (Shippensburg, Pa.: White Mane Publishing, 1991), the Ewell account is on p. 93. For more on Mosby, see Paul Ashdown and Edward Caudill, *The Mosby Myth: A Confederate Hero in Life and Legend* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 2002), Jeffrey D. Wert, *Mosby's Rangers* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990); James Joseph Williamson, *Mosby's Rangers* (New York: Sturgis and Walton, 1909), and Linda Wheeler, "'Gray Ghost' Mosby Rides Again in the Name of Heritage," *Washington Post*, January 10, 2002. Eleanor Ewell's quote can be found in Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 73.

¹²² Parker and Hernigle, *Portici: Portrait of a Middling Plantation in Piedmont Virginia*, 25.

Baptist, was captured during the war. He was put in prison somewhere around Alexandria. He asked permission to hold services on Sunday while he was in prison. The Federal authorities sanctioned his request, provided he offer a prayer for Abraham Lincoln. I can't remember the whole prayer but the closing thing was, 'Have mercy on the soul of Abraham Lincoln, for of all your erring children Abraham Lincoln stands the most in need of thy pardon and grace.'¹²³

Black Military Experience

While Robert Leachman prayed for what he interpreted as Abraham Lincoln's "erring" soul, African Americans thanked God for the Union leader and prayed that he would have the courage to continue the war for freedom. Indeed, slaves forced the issue of emancipation. They pushed for their freedom on the plantation and in Federal camps. As early as May of 1861, three slaves escaped to General Benjamin Butler's Union lines. Butler had taken military control of Annapolis and Baltimore and was commanding Fort Monroe. He refused to return slaves to their owner, declaring them a "contraband of war." By August, a thousand contrabands — as slaves who escaped to Union lines were called for the rest of the war — camped with Butler's army. At the same time, Congress enacted the First Confiscation Act, which authorized the seizure of all property, including slaves, used to support the rebellion. This was the beginning of abolition, though only the beginning. The law did not actually emancipate the slaves and it only applied to those slaves within reach of United States armies.¹²⁴

Emboldened, African Americans and white abolitionists intensified their drive for full emancipation. As battlefield deaths increased, popular support for ending slavery did too. More and more advocated taking slaves to punish slaveholders and employing slaves to fight for the Union. The moral resolve against slavery strengthened, as well.

Congress and Lincoln slowly followed suit. In April 1862, the government outlawed slavery in the District of Columbia, promising slaveholders compensation for their loss. In June, Congress abolished slavery in the federal territories. In July, the Second Confiscation Act passed with the guarantee this time of full emancipation to all captured and escaped slaves. Those who had been arguing for using emancipation as a means of war had gained sway. Frederick Douglass argued that abolition was militarily necessary, since slave labor kept Confederate

¹²³ Mill, *Echoes of Manassas*, 6.

¹²⁴ For studies on wartime emancipation, see especially Ira Berlin et. al., eds., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867, Series II: The Black Military Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Herman Belz, *A New Birth of Freedom: The Republican Party and Freedmen's Rights, 1861-1865* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1976); John Hope Franklin, *The Emancipation Proclamation* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1963); Louis S. Gerteis, *From Contraband to Freedman: Federal Policy Toward Southern Blacks, 1861-1865* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1973); James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964); and Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the Civil War* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1953).

soldiers fed and supplied. "[S]lavery," he maintained, "is not only the cause of the beginning of this war, but slavery is the sole support of the rebel cause. It is, so to speak, the very stomach of this rebellion."¹²⁵ In August 1862, Union soldiers acted, capturing thirty blacks working for the Virginia Central Railroad at Frederick Hall.¹²⁶

Of course not all agreed. Some northerners with deep-seeded prejudices against African Americans balked at any notion of equality and feared the same thing that African Americans hoped for, that giving them the gun would earn them citizenship. Some of the military also resisted serving with black people. In Fairfax County, Frobel, as early as February 1862, reported that she heard "much talk of enlisting negroes into the army, and news papers are constantly full of it, but the officers here deny it most emphatically and indignantly. The most of them say if that thing is done they will throw up their commissions. They have no idea of put-down on a level with the *ne-groes*."¹²⁷

Despite protests, Lincoln began to entertain even more radical ideas of emancipation. On September 22, 1862, five days after the Battle of Antietam, Lincoln issued a preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. On January 1, 1863, he declared that slaves in all the rebelling states would be free. Cognizant that the United States Constitution protected slavery, he did not issue a more universal emancipation. Lincoln's words promptly focused all on the meaning of the war. There could be little doubt that this fight was over slavery and the nature of southern society. In the last years of the war, legal emancipation took shape. First, some southern and border states amended their constitutions to free their slaves. Then, by the beginning of 1865, Congress acted by approving a constitutional amendment that prohibited slavery. Within the year, the states had ratified the Thirteenth Amendment.

In concert with legislative moves, the military changed, and black people felt a greater encouragement to rush to the Union army. Many begged to enlist and further the cause of freedom. In 1862, free and contraband African Americans in Kansas, Louisiana, and South Carolina, formed regiments. Shortly after Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation took effect in January 1863, the U.S. war departments began to accept the enlistment of free blacks in the North and slaves in southern areas occupied by Union armies. Recruitment began in earnest in the summer of 1863. Soldier shortages and military defeats hastened this effort through the end of the summer and fall. When the Bureau of Colored Troops was established in May 1863, it organized the administrative process and rules, in-

¹²⁵ Frederick Douglass, "America before the Global Tribunal: An Address Delivered in Rochester, New York, on 30 June 1861," in *Frederick Douglass Papers, Series 1: Speeches, Debates, and Interviews*, ed. John W. Blassingame (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 3: 451.

¹²⁶ Charles W. Turner, "The Virginia Central Railroad at War, 1861-1865," *Journal of Southern History* 12 (November 1946), 514.

¹²⁷ Frobel, *Diary*, February / March 1862, 51.

cluding the selection process of racially segregated troops and white-only officers.¹²⁸

James Peters, a slave in the Manassas area, seized this opportunity. Peters, a "dark mulatto with brown eyes and black hair," escaped from the Woodland plantation after his brother John, a house servant, overheard plans to sell Jim and several other slaves. Montgomery Peters, James's son, later recalled the story:

My father commenced to get things together, a jacket or two. He told his mother to get him a sandwich or whatever she could find because he was leaving. He used to go to Alexandria on the wagon to haul grain and he knew the road pretty well. He struck out down beside Bull Run in the dead of night. When he got to Cub Run, he sat there on the side of the road. Wagons came along, so he jumped on the back of one of them and rode to where they had to change horses down below Fairfax. The next morning he went on down to Alexandria where they were cutting cord wood and stacking it alongside the railroad tracks. He got a job there.

Some people came along. You see, they used to come from up in Massachusetts and pick out people and ask them if they wanted to get in the Army. My father told them yes, that was exactly what he wanted to do. He was twenty years old.¹²⁹

On June 17, 1863, Peters enlisted in the Union army for a term of three years. He served for two years in the First United States Colored Infantry, mustering out on June 29, 1865. During that time, his unit fought as a part of General Benjamin Butler's Army of the James. After performing its duties at Norfolk, Portsmouth and Yorktown, and an expedition to South Mills, North Carolina, during the winter, the first participated in Butler's operations against Richmond and Petersburg. Their contribution to the Union cause in the siege of Petersburg was a testament to the impressive dedication of African American fighting men. The regiment also saw action at Chaffin's Farm, New Market Heights, Fort Harrison, and Fair Oaks. Finally, the brigade helped capture Fort Fisher, North Carolina, in January, 1865, and joined General William T. Sherman's campaign in the Carolinas. Peters was wounded at least once at the Battle of Fair Oaks, October 27, 1864. When he mustered out, the army noted that he had lost a canteen, a haver-

¹²⁸ For African American Troop involvement, see Berlin, *Freedom: The Black Military Experience*; Dudley Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966); Robert F. Durden, *The Gray and the Black: The Confederate Debate on Emancipation* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972); James M. McPherson, *The Negro's Civil War: How American Negroes Felt and Acted During the War for the Union* (New York: Pantheon, 1965); and Keith P. Wilson, *Campfires of Freedom: The Camp Life of Black Soldiers During the Civil War* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2002).

¹²⁹ Johnson, et. al., *History in a Horseshoe Curve*, 29.

sack, and a musket sling, and charged him for them.¹³⁰ After the war, the veteran returned to the Manassas area.

By the spring of 1865, Peters was one of about 200,000 African American soldiers serving the Union. Their service was vital. For these soldiers, the hope of citizenship helped propel them. Frederick Douglass promised, "Once let the black man get upon his person the brass letters, 'U.S.,' let him get an eagle on his buttons and a musket on his shoulder and bullets in his pockets, and there is no power on earth which can deny that he has earned the right to citizenship in the United States."¹³¹ During the 1864 election campaign, Lincoln acknowledged that if the Union abandoned emancipation and black soldiers, "we would be compelled to abandon the war in three weeks."¹³²

Despite a performance by African American regiments that exceeded expectations, black soldiers still confronted racism and were consigned to second-class status. Union officials kept them in segregated regiments and used them mostly for menial labor or guarding supply lines in occupied territory. They were denied commissions and paid less than white soldiers (until June 1864, when black soldier protests finally prompted Congress to equalize pay). Some also faced the scorn of white soldiers. The Superintendent of the Organization of Kentucky Black Troops described one encounter:

On the march the Colored Soldiers as well as their white Officers were made the subject of much ridicule and many insulting remarks by the White Troops and in some instances petty outrages such as the pulling off the Caps of Colored Soldiers, stealing their horses etc was practiced by the White Soldiers. These insults as well as the jeers and taunts that they would not fight were borne by the Colored Soldiers patiently or punished with dignity by their Officers but in no instance did I hear Colored soldiers make any reply to insulting language used toward [them] by the White Troops.¹³³

Black soldiers, knowing what was at stake, fought on.

The Railroad and Military Strategy

The iron horse became a military weapon of great consequence in the Civil War, helping to define the characteristics of the first modern unlimited war. Railroads

¹³⁰ Information compiled from oral history accounts from Montgomery Peters, James's son, service records at the National Archives and presented in a one-page synopsis, in the "James Peters House" file, MANA.

¹³¹ Douglass, "Negroes and the National War Effort: An Address Delivered in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on 6 July 1863," printed in *Frederick Douglass Papers*, 3: 596.

¹³² "Interview with Alexander W. Randall and Joseph T. Mills, August 19, 1864," in *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 506-07.

¹³³ "Superintendent of the Organization of Kentucky Black Troops to the Adjutant General of the Army," in Berlin, *Freedom: The Black Military Experience*, 557.

moved men, supplies, ammunition, and government officials from state to state and region to region, and helped determine the course of the war in many ways. At the beginning, railroad man General George McClellan recognized that "the construction of railroads has introduced a new and very important element into war, by the great facilities thus given for concentrating at particular positions large masses of troops from remote sections and by creating new strategic points and lines of operation."¹³⁴ This was true for North and South, though Confederate railroads lacked an efficient rail system to connect regions and transport men, provisions, and equipment easily. In most every comparable way, they lagged behind the North. They had less capital investment, fewer miles of track, fewer freight and passenger cars, and fewer locomotives.¹³⁵

Despite these challenges, southern railroads dramatically influenced the events of the Civil War and the Manassas area was one of the first to demonstrate this. Had the Manassas Gap Railroad not carried reinforcements from General Johnston's Army of the Shenandoah to aid Beauregard's forces, the outcome most likely would have been far different. To be sure, the Manassas Gap line was "inadequate and imperfect," failing to deliver all of Johnston's men in time. Nevertheless, it brought enough. Other trains from Richmond and Lynchburg failed to do as well.¹³⁶ For President Marshall and other officials of the Manassas Gap, the performance of their railroad must have been a glorious moment. But it was short lived. It was followed by four years of frustration and devastation. After First Manassas, the railroad ran trains for a couple of weeks, but the track soon fell into military hands.

As both armies battled for control of northern Virginia, they used the railroad for transport. They also made sure they wrecked lines just before they lost territory to the enemy and took whatever rail and rolling stock they could to employ in other areas. Not only did the armies use existing rail lines, they also built their own. The first military railroad was laid between Manassas Junction and Centreville. During the winter of 1861, while Confederate troops wintered at Centreville, the army moved food and clothing to the men by rail to Manassas Junction, then by mule and wagon. The approximate six-mile trek over muddy roads

¹³⁴ Black, *Railroads of the Confederacy*, 77; Thomas Weber, *The Northern Railroads in the Civil War, 1861-1865* (New York: Columbia University, 1952), 129. McClellan had been an Illinois Central Railroad executive before the war, making an annual salary of \$10,000, see Stephen W. Sears, *George McClellan, The Young Napoleon* (New York: Ticknor and Fields, 1988), and Warren W. Hasler, *General George B. McClellan: Shield of the Union* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959); and Edward Hagerman, ed. *The American Civil War and the Origins of Modern Warfare: Ideas, Organization, and Field Command* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988).

¹³⁵ For a comparison of railroads in the South and North, see John F. Stover, *The Railroads of the South, 1865-1900: A Study in Finance and Control* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), xiii-13.

¹³⁶ A combination of slow communications and railroad sluggishness led to a less-than-satisfactory delivery of troops to Manassas from Richmond. When the North appeared to be winning, Major Rhett telegraphed Richmond to rush men, ammunition, and provisions, but no more arrived that day, Black, *Railroads of the Confederacy*, 60-63.

made the navigation almost impossible. The animals ate almost as much as they could haul. To expedite the transport, the Confederacy hired three hundred men to build the railroad. Some of the railroad laborers were probably slaves. Newspaper accounts reported that "Negro laborers" working on the roads and fortifications serenaded Beauregard at Centreville. Most of the rails came from the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad line. Earlier that summer Stonewall Jackson had confiscated engines, freight cars, miles of track, machinery, and a turntable. (Much of what he could not take, he torched.) Though completed, the short rail line only operated for a few weeks in February and March 1862. On March 9, 1862, the Confederates abandoned Centreville and Manassas and burned any provisions that could not be moved. They destroyed the railroad bridge over Bull Run above Mitchell's Ford and the Union army, upon occupying the area, dismantled the rails and returned them to the B & O.¹³⁷ (Fig. 6)

During Second Manassas, the railroads — or at least the embankments of the unfinished railroad — proved significant again. Using the unfinished railroad grade as a defensive position helped the Confederates defeat Federal troops. Both Lee and "Stonewall" Jackson noted the line's significance.¹³⁸

When the war began, military action, traffic, and priorities changed the course of every railroad and severely impacted all train operations. Most regular train schedules ceased and construction projects suspended. Initially, most southern railroads enjoyed a measure of prosperity, but inflation, abuse of rail lines and cars, and a shortage of materials took their toll. As the war dragged on, railroads faced further financial difficulties, defaults on loans, cutbacks, labor shortages, and continued military destruction.¹³⁹

The Confederacy tried to aid railroads, though most actions were frustrated or inadequate. For example, to ease the labor shortfalls, the government granted railroad workers immunity from war service, when, in April of 1862, it passed the Conscription Act. Many officials ignored the deferment, however, and drafted railroad employees anyway. By the end of 1862, railroads looked to African Americans for more help. One superintendent complained, "If the necessary number of railroad hands cannot be detailed, our only resource will be to employ negroes to keep up the track and do much of the mechanical work." The legislature responded to these needs at least for the Virginia Central Railroad. In October of 1863, the legislature authorized the governor to impress slaves for use on the Virginia Central. While offering some assistance to railroads, the government

¹³⁷ For slaves building the railroad and serenading Beauregard, see *The Daily Richmond Examiner*, November 30, 1861; *New Orleans Crescent*, December 24, 1861; and *Richmond Dispatch*, January 10, 1862. For information on the Centreville Military railroad, see Johnston, *Railroads in the Civil War*, 23-25, 35-36, and Philip Kovologos and Ben Nguyen, "Centreville Military Railroad," *Historical Society of Fairfax County, Virginia* 19 (1983): 13-24.

¹³⁸ "Unfinished Railroad," *Ties: Southern Railway System Magazine* (July 1954): 7.

¹³⁹ Stover, *Railroads of the South*, 15.

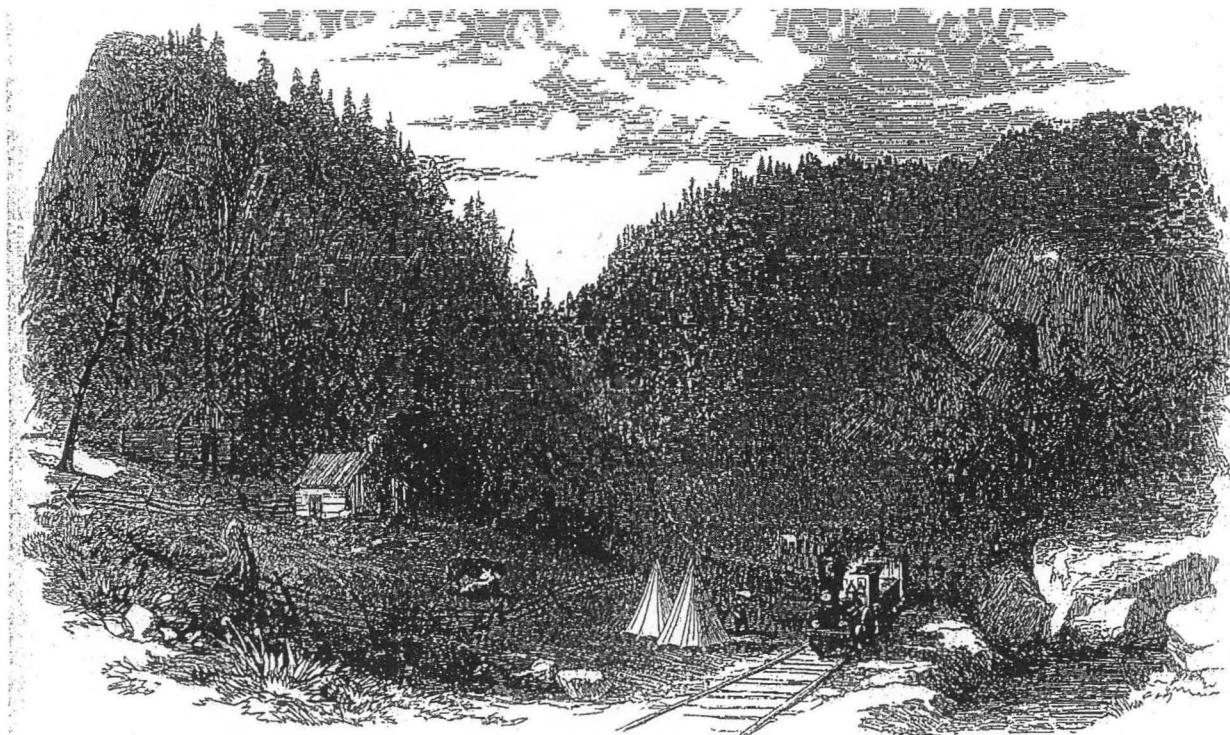


Fig. 6. A wartime sketch of the Manassas Gap Railroad passing through Thoroughfare Gap near Strasburg, Va. From *Frank Leslie's Illustrated*.

also called on them to help fund the longer-than-expected war. In 1863, Jefferson Davis signed into law an income tax on corporations and individuals.¹⁴⁰

Conflict between Neighbors and between the Military and Civilians

Civilians and soldiers frequently met before, during, and after battle. Sometimes these encounters established positive relations, sometimes negative. Frequently, the nature of the relationship depended on civilian loyalties and the soldiers' allegiance. Being on the same side, however, never guaranteed a cessation of hostilities. Certainly many black people looked positively upon Union forces, but at times these relations, too, were strained. It was Union soldiers who had destroyed much of Robinson's property, not Confederates, and it was Union men who forced Robinson to serve as their guide. Indeed, frequently civilian and soldier relations were laced with tension. Soldier encampments disrupted normal civilian life. Occupying forces restricted the liberty of residents and kept all on guard. Soldiers scrutinized and constricted civilian movement and actions. Many residents testified that they had to get a pass to go to Washington. Before he left the area, George Trimmer complained that he had to get a pass just to go to Manassas, only a couple of miles from his home.¹⁴¹ The Union army also required those who professed to be loyal to the United States government to sign an oath of allegiance.

Military action, the devastation of farmland, disruptions to family life, and the cessation of much economic activity, in addition to the sense of being distrusted and unwanted, forced many more northerners to flee this part of Virginia. Union sympathizers faced enmity from neighbors, soldiers, and military conscription officers. John Cross, whose farm was close to Groveton, declared that his neighbors, John Dogan and Margaret Ann Benson, threatened to send him "beyond the Union lines" and told him he "would not be allowed to stay about there when the war was over." He also testified of other troubles. Once, he said, "I was taken by the black horse cavalry directly after the 1st Battle of Manassas and carried before the Rebel Gen. Jacson [sic]." Jackson wanted to know whether Cross had shown Union soldiers "the fords of Bull Run, and where I was on that day. I was released by showing that I was at home and I took no oath of any kind on being released." But these events did not stop Cross from concealing his youngest son from the Confederates or from taking passes from the Union army to travel to Washington. In 1862, he took the oath of allegiance to the United States.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ O&A President Barbour lobbied and won more time for repayment of loan interests. Manassas Gap moved some engines, cars, and machinery to North Carolina, but eventually lost most of it to other companies. See Black, *The Railroads of the Confederacy*, 102-103, 129-32. For the impressment of slaves for Virginia Central, see Turner, "The Virginia Central Railroad at War," 513-14.

¹⁴¹ George Trimmer Southern Claims file.

¹⁴² Cross Southern Claims file.

Centreville residents complained repeatedly about the constant upheaval in the letters they wrote during the four-year period. They lamented the destruction, robbery, uncertainty, fear, and dissension among neighbors and between civilians and soldiers. As the area shifted back and forth between Confederate and Union control, different people came under suspicion and watch, and these Centreville sources contended that everyone experienced turmoil. Searches; seizure of property and homes; forced conscription of sons; the capture of slaves; the need to obtain passes to travel; the difficulty of tending cattle (if a farmer was lucky enough not to have his livestock stolen or butchered to feed troops); the impossibility of harvesting crops; trampled fields; and downed fences — all of these made life anything but ordinary for the community.

Indeed, all was irregular, including the mail. The North and the South each had their own postal services, and, just as troop movements shifted in northern Virginia, so did post office loyalties. Postmasters, like Centreville postmaster William Forsyth who took over service in 1859, found their lives disrupted and closely related to troop movements and battles. Some postmasters, following the antebellum precedent of censoring anti-slavery literature, closely watched what mail passed through their offices and forbade the transfer of some. Northern papers such as the *New York Tribune* stalled at post offices and subscribers faced threats from rebel sympathizers.¹⁴³

Northern transplants especially drew the wrath of Confederate soldiers. Abraham Van Pelt faced repeated threats against his life. Harm may have come to him, had it not been for his neighbor Crawford Cushing, who professed to be against secession, but voted for it anyway after concluding that it was inevitable. Cushing said that “twice I protected him from violence from southern soldiers” who threatened him because he was a Union man.¹⁴⁴ Elizabeth Van Pelt explained that though no physical harm ever did come to her father, and though Cushing came to defend them, others did not: “Our property was taken from us because we were Union people. Our neighbors reported us. The rebel officers told my father that the soldiers robbed us because it was reported we were abolitionists and that the soldiers were sent there to encamp on our place to watch us to keep us from harboring spies.” She continued, “I never was threatened myself by the rebel soldiers but my father has been. They threatened to hang him.” In the end, she said, “My father left his home to keep from being arrested by the rebels. They came there once to arrest him and he secreted himself and kept out of their way. I think my father left that very evening to go north.” Elizabeth never left, but her parents returned to Princeton, New Jersey, for the duration of the war.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ Lisbeth, “Letters Postmarked Fairfax County 1861-62,” 34-64; and Robert L. Lisbeth “The Postal History of Fairfax County During the Civil War,” *Historical Society of Fairfax, Virginia Yearbook* 19 (1983): 27-33.

¹⁴⁴ Deposition of Crawford Cushing, Abraham Van Pelt Southern Claims file.

¹⁴⁵ Elizabeth VanPelt, Abraham Van Pelt Southern Claims file.

George Trimmer also decided not to take any more chances and also returned to his native New Jersey. Trimmer and Van Pelt were more fortunate than others. Michael Roseberry and William Avery endured threats and jail. Roseberry, who called himself "an unconditional union man," was held a prisoner in Richmond. He explained that he was "imprisoned eleven months in Castle Thunder. I got taken out on a writ of habeas corpus, by Cannon and Hall. I was tried before Judge Paxter in the first place. He told me if I would take an oath to the Confederacy I might come home. I was a little hasty, I spoke words to him that I ought not to, and him and me got into a spat, and he called me a cut throat, and I called him everything too. I did not take the oath." William Avery was threatened with hanging and jailed to prevent him from giving information to the Union forces. He fled for Washington in 1862. After the war, Avery returned to be postmaster of Independent Hill.¹⁴⁶

Union loyalists were not the only Prince William men to go to prison. After a skirmish between Mosby's men and Union forces, Dr. Jesse Ewell was taken prisoner for six weeks. First the Union army took him to a camp in Aldie, then to a jail in Alexandria, then to the Old Capitol Prison in Washington.¹⁴⁷

Paul Arrington later recounted some of his family's frustrations: "My grandfather, David Thomas Arrington, was a southern sympathizer. The area in 1862 was occupied by Federal troops and in order to get through the northern lines civilians had to pay allegiance to the United States, and they did take the oath of allegiance. My mother's father was in the Confederate army. He was in Mosby's Rangers. He was captured twice and released under exchange of prisoners." In Second Manassas when the troops camped on Signal Hill Farm, his grandfather moved the family about five miles away. Troops "broke into the house a couple of times and stole some things."¹⁴⁸

Many tried to protect their property and secreted possessions from the enemy. Josephine Leachman, when she heard the Yankees were coming by her area, hid two calves in the thickets. Finding them not touched after the troops had passed, she named them for Confederate generals.¹⁴⁹ Though Josephine kept her calves, she, like many others, probably had to submit to soldiers' searches of her home. And she probably gave food and supplies to soldiers who asked. But sometimes civilians resisted favors asked. John Trone of Buckland, a blacksmith and lay preacher at Sudley Methodist Church and the father of John Thornberry's wife, Martha, was adamantly in favor of the southern cause. During the war, he refused to shoe a Federal officer's horse. Indignant at the refusal, the officer shouted, "This horse is going to be shod, by God." The old blacksmith retorted,

¹⁴⁶ See Michael Roseberry's Southern Claims file and Roseberry's testimony and George Round's letter in George Goodwin's Southern Claims file; see also Avery's Southern Claims file.

¹⁴⁷ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 73-79. See George Goodwin's Southern Claims file also.

¹⁴⁸ Mills, *Echoes of Manassas*, 6.

¹⁴⁹ Leachman Carroll, "Folly Castle Folks," 2-3.

sent him to end
States and made
ple from the Cen
ters in Warren
through Warren
commissary de
sas." While the
fall of 1862, Co
wife ran to Fol
the soldiers fo
their rescue by
be disturbed. H
family to Alex

Life for African Americans

Like Whiting,
bondage, and
man," said Al
though I was
slavery and if
therefore for t
for the success
of my means
who farmed c
down on the
guided Union
thing I could t

Some black p
American wo
soldier wash
owned by Joh
War because
them to the se

United
ed peo
ir mas
passing
k in the
Manas
ing the
and his
dismay,
came to
e not to
ook his

to escape
a Union
believed
old into
. I went
l prayed
ie extent
ack men
d, "hard
aps and
do any-

African
aking in
Howard,
ring the
peddled

120
Missing

page 120, 121 missing

¹⁵³ Mary Foley Se

¹⁵⁴ Alfred Murph

¹⁵⁵ Joseph, Richa

¹⁵⁶ For African A

frican American

History and Cult

¹⁵⁷ John Howard

half miles from

named Hutchins

1862, the Union

and nephew (H)

wl, "Af-
rginian

nd-one-
man
fries. In
is niece
d home,

Sometimes African Americans helped, but stopped if in fear for their lives. After Second Manassas, Jim Robinson was pressed into service by Union soldiers: "I was taken just before day and carried off with the officers to show them some cross roads so that they could follow Jackson. I went into the field with them where the men were and they kept me till day light, and then they started to go to these crossroads and I followed them until we came in sight of Jackson's pickets, and when we came in sight of those pickets, I said, 'Gentlemen I can't go any further for Jackson's men are in the woods and I am not going to be shot.' But they said Jackson had gone and they were going to follow him."¹⁵⁸

Life for White Women

Families in the area tried to live routinely, but there was little that was routine. "No women, however courageous," announced Eleanor Ewell, "could go through what we had endured without some loss of hope and energy. . . . And it daily grew harder and harder to subsist, to make two very frayed ends meet. "'What shall we eat and drink. What shall we do for clothes?'" To compensate for scarce food supplies, they improvised and drank rye coffee and raspberry-leaf tea. Homespun dresses replaced store-bought and many white women did the spinning by hand. Even their shoes and hats were home-made. At the same time, some still cared for fashion, or at least played with the notion: "'Better be dead than out of the fashion,' was a saying still quoted. . . . Big hoops were still a-la-mode, and some ladies were accused of wearing white-oak splits, greenbrier and barrel-hoops, in a vain effort to keep up to the required size." Eleanor denied that any in her family did this, but she did admit that "we labored in other directions, helped by the faithful slaves, who carded wool, and so forth. The weaving was done by a skillful neighbor. Things long laid aside had to be brought out and used. Now and then a small bundle of dry goods would be smuggled through the lines."¹⁵⁹ Other signs of scarcity could be seen in stationery supplies. Individuals and companies created "adversity" stationery, tickets and envelopes out of older paper. They tore off wallpaper and used old lined paper, folded this into an envelope or a ticket or used to write on.

Women's skills and responsibilities increased throughout the war years. They assumed new jobs and increased their activities in the community. Some in the Manassas area, as in other areas, took on new chores, learned management skills, put their hand to the plow and tended fields. With her husband and sons away most of the time "helping the Cause," Ellen Ewell learned how to run Dunblane plantation and, at the same time, handle the constant upheaval of war. After First Manassas, she opened her home to "refugees from the plague-stricken neighborhood of Bull Run." In one case, her cousins, the Reverend Compton's widow and

cared for his master, and farmed what he could during the war, though he said that "as fast as I could get anything the army would take it." John Howard Claim, Southern Claims Commission, Hearing on 11 October 1873 before the Special Commissioner of the Commissions of Claim.

¹⁵⁸ Robinson's Southern Claims file.

¹⁵⁹ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 79.

daughters, escaped their farm near the battlefield and settled at Dunblane. The Compton house had been taken for a hospital and camp fever ran rampant. Unfortunately, they brought the fever with them. Though Ellen, Eleanor, and Alice Maude Ewell's mother, Alice Tyler Ewell, cared for the sick Compton daughters, two died and the fever spread to the slaves. The women extended themselves to soldiers passing by on the Old Carolina Road as well. They sang and visited with their Confederate friends, but they also offered help to enemy soldiers looking for food or in need of medical care.

In addition to tending the farm and caring for family and strangers, the Ewell women and children frequently lived in fear. During humiliating Federal searches, they endured "cocked pistols full in [their] faces" and watched as Union troops stole their food, wood, carts, and animals. The Union Army was not their only concern, either. They also felt the "haunting dread of slave insurrection." Though they believed that their "slaves were devoted to the family, and behaved well," they could not be sure and they surmised that "there were sinister influences at work, and now and then there were signs of mutiny."¹⁶⁰ Ellen, as Alice understood it, would quell the slaves through her "courage and good influence," for after all, her "slaves, or rather her servants as she ever called them, were really devoted to her." Devoted or not, Alice and her grandmother found out that for their "devoted" servants "[f]reedom is sweet, and when it came they gradually left her. There followed long years of struggle and privation, under totally new conditions."¹⁶¹

Elizabeth Van Pelt never had to worry about a slave insurrection on her property. She had no slaves. Nevertheless, she, too, faced added burdens during the war and took on many additional tasks. When her parents departed for Princeton, New Jersey, and her brother for the Union Army, Elizabeth was left to care for "Avon" by herself. Though her sister still resided in Virginia, she and her husband, a Confederate man, lived in Chesterfield County. Elizabeth apparently handled her affairs without much difficulty. She obtained passes and went to Washington for supplies. And with some help — John Burke, at least, was on the farm helping at the time of Second Manassas — she cared for the horses and tended the crops. She also obliged the Confederate soldiers who knocked on her door for food and camped in her yard. During the battle in August 1862, she had no choice but to turn her entire house over to Federal surgeons and witness the brutal effects of war in a very personal way. Over two hundred wounded occupied her house, yard, and outbuildings.

While her home was a hospital, Elizabeth moved to a vacant tenement on a nearby farm. There she cooked for the soldiers and carried the food back to Avon. After they left, she faced overwhelming damages. Surgeons had helped themselves to dozens of skirts, eighteen shirts, linen, muslin, and quilts. She said,

¹⁶⁰ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 48, 58, 72-73, 82.

¹⁶¹ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 48, 96.

"The carpets of these rooms and of the hall and stairs were so saturated with blood that they were destroyed." Feather beds were damaged, mattresses and straw beds were carried away. The soldiers also took forty pounds of sugar, fifteen pounds of coffee, and five gallons of wine. They took her father's and brother's suits, all their garden vegetables, water buckets, milk buckets, tin pans, and either damaged or removed the furniture. This was not the first time nor the last that she confronted such loss. From 1861 to 1864, the Van Pelts figured they lost horses, nails, garden produce, corn, timber, ox, poultry, hogs, bacon, corn, and household material and furnishings. They recorded damages of \$2,866.¹⁶²

In addition to cooking for the wounded, Elizabeth may have aided the surgeons at the "Avon" hospital. Many women after First and Second Manassas had assumed this responsibility: Lucinda Dogan, Margaret Ann Benson, and the women of St. Paul's and Sudley churches. All of these women numbered among the many who experienced their homes as battle zones. As they did so, they not only learned more about how to care for the wounded, they contributed to the rise of a new occupation for women: nursing. Clara Barton, who later formed the American Red Cross, epitomized the nurse on the battlefield and promoted the role for women.¹⁶³

Confederate Defeat and Surrender

Toward the end of the war, all the fervor, jubilee, excitement, and hope that marked the beginning had disappeared entirely. When soldiers first marched past the Ewell home on the Carolina Road, the women waved and smiled and the soldiers carried themselves with pride. By 1864, Eleanor Ewell expressed the obvious: "the war had now grown to be a weary and bitter thing. . . . great battles became more deadly and slaughterous." One day the Ewells heard that a large body of troops were to pass along the Carolina road, as a band of South Carolina troops had done several years earlier. This time, however, the troops slouched along. "[H]ere were no gay salutes to the ladies, no songs or cheers. These men were grim and war-worn veterans. They passed in silence."¹⁶⁴ In the vain hopes of encouraging another group of tired men in gray, Alice Maude Ewell's mother perched her three-year-old daughter on a gatepost and told her to sing "Bonnie Blue Flag." This time, even an innocent three-year-old's song offered little encouragement.¹⁶⁵

Manassas area residents joined in the war effort, serving in both the Confederate and Union forces. During the course of the war, twenty-six major battles and over four hundred smaller engagements were fought on Virginia soil. By the be-

¹⁶² Van Pelt Southern Claims file.

¹⁶³ Joan I. Roberts and Thetis M. Group, *Feminism and Nursing: An Historical Perspective on Power, Status, and Political Activism in the Nursing Profession* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1995), 106-110.

¹⁶⁴ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 81-82.

¹⁶⁵ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 87.

ginning of 1864, over 153,000 Virginians served in the state's military. And in the final tally, between twenty and thirty thousand white males who were eighteen to forty-five years old (about twenty percent of that age group in Virginia) died in the war.¹⁶⁶ The state contributed to the Union side as well. Approximately 880 white Virginians and 5,723 black Virginians enlisted in the U.S. Army for a total of 6,603.¹⁶⁷ Civilians aided both sides as well, contributing food, shelter, and provisions, offering information, and acting as guides. Sometimes their support came willingly, at other times by force.

Wilmer McLean thought that he had escaped the war by moving to Appomattox Court House, but instead he found himself, as he had at the beginning of First Manassas, in the heart of it. On April 9, 1865, Lee surrendered to Grant in McLean's parlor. A friend of McLean's met him at the small Virginia town not long after and reported: "I had not seen or heard of McLean for years, when, the day after the surrender, I met him at Appomattox Court House, and asked him with some surprise what he was doing there. He replied, with much indignation, 'What are you doing here? These armies tore my place on Bull Run all to pieces, and kept running over it backward and forward till no man could live there, so I just sold out and came here, two hundred miles away, hoping I should never see a soldier again. And now, just look around you. Not a fence rail is left on the place, the last guns trampled down all my crops, and Lee surrenders to Grant in my house.' McLean was so indignant that I felt bound to apologize for our coming back, and to throw all the blame for it upon the gentlemen on the other side."¹⁶⁸ Around 1867, McLean returned to Alexandria and became a customs collector at the port.

Though by the end of the war, it was clear Confederate defeat was imminent, many white Manassas area residents found it unbelievable. Eleanor Ewell remembered: "[W]e heard at last of Lee's surrender with distress and incredulity. It seemed too bad to be true. A neighbor and friend staying with us at the time was first skeptical and then indignant."¹⁶⁹ But for African Americans, the reaction was opposite. To them, the Civil War and its conclusion were reason for great celebration and hope.

¹⁶⁶ James L. Robertson Jr., *Civil War Virginia: Battleground for a Nation* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 15, 175; and John G. Selby, *Virginians at War: The Civil War Experiences of Seven Young Confederates* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources Books, 2002), xxi.

¹⁶⁷ R. Thomas Crew, Jr., "Using Virginia Civil War Records" (Research Notes Number 14), ONLINE, February 2001, Library of Virginia, Richmond, available: http://www.lva.lib.va.us/whatwehave/mil/rn14_usingcivwar.htm, accessed May 19, 2003. For Union numbers, see Frank W. Klingberg, *The Southern Claims Commission* (New York: Octagon Books, 1978), 43.

¹⁶⁸ E.P. Alexander, "Lee at Appomattox," *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 63 (1902), 931. Copy in the "Wilmer McLean" file at MANA

¹⁶⁹ A footnote from Alice Maude Ewell states that this was probably Elizabeth Eddins, an ardent "Secesh," *A Virginia Scene*, 83.

Chapter IV: After the War: Death, Rebirth, and the Struggle for a New Order

Reconstruction significantly altered life in the South. White aristocrats lost power and prosperity. Local governments fell into new hands, delegates rewrote state constitutions, black men obtained the vote, public schools opened for the first time, and new labor patterns replaced chattel slavery. In Manassas, the Carters, Dogans, Ewells, Robinsons, Leachmans, Van Pelts, and their neighbors encountered — and to varying degrees rejoiced or lamented — each of these fundamental shifts.

Former slaveholders resisted the change. As a descendant of an old aristocratic family, Ellen Ewell found life after the war difficult. She had long believed that she was born to rule. And for years she did so at "Dunblane." The years just before the Civil War, she recalled, were her happiest. Her husband's medical practice prospered, slaves catered to the family's needs, and she was content to read novels and teach Sunday School classes. She felt assured, too, that her slaves were, if not happy, then, at least, "satisfied." "Everything," she presumed, "was done to make them so." Her granddaughter understood this to be the case, too. Alice Maude Ewell believed that her grandmother had the "power of making those she ruled love her" through her "gifts of insight and sympathy. . . . They respected and feared 'ole Marse,' but were devoted to 'Miss Ellen.'" ¹ For Ellen Ewell, then, the Civil War and the South's surrender caused calamity. "Four years of anxiety, of harrowing suspense, loss and grief," wrought by the Civil War, devastated Ellen. As "one of devoted thousands in the beleaguered South," who experienced sorrow and defeat, little of her earlier enthusiasms for life remained. Little of her world remained the same, either: One of her sons had died, the money her husband had placed in Confederate bonds was gone, many household possessions had been carted off by marauding soldiers, and her devoted slaves had fled. ²

Ellen's experience resembled that of other former Virginia slaveholders, and they too mourned their loss. Some could hardly imagine life without slavery. One month after the war ended, Sarah Strickler Fife of Albemarle County balked at giving up "our best beloved institution." "I truly believe," she explained, "that

¹ Alice Maude Ewell, *A Virginia Scene, or Life in Old Prince William* (Lynchburg, Va.: J.P. Bell Co., 1931), 47.

² Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 47-48, 90.

African slavery is right. I love it & all the South loves it. It suits us, & I do not see how we can do without it."³

While former masters grieved, former slaves rejoiced. Indeed, Virginia's ex-slaves made a public display of their jubilation in April 1865 when President Lincoln visited the just-captured Richmond. They flocked to him in celebration. Now, instead of laboring for the benefit of another, they relished the thought of raising their own crops, building their own houses, milking their own cows, and traveling wherever and whenever they pleased.

The newly freed men and women who formerly belonged to the Carters, Chinns, Comptons, Cushings, Dogans, Ewells, Leachmans, Lewises, and others in the Manassas shared the sentiments of former slaves across the south. Ex-slaves Jennie Dean and her parents, Charles and Annie, celebrated their emancipation. As slaves of the Newman and Cushing families, they had never enjoyed independence. Now, instead of being split between owners as Charles and Annie had been, they could live together as a family and enjoy the fruit of their labor. The Naylor family, former slaves of William Weir, hoped for the same, and on land acquired from the man they once called "master," they made their home.⁴ Now the name "Liberia" more accurately fit their circumstance.

Amidst this mix of jubilation and grief, the Manassas area struggled to restore agricultural productivity and commercial and railroad development. As it did so, it attracted some of the same problems, tensions and animosities that accompanied Reconstruction across the south. Like other regions, competing factions struggled for power. Former slaveholders worked to reposition themselves politically and economically. White middling and tenant farmers, hoping for a more democratic playing field, vied for positions of power. African Americans positioned themselves to gain land, create stable institutions, and move forward economically and politically. And northerners, hoping to create a more democratic South and capitalize on new enterprises and development, moved to the area and lobbied for positions of power. Given this mix of agendas, dissension accompanied the rebuilding process. Yet, despite the disagreements and frustrations, the town of Manassas emerged as a thriving economic and political hub.

³ William Blair, *Virginia's Private War: Feeding Body and Soul in the Confederacy, 1861-1865* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 135.

⁴ For Jennie Dean's life and parents, see Commodore Nathaniel Bennett, *View of the Mountain: Jennie Dean of Virginia* (Manassas: no publisher given, c. 1967); Stephen Johnson Lewis, *Undaunted Faith: The Life Story of Jennie Dean, Missionary, Teacher, Crusader, Builder, Founder of the Manassas Industrial School* (1942; rpt., Manassas, Va.: Manassas Museum, 1994); Rita G. Koman, "Two Tales of Southern Success: Diversity Helps Chart a Community," *OAH Magazine of History* 16 (Winter 2002): 40-47; and Geraldine Lee Susi, *For My People: The Jennie Dean Story* (Manassas, Va.: Manassas Museum, 2003). For the Naylor family, see Charlotte Cain, "The Descendants of Samuel and Nellie Naylor, an African American Family of Prince William County," *Prince William Reliquary* 1 (October 2002): 73-80, and Weir Southern Claims file, Records of the Treasury, Southern Claims Commission, 1871-80, Record Group 217, National Archives, College Park, Md. [hereafter all Southern Claims files cited as "Southern Claims" file with the name of the filer].

A Landscape of Human Suffering and Environmental and Economic Ruin

While emancipation looked sweet to freedmen and freedwomen, making it work in the challenging post-war world was far from easy. First and Second Manassas, occupation, and troop movements had wrecked havoc on families, the environment, agricultural enterprises, businesses, and social understandings. Soldiers and wagons had trampled fields and crops. Musket and cannon fire had destroyed buildings, trees, and shrubbery. Warring soldiers had ravaged workshops, plundered storehouses, and emptied woodlots. They had dismantled and burned houses, churches, stores, and taverns. Their actions depleted and destroyed the lifelong efforts of farmers and merchants and left them and freed African Americans scrambling for sustenance. Everywhere the Charles and Annie Dean family and their neighbors looked was a landscape of environmental and economic ruin.

More significant than the loss of homes and farms, prized possessions and tools, was the human suffering. All had endured four long years of hostility, unrest, gunfire, uncertainty, and dread. People lost loved ones and experienced lifelong psychological trauma. Some, including Albert Ewell, numbered among the 260,000 Confederate soldiers who paid the ultimate price. He died in the Battle of Williamsburg. Albert and other men, young and old, left grieving parents, spouses, children, and friends.

For those who survived the horrendous battles and the terrors of war, returning home brought additional trials, and more than a few found adjustment difficult. Some never fully recovered. One of these was Edwin Carter of Pittsylvania. Exhausted and partially disabled by military service, he returned to the burned ruins of his once stately family residence. Devastated by the loss, he found resuming regular responsibilities challenging. Relatives reported that he was very "inert" after the war, lacked "initiative," and was "unable to make much headway towards a livelihood." He never did have the manor rebuilt. Instead he lived with his sisters in a log cabin nearby.⁵

Edwin's cousin, Ellen Henry, also had trouble recovering from the war. Since First Manassas when she and her family came under fire and her mother died, she seemed to lose her spirit. Hugh Henry declared that his sister was "ruined by the ravages of the war." Others concurred. Alice Maude Ewell commented, "Miss Ellen was left deafened for life, and folk said 'a little queer.' No wonder!"⁶

Hugh Henry, too, struggled to adjust to the loss that his family sustained, explaining: "The small farm which my sister lives upon, the only support for herself and orphan children of her brother, who has died since the war, was the fo-

⁵ Edwin Corson, "Our Trip May 1929," in E.F. Corson papers, "Rosefield and Pittsylvania" File, Manassas National Battlefield Park Library (henceforth "MANA").

⁶ "Henry House" file at MANA; and Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 165.

cus of two great battles, and consequently, at the close of the war, had not the vestige of a house or a panel of fencing upon it. Since the war I have been able to build a small frame house on the spot where my mother lost her life, but during the war, and for four years after its close, my mother's family had no shelter they could call their own."⁷ Others faced similar trials. Though Frank Lewis fared better than Henry, he, too, confronted calamity. Portici was a charred ruin and the grounds devastated. Lewis rebuilt a wooden farm house to replace the Georgian mansion, but the plantation never regained its prewar stature. By 1896, the family had sold about four hundred acres, reducing by about half the 769 acres Lewis held in 1859.⁸

Empty homes and fallow fields around the Carter, Henry, and Lewis properties testified to the war's effects. After experiencing a growth in population during the 1850s, Prince William's population sank by over 1,000 during the 1860s. In 1870, only 7,504 lived in the county. War fatalities and fleeing white families during the war accounted for some of the loss, but white men and women also continued to leave after the conflict ceased. As Alice Maude Ewell recalled, some of the boys she knew "stuck to" it and made it. Others pushed westward. The "most active, ambitious, adventurous" left, she said, for "Colorado, to Montana, and Oregon. They went to the mines, the fruit-farms, the sheep ranches.... The West was what drew them." And, she noted, most did not take the women with them. Instead, women who did not marry sought their own professions: "Some of us went to Washington and obtained U.S. Government Office. Some went to Baltimore and became Johns Hopkins' trained nurses. Some got, by hook and crook, enough education to teach in the new and increasingly numerous public schools." And a very few, including Alice, became writers and published stories between the household chores.⁹

African Americans also contributed to the population attrition. Many had already fled during the war for Freedmen's Villages in Fairfax County and Alexandria. After the war, many more left in search of work and family. Popular destinations included Alexandria, Baltimore, Richmond, and Washington. By 1870, black people comprised 24 percent of the total population, a significant decrease from a decade earlier when they totaled 34 percent.

All told, the Civil War inflicted a heavy price tag on northern Virginia. And it was only one of many places to experience devastation. Of course, battlefields fared the worst, but all southerners felt the war's impact. In all of Virginia, the

⁷ After John Henry died about 1870, Hugh adopted and raised his brother's children: Hugh, Arthur and Ada. H.F. Henry Letter to *New York Herald* (January 6, 1874), copy in the "Henry House" file at MANA.

⁸ Kathleen A. Parker and Jacqueline L. Hernigle, *Portici: Portrait of a Middling Plantation in Piedmont Virginia*, Occasional Report #3, National Capital Region, National Park Service (Washington : U.S. Department of the Interior, 1990), 20, 25-28.

⁹ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 104, 107.

estimated loss totaled \$457 million.¹⁰ But that was only a fraction of what the contest had cost the nation. Now, in the war's aftermath, the country wrestled with how to mend the wounds.

To meet the initial needs of those suffering and help appease competing factions, the United States government acted even before the war's completion. In March 1865, Congress created the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. Popularly called the Freedmen's Bureau, the agency worked to feed and clothe destitute blacks and whites, rent confiscated land to loyal white refugees and freedmen, and arbitrate labor contracts between freedmen and planters. In conjunction with northern philanthropists and missionaries, the Bureau also helped establish schools for former slaves.¹¹

As important as this relief was, it was not enough. Restoring political and social order and reviving economic livelihood demanded political and, ultimately, military action, for the road to a reconstructed South became a contest of wills and not a little violence.

Reconstruction at the National Level

With Lee's surrender at Appomattox on April 9, 1865, and the end of the Confederacy, several things had been resolved. Slavery would be no more; the nation held supremacy over the state, and North and South would be reunited. But little else was defined. Just what re-union meant to black and white people, northerners and southerners became a matter of great dispute. How it would be accomplished was another point of contention. Some, such as Presidents Lincoln and Johnson, hoped for amnesty and basic reintegration. They argued that the southern states had never left the nation legally; therefore, they proposed a simple process of restoring state governments through presidential direction.¹²

Freed men and women, abolitionists, and Republicans in Congress disagreed. Instead, they advocated a radical reconstruction of the South. To their minds, secessionists had severed their ties with the United States and now could only be considered as conquered provinces with territorial status. Importantly, they argued that these territories fell within congressional rule and not executive power. Furthermore, radical Reconstructionists, such as Representative Thaddeus Stevens and Senator Charles Sumner, fought for revolutionary change. They demanded a new order in the South that would ensure political and economic

¹⁰ The war caused Virginians an estimated \$457 million in losses, including slaves. Blair, *Virginia's Private War*, 136.

¹¹ George R. Bentley, *A History of the Freedmen's Bureau* (New York: Octagon Books, 1974).

¹² For general works on Reconstruction, see John Hope Franklin, *Reconstruction After the Civil War*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988); Foner, *America's Reconstruction: People and Politics after the Civil War* (New York: Harper/Perennial, 1995); James M. McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1993); and Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (New York: Knopf, 1965).

equality for former slaves. Preventing former planters from resurrecting their former power topped their list of priorities.

Taking exception to this plan were, not surprisingly, the very planters who wanted just what the Radicals aimed to withhold: power. These ex-Confederates and their Democratic sympathizers in the North called for *redemption* not *reconstruction* of the South. They contended that southerners should control their own state governments and not be beholden to northern dictates. As long as they accepted defeat and did not take any further hostile actions against the federal government, they reasoned they should be let alone. They certainly did not anticipate or welcome freedpeople voting, holding political office, attending school, competing for jobs, or attaining any sort of social equality.

Each of these groups rallied to achieve its agenda. President Abraham Lincoln first, then Andrew Johnson, moved to bring the South back into the Union through loyalty oaths, acceptance of the Thirteenth Amendment that abolished slavery, and general amnesty grants. Radical Republicans devised a more stringent plan that promised greater political and economic equality for African Americans. They proposed confiscating and redistributing plantations and granting black males the vote. At the same time, southern planters used their leverage to keep their economic footing and regain political power. Some moved to resubjugate their slaves for service. African Americans, on the other hand, began to establish churches and schools and anticipated economic independence and political office.

With Lincoln's assassination on April 14, 1865, plans for a moderate reconstruction lost sway. Distraught northerners became convinced that stronger measures were necessary to reconstruct the South politically and socially. Andrew Johnson, newly seated as president, still tried to implement his own plan of moderation. While Congress was not in session during the summer of 1865, he offered amnesty to all states that revoked their ordinances of secession and ratified the Thirteenth Amendment. He offered a return of property to almost all southerners — slaves excepted — if they took a loyalty oath. By December, all seceding states met his requirements and their governments functioned again. But the disturbing news of ex-Confederate attacks on African Americans and white Union supporters in the South undermined this process of restoration.

Declarations of peace and the Emancipation Proclamation did not eradicate America's racial prejudices, fears, and practices. Beginning shortly after the war, southern legislatures passed laws, called "Black Codes," to restrict the movement and actions of black people. States instituted vagrancy laws and restricted black people from competing for skilled work by demanding licenses. The intent was to keep African Americans harvesting crops, performing domestic chores, and serving in other subservient positions. Black Codes also set curfews, required black agricultural workers to obtain passes from their employers, circumscribed where blacks lived, and regulated political meetings. Those who disobeyed faced fines, jail time, or forced labor in conditions that resembled slavery. If that was

not enough, white people took extralegal action either as individuals or in organized groups such as the Ku Klux Klan.

Border states became some of the worst sites for such violence.¹³ Reports from Freedmen's Bureau agents in Virginia attested to this. In 1865, the Bureau opened an office in Fairfax County and charged Agent George Armes to "care for any destitute freedmen, to see that no black was still held as a slave, to settle matters of contention between whites and blacks, to help blacks secure homes and land either by purchase or rent, and to provide schools for black children."¹⁴ About the same time, the Bureau commanded an agent in Prince William County to do the same. In addition to providing relief, these mediating agents had their hands full as peacemakers.

On January 15, 1866, Prince William Freedmen's Bureau agent Marcus S. Hopkins picked up his pen to write his superior that "vile and cowardly devils" continued to threaten African Americans and provoke difficulties between the races. These whites, he concluded, "glory in the conquest of the 'nigger.' They hold an insane malice against the freedman, from which he must be protected, or he is worse off than when he was a slave." Hopkins felt it his "honor" to write because another "dastardly outrage was committed in this place yesterday" against James Cook, an "old grey-headed man" who had been a slave of the county attorney. A local white man, John Cornwall, grew irate when he found out that the freedman had served in the Union army. When Cook announced that he was "proud of it," Cornwall judged him "impudent," cursed and threatened him, crying "you d---d black yankee son-of-a-b---h I will kill you." Then he fired his pistol and put a hole through Cook's clothes. After that Cornwall beat Cook with his rifle and dragged him to the jail. Cook escaped and immediately brought his case to Hopkins.

But Cook was not the only one who complained to Hopkins. Physician C. H. Lambert, reflecting the anger felt by many whites, followed the freedmen and relayed his own animosity. Lambert told the Freedmen's agent: "Subdued and miserable as we are, we will not allow niggers to come among us and brag about having been in the yankee army. It is as much as we can do to tolerate it in white men." After listening to both, Hopkins lamented that he had "heard many similar, and some more violent remarks on this, and other subjects connected with the freedmen." Worried about possible attacks, he requested a horse and several mounted men to assist him in keeping the peace.¹⁵

¹³ Ira Berlin, et. al., eds., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867, Series II: The Black Military Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), part 5, especially p. 768.

¹⁴ Nan Netherton, Donald Sweig, Janice Artemel, Patricia Hicken, and Patrick Reed, eds., *Fairfax County, Virginia: A History* (Fairfax, Va.: Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, 1992), 380-81.

¹⁵ "Freedmen's Bureau Agent at Brentsville, Virginia, to the Freedmen's Bureau Superintendent of the 10th District of Virginia" in Berlin, *Black Military Experience*, 800-801. For additional information on the Freedmen's Bureau, see Bentley, *A History of the Freedmen's Bureau*.

In the Virginia piedmont, where whites dominated numerically and where blacks enlisted in the Union Army as a solitary act and often while running from slavery, isolated black veterans such as Cook often faced vengeful whites and former masters. Black veterans returning to border states surely faced the most retribution and systematic postwar terror. The white population was deeply embittered and divided, and some turned upon blacks as scapegoats.¹⁶ The fact that Cook had just rented land to farm may have also agitated Cornwall.

Other nearby blacks also experienced trouble and also turned to Freedmen's Bureau agents for help. In August 1865, John Berry complained that Benjamin Triplet of Ashby's Gap in Fauquier County would not release Berry's wife and children to him and that the former master vowed to shoot anyone who came into the yard to take them away. Berry testified at the Freedmen's Bureau that "he went to Triplets, who said he went to the d---d yankees to fight against him — told him that the war was not over yet — that the niggers were not free."¹⁷

In Maryland, Freedmen's Bureau agents reported other abuses. In February 1866, at Charlotte Hall in St. Mary's County, Edward F. O'Brien, related the experience of a former black soldier, Isaac Barbour, who was "beaten by returned rebels and their friends. . . . The man's face presented evidence of hard usage, his nose swollen and his body cut." In addition, O'Brien said that he overheard plans to get rid of black people in the area. Barbour's statement supported this. He said that one of his assailants, Repley Tibbit, "is a returned rebel soldier and makes it his business to injure colored people, more especially colored soldiers, such as me, at all times and places. He is a dangerous man to any community, but more especially in that which he now is, which is guided alone by prejudice to the blacks and the government." Barbour added that he felt the United States government owed him and other former soldiers safekeeping for their service: "I have defended the country in the field and most respectfully request that I be protected at home."¹⁸

Reports of such violence and news of the imposition of Black Codes startled moderate Republicans, spurring them to action. Linking hands with Radical Republicans to protect the civil rights of African Americans, they voted to continue the Freedmen's Bureau and granted the Bureau the authority to hold court to protect the rights of freedmen and freedwomen.

Radical Republicans, bolstered by moderate Republican support and an influx of more Radical Republicans in the 1866 Congressional elections, rushed to implement their agenda. They pushed for federal guarantee of black male suffrage, passed a Civil Rights Bill, and moved to protect African Americans constitutionally. The fourteenth and fifteenth amendments broadened the nation's definition of democracy and constructed the foundations for African American equality.

¹⁶ Berlin, *Black Military Experience*, 768.

¹⁷ Berlin, *Black Military Experience*, 799.

¹⁸ Berlin, *Black Military Experience*, 803-04.

In March of 1867, Congress passed a Reconstruction Bill that treated the South as a conquered land. Under Congressional Reconstruction, the southern states were divided into five military districts. Virginia was part of the First Military District and placed under the command of Major General John M. Schofield. To be re-admitted into the Union, Congress demanded that the South ratify state constitutions guaranteeing black suffrage. Once these constitutions met with congressional approval and after the state approved the Fourteenth Amendment, Congress promised re-admittance into the Union.

Responding to the Reconstruction Act, Schofield registered Virginia's voters and called an election to elect 105 delegates to a constitutional convention. Not all white males participated, however. White leaders of the Confederacy lost their vote, according to the Reconstruction laws, and a number of others felt so distraught by the loss of the war and the imposition of Congressional Reconstruction that they stayed away from the election and refused to be involved in the rebuilding process.¹⁹ It was the opposite for African American males who were enthused about their newly acquired political rights. Thousands registered to vote. One of the names listed on the roster was James Robinson.²⁰

The large number of African American votes determined the election results. Seventy-two radicals and thirty-three conservatives went to the convention. Of the radicals, many were newly transplanted northerners and African Americans. As a result, some native Virginians, horrified with their political representation, referred to the group as the "black and tan" convention and refused to take them seriously. Despite the animosity, Virginia ratified the new constitution, which barred racial distinctions in civil rights and suffrage, mandated a public education system for black and white children, and created a new form of local government. Each county was divided into townships and an elected board of supervisors, one from each township, took over the administrative duties of the old county court system.²¹

Reconstruction Years Around the Manassas Battle Sites: Villages and Business Interests

While national and state representatives debated the parameters of Reconstruction, most people along the Warrenton Turnpike tried to resume normal activi-

¹⁹ In addition to the disenfranchisement clause, the test oath clause in the Reconstruction Act also required any person seeking political office to sign an oath verifying that he had never voluntarily taken up arms against the U.S. or had offered voluntary support to the rebellion. See Brian A. Conley, *Return to Union: Fairfax County's Role in the Adoption of the Virginia Constitution of 1870* (Fairfax, Va.: Fairfax Public Library, 2001), 6-11; and Netherton, *Fairfax County*, 379.

²⁰ While it is not certain that the James Robinson listed on the rolls of Centreville's voting rosters was the same one who lived on the Warrenton Turnpike, it seems likely that it was. Though he was a resident of Prince William County, he lived close to Centreville; he may have taken the liberty to vote there. Others in the region appear to have done so. See Conley, *Return to Union*, 8, 31.

²¹ Netherton, *Fairfax County*, 380. For an annotated edition of the constitution, see Armistead R. Long, *The Constitution of Virginia: An Annotated Edition* (Lynchburg, Va.: J.P. Bell Company, 1901).

ties. In 1865, Centreville residents surely noted when Benjamin Utterback took over as postmaster, and the mail, which had been erratic for four long years, resumed regularity.²² On farms, men put their hands to the plow and women churned butter, made soap, and performed their household chores. For most, life returned to a quiet and calm pace, albeit with many hardships.

For some in this rural area, it was probably too calm, as commercial interests failed to attract much success. Neighborhood businesses retained their community functions as common gathering places, but little else. Many, including the Stone House, bore signs of the war. So did the Stone House owners, according to traveler J. T. Trowbridge. In 1865, the New York novelist stopped at the tavern during his tour of the South. Though it is unclear whether Henry and Jane Matthew or Mary and Gideon Starbuck owned the place when Trowbridge visited, the author, nevertheless, provided a somewhat amusing but desolate picture of life along the turnpike. He wrote that the "outer walls" of the Stone House

show enduring marks of the destructive visits of cannon-shot. The house was formerly a tavern, and the man who kept it was one of those two-faced farmers, Secessionists at heart, but always loyal to the winning side. By working well his political weathercock, he had managed to get his house through the storm, although in a somewhat dismantled condition. The bar-room was as barren as the intellect of the owner. The only thing memorable we obtained there was some most extraordinary cider. This the proprietor was too proud to sell, or else the pretence that it belonged to the 'old nigger' was nearer the truth than my tall friend was willing to admit. At all events, the 'old nigger' brought it in, and received pay for it besides, evidently contrary to his expectations, and to the disappointment of the landlord.²³

Perhaps the cider maker was James Robinson. Regardless, the transactions that Trowbridge described hint at the less-than-ideal relations between black and white that still prevailed in the area.

The empty tavern testified to the devastation of war. It also testified to the slow trade along the turnpike. Railroad travel had ended the turnpike's dominance even before the war started, and road conditions after the war did not help the situation. A reporter complained that the "roads are characterized by all the horrors of a barbaric period. The pike paved with boulders from which the sand and gravel have been washed away, stretches on, an interminable highway of suffering; while the by-ways filled with stumps and pit-holes, afford scarcely less

²² See Robert L. Lisbeth, "The Postal History of Fairfax County During the Civil War." *Historical Society of Fairfax, Virginia Yearbook* 19 (1983): 31-32.

²³ J.T. Trowbridge, *The South: A Tour of its Battlefields and Ruined Cities* (1866; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1969), 89. The Matthews sold the Stone House to Mary Starbuck in 1865.

terror."²⁴ Still, the Starbucks, who arrived in Prince William from New York one year before the war began and who purchased the tavern from the Matthews in 1865, thought they saw economic opportunity. With the help of an \$1,800 loan from Crawford Cushing, the Starbucks paid \$3,000 for the property. They believed that the Stone House location — the site of much conflict during the war — would bring them customers. During First and Second Manassas, newspapers across the country had introduced people to the area, and veterans and visitors wanted to see the grounds of battle.

Hoping to capitalize on this tourist trade, the Starbucks opened the "Stone House Hotel" and offered the federal government a portion of Buck Hill for a national cemetery commemorating the Union dead. They wrote Major General Montgomery Meigs in June 1866 that they were "plain working people trying to get a living by industry and economy and hope by the blessings of Providence to once more make us a home for ourselves." They would be happy and honored to have the Union cemetery placed on their property, explaining:

There is a very pretty position for a burial place on our farm on the eminence just a few rods north of the Old Stone House and very near where the Battle commenced in earnest on the 21st July 1861 and overlooking nearly the whole of the 1st Bull Run Battle Field and a good part of the 2nd Battle Ground.²⁵

Part of the justification the Starbucks gave for situating the cemetery on their property pivoted on the fact that they were northerners and as such, they would "cheerfully make any little ordinary repairs necessary and would take a pride and pleasure in doing it." They also suggested that the graves would be "safe from depredations." They evidently had reason to voice concern. The monuments, which had only been erected a year earlier, had already been "mutilated by the ill disposed inhabitants of that vicinity," according to Lieutenant R. W. Tyler. Tyler had been sent to survey the battle sites and report on the state of burial grounds and monuments. He added that many graves lacked markers or had been so "obliterated that very few of them can be identified." He explained

²⁴ "Bull Run Dedication of Monuments," *The Evening Star*, Washington, June 12, 1865, and as quoted in Maureen DeLay Joseph, "Northeast Quadrant: Cultural Landscape Inventory" (Manassas, Va.: Manassas National Battlefield Park, 1996), sect. 3: 22. Trowbridge traveled around the battle site with a man who had turned an army ambulance wagon into a tourist mobile. He said after his discharge from service, "it struck me something might be made by taking visitors out to the battle-fields. But I have n't saved a cent at it yet; passengers are few, and it's mighty hard business, the roads are so awful," *The South*, 83-84.

²⁵ Starbuck to Meigs, as quoted in Joseph, "Northeast Quadrant: Cultural Landscape Inventory," sect. 3: 24, and Matthew B. Reeves, *An Archaeological and Historical Investigation of Stone House* (44PW298) Occasional Report No. 16, National Capital Region, National Park Service (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, 2001), 2: 21. The letter from the Starbucks to Meigs, June 9, 1866 can be found in the "Search for Graves after the War" file at MANA. In their letter to Meigs, the Starbucks said that they moved to the area from New York one year before the war commenced.

that while the monuments had been placed in "the most appropriate localities," the "owners of these grounds are Rebels, and expect the Govt. to pay them large prices for their grounds." He did find, however, that the Starbucks, whom he noted came from the North, had a "very favorable locality" for re-interment of the soldiers²⁶

Despite these reports, the U.S. government chose to re-inter Union remains recovered from the battlefield to the National Cemetery already established at Arlington. Hence, with the rejection of Buck Hill, the Starbucks' commercial hopes dwindled. Instead they, like those before them, turned to farming to supplement their household. By 1870, they produced more crops than the Henry Matthew family had previously. During that time, Gideon Starbuck also ran a post office. Within the decade, however, the couple defaulted on their loan from Cushing, the mail delivery moved to Sudley Post Office, Mary Starbuck died, and Cushing sold the property.²⁷

The Matthews fared better at their property a little further north of the Stone House. They purchased close to one hundred acres from Edwin and Virginia Carter of Pittsylvania. Their new place abutted land owned by Henry's brothers, Carson, Edgar and Martin.²⁸

When Trowbridge paused at the Stone House and looked across the turnpike, he beheld the old Henry house and a landscape greatly altered by war. It scarcely resembled what stood four years earlier, according to his description:

Many of the trees had been cut away. Every fence had disappeared. Where had waved the fields of grass and grain, extended one vast, neglected, barren tract of country. The widow's humble abode had been swept away. The widow herself was killed by a chance shot on the day of the battle. A little picket fence surrounding her grave was the only enclosure visible to us in all that region. Close by were the foundations of her house, a small square space run up to the tallest weeds. Some of the poor woman's hollyhocks still survived, together with a few scattered and lonesome-looking peach-trees cut with balls. The hollyhocks were in bloom, and the peaches were ripe.²⁹

Close to the ruins of the Henry house, a recently erected monument stood. Lieutenant James M. McCallum of the 16th Massachusetts Battery, troops from the 5th Pennsylvania Heavy Artillery, and General William Gamble's cavalry brigade

²⁶ Letter from R. W. Tyler 1st Ind. Co. V.R. C. to Col. M. J. Ludington, Chief Quartermaster, Washington, March 28, 1866 in "Search for Graves after the War" file at MANA.

²⁷ Joseph, "Northeast Quadrant: Cultural Landscape Inventory," sect. 3: 24, and Reeves, *Archaeological and Historical Investigation of Stone House*, 2: 21-22. Cushing sold the property to George Starbuck, a possible relative of Gideon.

²⁸ Joseph, "Northeast Quadrant: Cultural Landscape Inventory," sect. 3: 23, and Reeves, *Archaeological and Historical Investigation of Stone House*, 2: 21.

²⁹ Trowbridge, *The South*, 85.

fashioned and established a twenty-foot-high square obelisk to the east side of the Henry House ruins. A similar monument honoring those who died in the Second Battle of Manassas was placed by the "Deep Cut" of the unfinished railroad on Lucinda Dogan's farm. Both monuments were dedicated on 11 June 1865.³⁰ Later, to capitalize on the monument's location, Hugh Henry began charging visitors to view it and the battlefield.³¹

Trowbridge visited both commemorative sites, and he may have been passed through Mary Dogan's store in Groveton. If he did, he would have seen other remnants of the war. Her business prospered with the sale of war relics, helped especially by tourists. When the women of Groveton and Bull Run Memorial Association acquired part of Lucinda Dogan's land in 1869, they created the Groveton Confederate Cemetery. The cemetery, in turn, brought additional travelers to the area and furthered Dogan's business.³²

Other than catering to tourists, Groveton remained about as quiet as it was before soldiers camped there. Blacksmith Andrew Redman, who lived across the road from Lucinda Dogan, continued to operate his shop. Now, however, since he was, as he put it, "freed by Lincoln's proclamation," he did not have to turn over his earnings to his master. He may have paid some rent on the buildings though.³³ In 1870, the 39-year-old Redman lived with another blacksmith, 36-year-old Martin Redman, likely a brother or cousin. In 1871, Andrew purchased two acres of Leachman's Brownsville (Folly Castle) tract, and by 1880, his wife, Mary, and their children were living with him.³⁴ One of Redman's customers was James Robinson. When Robinson died in 1875, he owed Redman \$2.00 for services rendered.³⁵

For a very short time, the Groveton Post Office continued to give local residents a reason to drop by Lucinda Dogan's home. Her husband had served as the postmaster for many years before he died in 1856. She probably appreciated seeing the neighbors and learning the neighborhood gossip. Those days were

³⁰ Mia Parsons, "Southern Portion: Cultural Landscape Inventory" (Manassas: National Park Service, 1996), sect. 3: 21-22. Joseph, "Northeast Quadrant: Cultural Landscape Inventory," sect. 3: 21.

³¹ Edwin L. Carter to Mary E. Carter, April 15, 1894, "Carter" file, MANA.

³² It is unclear at this point when Mary Dogan started her store. Eugene M. Scheel reports in *Crossroads and Corners: A Tour of the Villages, Towns and Post Offices of Prince William County, Virginia Past and Present* (Historic Prince William, Inc.), 45, that she had a store in operation after the war that dealt in remnants from Second Manassas. It is not known whether or not she had it running in 1865 when Trowbridge traveled through the neighborhood.

³³ Lucinda Dogan's Southern Claim file, and Mia Parsons, *Archeological Investigation of the Robinson House Site 44PW288: A Free African American Domestic Site Occupied from the 1840s to 1936*, Occasional Report No. 17, National Capital Region, National Park Service (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, 2001), Appendix IV.

³⁴ According to the 1870 census, Mary and their two eldest children were living with Sarah Ewell, a black woman. Philip Nash was a farm laborer in this household, too.

³⁵ Parsons, *Archeological Investigation of the Robinson House Site*, part IV, p. 1.

numbered, however. Shortly after the war, the Post Office moved to Stone House and then in 1871 to Sudley.³⁶

Sudley Springs benefited from the Post Office move, but it, too, had been severely damaged in the war. If a Sudley area farmer needed to repair a wagon wheel before the war, he would have likely taken it to John Thornberry. After the war, he had to find someone else. Federal troops turned Thornberry's home into a hospital and robbed him of his personal possessions. They stripped his wheelwright shop of tools, too. Laura Thornberry recalled the family's return to their home after First Manassas: "It was desolate. [My mother] with us children left it Saturday evening as we had lived in it for 15 or 20 years, and there was not an article of anything in it. Ten men had bled to death in mother's bedroom the night before. Carpets and all furniture were out and gone. We never saw any of it again, or anything else. The old farm well in the back yard was almost full of everything that would go in it. Such as china ware, cooking utensils, flat irons, and everything you can imagine used in a family. . . . Of course everything was broken. How we all cried over it." John operated as the blacksmith for Sudley Mills until 1871, then sold his place to Elizabeth and Carson Matthews and moved to Buckhall.³⁷ (Fig. 7)

The Matthews used the Thornberry place as a residence, post office, and store. Elizabeth ran the post office and Carson tended the store. B. R. Cross operated the blacksmith shop after the Thornberry's left.³⁸ A few other buildings dotted the landscape. The Methodist Church, though heavily damaged in the war, remained the center of the community while the chalybeate springs continued to draw a few tourists. Across the road from the mill, the Sudley Springs Hotel, after it was rebuilt in 1871, catered to these guests.³⁹

In the 1870s, Sudley Springs began to revive, thanks, in part, to an influx of northern capital. In 1875, Pennsylvanian Andrew B. Fetzer restored the merchant mill. Though the Carter family had owned the mill for most of the time from before the Civil War, it had changed hands several times since. In 1866, Robert Carter Weir, who lived in the miller's house immediately north of the mill before and during the war, sold the complex to William B. Sullivan. A few years later

³⁶ Scheel, *Crossroads and Corners*, 45.

³⁷ Laura [Thornberry] Fletcher, "'A Few Memories of the 'War Between the States' by an eye witness, for my grandson Westwood Hugh Fletcher," December 12, 1936 in "Sudley Church, Sudley Community" file MANA; Matthew B. Reeves, *Views of a Changing Landscape: An Archaeological and Historical Investigation of Sudley Post Office*, Occasional Report No. 14, National Capital Region, National Park Service (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1998); "To Be Public or Private: Changing Uses of Landscape at Sudley Post Office, 1840s-1920s," National Park Service Archaeological pages, ONLINE, Available:

<http://www.nps.gov/rap/exhibit/mana/text/sudley01.htm>, accessed March 5, 2003.

³⁸ "To Be Public or Private," and Scheel, *Corners and Crossroads*, 88.

³⁹ Maureen De Lay Joseph, "Northwest Quadrant: Cultural Landscape Inventory" (Manassas, Va.: Manassas National Battlefield Park, 1996), 3: 27-28.

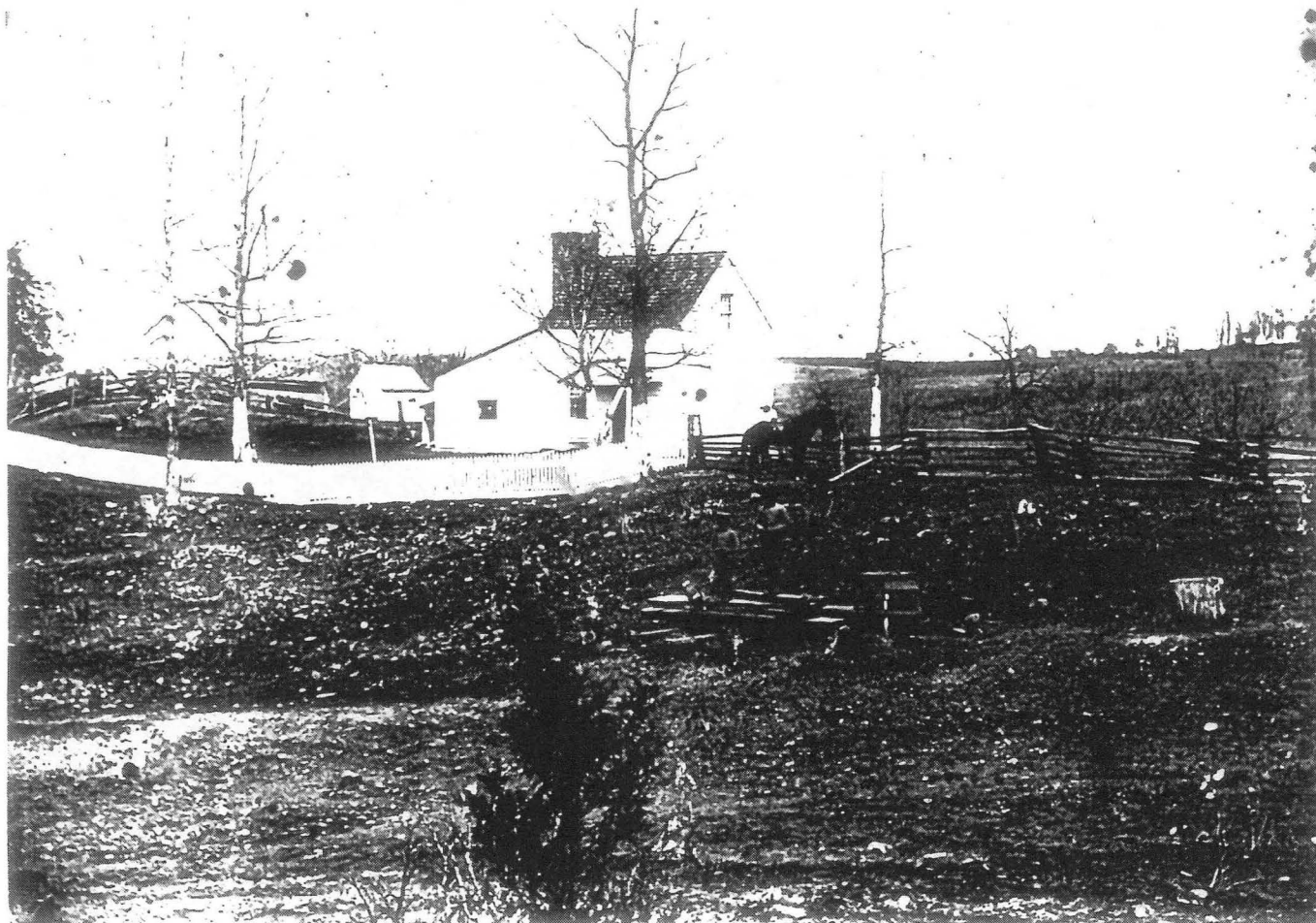


Fig. 7. Thornberry house, 1862. Thornberry was the neighborhood blacksmith and a member of the Sudley Springs Methodist Church. Library of Congress collection, courtesy of the Manassas National Battlefield Park Library, Manassas, Va.

Sullivan sold the property to a Pennsylvania man by the name of Charles Thomas. Fetzner bought the place from Sullivan.⁴⁰

The Agricultural Economy and the Labor System

Immediately after the war, most Manassas-area residents resumed or tried to resume their farming operations. Some of the people who had moved away returned. This included northerners. In 1865, Abraham Van Pelt and his wife rejoined their daughter on the farm. William Avery returned to be postmaster of Independent Hill. Others, too, returned to the area.⁴¹

To get by in the initial postwar years, many farmers postponed large-scale crop production and reverted to subsistence crop production. They farmed what they could but allowed scrub vegetation to cover much of the region's farmland. In between Alexandria and Manassas Junction, Trowbridge declared he saw "no signs of human industry, save here and there a sickly, half-cultivated cornfield, which looked as if it had been put in late, and left to pine in solitude. There were a few wood-lots still left standing; but, the country for the most part consisted of fenceless fields abandoned to weeds, stump-lots, and undergrowths."⁴² Such was the case by the Bull Run Mountains, too. The once-tilled fields around Dunblane, Alice Maude Ewell remarked, gave way to broomsedge waste, hen grass, sumac, and sassafras. The family planted a few rows of corn, but they could not eat the scrub oaks and sumac-cones.⁴³

Poor whites and ex-slaves made do with next to nothing. The Monroe family, for example, never regained a sense of stability after the war. William Monroe died in 1867 and his wife, Mary, died in 1878. The estate appraisal in February 1879 testified to their impoverishment. It included no livestock, only a few farm implements, and but a small amount of household furnishings valued at \$339. When the land was split between the children, the small parcels offered little to build on. Susan Monroe was left with only eighteen acres.⁴⁴

Most African Americans, many of whom were unable to acquire land or capital, worked for white people. Former slave Mahalia Dean and her grandson Shoe fly Dean took care of the Pittsylvania Carters after the war.⁴⁵ Some labored in situations that very much looked like slavery. One old black man about seventy years old and probably living around Manassas Junction told the traveling Trowbridge

⁴⁰ "Sudley Community" file at MANA; E.R. Conner, "Sudley Mill at Sudley Spring," *Echoes of Manassas* 4 (Sept 1974): 76, and Reeves, *Views of a Changing Landscape*, 2: 20.

⁴¹ Southern Claims Files of William Avery and Abraham Van Pelt.

⁴² Trowbridge, *The South*, 82.

⁴³ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 116.

⁴⁴ "Monroe House, Pageland Lane," file at MANA.

⁴⁵ George Sutton, "Transcript of oral interview between George Reaves, Manassas National Battlefield Park historian, Jack Ratcliffe of Manassas and George W. Sutton of Fairfax Co (former owner of a dairy operation next to Pittsylvania)," October 24, 1970 in "Pittsylvania File" file at MANA, Reel 1, page 4 of 7.

that he had been a free man about seven years, but his brother still served the man he belonged to before the Civil War. Trowbridge exclaimed, "But he, too, is free now," and he asked if the man's brother received wages. The man shook his head and said, "There's nothing said about wages to any of our people in this part of the country. They don't dare to ask for them, and their owners will hold them as they used to as long as they can. They are very sharp with us now. If a man of my color dared to say what he thought, it would be all his life was worth!"⁴⁶

To survive, black people clustered together in small enclaves and relied on one another. Immediately after the war, federal authorities who provided relief noted that more whites took advantage of their relief programs than blacks. This may have been because the black community created their own networks of support.⁴⁷

Thoroughfare was one of the places that attracted freedmen. Frank Fletcher from Rappahannock County built many of the structures after the community was established in 1871. By the 1880s, a number of black people had settled in the region. In 1885, Fletcher petitioned the school board to start a "colored school" for the sixty black children living within a mile of Thoroughfare.⁴⁸

Black families also lived on the battlefield sites. Beside the Redman family at Groveton, Philip and Sarah Nash lived. While it is unclear when they started living in the area, Nash probably was renting land soon after the Civil War from Mary Jane Dogan. By 1880, he harvested 120 bushels of corn.⁴⁹ James Peters and James and Mahalia Dean lived a little further north.⁵⁰ Charlie and Annie Dean (probably relations of James and Mahalia Dean); the Robinson family; the Gaskins; Pinns; Curtises; and others also resided close by.

Larger landowners generally fared better than others and faced a different set of problems. Plantation owners who had relied on slaves had to devise some other labor system. James Taylor, probably a descendent of the Taylor family who lived near Dunblane, explained that "Of course in the upper part of the country, my mother's people, a lot of them, were big landowners up there. They were rich slaveholders and of course when the war was over, they lost, they had nothing and they divided up among different ones of the family because one couldn't pay all the taxes. They had right rough goin' after the war, you know, because it

⁴⁶ Trowbridge, *The South*, 90.

⁴⁷ Blair, *Virginia's Private War*, 137.

⁴⁸ Scheel, *Crossroads and Corners*, 89-90, and Lucy Walsh Phinney, *Yesterday's Schools: Public Elementary Education in Prince William County, Virginia, 1869-1969* (Privately Published, 1993), 179.

⁴⁹ Laura J. Galke, ed., *Cultural Resource Survey and Inventory of a War-Torn Landscape: The Stuart's Hill Tract, Manassas National Battlefield Park, Virginia*, Occasional Report No. 7, National Capital Region, National Park Service (Washington: U. S. Department of the Interior, 1992), 58, 122-23; and "Free Within Ourselves," 264.

⁵⁰ See the 1880 census for James and Mahalia Dean, and Joseph, "Northwest Quadrant: Cultural Landscape Inventory," sect. 3: 26-27.

was reconstruction days and all that going' on. And they was a long time getin' back on their feet."⁵¹

Alice Maude Ewell's family struggles illustrated what many formerly wealthy families faced. She said her grandparents and their friends, which included many of the Carter family, "made a gallant fight to go on at least somewhat as they had done before the Debacle. They tried to go on playing as heroically as most of them worked. There were still many of the old dinners, the old dances given. . . But as time went on the efforts connected with them were felt to be too great. Nor could the expense be met. There was the constant carping need of money. Chill penury reigned. Nor was there the old free service any more."⁵² Both of Ewell's grandmothers had been accustomed to a life of relative comfort. Her maternal grandmother had painted and her paternal grandmother was a lover of books. Now, without slaves, both performed many of the duties they formerly gave their slaves. Life "was hard, full of care and what seemed unprofitable toil." The former mistresses churned butter, washed dishes, and bent over the fireplace to cook. When they went to church, they rode in farm wagons not carriages. Instead of a grand horse, Dr. Ewell rode an old army mule on his rounds. Fences were gone, fields destroyed, and buildings were in semi-ruins. The Ewell chapel had become the home of the Owens, a poor white couple. Their son, Charles Owen, was born there.⁵³

While maintaining their former way of life was impossible for the Ewells and though it appeared to them that their worlds were turned upside down, such was not completely the case. Though certainly much had changed and though their financial circumstances were much reduced, Jesse Ewell continued to work as a doctor and, though much limited, they still called on African Americans to perform menial labor. Prejudicial attitudes and old assumptions also persisted. Ellen still tried to control her servants not only in duty but in name and manner. "My grandmother always tried to teach and 'improve them,'" Alice Ewell reported, "even to the extent of re-naming those most outlandishly called. 'Gooley Ann' became 'Annette,' and 'Jool' 'Juliet'; greatly to the indignation of one, the amusement of the other. 'Name ain't Net. Hit Gooley Ann!' came soto voce from the kitchen. 'Juliet' giggled hysterically when addressed by her new title. Somehow I always saw the fun. Not so the elders. To them it was tragedy. The bottom had dropped out of life. When would it ever grow back again!"⁵⁴

⁵¹ James Woodrow Taylor, Interview by Prince William County Historical Commission Oral History Project, January 1982, reprinted in *Echoes of Manassas*, 12. Alice Ewell wrote that Joseph Taylor was a neighbor to the Ewells and that they were "ardently 'Secesh,'" *A Virginia Scene*, 57.

⁵² Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 101-02.

⁵³ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 97, quote on 116; Elizabeth Harrover Johnson, E.R. Corner, and Mary Harrover Ferguson, *History in a Horseshoe Curve: The Story of Sudley Methodist Church and its Community* (Princeton: Pennywitt Press, 1982), 57-8.

⁵⁴ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 97.

Many whites had feared and many blacks had hoped for much more of a political, social, and economic revolution. But that is not how it played out in Manassas or across the South. Reconstructionists who had argued for a redistribution of wealth failed to achieve such results. Black people did not receive confiscated lands or financial assistance, nor did their political rights last much beyond the era of Reconstruction.

Labor Arrangements

To a large extent and despite the profound transformations generated by the war, black people continued to work in subservient positions for white landowners after the war. Though sharecropping never took hold in northern Virginia — unlike the large, staple-crop plantation regions — many whites held African Americans in subservient positions and impoverished conditions. A majority of black people continued to serve whites as farmhands and domestic servants, and, through discriminating labor arrangements, white people generally controlled black peoples' economic situation. This situation mirrored other parts of Virginia and America.⁵⁵

This did not come without a struggle, however. Black people knew they did not have to submit as slaves; they could pick up and leave, and some did. Others used this possibility as a powerful bargaining chip, working to manipulate the system to their advantage. They pushed for a just wage, fair working conditions, and some measure of economic independence. Hence, how black people worked and under what conditions remained problematic. While black people tried to create a better working environment and economic opportunities, former planters did their best to conform former slaves into situations for the planters' benefit.

What resulted was a tug of war between former master and slave. Whitelaw Reid commented in 1865 that

a great deal of sullen bitterness was displayed against the negro. Men did not feel kindly that their old slaves should take time to consider the question of hiring with them, and should presume to haggle about wages. The least manifestation of a disposition to assert obtrusively his independence, brought the late slave into danger. Murders of negroes were occasionally reported; and the late masters made many wrathfull promises to kill that were never fulfilled. Half a dozen times, in the course of a single day, I observed quarrels going on between negroes and white men. The latter con-

⁵⁵ Kenneth E. Koons. "The Colored Laborers Work as Well as When Slaves: African Americans in the Breadbasket of the Confederacy, 1850-1880," in Clarence R. Geier and Stephen R. Potter, eds., *Archaeological Perspectives on the American Civil War* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 252.

stantly used the most violent and domineering language; the negroes several times seemed disposed to resent it.⁵⁶

Letters and comments from planters, farmers, and employers written just after the war testified also to the anguish that many white people felt about the loss of the slave system. These individuals flooded agricultural magazines such as the *Southern Planter and Farmer*, asking what they should do about the problem of free labor. Some planters explained that they faced a severe cash shortage and had to pay their laborers with a share of the crop. Editors and other readers offered answers. One editor said sharecropping should cease as soon as possible. Others suggested ways that white people might control black people. Reduction of cultivated acreage, close supervision, and prompt monthly payment of wages numbered among the possible solutions. An anonymous contributor recommended controlling freedmen through benevolent wages and local attachments: "Make him comfortable" if a good laborer and keep him. "The Negro should be given 'a good cabin, a garden, and let him surround himself with such things as tend to make a home and then let him, and his wife and children understand that upon their industry and good conduct depends their continuance in a comfortable home.' Since the 'negro has strong local attachments,' employers 'must use the strong points in his queer nature to control him.'"⁵⁷ These letters and editorial responses indicate some of the problems white southerners faced after the war and some of the experimental contracts and labor systems that they engaged in to gain a reliable, dependent labor force.

Labor agreements, thus, became a negotiation process between former masters and former slaves, just as it had been between slaves and masters. While white people now had to pay for services, wages were scanty, and black people had to scrimp. To compensate for the injustice of poor wages, some domestics and field workers felt that to balance the scales, they had a right to food, tools, and other resources. To Alice Maude Ewell, this was "thievery," but something she could understand:

When offered it was apt to be accompanied by too much thieving. The poor darkies! Who could really blame them? They were so very poor! And this great and generous Government which had given them freedom, at the expense of their former masters, had given them nothing else. Those masters had been left both impoverished and at least a little embittered. To go back to the ex-slaves, sometimes when helping even 'de ole home fam'ly,' on some festive occasion, they stole right and left. I remember one lovely old-fashioned 'home wedding' where all that was left of the bride's cake disappeared before it could even be distributed among such of those fair guests as wanted a tiny bit to dream on. After one small party at my

⁵⁶ Whitelaw Reid, *After the War: A Tour of the Southern States, 1865-1866* (1866; rpt., New York: Harper, 1965), 325.

⁵⁷ Jeffrey R. Kerr-Ritchie, *Freedpeople in the Tobacco South: Virginia, 1860-1900*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 103-04.

own home the 'left-overs' that we thought would last a week disappeared in one night. And it was only a child who took them! Poor little wretch, she could not eat it all, having already had a full share. A good deal was found, hacked into fragments, ready to carry home.⁵⁸

Taking a little from the boss and walking away with a few extras was one way to get by and make the employment situation manageable. In October 1872, Edward Butler, a "colored" man, admitted "stealing a lot of wheat, corn, and guano" from his employer, Allen Howison. Butler said he "wished to do a little farming for himself."⁵⁹ Despite the conflicts, blacks labored in large part for the benefit of whites, helping some of the larger landholders recover after the war.

Agricultural Recovery

Though uneven, northern Virginia made substantial progress five years after the surrender. For example, Frank W. Lewis's Portici, in 1870, was worth about \$14,000 with \$50 worth of farming implements. He raised wheat, oats, potatoes, hay, and corn, and his four milk cows produced four hundred pounds of butter.⁶⁰ While Lewis continued to farm Portici in the 1870s, he did not prosper, as much as he probably hoped. In 1880, his farm had lost value, dropping by over fifty percent to \$5805. He increased his livestock, but decreased the amount of grains cultivated.⁶¹ Lewis's turn to livestock, and particularly dairy cattle, was representative of a number of other farmers in the area.

A more successful story unfolded at the Brownsville/Folly Castle plantation. Despite heavy fighting on his land, William M. Lewis still managed to keep his house and estate intact. When he died in 1865 at the age of about 85 years, his 409-acre estate included a sizeable quantity of farming equipment and household furnishings. He owned cultivators, grain cradles, harrows, plows, and a threshing machine. He furnished his home with specialized silver dishes and owned genteel items such as a carpet, two clocks, curtains, desks, a dining table, mirrors, a sofa, settee, and a wardrobe. Some of the furniture was made of mahogany. His slaves had probably worked the five flax wheels, two spinning wheels and loom that Lewis also possessed. If he lost livestock to soldiers during the war, by 1865, he appears to have replenished his farm with twenty-three cows, ten calves, three horses, and ninety-seven sheep. Lewis also had distinguished himself by loaning money to others. He held bonds and notes totaling about \$2,000.⁶²

⁵⁸ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 101-02.

⁵⁹ *Alexandria Gazette*, October 7, 1872, as reprinted in reprinted in Ronald Ray Turner, *Prince William County, Virginia, 1784-1860 Newspaper Transcripts* (Manassas: privately, 2000), 149 [hereafter cited as Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*].

⁶⁰ 1870 U.S. Census.

⁶¹ 1880 U.S. Census.

⁶² Galke, *Cultural Resource Survey and Inventory of a War-Torn Landscape: The Stuart's Hill Tract*, 57-58.

John and Josephine Lewis Leachman and their children continued to prosper at the Brownsville plantation after Lewis died (renamed "Folly Castle" when the Leachman family lived there). In 1880, the Alexandria City Directory listed Leachman as one of fourteen main farmers in the Gainesville area.⁶³

White people were not the only ones to elevate their circumstances and participate in Prince William's recovery. Some blacks, too, made modest improvements. A few managed to rent or buy land and better their lot. One couple, Jim Curtis and his wife, Lucy Pinn, managed to rent land near the battlegrounds from William H. Campbell and farm it for their livelihood. By 1880, though Lucy had died, Jim and his seven children still continued to farm.⁶⁴ The Curtis family rented, but some African Americans were able to purchase their own land.

Ex-slaves acquired land in a variety of ways. Some gained small parcels from their masters. Joe Stafford and his mother had been slaves of the Cockrell family. After the war, the Cockrells allowed the Staffords to claim a small piece of land for their own. Another former slave, Nellie Naylor, inherited a few acres of the Liberia plantation from her master, William Weir. Other former slaves obtained land for a sum. Around Sudley Springs, a few blacks settled on land they purchased from Sarah Carter Ball, the widow of the former Portici plantation owner. Sarah Ball had inherited a two-hundred-acre tract of land adjacent to Sudley Mill. After keeping a small section, she sold the rest to former slaves.⁶⁵ In between Sudley Mill and Groveton, a couple other African Americans purchased land. James Dean, formerly owned by Thomas N. Cushing, and James Peters, formerly owned by James Carter, obtained small parcels from John Cross. Peters returned home from his service in the Union army in 1865. In the 1870s, he was a plasterer's helper and in the 1880s, he worked as a farm laborer. He married a white, orphaned English woman named Josephine and they raised ten children on their tiny place. Josephine worked as a domestic at Haymarket. In 1883, they purchased two acres from Cross. Peters may have rented additional land to farm. For their home, Peters transported the old abandoned Groveton field school-

⁶³ In 1870, the Leachman's real estate valued \$8,135 and their personal estate totaled \$3,310. Three hundred acres lay under cultivation and the farm's cash value came to \$5,751, including \$350 worth of farm implements. During the decade, Leachman shifted more to animal husbandry and continued to do well, Galke, *Cultural Resource Survey and Inventory of a War-Torn Landscape: The Stuart's Hill Tract*, 59.

⁶⁴ For the Curtis family manumission papers, see Prince William County Deed Book 11, p. 341. For a summary of the family, their registration as free blacks, and other family history, see the family papers at the Relic Room, Bull Run Library, Manassas. See the 1880 census for Curtis's marital status and children.

⁶⁵ The Cockrell family may have been the ones living at Bloom Hill, see *Prince William*, 116-17. For the Naylor inheritance, see the Weir papers at the Manassas Museum, Manassas, Va., and Charlotte Cain, "The Descendants of Samuel and Nellie Naylor: An African American Family of Prince William County," *Prince William Reliquary* 1 (October 2002): 73. For Sarah Ball's sales, see Workers of the Writers Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Virginia, *Prince William: The Story of its People and its Places* (Manassas, Va.: Bethlehem Club, 1988), 139; and Johnson, *History in a Horseshoe Curve*, 60-61.

house to his land. It had been damaged during the Second Battle of Manassas. Peters converted it into a two-room dwelling.⁶⁶

Gaining land was one thing. Holding on to it was another. Often the land of ex-slaves was of the poorest quality and located in some of the poorest regions. Manassas resident E. K. Conner recalled that the property the Stafford ex-slaves received from their master "wasn't very good land. Joe Stafford built a house. His mother lived there until she died."⁶⁷ Though the Staffords managed to live on the land, producing crops and livestock for market was highly unlikely. Rather, they probably resorted to subsistence living or turned to outside work for help. Paying taxes on the land and keeping it added to the problems black people faced. Henry Naylor worked as a laborer, until his father, Samuel, died in 1872. At that point, Henry inherited part of the family farm. Once procured, he had trouble making his tax payments. Still, Naylor was resourceful. He filed a homestead claim to protect his property.⁶⁸ Others were not so creative or fortunate, and, unable to pay taxes, lost their land to the county.

More successful than Naylor and presumably more so than any other African American in the area was James Robinson. He built on his achievements before the war and continued to farm. He may have restarted his turnpike business as well, but considering the condition of the turnpike and lack of regular traffic, this is doubtful. Still, by the 1870s, he had recovered from the war and was prospering. He owned about two hundred acres of land, fifty of which were improved. The cash value of his farm came to \$3,050. He owned approximately fifty dollars worth of farm implements, three horses, three milk cows, two working oxen, three other cattle, and four swine, all of which were valued at \$450. That year he produced sixty bushels of wheat, four hundred bushels of corn, and twenty-five bushels of oats, and while this yield was not that of Lewis at Portici or Leachman at Brownsville, it was a substantial amount, nonetheless.⁶⁹

During the 1870s, Robinson submitted a claim to the United States government for damages he sustained during the war and improved his situation even more. In March 1871, Congress established the Southern Claims Commission to adjudi-

⁶⁶ See Johnson, *History in a Horseshoe Curve*, 29-30; Joseph, "Northwest Quadrant: Cultural Resource Inventory," sect. 3: 3-28; Prince William County Deed Book 35:577 and 35:578, 1870, and 1880 census; Seibert, "The Third Battle of Manassas," 76-77; and "Robinson House File," MANA. Montgomery Peters said that his father, James Peters, moved the schoolhouse from Featherbed Lane to the small piece of land he had purchased from John Cross. The building was converted to a two-room dwelling. Other additions were added later. The schoolhouse was constructed before the war and was probably standing on Featherbed Lane at the time of Pope's attack through the area in Second Manassas. See the "Internal Memo of the United States Department of the Interior to the Regional Director, National Capital Region from the Superintendent, Manassas National Battlefield Park," March 28, 1979, in the "James Peters House" file, MANA.

⁶⁷ J.K. Conner and A.A. Conner interviews, *Echoes of Manassas*, 12-13.

⁶⁸ Cain, "Descendants of Samuel and Nellie Naylor, 73-80.

⁶⁹ 1870 Agricultural Census, as cited in Parsons, "Northeast Quadrant: Cultural Landscape Inventory," sect. 3: 19.

cate claims and decide on any reimbursement to compensate loyal southern property owners for losses incurred at the hands of Union soldiers during the war. The act stipulated that claimants, regardless of race, had to prove their loyalty before and during the war to the federal government before their claim would be approved. Claimants submitted a written petition, testified before the commission and produced witnesses who also submitted testimony before the commission. They had to prove their loyalty and show that they owned the property they claimed. In addition, they had to offer evidence that the Union Army in an organized way, and not just individual soldiers, took or damaged the property. The act targeted owners of real and personal property but barred former slaveholders.⁷⁰

In the fall of 1871, Robinson submitted his claim, asking for reimbursement of \$2,608 worth of property. He claimed that while General Sigel took possession of his home during the Battle of Second Manassas, Union troops "took everything they wanted." In February 1872, Robinson went before the Claims Commission in Washington and testified to the accuracy of his claim. At the hearing, he swore he never gave aid or comfort to the Confederates "in any shape or form," though he modified this somewhat in questioning, confessing that "when they rode up to my house and called for a mouthful to eat, we were compelled to give it to them or they would have taken it." He made clear that he stood on the side of the Union because, had the Confederates succeeded, "there was a great deal of talk about the breaking up of our freedom and I was a free man and of course I couldn't be [pleased?] with that idea — I scorned the view of it."⁷¹

Robinson told the commission that after Second Manassas, the Union army "commenced taking everything they wanted: some went into the meat house and got the meat, and the others rambled about the place taking fowls, and others found my wheat in the barn and they fed their horses on it." They took bacon, corn, cows, fish, furniture, garden vegetables, groceries, hay, horses, kitchen utensil, pigs, potatoes, and wheat.

Accompanying Robinson were George Harris, a black man, and Albert Flagler, a white man. Both testified to Robinson's loyalty to the Union. Flagler, who had known Robinson twenty years and lived two miles from him, said that Robinson had a "considerable farm" and a "house of entertainment," where he "did more business than most people." Arthur Harris, helping to demonstrate to the commission that Robinson had property, explained that Robinson "raised a good deal of hay in 1861 and 1862." Tascoe Robinson reinforced his father's allegation with his recollection: "I saw them take away a wagon load in a one horse wagon

⁷⁰ Frank W. Klingberg, *The Southern Claims Commission* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955). For a list and overview of claimants, see Gary B. Mills, *Southern Loyalists in the Civil War: The Southern Claims Commission, A Composite Directory of Case Files Created by the U.S. Commissioner of Claims, 1871-1880, including those appealed to the War Claims Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Court of Claims* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company), 1994.

⁷¹ All quotes and information on Robinson's claim come from his Southern Claims file.

and they took the bed and all." Upon hearing this testimony, the Claims Commission determined that his claim was valid and awarded Robinson \$1,249.⁷² While this was less than half of what he requested, more than one thousand dollars was still a sizeable amount. It also was not unusual for the commission to award less than the claim. They rarely awarded full compensation and often, they bestowed far less.

During the 1870s, the James Robinson family probably used this money when they added on to their home and increased their possessions. By the time Jim Robinson died in 1875 of heart failure, he had built an inventory of household furnishings, farm stock and equipment worth eight hundred and forty dollars. This included a bedstead bar and bedding, clock, cupboard, harrow, large table and chairs, looking glass, McCormick plow, rakes, and a wagon.⁷³

While Robinson prospered, other African Americans struggled or opted out of the area altogether. J. K. Conner reported that many blacks stayed in the area, though he knew of some of the younger generation who moved to New York and sent money back for support.⁷⁴ Ellen Ewell had always believed that her slaves or "servants as she ever called them, were really devoted to her." But she found she could not compete with freedom and the draw of the city. After the war, they gradually left, save a "few old and feeble ones." Even the ones she regarded as most faithful left. "Uncle Wash" and "Aunt May," two servants Ellen Ewell regarded as most loyal, left for Washington. Without them, "there followed long years of struggle and privation, under totally new conditions."⁷⁵

Freedom and the promise of higher wages drew many from the surrounding area to the capital. Former pastor, Walter H. Brooks, of the Nineteenth Street Baptist Church in Washington, recalled, "As 1865 marked the close of the Civil War and the legal extermination of the institution of human slavery in America, there were millions of ex-slaves, poor beyond measure, homeless and without means of support, thousands of whom followed the Federal troops to be fed and cared for by them. Others flocked to nearby hamlets, towns and cities, while bolder souls made their presence known in the far North."⁷⁶ Though many along the turnpike struggled, a little further south, people living by the railroad junction had an easier time. Railroad revival contributed to their success.

⁷² Robinson Southern Claims file.

⁷³ Parsons, "Robinson House Site," 47; for his inventory, see section 4, p. 1-2

⁷⁴ J.K. Conner and A. A. Conner interviews 1988, reprinted in *Echoes of Manassas*, 12-13. The 1870 census lists Joe Stafford as 13 years of age and a member of a family of eight. All were listed as mulattoes save one. Hannah, fifty-five years, was black. George, 31 years, was listed as the head and a farm laborer. Louisa, 40 was listed as keeping house.

⁷⁵ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 48, 96, 114-15.

⁷⁶ Walter H. Brooks, former pastor of Jennie Dean's church in Washington, introduction to Lewis, *Undaunted Faith*.

Railroads

The Civil War proved almost catastrophic for southern railroads. Initially, railroad companies benefited from the newly generated war business, but inflation and deterioration, abuse, devastation of materials and lines brought company executives to their knees. By 1862, as one historian has noted, rail transportation "had sunk into an appalling state."⁷⁷ By the end of the war, companies faced gutted and burned depots, demolished bridges, missing cars, roadbeds with no ties or iron, and few customers. The investment that before the war most considered safe, proved disastrous, and many of the locals who had purchased stock had seen their good dividends and stocks disappear. In 1865, the total assets of Confederate rail lines shrunk to one-third of their 1861 value. Railroads lost credit and failed to pay interest. Their primary customer during the war — the Confederate government — had paid in Confederate dollars and now this money was worthless.⁷⁸

Manassas Gap Railroad President Marshall addressed the annual meeting for the last time in 1866 with a eulogistic tone: "we can lay to our souls the flattering unction, that Manassas, at the time of crowning success, fell from our hands among the many sacrifices of the 'Lost Cause.'" No doubt, Marshall's loss of one son, the wounding of another, and his own impoverishment fed his somber words.⁷⁹ The Manassas Gap line suffered more than many, but all owners certainly shared his sentiment.

Boarding a southern train immediately after the war proved dangerous too. The service was poor. The seats were gone, the windows broken. For blacks, the situation was worse. Before the war, free blacks could not travel the trains and slaves rode half price. Now blacks had to pay full price, but were given inferior treatment and made to sit in freight cars or on open platforms. When a black person protested, railroad personnel retorted, "You're free, ain't you? Good as white folks, ain't ye! Then pay the same fare, and keep your mouth shut."⁸⁰

Despite these problems and the fact that, in 1865, railroad companies had little to no capital and few resources, rebuilding proved a fairly quick endeavor. This was especially the case in Virginia. Soon after surrender, the Orange & Alexandria, linking with other railroad companies, started running daily mail trains between Washington and New Orleans. By the time that Whitelaw Reid visited Virginia in November 1865, he reported a smooth trip from Washington to

⁷⁷ Black, *Railroads of the Confederacy*, 95.

⁷⁸ Charles W. Turner, "The Virginia Central Railroad at War, 1861-1865," *Journal of Southern History* 12 (November 1946): 510, and John F. Stover, *The Railroads of the South, 1865-1900: A Study in Finance and Control* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), 15, 30, 39.

⁷⁹ Formal operations probably halted during the war. No annual reports can be found for that time period. See "Edward Carrington Marshall and the Manassas Gap Railroad," *Ties: Southern Railway System Magazine* 13 (July 1959): 9-10, quote on 10.

⁸⁰ Reid, *After the War*, 386. See also Stover, *Railroads of the South*, 46-47, 54-55.

Richmond.⁸¹ By 1870, most railroads had been physically restored and the trains ran regularly.

Company mergers and cheap labor abetted railroad recovery. In 1867 the Manassas Gap merged with the O&A to form the Orange, Alexandria, and Manassas Railroad and former O&A president John S. Barbour assumed control. Marshall served as a director. Several other mergers and name changes followed, until in 1898, the Southern Railway Company took control. These newly merged companies, like their older counterparts looked to black workers to cut costs. Initially, managers complained that freedmen were not reliable, yet, ten years later, black workers were highly regarded.⁸² Some of these workers lived in the Manassas area.

In addition to cutting labor costs and streamlining companies, southerners turned to northern capitalists for help. In January 1866, railroad enthusiast and southern booster James De Bow wrote in his *Review*, "What the South now needs is capital, and if the immense accumulations of the North could only be diverted in that channel, something like the old days of prosperity would be revived . . . Will not these rich capitalists pause and consider? Never before was so inviting a field opened." Even in Virginia, where before the war the state had pumped money into its railroads, rebuilding efforts came through northern money.

In September 1865, Governor Pierpont invited northerners to the state to rebuild its railroads.⁸³ By November, Reid credited northern loans for much rail construction: "Thanks to Northern loans, in sums ranging as high (in one or two cases, at least,) as a half-million dollars, the railroads were rapidly getting into running order, and old lines of travel were reopening. Already the Virginia Central Railroad was open to Staunton, and the Orange & Alexandria through its whole length, over a score or more of our battle-fields."⁸⁴

Pierpont's cry for outside money became even more crucial in 1871 when the state sold its railroad stock. In the summer of 1865, Virginia railroads had \$65,000,000 invested in 1,771 miles of railroad and the state held railroad stock valued by Governor Pierpont at \$22,000,000. Hard hit by the war and facing financial troubles, the state liquidated all of its holdings and called for the immediate sale of Virginia's railroad stock.

Out-of-state interests jumped at the opportunity to capture Virginia's railroad market. Rival companies, the Pennsylvania Railroad and the Baltimore & Ohio, looked at Virginia as a place of financial opportunity and were the most com-

⁸¹ Whitelaw Reid found marked improvement in Virginia rail transport by November, 1865, and attributed it to northern capital, *After the War*, 316.

⁸² Stover, *Railroads of the South*, 54-58; Reid, *After the War*, 329-31.

⁸³ The quote is from *DeBow's Review*, (January 1866), 105, and can be found in Stover, *Railroads of the South*, 54-55. See also Trowbridge, *The South*, 191.

⁸⁴ Reid, *After the War*, 324-25.

petitive. In 1866, B&O President John W. Garrett started to buy O&A stock. By 1872, he announced control of the Orange, Alexandria, and Manassas Railroad.⁸⁵

In addition to these outside interests and capital, Manassas area residents also contributed to the improvement of railroad technology in the post-war period. Eli H. Janney, who purchased the Waverly mansion and mill in 1889, invented the automatic coupler for railroad cars. The invention made him a very wealthy man. Another entrepreneur, Robert Portner, who eventually built the Annaburg mansion in 1892, developed the refrigerator car.⁸⁶

A revival in the railroad business heralded the beginning of growth and development for the Manassas area that exceeded what had stood before. Especially for the area south of the battlefields and around the junction, the railroads and the northerners they brought to the region breathed new life into the depressed region.

Developing Manassas

Charles W. Fitts was one of the first to move to Manassas following the war. "On the 4th of July, 1865," he and his parents "left Alexandria somewhere about noon, on the first train that ran as far as Manassas over the reconstructed Orange & Alexandria railroad." When they stepped off the train, they saw no dwellings, except for Liberia's brick house and two or three shanties to house the workmen. But the "tonic effect of the air" appealed to his mother and she entreated her husband to stay the night. They returned to Alexandria the next day to pack their belongings. A short time later, they moved to Manassas and built the "Eureka House" hotel. Later that summer, William S. Fewell, who had moved from Manassas to Lynchburg, returned to assert ownership of the land the newcomers had settled on. Fitts explained: "Father had pre-empted the land upon which he had built the Eureka House. When he commenced to build, there was no one there from whom to purchase, but upon Mr. Fewell's advent and laying claim to the soil, the 'squatter' and the owner very soon arrived at a mutual and amicable understanding. Which resulted in father's building him a house alongside the hotel and he brought his family here to live." Fewell laid out the town of Manassas in 1867-68.⁸⁷ The first streets were laid out 1st through 7th. Those running north and south were East, Main, Battle, West. Those running East and West

⁸⁵ Conversation with National Park Service archaeologist Stephen Potter and Linda Sargent Wood (March 6, 2003), Falls Church, Va., and Stover, *Railroads of the South*, 65, 108.

⁸⁶ James Burgess note to Linda Sargent Wood, July 24, 2003. See also Laurie C. Wieder, ed., *Prince William: A Past to Preserve* (Manassas, Va.: Prince William County Historical Commission, 1998), p. 91 for Annaburg and p. 136 for Waverly.

⁸⁷ Fewell was the depot master and living with Benjamin D. Merchant, the inn keeper, according to the 1870 census.

were North (now Church Street), Center, and South (now Prince William Street).⁸⁸

Fitts and Fewell initiated the town's development, but it was George C. Round who became the town's biggest booster. Marie Janney said that Round was "a little short man but I think he did more for Manassas than any single person I can recall . . . he was very interested in schools; he was a lawyer. I remember his reciting a poem but I can't remember but two lines. He lifted his voice at the end of it and said, 'The South received its hardest blow when Abraham Lincoln died.' And that always stuck with me because we didn't think too highly of Lincoln in those days."⁸⁹ (Fig. 8)

Round was born in 1839 in eastern Pennsylvania. His father served as the pastor of the Methodist Church at Kingston, Pa. The family moved to New York when George was two years old. They eventually settled in upstate New York. In 1858, George entered Wesleyan University. When the Civil War broke out, he interrupted his schooling to enlist in the First Connecticut Artillery. Eventually he became part of the United States Army Signal Corps, serving as a lieutenant. When the final battle ended in the Eastern theater, Round sent a proclamation of reconciliation from the dome of the North Carolina state capitol: "Peace on Earth, Good Will To Men."⁹⁰ This remained his message throughout his life.

Before he assumed his peacekeeping role in Manassas, Round returned to Wesleyan, completed his degree, and then, in 1868, earned a law degree. After a short stint with a New York City law firm, Round returned to the South. Probably a mixture of motives propelled Round's return to the South. When he died, his obituary announced that he "frequently expressed his purpose in moving to Virginia to be his desire to help build up the territory that he, as a soldier, aided to destroy." Certainly, for all his years in Manassas, Round did much to aid in reconciling northern and southern interests. He also did much to promote his own success. When he arrived in Manassas, he opened a law office, with characteristic drama, on New Year's Day 1869. He also profited from the real estate business.⁹¹

The first mercantile establishments after the war were Hynson & Wineburg, Merchant & Son, and later R. W. Merchant & Co. One of the largest businesses

⁸⁸ Recollections of Charles W. Fitts, *Manassas Journal* (July 1911), reprinted in *Echoes of Manassas*, 9; and the 1870 Census. See the layout for the town in *Echoes of Manassas*, 10; and see *Prince William: The Story of the People and Its Places*, 118-19 for town development in the early 1870s.

⁸⁹ Janney, *Echoes of Manassas*, 15.

⁹⁰ "The Last Signal Message of the War: A Reenactment of the Rocket Message Sent April 26, 1865," North Carolina State Capitol, Raleigh, North Carolina, Brochure in Round Papers, MSS 1R760 2a, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Va.

⁹¹ Obituary of George C. Round, November 8, 1918 in Ronald Ray Turner, comp., "Prince William County Virginia, 1900-1930 Obituaries," (Manassas, Va.: privately, 1996), 297-300. See also a short biography of Round in Joan M. Zenzen, *Battling for Manassas: The Fifty-Year Preservation Struggle at Manassas National Battlefield Park* (University Park, Pa.: State University Press, 1998), 5-7.



Fig. 8. George Round, leading citizen of post-war Manassas. A native New Yorker and Civil War veteran, Round moved to Manassas in 1868. He helped found the first public school in the town in 1869, served on the town council and in the Virginia legislature. Courtesy Manassas Museum System.

that the railroad brought to Manassas was a sumac warehouse and depot. By the 1870s, sumac had become a thriving industry throughout Prince William County. Alice Maude Ewell explained, "The boys here also used in summer to gather in the leaves of the beautiful sumac, used for tanning leather, and sometimes declared that they found it more profitable than farming. At any rate it yielded them more returns in ready money."⁹²

By 1873, stone quarries also helped build Manassas. Both the Brown Stone Quarries and the Mayfield Quarry, reported the *Alexandria Gazette*, held importance to the county: "The Mayfield Quarry is now being actively and energetically worked, and the stone is shipped by the Orange road to Washington, where it meets with a ready sale."⁹³

Community groups and associations followed this commercial development. Miss Newcomb started a private school in 1867 and a Ladies Memorial Association of Manassas commenced with Sara Fewell elected president. Their self-appointed mission centered on caring for the Confederate dead and instructing children about their "sacred duty" to remember and care for the graves of loved ones lost. In 1869, Bob Waters, with the assistance of E. W. Whiting published the first copy of the *Manassas Gazette*, the first newspaper published in Manassas at regular intervals.⁹⁴ In 1875, Round helped establish the Manassas Masons. He also worked to beautify the city, planting shade trees along avenues and around town. Residents built brick and frame dwellings for their homes.

Community and Racial Strife

Despite this bucolic setting, all was not harmonious in Manassas and its outlying areas. Conflict within families and between neighbors as well as racial tensions contributed to community unrest. Complaints of thievery probably occurred most frequently, but adultery, jealousy, assaults on animals and people, and an occasional murder also plagued the area. At the same time that the town of Manassas was incorporating, for instance, a few events rocked the community. In September 1872, Elija Clowe was imprisoned at the Brentsville jail to await trial for the murder of John O'Brian. At the end of July near Thoroughfare Gap, the two "became involved in a difficulty" when Clowe used his pocket knife to gouge O'Brian.⁹⁵

⁹² Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 104.

⁹³ *Alexandria Gazette*, May 8, 1873, in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 186.

⁹⁴ Paul Weir, *Manassas Journal*, June 17, 1910, in *Echoes of Manassas*, 11. The 1870 census lists a twenty-six-year-old white male, Lucius, and twenty-four-year-old white female Aurelia Newcomb. Both had been born in New York. They may have started the school.

⁹⁵ See various *Alexandria Gazette* articles, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*. For Clowe (spelling varies) and O'Brien, see various accounts from July 27, 1872, through the end of the year.

During that same month, Prince William residents heard about or read in the *Alexandria Gazette* that "John Starbuck, an old farmer and owner of the property near this place called the 'Stone House,' came into Manassas on Tuesday morning last armed with a musket and acting in a very strange and excited manner." Though the 1870 census did not record a "John Starbuck" at Stone House, he may have been a relative of Gideon and Mary Starbuck. Or perhaps he was Gideon and the paper had his name wrong. Regardless, the man was angry: "There was a large crowd of persons about the depot, to whom [Starbuck] explained that his wife was about to leave with another man, and that they wished to kill him before they went. He was anxious to employ a lawyer, and from his manner of talking was evidently laboring under an aberration of mind at the time."⁹⁶

About the same time, Manassas was abuzz with the Clark/Fewell affair. James F. Clark, a Confederate veteran, about twenty-eight years old, and a former Commonwealth Attorney for Prince William County, was charged in late August 1872 with the abduction of Fannie Fewell. Sixteen-year-old Fannie was the daughter of William S. Fewell, Manassas's railroad agent. The *Alexandria Gazette* carried extensive coverage of the case. They reported that prosecutors charged Clark with winning the "affections" of Fewell through "his insinuating arts," convincing her to run off with him, and then abandoning her. The accounts explained that he had convinced the Fannie that he had separated from his wife and wished to marry her. The two evidently escaped Manassas separately and met in Alexandria. Then Clark took Fewell to "Baltimore under promise of marriage," and "defiled her there." From Maryland, the pair traveled to Missouri. There, after only a few days, Clark abandoned Fewell. With help from the police, she found her way back to Washington where she met and confronted Clark. He assuaged her anger, professed his love for her, said he needed to leave for a short time, but would come back for her. Then he left her, taking her money with him. Fewell was not alone long, however. Her brother-in-law, Benjamin Merchant, tracked her to the hotel and brought her back to Manassas. The family pressed charges against Clark, and the authorities arrested him in Fredericksburg.⁹⁷

Area residents followed the story with great interest. When Clark was arrested, the authorities planned to bring him to Manassas. Throughout the town, there was "considerable excitement." A "large crowd assembled at the depot, and so much indignation was expressed that it was feared that summary punishment would be meted out to him." Clark never showed though. In fear for his life, the

⁹⁶ *Alexandria Gazette*, September 2, 1872, in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 142.

⁹⁷ For extensive coverage of the Clark/Fewell affair, see *Alexandria Gazette*, August 24, 1872–November 15, 1872, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 127-72. See also the 1870 Census for his age. Clark served as a private in Company A, 4th Virginia Cavalry, Appendix B; see Workers of the Writers' Program of the Works Projects Administration in the State of Virginia, *Prince William: The Story of its People and its Places* (1941; rpt., Manassas, Va.: Bethlehem Club, 1988), 209.

authorities decided to keep him at Fredericksburg. Eventually, they jailed him in Brentsville.

The accused never got a chance to defend himself in court. On August 31, Fannie Fewell's brother, Lucien N. "Rhoda" Fewell, entered the unlocked doors of the jail, walked to Clark's cell and, with a pistol in each hand, shot Clark four times. A short time later, Clark died. A few months later, Fewell went to trial for murder. With public sympathy on his side, he felt little fear. His attorneys, which included Eppa Hunton, argued before the court and a large crowd of interested spectators that "Fewell would have been branded with everlasting disgrace had he not have acted as he did in doing what he could to wipe out the shame that had been inflicted upon his family." The jury evidently agreed. On 13 November, after a deliberation of five minutes, foreman John S. Ewell read the verdict: "We of the jury, find the prisoner not guilty as charged in the indictment." The *Gazette* wrote: "The verdict was greeted with vociferous and long continued applause by the large number of spectators." Fewell exited the prisoner's box and friends congratulated him, took him to Reid's hotel in Brentsville to celebrate and then returned him to Manassas.⁹⁸

Violence erupted in other arenas also. Racial strife especially plagued relations. In 1868, a Freedmen's agent in Warrenton documented Ku Klux Klan activity. He reported that groups "composed of young men generally" go about at midnight "disturbing the colored people, and committing outrages upon them." In April, he explained that six whites went to the house of a colored man at midnight, ordered him up and out of the house and beat him. Then they broke into a black school and "committed outrages." Civil authorities, he said, "are aware" but have "taken no steps to put it down." The "colored people" and some whites are "in perfect terror about it."⁹⁹

That these young men attacked schools for black people was not surprising. Schools were a frequent source of animosity and contestation. Both black and white people recognized the power of education.

Public Schools Open in Virginia

After the Civil War, the South's educational system underwent radical change. Before the war and immediately after, the South had no public education system. Private schools largely served privileged white children of aristocratic families. Many white children, and almost all black children had no access to education.

⁹⁸ *Alexandria Gazette*, November 7 and 15, 1872, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, quotes on 156-57 and 172.

⁹⁹ Morton Havens April 4, 1868 from Warrenton to Bot. Leiut Col S. P. Lee C.A. Commission, "Letters Received, Warrenton, Virginia, 4th Division, 10th Sub District, (Fauquier and Prince William Counties). Record Group 105, Entry # 4287, Vol 445. Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Reconstruction changed that. Though it did not happen easily or quickly, gradually the door to education began to open for all children.

The education revolution began with African Americans. In slavery, black people had risked their lives to learn. Emancipation brought freedom to learn the alphabet without state reprisal and without fear of the masters' lash. Immediately — even before the war had concluded — black people rushed to create educational institutions for their children to learn. In northern Virginia, about 2,000 former slaves congregated in Alexandria during the war, and, before its conclusion, four hundred children attended schools started or directed by black people. A correspondent for the *New York Evening Post* wrote, "The first demand of these fugitives when they come into the place is that their children may go to school."¹⁰⁰ After the war, the numbers only increased, and Reconstruction became, in the words of Booker T. Washington, "an entire race trying to go to school."¹⁰¹ In the 1860s, one old Williamsburg man defied the Ku Klux Klan to attend class. "Armed with sword and gun," he walked three miles to school. His teacher reported that after carefully placing his weapons by the door, "the Primer would be taken from the pocket, and the poor old worn white head bent over its pages as he patiently spelled the words over and over, and his triumph when he mastered one was most touching. Often he would say 'Isn't this a most blessed privilege? Many a time I have been whipped for being found with a book, for I always wanted to learn to read.'"¹⁰²

In Fairfax and Prince William Counties, black people also pursued education. Often, black communities would start schools in churches. Someone donated land, and others supplied labor and materials to build a schoolhouse. Parents, grandparents, and neighbors brought wood to stoke the fires and keep the scholars warm, recruited teachers, and found books to use for lessons.

Some black schools benefited from the help of the Freedmen's Bureau, northern philanthropists, religious groups and some sympathetic southerners. In 1865, the Freedmen's Bureau opened offices throughout the South. In Fairfax County, the Bureau charged Agent George Armes to "care for any destitute freedmen, to see that no black was still held as a slave, to settle matters of contention between whites and blacks, to help blacks secure homes and land either by purchase or

¹⁰⁰ Herbert G. Gutman, "Schools for Freedom: The Post-Emancipation Origins of Afro-American Education," in *Power and Culture: Essays on the American Working Class*, ed. Ira Berlin (New York: Pantheon, 1987), 262-63. Netherton, *Fairfax County*, 363, notes that in 1863, Alexandria "was 'full of blacks' shanties, a number of them no doubt occupied by Fairfax and Prince William slaves. Wherever there was space, in the outskirts at the north and south ends of town and in vacant lots, there were, according to the *Alexandria Gazette*, rude houses 'huddled together, with no convenience for drainage.'" By 1865, about eight thousand blacks lived in Alexandria, many of them in freedmen's villages.

¹⁰¹ Vanessa Siddle Walker, *Their Highest Potential: An African American School Community in the Segregated South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1996).

¹⁰² Margaret Newbold Thorpe, "Life in Virginia by a 'Yankee Teacher,'" ed. Richard L. Morton, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 64 (April 1956): 185.

rent, and to provide schools for black children."¹⁰³ By December 1866, the Bureau had contracted with the Friends' Aid Society of Philadelphia to staff eight black schools in Fairfax County. By March 1867, 440 black adults and children attended school. While one agent described facilities as "totally inadequate" and some children failed to appear for lack of shoes and proper clothing, the opportunity to go to school delighted many in the black community.¹⁰⁴

In Prince William County, the story was the same. African Americans, the Freedmen's Bureau, Quakers, and others joined together to create schools. In the fledgling town of Manassas, blacks established a school for their children. The teacher in 1868, Mary K. Perry, reported that seventeen males and fifteen females attended the school. Two of these thirty-two pupils were over the age of sixteen and all had lived in slavery before the war. Perry taught reading, writing, arithmetic and geography, and indicated that no industrial component was a part of the students' education. The Friends of Philadelphia supported the school with monthly checks, but "Colored people" owned the building.¹⁰⁵ This school was probably the beginning of Manassas's Brown School, named for Philadelphia Quaker member Mary D. Brown.¹⁰⁶

Other black schools sprang up in various locations throughout the area. Sketchy school board records indicated that a black school called the "Pittsylvania school" operated in the vicinity of the old Carter plantation.¹⁰⁷ The Robinson family was involved in some of these educational endeavors. In 1868, Bladen Robinson, Jim's son, joined with Jesse Harris and others in donating an acre of land to the school district "Trustees and their successors for Educational purposes" for the sum of one dollar. This land had previously been purchased by Jesse Harris from Alfred Ball and was located in Fairfax County, not far from Bull Run and Jim Robinson's place.¹⁰⁸

Teacher reports around the Northern Neck declared the ebullience black parents and community members felt about school, but many in the white community exhibited a different response. Fairfax County Freedmen's Bureau officer, Orrin E. Hine, reported that public sentiment did not favor the education of freedmen or poor whites: "[I]t is barely tolerated and would not be if it were not from fear

¹⁰³ Netherton, *Fairfax County*, 380-81.

¹⁰⁴ Netherton, *Fairfax County*, 382-84, 444.

¹⁰⁵ Mary K. Perry, Monthly Teaching Report, January 1868; in "Letters Received," Warrenton, Virginia, 4th Division, 10th Sub District (Fauquier and Prince William Counties), Record Group 105, Entry #4287. Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

¹⁰⁶ Phinney, *Yesterday's Schools*, 93.

¹⁰⁷ Manassas District School Board Minutes, December 17, 1870, as quoted in Phinney, *Yesterday's Schools*, 162. A short history of the Pittsylvania Schools can be found in Phinney, *Yesterday's Schools*, 162.

¹⁰⁸ Fairfax County Deed Book I-4, p 155-56, Fairfax County Court House Archives. Eugene Scheel marks a spot for "Harris School" on his map of "Historic Prince William," C-4.

of punishment."¹⁰⁹ Black teachers complained repeatedly of white harassment. A large number of letters of resignation to the Superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau testified to the difficulties.¹¹⁰ In Gum Springs there was a new teacher every year. Other places in Fairfax County also had problems. At Frying Pan, angry whites burned the colored school and at Lewinsville, whites vandalized the school building. In 1864, Betsy Read and her father, J. D. Read started Falls Church Colored School in one of Fairfax's three black enclaves called "The Hill." Shortly after opening the school, a group of former Confederate partisans, enraged by Read's attempts to aid blacks, killed him. Betsy, fearing for her own life, left town.¹¹¹

In Prince William and Fauquier Counties, those who wanted to start schools for black children encountered similar problems. In 1868, when asked about the "public sentiment towards Colored Schools," the Manassas teacher wrote that it was "not at all good" and L.A. Jackson, the teacher at Clift Mills School on Carvers Run in Fauquier County said "they are barely tolerated."¹¹²

White children also scrambled to get an education after the war. For some, education resumed after a four year interruption caused by the war. Private schools, if they operated during the war, did so only intermittently. These schools commenced but often with inadequate supplies and only for a select few who could afford it. Marion Lewis of Manassas said, "After the war [people] just didn't have anything. They used to have a time getting shoes. They always were anxious for education. They could usually find some old lady who was fairly well educated to come and live with the family. Most of the children got education from some member of the family." Paul Arrington agreed. Following the "Civil War schools were particularly scarce," he said.

The area wasn't highly populated. My grandfather Arrington taught school for awhile out at a country school. My father attended the school he taught at. It was apparently pretty primitive there. A board nailed to a wall, just a long wide board, and they had a bench and the kids sat facing the wall working on this slanting board. Textbooks were pretty scarce.

¹⁰⁹ From the Freedmen's report of Orrin E. Hine, October 1866. Alexandria School Reports, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, Record Group 105, National Archives, Washington, D.C., as recorded in John Terry Chase, *Gum Springs: The Triumph of a Black Community* (Fairfax: Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, 1990), 22.

¹¹⁰ Judith Saunders Burton, "A History of Gum Springs, Virginia: A Report of a Case Study of Leadership in a Black Enclave," (Ph.D. Thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1986), 42.

¹¹¹ Mathelle K. Lee, "A History of Luther P. Jackson High School: A Report of a Case Study on the Development of a Black High School," (Ph.D. diss., Virginia Polytechnic Institute, 1993), 15-16. See Fairfax County Commissioners, "African American Landowners, Churches, Schools and Businesses" brochure for the starting date of Falls Church Colored School.

¹¹² Perry, Monthly Teaching Report, January 1868; and L.A. Jackson, Monthly Teaching Report, February 1868, in "Letters Received," Warrenton, Virginia, 4th Division, 10th Sub District (Fauquier and Prince William Counties), Record Group 105, Entry #4287. Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

They were pretty hard hit here after the war. I remember him telling about thumb paper. Maybe they would only have two or three books in the class and they would have to pass them one to another. The thumb paper was a piece of paper the size of a child's thumb and when they were holding the book they were supposed to keep that thumb paper between their thumb and not soil the sheet in the book."¹¹³

In northern Prince William County, Alice Maude Ewell and many of her twelve siblings attended a neighborhood school at the Evergreen plantation. They enjoyed better facilities and materials than their Manassas Junction peers. Reminiscing about the school, she believed that it had "an atmosphere of culture," where students learned music, painting, the arts, and literature.¹¹⁴

Ewell's schooling was exceptional. Most of her neighbors were illiterate and their children did not attend school. But, during the 1870s, thanks to Virginia's new Constitution, that changed. In 1870, the state implemented a public, albeit segregated, educational system that proved to be a milestone for most children in the state, black and white.¹¹⁵

Prince William County jumped ahead of other regions in Virginia to institute the county's public educational system, acting even before the state required it. In October 1869, largely through the urging of George C. Round, the courts divided the county into six school districts; a commissioner served each district and those commissioners elected Round as county superintendent. Picking Round to lead made sense. He was a strong proponent of public education. He read it as "the hope of a true reunion" between North and South and believed that a complete public school system would aid in the "true reconstruction" of the "great republic" which Washington had founded and Lincoln preserved.¹¹⁶

In December 1869, Manassas citizens opened the county's first public school and funded it with donations from private citizens, living both in Manassas and in the North. The Peabody Fund, started in 1867 by philanthropist George Peabody with the intent of furthering southern education, contributed six hundred dol-

¹¹³ Marion, Interview February 13, 1988, and recollections of Paul Arrington, reprinted in *Echoes of Manassas*, 12.

¹¹⁴ Ewell, *A Virginia Scene*, 107.

¹¹⁵ For a discussion of the 1869 Constitutional provisions on education, see J. L. Blair Buck, *The Development of Public Schools in Virginia, 1607-1952* (Richmond: State Board of Education, 1952), 65-70; and Cornelius J. Heatwole, *A History of Education in Virginia* (New York: MacMillan, 1916), 210-30. The story of Virginia's adoption of a public education system was similar to many southern states. For a short overview, see Louis R. Harlan, *Separate and Unequal: Public School Campaigns and Racism in the Southern Seaboard States, 1901-1915* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), 4-19. See also Heatwole, *History of Education in Virginia*, chap. 12 and pp. 362-65. For an overview of the convention proceedings, see Edgar W. Knight, "Reconstruction and Education in Virginia," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 15 (January 1916): 25-40. For the election of delegates and public sentiment in Fairfax County, see Netherton, *Fairfax County*, 350, 377, 380, 387.

¹¹⁶ Zenzen, *Battling for Manassas*, 6.

lars. With part of the money, the school acquired furniture from the Washington, D. C. school system and rented a room from the Asbury Methodist Church near Nokesville. Estelle Greene taught the first classes. From the beginning, the school accommodated whites only.

Six months later, Virginia's new education law went into effect and Manassas joined the state-run system. Round, John T. Leachman, and John H. Butler served as the first Board of Trustees and held their first meeting in November 1870. The Board represented an interesting collection of northern and southern interests. "John T. Leachman was a guide for the Confederate Army in both major battles at Manassas and in several skirmishes."¹¹⁷ Round, of course, had fought for the Union. Together, however, they joined hands to promote education and the welfare of the developing area.

These men called on others to help. They asked citizens to donate land for schoolhouses.¹¹⁸ Leachman followed the plea by giving some of his land bordering Featherbed Lane, south of Warrenton Turnpike, for the Groveton (Brownsville) school and the Brownsville School for Negro Children. Alexander H. Compton acted as the first teacher of the white school, earning a salary of forty dollars per month. In 1873, May Leachman, John's daughter, began teaching at the school when she was sixteen years old. Though young, she had trained at Millers Normal School in Millersville, Pennsylvania. She taught at the school for thirty years.

When Leachman began teaching in 1873, Charlie and Molly Lewis were two of her students. They lived at Rosemont. After they left their home in the morning, they joined other students on their way to school, including the Portici Lewis children. Katie and James David Harrover, who lived with the Steers family, attended Groveton School as well. About thirty students, ranging in grades from first to seventh, enrolled during these early years. Some rode horses and tied them close to a shed by the school. Students carried water from a spring for their drinking water. The school year lasted from September to June. Boys who helped their parents with planting and harvesting crops, however, only sat in class from November to April.¹¹⁹

The Brown School also became a part of the public system. So, too, did the Pittsylvania School. In December 1870, at its second meeting, the School Board voted to hire Josiah Thomas "to teach the colored school at Pittsylvania." Though the records of this school are slim, it probably started before becoming part of the public system. Its history was very short, however. In April 1871, the School Board closed its doors and transferred Thomas to the Manley School located at

¹¹⁷ Nannie Neville Leachman Carroll, "Folly Castle Folks" with comments by William L. Litsey. Talk given to the Hugh S. Watson Jr. Genealogical Society of Tidewater Virginia, 1976, in "Folly Castle" file in MANA, 35, n. 3.

¹¹⁸ Phinney, *Yesterday's Schools*, 139-41.

¹¹⁹ Phinney, *Yesterday's Schools*, 121-22, and Scheel, *Crossroads and Corners*, 45.

the intersection of Balls Ford, Compton and Bethlehem Roads. The few students probably followed. One of James Robinson's grandsons, Bladen Oswald Robinson, attended Manley, starting in 1917 as a first grader.¹²⁰

Two years later, Manassas raised enough funds to build a two-story building on Peabody Street to house the white school. They named it the Ruffner School, after the State Superintendent William H. Ruffner. The Brown School, also a two-story building, sat on Liberty Street.¹²¹ Across the state, other communities also began establishing schools.

Implementing this educational program proved difficult. The Constitution created the legal structure for a public system, but just as some pioneered the effort, other Virginians resisted, and the program barely got off the ground in the 1870s.¹²² For years, white Virginians had balked at the idea of public education. Suspicious of central power, many resisted giving the state power over local communities. Because of the way the Literary Fund — a small sum of state money used to provide schooling for poor children — had been executed, many Virginians also had come to associate a free education with the indigent and thus resented sending their children to public schools. Now, during Reconstruction, they found the idea of public education especially egregious, because, in large part, it had been imposed on them by northerners and blacks. Furthermore, now, not only were their tax dollars going to state-run schools, but they were also helping to support the education of their former slaves. To add to the misery they felt, Virginians confronted a high war debt. Hence, many felt that this was not the time to add any social programs. In sum, public education could not have come at a worse time. Tax dollars eventually trickled in; but, throughout the 1870s, the State Assembly diverted much of the money earmarked for education to cover other state expenses, and many schools closed almost as soon as they opened.¹²³

As a result of poor support, both monetarily and philosophically, Virginia's first public schools suffered gross inadequacies. Schools were small and scattered. Nearly all had only one room, and many students walked long distances. Many had no heat or outhouses. The average term was less than five months, and at-

¹²⁰ Manassas District School Board Minutes, December 17, 1870, as quoted in Phinney, *Yesterday's Schools*, 162. A short history of the Manley and Pittsylvania Schools can be found in Phinney, *Yesterday's Schools*, 142-3 and 162.

¹²¹ Phinney, *Yesterday's Schools*, 8-10, 93, 139.

¹²² Many of the schools that opened in 1870 did so on little or no public funds. Buck reports that the State Board of Education began its duties by appointing 1,400 district trustees and county superintendents. In 1871, 2,900 schools opened, 3,000 teachers and 130,000 students representing 37.6 percent of white, school-aged children and 23.4 percent of the black population; see Buck, *Development of Public Schools in Virginia*, 70. See Netherton, *Fairfax County*, 401 for Fairfax openings.

¹²³ For the diversion of school funds in the 1870s, see Buck, *Development of Public Schools in Virginia*, 79-80. See also Heatwole, *History of Education in Virginia*, 227, and Netherton, *Fairfax County*, 401-02.

tendance, which was not required, was sparse. Few books or other supplies graced student benches — many had no desks. Teachers, often poorly trained and without much direction or supervision, made scarce wages. In black schools, the situation was even more dire.

Despite this, Virginia's Superintendent of Education reported that black people expressed great enthusiasm for education and testified that the average attendance in black schools was greater than in white.¹²⁴ And black and white children benefited. Between 1870 and 1880, the illiteracy rate of all Virginians over age ten dropped from thirty-one to twenty-four percent.¹²⁵

In the ensuing decades, African Americans continued — with meager help from the state and despite daunting Jim Crow obstacles — to pursue schooling as a strategy of uplift. As W. E. B. DuBois concluded, it was former slaves who "connected knowledge with power; who believed that education was the stepping-stone to wealth and respect, and that wealth, without education, was crippled."¹²⁶

No one in the Manassas area would have agreed more with that statement than Jennie Dean. Born around 1852 to slaves Charles and Annie Dean, Jennie promoted education as a path of progress. Probably, Dean gained respect for education from her father who had learned to read and write while still a slave. At home in the Catharpin area of Prince William, she and her siblings probably obtained elementary lessons at a Freedmen's Bureau school (possibly the Thornton school). The Thornton school, not to be confused with one by the same name that served white children in the Dumfries district, was for black children and fell within the Gainesville school district. After only a few years in school, however, Dean, at the age of fourteen, cut her lessons short and went to Washington to work as a domestic. "[L]ike many other Negro youth of the time," her Washington pastor later explained, she "was caught in the migratory movement of that period."¹²⁷ And like many of her peers, she sent some of her wages back to her family. This money helped the family make payments for some land near Sudley Springs. (Fig. 9)

In Washington, Dean joined the Nineteenth Street Baptist Church and worked for families doing domestic chores and caring for children. While in Washington, she never forgot her family and friends in northern Prince William County. Gradually, she began to start worship centers and schools for blacks in northern Virginia. This included Mt. Calvary Chapel between Catharpin and Sudley Springs, and Dean Divers near Five Forkes. In Loudoun County, she initiated the

¹²⁴ Heatwole, *History of Education in Virginia*, 363.

¹²⁵ Buck, *Development of Public Schools in Virginia*, 88.

¹²⁶ W.E.B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1800-1880* (1935; rpt., Millwood, New York: Kraus-Thomson Organization, 1976), 641.

¹²⁷ Pastor Walter Brooks, as quoted in Lewis, *Undaunted Faith*, xxiii.



Fig. 9. Jennie Dean, educator and religious leader. Born into slavery near Sudley Springs, Va., she helped establish churches and schools for African Americans in northern Virginia, including the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth in 1893. Courtesy Manassas Museum System.

Conklin Chapel. All of these grew into churches and gained recognition from the Northern Virginia Baptist Association. As she planted churches, she pushed children to attend Sunday school. Burdened by the plight that black people faced between abject poverty at home and subservient positions in Washington City, she urged African Americans to get an education. Many of the Sunday Schools she established at these chapels developed into neighborhood schools for black children. Eventually, she started the Manassas Industrial School in 1893. It testified to her commitment to church and education as well.¹²⁸

Dean's philosophy was expressed in her motto for the Manassas Industrial School, which read: "To Educate the Head, the Heart, and the Hand." She instructed young people to be polite, charitable, and kind to whites. Though she did not advocate servility, she nonetheless "meant to fortify the youth of the time against the evils and pitfalls of arrogance and incivility in the face of unsurmountable barriers." She encouraged them to get an industrial training that would equip them and provide them with the necessary skills needed to gain jobs and economic independence.¹²⁹

To accomplish her educational objectives, Dean relied on the black church. A former Prince William educator noted, Manassas Industrial "was conceived, given birth to, and cradled in the bosom of the churches of northern Virginia."¹³⁰ She encouraged congregations to save pennies and donate their money and labor to build the school.

She also turned to whites and benevolent groups in both the north and south. George Round of Manassas was in this number. He helped her raise money and support. Dr. Edward Everett Hale from Boston organized northerners to send boxes of clothes to Manassas.¹³¹ Dean relished in the broad support she found. One white doctor, in particular, she said was "extremely supportive, along with other good white friends. It was a lovely relationship."

Dean's personality and determination helped build school support. Oswald G. Villard of the *New York Evening Post* said of Dean:

I think it was her own straightforward honesty and refusal to pretend to be anything else than what she was, a plain woman, unashamed of being a cook who made money to help the School and her people (that impressed me). I was much interested by the deep impression she made upon my Southern wife. There was nothing servile about her; she did not play up to or toady to the whites. She was just a plain, simple, dignified

¹²⁸ Lewis, *Undaunted Faith*, and Bennett, *View of the Mountain*. For the Thornton School, see Phinney, *Yesterday's Schools*, 177. Bennett, *View of the Mountain*, 5, 20-21.

¹²⁹ Jennie Dean, "The Beginning of the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth and Its Growth," (Manassas: Manassas Industrial School, 1902).

¹³⁰ Bennett, *View of the Mountain*, 5.

¹³¹ *Echoes of Manassas*, 27-31.

black woman with no gift for oratory and no charm beyond what I have said. . . her straightforwardness and sincerity.¹³²

Manassas Becomes an Incorporated Town

By the 1880s, life along the Warrenton Turnpike had generally recovered. Agricultural productivity had increased and homes and fences had been rebuilt. Centreville was doing a "a fair amount of business" and the *Alexandria Gazette* noted in 1873 that Gainesville and Haymarket, thanks to their position on the Manassas Railroad, were "thriving villages." The county seat of Brentsville, because it was not on the railroad line, standing a distance of three miles from Bristoe Station, had not grown much. It consisted of a "courthouse, jail (rather a rickety affair, as the killing of Clark demonstrated), two hotels, one store, and several bar-rooms — what Virginia court-house, by-the-way, would be complete without those places wherein to refreshen one's self after a ride over the dusty county roads?"¹³³

Manassas Junction surpassed all the surrounding communities, however. A writer to the *Richmond Journal* declared that Manassas

has been one of the most thriving, since the war, in this part of Virginia. At the close of the war there was scarcely a tenement of any kind left, except the brick mansion of Mr. Weir. . . . The town now has between seventy and eighty buildings, some of which are very fine. Church privileges are good; the schools also; a good printing office here; with plenty of mechanic shops, and merchant stores, one steam mill; all presenting an air of prosperity in the midst of a truly fine and fertile farming country. There are two hotels here; and I find the 'Manassas Hotel' comfortable and pleasant. The abundant quarries here of excellent red stone, for building, &c, are a source of much gain to the owners, and an attraction to the place. There are some fine gardens here.¹³⁴

Boosters, excited about the town's possibilities promoted these advantages and drew professional and community societies to its confines. In 1873, the Piedmont Milk and Produce Association held their annual meeting at Manassas and later that year, a Teachers' Institute was held.¹³⁵

In 1872, citizens of Manassas Junction began their campaign for the county seat. In order to gain approval, the town promised to donate a site for the county court house and to erect the new buildings needed. The town also promised to

¹³² *Echoes of Manassas*, 27.

¹³³ Smith, "Centreville," 59; *Alexandria Gazette*, May 8, 1873, Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 186.

¹³⁴ *Richmond State Journal* article, reprinted in *Alexandria Gazette*, April 24, 1873, in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 185.

¹³⁵ *Alexandria Gazette*, February 8, 1873 and August 22, 1873, reprinted in Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, p. 177 and 193.

pay all costs associated with the removal of the seat from Brentsville. In response, Virginia's General Assembly ordered a county referendum to decide the question and appointed Benjamin D. Merchant, Charles L. Hynson, and William S. Ferrell to oversee the removal, if necessary. Manassas lost the election, however, and the county seat remained at Brentsville.

Though the junction lost the bid, the campaign continued. First, however, area residents decided to incorporate as a town. Public meetings at the Manassas Hotel gathered interested citizens who circulated petitions. Discussions centered on councilmen elections, improving streets, and the creation of a fire department.¹³⁶ On April 2, 1873, the General Assembly responded to these petitions and provided a charter to the town of Manassas. The town government called for a seven-member council elected annually. The council chose the mayor, clerk, and sergeant.¹³⁷

During the 1870s, Prince William's population numbers increased, no doubt aided by the activity in Manassas. By 1880, the county's population stood at 9,180. By 1900, census takers counted 11,000. Railroad consolidation and larger rail lines increased the rail network and brought more traffic, more business, and more employment opportunities to Manassas. The town's incorporation in 1873 helped facilitate and support the town's infrastructure and schools, and Manassas became an economic hub for the region.

Organizing the town helped further its bid for the county seat, and finally, in 1892, the town won the referendum to move the courthouse. To help coordinate the effort, construct the new buildings, and move the seat were Henry F. Lynn, Colonel Edmund Berkeley, L. A. Marsteller, John A. Brawner, John T. Leachman, James E. Herrell, John G. Taylor, John Rennoe, John Clark, William R. Selectman, James V. Nash, and Ernest Lindsey.¹³⁸

Conclusion

Reconstruction never brought the revolution that Radical Reconstructionists planned and forecast. The programs they initiated were uneven and often temporary. Violence and discrimination coupled with racist attitudes and actions dampened and stymied progress. Still, economic recovery and some political and social change did occur. In Manassas, the railroad revived, agriculturalists restored their crops and livestock, and new industries emerged. Black people created new communities, churches, and schools. Women helped refashion southern domestic life and assumed new roles and responsibilities. Some linked hands with unlikely associates. Northerners made deals with southerners. Whites

¹³⁶ *Alexandria Gazette*, February 8, 1873, Turner, *PWC Newspaper Transcripts*, 178-79.

¹³⁷ Before the first election in July of 1873, the following served: H. B. Varnes, G. W. Hixson, C. L. Hynson, G. C. Round, L. H. Newman, W. S. Fewell, and R. C. Weir. See WPA, *Prince William*, 118-19; Paul Weir, *Manassas Journal* (June 17, 1910), reprinted in *Echoes of Manassas*, 15-17.

¹³⁸ WPA, *Prince William*, 119.

joined blacks to accomplish shared agendas and form new institutions. In education, particularly, Manassas residents came together. Northerner George C. Round, former slaveholder John T. Leachman, and former slave Jennie S. Dean, for instance, joined hands to create schools. Doing so these three and others contributed to the rise of Manassas as a bustling, incorporated town and eventually, the county seat. Together they helped establish Manassas as more than a battlefield.

American Public History Laboratory

COMING TO MANASSAS: PEACE, WAR, AND THE MAKING OF A VIRGINIA COMMUNITY

Bibliography

I. Edited and/or Published Primary Sources

- Blackford, Susan Leigh and Charles Minor Blackford. *Letters from Lee's Army or Memories of Life In and Out of the Army in Virginia During the War Between the States*. Edited by Charles Minor Blackford III. New York: Charles Scribner's, 1947.
- Blackford, W.W. *War Years with Jeb Stuart*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945.
- Burke, William. M.D. *Mineral Springs of Western Virginia, with Remarks on their Use, and the Diseases Which They are Applicable*. New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1842.
- Carter, Isabel (submitted by Steven Phillips). "Praying for Southern Victory." *Civil War Times Illustrated* (March/April 1991): 12-69.
- Conley, Brian A. *Return to Union: Fairfax County's Role in the Adoption of the Virginia Constitution of 1870*. Fairfax, Va.: Fairfax Public Library, 2001.
- Dean, Jennie. *A Battleground School; a Colored Woman's Work in Uplifting Negro Boys and Girls: The Story of the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth*. N.p., ca. 1901.
- . "The Beginning of the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth and its Growth." Manassas: Manassas Industrial School, 1902.
- Douglass, Frederick. *Frederick Douglass Papers, Series 1: Speeches, Debates, and Interviews*. 9 vols. Edited by John W. Blassingame. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- . *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*. Hartford, Conn.: Park, 1881. Available at <http://docsouth.unc.edu/douglasslife/douglass.html>, accessed September 28, 2003.
- Editors of Time-Life Books. *Voices of the Civil War: First Manassas*. Alexandria, Va.: Time-Life Books, 1997.

- Ewell, Alice Maud. *A Virginia Scene, or Life in Old Prince William*. Lynchburg, Va.: J.P. Bell Co., 1931.
- Frobel, Anne S. *The Civil War Diary of Anne S. Frobel of Wilton Hill in Virginia*. Florence, Ala.: Mary H. and Dallas M. Lancaster, 1986.
- Greene, Jack P., ed. *The Diary of Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1732-1778*. Richmond, Va.: Virginia Historical Society, 1987.
- Haupt, Herman. *Reminiscences of General Herman Haupt*. New York: John R. Anderson, 1901.
- Heinegg, Paul. *Free African Americans of North Carolina, Virginia, and South Carolina: From the Colonial Period to About 1820*. 2 vols. 4th ed. Baltimore, Maryland: Clearfield, 2001.
- Hening, William Walter, ed. *Statutes at Large, Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia*. 13 vols. 1819-23. Reprint. Richmond: University of Virginia Press, 1969.
- Houck, Peter W., ed. *Confederate Surgeon: The Personal Recollections of E.A. Craighill*. Lynchburg, Va.: H.E. Howard, 1989.
- Hunter, Alexander. *The Women of the Debatable Land*. Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1912.
- [Janney, Samuel M.] *The Yankees in Fairfax County, Virginia*. Baltimore: Snodgrass & Wehrly, 1845.
- Johnson, Clifton. *Highways and Byways of the South*. New York: Macmillan, 1904.
- Lincoln, Abraham. *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*. 9 vols. Edited by Roy P. Basler. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953.
- Lisbeth, Robert L. "Letters Postmarked Fairfax County 1861-62." *Historical Society of Fairfax, Virginia Yearbook* 19 (1983): 34-64.
- . "The Postal History of Fairfax County During the Civil War." *Historical Society of Fairfax, Virginia Yearbook* 19 (1983): 27-33.
- Long, Armistead R. *The Constitution of Virginia: An Annotated Edition*. Lynchburg, Va.: J.P. Bell Company, 1901.
- Lyell, Charles. *Travels in North America in the Year 1841-42*. 2 vols in 1. 1845. Reprint. New York: Arno Press, 1978.
- Lusk, William Thompson. *War Letters*. New York: privately, 1911.
- Machen, Arthur W. comp., *Letters of Arthur W. Machen with Biographical Sketch*. Baltimore: privately, 1917.

- McDonald, Cornelia. *A Diary with Reminiscences of the War and Refugee Life in the Shenandoah Valley, 1860-65*. Annotated and supplemented by Hunter McDonald. Nashville, Tenn.: Cullom and Gertner, 1935.
- Moorman, John J., M.D. *The Virginia Springs*. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1847.
- Olmsted, Frederick Law. *A Journey in the Back Country*. 1860. Reprint. New York: Schocken Books, 1970.
- . *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States*. 2 vols. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904.
- . *The Slave States, Before the Civil War*. Edited by Harvey Wish. New York: Capricorn, 1959.
- Perdue, Charles L., Jr., Thomas F. Barden, and Robert K. Phillips, eds., *Weevils in the Wheat: Interviews with Virginia Ex-Slaves*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976.
- Peters, Joan. *Slave & Free Negro Records from The Prince William County Court Minute & Order Books: 1752-1763; 1766-1769; 1804-1806; 1812-1814; 1833-1865*. Unpublished source book for African-American history, privately printed. Available at African American Historical Association Library, The Plains, Va.
- . *Prince William County Census: Free Negro Families, 1810; 1840-1860*. Unpublished source book for African-American history, privately printed. Available at African American Historical Association Library, The Plains, Va.
- Redpath, James. *The Roving Editor, or Talks With Slaves in the Southern States*. Edited by John R. McKivigan. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, [1859], 1996.
- Reid, Whitelaw. *After the War: A Tour of the Southern States, 1856-1866*. Edited by C. Vann Woodward. New York: Harper and Row, 1965.
- Robinson, Richard. Interview by Lynda Kaplan, Richard Rabinowitz, Gary Rowe, and Linda Sargent Wood, March 31, 2003, Manassas National Battlefield Park.
- Russell, William Howard. *My Diary North and South*. New York: Harper and Row, 1954.
- Sears, Stephen W., ed. *The American Heritage Century Collection of Civil War Art*. New York: American Heritage, 1974.
- Sullivan, Constance, ed. *Landscapes of the Civil War: Newly Discovered Photographs from the Medford Historical Society*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995.

- Tidball, Eugene C. "The View from the Top of the Knoll: Captain John C. Tidball's Memoir of the First Battle of Bull Run." *Civil War History* 44 (1998): 283-84.
- Trowbridge, J.T. *The South: A Tour of its Battle-fields and Ruined Cities*. 1866. Reprint. New York: Arno Press, 1969.
- Turner, Ronald Ray, comp. "Prince William County Virginia, 1900-1930 Obituaries." Manassas: Privately Published, 1996.
- . "Mixed Commission on British and American Claims: Cases of Thomas Pringle, Arthur C. and Frances Evans." Prince William County Virginia: Privately published, 2000.
- . *Prince William County, Virginia, Newspaper Transcripts* 2 vols. 1784-1860 and 1865-1875. Manassas: Privately Published, 2000.
- University of Virginia Geospatial and Statistical Data Center. *United States Historical Census Data Browser*. ONLINE. 1998. University of Virginia. .
- United States Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975.
- U.S. War Department. *The War of the Rebellion: The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. 70 vols., in 128 parts. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901.
- Welton, J. Michael, ed. "My Heart is So Rebellious": *The Caldwell Letters, 1861-1865*. Warrenton, Va.: Privately printed, n.d.

II. Archival Sources

African American Historical Association, The Plains, Va.

Peters, Joan, comp. "Slave and Free Negro Records, Prince William County Court Books." African American Historical Association Library, The Plains, Va.

Bull Run Library, Ruth E. Lloyd Information Center (RELIC), Manassas, Va.

Family Papers of Prince William.

Peters, Joan. "Identifying Free People of Color in 19th Century Virginia: Using a Record Matrix as a Model and Research Tool." Workshop at Bull Run Library, Manassas, Va., January 18, 2003.

United States Bureau of the Census. 1850, 1860, and 1870 *Population Schedules, Prince William County, Virginia*. Prince William County Library, Manassas, Va. Microfilm.

———. 1850, 1860, and 1870 *Industrial Schedules, Prince William County, Virginia*. Prince William County Library, Manassas, Va., 1850.

———. 1850 and 1860 *Slave Schedules, Prince William County, Virginia*. Prince William County Library, Manassas, Va. Microfilm.

———. 1850, 1860, 1870 *Agricultural Schedules, Prince William County, Virginia*. Prince William County Library, Manassas, Va. Microfilm.

Personal Property Tax List.

Historic Sites File.

Fairfax County, Va.

Fairfax County Archives, Virginia Room, Fairfax County Library, Fairfax, Va.

Fairfax County Court House Archives, Fairfax, Va.

Fairfax County School Board Archives, Fairfax, Va.

Library of Virginia, Richmond, Va.

Berkeley Family Papers. Edmund Berkeley (1823-1915) served as a represented in the House of Delegates and as a lieutenant colonel in the 8th Virginia infantry during the Civil War.

Board of Public Works. Concerning transportation through Manassas.

Burned County Record collection, 1867-1868 (Library of Virginia). This is an ongoing collection of copies of a various types of court records found in sources other than the place of origin. Composed mainly of records for which the local originals have now been destroyed, these are often the only remaining copies of the material. The collection consists of deeds, wills, estate, and marriage records for Virginia counties whose records have been lost to fire, war, or natural disaster.

Manassas Gap Railroad Company: Several Proceedings of the meetings of the stockholders of the Manassas Gap Railroad Company.

Orange and Alexandria Railroad Company: Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad Company.

Steadman, Melvin. The local records include deeds, court papers, wills, bonds, agreements, plats and surveys, and road records.

Tansill, Annie Cole, Letters, 1865-1868. Letters are from family members and friends and includes such topics as family news, health, courtship, social life and recreational activities, and the family's farming and milling business.

Manassas Museum, Manassas, Va.

Weir Papers.

Manassas National Battlefield Park Library, Manassas, Va.

Bears, Edwin C. Battle of First Manassas and Engagement at Blackburn's Ford. Historical Report on Troop Movements. National Park Service, Manassas National Battlefield Park, Va.

Beasley, Joy. "Pittsylvania: A Carter Family Plantation in the Virginia Piedmont." Unpublished report submitted to the National Park Service, National Capitol Region, under the auspices of the Cooperative Agreement between the National Park Service and the Department of Anthropology, University of Maryland, College Park, 2000.

Bevan, Bruce. A Geophysical Survey at the Robinson Farmstead, Manassas National Battlefield Park. National Park Service, National Capital Region, Washington, D.C.

Burgess, James, ed. Transcription of the "Robinson Papers." Manuscript on file, Manassas National Battlefield Park, Manassas, Va.

Carroll, Nannie N.L. Folly. Castle Folks. Manuscript on file at Manassas National Battlefield Park, Manassas, Va.

Crowson, Elmer T. Historic Structures Report, William Henry Dogan House, Manassas National Battlefield Park. Manuscript on file, Manassas National Battlefield Park, Manassas, Va.

Miscellaneous Family Papers of Manassas Area.

"Manassas Battlefield History: First Manassas." ONLINE. Manassas National Battlefield Park. National Park Service. Manassas, Va. Available: http://www.nps.gov/mana/battlefield_history/firstmana.htm. Accessed May 20, 2003.

"Manassas Battlefield History: Second Manassas." ONLINE. Manassas National Battlefield Park. National Park Service. Manassas, Va. Available: http://www.nps.gov/mana/battlefield_history/secondmana.htm. Accessed May 20, 2003.

"To Be Public or Private: Changing Uses of Landscape at Sudley Post Office, 1840s-1920s." ONLINE. National Park Service Archaeological pages. Available: <http://www.nps.gov/rap/exhibit/mana/text/sudley01.htm>. Accessed March 5, 2003.

Wilshin, Francis F. "The Stone House: Embattled Landmark of Bull Run." Manuscript on file, Manassas National Battlefield Park, Manassas, Va., 1961.

National Archives

U.S. Department of the Treasury. Southern Claims Commission, 1871-80. Allowed Claims. Record Group 217, National Archives, College Park, Md.

U.S. House of Representatives. Southern Claims Commission, 1871-80. Barred and Disallowed Claims. Record Group 233, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

U.S. Department of the War, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1869, Monthly lists of Destitute Whites, May-September 1866, Record Group 105, M1048, roll 58, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

U.S. Department of War, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1869, Monthly Narrative Reports of Operations and Conditions, July-October 1866, Record Group 105, M1048, roll 48, National Archives.

U.S. Department of War, Records of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Virginia, 1865-1869, Record Group 105, M1048, roll 59, National Archives.

U.S. Department of War, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 2nd Division (Fairfax County), 10th Sub District, Virginia, from August 1st 1865 to October 31st 1868, Record Group 105, entry 3966, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

U.S. Department of War, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1869, Monthly Narrative Reports of Operations and Conditions, July-October 1866, Report of Marcus S. Hopkins, Sub-District of Prince William County, Virginia, July 31, 1866.

Virginia Historical Society, Richmond

Berkeley, Edmund, Account Book.

Alexander, Thomas. Merchant in Prince William County, Va.

Colonization Society of Virginia, Records 1823-1859.

Curtis Family Papers. Deed of Emancipation from Charles Curtis to Henry Curtis.

Glascok, Burr. Papers. Concerning agricultural operations in Prince William County.

Horner, Inman. Slaveholder in Manassas. Papers.

Lancaster Family. Papers

Manassas Gap Railroad Company, List of Stockholders.

Round, George Carr. Papers.

Selectman, Henretta. Diary.

Pollard, Thomas. "Crop, Stock and Labor Report for June 1878." Circular # 11. Richmond: Department of Agriculture, 1878.

The Digital Library and Archives of the Carol M. Newman Library, Virginia Tech University, Blacksburg, Va.

Records of the Manassas Gap Railroad and Orange & Alexandria Railroad Company, 1850-1870.

III. Newspapers and Periodicals

[Good collections are available at the Alexandria Library, the Fairfax County Library, and the Bull Run Library, Manassas]

The Alexandria Gazette

Fairfax Herald

Fairfax News

Turner, Ronald Ray, comp. *Prince William County, Virginia Newspaper Transcripts, 1784-1860 and 1865-1875*. 2 vols. Manassas, Va.: privately, 2001.

IV. Government Documents

"To Be Public or Private: Changing Uses of Landscape at Sudley Post Office, 1840s-1920s." ONLINE. National Park Service Archaeological pages. Available: <http://www.nps.gov/rap/exhibit/mana/text/sudley01.htm>. Accessed March 5, 2003.

Galke, Laura, ed. *Cultural Resource Survey and Inventory of a War-Torn Landscape: The Stuart's Hill Tract*. Occasional Report No. 7. National Capital Region, National Park Service. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Department of the Interior, 1992.

———. "You Are Where You Live: Status Differences Between Field and Village Slaves in Piedmont, Virginia." Paper presented at the Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology, Society of Historical Archaeology, Kingston, Jamaica, 1992.

———. "You Are Where You Live: A Comparison of Two 'Africanisms' at Two Sites in Manassas National Battlefield Park." Washington, D.C.: National Capital Region, National Park Service, 1992.

Joseph, Maureen De Lay. "Manassas National Battlefield Park Cultural Landscape Inventory: Northwest Quadrant." Manassas, Va.: National Park Service, 1996.

———. "Manassas National Battlefield Park Cultural Landscape Inventory: Northeast Quadrant." Manassas, Va.: National Park Service, 1996.

Parker, Kathleen and Jacqueline L. Herningle. *Portici: Portrait of a Middling Plantation in Piedmont Virginia, National Park Service*. Occasional Report No. 3, National Capital Region, National Park Service. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1990.

Parsons, Mia T., ed. *Archeological Investigation of the Robinson House Site 4402288: A Free African-American Domestic Site Occupied from the 1840s to 1936*. Occasional Report No. 17, National Capital Region, National Park Service. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 2001.

———. "Manassas National Battlefield Park Cultural Landscape Inventory: Southern Portion." Manassas, Va.: National Park Service, 1996.

Reeves, Matthew B., ed. *An Archeological and Historical Investigation of Stone House (44PW298)*. Occasional Report No. 16, National Capital Region, National Park Service. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 2001.

———. *Views of a Changing Landscape: An Archeological and Historical Investigation of Sudley Post Office (44PW294)*. Occasional Report No. 14, National Capital Region, National Park Service. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1998.

V. Local Histories

Bennett, Commodore Nathaniel. *View of the Mountain: Jennie Dean of Virginia*. Manassas, Va.: No publisher, ca. 1967.

- Cain, Charlotte. "The Descendants of Samuel and Nellie Naylor: An African American Family of Prince William County." *Prince William Reliquary* 1 (October 2002): 73-80.
- Cauble, Frank B. *Biography of Wilmer McLean*. Lynchburg, Va.: H.E. Howard, 1987.
- Evans, Thomas J. and James M. Moyer. *Mosby's Confederacy: A Guide to the Roads and Sites of Colonel John Singleton Mosby*. Shippensburg, Pa.: White Mane Publishing, 1991.
- Friedman, Carol Drake. "Wilmer McLean: The Centreville Years." *Yearbook: The Historical Society of Fairfax County, Virginia* 23 (1991-1992): 60-81.
- Harrison, Fairfax. *Landmarks of Old Prince William*. 1924. Reprint. Baltimore: Gateway Press, Inc., 1987.
- Haymarket Historical Commission. *Haymarket: A Town in Transition*. Stephens City, Va.: Commercial Press, 1998.
- Hobbs, W.R., Teresa A. Kelley, and Sallie C. Pusey, comps. *WPA Records of Prince William County, Virginia*. Westminster, Maryland: Willow Bend Books, 2001.
- Johnson, Elizabeth Harrover, E.R. Conner, Mary Harrover Ferguson. *History in a Horseshoe Curve: The Story of Sudley Methodist Church and its Community*. Princeton, N.J.: Pennywitt Press, 1982.
- Jones, Guinevere S., Brian P. Sales, Theora Austin, and Edith Sprouse. "African American Landowners, Churches, Schools and Businesses, Fairfax County, Virginia (1860-1900)." Brochure. Fairfax County, Va.: Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, November 2000.
- Koman, Rita G. "Two Tales of Southern Success: Diversity Helps Chart a Community." *OAH Magazine of History* 16 (Winter 2002): 40-47.
- Kilmer, Kenton and Donald Sweig. *The Fairfax Family in Fairfax County*. Fairfax, Va.: Fairfax County Office of Comprehensive Planning, 1975.
- Lewis, Stephen Johnson. *Undaunted Faith: The Life Story of Jennie Dean, Missionary, Teacher, Crusader, Builder, Founder of the Manassas Industrial School*. 1942. Reprint. Manassas, Va.: Manassas Museum, 1994.
- Martin Seibert, Erika K. "The Third Battle of Manassas: Power, Identity, and The Forgotten African-American Past." In *Myth, Memory, and the Making of the American Landscape*, edited by Paul A. Shackel. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001.

- McCarron, Kay and Sharon Doyle. "The Search for Tudor Hall." A Report Prepared for the Manassas Museum, November 1989.
- Mills, Charles A. *Echoes of Manassas*. Edited by Donald L. Wilson. Manassas, Va.: Friends of the Manassas Museum, 1988.
- Naisawald, L. Van Loan. "The Battle of Bristoe Station." *Virginia Cavalcade* 18 (1968): 39-47.
- . "The Manassas Gap Railroad." *Virginia Cavalcade* 19 (1970): 30-41.
- Nelson, Alice Jean. *Virginia Lineages, Letters and Memories: Lewises of Portici on Bull Run with Related Families from Twenty Counties*. Sarasota, Fla.: privately, 1984.
- Netherton, Nan, Donald Sweig, Janice Artemel, Patricia Hickin, and Patrick Reed. *Fairfax County, Virginia: A History*. Fairfax, Va.: Fairfax Board of Supervisors, 1992.
- Noble, Susan Jane. "Remnants of the Independent Line of the Manassas Gap Railroad." *Echoes of History* 5 (April 1975): 1, 24-25.
- Phinney, Lucy Walsh. *Yesterday's Schools: Public Elementary Education in Prince William County, Virginia 1869-1969*. N.p.: privately, 1993.
- Ratcliffe, R. Jackson. *This Was Prince William*. Leesburg, Va.: Potomac Press, 1978.
- . *This Was Manassas*. Leesburg, Va.: Potomac Press, 1978.
- Sarles, Jr., Frank B. "A Short History of Manassas National Battlefield Park." June 1955.
- Say, Harold Bradley. "Episode in Virginia." *The Rotarian* (January 1949): 30-34.
- Smith, Eugenia B. *Centreville, Virginia: Its History and Architecture*. Fairfax, Va.: Fairfax Co. Office of Planning, 1973.
- Sprouse, Edith, comp. *Fairfax County in 1860: A Composite Biography*. Fairfax, Va.: privately, 1996.
- Susi, Geraldine Lee. *For My People: The Jennie Dean Story*. Manassas, Va.: Manassas Museum, 2003.
- Sweig, Donald. "Northern Virginia Slavery: A Statistical and Demographic Investigation." Ph.D. diss., College of William and Mary, 1982.
- . "Reassessing the Human Dimension of the Interstate Slave Trade." *Prologue: The Journal of the National Archives* (Spring 1980).

- , ed. *Registration of Free Negroes Commencing September Court 1822, Book No. 2" and "Register of Free Blacks 1835, Book No. 3."* Fairfax, Va.: Office of Comprehensive Planning, 1977.
- Wieder, Laurie C., ed. *Prince William: A Past to Preserve*. Manassas, Va.: Prince William County Historical Commission, 1998.
- Workers of the Writers' Program of the Works Projects Administration in the State of Virginia. *The Negro in Virginia*. Winston-Salem, N.C.: John F. Blair, 1994.
- . *Prince William: The Story of its People and its Places*. 1941. Reprint. Manassas, Va.: Bethlehem Club, 1988.
- Young, Pearl E. "Drover's Rest," *Historical Society of Fairfax County Yearbook* 6 (1958-1959): 30-33.

VI. Secondary Sources

- Abrahamson, James L. *The Men of Secession and Civil War, 1859-1861*. Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 2000.
- Anderson, James D. *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1988.
- Ashdown, Paul and Edward Caudill. *The Mosby Myth: A Confederate Hero in Life and Legend*. Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 2002.
- Beatie, Russell H. *Road to Manassas: The Growth of Union Command in the Eastern Theatre from the Fall of Fort Sumter to First Manassas*. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1961.
- Benes, Peter, ed. *The Farm*. Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife, Annual Proceedings. Boston: Boston University Press, 1986.
- Bentley, George R. *A History of the Freedmen's Bureau*. New York: Octagon Books, 1974.
- Belz, Herman. *A New Birth of Freedom: The Republican Party and Freedmen's Rights, 1861-1865*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976.
- Berlin, Ira, et. al. *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867, Series II: The Black Military Experience*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- . *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003.

———. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Berlin, Ira and Philip D. Morgan, eds. *Cultivation and Culture: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993.

Beveridge, Albert J. *The Life of John Marshall*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916.

Billings, Warren M., John E. Selby, and Thad W. Tate. *Colonial Virginia: A History*. White Plains, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1986.

Black, Robert C. *The Railroads of the Confederacy*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Blair, William. *Virginia's Private War: Feeding Body and Soul in the Confederacy, 1861-1865*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Breen, T. H. *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of the Revolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Brewer, James H. *The Confederate Negro: Virginia's Craftsmen and Military Laborers, 1861-1865*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1969.

Bruce, Philip Alexander. *Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1964.

Buck, J. L. Blair. *The Development of Public Schools in Virginia, 1607-1952*. Richmond: State Board of Education, 1952.

Burton, Judith Saunders. "A History of Gum Springs, Virginia: A Report of a Case Study of Leadership in a Black Enclave." Ph.D. Thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1986.

Bushman, Claudia L. *In Old Virginia: Slavery, Farming, and Society in the Journal of John Walker*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Chase, John Terry. *Gum Springs: The Triumph of a Black Community*. Fairfax, Va.: Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, 1990.

Coleman, J. Winston. *Stage Coach Days in the Bluegrass*. Louisville, Ky.: Standard Press, 1935.

Cornish, Dudley. *The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1966.

- Crew, R. Thomas, Jr. "Using Virginia Civil War Records." (Research Notes Number 14). ONLINE. February 2001. Library of Virginia, Richmond. Available:
http://www.lva.lib.va.us/whatwehave/mil/rn14_usingcivwar.htm. Accessed May 19, 2003.
- Crofts, Daniel W. *Reluctant Confederates: Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.
- Cutrer, Thomas W., ed. *Longstreet's Aide: The Civil War Letters of Major Thomas J. Goree*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1955.
- Dailey, Jane. *Before Jim Crow: The Politics of Race in Postemancipation Virginia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.
- Davis, William C. *Battle at Bull Run: A History of the First Major Campaign of the Civil War*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981.
- Dew, Charles B. *Bond of Iron: Master and Slave at Buffalo Forge*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1994.
- DuBois, W.E.B. *Black Reconstruction: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1800-1880*. 1935. Reprint. Millwood, New York: Kraus-Thomson Organization, 1976.
- Durden, Robert F. *The Gray and the Black: The Confederate Debate on Emancipation*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972.
- Durrill, Wayne K. *War of Another Kind: A Southern Community in the Great Rebellion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Eaton, Clement. "Slave Hiring in the Upper South: A Step Toward Freedom," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 46 (March 1960): 663-78.
- Fischer, David Hackett and James C. Kelly. *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.
- Franklin, John Hope. *The Emancipation Proclamation*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1963.
- Franklin, John Hope and Alfred A. Moss. *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans*. 7th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994.
- Freehling, Alison Goodyear. *Drift Towards Dissolution: The Virginia Slavery Debate of 1831-1832*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982.
- Freeman, Douglas Southall. *R.E. Lee: A Biography*. 4 vols. New York: Scribner's, 1942.

- Geier, Clarence R. and Stephen R. Potter, eds. *Archaeological Perspectives on the American Civil War*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000.
- Gerteis, Louis S. *From Contraband to Freedman: Federal Policy Toward Southern Blacks, 1861-1865*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973.
- Greene, Jack P. *Landon Carter: An Inquiry into the Personal Values and Social Imperatives of the Eighteenth-Century Virginia Gentry*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1965.
- Grettlar, David J. "Farmer Snug and Farmer Slack: The Archaeology of Agricultural Reform in Delaware, 1780-1920" *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology* (1991): 5.
- Guild, June ed. *Black Laws of Virginia: A Summary of the Legislative Acts of Virginia Concerning Negroes from Earliest Times to the Present*. 1936. Reprint. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969.
- Gutman, Herbert G. *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1790-1925*. New York: Pantheon, 1976.
- . "Schools for Freedom: The Post-Emancipation Origins of Afro-American Education." In *Power and Culture: Essays on the American Working Class*. Edited by Ira Berlin. New York: Pantheon, 1987.
- Hagerman, Edward, ed. *The American Civil War and the Origins of Modern Warfare: Ideas, Organization, and Field Command*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988.
- Harlan, Louis R. *Separate and Unequal: Public School Campaigns and Racism in the Southern Seaboard States, 1901-1915*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958.
- Hassler, Warren W. *General George B. McClellan: Shield of the Union*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959.
- Heatwole, Cornelius J. *A History of Education in Virginia*. New York: Macmillan, 1916.
- Hennessy, John J. *The First Battle of Manassas: An End to Innocence, July 18-21, 1861*. Lynchburg, Va.: H.E. Howard, 1989.
- . *Return to Bull Run: The Campaign and Battle of Second Manassas*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993.
- Hickin, Patricia. "John Curtis Underwood and the Antislavery Crusade, 1809-1860." *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 63 (April 1965): 156-68.

- Holmes, Oliver W. and Peter T. Rohrbach. *Stage Coach East: Stagecoach Days in the East from the Colonial Period to the Civil War*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983.
- Hutchins, Catherine E., ed. *Everyday Life in the Early Republic*. Winterthur, Del.: Winterthur Museum, 1994.
- Johnson, Robert Underwood. *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*. 4 Vols. New York: Century, 1887-1888.
- Johnston, James. *Virginia Railroads in the Civil War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961.
- Kammen, Michael, ed. "Maryland in 1699: A Letter from the Rev. Hugh Jones," *Journal of Southern History* 29 (1963): 369-70.
- Kerr-Ritchie, Jeffrey R. *Freedpeople in the Tobacco South: Virginia, 1860-1900*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.
- Klingberg, Frank W. *The Southern Claims Commission*. New York: Octagon Books, 1978.
- Knight, Edgar W. "Reconstruction and Education in Virginia." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 15 (January 1916): 25-40.
- Kovologos, Philip and Ben Nguyen. "Centreville Military Railroad." *Historical Society of Fairfax County, Virginia* 19 (1983): 13-24.
- Kulikoff, Alan. *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.
- Lee, Mathelle K. "A History of Luther P. Jackson High School: A Report of a Case Study on the Development of a Black High School." Ph.D. diss., Virginia Polytechnic Institute, 1993.
- Lewis, Charlene M. Boyer. *Ladies and Gentlemen on Display: Planter Society and the Virginia Springs, 1790-1860*. The American South Series. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001.
- Lewis, Ronald. *Coal, Iron and Slaves: Industrial Slavery in Maryland and Virginia, 1715-1865*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979.
- Levine, Lawrence. *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- McAfee, Ward M. *Religion, Race, and Reconstruction: The Public School in the Politics of the 1870s*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988.

- McCary, Ben. *Indians in Seventeenth Century Virginia*. Williamsburg, Va.: Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration, 1957.
- McDonald, Joanna. *"We Shall Meet Again": The First Battle of Manassas (Bull Run), July 18-21, 1861*. Shippensburg, Pa.: White Mane Books, 1999.
- McElfresh, Earl B. "The Manassas Battlefields." Map. Olean, New York: McElfresh Map Company, 1996.
- McPherson, James M. *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- . *The Negro's Civil War: How American Negroes Felt and Acted During the War for the Union*. New York: Pantheon, 1965.
- . *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction*. 2 vols. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1993.
- . *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964.
- . "White Liberals and Black Power in Negro Education, 1865-1915." *American Historical Review* (June 1970): 1357-1379.
- Mills, Gary B. *Southern Loyalists in the Civil War: The Southern Claims Commission, A Composite Directory of Case Files Created by the U.S. Commissioner of Claims, 1871-1880, including those appealed to the War Claims Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Court of Claims*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1994.
- Mintz, Sidney W. and Richard Price. *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1976.
- Moger, Allen W. "The Origin of the Democratic Machine in Virginia." *Journal of Southern History* 8 (1942): 183-209.
- Morgan, Edmund S. *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1975.
- Morgan, Lynda J. *Emancipation in Virginia's Tobacco Belt, 1850-1870*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992.
- Morton, Louis. *Robert Carter of Nomini Hall: A Virginia Tobacco Planter of the Eighteenth Century*. Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, 1941.
- Noe, Kenneth W. *Southwest Virginia's Railroad: Modernization and the Sectional Crisis*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994.
- Orser, Charles E., ed., "Historical Archaeology on Southern Plantations and Farms." *Historical Archaeology* 24 (1990): 7-19.

- Pindell, Richard. "The Unrepentant Rebel." *Civil War Times Illustrated* (September 1985): 13-50.
- Potter, David M. *The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861*. Edited by Don E. Fehrenbacher. New York: Harper & Row, 1976.
- Potter, Stephen R. *Commoners, Tribute, and Chiefs: The Development of Algonquian Culture in the Potomac Valley*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993.
- Quarles, Benjamin. *The Negro in the Civil War*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1953.
- Rafuse, Ethan S. *A Single Grand Victory: The First Campaign and Battle of Manassas*. Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 2002.
- Rawley, James A. *Secession: The Disruption of the American Republic, 1844-1861*. Malabar, Fla.: Robert E. Krieger, 1990.
- Reniers, Percival. *The Springs of Virginia: Life, Love, and Death at the Waters, 1775-1900*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941.
- Roberts, Joan I. and Thetis M. Group. *Feminism and Nursing: An Historical Perspective on Power, Status, and Political Activism in the Nursing Profession*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1995.
- Robertson, James L. Jr. *Civil War Virginia: Battleground for a Nation*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991.
- Rockman, Diana D. and Nan A. Rothschild. "City, Tavern, Country Tavern: An Analysis of Four Colonial Sites." *Historical Archaeology* 18 (1984): 112-21.
- Saillant, John, ed. *Afro-Virginian History and Culture*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1999.
- Schlotterbeck, John T. "The 'Social Economy' of an Upper South Community: Orange and Greene Counties, Virginia, 1815-1860." In Orville Burton and Robert C. McMath, Jr., eds., *Class, Conflict, and Consensus: Antebellum Southern Community Studies*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982, 3-28.
- Scott, James C. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Sears, Stephen W. *George McClellan, The Young Napoleon*. New York: Ticknor and Fields, 1988.
- Selby, John G. *Virginians at War: The Civil War Experiences of Seven Young Confederates*. Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 2002.

- Spear, Donald P. "The Sutler in the Union Army." *Civil War History* 16 (1970): 123.
- Staudenraus, P.J. *The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961.
- Stamp, Kenneth M. *America in 1857: A Nation on the Brink*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Stevenson, Brenda E. *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Sutherland, Daniel. *Seasons of War: The Ordeal of a Confederate Community, 1861-1865*. New York: The Free Press, 1995.
- Swanton, J. R. *The Indian Tribes of North America*, Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 145 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1952): 68-70.
- Sylvia, Stephen W. *The Illustrated History of Civil War Relics*. Orange, Va.: Moss Publications, 1978.
- Tadman, Michael. "Slave Trading in the Ante-bellum South: An Estimate of the Extent of the Inter-Regional Slave Trade." *Journal of American Studies* 13 (Spring 1979): 195-220.
- Thorpe, Margaret Newbold. "Life in Virginia by a 'Yankee Teacher,'" edited by Richard L. Morton, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 64 (April 1956): 185.
- Turner, Charles W. "Virginia Railroad Development, 1845-1860," *Historian* 10 (Autumn 1947): 43-62.
- Wade, Richard C. *Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820-1860*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Walker, Vanessa Siddle. *Their Highest Potential: An African American School Community in the Segregated South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1996.
- Walsh, Lorena S., *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997.
- . "Slave Life, Slave Society, and Tobacco Production in the Tidewater Chesapeake, 1620-1820." In *Cultivation and Culture*, edited by Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993.
- Warner, Ezra J. *Generals in Blue: Lives of the Union Commanders*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964.

- . *Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Commanders*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959.
- Waugh, John C. *Surviving the Confederacy: Rebellion, Ruin, and Recovery—Roger and Sarah Pryor During the War*. New York: Harcourt, 2002.
- Weber, Thomas. *The Northern Railroads in the Civil War, 1861-1865*. New York: King's Crown Press, 1952.
- Wert, Jeffry D. *Mosby's Rangers*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990.
- Wheeler, Linda. "'Gray Ghost' Mosby Rides Again in the Name of Heritage." *Washington Post*. January 10, 2002.
- Wilkinson, Joyce E. "The Early Orange and Alexandria Railroad, 1849-1854." *Pioneer America* 1 (July 1969): 46-53.
- Williamson, James Joseph. *Mosby's Rangers*. New York: Sturgis and Walton, 1909.
- Wilson, Keith P. *Campfires of Freedom: The Camp Life of Black Soldiers During the Civil War*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2002.
- Wright, Louis B. *The First Gentlemen of Virginia: Intellectual Qualities of the Early Colonial Ruling Class*. San Marino, Calif.: The Huntington Library, 1940.
- Yoder, Paton. *Taverns and Travelers: Inns of the Early Midwest*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969.
- Zaborney, John J. "Slave Hiring and Slave Family and Friendship Ties in Rural Nineteenth-Century Virginia." In *Afro-Virginian History and Culture*. Edited by John Saillant. New York: Garland, 1999.
- Zenzen, Joan M. *Battling for Manassas: The Fifty-Year Preservation Struggle at Manassas National Park Battlefield*. University Park, Pa.: State University Press, 1998.