African American Experience Before Emancipation - Historic Context Narrative

National Park Service - National Capital Area



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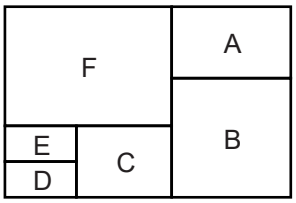
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I. AFRICAN AMERICAN EXPERIENCE BEFORE EMANCIPATION IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA

FIND YOUR PARK

Mentioned in this Chapter:
CATOCTIN MOUNTAIN PARK (CATO): Catoctin Furnace (p. 4)
C&O CANAL NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK (CHOH): Antietam Iron Works (p. 4), C&O Canal (p. 4, 8)
GEORGE WASHINGTON MEMORIAL PARKWAY (GWMP): Mount Vernon (p. 3)
ROCK CREEK PARK (ROCR): Federal/Lyons Mill (p. 3), Peirce Shoemaker Farm and Mill (p. 3), Georgetown waterfront (p. 4, 8), Rock Creek Park (p. 4)

A. INTRODUCTION

On top of the dome of the U.S. Capitol, looming over the center of Washington, is a 19-foot-tall, 15,000-pound statue of Freedom. The man who helped cast and then supervised the assembly of that statue, Philip Reid, was enslaved. There could be no clearer symbol of the importance of African Americans to the history of the region or of the way their story provides a counter-narrative to how U.S. history is sometimes told. The paradox was noticed at the time the statue was installed. In a December 2, 1863, correspondence to the *New York Tribune*, the author (named only W.A.C.) wrote,

> The colossal statue of "Freedom," in bronze, by Clark Mills, modeled by Crawford, is to-day set upon the great tholns [*sic*] surmounting the dome of the Capitol.
>
> During more than the two years of struggle, while the national cause seemed weak, she has patiently waited and watched below; now that victory crowns our advances, and the conspirators are being hedged in and vanquished everywhere, and the bond are being freed, she comes forward, the cynosure of thousands of eyes, her face turned rebuking toward Virginia, and her hand outstretched as if in guaranty of National Unity and Personal Freedom.
>
> Perhaps the whole history of that admirable work of art is not generally known.…
>
> When the bronze castings were being completed, at the foundry of Mr. Mills, near Bladensburg, his fireman, who had superintended the work from the beginning… struck and demanded [an increased wage], assuring Mr. M. that the advance must be granted him, as nobody in America, except himself, could complete the work. Mr. M. felt that the demand was exorbitant, and appealed in his dilemma to the slaves who were assisting in the molding. "I can do that well," said one of them, an intelligent and ingenious servant, who had been intimately engaged in the various processes.… The black master-builder lifted the ponderous uncouth masses, and bolted them together, joint by joint, piece by piece, till they blended into the majestic "Freedom," who to-day lifts her head in the blue clouds above Washington, invoking a benediction on the imperiled Republic!
>
> Was there a prophecy in that moment when the slave became the artist, and with rare poetic justice, reconstructed the beautiful symbol of freedom for America?[1]

The author's rhetorical question underscored the irony inherent in the situation of an enslaved man willingly taking the place of a free white craftsman to finish a symbol of freedom for a governmental building in which laws hindering universal enfranchisement had been passed for nearly three-quarters of a century. But W.A.C.'s closing prophecy did come to fruition: Reid obtained his freedom in 1862, after which he changed the spelling of his name to Reed and used the modest fame he had acquired through his work on the city's monuments to launch his own foundry business. Reed overcame oppression, took advantage of his skillset and experience, and forged a successful life as a free Black man.

Prior to the Civil War and Emancipation, African Americans lived, worked, suffered, and thrived throughout the National Capital Area (NCA). They labored on farms and plantations, cooked and cleaned in grand mansions and ordinary houses, worked in factories, tended gardens, studied in or out of school, worshiped and preached, and took up arms. Before universal emancipation in 1865, the majority of African Americans were enslaved, especially for the first two centuries after arrival in 1619. Whether enslaved or free, their choices were always circumscribed by racism. They married and raised children, although their marriages were often not legally binding. Family ties were often brutally severed when spouses and children were sold in different directions or when estates were divided and enslaved kin were allocated to several heirs. Despite generations of enslavement, hardship, degradation, and oppression, African Americans persisted in carving a place in American society and fighting to achieve the dignity and rights of citizenship inherent to all humans and enshrined in the country's founding documents.

B. PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF THE DOCUMENT

The purpose of this Historic Resources Study is to provide a comprehensive historical narrative of African American life in the NCA from early colonial times to 1865. It is intended to be used to understand and identify cultural resources associated with African Americans on National Park Service (NPS) land and to help the NPS evaluate and nominate identified resources. It can also be used as a resource for personnel who are seeking information on African American history, opportunities to interpret it in their parks, and organizations with which they might partner in that endeavor. It includes a historical context narrative on African Americans in the region, a bibliography, and a list of resources in the NCA's parks related to the African American experience in that period.

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C. MAPPING THE NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA

The NCA has been defined to include the District of Columbia; Prince George's, Frederick, Montgomery, Washington, and Alleghany counties in Maryland; Prince William, Fairfax, Loudoun, and Arlington counties and the city of Alexandria in Virginia; and Hampshire, Berkeley, Jefferson, Morgan, and Mineral counties in West Virginia. The NCA is entirely within what historians call the Chesapeake Region, drained by rivers that flow into the Chesapeake Bay. East to west, the region is divided into several geographic zones: The Tidewater, the Piedmont, the Blue Ridge Mountains, the Great Valley, and then the main bulk of the Appalachian Mountains. The Euro-American settlers of the Tidewater and Piedmont zones came mainly from England. Farther

west, the picture was more mixed, eventually populated by many people whose roots were in Germany, Sweden, and Scotland. African Americans were heavily concentrated in the Tidewater, but many also lived in the Piedmont and some lived throughout the region, including the Appalachian zone.

African American life varied across the NCA. This was mainly because of different systems of slavery, which corresponded to the environmental setting and agricultural regimens of plantations and farmers. One division used by some historians is between "Slave Societies" and "Societies with Slaves."[i] [2] In a Slave Society most labor was provided by enslaved people and the entire society was organized around the maintenance of slavery. These societies had draconian legal codes that enforced the dehumanization of enslaved people and maintained active militias to put down any revolts. The main productive unit was the plantation, a farm where gangs of enslaved people raised and processed crops for export. In the colonial Chesapeake that crop was tobacco, and those areas dominated by tobacco cultivation were Slave Societies. The main tobacco-producing areas in the NCA were Prince George's County, Maryland, where most African Americans were enslaved from around 1720 to 1860; parts of Montgomery and Frederick counties in Maryland; and Prince William and Fairfax counties in Virginia. Some of the largest communities in these zones were made up of enslaved people on big plantations: for example, in 1800 about 330 enslaved people lived at Mount Vernon. Plantations with 25 to 100 enslaved people were most common, but there were also smaller farms where only a handful of enslaved people lived.

In a Society with Slaves, slavery existed but was neither the main form of labor nor the mainstay of the society's organization and its maintenance. There were few enslaved people, and often they were freed. This was the situation in the Great Valley in both Virginia and Maryland, including the area of the Antietam battlefield. While several wealthier farmers in the Valley enslaved one or a few people, many owned none. Tracing these farms over time, there might be a single enslaved

[i] The paradigm of "Slave Societies" versus "Societies with Slaves" has been used throughout this report to highlight distinctions, variations, and contrasts in the practice of slavery in different parts of the NCA region and in different temporal periods. Although this model has been employed by several scholars, some historians have critiqued the "crude dichotomy" of the model, preferring a more flexible spectrum and focusing instead on the political and economic interdependence of these two apparently different systems. In "Making a 'Popular Slave Society' in Colonial British America," Russell R. Menard criticizes the empirical vagueness between the shift, i.e., when one model (a Society with Slaves) transitions into the other (a Slave Society), which he also finds simplistic. Menard refines the model to better discuss the gradual shift of the focus from indentured to enslaved labor in the Chesapeake, focusing on the particulars of the age, location, and wealth of enslavers in St. Mary's County as a case study to illustrate the particulars of the shift by region and time period. Menard believes that the St. Mary's County data suggest that distinct components are missing from the traditional argument, namely the elite status of enslavers and a "popular, or pervasive slave society" in which the majority of households are enslavers. In *Dark Work: The Business of Slavery in Rhode Island* (New York: NYU Press, 2016), Christy Clark-Pujara does not reject the dichotomous model but rather qualifies it to emphasize its similarities and interconnections rather than its dissimilarities. *What is a Slave Society? The Practice of Slavery in Global Perspective* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2018), edited by Noel Lenski and Catherine M. Cameron, points out that the model is contextually specific in its differentiation and would not be applicable across all places and times. Edward E. Baptist offers an alternative framework in *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2016). Lastly, the authors of this report do not wish to intimate that one model is any less brutal or horrific than the other. The model serves as an easy shorthand to talk about different economic realities of slavery in different parts of the NCA region at different times, which affected the development of the landscape, the formation of Black communities, the enactment of laws, and various other political, economic, and societal influences on the African American experience pre-emancipation in the Washington, DC metropolitan area.

person in one census, none 10 years later, and three enslaved people 10 years after that. Enslaved and free people lived intimately, usually under the same roofs, and they worked side by side. Enslaved people in these regions did not have to endure the intense, highly regimented gang labor of the plantations, but they were widely scattered and had trouble finding partners, starting families, or forming communities.

Under both systems most African Americans lived in rural areas, working on farms or plantations. Enslaved women worked in the fields beside the men, sometimes at different tasks but often doing the same work. Besides the many tasks involved in raising tobacco, curing it, and preparing it for shipment, enslaved people grew their own food, especially corn and sweet potatoes, and labored at all the other tasks essential to running a plantation: carting, building and repairing fences, tending animals, shoeing horses, dairying. A few were house servants, working in the "big house" at cooking, cleaning, and other domestic chores.

Enslaved African Americans also lived in other situations and other ways. Quite a few enslaved people worked at iron furnaces, such as the Patuxent Iron Works in Anne Arundel County and the Antietam Iron Works in Washington County, both in Maryland. Enslaved men did much of the labor at these and other manufactories, including the most skilled work. Enslaved labor was used in the noxious chore of iron smelting at the Catoctin Furnace in Frederick County, Maryland. The diary of a German, John Frederick Schlegel, visiting in 1799 described "poor Negroes whose inward and outward conditions are troubled" in part because "they were bound to work so hard during the week as well as on Sunday in the iron smelter and thus were seldom able to hear the Word of God."[3] Latter-day physical-anthropological research at this site has shown that the "outward conditions" noted by Schlegel were advanced by poor nutrition and arduous work that resulted in arthritis, stress fractures and breaks, and evidence of infectious diseases likely brought on by an unsanitary environment compounded by limited access to the outdoors.[4]

Many African Americans, enslaved and free, worked on the water: fishing, oystering, operating ferries, transporting goods by boat. At the Chesapeake and Ohio (C&O) Canal, for instance, African Americans held positions as wide-ranging as mule driver and boat captain. From the 1750s the Georgetown waterfront was a working landscape of enslaved labor and was an embarkation point for enslaved people leaving for the American South. Other enslaved people lived in towns and cities, working in a variety of trades: domestic service, catering, barbering, factory labor, construction, and more. Milling was an occupation prevalent in both rural and urban settings. After 1750 hydraulic gristmills proliferated across the NCA region, and several milling sites are associated with Rock Creek Park, including the Peirce Shoemaker Farm and Mill (dated approximately 1800) and the Federal/Lyons Mill (approximately 1780). A varying number of enslaved laborers, as many as 20 at one time, worked at these mill sites up to emancipation.[5]

D. PERIODIZATION

Understanding that a person was a slave is not the end of the story but the beginning....Slavery itself continually changed.[6]

The experience of African Americans changed greatly over time, as did the experience of all Americans. Few statements about how people lived in 1660 apply in the same way to people in 1860. This document is therefore divided into chapters by time period. The scheme used here

derives from the work of Ira Berlin, especially *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*.[7]

1. First Arrivals (1619-1700)

Slavery in North America did not spring into existence fully formed but developed gradually over the course of the 1600s. Some of the first Africans brought to the Chesapeake region were indentured servants and earned their freedom after a term of service. Most of them came not directly from Africa but from the Caribbean or from the creole societies that had grown up along the slave-trading coasts. Many arrived with Portuguese or English names, speaking at least one European language. Indentured Blacks labored side by side with enslaved Native Americans and indentured Europeans. This "Charter Generation" was a relatively small population when compared with later eras: fewer than 1,000 Africans were brought to Maryland, for instance, between 1619 and 1697, compared with nearly 100,000 in the following period, from 1698 to 1775.[8]

The world of the Chesapeake was at that time a rough frontier bordering on vast spaces occupied by Native Americans or within their migration sphere. Laws are difficult to enforce in sparsely inhabited frontiers. Contrary to British labor laws at the time, planters in position of power increasingly began to treat freemen and bondsmen as chattel, both European and African, albeit in short terms, after 1622. This incursion on customary law and the chattelization of humans resulted not only in the abuse of servants, their rights, and their protection under the law but laid the foundations for the acceptance of lifelong chattel bondage.[9] Watershed moments came in Virginia in 1662 and in Maryland the following year, when hereditary slavery was defined by law; in 1664 both colonies' legislatures mandated that bondage for enslaved persons was lifelong, and Virginia declared the lifelong servitude of imported, enslaved Africans in 1682. The rise of slavery as the preferred institution of enforced labor occurred contemporaneously with the decline of indentured servitude in the latter half of the 1600s. Complex economic and social explanations are explored in Chapter 2.

2. Plantations and the Mass Arrival of Africans (1700-1775)

The plantation system as it is usually understood arose in the 1700s. Codes were hardened to make slavery a permanent and hereditary status and to punish anyone who helped enslaved persons fight their enslavers or escape to freedom. Tens of thousands of people were brought directly from Africa across the Atlantic through the horrible "Middle Passage" and sold to planters. Plantations were set up with dozens or even hundreds of enslaved workers. These plantations became sites of conflict between enslavers and enslaved, who resisted their exploitation. The world that grew up was profoundly strange to outsiders, as people who lived in great intimacy nonetheless harbored deep fears and resentments that regularly broke out in violence.

With the importation of thousands of enslaved Africans, the landscape of power shifted dramatically. One in four Africans had become free in the 1600s, but that proportion dropped to one in 25 by the middle of the 1700s. With Virginia's passage of the 1705 Slave Codes, the transition from African American indentured servant to enslaved African American was

complete.[ii] A second demographic shift marks this era: with the increased importation of enslaved women, the gender ratio balanced and the creation of families became increasingly possible. A generation of native-born, enslaved African Americans emerged alongside imported, enslaved Africans. By the middle of the 1700s, Chesapeake planters' focus on the trans-Atlantic slave trade had diminished in favor of a native-born, enslaved population.[10] These demographic shifts are discussed in Chapter 3.

3. The Era of Revolution (1775-1815)

Chapter 4 addresses the era of the American Revolution, a period of great physical upheaval in the British societies of North America, as armies marched over the land and the British fleet sailed the coasts and rivers. It was also an era of ideological ferment over the meaning of freedom. Turmoil led to freedom for thousands of enslaved people and to violence for many others. Intellectual shifts led, in the North, to a renunciation of slavery and the gradual emancipation of enslaved people. In 1778 Virginia became the first colony to ban the importation of enslaved Africans; Maryland followed suit in 1783. Still, slavery endured in the Chesapeake region, as it did farther south, with a reliance on native-born enslaved people. But many individual enslavers renounced slavery and freed their own enslaved workers. These emancipations led to great growth in the free Black population, especially in Maryland. Violence returned with the War of 1812, when African Americans again fought for both sides and thousands obtained their freedom while others suffered from war's destruction. This period was also when the new city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, was founded, siting the capital of the republic in territory where slavery was legal.

4. The Antebellum Era (1815-1861)

Chapter 5 covers the Antebellum era, in which slavery continued, albeit in a native-born form since the importation of enslaved Africans had ceased (Figure 1.1). It is this period that has benefited from the most scholarship. New themes in the decades before the Civil War include the development of the Underground Railroad, described as an act of civil disobedience and protest, "a clandestine operation that began during the colonial period, later became part of organized abolitionist activity in the 1800s, and reached its peak in the period 1830-1865."[11] Black writers and orators rose to political prominence during that time. Yet this period also saw the growth of the internal slave trade, as tens of thousands of African Americans were "sold south" to the newly developing cotton plantations. Washington, DC and Alexandria, Virginia, both became major centers of this trade. Fearful of both the continuance of slavery and of a world wherein free whites and Blacks lived side by side, many planters and some African Americans explored colonization of Blacks to Africa, and thousands did make the reverse journey across the Atlantic.

[ii] The code declared that all non-Christian (i.e., African) servants entering Virginia were enslaved in lifelong bondage. Furthermore, the code treated these enslaved people as property, denied them mobility without written passes, forbade them (and free Blacks) from physically assaulting whites, and acquitted white enslavers who murdered their enslaved servants in acts of punishment. A similar law passed in Maryland in 1715 declared that all imported enslaved Africans and their descendants were subject to lifelong bondage.

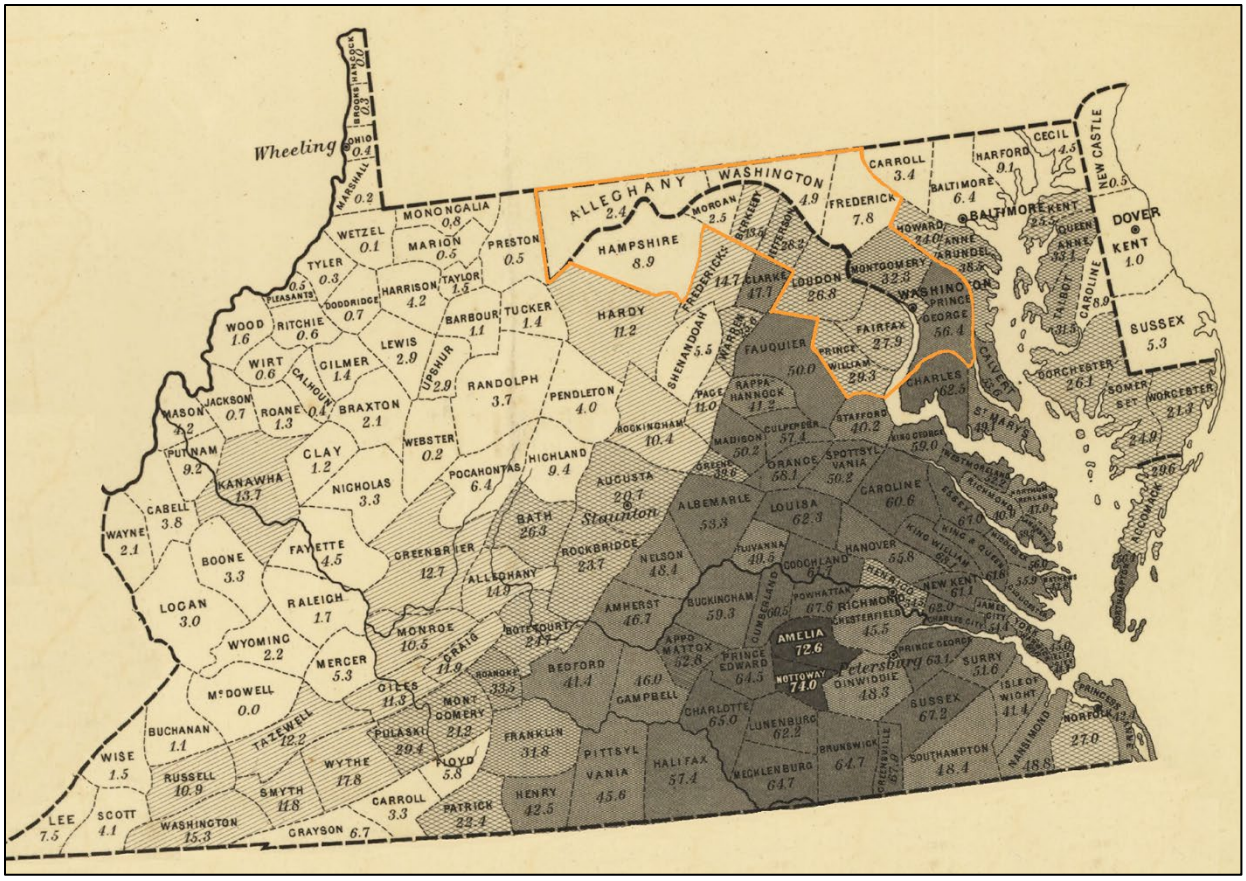


FIGURE 1.1: The National Capital Area Shown on the Famous 1860 Map Showing the Distribution of Enslaved People in the United States. The numbers are the percentage of residents in that county who were enslaved (U.S. Census 1860)

5. The Civil War (1861-1865)

War brought freedom to the enslaved people of the United States but also devastated the area within the NCA. Freedom for many meant living as refugees. More than 20,000 African Americans came to Washington, DC in search of freedom and safety. The Freedmen's Bureau, which had several offices in DC, was organized in 1865 to assist the millions of freed people from across the South as they sought homes and work in DC and Maryland. Regiments of Black troops were raised in Washington and Maryland that fought in the conflict. Emancipation came for enslaved residents of DC in the summer of 1862, and for those in the federally controlled areas of Virginia and in Maryland in 1864. Emancipation came for other Virginians when the Union Army arrived and ultimately when the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was ratified in December 1865. These topics are explored in Chapter 6.

E. AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY AND THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

The NPS has been interpreting and preserving the history of African Americans for decades, but recently there has been an increased emphasis on African American themes. Washington, DC is, of course, the site of many important events in African American history, both within the buildings where laws were passed and signed, and in the open spaces and streets beyond. The NPS owns

dozens of sites where enslaved and free Africans Americans lived, worked, and struggled. These include plantations, farms, mills, cemeteries, government buildings, the C&O Canal, the Georgetown waterfront, and many others. It is a rich heritage, worthy of preservation and interpretation.

II. FIRST ARRIVALS (1619-1700)

FIND YOUR PARK

Sites Dating from this Time Period: (*****Mentioned in this Chapter)
ANACOSTIA PARK (ANAC): Arran, Attwood's Purchase, Beall's Adventure, Chichester, Chillum Castle Manor, Cerne Abbey Manor, Elkenhead, Fortune, Haddock's Hill, Hamilton, Houp's Addition, The Houpyard, Long Meadows, The Knock, St. Elizabeths [ca. 1700]
*BALTIMORE-WASHINGTON PARKWAY (BAWA): Birmingham Manor [1699] (p. 18)
FORT WASHINGTON PARK (FOWA): Warburton Manor [c. 1700-1808] (p. 18)

Also mentioned in this Chapter:
FORT WASHINGTON PARK (FOWA): Fort Washington (p. 18)
HARMONY HALL (NACE): Harmony Hall (p. 15), Want Water (p. 15)
PISCATAWAY PARK (PISC): Hansonton/Mockley Point (p. 15)
PRINCE WILLIAM FOREST PARK (PRWI): Westwood (p. 21)

A. EARLY DAYS OF SLAVERY IN NORTH AMERICA

The slave trade to British North America began in 1619. The Chesapeake region developed in the 1600s as a tobacco colony, and African and Afro-Caribbean laborers were brought to Virginia and Maryland to work on tobacco plantations. The vast majority were men. Initially, the status of the African laborers brought to the Chesapeake was unclear. Early on, many were treated as indentured servants and freed after seven years. Others were freed after accepting Christian baptism, as some old European laws forbade keeping Christians as slaves. But an attitude developed, first in the Caribbean and then in North America, that Africans were in a different category from whites and could be kept in slavery for life.

1. Early Intra-American Trade

The first Africans known to have arrived in the Chesapeake landed in the Virginia colony in 1619 aboard an English privateer's vessel, the *White Lion*. Commanded by John Colyn Jope, the *White Lion* sailed under a Dutch letter of marque, or license to attack and plunder vessels from enemy nations. With the *Treasurer*, commanded by Daniel Elfrith (another English privateer), the *White Lion* intercepted the *São João Bautista* in the Gulf of Mexico and captured it; Jope and Elfrith divided among themselves the Portuguese vessel's African captives. Jope then sailed to Virginia, landing in Point Comfort in late August, and sold over 20 Africans as indentured servants. The second known shipload of captive Africans landed at St. Mary's City in 1642. It originated in the Caribbean rather than sailing directly from Africa, carrying 13 souls sold into indentured servitude.

These two slave ships were the first of many; over the course of the 1600s, about 4,000 Africans were brought to the Chesapeake region. For many years the number of arrivals was small, but it accelerated in the 1690s; most of the Africans who reached the Chesapeake before 1700 arrived in just 16 voyages made in the 1690s (Table 2.1). Most of this information comes from excise tax records, which do not precisely identify the ports of arrival, referring instead to tax districts. Two of these districts were North Potomac, which could be anywhere on the Maryland shore of the river, and South Potomac, which meant the Virginia side. When more precise information is

available, it often tells us that ships simply anchored at convenient places along the river so that planters might row out to inspect their human cargo.[12]

TABLE 2.1: INTRA-AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE VOLUME
TO THE CHESAPEAKE DURING THE 1600S

DECADE	CHESAPEAKE REGION VOYAGES	CHESAPEAKE REGION SLAVES DISEMBARKED	NCA VOYAGES	NCA SLAVES DISEMBARKED
1611-1620	2	58	-	-
1621-1630	3	3	-	-
1631-1640	2	13	-	-
1641-1650	3	42	-	-
1651-1660	4	100	-	-
1661-1670	3	23	1	3
1671-1680	3	10	1	5
1681-1690	8	77	-	-
1691-1700	71	343	16	41
TOTAL	99	669	18	49

Voyages: Intra-Atlantic Slave Trade Database

Although the first Africans to reach the Chesapeake came from the Caribbean, research by historian Lorena Walsh and others has shown that the intra-American slave trade made up a relatively small fraction of the total slave trade.[13] Only 7.9 percent of Africans listed in the *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* who disembarked in all of Maryland and Virginia up to 1700 were not directly imported from Africa (Table 2.2). The North and South Potomac Districts show an even smaller proportion: 2.7 percent of Africans who disembarked up to 1700 originated in other American colonies.[14]

2. Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade

Across the larger Chesapeake Region, 47 slave voyages brought 7,730 enslaved persons during the 1600s. These voyages largely (n=30, 63 percent) originated with London merchants, and, when recorded, most typically purchased enslaved Africans in Senegambia and the Bight of Biafra (Table 2.3). Demographics of the enslaved Africans disembarked in the region were nearly three quarters male, with very few children. The "Middle Passage," which refers to one leg in a triangular route from Europe to Africa to the New World and back, was the shipment of pressed and enslaved Africans across the Atlantic Ocean to the colonies. The journey averaged a death rate of nearly 13 percent for enslaved Africans heading to the Chesapeake at that time.

TABLE 2.2: INTRA-AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE SOURCES
TO THE CHESAPEAKE DURING THE 1600S

REGION OF PURCHASE	CHESAPEAKE REGION VOYAGES	CHESAPEAKE REGION SLAVES DISEMBARKED	NCA VOYAGES	NCA SLAVES DISEMBARKED
port unspecified	52	272	6	7
British Caribbean	25	158	3	13
Chesapeake	5	66	2	5
Great Britain	2	2	2	2
Northern Colonies	12	83	5	22
South America	1	30	-	-
Prize (taken at sea)	2	58	-	-
TOTAL	99	669	18	49

Voyages: Intra-Atlantic Slave Trade Database

The earliest trans-Atlantic shipments to the NCA occurred in the 1690s, with nine voyages disembarking 1,742 individuals between 1695 and 1700.[15] Five ships disembarked 882 enslaved persons at Patuxent in those six years, and four ships disembarked 860 enslaved people at Annapolis. Five of the shipments, including two trips by the same ship, *Society*, originated in London and two originated in Maryland. The source of the purchase of enslaved people was unrecorded for all except for the ship *Hope*, which sailed from London in 1695, purchased enslaved Africans at Calabar in the Bight of Biafra, and disembarked 160 individuals at Patuxent. Almost no demographic data are available for these few shipments, except the staggering 79-percent mortality rate recorded for the voyage of the *African Galley*, captained by Henry Bradshaw and sailing out of London. The *African Galley* began its journey in November 1698, embarked 482 souls at an unknown port in Africa, and disembarked 102 survivors on July 20, 1699, at Annapolis.

TABLE 2.3: TRANS-ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE TO
THE CHESAPEAKE DURING THE 1600S

REGION OF PURCHASE	VOYAGES	SLAVES DISEMBARKED	AVERAGE % MALES	AVERAGE % CHILDREN	AVERAGE MORTALITY RATE (%)
Africa., port unspecified	20	3624	-	-	-
Bight of Benin	1	376	-	-	6.0
Bight of Biafra	11	1458	63.2	6.5	17.3
Gold Coast	3	494	50.2	3.9	10.0
Madagascar	1	210	-	-	-
Senegambia	9	1415	76.8	4.0	15.0
Sierra Leone	1	68	87.0	10.4	
West Central Africa	1	85	-	-	16.0
Total	47	7730	71.9	5.4	12.9

Voyages: Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database

3. Atlantic Creoles, Mixed Heritage, and the Rise of Racism

Many of the first enslaved people to arrive in North America had roots in the Atlantic culture that had developed on the African coast over the 150 years since Portuguese traders first arrived. Africans who were active in that trade learned European languages, especially English or

Portuguese, and some converted to Christianity. Historians sometimes call them "Atlantic Creoles," emphasizing their status bridging African and European cultures.[16] Many of them lived in African port towns or on the African islands that were taken over by European powers and used as trading outposts. Others had traveled to the Caribbean, either freely or after enslavement. Enslaved Africans were sometimes transported to the Caribbean for a process known as "salting" or "seasoning," in which they acclimatized to a new environment and learned rudimentary European languages and customs before being taken to mainland America.

Since they had knowledge of European languages and European ways, Atlantic Creoles had advantages over later migrants from the African interior. They were sometimes able to negotiate better terms for themselves or even sue in court for their freedom. Partly because of their greater knowledge of the colonial environment and partly because of the ambiguity over their status, many more achieved freedom or even financial success than the arrivals of later generations. If they did not have European names, they very quickly adopted them. For example, the man who was sold at Jamestown in 1623 as "Antonio a negro" soon began calling himself Anthony Johnson, and it was under that name that he obtained his freedom and became the owner of 250 acres of land on Virginia's Eastern Shore.[17]

People of African, European, and Native American descent in the Middle Atlantic region did not remain isolated following the expansion of European colonial settlement and importation of enslaved Africans in the 1600s. Many communities in Virginia and Maryland whose genealogies include African, European, and Native American ancestors developed distinct identities and cultures. These include tightly knit communities like the Melungeons of Appalachian Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina as well as Native American nations such as the Lumbee Tribe of southeastern North Carolina. The existence of these groups testifies to the interaction that took place between peoples of these three heritages despite the hard racial lines formed in North America from the mid-1600s onward. (Until the late 1900s, however, people with African descent were not legally recognized for their European or Indigenous heritage, institutionalizing anti-Black racism and masking the persistence of Indigenous cultures under colonialism.)

These harsh racial lines were codified by law, as white society viewed mixed heritage as threatening. Maryland became the first of the original 13 British colonies to attempt to prohibit, legislatively, marriages between white women and Black men in 1664. Virginia's white plantation elite's fear of any sort of upheaval of the hierarchical power system is reflected in a 1670 law that prohibited any Native American or Black person from having a white "Christian" indentured servant. Laws abounded in Virginia in the last quarter of the 1600s that further dichotomized white society from colored society, including the 1691 miscegenation law forbidding marriage between whites and Blacks and Native Americans.

4. Bondsmen on the Plantation

Until about 1690, most of the unfree laborers in Virginia and Maryland were white indentured servants rather than Africans. There are few good census records for the colonies, and historians work from random, surviving documents that were not intended to be accurate population counts, such as tax rolls. Population estimates in the larger Chesapeake region indicate a high rate of growth, between 3 and 7 percent, in the 1600s (Table 2.4).[18] As a contrast with other British colonial settings, the New England and Middle Atlantic colonies to the north never reached such

proportions of African Americans in their populations during the 1700s, free or enslaved. New England colonies averaged between 2 and 3 percent and the Middle Atlantic, including Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, ranged from 6 to 8 percent. By contrast the lower Southern colonies of the Carolinas and Georgia quickly exceeded the Chesapeake with 17.6 percent by 1700.

TABLE 2.4: ESTIMATED COLONIAL POPULATIONS OF MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA THROUGH 1700

YEAR	TOTAL CHESAPEAKE POPULATION	PERCENT INCREASE TOTAL POPULATION	ESTIMATED BLACK POPULATION	PERCENT BLACK POPULATION	PERCENT INCREASE BLACK POPULATION
1610	300	-	-	-	-
1620	900	6.67	-	-	-
1630	2,500	6.25	100	4.0	10.00
1640	8,100	7.00	100	1.23	0.00
1650	12,700	3.55	300	2.36	6.67
1660	24,900	4.83	900	3.61	6.67
1670	41,000	3.77	2,500	6.09	6.40
1680	59,900	3.08	4,300	7.18	4.19
1690	75,500	1.85	7,300	9.67	4.11
1700	98,100	2.00	12,900	13.15	4.34

McCusker and Menard, The Economy of British America: 1607-1789, 136

One of the better data sets shows that in Virginia's Middlesex County in 1668, white indentured servants outnumbered enslaved Africans by five to one. At that time Africans made up only about 5 percent of Virginia's population.[19] Africans in the Chesapeake region thus lived among a larger number of white servants as well as a few enslaved Native Americans. Systematic racism was just developing in this period and was not as potent for many as it would be later.

The indentures of European servants bound them to work for a term of years, usually seven, after which they would be given their freedom and a few possessions: a suit of clothes and a barrel of corn was one common version. However, some planters used any excuse to keep their laborers from ever obtaining freedom; for example, they could demand extra years of service by accusing their servants of theft or running away. Female servants could be given extra years of service if they became pregnant. With no resources to buy land, freed servants usually became tenant farmers. Much of the labor of clearing land was done by tenants who had spent their first seven years as indentured servants. Only a minority of those who arrived in the Chesapeake as servants ever became planters themselves.

Indentured servants and enslaved Africans in this early period served the same labor roles; not only did they work together at the same arduous tasks, but they often shared domiciles and had opportunities to socialize with one another. The oppressive climate toward all laborers probably encouraged camaraderie among servants of African and European ancestry. During Bacon's Rebellion of 1676, Africans fought alongside white servants in a revolt against the wealthy planters' dominance of Virginia.[20] But this does not mean they were interchangeable or equal. White servants had rights and legal recourse, whereas enslaved Africans did not. European indentured servants were often placed as overseers to enslaved Africans, thereby underscoring their different status in the power hierarchy. Fundamentally, indenture was short-term and held the prospect of freedom, which lifelong slavery did not.[21]

In the last quarter of the 1600s, fewer European servants migrated to the colonies while, between 1675 and 1695, about 3,000 enslaved Africans were brought to the Chesapeake. The growing scarcity of European indentured laborers made purchasing their terms of servitude more costly for planters, whereas the increased importation of enslaved Africans provided more opportunity for planters to choose enslaved labor. The volatile nature of the tobacco trade also contributed to the shift from indentured to enslaved labor: commodities prices cyclically boomed and busted in the global market, and during downturns the indentured servants whose terms ended were not replaced in kind. Enslaved Africans, in contrast, were forced to stay on and work their former counterparts' shares when boom times returned.[22] Enslaved Blacks outnumbered indentured servants by 1700 and made up about one third of all the people working to raise tobacco. Especially on the larger plantations, Africans comprised the entire work force; consequently, many Africans no longer lived in close contact with Europeans or Native Americans.

5. Achievements of the First Free African Americans

Some Africans did quite well in the colonial Chesapeake. After obtaining their freedom, they formed families, acquired land, and built plantations of their own. For example, Anthony Johnson, the man who arrived at Jamestown as "Antonio a Negro" in 1621, went on to earn his freedom, marry, and raise four children. In 1651 he earned 250 acres of "headrights" for subsidizing the immigration of five people to Virginia, using these rights to acquire a plantation on the Eastern Shore.[23] A man with a similar career arrived in Virginia in 1637 as "Francisco a Negroe" but soon called himself Francis Payne. When his enslaver, Jane Eltonhead, married a man in Maryland and moved out of the colony, Payne took over the management of her Virginia plantation, putting his profits toward purchasing his freedom and then that of his family.[24] Although slavery remained the dominant reality for most Africans in Virginia, others obtained their freedom and established themselves as free farmers, merchants, or skilled artisans in the New World.

B. LANDSCAPE OF THE COLONIAL TOBACCO PLANTATION

By the end of the 1600s, the Chesapeake region was a novel landscape shaped by tobacco cultivation; it did not mirror the pattern of town formation in Britain, from where most of the Chesapeake's first settlers came, or colonial settlements in New England. Rather, the "rural farmhouse with its supporting agricultural buildings became a hallmark of Virginia and Maryland."[25] This development was incremental, however, and settlement patterns in the Chesapeake greatly changed over the course of the century, from a forested frontier with scattered outposts and small tobacco farms connected by rivers to a designed landscape of dispersed, large, agricultural plantations that functioned as self-sufficient villages. Settlers' westward expansion was slow, as land was wrested from the Native Americans who occupied the region prior to European contact. When Europeans came to the Chesapeake, they did not find a wilderness, but a region containing some 200 Native American villages, cultivated meadows, and migratory routes that connected distant geographic regions. By 1680 European settlement had advanced only 60 miles west of the Chesapeake Bay, and by 1700 only a few plantations had arisen on the shores of the major tributaries that fed the bay, such as the James and the York rivers in Virginia and the Potomac and Susquehanna rivers in Maryland.

Jamestown, founded in 1607, and St. Mary's City, founded in 1634, were the first settlements in Virginia and Maryland, respectively. Established upriver, these were palisaded forts that contained

a church, governmental buildings, workshops, domiciles, and barracks. Most initial settlers were single men who were housed together in barracks or in multipurpose buildings. The layouts these fort settlements took, described by contemporaries as haphazard, did not replicate the form of an English village, but they did follow Baroque town plans in which concentrations of buildings were skirted by outlying agricultural fields. Initially, settlers did not live outside the fort's walls.

As time passed, however, and more women arrived (allowing increased family units), planters abandoned the barracks and moved onto their farms in the countryside. Chesapeake settlers increasingly eschewed towns for isolated "seats" removed from the hierarchical and constraining governance of the Virginia Company, Lord Calvert, and the British crown's representatives. Wealthier colonists established large plantations with several fields. If poorer white (often freed indentured) settlers could attain land, the initial investment in the tobacco crop was minimal and it could be raised on smaller farms.[26] Such was the case of Randle Hanson, a Swedish indentured servant who arrived in Maryland with two kinsmen, William and John, by the mid-1650s. In 1662 he patented 500 acres along the Potomac River, south of Piscataway creek and within the bounds of present-day Piscataway Park, which he named "Hansonton." He married Barbara Hutton by 1667, and the family resided in the Piscataway area until a deadly raid by the Susquehannock tribe, fortified on nearby Mockley Point, in 1675 drove them back south, to St. Mary's County.[27]

Settlers spent their capital on land first, then labor and the crop; buildings were a lesser priority. Plantations of all sizes were sited on broad creeks and rivers because waterways provided the primary means of transportation in an area lacking interior roads and because floodplains provided nutrient-rich soils. Wharves were some of the first structures built, so that barrels of cured tobacco could be loaded onto merchant ships. Tobacco warehouses were erected to store the cash crop, and heavily trafficked warehouses or inspection houses, where commerce was bustling, often developed into hamlets and then port towns.[iii] Typically, planters built two-room dwellings that would house themselves, their families, and their laborers. Domiciles were given little thought, as the primary goal of the tobacco plantation was profit. In fact the first few generations of colonial elite never considered America their home; their intention was to make money as quickly as possible and return to Britain. Even into the early 1700s, "the majority of Chesapeake houses were still covered with riven clapboards rather than sawn weatherboards and rounded shingles, and they lacked glazed windows, plastered interiors, or paint, although brick chimneys did increasingly replace wattle and daub."[28]

The first buildings in the colonial Chesapeake region reflected these profit-motivated ambitions and the ephemerality of the enterprise. They were made of timber, a native and abundant material, rather than of stone or brick because the structures needed to be built quickly and with minimum

[iii] An example of this lies within the NPS Harmony Hall property, which includes the 1740s estate, Want Water. John Addison sold the 35-acre Want Water property in Prince George's County, Maryland, to a shipbuilder, Humphrey Batts, in 1736. In 1747 Batts petitioned to have a tobacco inspection warehouse built on his property, and then he dug a channel in Broad Creek for the docking of larger vessels in 1749. This area developed into the town of Ayres (or Aires) by the 1780s. See Charles V. Reed, "History of Harmony Hall" (prepared for the National Park Service in connection with the University of Maryland, College Park, n.d.).

A second example is the town of Piscataway, Maryland, close to the present-day NPS-managed Piscataway Park. Sited at the mouth of Piscataway Creek, a tributary of the Potomac River, the Native American settlement was named an inspection point for tobacco in 1747. For the next two decades it flourished into a small yet principal river town in the Chesapeake. See Janet A. McDonnell, "Preservation and Partners: A History of Piscataway Park" (prepared for the National Capital Area, National Park Service, December 2020).

skilled labor. The wood buildings were earthfast, meaning that wood posts or piers were buried in the ground, atop which wooden sills were laid followed by a lightweight wood-framing system encased in mud. This earthfast foundation was prone to rot, leading to the impermanence of early 1600s buildings (some lasted no more than a decade or two), now identified only through archeology. Tobacco depleted the soils, so smaller farmers who did not have enough land for crop rotation would pick up stakes and move westward, abandoning their earthfast buildings and constructing anew. Also, tobacco as a commodity was volatile, and settlers experienced as many busts as they did booms. In addition to the vagaries of a monocultural economy, scholars have suggested that Chesapeake settlers embraced this transitory construction because the region remained so unstable throughout the 1600s, with high mortality rates and frequent conflicts with Native Americans. Settlers would not have invested in permanent, costly forms of architecture as their futures were so uncertain.

Plantations were dispersed across a densely forested natural landscape, and the overarching characterization was isolation. The enslaved Africans brought to Virginia and Maryland in the early part of the 1600s were scattered across farms and plantations throughout the Tidewater. Sometimes they were quite remote from established settlements. In the 1660s landowners in St. Mary's sent bondsmen and enslaved Africans north, to the hinterlands south of Piscataway Creek, to clear the land of native vegetation and sow crops. By the end of the 1600s, the Piscataway Creek area was settled by small plantation owners, tenant farmers, indentured servants, and enslaved Africans who shared the same rural experience.[29] Like European indentured servants, indentured and enslaved Africans lived and worked closely with free planters.

During this era plantations differed only in scale: "The principle differences between rich and poor lay not in size and quality of housing but in the number of structures."[30] Each plantation contained the same elements: dwellings and outbuildings such as tobacco barns, corn cribs, and kitchens.[31] Early Chesapeake houses followed a hall-parlor plan, in which a large, multipurpose room (the hall) provided space for cooking, eating, working, playing, entertaining, and sleeping, and a smaller side room (the parlor) offered a private space and bedchamber for the house owner. Both free and indentured whites and indentured and enslaved Africans would have used the hall together. Over time, this English-derived house plan was abandoned for other forms that further separated and hierarchized space, such as the cross-passage plan, in which a kitchen space (typically used by servants) was separated by a passageway from the hall and parlor.

The traditional mingling between the property owner and bondsmen was undermined further by the Chesapeake-specific development, in the last quarter of the 1600s, of ancillary buildings (detached from the main house) to house both (white) indentured and (Black) enslaved servants. The segregation and specialization of spaces that characterized those rural farmhouses in Maryland and Virginia entailed a main house, which was the sphere of the property owner as well as domestic servants; detached kitchens, smokehouses, workshops, and quarters, which were the sphere of indentured and enslaved laborers; and agricultural fields and their outbuildings. In 1687 a Frenchman noted that Virginia planters,

> …whatever their rank… build only two rooms with some closets on the ground floor & two rooms in the attic above; but they build several like this according to their means. They build also a separate kitchen, a separate house for the Christian slaves, one for the negro

> slaves, & several to dry the tobacco, so that when you come to the home of a person of some means, you think you are entering a fairly large village.[32]

This specialization of space separated people first by class, by creating dedicated workspaces separate from dwelling and leisure spaces, and then by race. Archeological investigations at plantations dating from this era have identified enslaved Africans' quarters by the presence of subterranean pits that held the inhabitants' personal possessions, many derived from the African continent, as well as foodstuffs. The trajectory of the landscape of slavery in the Chesapeake in the 1600s progressed from co-habitation and mingling to segregation, and whereas enslaved and indentured Africans first lived under the same roof as their enslavers, eventually they were relegated to separate quarters.

By the turn of the 1700s, transitoriness had given way to permanence on the landscape. The organization of a large plantation landscape followed a particular pattern out of a mix of necessity and design intention. As plantations were established abutting navigable rivers (because the primary means of transportation, communication, and trade was still via water), wharves and a collection of storage buildings located in the floodplain were consistent elements. Manor houses were sited on a prominence within sight of the river, as the approach to the house by river had to project grandeur in order to signal the owner's wealth and status. The curtilage between the river and the house was often formally designed with terraces and Baroque gardens, predicated on symmetry and axiality to suggest man's imposition upon and dominance over nature:

> Terraced gardens, or "falls," descending from the house towards the water were a common feature of these properties, which were intended to emulate the estates of the English gentry. This landscape design had a two-fold effect: the placement of terraces, gardens, and formal avenues of trees created an aesthetically-pleasing vista from the house; at the same time, visitors approaching from the water were greeted with a suitably well-ordered and awe-inspiring view of the house and property calculated to command respect.[33]

All of this attention paid to the formal landscape around the house was intentional on the part of wealthy planters to emulate country estates in Britain and to impose a patina of civilization on the wilds of the colonies.

Dense, native woodlands were retained on the edges of the plantation, and the lumber the woods provided was used for building as well as fuel. On the inland side of the house, several fields would be laid out and typically divided by trees or hedgerows rather than fences. Because clearing land was difficult and labor intensive, planters often used the open fields created by the Native Americans whom the European colonists had displaced, or engaged enslaved and indentured laborers to undertake the onerous task. Corn and grains would be grown for commercial pursuit but also to feed the livestock, which would be turned out to assigned pastureland and which, in turn, would sustain the household.[34] Tobacco would be the main field crop, but as it was so nutrient-draining, several fields would be left fallow. Tobacco drying barns would be located on the edge of fields, but the primary agricultural outbuildings and servants' quarters were located within easy distance of the manor house. By the end of the 1600s, "Outbuildings such as kitchens and barns [had] changed only in that they were more frequently built of logs rather than having posts set in the ground, a new building technology that further reduced the amount of joinery required."[35]

As later generations of settlers made the middle colonies their permanent homes, wealthier planters slowly built more substantial dwellings of sawn weatherboard or masonry. Brick was the preferred material for the Chesapeake planter elite, but brick buildings were so rare that they formed less than a quarter of all buildings built between 1607 and 1720 in the region, and most were concentrated in Jamestown, St. Mary's City, Annapolis, and Williamsburg. Very few were found on rural plantations. An example of the latter was Arthur Allen's Brick House (1665) in Surrey County, Virginia, better known as Bacon's Castle following its occupation by Nathaniel Bacon's rebels in 1676. Another was Birmingham Manor, the remains[iv] of which are partially on the property of the Baltimore-Washington Parkway. The residence was built by Richard Snowden, Jr., a Quaker, about 1690 on lands (the "Robinhood's Forest" patent) that today comprise the city of Laurel, Maryland. The house was sited on a "commanding" knoll, while the grounds were described as "extensive" and the approaches from the river and the Old Post Road "impressive." Near the two-story, brick-and-shingle manor house was a terrace, a formal boxwood garden, and a family cemetery. Birmingham Manor, on the Patuxent River, was a tobacco plantation; notable was the semicircle of barns and outbuildings that stored the plant and housed the drying production.[36]

Warburton Manor was a 1661 land patent as well as a tobacco plantation when Charles Digges acquired it in 1717. Warburton Manor became, thereafter, the seat of the Digges family for over a century. The manor was built sometime between 1717 and 1733, and although the designed landscape developed over the course of the 1700s, descriptions of its historical form suggest it manifested the same fundamental elements that had been established at the beginning of the 1700s and were solidified by the century's end. The two-story brick house with an adjoining two-story stone kitchen and a detached, one-story, 12x20-foot brick study – "an impressive symbol of wealth and privilege" – were sited on an elevated terrace above the Potomac River, "at the eastern end of a sizeable formal garden that included, according to the descriptions of contemporary observers, a long avenue of trees, possibly locusts."[37] To the other side of the manor were several outbuildings, and woodlands and cleared agricultural fields lay inland. At the river edge, in the lowlands, the Digges had built fishing jetties and structures. The early 1700s house on this 1,200-acre tobacco plantation was demolished with the construction of Fort Washington during the War of 1812. Archeological investigations of the site were undertaken in the 1900s, yet further study of this site and of Birmingham Manor could reveal more information on the very early 1700s landscape.

C. RIOTS AND REBELLIONS

There were still only perhaps 1,000 Africans in Virginia by 1680, when the General Assembly saw fit to pass a "Law for Preventing Negro Insurrections" that forbade Blacks to carry guns or clubs. The law further prohibited all Blacks—free, indentured, or enslaved—from congregating in large numbers and permitted the use of draconian punishment on enslaved Africans who assaulted (white) Christians or who attempted to flee their enslaver. This enactment was a direct reaction to a series of plots, conspiracies, and rebellions undertaken by indentured and enslaved laborers, white and Black, in the preceding two decades.

Tobacco cultivation had become the mainstay of the Chesapeake economy by the 1660s, and its cultivation, harvest, and processing required intensive and year-around labor. At that time four out

[iv] The house lasted two centuries, until it was destroyed in a fire in August 1891.

of five servants were men, primarily white European indentured servants alongside enslaved Africans and Native Americans. Their mortality rates were high because of disease, poor nutrition, over-work, and harsh treatment. The abuse was widespread enough that a 1658 act, "Against Runnaway Servants," stipulated that,

> … it shall be lawfull for any servant giveing notice to his master, haveing just cause of complaint against their masters by harsh and bad usage, or else for want of diett or convenient necessaries, to repaire to the next com'r. to make his or their complaint And if the said comissioner shall find by just proofe that the said servants cause of complaint is just, the said com'rs. is hereby required to give order for the warneing of the said master or mistresse before the com'rs. in the severall countie courts, where the matter in difference shall be decided, as they in their discretions shall think fitt, and that care be had that no servant or servants be misused by their master or mistresse where they shall find the complaint to be just.[38]

Despite this recourse, 40 male indentured servants in York County conspired to rebel in 1661 because their diets lacked meat. Before they could attain arms and gain their freedom, however, they were betrayed and arrested. The result was that the ringleader and his enslaver both were admonished in the court, and the next year, a law was passed entitled "Cruelty of masters prohibited." Although the identities of all 40 of the conspirators is unknown, most indentured servants in this period were white Europeans; however, indentured or enslaved Africans and Native Americans may have also participated.

In 1663 William Bell and John Gunter led nine indentured servants in Gloucester County, Virginia, who agreed to gather weapons and march on the manor of Governor Sir William Berkeley, hoping to persuade others to join them on the march. Once again, the conspiracy was foiled by an informer, a servant named Birkenhead (who, in reward for his betrayal, was given his freedom along with 5,000 pounds of tobacco), and the Servants' Plot,[v] as it was later called, was ended by the authorities before it had begun. Unlike the York County Conspiracy two years prior, the punishment meted out was harsh: Four of the nine were hanged for their treason. Historians believe the death-penalty sentence may have been pronounced because some of the perpetrators were convicts and militarized men who had fought under Cromwell in the English Civil War, and their knowledge of warfare made their prospective uprising that much more threatening.[39]

The Gloucester County conspirators were white males, but indentured or enslaved African laborers also rebelled in this period. In 1664 a Mrs. Wormley reported that her African servants had threatened her with "riotous & rebellious conduct" that had lasted one week before it was stopped by authorities. Enslaved Africans joined Nathaniel Bacon, Jr.'s rebellion against Governor Berkeley's authority in 1676, believing that aligning themselves with a popular rebel would secure their freedom. But Bacon's ultimate motivation was profit. At a time of escalating conflict between Virginia colonists and several Native American tribes in the Tidewater, Bacon amassed disgruntled colonists to drive the Pamunkey tribe off its lands. Berkeley responded to Bacon's vigilantism by sending armed guards to his Henrico County seat; Bacon, in turn, fled with 200 men, at which time Berkeley branded him a rebel. Bacon continued his vigilantism, next harassing the Occaneechee tribe on the Roanoke River, and his insurrection culminated in June with his forces surrounding the statehouse in which Berkeley and the General Assembly convened. From July to September,

[v] It is also known as the Gloucester County Conspiracy and Birkenhead's Rebellion, named after the informer.

Bacon occupied Jamestown while Berkeley retreated to his Green Spring plantation. Facing opposition and setbacks throughout his occupation, Bacon razed the fort town by fire on September 19. After committing this act, what support he had gained among colonists dwindled precipitously, but before a final coup could be made against him, he died of disease in October. With his death, Bacon's rebel leaders were caught and tried, and 23 were sentenced to hang. Captain Grantham negotiated the surrender of 300 armed indentured servants and enslaved Africans at West Point, on the Middle Peninsula; the last 100 holdouts included 80 enslaved Africans and 20 indentured whites who refused to surrender and demanded their liberty from bondage. Their demands were not met, and all who surrendered or were captured returned to bondage.[40]

The backlash to Bacon's Rebellion took the form of the General Assembly's passing a slew of laws in the years following that further curbed the rights of indentured and enslaved laborers. As the demographic shift from white indentured servants to enslaved Africans continued, the language of these laws (such as the 1680 "Law for Preventing Negro Insurrections") focused on Africans. Despite the continued hardening of legislation against those in bondage, enslaved Africans continued to protest for their freedom; in 1687 the conspirators of a plot to rebel in Westmoreland County were all enslaved Africans.

D. HARDENING OF THE SLAVERY SYSTEM

Over the course of the 1600s, the slavery regime that came to dominate the 1700s gradually developed. Some early African arrivals were treated as indentured servants and freed after a term of years, but over time attitudes among the planters changed. Recent scholarship has refined the narrative of Virginia's transition to slavery. Scholars have begun to place more intent for the purchase of enslaved Africans with plantation owners and focus more on the aspect of race. These studies note that Chesapeake elites were attempting to conserve and consolidate their wealth and power through legal restrictions on both indentured servants and enslaved laborers before larger trans-Atlantic shipments became available.[41]

One case that documents the paradigm shift took place in 1640. John Punch, a Black indentured servant, escaped from the Tidewater Virginia plantation of Hugh Gwyn along with two white servants. When the three were captured, Gwyn petitioned the courts to punish them. The court extended the indentures of the two white servants by four years but ruled that "the third being a negro named John Punch shall serve his said master or his assigns for the time of his natural life here or else where." Historian Leon Higginbotham calls this "the first definite indication of outright enslavement in Virginia."[42] A more nuanced reading would indicate that this incident was the first indication of outright enslavement *based on racial lines*, as Punch's punishment was disproportionally greater than his cohorts' although the only distinction made between them in the written verdict was their places of origin or skin color: the two white servants were described as a "Dutchman" and a "Scotchman" while Punch was described as "a negro."

Indications of slavery began to appear in Virginia's legal code by 1660. A law passed that year on freedom-seeking servants states,

> BE it enacted That in case any English servant shall run away in company with any negroes who are incapable of makeing satisfaction by addition of time, Bee itt enacted that the English so running away in company with them shall serve for the time of the said negroes absence as they are to do for their owne by a former act.[43]

This provision makes sense only if one assumes that all "negroes" were enslaved for life and therefore their terms of servitude could not be extended.

A key development in the legal infrastructure was a doctrine known as *Partus sequitur ventrem*, enacted in 1662. Under English law the legal status of a child was that of the father, but under this new doctrine children would inherit their mother's status:

> WHEREAS some doubts have arisen whether children got by any Englishman upon a negro woman should be slave or free, Be it therefore enacted and declared by this present grand assembly, that all children borne in this country shal be held bond or free only according to the condition of the mother, And that if any christian shall committ fornication with a negro man or woman, hee or shee soe offending shall pay double the fines imposed by the former act.[44]

More laws regulating slavery followed on a regular basis, one every year or two. In 1667 the Assembly specified that receiving Christian baptism did not free enslaved persons from bondage. In 1669 they protected enslavers from accusations of murder if they killed servants:

> WHEREAS the only law in force for the punishment of refreactory servants (a) resisting their master, mistris or overseer cannot be inflicted upon negroes, nor the obstinacy of many of them by other then violent meanes supprest, Be it enacted and declared by this grand assembly, if any slave resist his master (or other by his masters order correcting him) and by the extremity of the correction should chance to die, that his death shall not be accompted felony, but the master (or that other person appointed by the master to punish him) be acquit from molestation, since it cannot be presumed that prepensed malice (which alone makes murther felony) should induce any man to destroy his owne estate.[45]

A case under this law was tried in 1762 in Dumfries, Virginia, involving the Scott family of Westwood, who owned more than 1,000 acres now within Prince William Forest Park. Sarah Scott, the wife of planter and minister James Scott of Westwood, killed a boy named Davy who was enslaved at Westwood, but the court found that it was an "accident" and acquitted her.[46]

In 1682 the Assembly passed a law that made slavery for life the official law of Virginia:

> And also be in enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted, That all servants imported and brought into this country, by sea or land, who were not Christians in their native country, shall be accounted and be slaves, and such be here bought and sold notwithstanding a conversion to Christianity afterward.[47]

The de jure adoption of slavery helped solidify the hierarchical nature of planter society in 1700s Virginia, as a few wealthy families were able to create inheritable estates that gave their children serious advantages over the rest of the population. Overall, most recent scholarship has acknowledged that Chesapeake planters were not passive objects in the transition from indentured servitude to slavery. A complex combination of historical, social, and economic circumstances likely collided with planters' very active efforts to consolidate their wealth and power. When enslaved laborers were available in Virginia, they were purchased over indentured servants. The most elite and wealthy did so first, as they were positioned with the means and connections to do so. They clearly imbued their enslaved bondsmen with legal and social distinctions from European

servants that formed the basis of the social constructs of race, even before enslaved Africans came to dominate the labor force.[48]

E. SUMMARY

By the end of the 1600s in the Chesapeake, the establishment of the powerful planter class system and the rise of segregation by race that could be seen in the progression of laws and codes was manifest also in the built environment and the cultural landscape. Early settlers—whether they were free white planters, white indentured servants, or indentured and enslaved Africans—faced the same hardships, trials, and threats. The earliest Africans were both indentured and enslaved, but both had the prospect of freedom at the end of a set term of service or with conversion to Christianity. Some freed Africans became planters themselves. In the frontier, where mortality rates were high and financial success uncertain, free and indentured whites and free, indentured, and enslaved Africans and Native Americans worked and lived together. The frontier culture allowed this comingling but also provided room, away from the eyes of governance, for the abuse of laws that protected the rights of laborers. The brutality that indentured and enslaved laborers experienced at the hands of free white planters resulted in several plots and rebellions in the mid- to late 1600s. This, in turn, resulted in the passage of draconian laws, the hardening of the slave system, and the lifelong bondage of those enslaved, who were perceived as chattel or real estate. Economic incentives also resulted in a paradigm shift from indentured servitude to enslaved bondage. Although the very early Chesapeake may be construed as a Society with Slaves, it very quickly established itself as a Slave Society in which the cultivation of a single cash crop—tobacco—dictated how the Tidewater plantation landscape was shaped and how individuals interacted within it.

III. PLANTATIONS AND THE MASS ARRIVAL OF AFRICANS (1700-1775)

FIND YOUR PARK

Sites Dating from this Time Period: (*Mentioned in this Chapter)
ANACOSTIA PARK (ANAC): Arran, Attwood's Purchase, Beall's Adventure, Chichester, Chillum Castle Manor, Cerne Abbey Manor, Elkenhead, Fortune, Haddock's Hill, Hamilton, Houp's Addition, The Houpyard, Long Meadows, The Knock, St. Elizabeths [c. 1700]
*ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD (ANTI): William Roulette Farm [1751] (p. 39)
BALTIMORE-WASHINGTON PARKWAY (BAWA): Birmingham Manor [1699]
CATOCTIN MOUNTAIN PARK (CATO): Catoctin Furnace and charcoal hearths [1774]
*C&O CANAL NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK (CHOH): Antietam Iron Works [c. 1765], King FIND Opessa's Town [c. 1715-1730] (p. 43-44)
FORT WASHINGTON PARK (FOWA): Warburton Manor [c. 1700-1808]
*HARMONY HALL (NACE): Harmony Hall [c. 1770] (p. 31), Want Water (c. 1740)
MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD (MANA): Pittsylvania [c. 1760] (p. 31, 37-39), Pohoke [c. 1720-1820] (p. 46)
NATIONAL MALL AND MEMORIAL PARKS (NAMA): Beall's Levels/Burns Plantation [c. 1720-1792], Notley Young's Plantation [c. 1720-1792]
*PISCATAWAY PARK (PISC): Marshall Hall [c. 1725] (p. 31)
*PRINCE WILLIAM FOREST PARK (PRWI): Abraham Farrow Plantation [c. 1708-1724], Westwood [1745] (p. 31)
ROCK CREEK PARK (ROCR): Georgetown Waterfront [ca. 1745], Old Stone House [1766]

Also Mentioned in this Chapter:
ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD (ANTI): Jacob Mumma Farm (p. 38)
ARLINGTON HOUSE (ARHO): (p. 37)
OXON COVE PARK (NACE): Oxon Hill (p. 31)
GEORGE WASHINGTON MEMORIAL PARKWAY (GWMP): Mount Vernon (p. 31, 32, 42, 45-46)
MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD (MANA): Brownsville Quarter (p. 46), Spring Hill Farm (p. 46)

A. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PLANTATION SYSTEM AND SLAVE SOCIETY

As established in the last chapter, the hardening of the slave system in the Chesapeake region corresponded with a demographic shift. The increased importation of enslaved Africans beginning in the last quarter of the 1600s assisted a paradigm shift away from indentured servitude that was already underway. The transition from a Society of Slaves to a Slave Society[vi] and the establishment of the plantation system in the British colonies of mainland North America would not have been possible without a growing population of enslaved people.

Documentation from the early 1700s is scant and lacking in detail. The institution of slavery's dehumanization of enslaved people into capital and tools is reflected in the written record, which overlooked enslaved Africans or treated them as chattel. Historians' attempts to reconstruct the early 1700s African experience in the American colonies rely on such records as bills of purchase or sale, planters' diaries and farm inventories, as well as wills and probates; these too rarely furnish

[vi] See page 3.

the names, ages, or places of origin for the unknown enslaved person. Consequently, most of the information gleaned from this period is through the archeological record and the study of demographics.

Demographics of the imported and enslaved African populations in the larger Chesapeake region in the last quarter of the 1600s indicated a high proportion of adult males, but by the 1700s the gender ratios were even. The rise of the trans-Atlantic slave trade resulted in the rapid increase of both the overall Black population and proportion of the total population they represented, from less than 10 percent throughout the 1600s to over a third of the region's total by the middle of the 1700s (Table 3.1).[49]

TABLE 3.1: ESTIMATED COLONIAL POPULATIONS OF MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA, 1700-1780

YEAR	TOTAL CHESAPEAKE POPULATION	PERCENT INCREASE TOTAL POPULATION	ESTIMATED BLACK POPULATION	PERCENT BLACK POPULATION	PERCENT INCREASE BLACK POPULATION
1700	98,100	2.00	12,900	13.15	4.34
1710	123,700	1.59	22,400	18.11	4.24
1720	158,600	2.09	30,600	19.29	2.68
1730	224,600	2.53	53,200	23.69	4.25
1740	296,500	1.93	84,000	28.33	3.67
1750	377,800	0.65	150,600	39.86	4.42
1760	502,000	2.73	189,600	37.77	2.06
1770	649,600	2.15	251,400	38.70	2.46
1780	786,000	1.75	303,600	38.63	1.72

Coombs, "The Phases of Conversion," 332-360

Detailed population estimates for the specific counties and parishes within the NCA during the colonial period are typically gathered from church and tax records, as regular and systematic census taking was not established until 1790, following the adoption of the U.S. Constitution. Early tax records counted "tithables," individuals who could perform tobacco cultivation that included both free European men and all enslaved African and African American men and women.

The lands that would become Fairfax, Prince William, and Loudoun counties in Virginia experienced their first real land and settlement rush in the early 1700s, after the Treaty of Albany in 1722 ended the threat of attacks by the Iroquois and their allies. The European population increased while speculators began purchasing lands in this less settled part of what was still the Northern Neck proprietary, originally granted to the Fairfax family.[50] In 1724 the rector of Overwharton Parish, which then included all of northern Virginia, said that he ministered to 650 families. That same year there were 1,554 tithables in Stafford County, which at the time included all the NCA area in Virginia.[51] Tithables included males over 15 as well as enslaved adult females. Considering a series of records in 1699 that show that, for the colony as a whole, there were about 2.79 people in the population per tithable, the estimated population of northern Virginia in 1724 was about 4,300. The registers of the new Dettingen parish, established in 1744 and covering much of what is now Prince William County, showed 977 tithables, or about 2,800 people, in 1745. Tithables suggest that there were approximately 906 enslaved persons out of a population of 2,013 in Fairfax County in 1749, and 992 enslaved persons in a population of 3,400 in Loudoun County in 1760. By the start of the Revolution, Prince William County had more than 2,000 tithables and probably a total population of around 6,000 people.[52]

Several early statewide censuses in Maryland attempted at the beginning of the 1700s provide additional but inconsistent data for understanding a full account of the colony's population in 1700, 1704, 1707, 1710, and 1712. Each year, the censuses organized the population somewhat differently, including by taxable and untaxable population, by age, and by other categories.[53] These figures, although inconsistent, show that the counties in what would become the NCA in Maryland made up about 16 to 18 percent of colony's population and grew at an average yearly rate of around 5 percent (Table 3.2). Enslaved persons made up about 20 percent of each county's population in 1704, a figure that held relatively steady in Charles County but increased in Prince George's to over 32 percent by 1712.

TABLE 3.2: ESTIMATED COLONIAL POPULATIONS
OF NCA COUNTIES IN MARYLAND, 1700-1712

YEAR	CHARLES CO.	PRINCE GEORGE'S CO.	MD TOTAL
1700	2808 total (1122 taxables)	2358 total (963 taxables)	34,172 total (13,149 taxables)
1704	2989 total (578 enslaved)	3278 total (610 enslaved)	36,128 total (5659 enslaved)
1710	3429 total (638 negroes)	3994 total (1297 negroes)	43,683 total (7879 negroes)
1712	4007 total (724 negroes)	4154 total (1349 negroes)	45,784 total (8385 negroes)

Menard, "Five Maryland Censuses, 1700 to 1712," 618

1. Mass Importation of Africans

The importation of enslaved Africans to the Chesapeake in the first half of the 1600s involved relatively small shipments, and many of those enslaved were transshipped from other American regions, mostly from the British Caribbean followed by the Northern colonies (Table 3.3). The first trans-Atlantic shipments to the Chesapeake began in earnest in the 1650s but did not reach more than 10,000 per decade until the 1700s. The peak of trans-Atlantic shipments of enslaved individuals to the Chesapeake occurred during the 1720s and 1730s, during which an average of between 2,000 and 3,000 enslaved men and women per year were disembarked in Maryland and Virginia directly from Africa. Although enslaved individuals were transshipped from other American colonies during this time period as well, their numbers averaged just 9.3 percent of all arrivals to the Chesapeake; only 8.3 percent of the enslaved people that disembarked in the NCA did not originate directly from Africa via the trans-Atlantic trade.

Within the NCA, 105 intra-American slaving voyages arrived during the 1700s and disembarked 807 individuals, the majority originating in the British Caribbean and arriving in the 1750s and 1760s (Table 3.4).54 Arrivals to the two Potomac tax districts (North and South Potomac) made up only 11 percent of the voyages and 8 percent of the enslaved persons shipped to the larger Chesapeake region from other American ports, although the Potomac districts appear to have grown in the share of regional intra-American slave trading in the second half of the 1700s as the frontiers of settlement and plantation building moved westward into the Piedmont region. Sources of intra-American voyages in the 1700s to the NCA region remained primarily from the British

TABLE 3.3: INTRA-AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE SOURCES
TO THE CHESAPEAKE DURING THE 1700S

REGION OF PURCHASE	CHESAPEAKE REGION VOYAGES	CHESAPEAKE REGION ENSLAVED DISEMBARKED	NCA VOYAGES	NCA ENSLAVED DISEMBARKED
port unspecified	25	151	16	119
British Caribbean	761	8554	60	441
Chesapeake	36	626	12	167
Dutch Caribbean	3	6	1	2
Great Britain	5	17	1	1
Lower South	22	191	-	-
Northern Colonies	102	286	15	77
TOTAL	954	9831	105	807

Voyages: Intra-American Slave Trade Database

TABLE 3.4: INTRA-AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE VOLUME
TO THE CHESAPEAKE DURING THE 1700S

DECADE	CHESAPEAKE REGION VOYAGES	CHESAPEAKE REGION ENSLAVED DISEMBARKED	NCA VOYAGES	NCA ENSLAVED DISEMBARKED
1701-1710	37	318	3	16
1711-1720	166	2115	12	61
1721-1730	36	456	-	-
1731-1740	203	1671	1	50
1741-1750	200	1927	9	93
1751-1760	122	1109	37	232
1761-1770	103	976	36	259
1771-1780	87	1259	7	96
TOTAL	954	9831	105	807

Voyages: Trans-American Slave Trade Database

Caribbean, especially Barbados. Northern colonies were less of a source of intercolonial trade in the 1700s than in the 1600s, and shipments to the NCA from within the Chesapeake itself gained in frequency.

In the larger Chesapeake region during the 1700s, 526 recorded trans-Atlantic slave voyages brought 94,573 enslaved individuals to Maryland and Virginia prior to the American Revolution (Table 3.5). Merchants out of Bristol, England, dominated the origin place for the slaving vessels supplying the Chesapeake, although London and Liverpool also supplied appreciable numbers of ships. Enslaved men and women were embarked in the Bight of Biafra (n=23,796, 25.2 percent), the principal place of purchase for nearly half the voyages out of Bristol. Senegambia, a principal purchase place for Liverpool and London merchants, and West Central Africa were also important places for the embarkation of enslaved people in the 1700s. The sex and age composition of the enslaved population imported to the Chesapeake in the 1700s was distributed more evenly than in the 1600s (see Table 3.5), although adult males still composed the majority of those enslaved and brought to the region.

TABLE 3.5: PLACES OF ORIGIN OF ENSLAVED PEOPLE SHIPPED TO THE CHESAPEAKE IN THE 1700S

REGION OF SLAVE PURCHASE	VOYAGES	ENSLAVED DISEMBARKED	AVERAGE % MALES	AVERAGE % CHILDREN	AVERAGE MORTALITY RATE
Africa, port unspecified	183	32,653	64.3	20.8	11.8
Bight of Benin	5	1236	-	-	
Bight of Biafra	125	23,796	53.0	12.5	27.3
Gold Coast	38	5833	58.6	33.4	13.3
Madagascar	6	1231	-	-	-
Senegambia	94	12,286	80.5	18.4	19.6
Sierra Leone	15	2597	64.5	28.7	8.0
West Central Africa	45	12,591	83.1	6.0	21.5
Windward Coast	15	2350	50.3	45.6	-
Total	526	94,573	64.1	22.8	16.9

Voyages: Trans-American Slave Trade Database

Scholars have documented appreciable concentrations of enslaved persons within subregions of the Chesapeake based on the focus of agricultural economies and their associated shipping. The distinction between sources of the enslaved persons in the NCA and the greater Chesapeake region likely has most to do with shipping relationships between specific planters and British merchants. The marginal provisioning areas of the Lower James River and the Eastern Shore of Virginia and Maryland were more active in intercolonial trade and may have had the most diverse set of African source regions as well as the largest proportion of enslaved West Indians. Orinoco[vii] tobacco-growing plantations in northern Virginia had the most connections to Liverpool merchants, who purchased Africans mainly from Senegambia. London merchants largely supplied Maryland plantations along the Potomac River that cultivated the Orinoco variety of tobacco with enslaved laborers from Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast. Sweet-scented tobacco-growing plantations on the Middle and Lower peninsulas in Virginia were the point of entry of most enslaved Africans into the colony and the location of the most wealthy and powerful planters. Planters in the York River drainage had connections to Bristol merchants, which resulted in a large concentration of enslaved people from the Bight of Biafra (Table 3.6).[55]

[vii] When Europeans colonized the Chesapeake, the Indigenous peoples were cultivating a native tobacco plant. By the middle of the 1600s, however, European planters in the Chesapeake favored two varieties that proved more popular in Europe and thereby more profitable for growers. The first was the "sweet-scented" variety that flourished in several Tidewater counties in Virginia and was the more profitable of the two. The sandier loams in the Northern Neck of Virginia and Maryland, however, were better for the production of the Orinoco strain, a less valuable variety that originated in South America and "yielded a bulkier and stronger-scented leaf." See Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland, A Middle Temperament: 1634-1980* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 17.

TABLE 3.6: TRANS-ATLANTIC SLAVE VOYAGES TO THE NCA IN THE 1700S BY SHIP ORIGIN

PLACE OF DISEMBARKATION	PLACE OF VOYAGE START	VOYAGES	ENSLAVED DISEMBARKED
Annapolis	Antigua	1	13
Annapolis	Bristol	1	110
Annapolis	Liverpool	4	823
Annapolis	London	5	643
Annapolis	New London	1	90
Annapolis	Newport	1	28
Annapolis	Philadelphia	1	49
Annapolis	Zeeland	1	128
-	*Sub-Total*	*15*	*1884*
Londontowne	Liverpool	1	333
Londontowne	London	2	360
-	*Sub-Total*	*3*	*693*
North Potomac	Bristol	2	434
North Potomac	Liverpool	8	911
-	*Sub-Total*	*10*	*1345*
Patuxent	Bristol	3	728
Patuxent	Liverpool	3	481
Patuxent	London	10	1684
Patuxent	Stockton	1	150
-	*Sub-Total*	*17*	*3043*
Potomac River	London	2	372
-	*Sub-Total*	*2*	*372*
South Potomac	Bristol	1	150
South Potomac	Glasgow	1	21
South Potomac	Liverpool	8	1019
South Potomac	London	2	108
South Potomac	Montrose	1	197
South Potomac	Virginia, unspecified	1	71
-	*Sub-Total*	*14*	*1566*
-	Total	61	8903

Voyages: Trans-American Slave Trade Database

Direct trans-Atlantic shipments of enslaved individuals to the NCA region during the 1700s included 61 voyages bringing 8,903 individuals directly from Africa. Importation to the ports in the NCA spiked in the 1730s and fell off in the 1740s before rebounding in the 1750s and 1760s, as in in the larger Chesapeake region.[56] Allan Kulikoff notes that the trans-Atlantic trade to the region slackened as a whole in the 1760s and 1770s as the native-born, enslaved population stabilized and was reproducing at rates sufficient to decrease demand for costly new imports.[57] The boom-and-bust nature of the tobacco economy, which suffered several depressions in the first half of the 1700s, especially in the 1740s, also likely resulted in periodic declines in arrivals.

A greater proportion of the enslaved men and women from the Senegambia and West Central Africa regions were imported to the NCA ports in the 1700s as compared with the larger Chesapeake region (Table 3.7). Enslaved persons from the Bight of Biafra made up only about 9

percent of those arriving in the NCA during the same time. Age and sex ratios, as well as the overall mortality rates on board ships, were relatively similar between the NCA area and the larger Chesapeake region in the 1700s. Trans-Atlantic slave ships arriving in the NCA disembarked an average of 146 enslaved Africans, about 60 percent of whom were male and about 72 percent adults. A 14 percent mortality rate suggests that the average number of the enslaved persons originally purchased, likely in Senegambia or West Central Africa, was closer to 170, with 24 deaths during the Middle Passage, which typically ranged from 50 to 100 days.

TABLE 3.7: PLACES OF ORIGIN OF ENSLAVED PERSONS SHIPPED TO NCA PORTS IN THE 1700S

REGION OF ENSLAVED PURCHASE	VOYAGES	ENSLAVED DISEMBARKED	AVERAGE % MALES	AVERAGE % CHILDREN	AVERAGE MORTALITY RATE (%)
Africa, port unspecified	18	2483	-	-	15.8
Bight of Biafra	5	775	-	-	15.0
Gold Coast	5	843	55.6	12.6	16.7
Senegambia	22	2358	62.2	43.2	12.0
Sierra Leone	2	207	64.5	28.7	-
West Central Africa	8	2109	-	-	10.0
Windward Coast	1	128	-	-	-
Total	61	8903	60.7	28.2	14.0

Voyages: Trans-American Slave Trade Database

Data suggest that the Maryland side of the Potomac River appeared to be more active in the slave trade than the Virginia shore in the NCA region, with 45 voyages carrying 6,965 individuals compared with the 16 voyages and 1,938 individuals that disembarked from ships registering cargoes in the South Potomac district (see Table 3.6). Donald Sweig has shown that the relatively few numbers of ships known to disembark enslaved persons on the Virginia side of the Potomac (according to South Potomac Naval Office shipping lists) can be misleading because of lost records and unrecorded shipping.[58] Sweig found that lower import duties were imposed on enslaved people imported directly and were therefore less expensive for northern Virginia planters.[59] There are some records that planters such as George Washington and George Mason purchased enslaved persons in Maryland for use on their Virginia plantations in the 1750s.[viii]

2. Cultural Influence of Africans

There has been debate over time about the degree to which specific African cultural practices influenced both the development of African American culture and wider colonial and American culture. Most recently, complex concepts of creolization and ethnogenesis have been combined with new data on the trans-Atlantic slave trade to argue that a diverse set of West African identities and practices did affect the growth of different creolized elements of culture in distinct times and places. [60] These studies have attempted to avoid homogenizing the hundreds of polities, ethnicities, language groups, and other facets of cultural identity that existed across West Africa. Those

[viii] In his farm ledger from April 30, 1757, Washington wrote that he paid £79 "in gold to pay for some Negros which [Colonel John Carlyle, of Alexandria, Virginia] bot for me in Maryld." Cf. Sweig, "The Importation of the African Slaves to the Potomac River, 1732-1772"; Breen, *The revolution before the Revolution?*.

comparing broad regions of slavery in the United States have emphasized the relatively large proportion of enslaved individuals shipped to the Chesapeake from the Bight of Biafra, which principally included people from the Igbo and Ibibio ethnicities.[61]

Other, more specific patterns have emerged in research examining the subregions of the Chesapeake as described above. In the upper Chesapeake a larger proportion of enslaved persons came from the northern portions of West Africa, such as Senegambia, Sierra Leone, Windward Coast, and Gold Coast. For the ports of the NCA, Senegambia was a major source region for imported enslaved Africans. Senegambia was an ethnically diverse region but with broad social and cultural similarities based on the shared history of the former Mali Empire, which left several well-defined, state-level polities that included numerous urban centers. The area also shared the Mande language and the influence of native-speaking Muslim merchants and trans-Saharan trade networks to North Africa.[62]

Sierra Leone and the Windward Coast similarly included multiple polities and ethnicities but featured more rural, rice-focused agricultural populations. Primary social organization and identity likely rested in the kuwui, or village compound, of several related, extended-family households. More northern and western populations included Mande-speakers, but numerous Kwa-speaking groups inhabited the coastal areas south of Cape Mount. Like Senegambia, substantial numbers of Muslims lived in the area (largely north of Cape Mount), and warfare between Muslim and non-Muslim populations in the interior drove captives into the slave market during the 1700s.[63]

The region known as the Gold Coast included the area that is Ghana today, which was more culturally and linguistically homogenous than those to the west and north. These included the Akan peoples, such as the coastal Fante and the Asante polity, a large, well-organized nation state that engaged in large-scale expansion in the 1700s. Although the early colonial gold trade gave the region its name, most people in the region were root-crop agriculturalists.[64]

The largest group of Africans imported to the lower Chesapeake and interior Piedmont of Virginia came from the Bight of Biafra and were largely Igbo. Unlike the more centralized Akan states of the Gold Coast or the numerous and ethnically diverse polities of Sierra Leone, the Igbo represented a relatively homogenous cultural group that spoke similar dialects of Kwa and occupied a rather large region without a centralized political structure. Most Igbo lived in rural villages and practiced root-crop agriculture. The Igbo held similar values to the Akan in that land was not only a valuable and often lineage-owned resource but played a central role in spiritual beliefs and practices.[65]

Nearly as prevalent as Senegambians, groups from West Central Africa were imported heavily into the NCA region during the 1700s. These included principally Bantu-speakers from Congo and Angola, such as the BaKongo, who were most heavily imported into the lower Chesapeake. Although many ethnicities, polities, and agricultural foci were represented in this broad region, these enslaved Africans shared several commonalities, including language, the importance of water, and religious practices, that united them. It is largely the spiritual practices and worldview of the Igbo and BaKongo that have been cited as precedents for archeological findings of potential African cultural continuities and influences in the Chesapeake region.[66]

3. Transformation from a Society with Slaves to a Slave Society

Beginning in the fourth quarter of the 1600s, several events and trends—including insurrections, fluctuating cash-crop prices, and decreased English emigration to the colonies—contributed to the transition from a labor force dominated by indentured servants to one dominated by enslaved African Americans. That change facilitated the height of fully codified, race-based slavery on plantation settings and the increasingly patriarchal and hierarchical class structure of the Chesapeake region in the 1700s prior to the American Revolution.[67] Berlin characterized this as the Chesapeake's transformation from a Society with Slaves to a Slave Society.[68] Most recent studies suggest that the period from fourth quarter of the 1600s through the first quarter of the 1700s was more of an "elite slave society" in which moderate enslaved populations were highly concentrated among the wealthy gentry. As enslaved populations greatly increased and enslavement became more pervasive through the social structure over the next 50 years, the region developed into a "popular, or pervasive slave society."[69]

Enslaved Africans, once landed in Virginia, and native-born, enslaved African Americans found themselves bound in agricultural labor. Many lived and toiled on small farms, singly or in small groups, often working alongside the white farmer, his family, and possibly hired white laborers. Those small farms and plantations, generally consisting of 10 or fewer slaves, likely represented the experience of many enslaved Africans and African Americans prior to the mid-1700s.[70] In Tidewater Virginia the enslaved population appears to have concentrated increasingly in large plantations; nearly half of those enslaved lived on larger plantations of 20 or more slaves.[71] In a series of studies focused more on the upper Potomac counties included in the NCA, Sweig noted that the area in the mid-1700s was characterized by larger estates worked almost entirely by enslaved labor, administered by plantation owners that largely lived in the older, more established counties of the Northern Neck and southern Maryland.[72] Examples of such plantations in NCA parks include Pittsylvania at Manassas National Battlefield Park, Westwood at Prince William Forest Park, Harmony Hall, Mount Vernon, Oxon Hill, and Marshall Hall at Piscataway Park.

The profit orientation of large-scale, Chesapeake tobacco planters revolved around exporting their harvest on consignment, and Chesapeake planters were bound by the needs and rhythms of the tobacco crop.[73] Growth in the tobacco-dominated economy of the Chesapeake was limited in form. Both tobacco for export and corn for subsistence placed heavy requirements on soils, necessitating extended fallow periods on the order of decades. Large amounts of land were required in this system, leading to a highly dispersed settlement pattern and little return for attempts to increase profit through labor concentration. The dominant means for increasing profit through tobacco cultivation therefore became the establishment of separate areas of a plantation, known as quarters, usually under the direction of an overseer.[74] Estimates of the numbers and areas of enslaved holdings necessary to facilitate the use of overseers on outlying quarters limit their probable distribution to the upper 10 percent of the wealthiest plantations.[75]

Many large landowners from the older counties on the Northern Neck became absentee owners of farther-flung quarters, such as Robert "King" Carter. By the time of his death in 1732, Carter's vast holdings included hundreds of thousands of acres and 700 enslaved individuals dispersed across 47 quarters in nine Virginia counties, which included four established quarters and 35 enslaved persons in Prince William County. Each quarter had an average of 15 enslaved persons and functioned as an independent farm with its own structures, implements, and livestock.[76]

Fairfax County was established in 1742 from Prince William County, and William Fairfax, cousin to the county's namesake Lord Thomas Fairfax, finished his Belvoir mansion the year before, marking the arrival of resident, genteel plantation owners to the upper Potomac. Sweig's research shows that in 1749 about 15 percent of enslavers with plantations in Truro Parish (which encompassed all of Fairfax County) were absentee owners with principal residences in Stafford and Westmoreland counties, including some of wealthiest Virginia families, such as the Carters, Fitzhughs, and Lees.[77] About 32 percent of the parish's enslaved men and women lived on those plantations with absentee owners.

The quarter system was employed at Washington's Mount Vernon estate, which included four outlying quarters (Dogue Run, Muddy Hole, Union, and River Farms) in addition to the Mansion House Farm. The farms were not contiguous but were connected by a network of plantation roads. Each acted like a self-sufficient farm: River Farm, acquired about 1766, included over a dozen buildings, including an overseers' house and frame or log quarters for the enslaved workers. Washington's hundreds of enslaved laborers were scattered across these farms, and family units were often separated. Sambo Anderson, a carpenter at the Mansion House Farm, kept a boat to cross Little Hunting Creek to visit his wife Agnes and children on River Farm.[78] Reassignments to quarters for temporary work was common, such as with Morris, a carpenter, whom Washington sent from the manor to his gristmill for three days in December 1764. The dispersal, transience, and mobility of the enslaved community at Mount Vernon as evidenced in Washington's journals, letters, and farm books were common to Chesapeake plantations that utilized the quarter system. Enslaved individuals frequently visited spouses and relatives on neighboring quarters and on other plantations, and the remoteness of these farms from the manor house afforded the enslaved inhabitants a degree of independence and control over their domestic spheres. Sweig and others have argued that the large, concentrated enslaved populations with absentee owners and a growing road network led to the rapid development of a uniquely African-derived, locally connected, family-based culture that reached across multiple plantations.[79] This development of a cohesive social life in the 1740s and 1750s follows the larger regional transformations as described by Berlin as Societies with Slaves morphed into Slave Societies.[80]

Based on quitrent records, Kulikoff considers the Virginia counties of the NCA as frontier areas through the 1730s and 1740s.[81] Through the 1740s and 1750s, a growing network of ferries, roads, and tobacco warehouses facilitated the growth of plantations and then the small towns of Alexandria and Colchester along the south bank of the Potomac.[82] Piedmont areas of Virginia, including what would become parts of West Virginia, were principally settled in the second and third quarters of the 1700s, and many of the newly arrived enslaved Africans in Virginia in the latter half of the century were settled on recently established Piedmont plantations, which included a higher proportion of somewhat smaller, middling plantations with 11 to 20 enslaved laborers each.[83]

A more detailed look at the pervasiveness of enslavement as it relates to plantation size in and around the NCA region can be gleaned from demographic studies by Russell Menard and Sweig. Menard's 1975 study of Calvert, Charles, Prince George's, and St. Mary's counties in Maryland from the mid-seventeenth to mid-eighteenth centuries captures the initial adoption and growth of slavery in what was one of the first areas in Maryland to invest heavily in imported enslaved Africans. By the 1700s more than approximately half of the all the enslaved people in Maryland resided in these four counties. Enslavement was at first highly concentrated on large estates that

represented a small number of the farms and plantations among white landowners (Table 3.8). Approximately 70 percent of those enslaved in the late 1600s in St. Mary's County lived on plantations with a minimum of six enslaved persons. The owners of these plantations constituted less than 14 percent of all enslavers at the time.[84] Into the first decades of the 1700s, the number of larger estates increased, as did the concentration of the enslaved population on them, with an average of around 8.3 enslaved individuals per estate and over 83 percent of enslaved individuals living on estates of six or more enslaved persons in Charles and Prince George's counties between 1721 and 1730 (Table 3.9). Those estates then formed nearly half (43 percent) of all enslaved holdings in the area.

TABLE 3.8: DISTRIBUTION OF ENSLAVED PERSONS IN FOUR MARYLAND COUNTIES, 1658-1710

ENSLAVED PER ESTATE	NO. OF ESTATES	% OF ESTATES	NO. OF ENSLAVED	% OF ENSLAVED POPULATION
1 to 2	145	48.3	198	12.2
3 to 5	70	23.3	273	16.9
6 to 10	47	15.7	356	22
11 to 20	23	7.7	340	21.1
21+	15	5	451	27.9
TOTAL	300	-	1618	-

Menard, Maryland Slave Population in Four Counties, 35

TABLE 3.9: DISTRIBUTION OF ENSLAVED PERSONS IN CHARLES AND PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTIES, 1721-1730

ENSLAVED PER ESTATE	NO. OF ESTATES	% OF ESTATES	NO. OF ENSLAVED	% OF ENSLAVED POPULATION
1 to 2	40	34.2	57	5.9
3 to 5	26	22.2	105	10.8
6 to 10	26	22.2	188	19.3
11 to 20	14	12	198	20.3
21+	11	9.4	426	43.7
TOTAL	117	-	974	-

Menard, Maryland Slave Population in Four Counties, 50

Menard's subsequent 2013 study of St. Mary's County probate inventories shows the continued growth of enslavement in southern Maryland during the 1700s.[85] In the 1720s nearly two thirds (n=144, 63.7 percent) of households did not enslave people, most enslavers enslaved two to five people (n=38, 16.8 percent), and only five households enslaved more than 20 people (2.2 percent). Inventories taken 40 years later, in the 1760s, show that enslavement had increased to well over half the households in the county, and although enslaving five or fewer people was still the most common level of enslavement, large holdings (with more than 20 enslaved people) had increased to 19 households (7.4 percent). Similar growth in the proportion of enslavement also occurred in Anne Arundel County between 1720 and 1760. The spectrum of white enslavers also expanded through the century. Older, married households were the pre-eminent enslavers in the 1720s, but by the 1760s, half of unmarried households enslaved people. Enslavement also expanded down

the economic ladder over the course of the 1700s to include nearly half of the inventoried estates that did not own land by 1760. Enslaved people made up about 19 percent of the wealth of estates inventoried prior to 1708, but by 1760 they constituted an average of 34 percent of an estate's value.

Sweig's research shows a similar concentration of the enslaved population in Fairfax County, Virginia, by the mid-1700s. In 1749, 1,812 persons were enslaved by 189 households, which represented only 29 percent of households in the county.[86] Of those households with enslaved persons, over half (52.9 percent) owned between one and five enslaved persons (Table 3.10). The enslaved population in Virginia was concentrated on larger estates as it was in Maryland at the same time; in Fairfax County about 81 percent of those enslaved lived on plantations with six or more enslaved persons. The average number of enslaved persons per household was 9.6, with just over 41 percent of those enslaved living on large plantations with 21 or more enslaved individuals. As noted above, many plantations and quarters in the area had absentee owners.

TABLE 3.10: ENSLAVED HOLDINGS IN FAIRFAX COUNTY, VIRGINIA, 1749

ENSLAVED PER ESTATE	NO. OF ESTATES	% OF ESTATES	NO. OF ENSLAVED	% OF ENSLAVED POPULATION
1 to 5	100	52.9	344	19.0
6 to 10	43	22.8	340	18.8
11 to 15	11	5.8	136	7.5
16 to 20	14	7.4	242	13.4
21 to 30	14	7.4	350	19.3
31 to 40	3	1.6	112	6.2
40+	4	2.1	288	15.9
TOTAL	189	-	1812	-

Sweig, Northern Virginia Slavery, 32

In 1747 the smaller parish of Cameron in upper Fairfax County contained only 8 percent (n=138) of the county's 1,812 enslaved people. Cameron Parish separated to form Loudoun County in 1757, and records indicate dramatic growth in the area by 1760 to rival that of Fairfax County only 11 years prior, when 992 enslaved persons made up approximately 29 percent of the total population. Most enslavers continued to own five or fewer slaves, and the enslaved population was slightly less concentrated on the largest holdings, with 77 percent living in groups of six or more, and slightly less than half (48 percent) on plantations with more than 10 (Table 3.11), resulting in a slightly lower average of 7.5 enslaved persons per enslaver. Sweig also outlines the distinction between holdings in Loudoun County with a resident owner versus those with an absentee owner administered by an overseer. About one quarter of the holdings (n=35, 26.5 percent) were run by an overseer, including all those estates with more than 16 enslaved individuals. The enslaved population was slightly more concentrated on these estates in Loudoun at the time, with 518 (52.2 percent) enslaved persons on quarters managed by overseers rather than resident owners.

TABLE 3.11: ENSLAVED HOLDINGS IN LOUDOUN COUNTY, VIRGINIA, 1760

ENSLAVED PER ESTATE	NO. OF ESTATES	% OF ESTATES	NO. OF ENSLAVED	% OF ENSLAVED POPULATION
1 to 5	73	55.3	224	22.6
6 to 10	35	26.5	286	28.8
11 to 15	9	6.8	112	11.3
16 to 20	8	6.1	134	13.5
21 to 30	3	2.3	84	8.5
31 to 40	3	2.3	100	10.1
40+	1	0.8	52	5.2
TOTAL	132	-	992	-

Sweig, Northern Virginia Slavery, 40

B. PLANTATION LIFE

1. Plantation Communities

As has been shown in the preceding sections, enslaved Africans and African Americans in the NCA region would have been put to work growing tobacco, many on larger plantations. But what exactly separates a smaller farm from a plantation? Charles Orser established a five-part definition of plantations with enslaved workers: "…a landholding deemed large within its region, social relations of power between labor and management, specialized agricultural production geared toward off plantation sale, a settlement pattern that reflects centralized control, and a relatively large input of cultivating power."[87] Given this definition, estates with more than 10 enslaved persons might have been seen as large within their regional context, and this number may serve well as a distinction between farms with separate structures for housing those enslaved and the employment of overseers for additional management.

Barbara Heath offers a more descriptive definition of Virginia plantations:

> Plantations are complex economic enterprises that interweave commercial and noncommercial agricultural and industrial production with the creation and maintenance of internal transportation, storage, and processing systems and the management of human and natural resources. Historically in Virginia, they have also served as centers of labor for diverse groups of enslaved African Americans and European American indentured servants and places of work and leisure for owners. Racial boundaries were invented, defined, codified, maintained, and broken in the day-to-day interactions among plantation residents.[88]

Heath's definition emphasizes the complex integration of agriculture and scale that resulted in the creation of plantations that resembled small communities with roads, mills, storage facilities, stores, docks, and concentrated populations in an otherwise rural and decentralized landscape, and that played a central role in the negotiation of race. Viewed against the slaveholding data from both Maryland and Virginia provided above, both definitions of a plantation could be summarized best as those estates with more than 10 slaves.

Although smaller farms that might not meet the scale of a plantation were more prevalent throughout both the NCA and larger Chesapeake regions, the central organizing roles and the concentrations of population facilitated by the larger plantations were critical to the development of America's Slave Society. Smaller farms certainly entangled enslaved Africans and native-born African Americans with European Americans in proximity daily, but the sheer scale and central role of large plantations in their local communities resulted in the materialization of labor and social organization that would come to structure race and class relations throughout the region. This is especially important given the relatively small number and size of towns in the Chesapeake region.[89]

On Chesapeake tobacco plantations, labor was typically organized into small gangs, although it was less regimented and extreme than the larger-scale gang style of labor used in sugar-producing areas, such as the Caribbean and Brazil, which was characterized by groups of enslaved persons performing work *en masse* under close supervision and at a set pace. Still, close supervision over small groups working together at one job was best for products such as tobacco that required careful attention to detail in maintenance of the plant. This also made the performance of enslaved laborers directly observable in that those enslaved either kept pace with the gang or fell behind. This organizational scheme is often contrasted with the task system that characterized enslaved labor in the southeastern Low Country and West Indies, where each enslaved person was given a quota of production to accomplish for a day or set parcel of land to cultivate under less constant supervision.[90]

Tobacco is a temperamental plant, and its production requires careful attention to detail and scheduling. Seeding took place in small, specially prepared seedbeds during the winter, typically between the end of December and early February. Fields were prepared in February and March to receive the transplanted seedlings in the spring, usually in April. Transplanting was long, tedious, and labor-intensive work that required both the full workforce of the plantation and good fortune in terms of enough rainfall to support the transplanted young plants. Summer months were filled with careful weeding, topping, and suckering, maintenance tasks that ensured healthy plants and encouraged quality leaf production. The cutting of ripened plants began in September through October, when the tobacco was hung and cured in barns. Cured tobacco leaves were then removed from their stalks and stemmed, and the final stage of the process involved prizing leaves into tightly compacted hogsheads in November and December, during which the seeding of the next crop would have begun. Keen judgment and experience were critical in the decision-making that initiated each step of process and included determinations of plant maturity, ripeness, required drying period, and whether the crop was fully cured.[91]

With tobacco, the cultivation of corn—which provided sustenance for the plantation's labor force—and laboring in skilled craft production, domestic service, livestock management, landscape management, and other general work kept enslaved laborers busy throughout much of the year, and several historical accounts note that work lasted from dawn until dusk.[92] Both men and women worked as field laborers, although Edmund S. Morgan asserted that, throughout the 1700s, enslaved males were more often assigned to plowing or skilled crafts.[93] This gendered division of labor led to a higher proportion of female field hands in Virginia by the end of the century. Children, both boys and girls, entered the fields as young as nine or 10 years of age.

Later 1700s agricultural developments in Virginia included diversification to mixed grain production. Agricultural diversification was a response to the declining value of tobacco, and although prices exhibited a boom-and-bust nature prior to 1750, a steadier decline in the second half of the century led to an increase in a more diverse agricultural practice with tools, such as carts and plows, and the addition of grains to tobacco. Several scholars have argued that both wheat and livestock were produced not just for subsistence but primarily to provide secondary sources of commodity export income as a safeguard against fluctuations in tobacco production and prices.[94] Economic data compiled for Chesapeake tobacco prices indicate that, within a general increase over the 1700s, dramatic small-scale fluctuations in tobacco prices occurred, with the most extreme variations between 1750 and 1780.[95]

By the time of the American Revolution, agricultural production in Virginia had changed from largely trans-Atlantic export to a focus on local and regional markets with a greater inclusion of mixed grains and livestock.[96] Diversification only increased the gendered division of labor among those enslaved, as men engaged in a more diverse array of skilled and semi-skilled work while women were employed in domestic work and unskilled fieldwork.[97] A diversity of craft skills has been documented in the enslaved workforces of NCA plantations at Pittsylvania (blacksmithing, weaving) and Arlington (carpentry, commercial fishing).[98]

Domestic life among enslaved individuals of Virginia was quite unstable in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as uneven sex ratios and the initial periods of training and language acquisition presented obstacles to the formation of families.[99] Menard used demographic data to assert that in Maryland during the 1720s and 1730s, the enslaved population had begun to grow naturally via reproduction, suggesting some measure of family formation. Kulikoff argued that family formation among the native-born enslaved people on larger plantations grew significantly only after 1750 with the decline of trans-Atlantic arrivals after the mid-1700s.[100] Jean Butenhoff Lee's work in southern Maryland suggests that the less concentrated enslaved population there would have had difficulty maintaining community and family ties through the end of the 1700s.

Studies attempting to trace group history by plantation, including both archeological and historical research, have come to similar conclusions. Walsh attempted to trace the enslaved community of the Carter family, and related Bacons and Burwells, from importation in the late 1600s through the end of the 1700s. She found early disruption resulted from transferal via will and entail, with the most thorough family formation as well as participation in a local neighborhood economy among the native-born enslaved people not occurring until the third quarter of the 1700s. Similarly, Garrett Fesler found that, over the course of the 1700s, enslaved housing size decreased, as did the number of subfloor pits, together suggesting the growth of cooperative households from initial groups of non-related co-residents to families. In tracking the history of enslaved people associated with the Utopia Quarter, on the James River, Fesler's analyses found that by the second quarter of the 1700s, structures that housed family-based households and non-kin co-residents were present in the same quarter. This was a time when a mix of native-born African Americans co-existed with relatively high numbers of more recently imported enslaved Africans. By the third quarter of the 1700s, the final temporal period of the Utopia Quarter site, a duplex and two smaller structures appeared to house only family-sized households.[101] Both studies surmised that the American Revolution brought dissolution of the enslaved community as planters moved their holdings west.

The Piedmont region of Virginia became a focus of settlement and agriculture in the second quarter of the 1700s. Walsh suggested that Africans imported after 1740, largely by Liverpool-based merchants, may have been increasingly diverse in both their ports of origins and numerous points of disembarkation in the Chesapeake.[102] Those enslaved people who found themselves assigned to Piedmont quarters therefore lived in a more culturally heterogeneous enslaved community. However, Morgan and Nichols suggested that, initially, unequal sex ratios quickly balanced out as planters sent more females west for field labor and retained semi-skilled, enslaved males for more diversified tasks.[103] Chambers found that specific to the York River—where the Madisons obtained their enslaved workers for their Piedmont holdings, including what would become Montpelier—the transitions from groups of newly imported enslaved persons to more stable communities and families followed by dissolution and sale also occurred, but several decades later than Fesler and Walsh found in the Tidewater.[104]

2. Landscapes of Small Farms and Large Plantations

In Chesapeake plantation development, a hierarchy of enslaved persons arose between the more highly valued domestics who served the household and the field hands who tended to the farm's agricultural work. This is manifest in the built environment. Enslaved domestics were quartered either in the manor house or in ancillary workspaces adjacent to the big house, whereas field hands dwelled typically in frame structures sited away from the manor, closer to the fields to which they were assigned. Robert "King" Carter's double-pile mansion in Williamsburg, erected in 1727 next to the Governor's Palace, contained an open, unfinished attic. Sometime after 1759, however, a carpenter erected an interior, plastered, stud-partition wall to create two habitable spaces, presumably for use by enslaved domestics. These enslaved people still used the only (main) staircase in the house to access the attic, however, meaning that the enslaved household occupants shared space with their enslavers, who were able to maintain a high level of surveillance.[105] The quarters for enslaved field workers were at a greater distance from the manor, but they were still surveilled by an overseer.

Other than the manor house, historical and archeological research indicates that enslaved people were housed in a variety of structure types, including both non-kin, co-residential barracks, and, typically, smaller, family-based structures. With some variation, more formal quarters in the period are generally assumed to have been planned and built by plantation management with the actual construction labor provided by enslaved people. Very little or no autonomy for siting housing would have been available to those enslaved in the Chesapeake region. A variety of earthfast architectural forms were employed, including clapboard walls affixed to posts set into the ground, with wattle-and-daub chimneys that were typical early manifestations on plantations in the Chesapeake. Later improvements included wood-frame quarters on ground-laid sills or small brick footings or piers. Corner-notched log cabins laid directly on the ground or on small blocks, combined with masonry or wood and clay chimneys, were used from the later portion of the 1700s to the early 1800s. Considerable variation in the quality and size of enslaved housing occurred even on the largest plantations, from sparsely furnished cabins to brick duplexes with glazed windows. Enslaved persons on smaller farms were sometimes less formally housed in lofts and other spare spaces of outbuildings. Such is the case with the Jacob Mumma Farm in Antietam, Maryland, where the upper story of a springhouse served as quarters for enslaved workers. Likewise, enslaved individuals in urban settings would often be housed in multipurpose spaces like out-kitchens and carriage houses.[106]

Generally, larger tobacco plantations that utilized a high concentration of enslaved labor characterized the Tidewater and Piedmont regions, while the Great Valley and mountain ranges maintained smaller holdings throughout their settlement history. Ostensibly, the difference can be explained by macro-economic factors: the western Piedmont and Great Valley, which remained frontiers through the mid-1700s, went through the transition from tobacco to cereal cultivation that was less labor-intensive and thereby required fewer laborers. But this gradation of plantation sizes across regions stemmed not solely from chronological development but also from cultural differences. The Tidewater region had been settled predominantly by English colonists, and it remained a sparsely settled frontier well into the 1700s. Those English planters moved westward into the Piedmont, taking their tobacco cultivation practices and plantation models with them. But the Blue Ridge Mountains and the Great Valley were settled by a more diverse group of Europeans, including Scots-Irish and Germans, many of whom migrated south from Pennsylvania. Some of these emigrants were Quakers or Brethren who did not tolerate slavery. Furthermore, the physical landscape, agricultural science, and the cultural practice of its settlers dictated that, when compared to Tidewater plantations, the farms in the Great Valley and mountain ranges were smaller. The soils and climate in the Great Valley were not suitable for tobacco cultivation, which had already become a less profitable commodity, but they were excellent for raising fruits, grains, and livestock. Wheat, the predominant crop, did not deplete the soils as tobacco did, and therefore extensive crop rotation was not as necessary, especially with fertilization. Lastly, the Great Valley and mountain settlers were not wealthy aristocrats as in the Tidewater, but yeoman farmers for whom smaller, independent farms were common and slavery uncommon. In short, emigrants to the Great Valley had either no or few enslaved individuals, which was a sign of their religious philosophies and cultural backgrounds as much as an economic variable.

Just as the practice of slavery differed across the regions in the NCA, so too did the landscapes of slavery during the 1700s. This can be seen in the comparative analysis of two plantations in the NCA: the Roulette Farm in Washington County, Maryland, now part of the Antietam National Battlefield; and Pittsylvania Plantation in Prince William County, Virginia, now a part of the Manassas National Battlefield Park. The first is an example of a small holding in the Great Valley. The farm was settled and cultivated from 1761 by John Reynolds, an Anglo-Irish farmer from Pennsylvania. Reynolds expanded his original 212-acre farm to 385 acres before dividing it in half and bequeathing the parcels to his sons, Joseph and Francis, upon his death in 1784. Joseph held what would become the Roulette farm, which he expanded to 262 acres before selling it to a Pennsylvania-Dutch member of the Brethren Church, John Miller, in 1804. Miller passed the farm down through three generations, and in 1851 it went to Margaret Ann Miller and her husband, William Roulette. The property, reduced to 179 acres by 1851, was in the Roulettes' hands when the Civil War broke out and it became a battlefield.

The Reynolds family cultivated 76 acres of their farm (likely with wheat, feed corn, and/or rye) and raised beef cattle; a 1783 tax assessment record lists 32 head of cattle, suggesting that the livestock was a commercial enterprise. It also lists one enslaved person in the household, a female between the age of 14 and 36 years. Joseph inherited one enslaved person in his father's will and purchased at least one more, because he emancipated two in 1794. In the 1840s, under the ownership of the Millers, three enslaved persons lived on the farm; one of these was Nancy Camel, whom Roulette emancipated in 1859. In the federal census taken the following year, the Roulettes were not recorded with any enslaved laborers on their farm, but they did employ two free Blacks:

Nancy, who worked as a domestic servant in the household, and Robert Simon, a 15-year-old farmhand.

Like the tobacco plantations, the Roulette farm was a working agricultural landscape with an assemblage of buildings separated into a hierarchy of work and domestic spaces. At the center is the farmhouse, which was built at various times in three sections between 1784 and 1804. North of the house are small ancillary buildings, including a smokehouse, an icehouse/root cellar, and a springhouse attached to the farm's first dwelling, a stone, one-room cabin with sleeping loft dating to about 1761. To the southeast and at some distance from the farmhouse are a large bank barn with an attached milking shed, a grain silo, and a large equipment shed; these are later additions, and the original barn complex was likely closer to the farmhouse. Unlike large plantations, however, the Roulette farm did not contain separate, purpose-built quarters for the enslaved laborers. As few enslaved individuals lived on the property at any one time, they were likely housed in converted spaces, such as the springhouse cabin once it was no longer used as the main dwelling.[107] Interaction between whites and enslaved and free Black workers would have been frequent and intimate in shared interior spaces and within the larger agricultural landscape.

Landon Carter, Jr. established his seat at the 2,500-acre Pittsylvania Plantation in Prince William County, Virginia, by the early 1760s. Tithable records from 1765 show that there were 20 enslaved individuals on the property that year, which increased to at least 51 enslaved people between 1784 and 1800. Contemporary accounts described the enslaved housing at Pittsylvania as resembling a village. The domestic servants would have been housed either in the main house or near it, and enslaved field hands were housed in separate accommodations closer to the fields. Archeological work undertaken in 2019 discovered the site of a possible enslaved quarter on a low ridge in the wooded area southwest of the main plantation. The discovery of 18 hand-wrought nails suggests that a wood-frame building dating before 1820 occupied the site. When the findings were cross-referenced with the *Plan of the battle-field at Bull Run, July 21st 1861*, a map made by Capt. Amiel Weeks Whipple that depicts a building in the vicinity,[108] the likelihood of the site being an enslaved dwelling increased. This was further supported by the discovery of an enslaved cemetery to the south. From the ongoing research at Pittsylvania, the plantation layout suggests that housing for enslaved field laborers was located at a great distance from the main house, within farm quarters of the expansive tract, and that this distance permitted a level of autonomy and community building within small, prescribed nexuses, as evidenced by the presence of a burial ground.[109]

Other landscape elements provide evidence as to how the landscape was used by its enslaved inhabitants, such as work yards, trash middens, and kitchen gardens. Heath and Amber Bennett summarized historical accounts of the spaces and yards around houses in the American South, noting that travelers often recorded that small gardens were kept close to enslaved quarters.[110] Former enslaved persons remembered yard areas as places for gardening, socializing, playing, cooking, raising small livestock such as fowl, and undertaking chores like laundering. Historical accounts from travelers in Africa during the 1700s and 1800s mention similar activities and uses of outdoor spaces within the multi-structure compounds that were common among several groups in Senegambia and the Bight of Biafra. Heath and Bennett note the continuity between these activities and the uses of yards in contexts of slavery in the Caribbean and American South.[111]

C. RESISTANCE

1. Everyday

Resistance to the structure, violence, and perpetrators of slavery in the Chesapeake region during the 1700s could take on many forms and degrees. Perhaps the most pervasive were the least overt forms generally termed "everyday resistance," such as work slowdowns, tool breaking, drinking misbehavior, or other forms of non-violent sabotage against the work or plantation structure itself. Resistance by escape was another common but highly visible and detectable form of acting against bondage. Escape could be either temporarily hiding or permanently fleeing to maroon societies (see Section III.C.3) or other colonies. Outright organized physical rebellion was far rarer.[112]

Resistance at the most common, everyday level consisted of individuals and groups negotiating the terms of social and economic relationships within and between communities living on the plantation. The concept of "normal resistance" used by postcolonial anthropologists such as James Scott can be employed in describing and analyzing the ways in which enslaved persons expressed agency and elicited responses from the plantation owners and overseers as "…subordinates have a vested interest in avoiding any explicit display of insubordination."[113] By choosing covert, passive forms of retaliation and pressure, enslaved people ensured that some of their actions never made it into the historical record in the first place. Breaking tools, slowing down work, and simply carving out spaces for their own activities in private areas could be considered a form of resisting the structure and surveillance of slavery.

Landon Carter, Sr. described the following incident of a work slowdown at his acquaintance Philip Ludwell Lee's Stratford Hall plantation in Westmoreland County after attempting to change to work routine by introducing new tools:

> …Lee was perfectly satisfied of the disservice introduced by Carts and plows and really the impossibility of their doing any service… He had one Pritchard for his Overseer who without Carts or plows always made large fine Crops of Corn and Tobacco. Colo Phil [Philip Ludwell Lee] imagining that more might be made with Carts and plows with no small expense provided them in abundance but Pritchard upon one year's trial being satisfied that his people had laid aside their diligence in working resolved not to live with him and never since has that plantation afforded a good Crop. The Colo. [Lee] has now taken to his hoes again and is satisfied he is in a good way for a Crop.[114]

This passage, at first, simply may sound like a failed work experiment, but the suggestion of more specific intent on the part of those enslaved can be inferred from work production returning to normal after the landowner's decision to abandon the new equipment and, perhaps most tellingly, after the overseer quits. As the principal point of contact among work, discipline, the enslaver's instructions, and the attempts of the enslaved workers to exert whatever leverage they may have, overseers were often the target of everyday resistance.[115] These subtle actions are precisely the kind of ordinary resistance that Scott lists as "…the ordinary weapons of the relatively powerless groups: foot dragging, dissimulation, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage.…"[116]

2. Self-Liberation

The most common form of self-liberation was escape. Punishment for freedom seekers included all servants and were codified in Maryland as early as 1640, nearly a quarter century before the first formal definition of chattel slavery was mentioned in Maryland law in 1663. Other 1600s acts in Maryland included enticements for Native Americans to return freedom-seeking enslaved persons, suggesting that enslaved Africans and African Americans sometimes attempted to find refuge among nearby Native groups. Similarly, during the mid- to late 1600s, the colonial Virginia government established fines for those who harbored self-liberators and authorized the militia to aid in the recovery of enslaved persons seeking freedom. Enslaved individuals' attempts to find liberty through legal technicality during the 1600s were systematically legislated away via increasingly strict statutes prohibiting conversion to Christianity as grounds for manumission.[117]

Running away from slavery could take several forms. Newer, less acculturated enslaved persons during the 1700s in Virginia often sought freedom by running away to nearby woods rather than attempting to escape to maroon camps, free communities, towns, or other colonies.[118] As generations of enslaved African Americans became more acculturated, built relationships, were hired out, and gained trade skills and knowledge of the local and regional environment, longer-range flight was more likely. *The Geography of Slavery*, a database of newspaper advertisements for self-liberating enslaved persons from Maryland and Virginia dating from 1736 to 1803, includes over 1,100 such advertisements in both states up to 1775, including ads by jailers, sheriffs, and others who had captured freedom-seeking enslaved persons and were seeking to return them.[119] One example is a 1761 advertisement made by George Washington for four men who had self-liberated from Mount Vernon in Fairfax County: Peres, Jack, Neptune, and Cupid. Among the rich description of appearance, mannerisms, and clothing are Jack's "Country Marks," or facial scarring, and Neptune's filed teeth and "Marks or Dots" on his back. Cupid and Neptune are described as having been bought from an African ship in 1759, and Jack as a "Countryman" to those two but speaking better English. Archeologist Eleanor Breen was able to reconstruct the likely origins and histories of the four freedom seekers through shipping records, Mount Vernon historical records, and contextual information on specific African cultural practices. Breen suggests that Jack, Cupid, and Neptune were likely Senegambians, judging from their facial and skin alterations as well as the fact that tooth filing was a relatively common practice among West Central African peoples. The group was likely quickly apprehended because the names reappeared quickly in Mount Vernon documents, although Neptune made it as far as Maryland, as Washington recorded paying prison fees for his return.[120]

Self-liberation could be attained by more overt means, such as insurrection. Mullin argued that the few outright uprisings in the region occurred later, such as Gabriel's rebellion in 1800 in Virginia, facilitated by well-linked communities of acculturated, skilled slaves. LaRoche notes that a more inclusive definition of revolt, including at least 10 enslaved people with a clear objective of freedom, and the contemporary description as uprising, plot, and insurrection, results in the identification of 18 such events in Maryland, including in 1688, 1705, 1738, 1739, 1805, 1814, 1817, and 1830, with more frequent events in the decades leading up to the Civil War.[121] The 1739 event involved about 200 individuals in Prince George's County who participated in a systematic conspiracy to establish a distinct "Negro State." Perhaps more common than such actual conspiracies were the perpetual paranoia and rumors among white society about the fomentation of rebellion among those they enslaved.

3. Maroons and King Opessa's Town

Maroons were communities of self-liberated who formed their own settlements away from society. Their camps and societies varied greatly across North and South America based on the location, scale, and reason for escape. Terrance Weik distinguishes between short- and long-term maroonage, with short, or petit, maroons lasting only a few years as the more common form.[122] Small maroons of several dozen to several hundred individuals were found in remote portions of the Caribbean and the Lower South. Perhaps the largest was Palmares in Brazil, with population estimates ranging between 5,000 and 20,000 former enslaved persons during the 1600s. Many maroons began as nomadic, wandering bands of the self-liberated who eventually found secretive, defensible locations for camps. Swamps, mountains, and forests offered the best natural maroon settings, such as at Culpepper Island in North Carolina.[123] One of the larger maroon communities in the lower Chesapeake was in the Great Dismal Swamp, stretching across coastal Virginia and North Carolina from Norfolk to Elizabeth City. The swampland may have contained thousands of self-liberated individuals in multiple settlements throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[124] Other settlements were less secretive, such as the refuges at Pilaklikaha and Fort Mose in Florida, where the frontiers between Native groups and British and Spanish colonial influence and settlement provided a liminal space for maroonage.[125]

Evidence of maroon communities of self-liberated enslaved people is found in the 1720s in Maryland, when legislation was passed specifically to punish and prevent enslaved people from running to the remote marshy areas on the Eastern Shore. Later acts targeted those who engaged in unauthorized transportation of enslaved persons by boat.[126] A historic resource in the NCA region that best represents a maroon community is King Opessa's Town, a Shawnee settlement near Oldtown, Maryland, that Europeans named for a tribal leader. Founded between 1700 and 1715, King Opessa's Town had ceased to exist by 1730. In 1975 an archaeological site, consisting of a 122x213-meter surface scatter of prehistoric artifacts in the vicinity of the C&O Canal National Historic Park was named in a National Register of Historic Places nomination as the possible lost settlement. Despite its correspondence to an area on Benjamin Winslow's 1736 map demarcated as "Shawno Indian Fields Deserted," the exact location of the town has yet to be determined.[127]

Seeking refuge in Native American communities was a widespread strategy for escaping servitude and enslavement that has been documented across the East Coast and was not limited to the time before institutionalized racial slavery. Under the 1722 Treaty of Albany, the Five Nations of the Iroquois League had promised the British Crown that they would not harbor enslaved people who fled from British-controlled lands. This stipulation was inserted into the treaty at the insistence of the governors of Virginia and Maryland, part of their ongoing struggle to close off any avenue of freedom for Africans.

The provisions of the treaty were immediately forwarded to King Opessa, the Shawnee leader, who responded in a letter to the governor of Pennsylvania:

> *From the Shawanna King to his Excellency Sir William Keith, Bart. Governour of the Province of Pennsylvania.*
>
> These are to acquaint you Brother concerning these Negroes Slaves belonging to Virginia, now at or amongst the Shawannoes at Oppertus. I will go my own self and take assistance

> where they are not exceeding the number 10 as directed. And as soon in the Spring as the Bark will run, We will lose no time to perform the taking of them according to Direction, for now they are abroad a hunting, so it can be done no sooner; besides, there will be Hazard in Seizing them, for they are well armed, but we must take them by Guile
>
> I am yr. Excellys most humble Servt.
>
> THE SHAWANNA KING[128]

Somehow the Shawnee never got around to arresting their friends and sending them back to slavery. By 1730 King Opessa's Town's inhabitants had moved farther west, and most likely the Africans who lived among them did the same.

4. Religion and the Seeds of Abolition

Resistance to enslavement could take more indirect forms than acts of sabotage, protest, or self-liberation. Education and faith encouraged a freedom of thought that challenged the ethics and legalities of slavery, and often the two went hand in hand. Generally, enslavers refused to allow their enslaved workers to learn to read and write, believing that these skills would lead to their questioning authority and their state in bondage as well as provide them a means of escape; teaching enslaved persons to read or write was illegal in many states. Nevertheless, some enslaved persons did learn to read, often under the aegis of enslavers who wished to impart Christian doctrine. Such is the case of Mary Perth, one of 90 persons enslaved by John Willoughby of Norfolk, Virginia. Born around 1740, Mary's precociousness endeared her to Willoughby's wife, who gave her a copy of the New Testament and taught her to read it. Mary, like many in enslavement, found solace in the Bible, in her faith in God, and in the prospect of a hereafter. As a young adult, once a week, Mary would bundle her infant daughter Patience and sneak away from her quarters under cover of night, walking 10 miles to a barn in the countryside where enslaved persons met to pray. Mary's ability to read elevated her to the role of preacher, imparting lessons and words of hope, until the group grew large enough to warrant a pastor. How Mary's belief in divine providence or her ability to read influenced thoughts of freedom cannot be known, but it is known that Mary and Patience traveled from southeastern Virginia to New York during the Revolutionary War, where they achieved freedom and adopted the surname Freeman before Mary married Cesar Perth some time before 1783.[129]

Mary's religiosity corresponds to a period in American history, mostly from the 1730s to the 1750s, known as the First Great Awakening. This religious enthusiasm was engendered by the evangelical movement in America, which fostered democratic thought that, in turn, sowed the seeds of early abolitionist philosophy. The religious freedom that proponents of evangelism advocated was extrapolated logically to human freedoms. Many Americans, white and Black but predominantly from the working class and those enslaved, left the established, hierarchical Anglican and Roman Catholic churches and became Methodists or Baptists. Their preachers spoke to mixed crowds and welcomed everyone, thereby practicing the very egalitarianism that they preached. As evidenced in the case of Mary and the Willoughbys, enslavers "initially resisted evangelicals preaching to their bond people, but as the revival movement spread, a few even came to consider it their Christian duty to teach their slaves about the Bible."[130] Followers would meet in open fields, barns, or any place where they could convene to hear God's message. Most black

congregants were women, but the clergy were male. Nonetheless, women such as Mary were "exhorters," or informal preachers who demanded and exercised the right to teach the Gospel.

The Charter Generation of enslaved Africans resisted renouncing or discarding their spiritual beliefs in captivity, and diverse African religious rituals continued on American colonial soil for a century or more. But as the native-born population increased, African Americans adopted Christianity. This revivalist period resulted in the first generation of African American leadership in the form of ministers, such as Lemuel Haynes, David George, Andrew Bryan, and George Liele. George and Liele were both born into slavery in Virginia, in 1742 and 1752, respectively, but spent years enslaved in South Carolina and Georgia. Both were self-taught or learned to read the Bible with the assistance of others; each was converted, baptized, and became a Baptist minister, Liele as early as 1773, ministering first to the enslaved people in their plantation quarters and then in Savannah before emigrating to Jamaica in 1784. Haynes, born in 1753 in Connecticut to mixed parentage, was indentured until his twenty-first birthday in 1774. That year, he joined the local militia as the Revolution stirred and wrote a manuscript in 1776 proclaiming "That an African… has an undeniable right to his Liberty" and calling slavery a sin. After his military service he studied theology and became licensed to preach in 1780. He joined the Congregational Church in 1785 and embarked on a long career of service in churches throughout New York and New England, earning international recognition and stature for his writings, such his 1801 essay "The Nature and Importance of True Republicanism," which addressed the issue of slavery.[131] As these biographies attest, both access to education and deep faith assisted these enslaved people in attaining freedom as well as status in their communities. Furthermore, religion and politics were intermingled in this pre-revolutionary era in which the fight for freedom was just beginning.

D. ARCHEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF THE LIVES OF ENSLAVED PEOPLE

The archeological study of slavery and the African American past grew out of research first done on plantation contexts; however, research on plantation contexts has not included, universally, investigations specifically focused on the lives of enslaved people or other non-plantation-owning individuals who lived and worked on those plantations. At the beginning of the 1900s, the slow genesis of the field of historical archeology was entwined with that of historic preservation and architectural history. Excavations were used, often without the involvement of trained archeologists, to aid in the restoration and reconstruction of historical homes and landscapes at sites such as Mount Vernon, Jamestown, and Williamsburg in Virginia and Plymouth in Massachusetts, all of which are colonial sites associated with initial European contact, early American settlement, and venerated colonial leaders. Excavations used for restoration goals were first employed at George Washington's plantation home Mount Vernon as early as the 1890s. From the 1940s to the early 1960s, projects undertaken by professional archeologists using standardized excavation and recording methods were undertaken at plantation sites, typified by the work of Ivor Nöel Hume for Colonial Williamsburg at several surrounding plantations, such as Carter's Grove. These largely descriptive and narrative studies continued to focus on plantation owners, their homes, and the built environment of formal landscapes.[132]

A major change occurred in the late 1960s, when the archeological study of plantations turned to the study of slavery and specifically to sites of enslavement, as the Civil Rights movement and a variety of "New" movements in the social sciences coalesced with historic preservation legislation that fueled rapid expansion of professional archeological practice.[133] The turn in plantation

archeology to the study of slavery began with Charles Fairbanks's 1960s work at Kingsley Plantation in Florida and Ryefield on Cumberland Island, Georgia.[134] In the southeastern United States the focus on enslaved quarter sites and processual methods of analysis played out in comparative studies seeking to differentiate and identify enslaved artifact patterns.[135] The goals of these types of analyses were to investigate the material manifestations of variation in socioeconomic "statuses" within Slave Societies, including comparisons of enslaved populations, plantation owners, and overseers. In the 1970s and 1980s, excavations at plantations proliferated in Virginia and Maryland. Work on Virginia plantations continued with the creation of permanent archeological programs at historical sites such as Mount Vernon, Monticello, and Montpelier that undertook investigations of plantation housing and architecture, including structures inhabited by those enslaved.[136]

Several major themes are apparent in the research topics engaged by archeologists working on African diaspora contexts: the material lifeways of enslaved people and descendant communities, constructions of social divisions and inequality, and manifestations of cultural identity among African Americans.[137] The description, comparison, and interpretation of material lifeways of enslaved persons are the most fundamental research goals included in nearly all studies of plantation slavery. Some of the most prominent themes in this topic have been investigations of enslaved housing and space,[138] diet and foodways,[139] market access and consumerism,[140] craft production,[141] and spiritual items and practices.[142]

A particular finding in the NCA is a growing body of evidence on Colonoware, an American-made, hand-formed, coarse earthenware most typically in European vessel forms that is associated with 1700s enslaved sites in Virginia. Some scholars, including Noël Hume, one of the first archeologists to document what he termed "Colono-Indian ware," have suggested connections or outright production by local Native American groups. Colonoware or similar types are also found in coastal South Carolina, Florida, and the Caribbean. Virginia finds typically do not pre-date the 1680s and are interpreted as enslaved or native potters producing wares for the enslaved population through the end of the 1700s; however, Heath points out that the wares are often found in multi-racial spaces, such as kitchens and around the homes of white plantation owners and overseers. Colonoware typically forms about 5 to 10 percent of ceramics on 1700s and early 1800s sites associated with slavery in Virginia and has been recovered around the NCA area at Belvoir plantation (Site 44FX0004), Gunston Hall, and Mount Vernon. The combined assemblages of the Barnes Plantation Site (44FX1326) and the associated Accotink quarter (Site 44FX0223) in Fairfax County have produced over 10,000 sherds of Colonoware. In Prince William County near Manassas, the Brownsville Quarter (Site 44PW0335), Pohoke Plantation (Site 44PW0348), and early components of the Spring Hill Farm (Site 44PW0293) include Colonoware in their assemblages that date into the early 1800s.[143] Despite the similarity of plantation economy and social organization between the Maryland and Virginia portion of the NCA, practically no Colonoware has been recovered from Maryland sites of enslaved occupation.[144] Studies of Colonoware have focused on assessing possible producers as well as interpreting the combination of possible Native, African, and European influences on the plantation communities where Colonoware is found.[145]

Most recently, the material formation of social identities has been a primary theme in historical archeology, especially the discursive relationships between macro-scale historical factors, such as colonialism and capitalism, and local cultural contexts.[146] This scholarship has highlighted the way

unique community identities were forged within the complex contexts of slavery through creolized material culture in the archeological record in forms of Colonoware pottery, pipes, personal adornment items, subfloor pits, and items thought to be associated with spiritual practices.[147]

A pitfall in the archeological interpretation of enslaved African and African American cultural characteristics has been efforts to identify and describe "Africanisms." The presence or absence of specific creolized or African-influenced material culture on archeological sites—the so-called study of "ethnic markers" such as Colonoware, blue glass beads, pierced coins, cowrie shells, sub-floor pits, and other archeological "signatures" of enslaved African Americans—has been challenged in comparative research as unreliable in indicating African American occupations on their own and, when not properly contextualized, as the oversimplification of past behavior as evidence for or against African American acculturation.[148]

E. SUMMARY

The 1700s was a period of change and transition in the Chesapeake's landscape of slavery. At the beginning of the century, the mass importation of Africans (which had begun at the end of the 1600s) solidified the paradigm shift from a Society of Slaves to a Slave Society. The first two-thirds of the century was characterized by the entrenchment of tobacco as the primary commodity crop and the spread of the tobacco-oriented Chesapeake plantation model, with its vast acreage divided into quarters and high concentrations of enslaved laborers, westward into the Piedmont region. By the middle of the 1700s, more ethnically diverse migration into the western mountains and Great Valley resulted in different settlement and slaveholding patterns. The region's economic switch to cereal grain production in the mid-1700s required less labor. The importation of enslaved Africans began to dwindle in the mid-1700s as white planters turned their focus on a native-born population of enslaved African Americans. As the system of slavery became increasingly codified, harsh, and constricting, enslaved individuals practiced acts of resistance, from everyday forms like work stoppage and protest to self-liberation. Maroon communities in forests and swamps, away from civilization, promised the greatest freedom to self-liberating enslaved people. Faith, engendered in the religious revival movement of the First Great Awakening, and education also provided those enslaved means of resistance, escape, and the framework for advocating abolition. The last quarter of the 1700s would witness more change and upheaval as the Revolutionary era began.

IV. THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA (1775-1815)

FIND YOUR PARK

Sites Dating from this Time Period: (*****Mentioned in this Chapter)
ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD (ANTI): Locher/Poffenberger Farm [c. 1811]
ARLINGTON HOUSE (ARHO) [c. 1800]
CATOCTIN MOUNTAIN PARK (CATO): Catoctin Furnace and charcoal hearths [1774]
C&O CANAL NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK (CHOH): Ferry Hill [c. 1812]
*****FORT WASHINGTON PARK (FOWA): Fort Washington [1800] (p. 68)
OXON COVE PARK (NACE): Mount Welby [1805-1843]
*****GEORGE WASHINGTON MEMORIAL PARKWAY (GWMP): Analostan/Mason's/Theodore Roosevelt Island [c. 1792] (p. 61-64), Mason House [c. 1800] (p. 61-64)
*****MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD (MANA): Brownsville Quarter [c. 1780], Hazel Plain [c. 1808] (p. 66), Hooe Dependency [c. 1808] (p. 65), Rosefield [c. 1812], Spring Hill Farm [c. 1812]
*****MONOCACY NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD (MONO): L'Hermitage Enslaved Village [1794] (p. 65), Thomas Farm [c. 1780] (p. 65, footnote)
NATIONAL MALL AND MEMORIAL PARKS (NAMA): Washington Canal [1815]
*****PRESIDENT'S PARK (PRPA): Lafayette Square [c. 1792] (p. 69); White House [c. 1792] (p. 68-70)
*****PRINCE WILLIAM FOREST PARK (PRWI): Batestown [1807] (p. 59), Luke Cannon Site [1792], Prince William County Poorhouse [1795]
ROCK CREEK PARK (ROCR): Federal/Lyons Mill [c. 1780], Montrose Park [c. 1806], Mount Zion Cemetery [c. 1808], Peirce Shoemaker Farm and Mill [c. 1800]

Also Mentioned in this Chapter:
ANACOSTIA PARK (ANAC): Arran, Attwood's Purchase, Beall's Adventure, Chichester, Chillum Castle Manor, Cerne Abbey Manor, Elkenhead, Fortune, Haddock's Hill, Hamilton, Houp's Addition, The Houpyard, Long Meadows, The Knock, St. Elizabeths (p. 67)
C&O CANAL NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK (CHOH) (p. 67, footnote)
GEORGE WASHINGTON MEMORIAL PARKWAY (GWMP): Jones Point Park (p. 67, footnote), Mount Vernon (p. 52-53, 59, 64, 66)
MONOCACY NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD (MONO): Baker Farm (p. 65, footnote), Worthington Farm (p. 65, footnote)
NATIONAL MALL AND MEMORIAL PARKS (NAMA): Beall's Levels/Burns Plantation/Van Ness Plantation (p. 67), Notley Young's Plantation (p. 64, 65)
OXON COVE PARK (NACE): (p. 67, footnote)
PISCATAWAY PARK (PISC): Harmony Hall (p. 48), Marshall Hall (p. 48)
PRESIDENT'S PARK (PRPA): Decatur House [1819] (p. 69)
PRINCE WILLIAM FOREST PARK (PRWI): Henry Cole Farm (p. 59)
ROCK CREEK PARK (ROCR) (p. 67, footnote, 70), Old Stone House (p. 70)

A. REVOLUTION

There were nearly 500,000 enslaved persons in the 13 American colonies in 1775. For every free colonist in the Chesapeake, there was one enslaved African American; the ratio was one to two in the colonies farther south that were dominated by cotton and rice cultivation. Large plantations were prevalent in the Chesapeake, like Harmony Hall (1770) in Maryland, which counted 26 enslaved individuals in 1776, or Marshall Hall in Maryland's present-day Piscataway Park, its 959 acres maintained by an enslaved labor force that counted 49 persons in 1790. The Chesapeake

plantation landscape and economy were continuations and reflections of those systems that had been established firmly over the last century.

But the status quo on isolated plantations belied the national political turmoil of the 1760s and 1770s. Following the cessation of the French and Indian War in 1763, the British parliament passed a series of acts intended to raise revenues for its depleted treasury by taxing the colonies, starting with the Stamp Act of 1765 and culminating with the Tea Act of 1773. The colonists grew increasingly resentful over this "taxation without representation," which led from protests and boycotts to riots and, ultimately, revolution. The institution of slavery was not immune to this upheaval. As historian David Waldstreicher maintains, "During the mid-eighteenth century, slavery became implicated in the seemingly separate issues of economy and sovereignty. These implications shaped both the Revolution itself and the ensuing creation of the federal republic." [149] The Chesapeake planter elite's motivations to shift focus from imported enslaved Africans in this time period to a native-born population was not merely monetary based but political. As early as 1767, the Virginia House of Burgesses boycotted the British slave trade in protest of the Townshend Acts. Other Southern states did the same. In 1774 the first Continental Congress banned trade with Great Britain and vowed to prohibit the British slave trade by December of that year. That same year, the Virginia legislature took its own measures against the trans-Atlantic slave trade, prohibiting it outright in 1778. All these measures were attempts to significantly and detrimentally impact the British economy as the colonies geared for war.

The Revolutionary War (1775-1783) was a time of great turmoil and dislocation in North America. The physical wreckage was immense, as armies marched, campaigned, and clashed while partisan militias, some not better than criminal gangs, roamed the landscape. Even more profound were the intellectual and institutional changes that occurred in this unstable period. A new nation was brought into being, founded on an ideology of freedom and equality but containing within its borders more than half a million enslaved persons. This contradiction launched a great debate over slavery and the place of African Americans in the United States that was only partially addressed with universal emancipation in 1865.

The air was full of new ideas about politics and governance stemming from Enlightenment thinking and the discourses of philosophers like John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. As large nation-states were forming in Europe, colonies wrestled with the concepts of self-determination and home rule. The American Revolution, according to its leaders, was about freedom from a tyrannical empire that did not care about the tribulations of its colonists. African Americans, enslaved and free, heard the words Thomas Jefferson wrote in the Declaration of Independence—especially that "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness"—and thought the philosophy espoused should apply to them. Besides the political discourse, African Americans were influenced by the religious spirit of the Great Awakening. In the churches of Methodists and other followers of the "new light," they heard that all men are equal in God's eyes, that all can be saved by faith. All authority was under question: that of kings, nobles, bishops, theologians, and philosophers. These new ways of thinking inspired people to take radical action in Europe and America. Governments were overthrown, kings and queens beheaded. Old, establishment churches emptied out and new ones trembled to the sound of fervent hymns. Militiamen defeated regular soldiers of greater strength and number. Black people defeated the white ruling class in Haiti and established their own nation. At times, it seemed like almost anything might happen.

That these winds of freedom and possibility were blowing across a land of slavery did not escape the notice of people at the time. Many white Americans believed that their own first-hand knowledge of slavery was evidence of what would happen to them if they surrendered to British power. George Washington wrote that the British meant to "make us as tame and abject slaves as the blacks we rule over with such arbitrary sway."[150] America was a place where "freedom" and "slavery" were not abstractions but things viscerally experienced and very much on the mind of every thinking person. In simple terms there were two models of outcome for which the Revolutionaries were fighting. Under the conservative model they sought only their traditional rights as British citizens, which they thought King George III's government was violating. This view allowed the continuance of slavery, as enslaved Africans had never been considered British citizens and, indeed, holding Africans in bondage had been a right of British citizens in the Americas for more than a century.

But that narrow political struggle was mingled in many people's minds with a more universal human struggle for freedom and equality. Under this model the revolution was not simply a partisan wrangle among Britons but a new birth of freedom for all of humanity, organized under a new kind of democratic government. For people of this persuasion, slavery was a terrible stain and had to be abolished before America could achieve its promise. Most of the early push for universal freedom came from Christian leaders, as Methodist preachers and Quaker brethren invoked the universal love of God. But secular figures also agitated for greater equality. Abigail Adams wrote in 1774, "it always appeared a most iniquitous scheme to me to fight ourselves for what we are daily robbing and plundering from those who have as good a right to freedom as we have."[151] In 1775 an anonymous author, widely believed to be Thomas Paine, published an essay in Philadelphia, titled "African Slavery in America," in which the author surmised,

> That some desperate wretches should be willing to steal and enslave men by violence and murder for gain, is rather lamentable than strange. But that many civilized, nay, christianized people should approve, and be concerned in the savage practice, is surprising; and still persist, though it has been so often proved contrary to the light of nature, to every principle of Justice and Humanity, and even good policy.[152]

The debate raged throughout the Atlantic world, from Angola to Boston.

African Americans were not passive witnesses to these events. They actively pushed for expanded freedom. One event that showed how well informed enslaved African Americans were about world events took place in 1772. In that year Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, Britain's top legal authority, handed down a ruling that said any enslaved person setting foot in England became free, as slavery was unknown to the old common law and the nation had no law establishing it. Enslavers in Virginia immediately complained about the negative effect this news had on enslaved people. An enslaver advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* in 1773, asking for help in recapturing a couple who had left his plantation, saying that they would seek to take ship for England, "Where they imagine they will be free (a Notion now prevalent among the Negroes greatly to the vexation and prejudice of their Masters)."[153]

When the Revolution began, some African Americans left home to join the fighting on the royalist side or swam out to British warships seeking refuge. Others pushed for better terms with their enslavers by threatening to do those things. Some brought lawsuits and petitions, employing the new language of freedom on their own behalf. Black authors and orators wrote books and gave

speeches, pressing to be free in the "land of the free." In 1792 Thomas Barton, an African American veteran of the Revolution, stood for election to the Maryland House of Delegates, promising to "represent so many hundreds of poor Blacks as inhabit this town."[154]

Before the end of the Revolution in 1783, thousands of African Americans had fought on both sides of the war, and they did so again during the War of 1812. Some were killed in the fighting, many more by diseases that spread with marching armies and festered in military camps. In the Chesapeake region African Americans were prominent in the ongoing naval fighting, as the knowledge African American watermen had of the region's myriad creeks was essential both to British raiders and to Patriot militias trying to repel them. These experiences opened a path to freedom to thousands.

The spreading ideology of freedom further diminished the institution of slavery. A few enslavers renounced slavery and freed all those they had enslaved, usually in their wills but sometimes while living. Others manumitted only a few favorites. Virginia's political leaders encouraged planters to voluntarily manumit their enslaved workers in 1782 and passed legislation the following year to free those who had served in the colonial army, but only if their enslaver agreed. Across the Chesapeake region the number of free Blacks grew rapidly. They formed new communities and new urban neighborhoods, and Baltimore emerged as the first great urban center of free Black life in North America. Several small African American communities formed across northern Virginia and Maryland, and a thriving free community eventually grew up in Washington, DC. The nation's new capital was founded as a slaveholding city, its first great buildings constructed by enslaved people. But African Americans soon made it into a site of struggle where they agitated constantly for freedom, gradually expanding their rights.

1. African Americans in the American Revolution

In late April 1775 a group of enslaved Virginians presented themselves to Lord Dunmore, the embattled royal governor of Virginia. They had a proposition to make: if he would free them, they would fight for the British against their enslavers. They were dismissed.[155] At that point Dunmore was not ready to take such a radical step, which he knew would infuriate Virginia's planter elite. But when war began in earnest months later, he put the plan into action. In November he issued what is known as Lord Dunmore's Proclamation:

> ... I do require every Person capable of bearing Arms, to resort to His MAJESTY'S STANDARD, or be looked upon as Traitors to His MAJESTY'S Crown and Government, and thereby become liable to the Penalty the Law inflicts upon such Offenses; such as forfeiture of Life, confiscation of Lands, &. &. And I do hereby further declare all indented Servants, Negroes, or others, (appertaining to Rebels,) free that are able and willing to bear Arms, they joining His MAJESTY'S Troops as soon as may be, for the more speedily reducing this Colony to a proper Sense of their Duty, to His MAJESTY'S Crown and Dignity.
>
> — Lord Dunmore's Proclamation, November 7, 1775[156]

White enslavers knew this was a grave threat to their power. In 1774 James Madison passed on rumors of a plot among the enslaved population to welcome British troops. The following year he wrote, "To say the truth that is the only part in which this Colony is vulnerable… we shall fall like

Achilles by the hand of the one that knows that secret."[157] As soon as violence threatened, Virginians began to fret about the threat posed by enslaved rebellion. When summoned to help defend the coast against British raids, militiamen from the Piedmont refused, saying they were needed at home to defend against the "internal enemy."

About 800 enslaved men in Virginia answered Lord Dunmore's call and joined the British forces, bringing with them hundreds more women and children. Among those who escaped to the British were eight men led by a "ringleader" named Moses, who fled from Landon Carter's Sabine Hall plantation in Richmond County, Virginia, taking with them silver buckles and several shirts.[158] Dunmore called his African American recruits the Ethiopian Regiment. They first saw action in the Battle of Kemp's Landing on November 15, 1775, a skirmish in what is now Virginia Beach. At that time British power in the region was centered in Norfolk, and the Patriot militias gathered to besiege the town and take it if possible. On December 9 the British defenders, a motley grab-bag of forces rather than a real army, attacked the militia at Great Bridge on the Elizabeth River, hoping to surprise and rout them. African American volunteers fought in this battle, some of them wearing sashes with the motto "Liberty to Slaves." The British were defeated. Thinking that Norfolk was no longer defensible, Lord Dunmore eventually shelled and burned the town and withdrew to Gwynn Island at the mouth of the Piankatank River. There smallpox broke out, and many of the African Americans who had joined the British died. In the summer of 1776, Lord Dunmore withdrew to New York, taking with him several rich Tories and about 500 African American volunteers. More than 1,000 African Americans were left behind, most of them sick and many dying.

African Americans also fought for the Patriot side in the Revolution. Although the number is disputed, it may be as high as 5,000. Most came from the North, and the only all-Black Patriot unit was Rhode Island's "Black Battalion." Virginia did not allow African Americans to enlist in their militias, but 150 Black men served in Virginia's naval forces, and many served as guides and laborers. Fifty to 100 African Americans served in Maryland's land forces.[159]

At the time the most famous African American serving in the war was William Lee, an enslaved house servant at Mount Vernon. Lee had for years been traveling with Washington wherever the future president went, including the Ohio Valley. He was a skilled horseman and accompanied Washington on fox hunts, galloping wildly after the hounds. In 1775 he joined the newly minted General Washington and served as his valet throughout the war. He appears in the background of at least two portraits of Washington, holding his horse; he must have been a ubiquitous presence, as these artists who portrayed Washington imagined Lee standing a few paces away. As Washington rarely spoke about his private life, the general's admirers constantly badgered Lee for personal details, and he learned how to dole out just enough to keep his questioners intrigued, thereby becoming a famous character. In 1784 Lee married Margaret Thomas, a free woman in Philadelphia who had worked as a seamstress and laundress in the Washington household. Lee was freed immediately upon Washington's death in 1799, but a serious leg injury from the previous decade had left him largely crippled. Veterans who visited Mount Vernon to reminisce about the war said that in his later years he drank heavily. Lee died in 1810.[160]

Another African American who took up Virginia's cause was James Armistead Lafayette. He was born in slavery to the Armistead family and was raised as a companion to William Armistead, Jr., learning to read and write both English and French. When the war broke out, he tried to enlist in

the Continental Army, which at that time refused to take African American soldiers. When Cornwallis's army marched into Virginia in 1781, he served as a spy. He worked his way into the confidence of the British command by offering himself as a guide through the Virginia countryside, and then reported on British troop dispositions. He got to know the Marquis de Lafayette, with whom he spoke in French. After the war Virginia offered freedom to all enslaved men who had served in the military, but James was denied this benefit because he had served as a spy, not a soldier. In 1787 the Marquis de Lafayette wrote to the Virginia legislature on James's behalf, and he was freed. He then put the name Armistead behind him and adopted the surname Lafayette.[161]

Many enslaved women and their children spent the war years as camp followers, especially to the British and Loyalist armies. As Cornwallis's army marched northward from the Carolinas into Virginia, it was followed by some 4,000 formerly enslaved men and women. As British forces marched through the colonial countryside, those enslaved, both men and women, took advantage of the opportunity to escape bondage and follow the liberating army.[162] Most enslaved women, however, remained on the plantations but took advantage of the instability to negotiate for or demand better treatment or terms.

2. On the Home Front

For those who remained at home, different challenges loomed. The war cut off trade and disrupted the economy. Many planters switched from growing tobacco for export to growing food. Some tried to make up for the lack of goods in the stores by forcing enslaved people to make their own cloth, clothing, tools, and other goods. Changes in the labor system led to conflicts over work hours and assignments. When British forces were close, enslaved people gained leverage by threatening to flee. Many more plantations were troubled by these internal conflicts than by actual warfare or violence.[163]

From 1776 to 1781, no major battles took place in the region, but constant low-level conflict was waged by privateers, militias, and the occasional British warship. Hundreds of African Americans joined the privateers. Tory and Patriot militias attacked plantations belonging to members of the other faction, the Tories often joined by men who had self-liberated from slavery. In 1779 barges manned by "Tories and Negroes" ascended the Nanticoke River, plundering Eastern Shore plantations and encouraging enslaved people to escape with them.[164] Other enslaved people took advantage of the chaos to leave their plantations and live in the woods or swamps. Some of them lived by robbing nearby farms, while others were helped by friends who brought them food. By the end of the war, hundreds of people self-liberated from slavery were said to be living in Virginia's Great Dismal Swamp.[165]

In the summer of 1781, the British ship *Savage* ascended the Potomac, leading dozens of enslaved people to escape and join the royalist cause. Seventeen people fled from Mount Vernon. One of them was a man known as Harry Washington, a 40-year-old stable hand. He served the British in several capacities, including digging entrenchments around Charleston, South Carolina. At the end of the war, he and 3,000 other self-liberated persons were resettled in Nova Scotia. Washington did not acclimate well to maritime Canada's harsh climate, however, and he joined a large group petitioning to be taken to Africa. In 1791 he was one of 1,200 former enslaved Americans who made the journey to Sierra Leone. Once there, he complained about mistreatment by the British

leaders of the colony, and in 1800 he was tried for insurrection and banished. That was his last appearance in the historical record.[166]

Enslaved African American women and children fled bondage by escaping to British-controlled areas, maroon communities, and free black communities during the chaos of revolution. Indeed, enslaved women ran away in greater numbers during the war than in the decades before or after. Jenny, an enslaved woman from the countryside south of Petersburg, Virginia, ran away with her two-year-old daughter and while eight months pregnant in September 1776. Her enslaver placed an ad in a local newspaper seeking her return, in which he described her and her child as "well dressed" and surmised they would attempt to reach the free black community in Richmond, where they might find refuge and pass as free African Americans. Similarly, Bett, a 21-year-old enslaved woman in Pennsylvania, fled her enslaver with her three-year-old daughter in 1781. With the aid of two white men, Bett sought refuge in a British-occupied part of the state. Knowledge of these two individuals and their children is only gleaned through runaway advertisements in the press, however, so the outcomes of their attempts and their fates are unknown. Nevertheless, they are testaments to enslaved African American women's struggle to achieve the freedom promised by the revolutionary fervor and they represent, through their defiance, the important role enslaved and freed African American women played in advocating abolition in the Revolutionary era.[167]

B. AFTER THE REVOLUTION

1. The Struggle Continues

After the Revolution ended in 1783, the agitation for freeing enslaved African Americans continued. The Northern states all adopted some form of immediate or gradual emancipation. Many Marylanders also pressed for emancipation in their state. Some of the most prominent voices for abolition were Methodists, whose leadership had turned sharply against slavery. In 1780 the National Methodist Congress, meeting in Baltimore, officially condemned slavery, and in 1784 they threatened suspension of all preachers who held people in bondage. Several emancipation bills were introduced into the Maryland legislature, but they all failed. The legislature did, however, make it easier for enslavers to free their slaves.

As during the Revolution, African Americans were not spectators to this struggle but fought for their own rights. In May 1783 a writer using the name Vox Africanorum published a demand for equality in the *Maryland Gazette*:

> Though our bodies differ in colour from yours, yet our souls are similar in a desire for freedom. Disparity in colour, we conceive, can never constitute a disparity in rights. Reason is shocked at the absurdity! Humanity revolts at the idea!
>
> Let America cease to exult—she has yet obtained but partial freedom. Thousands are yet groaning under their chains; slavery and oppression are not yet banished this land; the appellation of master and slave, an appellation of all others the most depressing to humanity, have still an existence. We are slaves! To whom? Is it to abandoned Britons? — Permit us to refer you to facts; let them make the reply. A people who have fought — who have bled — who have purchased their own freedom by a sacrifice of their choicest heroes — will never continue the advocates for slavery.

> Pride, insolence, interest, avarice, and maxims of false policy, have marked the conduct of Britain —but shall price, insolence, and considerations of interest, avarice, or maxims of false policy, lead America to a conduct inconsistent with her principles? — Forbid it justice — forbid it wisdom —forbid it sound policy—Every principle which had led America to freedom and greatness forbid it. Has the laws of Nature doomed us to this abject state — shut out, as it were, from the benign influences of religion, knowledge, arts and science — excluded from every refinement which renders human nature happy! Reverence to our God forbids the impious thought! Why then are we held in slavery? Is it by any municipal law? If so, YE fathers of your country; friends of liberty and of mankind, behold our chains! Lend an ear to the voice of oppression —commiserate the afflictions of a helpless and abused part of the human species. To you we look up for justice —deny it not — it is our right.[168]

Pro-slavery forces gained the upper hand in Maryland in the 1790s and enacted several oppressive laws, including excluding African Americans from the right to vote. But many individuals acted where the state would not, freeing hundreds of enslaved people.

A few people in Virginia also pushed for the abolition of slavery. Among them were members of the state's most prominent white families, such as St. George Tucker. Tucker called out the hypocrisy of "Imposing upon our fellow men, who differ in complexion from us, a slavery ten thousand times more cruel than the utmost extremity of those grievances and oppressions, of which we complained."[169] Patrick Henry, famous for his demands for liberty during the run-up to the Revolution, likewise admitted that slavery was "as repugnant to humanity as it is inconsistent with the bible." Emancipation bills introduced into the Virginia legislature were all defeated, however, and most of the men who authored them never even freed the people they had enslaved themselves. This included St. George Tucker and Patrick Henry, who wrote that he could not endure "the general inconveniency of living without slaves."[170]

The federal government enacted the first of its several Fugitive Slave laws in 1793, requiring all the states to assist in capturing and re-enslaving people who had liberated themselves from slavery in other states. It also penalized anyone caught assisting a freedom-seeking enslaved person to escape. Nonetheless, one concrete action taken by the federal government against slavery was a ban on the international slave trade, which went into effect in 1808. Much of the early agitation against slavery focused on the horrors of the African trade, especially the high mortality rate on the feared Middle Passage journey. Some British critics said this was simply murder and should be prosecuted as such. White politicians like Thomas Jefferson reasoned that since North America did not need any more imported African workers, this was one concession to morality they could easily afford to make. Pressed to do more for the enslaved population, Jefferson responded "that no more good must be attempted than the nation can bear."[171] Smuggling of captive Africans continued until the Civil War, but the trade was drastically curtailed.

Congress extended the slavery laws from Virginia and Maryland to the District of Columbia in 1801, thereby creating a federally authorized slavery code. Meanwhile, the growing free African American population in the capital city worried pro-slavery white people. They sought to reassert control by solidifying slavery and passing laws known as "Black Codes." These laws restricted the meaning and practice of legal freedom for free Black people. The mayor and aldermen legislated the first set of Black Codes in 1808. These codes made it unlawful for "Negroes" or "loose, idle, disorderly persons" to be on the streets after 10 p.m. Free Black people who violated

this curfew could be fined $5, a significant sum for working people. Enslaved African Americans had to rely on their enslavers to pay the fine; the punishment for nonpayment of fines was whipping. The mayor and aldermen enacted a harsher set of Black Codes in 1812. Free Black people could be fined $20 if they violated the curfew and jailed for six months if the fine went unpaid. Enslaved people received the same fine but the punishment for nonpayment was 40 lashes. In addition, free African Americans had to register with the local government and carry their certificates of freedom at all times.

2. Haiti

After the American Revolution itself, the political event that did the most to arouse African Americans was the revolt in the French colony of Saint Domingue, present-day Haiti. The story of Haiti was known everywhere, putting fear into the hearts of enslavers and inspiring enslaved people with hope for radical change. This struggle began in 1789, after the revolutionary government in France proclaimed universal liberty and the "rights of man." In 1790 the Assembly explicitly banned racial distinctions in law, and free Blacks in Saint Domingue demanded political representation on par with the whites who monopolized political power in the colony. As the conflict heated up, Black leaders, many of whom were enslavers, offered freedom to any of their own enslaved workers who would fight for the Black cause. The conflict soon turned into an enslaved revolt. With help from France's enemies, Britain and Spain, the rebels took over most of the colony. Thousands of white planters fled the island, taking some of their enslaved workers with them. Despite attempts by some American leaders to keep them out, hundreds emigrated to the United States. These included many free Blacks, who greatly augmented the small free African American communities in Southern cities like Charleston.

Among those who fled Saint Domingue for the United States were members of the Vincendière family, who moved with 12 of their enslaved servants to Frederick County, Maryland, in November 1793.[ix] Jean Payen de Boisneuf was a cousin of the Vincendières who brought three enslaved people with him to Maryland: Pierre Louis, aged 35, Lambert, a child of five, and Fillete, eight years old. In April 1794 Jean placed an advertisement in the *Baltimore Daily Intelligencer* seeking the return of Pierre Louise, who had self-liberated and, according to Jean, likely had "taken the road to Baltimore, or George-town to try to get a passage to Charleston," presumably to join the expatriate community there. Pierre Louis was arrested as a vagrant in Philadelphia that May and was returned to his enslaver, but in 1797 he litigated for his freedom and won manumission.[172] Francois Arajou, enslaved to Marguerite Magnan de la Vincendière, self-liberated in 1809, 16 years after arriving in Maryland. Francois was last seen in Annapolis and was presumed to have become a sailor; by December 1810 he had not been returned to Marguerite, who published a

[ix] Twelve was the maximum number of enslaved persons legally permitted importation into Maryland from Haiti, as Maryland legislators feared too many Haitian enslaved people would foment rebellion in the state. In late December 1793 Marguerite Magnan de la Vincendière made a declaration recorded in the land record books of Frederick County that she brought with her "five servant slaves" from Saint Domingue when she emigrated the previous month. These included Jauvier, 24 years old; Francois Arajou, aged 20; Jean Sans-Nom, 16; Veronique, 16; and Maurice, described as "the Mulatto… fifteen years old." Marguerite's son Etienne recorded that he brought three enslaved persons with him (Marianne, aged 40, with her daughter, Cecile, aged 18, and Souris, 15), and Marguerite's daughter Victoire attested to the presence of her single servant, an enslaved 14-year-old boy called Saint Louis. See Maryland State Archives, "Archives of Maryland (Biographical Series): Francois Arajou."

second advertisement seeking his return in the *Federal Gazette*, the last mention of Francois in the written record.[173]

3. Manumission and the Growth of the Free Black Population

The percentage of the population that was enslaved peaked around 1760 (46 percent) in Virginia and just before the Revolution (32 percent) in Maryland. After the Revolution that number began a slow decline. Economic changes that had begun decades before in the Chesapeake region accelerated. Tobacco lost its dominant status; in the 1790s, for the first time, it made up less than half of Maryland's export trade. Many Chesapeake planters switched to raising wheat and other grains. Others diversified, experimenting with flax, hemp, barley, and other crops or investing heavily in dairy cows and other livestock. This different agricultural regime required different tasks, distributed differently throughout the year. Many enslaved people acquired new occupations as plowmen, carters, millers, cider makers, and dairy maids, among others. Most importantly, raising wheat did not require year-round labor. The demand for workers was high at planting time and even higher at harvest, but between those seasons, there was much less to do. From the enslaver's perspective, slavery fitted tobacco or sugar cultivation well, since those crops required labor all year. After switching to wheat, some planters found themselves with workers who had little to do for months at a time. Some enslavers who had switched to wheat as their main crop therefore freed or sold their enslaved workers and switched to different labor arrangements. Some planters responded to these changes by hiring out many of their enslaved people for work elsewhere. During harvest season some became itinerant workers, parts of gangs that traveled throughout the state, wherever crops were ripe. Others worked in cities or on the water, sending part of their pay back to their enslavers. Some of these people saved their own share to purchase freedom for themselves and their families; "self-purchase" became a major path to freedom.

Across much of Maryland and northern Virginia, hundreds of enslavers freed their enslaved workers. Although some did so because of moral scruples, most of enslavers saw the economic advantage of releasing their enslaved workers as they transitioned to a grain economy or more diversified agriculture. Within the NCA tobacco remained the dominant crop only in Prince George's County, Maryland, and it was the only county where enslaved people remained a majority of the population. There were also tobacco areas in Montgomery County, Maryland, and Prince William and Fairfax counties, Virginia, but in those locales wheat was much more important and slavery correspondingly declined.

Some newly freed African Americans remained where they had been living, working for the same planters or their neighbors. Others formed small communities in rural areas. But a large number moved to the cities, especially after 1806, when the Virginia legislature passed a law stating the recently freed must leave the state within one year of their manumission. The free Black population of Baltimore grew from 364 in 1790 to 5,600 in 1810.[174] Free Black neighborhoods also formed in Annapolis, Alexandria, and Washington, DC. But the number of enslaved people in those cities also grew, in Baltimore from around 1,000 in 1790 to 4,000 in 1810. African Americans were 25 percent of the District of Columbia's population of 14,093 in 1800; a majority were enslaved. African Americans in the city, whether enslaved or free, lived very different lives from those on plantations. They worked in many different occupations, such as construction, shipbuilding, rope-making, sail-making, printing, and milling. Many worked in service trades as barbers, stable

keepers, and caterers. Many women worked as domestic servants, laundresses, seamstresses, and cooks.

George Pointer is an example of an enslaved African American who acquired a unique occupation in the NCA region. Pointer's enslaver leased him to the Patowmack Canal Company, which endeavored to construct a canal from Georgetown to Cumberland in the mountains, not long after its incorporation in 1785. Eventually, Pointer raised $300 to purchase his freedom, after which he continued to work for the Patowmack Canal Company for another four decades. Pointer began by hauling stone from the Seneca Quarry to Great Falls. He rose to a position of trust with the company's directors, handling finances and managing five men who navigated cargo boats through the falls. He was promoted in 1816 to Superintendent Engineer at Great Falls, overseeing construction, and it was in this capacity that Pointer supervised the construction of the Wing Dam, still in operation. Pointer owned land near the canal, on which he grew crops that he sold at market. He was also a navigator, captaining a fleet that brought stone downriver for the construction of federal buildings in the Federal City, founded in 1791.

4. Landscape of Free Black Communities

By 1790 Virginia and Maryland had the largest and second largest populations, respectively, of free African Americans in the country. Between 1790 and 1810, Maryland's enslaved population decreased while its free Black population increased four-fold.[175] Thus, the experience of African Americans in this period cannot be reduced to a landscape of slavery alone; there is also the landscape of freemen.

A neighborhood in Easton, Maryland, called The Hill is considered one of the oldest free Black communities in the country, founded in the late 1780s. By the following decade over 400 free African Americans resided in The Hill. The spike in the town's free Black population is attributed to Easton's large Quaker population, compounded by the influx of newly freed persons, as planters in the region scaled down their tobacco cultivation and focused on wheat production. One of the first houses on The Hill was James Freeman's, built about 1787. According to archeological investigations undertaken from 2017 to 2019, Freeman's half-acre lot included a house, barn, a kitchen garden, and a second house he rented to another free Black man named Hercules. The Hill community did not have a dedicated house of worship until the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church was founded in 1818 and its first church built two years later. Previously, the community members received the Gospel from itinerant preachers who often delivered open-air sermons from ox carts and the like. Free Black merchants established shops, typically within their homes, at the intersection of Dover and Higgins streets before the turn of the 1800s; Zarah Hall, manumitted in 1795, was a milliner who resided on Dover Street and housed apprentice milliners while working his trade out of his house.[176]

Typically, dwellings from this period were small, simple, and wood frame; for those reasons they exist today only in the archeological record. Like many enslaved people who were hired out, free Blacks in urban centers also occupied substandard dwellings in marginal neighborhoods. In Annapolis, a city characterized by stately brick townhouses and freestanding mansions, there were two small, single-story, frame houses in a state of disrepair in 1798. Located in an area known as "Red Row," one of the dwellings was occupied by free Blacks listed in the 1800 poll as Africa

Green, his wife Sarah, and her daughter Kitty.[177] The surveyor's description of the dwellings verges on ramshackle and points to the substandard housing available to freemen in this period.

More commonly, free African Americans established communities in rural areas, such as Batestown, just west of Dumfries in Prince William County, Virginia, which dates to 1807. That year John Gibson, a wealthy tobacco merchant, bequeathed land and cash to the seven children of a woman named Nancy Mackie. Although his will does not clarify his relationship to the Mackies, they were presumably his children by Nancy, and included Thomas McKee (Mackie), who owned 100 acres from the 1820s onward. The Mackies married into other free African American families of the area, especially the Coles (who had been in the county since 1767), the Bateses, and the Kindles (or Kendalls). Sally Mackie married John Bates, and it is after her that Batestown was named. [178]

Subsistence and small-scale commercial farming were the predominant economies in Batestown. With every successive generation, farms were subdivided into smaller parcels and bequeathed to children, creating a tightly knit community based on kinship. Henry Cole, who had married a daughter of Sally Bates, was considered the largest Black property owner in Prince William County in 1855, owning 155 acres. By 1860 Cole had 50 acres of improved land that "produced 30 bushels of wheat, 225 bushels of corn, 100 bushels of oats, 30 pounds of tobacco, and five bushels of potatoes." In addition, he held 113 unimproved acres as well as diverse livestock.[179] The comparative isolation of the enclave, situated at the terminus of Mine Road, speaks to the separate society of free African Americans prior to emancipation, who held a marginal and fragile place in a white-dominated society in which the majority of African Americans were enslaved. Batestown disappeared in the 1930s, when the Resettlement Administration either purchased or condemned property for the creation of the Chopawamsic Recreational Demonstration Area, now Prince William Forest Park.

C. LANDSCAPE OF THE MODEL PLANTATION

The Chesapeake plantation landscape metamorphosed over centuries. Just as the "Virginia house," the two-room hall-parlor plan that characterized early Chesapeake planters' dwellings, evolved into stately, multi-room, Georgian-style residences by the end of the 1600s, so did the plantation landscape evolve over the course of the 1700s. Historians have called the Georgian-style manors the "Polite house" because of the plan's focus on separating workspaces from leisure spaces and the addition of rooms devoted solely to entertainment. By the end of the 1700s, the working plantation, with several rustic outbuildings and utilitarian yards, underwent a reordering and sanitization similar to what had occurred to the Chesapeake dwelling.

Agricultural innovations coupled with empirical, scientific thought encouraged Chesapeake planters to "analyze, order, and rationalize [their] land and laborers."[180] Landon Carter, at his Tidewater Virginia plantation, Sabine Hall, "designed a mathematically exact cornfield, with every cornstalk precisely positioned in relation to all the others, and conducted time studies of slaves' work so that their productivity might be increased."[181] This systemization of both landscape and labor was adopted by several other Virginia planters after the Revolution, including John Tayloe III at his Rappahannock River plantation, Mount Airy; Thomas Jefferson at Monticello; and George Washington at Mount Vernon. What these planters had in common was meticulous record-

keeping and documentation, experimentation with new machinery and agricultural methods, and a devotion to creating model, efficient farms with polite country seats.

Architectural historian John Michael Vlach, in his seminal work, *Back of the Big House*, described "the Planter's Landscape" as shifting from a scraggly, utilitarian farm meant to support the property owner's mission to an estate in a park setting meant to impress visitors.[182] The rational formalism seen in British, Georgian-era estates was imported to Maryland and Virginia, where buildings were sited orthogonally and symmetrically, fields were bounded by fences, hedgerows, or ha-has, and formal gardens were laid to provide the planters "a strong sense of the planter's dominance over both nature and society."[183] The taming of the natural landscape (equated with chaos) to a designed landscape (hierarchical and controlled) entailed the use of straight lines and right angles, the addition of gates and walls to control access, and the implementation of tree-lined drives, arcades, terraces, porches, and stairs to provide a sense of the processional. Rustic wood outbuildings were replaced with masonry structures arranged hierarchically in the landscape (an outbuilding's proximity to the manor defined its importance), whereas the old staples found on the 1600s tobacco plantation—smokehouse, tobacco storage, and enslaved quarters—were either added to or replaced with purpose-built dairies, springhouses, icehouses, artisan shops (such as naileries, joineries, or weavers' cottages), dovecotes, privies, and detached kitchens as the agricultural economy diversified.

The quarters for enslaved workers were either clustered behind the main dwelling (out of sight, perhaps, but never out of mind) or formally arranged in prominent locations, such as at Tuckahoe in Goochland County, Virginia, where enslaved dwellings flanked the drive to the manor, deliberately placed in sight to allude to the enslavers' wealth and status.[184] At Westend plantation in Louisa County, Virginia, planter James Watson designed the enslaved dwellings with symmetrically fenestrated façades and decorated them with Classical architectural elements (such as cornices), which not only alluded to the architecture of Watson's manor house but provided "a pleasingly balanced and harmonious view."[185] All of these concerted efforts to improve the plantation landscape were undertaken not only to order it but to sanitize it, to mitigate the taint of slavery from the eye.

How did the enslaved worker interact with this highly organized landscape, which increasingly tried to erase the presence of enslaved persons and their contributions from view? Vlach asserts that the enslaved African American landscape is overlaid atop the white planter's landscape, that it is a reactive landscape, one of appropriation. For instance, the yard and its associated service buildings were so closely associated with enslaved space that when Philip Fithian, a white tutor at the Westmoreland County, Virginia, plantation Nomini Hall, tried to enter the kitchen, the enslaved baker charged him a 7.5-pence fine for interrupting his work without seeking his permission first.[186] The enslaved field workers might carve out space in adjacent woodlands, evidenced by informal paths between fields or accounts of clandestine rendezvous spots in the woods. Barns or stables were often appropriated for social gatherings. Waterways provided those enslaved with sailing skills a means of temporarily escaping oversight and providing sustenance or income through fishing and oystering. Rhys Isaac has suggested that this "ensemble of sites and pathways constituted…'an alternative territorial system'" in which the enslaved population could respond to the controlled environment it inhabited daily. Others were able to leave their mark more intentionally: the 41 enslaved laborers at Washington's Muddy Hole Farm, who had an enslaved overseer, eschewed Washington's preference for enslaved dwellings located along roads, set in

regular intervals, and in an orderly row; rather, they arranged their cabins haphazardly and within the trees at the edges of the cultivated fields.[187]

1. The Masons of Virginia: Gunston Hall and Analostan Island

This sanitization of slavery is perhaps best illustrated by George Mason's treatment of the service yard at his Fairfax County plantation, Gunston Hall. George Mason IV was a member of the Virginia planter elite and a statesman, best known for penning the Virginia Declaration of Rights in 1776. Mason sited his manor on a peninsula jutting into the Potomac River called Mason's Neck. Built between 1754 and 1758, the Georgian-style brick house was constructed by enslaved workers who formed, fired, and laid the bricks. Mason planned the plantation landscape on a precise 60-foot grid. Landscape features were designed to impress visitors, as with the land approach, via a straight lane that provided intermittent views of the house through the double allée of cherry trees. A formal garden was planned on the river side of the house; enwalled, it was a private space intended for Mason, his family, and his guests. Yet enslaved labor laid out the garden's four squares, paths, and planting beds; built the fence; terraced the land; and tended the flowers, shrubs, herbs, and vegetables raised within.[188]

Although enslaved persons labored in the formal garden, it was not designed with them in mind; the enslaved domestic workers' domain was the service yard. The yard was the utilitarian space enslaved domestics used for household chores, including laundry and cooking. Often, the yard acted as a playground or nursery for enslaved children who played as their mothers toiled. The yard might contain chicken coops, wash basins, big cast-iron kettles over firepits, and wells, all unsightly but necessary objects in the plantation domestic landscape. At Gunston Hall the yard formed a quadrangle between the smokehouse, wash house, detached kitchen, and dairy—service buildings that were the domain of the enslaved domestics. The assemblage was located to the side of the manor house and enclosed by a high wood fence that kept the enslaved domestics' daily activities from view. It was mere yards away from Mason's terraced, formal pleasure garden and yet completely isolated from it.[189]

Great Sue was one of the hundreds of enslaved people living at Gunston Hall. As a field hand she would have been denied access to the private areas south of the manor and likely to even most of the service spaces within and encircling the yard. Planting, sowing, and harvesting the plantation's tobacco and wheat crops, Great Sue's domain would have been the fields and quarters outlying the manor curtilage. Ancilla and Bridget, however, were likely enslaved domestic workers who would have used the yard daily for cooking, cleaning, laundry, and childcare.[190] Although records have provided insight into some of the enslaved people at Gunston Hall, a thorough understanding of the enslaved landscape is still unknown. There were at least 30 outbuildings at Gunston Hall in the 1700s, at least two of which were quarters for those enslaved, yet none survived into the 1900s. The dependencies were reconstructed in the 1950s and the detached kitchen in 1990.[191] Archeological investigation continues to develop the whole picture at Gunston Hall, but an application of Vlach's assertion that enslaved individuals would have superimposed their landscape atop the hierarchical one of the enslaver and appropriated spaces for their own use suggests that the service yard was a clearly defined enslaved space at Gunston Hall.

Over the course of the first third of the 1800s, Mason's son, John, built a model plantation on Analostan Island,[x] an 89-acre outcropping located at the fall line in the Potomac River, just northwest of the western terminus of the National Mall (Figure 4.1). Formerly under Maryland's jurisdiction, the island fell within the bounds of the District of Columbia when it was surveyed and established in 1791. Between 1792 and 1833, it became the property of John Mason, a businessman who operated a fishery, foundry, and quarry; was director then president of the Patowmack Canal Company from 1796 to 1826; served as brigadier general of the District of Columbia's militia from1802 to 1811; and greatly contributed to the development of the nation's capital.[192] Although the Mason family had purchased the island as early as 1717 and established a ferry service there in 1748 that provided the primary connection between Georgetown and Virginia's shores, there is no evidence that it was occupied by the Masons before 1792.

As with Gunston Hall, Mason's Analostan Island was a designed landscape intended to impress. Between 1797 and 1802, Mason erected a Neoclassical-style mansion at the southern end of the island. By 1807 he had built a causeway that connected the northwestern corner of the island to Virginia and that fed into a straight, tree-lined avenue that approached the house from the north. The avenue traversed picturesque parkland, orderly orchards, and cultivated fields, with screening copses and marshes at the edges, before arriving at the house. A semicircular planting of trees further aggrandized the house while screening its north façade. Similar to Gunston Hall, his father's home, Mason designed a formal garden with terraced lawns south of the house. The axis of the avenue was continued on the south side of the house in the form of an allée. An 1818 map depicts an orthogonal and ordered agrarian landscape, with "carefully laid-out fields of neatly planted, ordered rows of crops"; the totality of the landscape was divided into two spheres, the "private grounds south of the house, and the larger, more public grounds of the north."[193]

By "public" grounds the statement's author includes not only the visitors who traversed the space in route to the manor but also enslaved people who labored there. Like his father, Mason was an enslaver who held hundreds of African Americans in bondage and relied on their labor to create and maintain his plantation. At Analostan the enslaved field workers tended cotton and corn crops in the fields north of the house or raised Mason's Spanish Merino sheep. Yet the "private" grounds south of the house were not the sole domain of Mason and his family; the area included several acres of kitchen garden that grew vegetables and herbs for culinary use and would have been tended by enslaved labor. A small assemblage of outbuildings that stood south of the house would have been the domain of the enslaved domestics, including a separate kitchen, workshops, and enslaved dwellings.

Mason became indebted and lost the plantation in 1833, after which the island went through a series of owners, tenants, and uses (Chapter VI discusses the island's use during the Civil War period) until it became parkland and a presidential memorial a full century later. Nothing of the 1800s plantation landscape remains at Theodore Roosevelt Island above ground. As with Gunston Hall, knowledge of the enslaved community and landscape is derived through archeological research and from documents and narrative accounts. A newspaper advertisement in January 1793 points to the fact that Mason likely employed hired-out enslaved persons at Analostan Island; the

[x] Also historically called Mason's Island for the family who owned and inhabited it for over a century, the island was renamed Theodore Roosevelt Island in 1932; as a memorial to the former president, the island is part of the George Washington Memorial Parkway park system administered by the NPS.



FIGURE 4.1: Theodore Roosevelt Island in 1818, Showing the Mason Estate (King 1818)

date suggests they may have been employed in clearing and grading the uninhabited island for Mason's country estate.[194] Little is known about the enslaved community at Analostan Island during Mason's tenure, but relationships can be surmised from the very landscape. The placement of the house on a plateau elevated 50 feet above the waterline—the highest prominence on the island—situated Mason symbolically and literally as the master of all he surveyed. In this hierarchical and surveilled landscape, those enslaved would have had to carve out autonomy and privacy in interstitial spaces away from the manor or within their domains.

2. Enslaved Villages and Spatial Hierarchies

The enslaved landscape is most visible in the villages that emerged on plantations increasingly at the turn of the 1800s. In Campbell County, Virginia, the Green Hill plantation, patented by Samuel Pannill in 1797, developed into an "Upper Town," focused on the manor and its outbuildings, and the "Lower Town," located near the river's edge and containing enslaved dwellings as well as workshops and a mill.[195] This hierarchical separation of spaces was common across 1700s plantations.

One example of this in the NCA region is exhibited in the Nicholas King (1796) map of Notley Young's Plantation on the Maryland banks of the Potomac River (Figure 4.2). Encompassing some 800 acres, Young's plantation spread nearly 2 miles along the riverbanks, to where the Potomac met the Eastern Branch (now the Anacostia River), thereby constituting much of the present-day city's southwest quadrant. Around 1756, Notley built a manor house that was described by a visitor 32 years later as "not inferior to the palaces of some European princes."[196] The imposing, two-story brick residence was sited on a prominence some 200 feet from the river; similar to Mount Vernon, Young's residence had a veranda in the rear that offered scenic views of the river valley. The front was approached via a formal tree-lined avenue, such as the Masons had installed at Analostan Island and Gunston Hall. Adjacent was a small chapel that enabled Young, a Catholic, to worship privately.

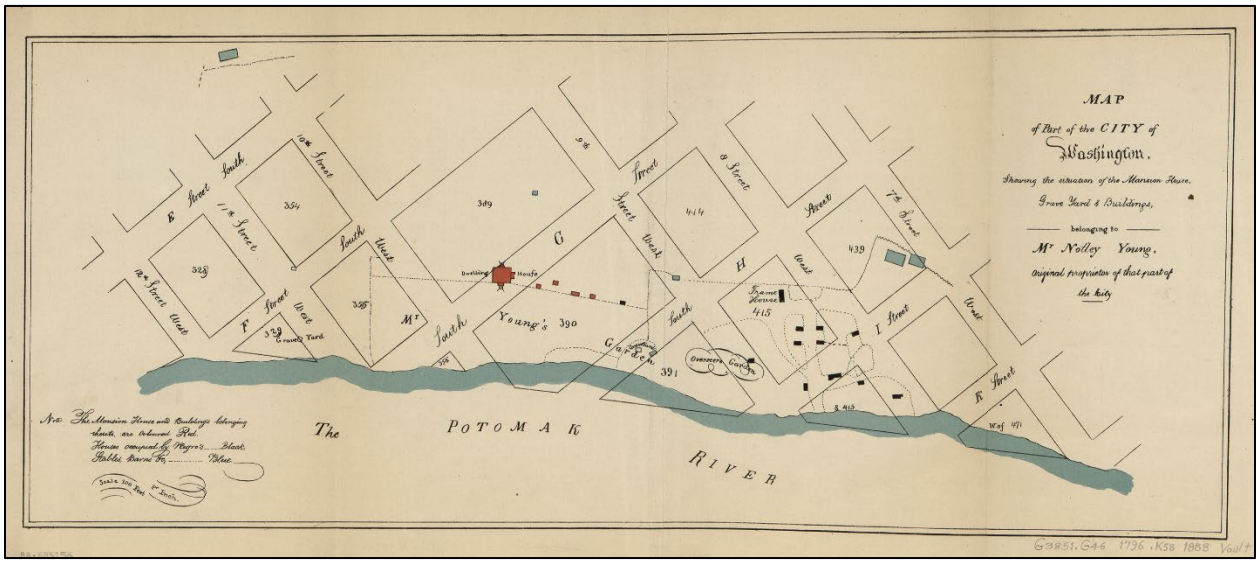


FIGURE 4.2: Map of Notley Young's Plantation, Cerne Abbey Manor, on the Maryland Banks of the Potomac River, Cerne Abbey Manor, 1796 (King 1796)

Much of Young's wealth and status derived from his enslavement of African Americans who worked his tobacco and corn fields; by 1790 Young had 265 enslaved people. Their quarters, in contrast to the main house, were "wooden huts downriver."[197] The King map's legend shows that, as late as 1796, Young had 12 distinct "Houses occupied by Negro's." All of them were sited east of and at some distance from the "Mansion House" save one, which was a small structure built at the end of a row of outbuildings close to the manor. A pasture flanked by two stables or barns separated the house curtilage from a concentration of enslaved dwellings farther east, set within fields dotted with agricultural outbuildings. A large rectangular building notated as a "frame house" at the north end of the assemblage was likely, given its proportions, a non-kin, co-residential barrack. Four smaller cabins, presumably housing family units, were sited southeast of the dormitory, arranged neatly in a quadrangle. A fifth cabin stood east of the quadrangle cluster, enclosed by the fencing. Four additional housing units of varying size stood south of the central quadrangular cluster, close to the riverbank. Southwest of this cluster was an isolated house with a notation "Overseers Garden," and the key suggests that the overseer was an African American.

The cluster of housing shows order in the case of the four cabins arranged in a quadrangle, but the others are arranged more randomly. This suggests that the village developed organically over time, and that the enslaved people at Young's plantation may have had more leeway with the siting of their dwellings under the supervision of a Black overseer. A patchwork of fencing surrounding the housing suggests that the occupants had enclosed yards, possibly for livestock pens or vegetable patches as well as workspaces. Removed from the main house, the inhabitants of this enslaved village apparently had some aegis over their domestic sphere.

Compare this to the enslaved village at L'Hermitage. Starting in 1793, the Vincendière family accumulated lands on the north banks of the Monocacy River, creating a plantation called L'Hermitage that encompassed 748 acres at its peak (the southern half of which is now the Best Farm, part of the Monocacy National Battlefield). The 1800 federal census states that Victoire Vincendière was the head of L'Hermitage's household of 108 people, 90 of whom were enslaved individuals, making the Vincendières the second-largest enslavers in Frederick County. This large number of enslaved people at L'Hermitage was unusual for the county and for the Piedmont region in general.[xi] It likely was a transference of the large-scale slavery model the Vincendières had known in the Caribbean. Contemporary accounts suggest that the system of slavery enforced at L'Hermitage was particularly brutal: Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, a Polish diplomat traveling through the area in 1798, wrote, "One can see on the home farm instruments of torture, stocks, wooden horses, whips, etc." while a few enslaved persons "crippled with torture have brought legal action" against the Vincendières for beatings, malnutrition, and lack of clothing.[198]

L'Hermitage was assembled in two parts, acquired in separate transactions: the northern half, purchased about 1794, and the southern half, acquired four years later. The southern portion was the center of plantation operations. The main house and farm complex were centered in the southern portion, with an overseer's house at a short distance to the north. According to period

[xi] Compare L'Hermitage's enslaved population with that on the Thomas Farm, also within the present-day Monocacy National Battlefield, established about 1780 and which included four enslaved persons in 1790, six enslaved individuals in 1803, and seven in 1820. Similarly, the Baker and Worthington farms, also in Monocacy, respectively had one and seven enslaved persons by 1860. The generalized differences between Piedmont and Tidewater plantation sizes and models are discussed in several sections of this report, particularly Chapter III.B.2,"Landscapes of Small Farms and Large Plantations."

accounts and archeological excavations undertaken in 2003-2005 and 2010-2011, the enslaved village at L'Hermitage entailed a linear row of houses, at least six in number, sited within easy observational distance from the overseer's house. The presence of chimney hearths shows that the houses were precisely and evenly spaced 66 feet apart; furthermore, the dwellings were oriented on the same axis as the other buildings on the property, creating an exact orthogonal spatial arrangement for the whole ensemble. The enslaved persons' dwellings were 20x34-foot log buildings atop stone piers; gardens and activity areas were to the rear. The dwellings were built on lower ground than the main house and the overseer's house, so that the enslavers had unobstructed views of the enslaved village and the fields, maintaining both surveillance and a psychological dominance over the enslaved workers: "The precise layout of the landscape, including the disposition of the slave village relative to the main house and overseer's house, suggests the Vincendières consciously manipulated the landscape in an effort to reinforce their physical and psychological control over the enslaved population."[199] The uniformity of housing, their "careful planning and a focus on order and symmetry,"[200] evoked the enslavers' supervision and control over the enslaved population, how and where they lived, worked, and socialized. The rigid and precise layout created a panopticism, in which the enslaved would have felt watched at all times.[201] The Vincendières plantation lasted only one generation, however; between 1816 and 1819, the family began divesting both acreage and enslaved persons, and by 1827 all of their property had been sold.[202]

Quarters for enslaved field workers often provide, through archeology, the most information of how enslaved workers used space. At Hazel Plain, the Prince William County plantation that Bernard Hooe established in 1809, there were over 50 enslaved individuals between 1810 and 1822. Enslaved quarters for the field workers at Hazel Plain were located far from the manor, such as at the "Hooe Dependency" site. Archeological investigation unearthed animal bones, oyster shells, nails and glass, and ceramic sherds, which all point to domestic occupation by enslaved field workers. The distribution of these artifacts throughout the site suggests that there were separate areas for habitation, preparing food, and consuming food or discarding rubbish. The cabin and its curtilage were equally used for daily domestic activities.

D. THE FOUNDING OF WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Following the establishment of the United States of America in 1783, the affairs of state were conducted in Philadelphia, where the Continental Congress had convened prior to and during the war. However, some (like James Madison in 1788) advocated for a distinct polity outside the jurisdiction of any one state where the national government could perform its duties. As political polarization between Northern and Southern states' leadership emerged over war debts, an agreement known as the Compromise of 1790 was reached: in exchange for the creation of a transfer union, in which revenue derived from all states' taxation would be reallocated to where the funds were most needed, a capital could be sited in the Southern states. The Residence Act of 1790 founded the Federal City of Washington (named for the first president) within the District of Columbia.

President Washington had been instrumental in lobbying Congress to select a 100-square-mile area at the confluence of the Potomac and Eastern Branch (now Anacostia) rivers, less than 2 miles from his home, Mount Vernon. The master plan for the capital city was drafted by a Frenchman, Pierre L'Enfant, whose grand, Baroque design Washington approved. However, L'Enfant had a

series of disputes with the men Congress had appointed to build the city, the Commissioners of the District of Columbia. L'Enfant left town without ever completing a survey based on his plan. That task was given to Andrew Ellicott, who had been surveying the boundary of the federal district. Between 1791 and 1792, Ellicott and his assistant Benjamin Banneker surveyed the 10x10-mile, diamond-shaped district boundary, laying boundary stones every mile.[xii] Banneker was a self-taught Black mathematician and author of almanacs who lived near Ellicott Mills in Maryland and was on good terms with the Ellicott family. He was also an activist for Black rights who penned letters to Thomas Jefferson and various scientific figures urging them to support equal rights for "the African race."[203]

The rural land dedicated to the District of Columbia came from two slaveholding states, Maryland and Virginia. It was not a *tabula rasa* but was composed of several working plantations. For instance, much of the land that would become the National Mall and Memorial Parks,[xiii] the park at the heart of the federal city of Washington, was part of an early 1700s plantation belonging to Notley Young, one of Maryland's wealthiest men (see Section IV.C.2). When Young's plantation was mapped in 1792, several cabins that likely housed enslaved workers were depicted on this land. So the future monuments of the Republic, including the Washington Monument, were built on land tilled by enslaved laborers in the not-so-distant past. Beall's Levels (a 1600s land grant that was later known as the Burns Plantation, on which the Van Ness House was built in 1816) lay along the north banks of Tiber Creek and also comprised a portion of the National Mall. Cerne Abbey Manor[xiv] was a 1600s land grant that predated Young's plantation, land that the National Mall, the Capitol, and the Southwest Waterfront occupies today.

Present-day Anacostia Park, which flanks the eponymous river, is superimposed upon portions of several plantations with roots in 1600s land grants. Between Goose (renamed Tiber) Creek and the north banks of the Eastern Branch (now Anacostia) river, from west to east, lay The Houpyard and Houp's Addition, The Knock, and Chance.[xv] On the south side of the river lay St. Elizabeth, Chichester, Arran, Attwood's Purchase, Hamilton's Venture, Elkenhead, Fortune, Beall's Adventure, Long Meadows, Chillum Castle Manor, and Haddock's Hill.[204] Although these lands were patented in the late 1600s, they were not settled until the early 1700s. Tobacco cultivation had taken its toll on the landscape, which was described as "a patchwork of agricultural development and decay."[205] L'Enfant's monumental, processional city, designed to be the beacon

[xii] The district is a square turned on its axis to form a diamond. The southernmost boundary stone lies in present-day Jones Point Park, an NPS site within the George Washington Memorial Parkway system. Boundary Stones Southeast 8 and 9 lie within the Oxon Cove Park, Southeast 5 lies within Oxon Run National Parkway, Northwest 9 lies in Rock Creek Park, Northwest 6 lies in Fort Bayard Park, and Northwest 4 lies near the C&O Canal National Historical Park, all lands owned by the NPS.

[xiii] The west end of the present-day Mall was once part of Notley Young's plantation.

[xiv] Cerne Abbey Manor was a combination of three of the earliest land grants in the vicinity of Capitol Hill: Duddington Manor, Duddington Pasture, and New Troy, patented in 1664. In 1670 Thomas Notley acquired the tracts, totaling 1,800 acres, and combined them to form Cerne Abbey Manor. This tract extended from the southeast boundary line to the Anacostia River, then the southwest portion of the Potomac River, inland to present-day 14th Street, SW between C and D streets, then northwest to 7th and K streets, NW.

[xv] The Houpyard (or Hopeyard) was a 500-acre, rectangular tract extending from present-day H Street, NE between 3rd and 10th streets to the southeast, through Lincoln Park and to the Anacostia River, patented to Walter Houp in 1687. Houp's Addition was an additional 154 acres acquired in 1688. Adjacent was the 500-acre tract known as the Knock, extending from East Capitol Street south and east to the Anacostia River—what is now largely Capitol Hill East. It was granted to Walter Thompson in 1686.

of a new nation representing democracy and freedom, was overlaid atop a landscape of entrenched slavery.

1. Enslaved Workers and the Building of Washington

To clear the land and lay the foundations for a grand, processional city, "L'Enfant estimated that he would need more than 500 men… [including] carpenters, masons, stonecutters, bricklayers, supervisors and hundreds of men who would do the challenging physical labor of cutting down trees, hauling lumber and stones, digging the foundation for the building, removing dead animals, and other undesirable tasks."[206] The boundaries of the new district included two previously established towns, Georgetown and Alexandria, but these were too small to contain enough white laborers for the massive project of creating a new national capital. The Commissioners of the District of Columbia tried to import workers from Europe, but this mostly failed. They turned to African Americans, some free but most of them enslaved, to build the monuments and buildings of the new Republic. These enslaved workers were hired from plantations throughout the region; by 1794 some 46 enslaved persons had been hired out to city officials to build the new capital.[207]

This unique agreement benefited the commissioners, who viewed "hiring slaves on a short-term basis [as] a way to get relatively cheap and often skilled labor without bearing the full costs of ownership," since the cost of room and board would be the responsibility of the enslaver or enslaved individual; the commissioners also benefited from not being responsible for the long-term welfare of the enslaved people they hired on contract.[208] Under these contracts the planters were paid for their workers' time, but the workers themselves received only two meals a day and very basic housing. A few enslaved people had arrangements with their enslavers whereby the workers kept part of their wages, which allowed them to save funds to purchase the freedom of themselves and their families.

Besides the labor needed to construct the buildings, there was also a shortage of workers in other areas. The buildings required materials: stone, lumber, bricks, hardware, and nails. Enslaved African American quarrymen, sawyers, brick-makers, and carpenters fashioned raw materials into the products used to erect the President's House (the White House). Much of the stone used for the Capitol and the President's House came from the government's quarry at Aquia in Stafford County, Virginia, 40 miles south of Washington. Most of the workers there were enslaved people hired under the same leasing system used in the Federal City. These men came from surrounding plantations where they mostly labored in agricultural work; they were trained quickly to quarry stone. They did the rough work, cutting out the stone and shaping it into blocks, which were finished at the construction site by Scottish stonemasons. One of the ads the commissioners placed to obtain workers read:

> Wanted, at the city of Washington a number of Slaves to labor in the Brick Yards, Stone quarries, &c, for which generous wages will be given. Also Sawyers to Saw by the hundred or on wages by the month or year.[209]

Sawing and hauling timber were two of the most strenuous jobs and were undertaken almost exclusively by enslaved laborers. Wood was needed for framing, roof rafters and beams, roof cladding, and interior carpentry. Gangs of enslaved African Americans were put to work on area plantations six or seven days a week. The timber used in the building of Washington's federal

buildings were sourced primarily from the White Oak Swamp east of Fredericksburg, Virginia, and Stratford Hall, the Lee plantation in Westmoreland County, Virginia. Once timbers were felled by hand axes, the enslaved workers would use pit saws or whip saws to remove the bark. Then the logs were riven into clapboards or sawn into planks, then loaded onto ox carts or river rafts and transported to the new city. As there were no hydraulic mills in the area at this time, sawing entailed enslaved laborers standing in pits over which the logs were rolled, one man working from underneath and one overhead to carve viable construction materials from large trees.[210]

An Irish-born architect, James Hoban, was selected to design the President's House in 1792. When he set out from Charleston, South Carolina, he brought with him a team of five enslaved carpenters: Tom, Ben, Harry, Peter, and Daniel. They joined skilled white tradesmen and unskilled laborers, both white and Black, free and enslaved, to erect the buildings that would seat the federal government in DC. By 1795 more than 300 enslaved laborers were at work erecting the nation's governmental buildings, approximately one-sixth of whom were hired out from nearby plantations. From the outset, "the nascent capital city committed to making enslaved labor an essential part of its workforce because it was simply too economical and expedient to do otherwise."[211]

Construction on the President's House began in 1792 and was completed by 1800. The enslaved workers camped on the grounds, what is now Lafayette Square, with free laborers. Intensive research by White House and NPS historians has identified more than 200 enslaved people who built the President's House and the Capitol. According to payroll records, construction of the Capitol (originally called the Congress house) began in February 1795 and was completed by 1801.[212] Payments were made to the enslavers, not the workers, so the records often omit the names of the people who did the labor. Enslaved people also worked on the rebuilding of the White House after the British burned it in 1814.

Lafayette Square may have become the site of auctions of enslaved people. The public grounds north of the mansion, known as President's Park before 1824, held an open-air market in which several commercial activities took place. Some sources indicate that this included the sale of enslaved individuals who were held in pens, or jails, at Lafayette Tavern or in the courtyard of the Decatur House, but not all historians agree on this point.[213] Those who were enslaved also used the market, buying produce and goods for their enslaver's households or for their own. Alethia Browning Tanner, an enslaved woman, sold vegetables at the market and earned enough ($1,400) to purchase her freedom in 1810 and later the freedom of 25 more persons, members of her family and friends.[214]

2. Landscape of Urban Slavery

The landscape of urban slavery differed from yet had commonalities with rural, plantation slavery, just as the form a city takes differs from a village or town and yet maintains many of the same elements. The density of buildings in Lafayette Square, for instance, resulted in enslaved persons inhabiting townhouses with their enslavers. The Decatur House on Lafayette Square has the last known remaining enslaved quarter in DC. Susan and Stephen Decatur's enslaved laborers were living in the house with them by the 1820s, when a wing was added to the rear to function as enslaved housing. By the 1830s, when John Gadsby owned the property, as many as 25 enslaved persons may have inhabited the house and wing, which also held a large kitchen hearth intended to serve the entire household.[215]

John Michael Vlach called the form the Decatur House and others adopted—in which wings were added to the rear of a townhouse to create an L- or U-shaped footprint—a "plantation compound." In this model the domestic workspaces on the plantation were reduced to the urban yard, or "backlot," and functions that may have occupied several discrete buildings on a plantation (such as a kitchen, workshop, laundry, stable, or enslaved quarter) were coalesced into the additions. The enslaved inhabitants of these compounds served the proprietor and his or her household. This proximity between an enslaved person and his or her enslaver created a restrictive, surveilled atmosphere that could be more limiting than that found on a rural plantation, in which there was space and distance between the manor or overseer's house and enslaved quarters. There was also an element of the hidden to this arrangement, as all activity undertaken by enslaved workers took place behind the façade of an urban townhouse, away from public eyes on the street.

As with the example of the White House, dwellings for urban enslaved persons could be in the manor house itself, in devoted spaces such as attics and basements or in interstitial spaces such in doorways, hallways, closets, or on pallet beds in the bedchambers of their enslaver. The Old Stone House in Georgetown, in present-day Rock Creek Park, was built as a one-room dwelling about 1765 but was expanded before 1775 by its second owner, Cassandra Chew. A wealthy widow, Chew brought her enslaved servants with her and added second and third stories to the dwelling to house them; the appended kitchen wing was also used as sleeping quarters. Six enslaved persons were dwelling in the house with Chew by 1800. Like the plantation compound, this arrangement afforded the enslaver maximum surveillance and the enslaved person little privacy. But the limited privacy enslaved persons had in this landscape was juxtaposed with a larger degree of autonomy than rural counterparts. Enslaved men and women in the city freely engaged in activities within the larger public sphere, away from the direct surveillance of their enslaver. Often, urban enslaved individuals would act as factotums to their enslavers or as messengers to plantation enslaved, traveling freely to the country house of their enslaver or to other plantations out of town.

Maryland's capital city, Annapolis, provides an interesting case study for late 1700s urban slavery in the built environment. In 1798, when an exhaustive survey of real property was taken for taxation purposes, the city contained 246 households, over 41 percent of which held enslaved persons. Yet no dwellings or quarters for enslaved servants were denoted in this otherwise comprehensive survey, intimating that those enslaved shared the townhouses with their enslavers. Archeological evidence—such as hearths, brick-paved floors, and whitewashed walls—points to the use of kitchen lofts, garrets, and cellars as sleeping quarters for enslaved people. Likely, these sleeping areas were used by the enslaved person or persons who fulfilled the daily domestic roles in that space, so that a cook might sleep in the kitchen loft and stable hands in the garret above the stables. This practice was commonly found on rural plantations, marking similarities between urban and rural landscapes of slavery.[216]

One significant difference between urban and rural slavery was the population composition by gender: enslaved males formed a higher proportion of field hands on plantations, but the urban enslaved population, who largely worked as domestic servants, were typically women. The urban enslaved workers also had more interaction with whites than their rural cohorts, not only with their enslavers but with a diverse array of others, including merchants, artisans, professionals, factory workers, and seamen; their outlook was therefore more cosmopolitan. Their mobility provided them access to news and information, making them better informed than those isolated in rural settings.[217]

A third form of urban enslaved housing, according to Vlach, was separate residences isolated in the margins of cities. Typically, the hired-out enslaved laborers, or those leased by their enslaver to peers for contract work, resided in these dwellings, which were often substandard and sited in areas that did not appeal to property owners, such as swampy bottoms. Here, enslaved individuals lived apart from their white enslavers, and that autonomy, viewed as a threat by many whites, caused the latter anxiety.[218]

E. THE WAR OF 1812 AND THE CLIMATE OF FEAR

1. International Tensions and Domestic Fears

The War of 1812 casts a much smaller shadow across American history than the Revolution, but it was just as consequential for African Americans in the Chesapeake region. The fighting was equally intense and included the sacking of Washington, DC, in which several federal buildings were razed by fire, including the White House. The same dynamics played out as before, with the British controlling the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries, raiding at will up and down the eastern and western shores. Again, white militiamen from the Piedmont refused to serve on the coast, fearing that a slave revolt would erupt in their absence. One planter wrote in 1812, "In addition to the danger to be apprehended from foreign enemies, we have in the bosom of our Country an enemy more dangerous than any we can expect from the other side of the Atlantick."[219] The fear was just as great in Washington, DC. Even as the British army approached the city in 1814, Margaret Bayard Smith told a neighbor that she was much more fearful of a slave revolt than she was of the British.[220]

Enslaved African Americans were indeed tracking the impending conflict between Britain and the United States. In Montgomery County, in southwestern Virginia, an enslaved man named Tom killed his enslaver. He told the magistrates who interrogated him that "the negroes in the neighborhood said that the British people was about to rise against the Country, and that they intended to rise some time in next May.…They said they were not made to work for the white people, but they made to work for themselves."[221] Tom went on to say that, after a deadly fire in a Richmond theater,

> The negroes in the neighborhood said they were glad that the people were burnt in Richmond, and wished that all the white people had been burnt with them. That God Almighty had sent them a little Hell for the white people, and that in a little time they would get a greater.[222]

Virginians frequently cautioned each other not to discuss politics in front of their enslaved servants for fear of spreading news and ideas such as those Tom had picked up, but it obviously did not work. Enslaved African Americans made a point of knowing all the news that might affect them, including the impending war with Britain.

Slave societies have always been prone to revolts, and even more to rumors of revolt. Any Slave Society is founded on keeping control over the enslaved population through the use of terror; American enslavers, and white society in general, were aware that this state was intolerable, fragile, and volatile. American enslavers lived in a constant state of anxiety about rebellion, sometimes on the edge of panic. Planter John Randolph once remarked that "the night-bell never tolled for fire in Richmond that the mother did not hug her infant more closely to her bosom."[223]

In the period of escalating tension between the United States and Britain, from 1806 to 1815, these fears were rampant, and many records of white anxiety survive. Especially in Virginia, planters reported to each other dozens of alleged plots.

Many planters gave their enslaved workers five days off at Christmas, and some enslaved people used this holiday to visit relatives. These times regularly spawned rumors of revolt, and one such scare swept the state in 1808. Peggy Nicholas, wife of a Congressman, wrote to her husband that "I am as usual on these occasions terrified almost to death," ending the letter with a plea that they leave Virginia and move west. After no revolt broke out, she wrote, "Through the mercy of Providence we have once more escaped the horrors of a Massacre." Of course, it was usually enslaved persons who were killed as a result of these alarms, such as the 27 men hanged after an abortive uprising in 1800. In 1810 one white observer, Elizabeth Kennon, saw militiamen parading around Richmond in response to one of these alarms and wrote, "I believe the blacks are, in this city, under more apprehension than the whites." But the pervasive climate of fear was a fundamental part of life in a Slave Society, sometimes abating but never disappearing, and rising to a dangerous, feverish level in times when war threatened.[224]

2. War on the Chesapeake

In February and March 1813, Rear Adm. Sir George Cockburn, second in command to Adm. Sir John Warren, commanded a fleet of 17 British warships that entered the Chesapeake Bay and attacked merchant ships. This force was larger than the entire American Navy, so the ships went wherever their captains chose. At first they were limited by their knowledge of the many creeks and marshes, but soon hundreds of enslaved people liberated themselves from captivity and joined them. With these expert guides, and with the help of land-based spies who alerted them to militia gatherings, they extended their reach up every tiny creek. One British officer wrote,

> The opportunities afforded us of safely traversing the enemy's country at night, by means of these black guides, places a powerful weapon in the Rear-Admiral's hands….The country within ten miles of the shore lay completely at our mercy. We had no reason to doubt the fidelity of our allies….By their assistance we were enabled to pass the enemy's patroles, make the circuit of their encampments, and cut off the post beyond it. The face of the country (generally thickly wooded) was propitious to these nightly excursions.[225]

During the 18 months from the spring of 1813 to the fall of 1814, the British destroyed more than 100 Chesapeake plantations, and about 3,400 enslaved people sought their freedom by escaping to British lines. Many stories of daring escapes are told from those years. Shortly after the British fleet appeared in the bay, an overseer on Gwynn's Island had the enslaved workers carry the farm's heavy boat up from the water and put in it the yard of his house. But the next night, the same men carried the boat back down to the water, without waking the overseer, and escaped.[226] Frederick Douglass wrote that, as a boy, he had watched ships sailing on the bay, dreaming that "freedom's swing-winged angels, that fly round the world" would carry him away from slavery.[227] During the war many African Americans saw the British fleet that way, and thousands took themselves onto those ships in hopes of freedom.

The call for freedom was amplified when, in April 1814, British Adm. Sir Alexander Cochrane issued a proclamation that,

> All those who may be disposed to emigrate from the UNITED STATES will, with their Families, be received on board His Majesty's Ships of Vessels of War, or at the military posts that may be established, upon or near the Coast of the UNITED STATES, when they will have their choice of either entering His Majesty's Sea or Land Forces, or of being sent as FREE settlers to the British Possessions in North America or the West Indies, where they will meet with due encouragement.
>
> Given under my Hand at Bermuda, this 2nd day of April, 1814,
> ALEXANDER COCHRANE.[228]

Enslaved brothers Nace and Henry Colbert were some who heeded the proclamation. On August 30, six days after the sack of the federal city and three days after the leveling of Fort Washington,[xvi] the Colberts settled under the fort's ruins to await the British ship *Anna Maria*. The smallest ship in the British squadron, the *Anna Maria* had been canvassing the Potomac's shorelines, picking up self-liberated persons. The Colberts evaded recapture by their enslaver and made it to freedom. They were two of 65 enslaved people who joined the *Anna Maria* and were eventually settled in Trinidad, Nova Scotia, and Sierra Leone.[229]

The self-liberated who joined the British did not forget those they had left behind. On several documented occasions they brought British troops back to their homes to liberate their relatives and friends. One of these was a young man named Presley, who self-liberated from a plantation called Kinsale on Virginia's Northern Neck. While in British service, Presley took the last name Washington. In October 1814 Presley led a British party to Kinsale and liberated all the other enslaved people, casting his former enslaver out of his house, which was burned.[230]

3. The Corps of Colonial Marines and the Burning of Washington

Impressed by the daring and competence of his African American scouts, Admiral Cochrane sought to make even greater use of these men. He ordered the creation of the Corps of Colonial Marines, which enrolled self-liberated, former enslaved men as regular soldiers. (This unit is sometimes called the "Second Corps" to distinguish it from an earlier unit of the same name raised in the Caribbean.) Starting around May 10, 1814, the British established a base on Tangier Island in the middle of the Chesapeake Bay and brought African American recruits there for training. They were given the choice of becoming Marines or joining a work party. The Marines' first combat was on May 18 in a raid on Pungoteague Creek, where they helped capture an American artillery battery. From then on, some of them were in action almost every week. Cockburn reported that his new recruits were performing "unexpectedly well." By July the Colonial Marines numbered about 120; hundreds more African Americans were assisting the British in other ways, usually as laborers (the men) or as cooks and laundresses (the women).

The Colonial Marines were part of the large British raid of August 1814, which included the Battle of Bladensburg and culminated with the burning of the White House and the Washington Navy Yard. One company was engaged in fighting at Bladensburg, and two companies were among

[xvi] Originally called Fort Warburton and constructed between 1808 and 1809 at Digges Point, on the Maryland side of the Potomac River, Fort Washington was destroyed by explosion on August 27, 1814.

those who occupied Washington. Paul Jennings, an enslaved servant in James Madison's White House, recalls the night the presidential residence burned in 1814 in his memoir:

> Well, on the 24th of August, sure enough, the British reached Bladensburg, and the fight began between 11 and 12. Even that very morning General Armstrong assured Mrs. Madison there was no danger. The President, with General Armstrong, General Winder, Colonel Monroe, Richard Rush, Mr. Graham, Tench Ringgold, and Mr. Duvall, rode out on horseback to Bladensburg to see how things looked. Mrs. Madison ordered dinner to be ready at 3, as usual; I set the table myself, and brought up the ale, cider, and wine, and placed them in the coolers, as all the Cabinet and several military gentlemen and strangers were expected. While waiting, at just about 3, as Sukey, the house-servant, was lolling out of a chamber window, James Smith, a free colored man who had accompanied Mr. Madison to Bladensburg, gallopped up to the house, waving his hat, and cried out, "Clear out, clear out! General Armstrong has ordered a retreat!" All then was confusion. Mrs. Madison ordered her carriage, and passing through the dining-room, caught up what silver she could crowd into her old-fashioned reticule, and then jumped into the chariot with her servant girl Sukey, and Daniel Carroll, who took charge of them; Jo. Bolin drove them over to Georgetown Heights; the British were expected in a few minutes. Mr. Cutts, her brother-in-law, sent me to a stable on 14th street, for his carriage. People were running in every direction. John Freeman (the colored butler) drove off in the coachee with his wife, child, and servant; also a feather bed lashed on behind the coachee, which was all the furniture saved, except part of the silver and the portrait of Washington (of which I will tell you by-and-by).
>
> I will here mention that although the British were expected every minute, they did not arrive for some hours; in the mean time, a rabble, taking advantage of the confusion, ran all over the White House, and stole lots of silver and whatever they could lay their hands on.
>
> About sundown I walked over to the Georgetown ferry, and found the President and all hands (the gentlemen named before, who acted as a sort of body-guard for him) waiting for the boat. It soon returned, and we all crossed over, and passed up the road about a mile; they then left us servants to wander about. In a short time several wagons from Bladensburg, drawn by Barney's artillery horses, passed up the road, having crossed the Long Bridge before it was set on fire. As we were cutting up some pranks a white wagoner ordered us away, and told his boy Tommy to reach out his gun, and he would shoot us. I told him "he had better have used it at Bladensburg." Just then we came up with Mr. Madison and his friends, who had been wandering about for some hours, consulting what to do. I walked on to a Methodist minister's, and in the evening, while he was at prayer, I heard a tremendous explosion, and, rushing out, saw that the public buildings, navy yard, ropewalks, &c., were on fire.[231]

The Marines returned to action during the attack on Baltimore, and all three companies fought in the Battle of North Point. After the British withdrew from Baltimore, the Marines served along the coast of Georgia, liberating around 1,500 more people from island plantations.

4. African Americans in United States Service

President James Madison's administration adopted a policy of accepting no African Americans into the U.S. Army, although some mixed-race men did serve.[xvii] But so many American sailors were Black, especially in the Chesapeake, that African Americans were accepted into the Navy. Many also served on American privateers. Several free African Americans served in Joshua Barney's flotilla, the only effective naval force the United States managed to raise during the Chesapeake fighting. After Barney was forced to burn his flotilla, those men joined the rest of Barney's command at the Battle of Bladensburg. President Madison asked Barney if he was afraid his Black cannoneers might run. He replied, "No, sir, they don't know how to run. They will die by their guns." Which they did, while thousands of white militiamen fled, leading to a ruinous American defeat and the burning of Washington. One of the African Americans who fought with Barney was Charles Ball, who had self-liberated from slavery in South Carolina and later wrote a book about his life. Ball wrote,

> I stood at my gun, until the Commodore was shot down, when he ordered us to retreat, as I was told by the officer who commanded our gun. If the militia regiments, that lay upon our right and left, could have been brought to charge the British, in close fight, as they crossed the bridge, we should have killed or taken the whole of them in a short time; but the militia ran like sheep chased by dogs.[232]

Ball also described an illuminating scene that took place soon after the 1814 campaign had begun. He had recently joined Commodore Barney's flotilla when all but one of the 100 enslaved people on a Patuxent River plantation escaped to the British. A delegation of local planters from the neighborhood went to visit the British commander and offer ransom for the return of these self-liberators, to save that family from ruin. The British would make no such deal, but one British officer asked Ball if he wanted to join the other self-liberated and receive land in another part of the empire. Ball wrote, "I respectfully declined these offers, with thanks, saying that I was already a free man."[233]

F. SUMMARY

The Revolutionary Era brought change to the people of the Chesapeake region, Black and white. A new nation was established, its capital built on the Potomac River. Two wars were fought, the countryside ravaged. Thousands of African Americans fought for both sides in both conflicts. Many used the turmoil of those years to make a break for freedom, while others used the uncertainty to negotiate better living conditions for themselves. Yet slavery endured, and in 1815 most African Americans in the region remained enslaved.

Indeed, the outcome of the Revolution for African Americans is a great lesson in the complexity of historical causation, showing how hard it can be to say that one event caused another. In the North people turned decisively against slavery and legislated its slow demise. In the Deep South a decade or two of hesitation ended with the decisive reassertion of slavery, backed by a newly violent racism. In the Chesapeake region the result was muddled. While a Slave Society persisted in the Chesapeake region, tens of thousands of enslaved African Americans were freed, and they

[xvii] One of them, William Williams, was killed by a British bomb while defending Fort McHenry; it was only in seeking to return his body for burial that his officers discovered he had self-liberated from slavery.

established the first free African American communities. The idea spread everywhere that all deserved freedom. African Americans in the Early Republic earnestly worked to make that dream a reality.

V. THE ANTEBELLUM YEARS (1815-1861)

FIND YOUR PARK

Sites Dating from this Time Period: (*****Mentioned in this Chapter)
ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD (ANTI): John Otto Farm [c. 1830], Piper Farm [c. 1846], Pry Farm [c. 1844], Joshua Newcomer Farm [about 1850] (p. 136-137)
*****C&O CANAL NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK (CHOH): C&O Canal [1828-1850] (p. 101, 120, 122, 133-134)
*HARPERS FERRY NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK (HAFE) (p. 109, 122, 133): John Brown's Fort [1848], Kennedy Farmhouse [1852]
*****MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD (MANA): Andrew Redman Blacksmith Shop [c. 1850], Brawner Farm [c. 1820], Portici [c. 1820] (p. 128), Robinson House [c. 1848]
*NATIONAL MALL AND MEMORIAL PARKS (NAMA) (p. 87): Van Ness House [c. 1816] (p. 128), Washington Canal [1815] (p. 101)
PRESIDENT'S PARK (PRPA): Decatur House [1819]
PRINCE WILLIAM FOREST PARK (PRWI): Henry Cole Farm [1842]
*****ROCK CREEK PARK (ROCR) (p. 106): Linnean Hall [1823] (p. 128)
*****WOLF TRAP NATIONAL PARK FOR THE PERFORMING ARTS (WOTR): Wolf Trap Farm [c. 1855] (p. 128)

Also Mentioned in this Chapter:
ARLINGTON HOUSE (ARHO) (p. 128-133, 138)
CATOCTIN MOUNTAIN PARK (CATO): Catoctin Furnace (p. 122)
C&O CANAL NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK (CHOH): Antietam Iron Works (p. 106); Ferry Hill (p.128, 133-136, 138)
GEORGE WASHINGTON MEMORIAL PARKWAY (GWMP): Mount Vernon (p. 105-108)
FORT WASHINGTON PARK (FOWA) (p. 122): Mount Welby (p. 128)
PRESIDENT'S PARK (PRPA): Lafayette Square (p. 99); White House (p. 98, 100, 101, 102, 105, 123)
ROCK CREEK PARK (ROCR): Georgetown waterfront (p. 99), Mount Zion Cemetery (p. 122)

The Antebellum years, from the cessation of hostilities with Britain in 1815 to the onset of the Civil War in 1861, were marked by continued enslavement on plantation settings, the growth of the internal slave trade, the rise of free Black communities in urban centers, and the entrenchment of a pervasive and insidious racism that justified slavery in the face of a growing abolition movement. Although the enslaved population increased overall throughout the country during the Antebellum period, the rate of increase diminished each decade, in correlation with a rising free Black population in the NCA.[234] This trend is best illustrated in the District of Columbia's demographics between 1810 and 1860. The African American population in DC in 1810 reached 5,126 people, nearly 70 percent of whom were enslaved, accounting for approximately 23 percent of the district's total population. In each of the following decades, the percentage of enslaved African Americans decreased, dropping below 50 percent for the first time in 1830 and reaching slightly more than 20 percent by 1860. By the start of the Civil War, enslaved African Americans composed only 4 percent of the total population in DC (Table 5.1).

TABLE 5.1: DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA POPULATION BY RACE, 1810-1860

CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	WHITE	BLACK Total	BLACK Free	BLACK Enslaved	PERCENT ENSLAVED OF TOTAL POP.	PERCENT ENSLAVED OF BLACK POP.
1860	75,080	60,763	14,316	11,131	3,185	4	22
1850	51,687	37,941	13,746	10,059	3,687	7	27
1840	33,745	23,926	9,819	6,499	3,320	10	34
1830	30,261	21,152	9,109	4,604	4,505	15	49
1820	23,336	16,058	7,278	2,758	4,520	19	62
1810	15,471	10,345	5,126	1,572	3,554	23	69

Gibson and Jung[235]

In the majority of NCA counties in Maryland from 1810 to 1860, the percentage of enslaved people within the total population decreased; only in Prince George's County did the percentage of the enslaved population increase, by 6 percent (Table 5.2). By 1860 only Charles and Prince George's counties had enslaved populations that constituted more than 50 percent the total population count. Within the Black population, however, over 50 percent (and up to 90 percent in two counties) of African Americans were enslaved still in Allegheny, Charles, Montgomery, and Prince George's counties by 1860. Only in Washington and Frederick counties was there a substantial decrease in the proportion of enslaved African Americans in these decades, suggesting that most African Americans in these locales were free Blacks. These statistics show that, while anti-slavery sentiments were spreading nearby in DC, where a free Black community was growing, slavery in southern Maryland persisted.

TABLE 5.2: POPULATION BY RACE OF MARYLAND COUNTIES, 1810 AND 1860

MD COUNTY	CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	NON-BLACK FREE	BLACK Total	BLACK Free	BLACK Enslaved	PERCENT ENSLAVED OF TOTAL POP.	PERCENT ENSLAVED OF BLACK POP.
Alleghany	1860	28,348	27,215	1,133	467	666	2	59
Alleghany	1810	6,909	6,176	733	113	620	9	85
Washington	1860	31,417	28,305	3,112	1,677	1,435	5	46
Washington	1810	18,730	15,591	3,139	483	2,656	14	85
Frederick	1860	46,591	38,391	8,200	4,957	3,243	7	39
Frederick	1810	34,437	10,063	6,454	783	5,671	16	88
Charles	1860	16,517	5,796	10,721	1,068	9,653	58	90
Charles	1810	20,245	7,398	12,847	412	12,435	61	97
Montgomery	1860	18,322	11,349	6,973	1,552	5,421	30	78
Montgomery	1810	17,980	9,731	8,249	677	7,572	42	92
Prince George's	1860	23,327	9,650	13,677	1,198	12,479	53	91
Prince George's	1810	20,589	6,471	14,118	4,929	9,189	45	--

Manson et al.

In 1806 the Virginia legislature passed a law expelling formerly enslaved African Americans, which was reinforced by an 1850 act demanding that any formerly enslaved person leave the state

within a year of his or her manumission. These acts resulted in a dearth of free Blacks in the state. Contemporaneously, in 1819, Virginia's politicians removed legal restrictions on the interstate slave trade, thereby bolstering the plantation system. As in southern Maryland, slavery in northern Virginia persisted at a high rate through the Antebellum years despite the advocacy for its abolishment in DC. From 1810 to 1860, the percentage of the enslaved population within the total population decreased or remained static in most NCA Virginia counties; the enslaved population increased by only 1 percent of the total population within Loudoun County (Table 5.3). None of the counties had an enslaved population constituting over 50 percent of the total population throughout those years; Prince William and Fairfax counties had the highest proportions in 1810, at 46 and 45 percent, respectively; by 1860 Jefferson, Loudoun, Fairfax, and Prince William had the highest percentages, from 25 to 27 percent. Within the African American population, however, over 80 percent were enslaved in seven of eight counties by 1860, compared with 49 percent of the African American population enslaved in Alexandria County. The drastic difference between Alexandria and the other northern Virginia counties, which had strikingly homogenous statistics, can be explained by the retrocession of Alexandria County from the District of Columbia to Virginia in 1846; at that time DC had restricted the slave trade within its borders and enslaved populations were decreasing.

TABLE 5.3: POPULATION BY RACE OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA COUNTIES, 1810 AND 1860

VA COUNTY	CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	NON-BLACK FREE	BLACK Total	BLACK Free	BLACK Enslaved	PERCENT ENSLAVED OF TOTAL POP.	PERCENT ENSLAVED OF BLACK POP.
Hampshire	1810	9784	8,731	1,053	124	929	9	88
-	1860	13,913	12,478	1,435	222	1,213	9	85
Morgan	1810	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
-	1860	3,732	3614	118	24	94	3	80
Berkeley	1810	11,479	9,760	1,719	190	1,529	13	89
-	1860	12,525	10,589	1,936	286	1,650	13	85
Jefferson	1810	11,851	7,967	3,884	352	3,532	29	91
-	1860	14,535	10,064	4,471	511	3,960	27	89
Loudoun	1810	21,338	15,577	5,761	604	5,157	24	90
-	1860	21,774	15,021	6,753	1,252	5,501	25	81
Fairfax	1810	13,111	6,626	6,485	543	5,942	45	92
-	1860	11,834	8,046	3,788	672	3,116	26	82
Prince William	1810	11,311	5,733	5,578	358	5,220	46	94
-	1860	8,565	5,690	2,875	519	2,356	27	82
Alexandria	1850*	10,008	7,217	2,791	1,409	1,382	14	50
-	1860	12,652	9,851	2,801	1,415	1,386	11	49

Manson et al. *Note: In 1846 Congress retroceded Alexandria County from the District of Columbia to Virginia. The City of Alexandria became independent of Alexandria County (now Arlington County) in 1870.

Beginning at the end of the War of 1812 and culminating with the onset of the Civil War, racist ideologies in the South solidified to legitimize slavery. Free African Americans everywhere "were denounced as ignorant and vicious, as the most 'loathsome' and 'degraded' population in the

world."[236] African Americans were kept in a state of ignorance and oppression as a direct result of legislation: In 1819 the Virginia legislature prohibited African Americans, free or enslaved, from congregating for educational purposes and outlawed the teaching of Blacks to read and write. Often, and greatly detrimental to Black progress, white people accused free African Americans of inspiring enslaved rebellions and generally causing unrest. The 1831 enslaved rebellion in Southampton County, Virginia, led by a literate, enslaved man and preacher named Nathaniel Turner, resulted in the execution of 56 enslaved participants, violence against over 200 Blacks by angry mobs and militias, and the passage of draconian laws, including the 1831 act prohibiting enslaved African Americans from attending nighttime religious services, thereby curbing access to preachers (white or Black) who spread abolitionist ideas.

In the face of this rising racism, African American communities created spaces where they could develop their own "spiritual, social, and economic resources free from the provocations and petty humiliations they endured in white institutions."[237] Within that context the nexus of slavery and free Black society is perhaps captured best in the NCA during the Antebellum years (Figure 5.1). At that time in Washington, the lives of free African Americans were affected continually by those of enslaved people living and working in the city. Even as the government hypocritically advocated for the abolition of slavery, pro-slavery cities in the bordering states desired to fortify the practice. This clash created both a space for revolution and freedom as well as great persecution and fear.

A. THE INTERIOR SLAVE TRADE [238]

During the first half of the 1800s, Americans flooded westward into the new territories beyond the Appalachians. The population of northern and eastern Virginia ceased to grow after 1790 and even started to fall; however, the population censuses of the period show that most families had four, five, even six or more children. The stagnant Virginia economy could not provide work for so many young people, and the soils, exhausted by a century of intensive agriculture, could scarcely feed them. So, the children of Virginia headed west in droves. At first they moved due west, into Kentucky and Tennessee, but increasingly they migrated southwest, into Alabama, Mississippi, and (by the 1850s) Texas.

The enslaved population of Virginia and Maryland was growing through natural birth rates, and many of those enslaved joined the exodus to the west. Some moved with their enslavers. It was common for Virginia planters to divide their enslaved workers among their heirs, and many planters' sons and daughters took their share of the family's human property with them when they moved west. Modern historians have not remarked much on this part of the African American migration because it received little comment at the time.

Many of the enslaved African Americans were taken west after they had been sold. This trade was deeply resented by the enslaved people themselves, who were torn away from their homes and families and placed at auction like cattle, and it was the focus of much criticism from abolitionists. Even many enslaving planters disliked the practice, which undercut their paternalistic pretensions: How could they claim to be the guardians of their workers' welfare when they were selling them to be sent to distant lands? But the economic imperatives were so strong that the interior slave trade thrived despite the controversy. The enslaved population on old plantations throughout the Chesapeake was growing rapidly, and the planters simply did not need so many workers. Many

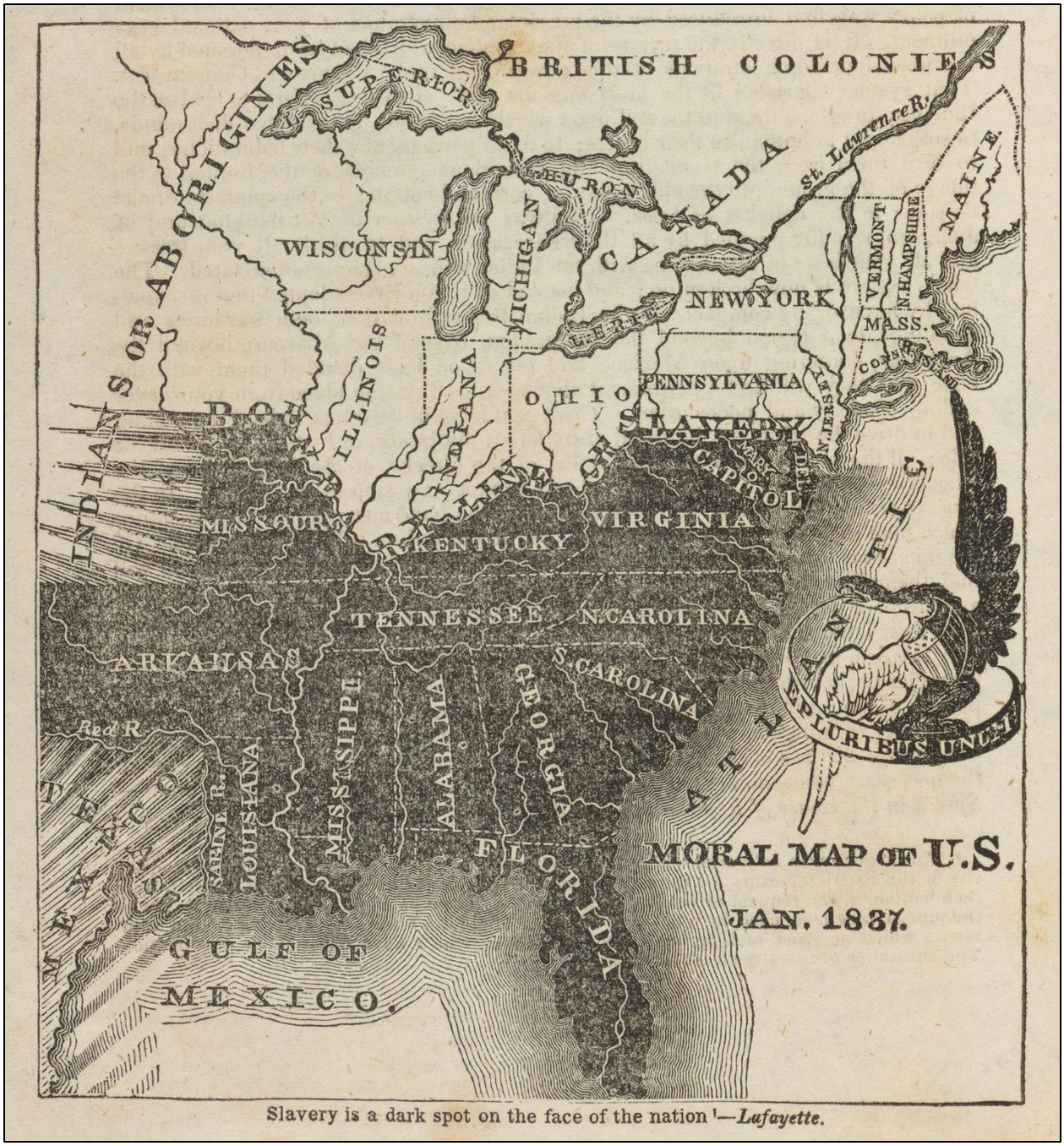


FIGURE 5.1: Moral Map of the United States, January 1837 (Ames 1837)

planters were shifting away from tobacco, a crop that required a great deal of labor, and using their land for less labor-intensive activities such as raising cattle and sheep, growing wheat, or timbering. Faced with a declining need for agricultural workers, a growing dependent population, and the demand for workers in the newly cleared lands in the west, many planters set aside their scruples and sold their "excess" workers. Thomas Jefferson sold enslaved workers as early as 1793, and the Byrds of Westover sold more than 50 in 1814.[239]

The interstate slave trade was a crucial part of American slavery. It helped make slavery economically viable in both exporting and importing areas, it was used by enslavers to discipline their enslaved workers, it dominated the experience of many enslaved people (especially those whose families were divided), and it became politically the most controversial aspect of the peculiar institution. Involving the forced movement of between 500,000 and 800,000 people over a period of 70 years, the interstate slave trade was a major force in the changing demography of North America. The first major historical study of the trade was Frederic Bancroft's *Slave Trading in the Old South,* published in 1931. Bancroft pioneered a demographic approach to the problem, trying to gauge the size of the slave trading business. Using data from the U.S. population census, Bancroft estimated that the interstate movement of enslaved people involved about one million people between 1800 and 1860. The peak period of the trade was in the 1830s, when about 134,000 enslaved people left Virginia; the number declined to 83,000 in the 1840s and 81,000 in the 1850s.[240] So many of the enslaved people went west, either with their enslavers or by sale, that the enslaved population of some Virginia counties shrank by nearly half; the enslaved population of Fairfax County, 6,485 in 1820, had fallen to 3,451 by 1840.[241]

As Bancroft showed, it is not difficult to estimate the total number of enslaved persons who moved west. What is much more difficult is determining how many of those enslaved moved with their enslavers and how many were sold. Bancroft attempted to calculate the size of the slave market from advertisements, shipping records, and other documents, and he estimated that about 70 percent of the enslaved migrants had been sold. Historian Michael Tadman found 97 traders and trading firms active in South Carolina in the 1850s.[242] Tadman identified records of more than 3,000 enslaved people sold to traders in South Carolina, and they were equally divided between men and women. By Tadman's calculation about 80 percent of the enslaved people who moved west had been sold.

Enslaved people moved west from the Chesapeake region in three ways. Some went by ship, mainly to New Orleans. This part of the trade was carefully documented because the trans-Atlantic shipment of enslaved persons had been banned, and maritime traders had to prove that their cargo originated in the United States. But shipments to New Orleans made up only a small part of the total trade. During the 1830s, when more than 200,000 enslaved people moved between states, the New Orleans manifests record only 10,658 names.[243] Some manifests are certainly missing, but as many as half of them probably survive, which would mean that the shipboard trade to New Orleans was only about 10 percent of the total movement. Some enslaved people were sent by foot to the Ohio River, where they were put on boats and floated down to Memphis, Natchez, or New Orleans. The busiest slave port in the United States was probably Wheeling, (now West) Virginia.[244] But the most common method was to march enslaved people overland, chained together in long lines called "coffles" (Figure 5.2). The overland trade left few records, but scattered references in slave traders' records suggest that it made up more than half and perhaps three quarters of the trade.

Usually a coffle was made up of 30 to 40 enslaved people, but some contained more than 100.[245] The process was described by an enslaved man named John Brown, who was sold at the age of 10 and walked by a trader from Virginia to Georgia:

> … we had reached the main road, and had come up with a gang of negroes, some of whom were hand-cuffed two and two, and fastened to a long chain running between the two ranks. There were also a good many women and children, but none of these were chained. The

children seemed to be all above ten years of age, and I soon learnt that they had been purchased in different places, and were for the most part strangers to one another and to the negroes in the coffle. They were waiting for Finney to come up. I fell into the rank, and we set off on our journey to Georgia… Our journey lasted six weeks, as we made a good many stoppages by the way, to enable the speculator, Finney, to buy up, and change away, and dispose of his slaves. I do not recollect the names of all the places we passed through. We crossed the Roanoke river by ferry, and went on to Halifax, and from there to Raleigh in North Carolina…

When I joined the coffle, there was in it a negro woman named Critty, who had belonged to one Hugh Benford. She was married, in the way that slaves are, but as she had no children, she was compelled to take a second husband. Still she did not have any offspring. This displeased her master, who sold her to Finney. Her anguish was intense, and within about four days from the time I saw her first, she died of grief. It happened in the night, whilst we were encamped in the woods. We set off in the morning, leaving her body there.

We noticed, however, that two of Finney's associates remained behind, as we conjectured to dispose of the corpse. They fetched up with us again about two hours after.[246]

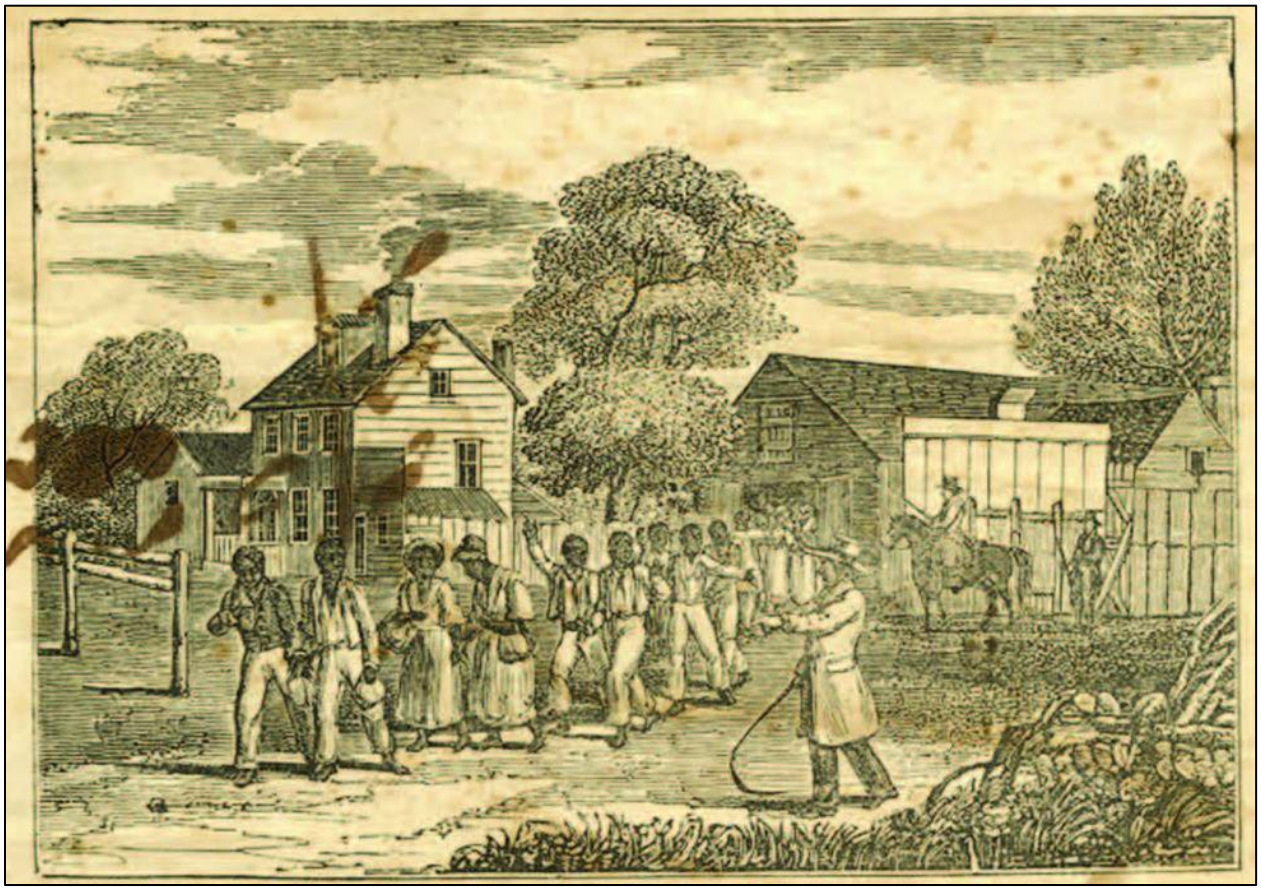


FIGURE 5.2: A Slave Coffle (American Anti-Slavery Society 1836)

Although none of the major secondary works on the slave trade discusses it, railroads must have moved many enslaved people in the 1850s. Jacob Stroyer, who was born in 1849 and lived near Columbus, South Carolina, included in his memoirs this account of a major sale of enslaved individuals on a nearby plantation:

> When the day came for them to leave, some, who seemed to have been willing to go at first, refused, and were handcuffed together and guarded on their way to the cars by white men. The women and children were driven to the depot in crowds, like so many cattle, and the sight of them caused great excitement among master's negroes. Imagine a mass of uneducated people shedding tears and yelling at the tops of their voices in anguish and grief.
>
> The victims were to take the cars from a station called Clarkson turnout, which was about four miles from master's place. The excitement was so great that the overseer and driver could not control the relatives and friends of those that were going away, as a large crowd of both old and young went down to the depot to see them off. Louisiana was considered by the slaves as a place of slaughter, so those who were going did not expect to see their friends again. While passing along, many of the negroes left their masters' fields and joined us as we marched to the cars; some were yelling and wringing their hands, while others were singing little hymns that they were accustomed to for the consolation of those that were going away, such as
>
> "When we all meet in heaven,
> There is no parting there;
> When we all meet in heaven,
> There is parting no more."
>
> We arrived at the depot and had to wait for the cars to bring the others from the Sumterville Jail, but they soon came in sight, and when the noise of the cars died away we heard wailing and shrieks from those in the cars. While some were weeping, others were fiddling, picking banjo, and dancing as they used to do in their cabins on the plantations. Those who were so merry had very bad masters, and even though they stood a chance of being sold to one as bad or even worse, yet they were glad to be rid of the one they knew.
>
> While the cars were at the depot, a large crowd of white people gathered, and were laughing and talking about the prospect of negro traffic; but when the cars began to start and the conductor cried out, "all who are going on this train must get on board without delay," the colored people cried out with one voice as though the heavens and earth were coming together, and it was so pitiful, that those hard hearted white men who had been accustomed to driving slaves all their lives, shed tears like children. As the cars moved away we heard the weeping and wailing from the slaves as far as human voice could be heard; and from that time to the present I have neither seen nor heard from my two sisters, nor any of those who left Clarkson depot on that memorable day.[247]

To facilitate the trade, a new breed of businessman appeared. Bancroft observed that slave traders were already in business by 1818, when men were observed in Winchester, Virginia, wearing signs on their hats that said "Cash for Negroes."[248] More recent scholars have found evidence of active slave traders even earlier, including a man who took out advertisements at Richmond in 1787 stating that he wanted to buy "One hundred Negroes, from 20 to 30 years old, for which a good price will be given." The advertisement further states that the enslaved persons were "to be sent

out of state, therefore we shall not be particular respecting the character of any of them – Hearty and well made is all that is necessary."[249]

Slave traders were viewed as shady characters by many Southerners and Northerners alike. As a Congressman, Abraham Lincoln described a "Slave-Dealer" as a "sneaking individual, of the class of native tyrants" who was not honest or trustworthy, not a person one wished to shake hands with, but with whom enslavers "are obliged to deal with."[250] Despite this negative image, the profits of the trade were so great that there never seems to have been a shortage of men willing to go into the business. The most successful traders were able to buy plantations and join the Southern elite. Isaac Franklin, the most successful of all, owned a grand Tennessee mansion and half a dozen plantations in three states when he died in 1846.

In a major study of slave trading in South Carolina in the 1850s, Michael Tadman found that most South Carolina traders were rather small players. They roamed rural districts in the Piedmont region looking to buy enslaved persons, sometimes taking out advertisements in small local papers. Some were part-timers who also farmed or dealt in other goods, but a majority seem to have been full-time professionals. Many operated for only a few years, however, after which they disappeared from the records.[251] Traders prided themselves on being good judges of value, knowing from a quick inspection how hard a man or woman would work and whether he or she had any disabilities or weaknesses. Children were sometimes valued by the pound, with the idea that their size determined the amount of work they were able to do.[252]

Traders were accused by planters of rigging prices, and there is some evidence that they tried to do so. A letter from trader J.J. Toler describes a large public auction head in Suffolk, Virginia, in 1859, at which he and some associates agreed in advance about which enslaved people they would buy and at what price, only to have their scheme foiled by another cabal of traders.[253] These estate auctions or sheriff's sales were not the largest part of the traders' business, comprising only a few percent of sales. Most often the traders bought one or a family of enslaved people from planters in need of cash, building up a coffle from many purchases. Auctions did, however, play an important role in setting prices for whole regions, giving both buyers and sellers an idea of the state of the market.[254]

Trade in the larger centers, including Baltimore, Alexandria, Richmond, and Charleston, was organized differently. In these cities some of the larger traders operated permanent facilities, called "slave jails," at which they kept their own captives and boarded other enslaved people for itinerant traders (Figure 5.3). These firms were often organized as partnerships, with one partner handling the buying in the Chesapeake and the other the selling in New Orleans or Natchez. Others acted as brokers, bringing together small, local dealers with long-distance traders, or as auction clearinghouses. Newspaper reports indicate that the larger houses did as much as two million dollars in business per year.[255]

Some planters from Mississippi and Alabama preferred to cut out the middleman and travel to Virginia to buy enslaved workers for themselves. Hotels in Richmond and Baltimore catered to these travelers by providing slave jails on the premises where their purchases could be kept until they were ready to leave. Some planters went out searching for enslaved workers to buy, but others took out newspaper ads and waited for sellers to come to them. Their advertisements were careful to specify that they were not traders but "gentlemen" who were buying enslaved workers "for their



FIGURE 5.3: "Slave Jail, Alexandria, Virginia:" a Photograph in the Library of Congress Civil War Collection (LOC)

own use and not for sale."[256] Some went north hoping to save money by cutting out the 20 to 30 percent profits earned by slave traders. Others wanted to make inquiries about the character of the enslaved people they were buying, since they knew that some enslavers sold their most troublesome workers to dealers. Some seem to have been trying to avoid the most sordid and troublesome aspects of buying enslaved people by taking a personal interest. They advertised that they wanted to buy families and that they intended to keep families together. Some professional slave traders saw planters as rivals and resented their intrusion into the market, but some traders tried to make alliances with planters, offering their assistance in finding enslaved persons to purchase, boarding them, and transporting them to the planters' home states—for a price, of course. Trader James Hutcherson of Alexandria took out an advertisement in 1827 offering to

"visit persons who are strangers in the market" and advise them about how to find and purchase workers.[257]

The slave trade was always the most fiercely contested aspect of American slavery, followed by the expansion of slavery into new territories and states. Abolitionist outrage over the horrors of the Middle Passage from Africa led to a ban on the international trade written into the U.S. Constitution, but no limitations were placed on the domestic trade. Enslavers and their apologists liked to say that they took better care of their enslaved workers than Northern factory owners did of their own employees. But nothing emphasized the difference between enslaved and free workers like the sight of people standing on the block, waiting to be sold, while their relatives wept in the background (Figure 5.4).

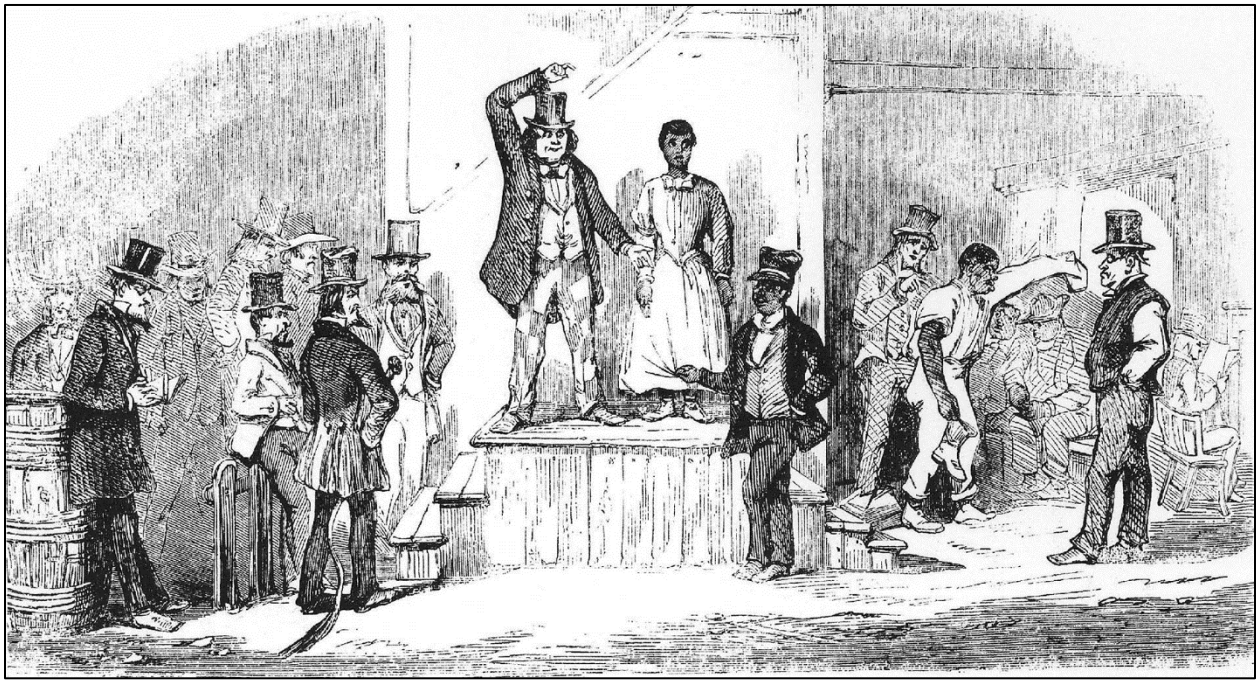


FIGURE 5.4: A Slave Auction (Tadman 1989)

Defenders of slavery treated the slave trade as an aberration, and they sometimes placed all the blame for its miseries on the traders. One apologist, N.L. Rice, said in an 1845 debate that "the slave trader was looked upon with disgust by all decent men… none but a monster could inflict anguish upon unoffending men for the sake of accumulating wealth."[258] Abolitionists, on the other hand, regarded the slave trade as the essence of slavery, and they resisted the attempts by apologists to demonize slave traders. One Scottish visitor to the South wrote that slave trading "was a sore subject with the defenders of slavery….They fain would… load all the iniquities of the system on [the trader's] unlucky back."[259] As Harriet Beecher Stowe put it in *The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*,

> If there is an ill-used class of men in the world it is certainly the slave-traders: for if there is no harm in the institution of slavery . . . then there is no earthly reason why a man may not as innocently be a slave-trader as any other kind of trader.[260]

Abolitionists had long focused their ire on the "traffic in human souls." Dr. Adam Clark, an early British abolitionist, summed up their position in a sermon on the book of Isaiah, when he asked,

"How can any nation pretend to fast, or worship God, or dare profess to believe in the existence of such a being, while they carry on what is called the slave trade, and traffic in the souls, blood, and bodies of men?"[261]

William Wells Brown, a self-liberated, formerly enslaved man who became an abolitionist and a conductor on the Underground Railroad, wrote that "gangs of slaves on their way to the southern market" were a common sight in his native Kentucky: "This trade presents some of the most revolting and atrocious scenes which can be imagined."[262] As abolitionists constantly pointed out, the essence of slavery was "reducing men to articles of property," and the defining attribute of a piece of property was that it could be bought and sold.[263] All talk of enslavers as devoted fathers who cared for their enslaved workers as their children had to be exposed as a cover for what was really an economic relationship between a property owner and chattel property. A focus on the dehumanization inherent in the slave market was the perfect way to make this point, and the abolitionists did so often.[264]

Some planters were ambivalent about the slave trade, and this ambivalence was reflected in their business practices. Some enslavers were willing to take lower prices from buyers who promised to keep families together. Others tried to deal only with planters who came in person to make their purchases, refusing to sell to traders. Some buyers tried to obtain families together. These scruples did have some impact on the market. Historians have found that the breakup of immediate families was rare, especially the separation of mothers from young children. But it was perfectly legal, and it did happen. The trade continued, not because of the machinations of a few perfidious slave traders but because of the powerful economic forces that encouraged it. For enslavers, enslaved people were first and foremost tools, not people. They existed to profit their enslavers. For many Virginia enslavers, their large enslaved populations had become economic liabilities, whereas farther south more enslaved persons would help planters in cotton states make more money. That was the reality. As long as enslaved people were more valuable in some places than in others, they would be bought, sold, and transported.

1. Alexandria as a Slave Port

The city of Alexandria was a hub of America's internal trade in enslaved people from the early to mid-1800s (Figure 5.5). This interstate trade, which grew rapidly after the African Slave Trade Act of 1807 prohibited bringing captives from Africa, became a focal point for the ongoing national debate about slavery. The Alexandria slave markets, in particular, became a symbol of the greed, outrage, fear, and human tragedy inherent to the business as the public furor over slavery reached fever pitch in the years before the Civil War.

When Alexandria was established in 1740, the city, nestled within prime tobacco country and sited at the crux of the Potomac River and the Chesapeake Bay, rapidly became a major port for the export of wheat and tobacco. By the time of the Revolution, Alexandria was the center of an extensive and lucrative agricultural network, and the city enjoyed a corresponding boom.[265] Between 1800 and 1820, however, Virginia planters endured a crippling economic depression, the result of soil depletion and low market prices for tobacco and wheat. Alexandria had relied on Virginia's agricultural abundance to support its export-based economy. Although Washington, DC and Alexandria had relatively successful slave markets as early as 1800, the (illegal) continuation



FIGURE 5.5: Slaves Being Rowed to a Ship Anchored off Alexandria (American Anti-Slavery Society 1836)

of the African slave trade, the city's brief occupation by the British during the War of 1812, and a financial crisis in 1819 inhibited significant growth of the internal slave trade until the 1820s. At the beginning of that decade, however, Alexandria's slave markets emerged as a significant economic force. William Beckman and Elijah Ogden, at the vanguard of Alexandria's powerful slave-trading network, ran frequent advertisements for "likely young negroes" in the *Alexandria Gazette* between 1820 and 1825.[266] Beckman and Ogden were not residents of Alexandria but traveled from place to place in the course of their business.

In the first quarter of the 1800s, Alexandria's slave traders were either non-residents (like Beckman and Ogden) or owned other businesses, such as hotels or stores, and started trading in enslaved persons as a profitable sideline (like Elias P. Legg, a tavernkeeper). But by 1825 the professionalization of slave trading began, and smaller-scale traders prioritized the trafficking of souls over other businesses.

> SLAVES WANTED:
>
> The subscriber will at all times, pay the highest price in cash for slaves, either single or in families. Letters addressed to me in Alexandria, will be promptly attended to. Sixty or seventy slaves at this time, expressly to go to Tennessee. E.P. Legg.[267]

Legg was soon faced by other competition. John W. Smith advertised in the June 4, 1825, issue of the *Phenix Gazette* that he had succeeded Legg as the proprietor of the Southern Hotel on King

Street and "that he is provided with everything necessary for the comfortable accommodation of travellers and others; that he has made particular provision for gentlemen from the Southern Country and for the security and support of their servants."[268] Smith also expressed a desire "to purchase, about 30 or 40 Negroes of both sexes."[269] Ira Bowman operated from a hotel in Alexandria from 1825 to 1828, purchasing enslaved people from the Chesapeake and sending them down to New Orleans.[270] From 1826 John Armfield advertised his slave-trading business in the *Phenix Gazette* and directed all inquiries to Legg's tavern on St. Asaph Street. Armfield paired with another slave trader, Isaac Franklin, to form Franklin, Armfield & Co. in 1828; their partnership effectively absorbed all of Legg's slave-trading business the following year.[271]

As more and more slave traders converged on Alexandria, protest against the slave trade grew, both nationally and locally. Abolitionists had been active in protesting slavery prior to the enactment of the African Slave Trade Act of 1807 and continued to draw attention to the ongoing American traffic in slaves. The Benevolent Society of Alexandria for Ameliorating and Improving the Condition of the People of Color formed in 1827 and advertised their protest in the *Alexandria Gazette* alongside the frequent advertisements of the slave dealers. Their primary concern appears to have been for the morale of the white population of the city:

> These enormous cruelties cannot be practiced among us, without producing a sensible effect upon the morale of the community; for the temptation to participate in so lucrative a traffic, though stained with human blood, is too great to be withstood by all; and even many of those who do not directly participate in it, become so accustomed to its repulsive features, that they cease to discourage it in others.[272]

The potential for profit alluded to by the Benevolent Society far outweighed concerns about public morale. The city's rising slave-trading firm in the 1830s (perhaps even the largest in the nation) was Franklin, Armfield & Co., which leased the property at 1315 Duke Street[xviii] to use as a headquarters and a slave pen. Franklin and Armfield announced their business and new location in an 1828 advertisement in the *Alexandria Gazette*:

> CASH IN MARKET
>
> The subscribers having leased for a term of years the large three story brick house on Duke Street, in the town of Alexandria, D.C., formerly occupied by Gen. Young, we wish to purchase one hundred and fifty likely young negroes of both sexes between the ages of 8 and 25 years. Persons who wish to sell will do well to give us a call, as we are determined to give more than any other purchasers that are in market, or that may hereafter come into market.
>
> Any letter addressed to the subscribers through the Post Office at Alexandria, will be promptly attended to. For information, enquire at the above described house, as we can at all times be found there.[273]

Franklin and Armfield became Alexandria's largest and most successful slave-trading firm. In addition to the slave pen in Alexandria (Figure 5.6), they operated a fleet of slave ships, and their contacts in New Orleans and Natchez, Mississippi, enabled them to eliminate middlemen and locate reliable sources and outlets for enslaved workers. As their business grew, they dominated

[xviii] Now the Freedom House Museum owned and operated by the City of Alexandria.

the market so completely that other slave traders became unofficial agents of their company.[274] By 1836, when Franklin and Armfield began preparations for the dissolution of their partnership, they had exported over 3,750 enslaved men, women, and children to the South. Armfield leased the Alexandria slave pen and the brig to George Kephardt in 1837, then entered a partnership with Rice C. Ballard (Franklin & Armfield's Richmond agent) and spent several years completing the business of Franklin & Armfield before ending all business ventures in 1841.[275]

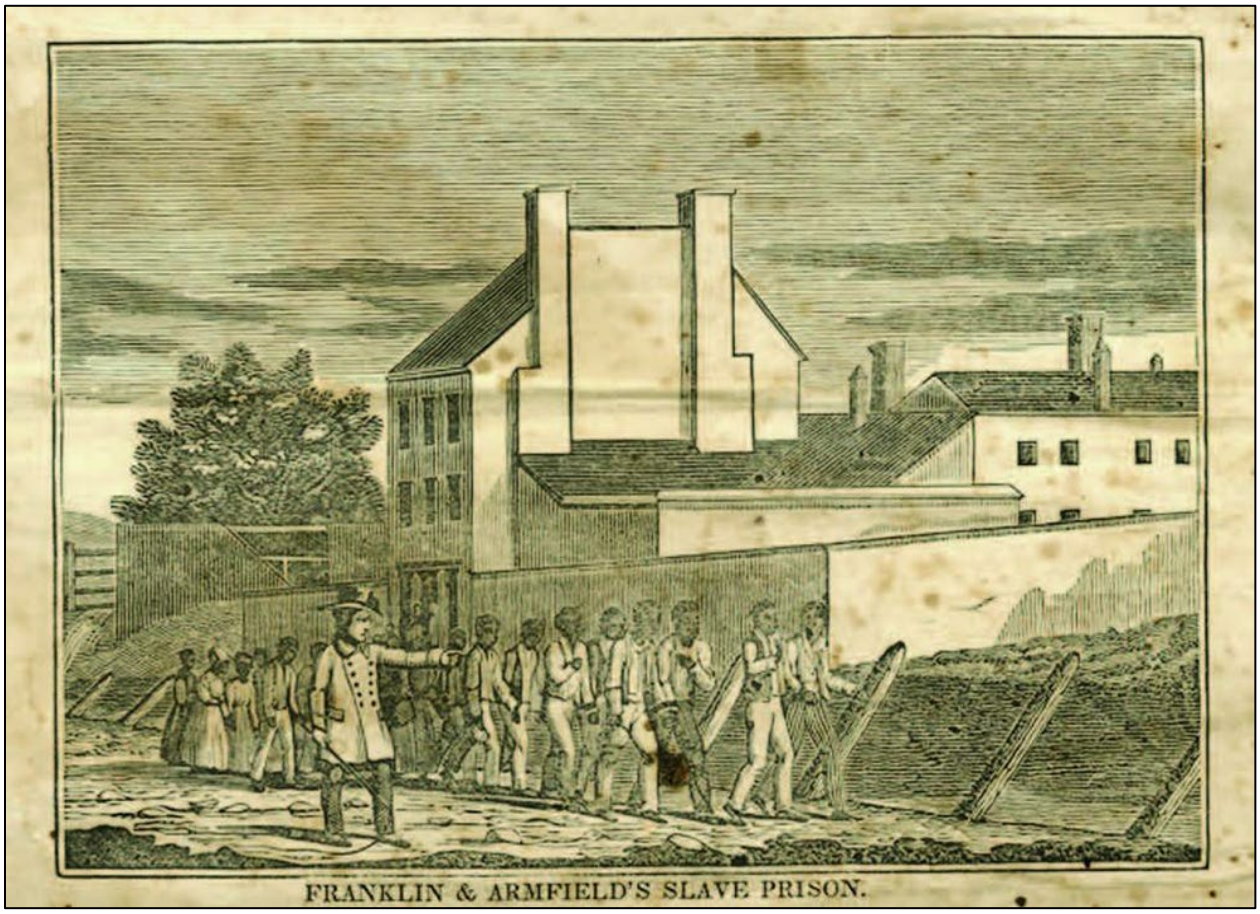


FIGURE 5.6: Franklin & Armfield Slave Prison, Alexandria (American Anti-Slavery Society 1836)

After the Panic of 1837, Alexandria's importance declined as a port in general and in the slave trade in particular. Merchants from Baltimore and Richmond dominated the business in the 1840s, but the success of Franklin and Armfield bestowed upon Alexandria a lingering reputation as a slave-trading center that continued to attract smaller slave-trading enterprises as the economy recovered and demand for enslaved workers increased. Kephardt, Robert Windsor, the firm of Price, Birch & Co, and Joseph Bruin with Henry P. Hill (Bruin & Hill) all vied for business in Franklin & Armfield's wake.[276]

In *Slave Trading in the Old South,* Bancroft offers descriptions of several slave trading operations with connections to Alexandria, including a brief note that "one of the most notorious of these [slave traders] was Joseph Bruin, who was also well-known in New Orleans."[277] Bruin began his highly successful career in the interstate slave trade in Virginia and was described in newspaper advertisements as a "trader in negroes" as early as 1831, when he was only 22.[278] He started as an

apprentice to Kephardt, who had taken over the firm of Franklin & Armfield. Bruin traveled to slave markets in Virginia and New Orleans as well as to rural counties, where he purchased enslaved persons directly. By 1835 he had established a warehouse and partnerships in New Orleans and returned to Virginia to build the supply end of his business.

Kephardt had tried and failed to emulate former business associates Franklin & Armfield's business model in his own slave-trading enterprise. Part of his problem was that Franklin & Armfield had maintained contacts in Baltimore and Richmond who ensured that all trade passed through their hands, while Kephardt had to compete with the traders in those cities. Furthermore, both Baltimore and Richmond traders had access to railroads, which enabled interstate trade, but Alexandria's importance in all commercial enterprises had diminished significantly by the time Kephardt set up shop. It was no longer possible to create a business on the scale of Franklin & Armfield in Alexandria; traders like William Hope Slatter and James Donovan in Baltimore or Bacon Tait in Richmond had a secure grip on the market. For a few years around 1840, Kephardt was a major trader in Alexandria, but he closed the firm of Kephardt & Company in 1843, one year before Bruin opened his establishment.

The price of enslaved persons was part of a complex economic web. Demand for enslaved laborers increased as the demand for (and price of) cotton rose. There were small fluctuations in the slave market in the early 1840s, related to the Mexican War, the entrenchment of the plantation system in the Deep South, and the improving economy in Virginia. The market had stabilized, more or less, by the mid-1840s, and it was at that time that Bruin decided to establish his headquarters in Alexandria. Kephardt continued working in Alexandria but did not rival Bruin's success in the period leading up to the Civil War (at one point Kephardt used money Bruin had advanced to him to buy enslaved individuals in Virginia).[279] In 1846 Kephardt purchased the former Franklin & Armfield building at 1315 Duke Street; 13 years later, he leased the property to (and went into partnership with) Charles M. Price, William H. Birch, and John C. Cook. The four men operated the slave-trading firm Price, Birch & Co. from the 1315 Duke Street property until 1861.[280]

By the end of the 1840s, Bruin & Hill had become the largest slave-trading firm in Alexandria. Bruin operated his slave pen at 1707 Duke Street, only a few blocks north of Kephardt's (formerly Franklin & Armfield) 1315 Duke Street slave pen, from 1844 to 1861. Bruin owned two adjacent lots that each had a house and outbuildings upon them when he purchased them. The eastern lot held a two-story brick house built about 1820 that served as the Bruin family residence; the slave jail was a two-story brick house to the west (1707 Duke Street).[xix] Other structures on the property included a barracks, a detached kitchen, and a wash house with a cistern.[281] A map drawn for an insurance policy in 1853 clearly shows these buildings (Figure 5.7) as well as a brick structure attached to the building at 1707 Duke Street on the east side, which is identified as a wash house. According to the 1850 census,[xx] Bruin, aged 42, lived with his wife Martha (née Rust), aged 28; their three daughters, aged nine years, four years, and one year; and with Bruin's 80-year-old mother, Mary. By 1860 Bruin's family had grown to seven children (two sons and five daughters). The 1860 census reported that he owned $100,000 in real estate and $100,000 in personal property.

[xix] It is important to distinguish between Bruin's family residence and the building that housed his slave-trading activities. Although the building at 1707 Duke Street was used as a dwelling before Bruin's tenure, it was used as the main part of the slave jail while Bruin owned it.

[xx] He is listed as "Brewen," which is erroneously transcribed as "Brewer" in the printed index.

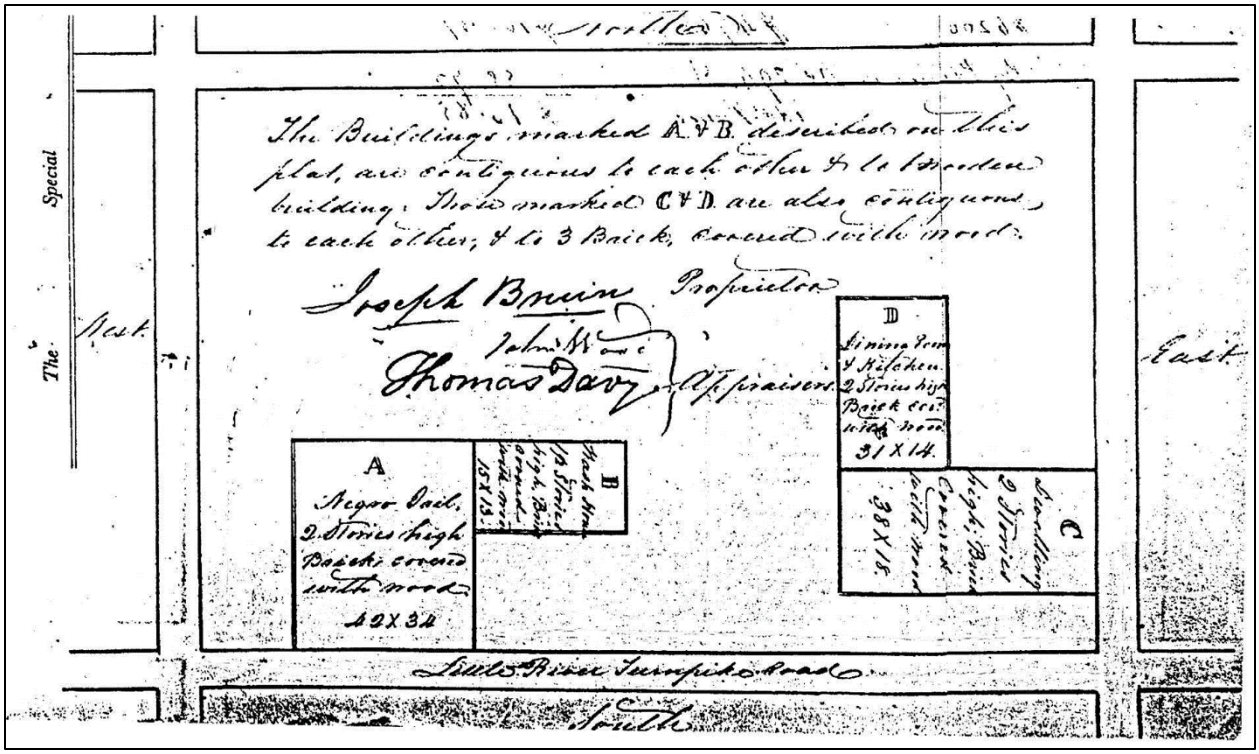


FIGURE 5.7: The Bruin Slave Jail Shown on a Map Drawn for an Insurance Policy in 1853 (Alexandria Archaeology)

In the two decades preceding the Civil War, Bruin became the most successful and best-known slave trader in Alexandria. None of Bruin's business records survive today to illustrate the full scope of his operation, but much can be learned from the few other records that have been preserved. The 1850 census provides one glimpse of Bruin's business. When the census taker came, Bruin had 32 enslaved persons on his property. Of these, 14 were women and 12 were men; eight entries are illegible. The ages ranged from seven to 43. The 1860 slave schedule for Fairfax County records at least 15 enslaved persons associated with Bruin, although the records are nearly illegible. Bruin regularly placed advertisements in the *Alexandria Gazette*, including one that said he was seeking "50 Negroes Immediately."[282]

> CASH FOR NEGROES
>
> I wish to purchase immediately, for the South, and number of NEGROES from 10 to 30 years of age, for which I will pay the very highest cash price. All communications promptly attended to.
>
> West End, Alexandria, Va. Oct. 26. –tf. JOSEPH BRUIN[283]

From the 1840s until Union troops seized the property in 1861, enslaved African Americans were brought to the 1707 Duke Street slave jail as Bruin brokered their exchange to plantations in the Deep South. Bruin's tenure in Alexandria was distinctly different from that of his predecessors, Franklin & Armfield. Earlier slave traders arranged huge shipments of people to New Orleans and Mississippi, often sending 100 or more people at a time. This was possible because, as the Virginia economy slumped, the so-called surplus of enslaved workers was readily available to fill

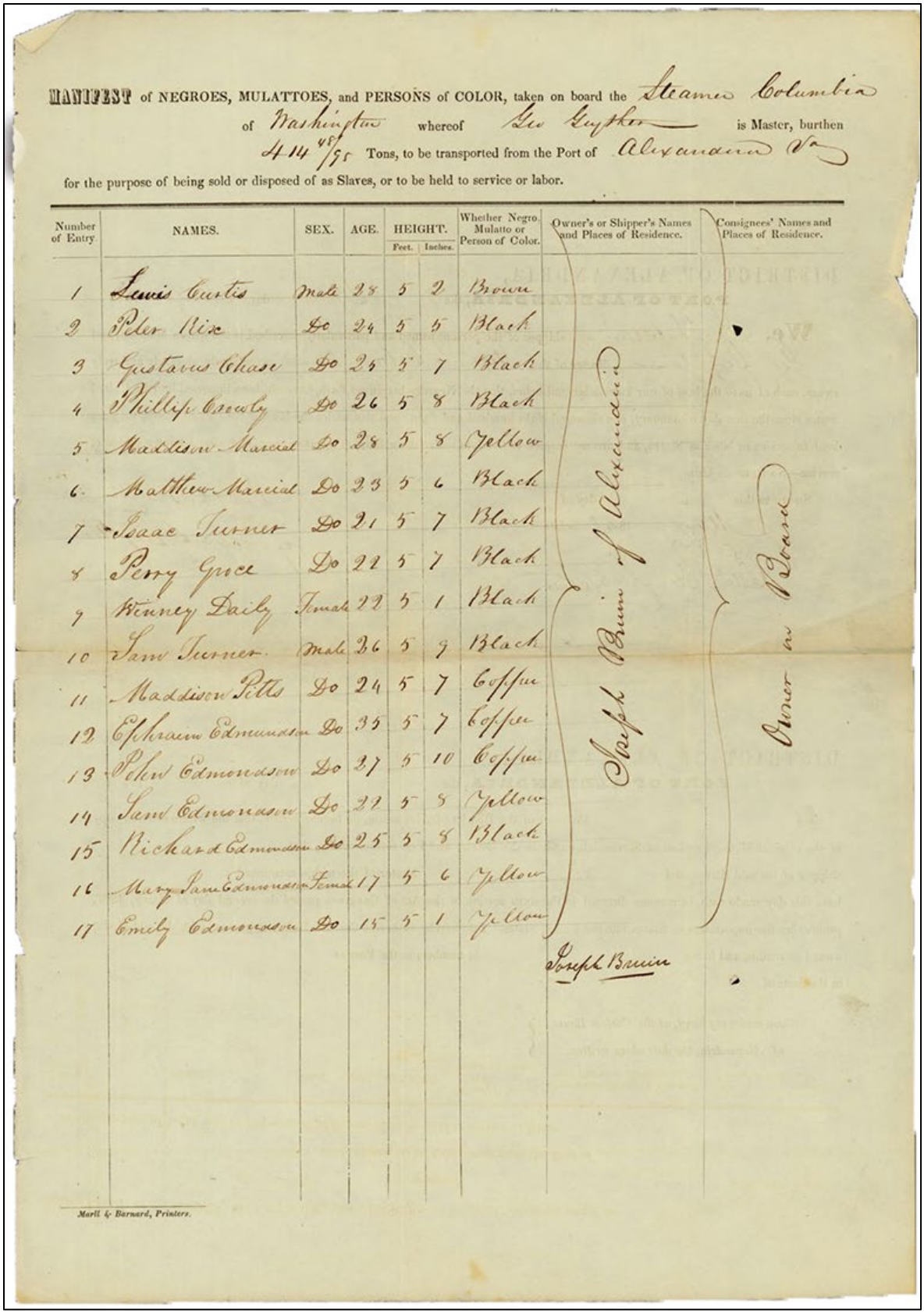
the huge demand for labor as plantations became established in the Southern states. This demand was fueled by early losses caused by sickness as well as the magnitude of the work. As the South's cotton economy boomed and cities and towns grew, there was a greater demand for enslaved persons with specialized skills in addition to workers for the fields.[284]

Only a handful of outward shipping manifests from the Port of Alexandria survive from the period when Bruin was in business. Of the 40 on file at the New-York Historical Society, nine represent shipments made by Bruin, and these include the years 1845 to 1849. These manifests include the names, ages, sex, and heights of the enslaved persons being shipped and occasionally the destination. When he shipped enslaved persons from Alexandria, Bruin sent them on steamships to Baltimore, Richmond, Washington, or the smaller Virginia ports of Dumfries and Aquia. Voyages took place at all times of the year. Bruin sent only small groups, always fewer than 20 people. From these ports enslaved individuals were coalesced into larger groups and sent by brig or schooner to New Orleans. Figure 5.8 shows the shipping manifest that includes members of the Edmonson family, and Table 5.4 lists the ages and sexes of all the people Bruin shipped. The nine surviving manifests that list people transported by Bruin contain a total of 87 names, 45 of which are female and 42 male. This is only a sample of the people Bruin bought and sold, and it may not be representative. The lists vary a great deal from one other. For example, a list from July 11, 1845, includes 16 people, of whom four are mothers with a total of six young children, and a list from May 2, 1848, includes 17 names, 14 of whom are men aged between 20 and 30 years. Most of the people shipped were in their teenage years or in their twenties, as youth had the greatest value. It appears that all the children younger than 10 years old were traveling with their mothers. From interviews with former enslaved persons, from several of the letters described by Stowe in *The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and from abolitionist newspapers, it is apparent that Bruin & Hill participated in one of the more loathsome specialty markets for enslavers. The "fancy girl" market, in which lighter-complexioned, enslaved women were sold into prostitution, was frequently the subject of Northern abolitionists' most impassioned pleas to end the practice of slavery altogether.[285] It is also especially important in the history of Bruin's enterprise and is highlighted by the events surrounding the famous slave escape on the schooner *Pearl* in April 1848).

TABLE 5.4: AGE AND SEX OF PERSONS SOLD BY JOSEPH BRUIN, FROM SHIPPING MANIFESTS

AGE	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
0-4	6	3	9
5-10	4	1	5
11-15	13	4	17
16-20	14	8	22
21-30	6	20	26
31-40	2	3	5
41-50	.	3	3
Total	45	42	87

New-York Historical Society



MANIFEST of NEGROES, MULATTOES, and PERSONS of COLOR, taken on board the Steamer Columbia of Washington whereof Geo Gephart is Master, burthen 414 48/95 Tons, to be transported from the Port of Alexandria Va for the purpose of being sold or disposed of as Slaves, or to be held to service or labor.

Number of Entry	NAMES.	SEX.	AGE.	HEIGHT. Feet.	HEIGHT. Inches.	Whether Negro, Mulatto or Person of Color.	Owner's or Shipper's Names and Places of Residence.	Consignees' Names and Places of Residence.
1	Lewis Curtis	Male	28	5	2	Brown	Joseph Bruin of Alexandria	Owner in Orleans
2	Peter Rice	Do	24	5	5	Black		
3	Gustavus Chase	Do	25	5	7	Black		
4	Phillip Cranly	Do	26	5	8	Black		
5	Maddison Marcial	Do	28	5	8	Yellow		
6	Matthew Marcial	Do	23	5	6	Black		
7	Isaac Turner	Do	21	5	7	Black		
8	Perry Grice	Do	22	5	7	Black		
9	Rinney Daily	Female	22	5	1	Black		
10	Sam Turner	Male	36	5	9	Black		
11	Maddison Pitts	Do	24	5	7	Copper		
12	Ephraim Edmondson	Do	35	5	7	Copper		
13	John Edmondson	Do	37	5	10	Copper		
14	Sam Edmondson	Do	22	5	8	Yellow		
15	Richard Edmondson	Do	25	5	8	Black		
16	Mary Jane Edmondson	Female	17	5	6	Yellow		
17	Emily Edmondson	Do	15	5	1	Yellow		

Joseph Bruin

Marll & Barnard, Printers.

FIGURE 5.8: Shipping Manifest for the *Columbia*, May 2, 1848 (New-York Historical Society)

2. Slave Trading in Washington, DC

Prior to the Civil War, the District of Columbia became a hub for slave trading between the Upper and Lower South. As the cotton industry grew in Lower South states such as Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, the demand for enslaved workers rose. Planters in DC, Virginia, and Maryland eagerly sold their enslaved workers, and a steady stream of people was sent south and southwest by water and land. By the mid-1800s the case for abolition had begun to take hold in DC, which only encouraged the traders to sell more people south.

Abolitionists led by Theodore Dwight Weld campaigned against slavery in local newspapers and other publications, focusing on the contradiction of having enslaved people imprisoned in the capital of the "Land of the Free." Brochures included images of the Capitol building with shackled, enslaved persons being walked by (Figure 5.9), self-liberators with posted rewards, mothers and daughters imprisoned in slave jails, and the Alexandria waterfront with a ship holding enslaved individuals. Text on the posters included script from the Constitution in an argument against slavery as well as facts presented on the atrocities against enslaved people in the city.

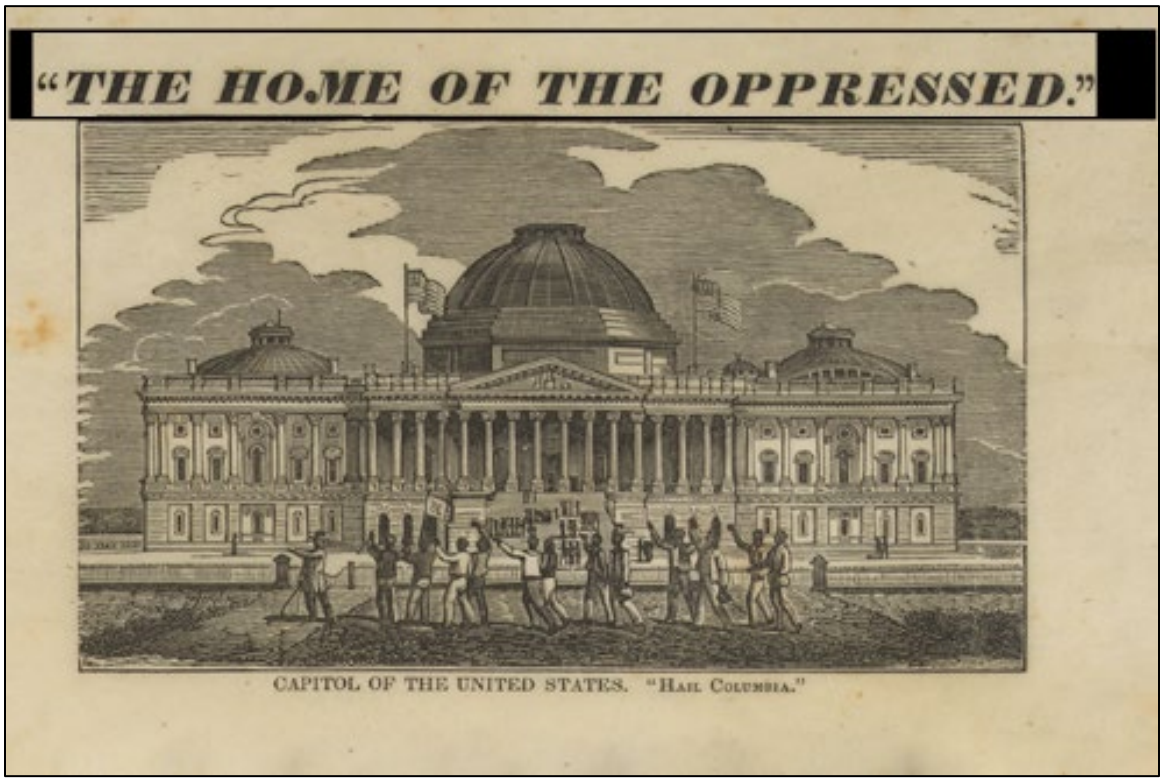


FIGURE 5.9: "The Home of the Oppressed": an Image from an Anti-Slavery Brochure, Washington, DC, 1836 (American Anti-Slavery Society 1836)

When the District of Columbia was first established, Alexandria and Georgetown retained the laws of their parent states, Virginia and Maryland, respectively. In 1796 Maryland enacted a law "to prevent visitors entering the state from selling their slaves for merely speculative purposes." The law required enslavers to establish residency in Maryland for three years before selling their enslaved workers. This meant that Virginians had to establish residency before selling their enslaved servants in Washington and Georgetown. As an exception, if an enslaver was entering

Maryland, Washington, or Georgetown to establish residency, they were permitted to bring their enslaved servants with them.[286] Such laws governing the sale and importation of enslaved persons in the DC area did not restrict or undermine the development of the slave trade significantly. Sellers simply had to establish residency north of the Potomac River to sell to any buyer. The Compromise of 1850 eliminated the importation of enslaved people at the depot in DC; however, the retrocession of Alexandria to Virginia four years previously allowed dealers simply to cross the river and house enslaved people in Alexandria before transporting them farther south.

Two major slave dealers operated in DC who purchased, housed, and shipped large numbers of enslaved people from the district to the Deep South: Thomas Williams and Joseph Birch. Birch, who had an operation in Alexandria, used jails in the United States Hotel (on Pennsylvania Avenue between 3rd and 4½ streets, NW) and the St. Charles Hotel (on the northeast corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and 3rd Street, NW) when in Washington.[287] Williams routinely advertised his services to Washingtonians in the *National Intelligencer*. Historian Mary Beth Corrigan describes an advertisement in January 1846 in which Williams "offered to buy 'any number' of slaves for the New Orleans market and 'will give at all times the highest market price in case for likely young negroes. Those willing to sell, call at his est., corner of 7th Sts. And Md. Ave., where he and agent can be seen at any time.'"[288] Corrigan notes that auctions were common in Antebellum Washington and catered to either dealers or specific buyers. Corrigan states that auctions were held in the 1830s and 1840s at the Indian Queen Hotel, on the northwest corner of 6th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW. These occurrences further divided enslaved families in the city and motivated abolitionists in their efforts to reform Washington.

Feared by free Black residents of DC, slave dealers skirted the law by seizing free Blacks and holding them in pens to sell into slavery. The city instituted an $800 fine for kidnapping a free Black resident, but proof of freedom was often destroyed by the kidnappers, making it hard for captives to prove their free status. In instances when free Blacks were imprisoned for lack of a certificate of freedom, they were presumed enslaved and held until they revealed proof of freedom. If no former enslaver or burden of proof came about, the prison would sell them to "recoup the cost of imprisonment."[289]

> NOTICE. Was committed to the prison of Washington Co. D.C., on the 19th day of May 1834, as a run-away, a Negro Man who calls himself David Peck. He is 5 feet 8 inches high. Had on, when committed, a check shirt, linen pantaloons, and straw hat. He says he is free and belongs to Baltimore. The owner or owners, are hereby requested to come forward, prove him, and take him away, or he will be sold for his prison and other expenses, as the Law Directs.
>
> James Williams, Keeper of the Prison of Washington County, District of Columbia, for Alexander Hunter, M.D.C.[290]

The Williams slave jail, known as the Yellow House, was located on C Street at the present location of the Federal Aviation Administration's Orville Wright Federal Building, between 7th and 8th streets by B Street and Maryland Avenue, south of the National Mall. President Abraham Lincoln recounted his view of the Yellow House, which was visible from the Capitol, as "a sort of negro-livery stable, where droves of negroes were collected, temporarily kept, and finally taken to Southern markets, precisely like droves of horses.[291] The Yellow House was described by Solomon Northup in 1841, a free Black man kidnapped in DC and held there:

> The light admitted through the open door enabled me to observe the room in which I was confined. It was about twelve feet square—the walls of solid masonry. The floor was of heavy plank. There was one small window, crossed with great iron bars, with an outside shutter, securely fastened.
>
> An iron-bound door led into an adjoining cell, or vault, wholly destitute of windows, or any means of admitting light. The furniture of the room in which I was, consisted of the wooden bench on which I sat., an old-fashioned, dirty box stove, and besides these, in either cell, there was neither bed, no blanket, nor any other thing whatever. The door, through which Burch and Radburn entered, led through a small passage, up a flight of steps into a yard, surrounded by a brick wall ten or twelve feet high, immediately in rear of a building of the same width as itself. The yard extended rearward from the house about thirty feet. In one part of the wall there was a strongly ironed door, opening into a narrow, covered passage, leading along one side of the house into the street. The doom of the colored man, upon whom the door leading out of that narrow passage closed, was sealed. The top of the wall supported one end of a roof, which ascended inwards, forming a kind of open shed. Underneath the roof there was a crazy loft all round, where slaves, if so disposed, might sleep at night, or in inclement weather seek shelter from the storm. It was like a farmer's barnyard in most respects, save it was so constructed that the outside world could never see the human cattle that were herded there.
>
> The building to which the yard was attached, was two stories high, fronting on one of the public streets of Washington. Its outside presented only the appearance of a quiet private residence. A stranger looking at it, would never have dreamed of its execrable uses. Strange as it may seem, within plain sight of this same house, looking down from its commanding height upon it, was the Capitol. The voices of patriotic representatives boasting of freedom and equality, and the rattling of the poor slave's chains, almost commingled. A slave pen within the very shadow of the Capitol![292]

Numerous DC slave traders used the Yellow House to imprison recently purchased or captured enslaved persons before selling them south, including Birch, who was notorious in Washington for his dealings with the New Orleans slave market.[293] Following the 1844 election of Democratic candidate James Polk and the Compromise of 1850, which ended the importation of enslaved people to DC, the Yellow House had been torn down by 1854.[294]

3. The Spatial Organization of the Slave Trade

The geography of sales and auctions of enslaved individuals in Washington, DC drew a great deal of attention in the antebellum period and still does. The spectacle of auctions and coffles of enslaved people within sight of the Capitol and the White House aroused horror among many people at the time and still has the capacity to shock. Many people have therefore searched for sites associated with slave trading in Washington, and local lore has been built up about them.

It is important to realize, however, that just as slavery was interwoven into every part of this society, slave trading was also ubiquitous. Most sales of enslaved people in Washington were not auctions. They were handled privately, settled with a handshake and a signature on a deed. Such sales could take place anywhere. It seems certain that slave sales took place in all of the city's better hotels. At least two, the United States Hotel and the St. Charles Hotel, had their own slave jails for the convenience of planters who had come up from the southwest to make purchases in or

around the city.[295] Other sales were made in the business office of slave traders, or in the officers of the lawyers who drew up the deeds. Many were made at plantations in the surrounding area. Most sales of human beings in Washington did not therefore involve much public spectacle or take place at one of the infamous nodes of the trade like the Yellow House.

Auctions of enslaved people were held in the District. The main sites seem, again, to have been hotels located on the city's "main street"—Pennsylvania Avenue—and within blocks of the United States Capitol. Mary Beth Corrigan documented auctions that took place at the Indian Queen Hotel, which was at 6th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, near the Central Market.[296] Internet sources also suggest that auctions took place at the United States Hotel, located only three blocks west of the Capitol on Pennsylvania Avenue; the St. Charles Hotel, two blocks west of the Capitol on Pennsylvania Avenue; and at the Yellow House, seven blocks southeast of the Capitol, on C Street between 9th and 7th streets, SW.[297] It is certainly possible that auctions were held at public markets, such as the Central Market and Lafayette Square, but to date this has not been documented. The best answer to the question of where slave sales were carried out in Washington seems to be the hotels along Pennsylvania Avenue between the Capitol and the White House, looking out on to the route down which the new president parades after the inauguration.

Another place in Washington strongly associated with the slave trade is the southwest waterfront, especially the area around the 7th Street Wharf. That is where the freedom seekers boarded the *Pearl*, one of the District's most dramatic stories. Surviving accounts of people taken out of the city in chains, such as Solomon Northrup, mention being loaded on a ship in that vicinity. No doubt others were loaded onto ships in Georgetown, although that is not as well documented.

From the mid-1700s Georgetown (within the District of Columbia boundaries but its own municipality until 1871) was a working landscape of enslaved labor while the Georgetown waterfront was an embarkation point for enslaved people departing for the South. As early as 1760, John Beattie established himself as a slave dealer in Georgetown and is thought to have imprisoned enslaved persons in a slave pen at 3206 O Street. On the west side of High Street was Beattie's auction house (1351 Wisconsin Avenue), where Beattie sold enslaved people as chattel property. Adjacent was the Montgomery Tavern at 1363-1365 Wisconsin Avenue, where farmers who traveled in from the countryside found lodgings while in town for Beattie's auctions. Taverns were also sites of slave deals and jails, such as Semmes' Tavern at 3206 M Street, named in an 1805 notice in the *National Intelligencer* for an auction; in the 1830s this tavern became McCandless' Tavern, also known for hosting slave auctions.[298] Auctions of enslaved persons were also held in the basement of the Georgetown Market House at 3276 M Street.

By the 1830s, in response to the decline in the tobacco trade, Georgetown had become a preeminent port and market for the intra-American slave trade, in which enslaved people from the Chesapeake were forcibly relocated to cotton, sugar, and rice plantations in the deep South. Two known voyages of the ship *Katherine Jackson* in 1836 and 1838 carried enslaved persons from the Chesapeake to the Mississippi Delta. On November 19, 1836, the *Katherine Jackson* sailed from Georgetown to New Orleans carrying 118 enslaved individuals (62 of whom were children and youths under the age of 16), the property of 11 different enslavers. The ship arrived in New Orleans on December 9, 1836, but the fates of the 113 enslaved passengers (five had disembarked in Alexandria, Virginia) are unknown; presumably some were sold in slave markets in New Orleans, shipped to other states or countries, or were transported to the Mississippi Delta plantations of their

Chesapeake enslavers.[299] In 1838 the same vessel carried 272 souls from Georgetown to New Orleans.[300] The trade of enslaved individuals in Georgetown lasted a century, until it was banned in 1850.[301]

As a Colonial-era riverport similar to Georgetown, Alexandria's business transactions also occurred on the waterfront. Late 1700s newspaper advertisements suggest that sales of enslaved Africans occurred at the wharves, possibly at Carlyle's Wharf at the foot of Cameron Street or at the main tobacco wharf at the foot of King Street. By the early 1800s the trade of enslaved persons in Alexandria occurred within taverns at the heart of the old town. In 1806 John Hodgkin, the proprietor of the Indian Queen Tavern on the northwest corner of St. Asaph and King streets in Alexandria, used the premises to deal in the buying and selling of enslaved people.[302]

By the 1820s Alexandria's slave traders had expanded their enterprises; rather than dealing in the trade of several enslaved individuals at any time, they advertised for scores of people—from 30 to 70 or more. The center of the slave trade shifted from the heart of the old town to its western outskirts, where more land was available. Elias P. Legg operated from his inn, the Southern Hotel, described as "at the upper [west] end of King Street, adjoining the town of Alexandria."[303] Legg's hotel featured a slave pen for itinerant slave traders to house their enslaved captives while in the city. Legg operated there for 15 years while periodically managing the city's Bell Tavern and Eagle Tavern, where he also accommodated slave traffickers. In 1822 Legg purchased the Indian Queen Tavern from Hodgkin, where he greatly expanded his slave-trading business; by 1825 John W. Smith had taken over the Southern Hotel and dealt in the domestic trade of enslaved persons from there.[304]

The west end of Duke and King streets continued to be the epicenters of Alexandria's slave trade in the three decades preceding the Civil War. Franklin & Armfield established a slave jail at their premises at 1315 Duke Street in 1828, and Joseph Bruin had established his headquarters and slave pen at 1707 Duke Street by 1844. Edward Home, a Washington, DC slave trader, reestablished his business on the south side of the 1600 block of King Street, near its intersection with S. Peyton Street, in 1850. In the advertisement announcing his move, he disclosed that his new slave jail—a 40x40-foot brick building—was a convenient distance from the depot of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, for ease of transportation.

B. SLAVERY IN THE FEDERAL CITY OF WASHINGTON AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

1. Enslaved Labor Rebuilding the Federal City

After the White House and Capitol were burned by British troops in 1814, enslaved labor was used in their reconstruction. It took three years to rebuild the White House, which was completed by January 1, 1818.[305] Over 200 enslaved workers had built the original President's House between 1792 and 1800,[306] but the number of enslaved workers in the rebuilding was much lower, and the specific jobs of those workers are not known. An exception is the detail provided by the Treasury records from the Commissioner of Public Buildings, which document the White House payroll from 1818 to 1821. These records list 32 enslaved people employed on the White House grounds over those years, all of whom were hired out by their enslavers for contract wage labor.[307] These hired enslaved laborers did not collect their own wages (which ranged from $0.75 to $1.12 per

day), as the wages were allocated to their enslavers. The practice of hiring out enslaved people in DC was so common that its occurrences outnumbered the number of sales of enslaved persons. Many contracts lasted one year, from January 1 to December 25, leading to the recognition of New Year's Day as "Hiring Day" by the enslaved population.[308]

Payrolls after 1821 do not indicate clearly the use of enslaved labor on the White House grounds. Work may have dwindled during the 1820s and come to an end in the 1830s, as public building projects were completed. The 1830s also mark the first decade in which the percentage of enslaved African Americans in DC dropped below 50 percent. In 1810 the District of Columbia recorded 3,554 enslaved African Americans, who made up around 70 percent of the total Black population in the city. By 1860 only 20 percent of the Black population were enslaved, yet the number had dropped by only 369 people. The actual number of enslaved persons did not comparatively decrease with the dramatic increase in the free Black population (see Table 5.1). Much of the rise in the free Black population can be attributed to the migration of African Americans to DC, with a much smaller portion attributable to the manumission of enslaved Washingtonians. Early 1800s laws in Virginia forced newly freed people to leave the state within one year, which pushed formerly enslaved people across the Potomac River.[309] Similar laws in Maryland had the same effect, resulting in the high number of free African Americans in DC. Others saw Washington as a place of opportunity and migrated willingly.

Washington's African Americans contributed to many aspects of the burgeoning city, including the construction of monumental public buildings, serving presidents and other political leaders, and producing the lasting cultural framework in which the city developed. Early 1800s enslaved labor centered on public building projects, including rebuilding those federal buildings burned in 1814, constructing the Washington Canal from 1815 on, and digging the C&O Canal. Enslaved labor was instrumental in the building and operation of the C&O Canal from its opening to commercial navigation in 1831 through its closure in the early 1900s. Enslaved African Americans quarried stones for the damns, locks, walls, and bridges; navigated boats through the canals; drove mules along the towpath; and provided other integral services. Enslaved people worked alongside white laborers and free Black laborers, the combination of which often caused racial tension and riots, such as the 1835 Snow Riot, in which a white lynch mob attacked free Blacks and their businesses, starting with Beverly Snow's Epicurean Eating House (see Section D.1).

As public building projects diminished in the mid-1800s, enslaved people increasingly worked as domestic servants, including cooks, washers, and butlers.[310] Women were often preferred over men for domestic service. Historian Stephanie Cole surmises that the prevalence of domestic service in Washington stemmed from the city's demographics, economic instability, and white elites struggling to maintain control of society.[311] In its infancy DC was a slave city with 80 percent of African Americans enslaved. After 1815 the combination of a larger Black population, a rather stagnant economy as a result of failed infrastructural projects (such as canals and factories), and competition for work from white laborers translated to limited jobs available for enslaved and free African Americans. As jobs with the federal government declined, the alternative became domestic service.

Some enslavers hired out their enslaved workers for profit or relied on the slave trade when sale was deemed more lucrative. Patterns in the demographics of domestic servants seem to parallel those of the changes in the Black population in the city; the number of enslaved domestic servants

dropped as the free population rose.[312] Table 5.5 shows the total number of enslaved versus free domestic servants from 1800 to 1831, compiled by Stephanie Cole from 931 *National Intelligencer* advertisements.

TABLE 5.5: ADVERTISEMENTS FOR ENSLAVED AND FREE WORKERS, 1801-1831

STATUS OF DOMESTIC	1801-1815	1816-1831	TOTAL
Enslaved	115; 86.5%	535; 75.1%	650; 76.9%
Free	18; 13.5%	177; 24.9%	195; 23.1%
Total	133	712	845

Cole, 371

Cole points out that the percentage of enslaved female domestic servants decreased from 1801 to 1815, and that from 1816 to 1831, the percentage of enslaved male domestic servants increased. For free workers the opposite occurred; the percentage of male workers decreased, and female workers increased. It seems that free workers forced enslaved workers out of their jobs and into domestic service.[313] Typically, enslaved men were younger and less skilled than free men in domestic service. Enslaved male jobs included waiters and houseboys, and free male jobs included carriage drivers and ostlers. Enslaved women, also often younger than free women, typically worked as cooks, nurses, or general house servants while free women worked as housekeepers and seamstresses.[314] Advertisements in the *Daily National Intelligencer* from 1825 and 1834 are representative of these gender patterns:

> A SERVANT FOR SALE. A Young, Negro Man, of established character as a servant, will be sold to a gentleman residing or known in this District, and who may want such a servant for his own use. He is not to be sold on account of fault and it is needless for speculators to apply. Please refer to Mr. Dyer, Auctioneer, at his rooms. March 4-3t.
>
> WANTED TO HIRE, A PLAIN COOK, in a small family. A woman without a family would be preferred. There would be no objection to a slave, if suitable in other respects. For reference, inquire at the Compting Room of this Office. March 4-3t.
>
> SERVANT WANTED. A MALE SERVANT is wanted to attend in a small family and take care of a Horse. A slave would be preferred. Such as one, coming well recommended, (and none other need apply) will hear of a good situation by applying to the subscriber at the Office of the National intelligencer. Thomas Donoho. Jan 8-3t. [315]

As described above, white households increasingly employed free female workers and enslaved male workers, a rather novel circumstance that must have created some tension. The growing free Black population in DC would have undermined enslavers' justifications of slavery in the eyes of the enslaved populations. The presence of free workers among enslaved workers in the same household or place of employment must have contributed to the tense relationships between enslaver and enslaved as well as potentially enslaved and free Blacks.

2. Enslaved Workers at the White House

Records show that at least nine of the first 12 presidents had enslaved people working in the White House: Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, John Tyler, James K. Polk, and Zachary Taylor. Some of the enslaved workers

were brought by the presidential families; others were hired in DC. The enslaved domestics' duties at the White House ranged from cooking and cleaning to gardening and chauffeuring.[316] Enslaved individuals often slept in the attic or in the rooms along the Ground Floor Corridor. Their living arrangements varied, but sometimes they had to sleep in damp or rodent-infested spaces. According to the White House Historical Association, the "first child born at the White House was born into slavery" in March 1802, when Ursula Granger Hughes, a young enslaved cook in the Jefferson household, bore a boy she called Asnet. The boy was born infirm and died within months, at which time Hughes returned to Jefferson's Virginia plantation, Monticello.[317]

John Freeman was an enslaved man hired by Jefferson who became well-liked by the president. Freeman convinced Jefferson to purchase him from his previous enslaver and then sell him to the incoming President Madison. Freeman had married a free woman, Melinda, and they both worked at the White House for Madison until 1815, when Madison granted Freeman his freedom. Freeman worked as a footman, dining room server, and messenger while Melinda worked as a seamstress. During their time at the White House, Freeman and his wife lived on the grounds. By 1825 they had purchased a lot and built a residence on K Street.[318]

During Madison's administration Freeman overlapped with another well-known enslaved worker at the White House, Paul Jennings:

> Among the laborers at the Department of the Interior is an intelligent colored man, Paul Jennings, who was born a slave on President Madison's estate, in Montpelier, Va., in 1799. His reputed father was Benj. Jennings, an English trader there; his mother, a slave of Mr. Madison, and the grand-daughter of an Indian. Paul was a "body servant" of Mr. Madison, till his death, and afterwards of Daniel Webster, having purchased his freedom of Mrs. Madison. His character for sobriety, truth, and fidelity, is unquestioned; and as he was a daily witness of interesting events, I have thought some of his recollections were worth writing down in almost his own language.[319]

Jennings remained with the Madisons until he negotiated his freedom with Madison's widow in 1845.

During Andrew Jackson's presidency, many enslaved workers were brought from his Tennessee plantation, the Hermitage. Jackson purchased Gracey Bradely to work as a seamstress and a lady's maid as well as her sister, Louisa Bradely, to work as a nurse.[320] James Hambleton Christian, a mixed-race man, was enslaved in the White House of President John Tyler from 1841 to 1845. From a conversation with William Still and published in the latter's 1872 book, *The Underground Rail Road*, Still relates that Christian self-reported that he was treated well, was loaned money by Tyler, dressed smartly, ate well, and had ample leisure time at his disposal. Despite this, Christian described his dislike for President Tyler, whose household he came into through Tyler's marriage to Letitia Christian, the daughter of Col. Robert Christian, who was the original enslaver of John Hambleton.

> 'I didn't like Mr. Tyler much'… 'Because Mr. Tyler was a poor man. I never did like poor people. I didn't like his marrying into our family, who were considered very far Tyler superiors'… 'On the plantation…Tyler was a very cross man, and treated the servants very cruelly; but the house servants were treated much better, owing to their having belonged to

> his wife, who protected them from persecution, as they had been favorite servants in her father's family.'[321]

Christian later fled to Canada, where he married a free Black woman from Richmond.

C. DEVELOPMENT OF FREE BLACK SOCIETY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Throughout the 1800s enslaved people living in the vicinity of Washington could acquire formal manumission through will or deed.[322] In Virginia a 1792 act provided the means of manumission via last wills and testaments, and the 1796 Maryland "Act Regarding Negroes" provided manumission by deed. The same Maryland Act that allowed enslavers to grant their enslaved workers freedom denied free African Americans in that state the right to vote or serve in public office, give evidence against a white person, or be a competent witness to the manumission of any enslaved person seeking freedom.[323] Free Black people were prohibited from "living idle, without any visible means of maintenance or going at large through such county and without any visible means of subsistence." Any arrests on this charge could result in being forced to leave the state or forced into sale or servitude for up to six months. In the same year, however, the state officially recognized the citizenship of historically free Blacks for the first time.[324]

Many free Blacks in Virginia and Maryland found the conditions in Washington, DC better than in their home communities, despite the racist hostility targeting African Americans in the nation's capital throughout the 1800s. An influx of Blacks to DC, freeborn and formerly enslaved, seeded the growth of a Black professional and middle class in that city.

1. Homes and Businesses

Occupations of free Black residents of DC followed, in many ways, the same patterns of labor as enslaved people. The federal government employed most free workers in the early 1800s for the construction of public buildings as well as at the Washington Navy Yard. As public building projects diminished, free Blacks found work in white households or similar kinds of hospitality jobs, such as in hotels and boarding houses. Positions that were common for free African Americans in DC but were not as common among the enslaved population included construction and maintenance workers.[325] Women were often maids, laundresses, cooks, cleaners, or midwives while men could be cooks, waiters, coach drivers, barbers, and day-laborers. Professions also emerged: free Blacks could be educators, ministers, doctors, and business entrepreneurs. Many African Americans achieved enough wealth to become property owners, such as Lynch Wormley, a Virginian whose livery stable business enabled him to purchase a lot on Eye Street, NW.[326]

Civilian workers at the Navy Yard were some of the best paid laborers in the city during the first half of the 1800s. The shipyard employed at least 154 craftsmen in 1806, with jobs as ship carpenters, caulkers, blacksmiths, painters, and joiners, and wages ranging from $0.70 to $2.00 per day. By 1820 the Navy Yard employed 380 civilians with an average pay of $1.25 per day. At this wage rate an individual could make up to $300 annually. This proved to be a higher salary than many public workers, including police officers, who made $150 per year, and a market clerk, who made $225. As further comparison, the Mayor of the Georgetown Corporation made $600 in 1828.[327] Although an exact number of Black Navy Yard workers has not been determined, 1845 tax records show a concentration of Black residents, both house owners and renters, living northwest of the shipyard.

Tax records from 1845 also show high concentrations of Black residents south of the Capitol along 4th Street, SW between Independence Avenue and F Street, SW (today the location of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, Social Security Building, and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration). According to Letitia Woods Brown, this neighborhood became a "center of activity and of extensive Negro ownership," beginning as early as 1824. Larger areas of Black residences developed northwest of the Capitol, south of P Street, NW and west of New Jersey Avenue, NW. The earliest Black development in this area began along the east side of 16th Street, NW and clustered along New York Avenue near 13th and 14th streets, NW. Black-owned or rented properties are depicted surrounding Franklin Park (K and Eye streets between 13th and 14th streets, NW) within a one- or two-block radius. Highest concentrations are noted at Eye Street and New York Avenue between 12th and 13th streets, NW, and at K and L streets between 15th and 16th streets, NW.[328]

Another small enclave of Black property owners developed just a few blocks from the White House. It was not uncommon for African American residents to live near the White House, but the majority were enslaved and living with white enslavers. John Freeman, enslaved at the White House during the Madison administration, managed to save enough money to purchase a lot on K Street, NW and build a new residence. John Brent, husband of Elizabeth Edmonson, had a residence nearby at 18th and L streets, NW. Paul Jennings joined the neighborhood in 1854, and the three Syphax brothers (William, Charles, and Colbert) lived as free residents a few blocks away on M and L streets. This small cluster of African American Washingtonians was home to two of the men that helped plan the most famous attempted escape of enslaved people in the city's history: Jennings and Brent plotted with white abolitionists in 1848 for the escape of 77 enslaved persons on the *Pearl*.[329]

Black Washingtonians are generally believed to have "lived in brick or wooden-framed houses in alleyways, built in the middle of blocks behind more stately buildings fronting the main streets and occupied by whites."[330] Although public alleyways were present as early as 1793,[xxi] very few had been developed with dwellings prior to the Civil War. This living configuration appears to have become more commonplace in the latter half of the 1800s, however, as segregation increased. Records showing earlier 1800s Black residency, such as the aforementioned Freeman, Brent, Jennings, and Syphax residences, provide no indication that the properties did not face the streets.

The present-day Shaw neighborhood did develop with alleyway dwellings. Also known as the Mount Vernon West neighborhood, in its early years it was part of the "Northern Liberties" tract, situated just north of the city boundaries in the 1830s. Development of Mount Vernon West did not wholeheartedly begin until after 1830, spurred by the construction of the 7th Street Turnpike (completed in 1822) and a growing population. Commercial establishments lined 7th Street, with the largest concentration of residential properties built on 9th and 10th streets between M and O streets, NW.[331] According to historian Laura V. Trieschmann, early Black and mixed-race residents of the neighborhood included Thomas G. Spriggs, a pump maker, and Samuel Thomas, a waiter. Spriggs is listed in the 1850 federal census, aged 55, as living in Washington Ward 2 with

[xxi] Alleyways were not a part of L'Enfant's plan for the city, which was based on a grand scale with massive city blocks. They first appear in the 1793-1796 "Original Survey of Squares." Cf. Kim Protho Williams, "The DC Historic Alley Buildings Survey" (Washington, DC: DC Historic Preservation Office, 2014).

Mary A. Spriggs (aged 41) and Mary J. Spriggs (aged 4).[332] Ward 2 in 1850 encompassed a known address for Spriggs, 1213 10th Street, NW.

The preceding and subsequent pages in the 1850 census list all Black and mixed-race residents, presumably living along the same street or on nearby streets.[xxii] Occupations listed for these residents include barber, laborer, servant, cook, gardener, carpenter, stone cutter, and grocer, among others. David Weible ascertained that the southern half of the Mount Vernon West District, known as the Blagden Alley/Naylor Court Historic District, contained a population of 81 in 1859, 20 of whom were Black or mixed-race.[333] Significant segregation of African Americans and mixed-race residents within the neighborhood did not begin until after the Civil War, noted by Trieschmann from patterns seen in the 1880 federal census. Black neighborhoods did manage to create community spaces into the 1900s, including the first permanent location of an African American high school, at New York Avenue and M Street.[334]

Georgetown, originally in Maryland but included in the District of Columbia after 1790, developed from a wharf and tobacco warehouse constructed in 1744. Africans lived there from the beginning. The 1800 federal census counted a total population of 5,120 with 1,726 African Americans, 277 of them free. Many of the enslaved residents were hired out and worked on the docks, in mills, or in other houses. Some African Americans lived in the homes of their enslavers; others lived in smaller houses. Banneker rented rooms in Georgetown while he and Ellicott surveyed the boundaries for the District between 1791 and 1792.

One of the town's most famous residents was Yarrow Mamout, who had been freed from enslavement in 1797. Mamout was a Senegambian captured by slavers, shipped to America, and sold in Maryland in 1752. He was enslaved for decades to Samuel Beall of Georgetown, and Mamout may have worked at Beall's mill in Rock Creek Park or at the Antietam Iron Works, in which Beall owned shares. According to Mamout, his enslaver freed him when he believed Mamout to be too old for continued labor. But Mamout had plenty of work left in him, and he earned enough money as a free man to buy a small house and fund his retirement.[335] Charles Wilson Peale, the portraitist of presidents, painted Mamout in 1820. Mamout was, by then, a modestly famous character, known for his old age, his long life of hard work, and his practice of Islam. Peale wrote of him:

> Yarrow owns a House & lotts and is known by most of the Inhabitants of Georgetown & particularly by the Boys who are often teazing him which he takes in good humour. It appears to me that the good temper of the man has contributed considerably to longevity. Yarrow has been noted for sobriety & a chearfull conduct, he professes to be a mahometan, and is often seen & heard in the Streets singing Praises to God -- and conversing with him he said man is no good unless his religion comes from the heart . . . The acquaintance of him often banter him about eating Bacon and drinking Whiskey -- but Yarrow says it is no good to eat Hog -- & drink whiskey is very bad. I retouched his Portrait the morning after his first setting to mark what rinkles & lines to characterise better his Portrait.[336]

[xxii] Census listings are often considered to have recorded dwellings in the order they stand on the streets. Therefore, even if a street or actual house number is not provided in the earlier census lists, it can sometimes be inferred that those listed adjacent to each other were neighbors at the time.

Rural communities emerged in Virginia close to the District's boundaries. Following his manumission at the age of 21 around 1805, West Ford, formerly enslaved at Mount Vernon,[xxiii] led a group of formerly enslaved people in the founding of the Black community of Gum Springs in the mid-1800s.[337] Described in 1895 as "A Place for Blacks to Prevail" rather than a "place for people to endure," the town celebrates its beginnings as a sanctuary for freed and self-liberating enslaved people.[338] Today, the Gum Springs community exists as a suburb of Alexandria, just northeast of Mount Vernon and 5 miles south of Alexandria.

Ford inherited over 100 acres of farmland on the south side of Little Hunting Creek in 1829 from Bushrod Washington, Washington's nephew. Ford sold his land in 1833 and purchased the 214-acre Gum Spring Farm on the north side of the creek from Samuel Collard with the proceeds.[339] Over the ensuing years he generously provided much of the land to form the new Black enclave of Gum Springs. The community is noted on historical maps as early as 1859.[340] A map from 1890 shows the location of the community at the present-day intersection of Richmond Highway and Old Mt. Vernon Road (Figure 5.10).[341]

The 1850 federal census and its agricultural schedule lists Ford living in Fairfax County with his daughter Jane Smith and her family. Ford, enumerated as a farmer, owned 180 acres of improved and 34 acres of unimproved land valued at $2,000. He had three horses, five milk cows, two other cattle, and produced corn and oats.

Although most Black families and individuals that settled in Gum Springs arrived following the Civil War and Emancipation, it is notable that Ford and other Black settlers remained in Virginia following manumission in defiance of the 1806 and 1850 state laws requiring freed people to leave the state within one year.[342] Any newly freed person settling in Gum Springs prior to the Civil War would have been violating these laws. It is possible that the proximity of the community to the capital provided some lenience in their residency.

Judith Saunders Burton, a descendant of Gum Springs settlers, has researched the origins of the community and identified many of its first residents, who had surnames such as Ferguson, Smith, Chase, Brown, King, and Gray.[343] A Smith family is listed as living in the same household as Ford, since Jane, wife of Porter Smith, was Ford's daughter. Research shows that many Gum Springs settlers had been trained in various crafts to better equip them for life after manumission.[344] Based on census records, the occupations of these residents included gardener, butcher, carpenter, carrier, cabinet maker, farmer, blacksmith, miller, and laborer. Ford died in 1863 and is believed to have been buried at the Mount Vernon cemetery.[345]

[xxiii] Hannah Washington's 1801 Will and Testament left enslaved servant West Ford to her grandson, Richard Henry Lee, and provided for West's manumission upon his 21st birthday. Cf. WestFordLegacy, Official Website of West Ford Legacy, "The Will of Hannah Bushrod Washington, Bushfield Westmoreland Circuit Court," http://www.westfordlegacy.com/article/15.

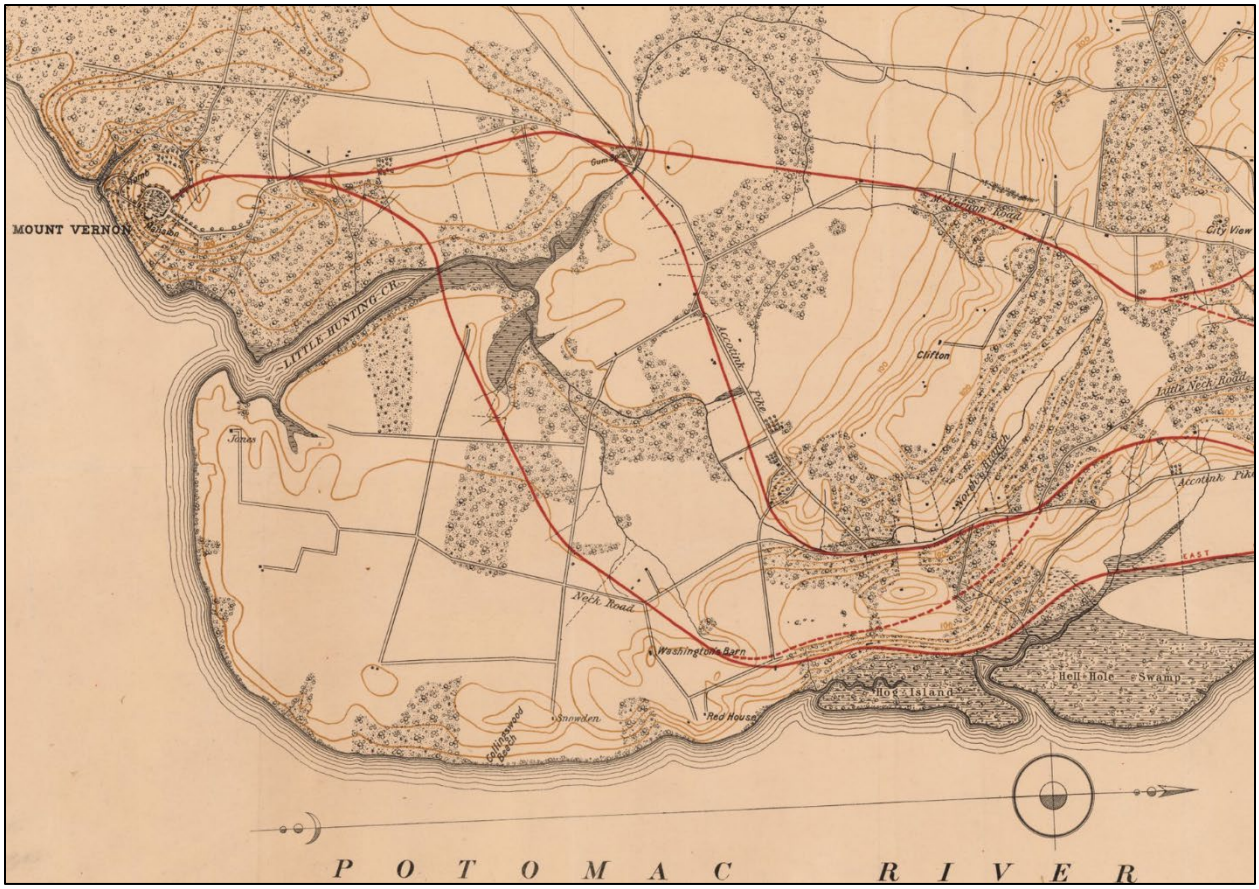


FIGURE 5.10: Map of Part of Virginia in 1890, Showing Location of the Gum Spring Community (Washington, D.C. Corps of Engineers 1890)

2. Churches, Schools, and Benevolent Societies

African Americans encountered Christianity in the context of enslavement, and it was as captives that they began the long process of making the gospel their own.[346]

Pre-emancipation African American communities were bolstered by three interrelated pillars: churches, schools, and benevolent societies. The nationwide Second Great Awakening that began roughly in the last decade of the 1700s set the scene for the development of African American Christianity during the Antebellum years. Heightened Christian evangelism in the South propelled many enslavers to introduce religion into the lives of enslaved people. Some Southern states even progressed to allow Black preachers in white churches. Although many so-called enlightened individuals espoused meeting the spiritual needs of enslaved persons, even as far as offering manumission, overall, slavery was not questioned. Therefore, for some enslaved African Americans, religion became a source of freedom while others rejected it in the face of their white oppressors. Documentary sources provide only hints of African American religion on the plantations, but one comes from Mount Vernon. In 1798 one of Washington's overseers placed an advertisement for a freedom seeker named Caesar, who "is so well known as to need no further description, for he frequently reads or preaches to the blacks."[347]

As religion spread through the African American community and the free Black population increased in the early 1800s, white people felt that slavery was threatened, and racism increased. Where churches sometimes had been integrated spaces for worship, they quickly became places of segregation. [348] A precedent was soon set for the establishment of a flourishing free Black society led by African American church leaders. Methodist and Baptist congregations were among the first to form Black churches in the NCA. These denominations had attracted African American members in the late 1700s by advocating an opposition to slavery. Records indicate that the practice of segregation in these spaces developed earlier in Methodist churches compared to Baptist.[349]

The African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Bethel Church is the first African American church in the country, founded in Philadelphia in 1794. Soon after its organization, however, the Bethel members realized that the incorporation was not separate from the white Methodist Conference. After years of ill treatment, Bethel Church succeeded in becoming free and independent, under a court decision in 1816 that allowed the formal incorporation of an "African Supplement" in 1817.[350] The formation of the AME in church in Philadelphia opened the door for Black congregations in DC to become affiliated with a church established under African American leadership and supervision.

Prior to the Civil War, all Black Methodist churches that formed in the country were established under the authority of the white Baltimore Conference. Black ministers were not accepted into the Conference; instead, white ministers were assigned to the newly formed Black churches.[351] Along with segregation in churches in the 1820s and 1830s, the restrictions on Black preachers drove Black Methodist church members to establish new congregations "for Negroes and by Negroes," as stated by Clement Beckett, a Black Methodist reformer.[352] Census records of that period show 111 Methodists in DC; this number grew quickly over the next decades.[353]

Mount Zion United Methodist Church (founded in 1846) represents the first Black Methodist Episcopal congregation in the District of Columbia, located in Georgetown. Its founding members broke from the Montgomery Street Church in 1816, seeking independence from the white congregation. At the time the Montgomery Street Church membership was 50 percent African American (free and enslaved), and although the Black members formed The Little Ark as a separate church, they remained under the supervision of white ministers from the parent church until 1864.[354] Between 1816 and 1844, membership rose from 125 to 549 congregants. The first church building was a small, brick edifice that was enlarged in 1856. The present site was selected, and a new building erected between 1875 and 1880. The funds were raised by the members, who also did the contracting.[355]

As some members became dissatisfied with the restrictions on Black ministers, they left Mount Zion in 1849 to form the new AME Church of Washington. Mount Zion Church records show that membership dropped to 331 by 1858. Although the drop in membership is likely a reflection of the church's schism, the reduced numbers could also be the result of individuals sold back into enslavement, "escaping" north to freedom, and even leaving for Liberia. These church records have been interpreted by some as an indication that the church was used as a station on the Underground Railroad, citing notations from 1850-1868 registries like "gone away," in reference to those that had been sent on the Underground Railroad to Harpers Ferry and on to Canada.[356]

Historians have suggested that the station was located in a vault in the Old Methodist Burying Ground.[xxiv]

Various congregations trace their origins to the split of the Mount Zion Church beginning in 1849, including Union Wesley AME Zion Church, John Wesley AME Zion Church (about 1850), and Ebenezer AME Church.[357] Earlier instances of Black reformation in the Methodist Episcopal church include events at Ebenezer United Methodist and the formation of the Israel Bethel Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, Little Ebenezer Methodist Episcopal Church, and Wesley Zion Church. All the newly established congregations were made independent of the white Methodist Episcopal church.[358] Other African American churches established during these years include the Roberts Memorial United Methodist Church in Alexandria (1830), the Asbury United Methodist Church in DC (1836), and the Metropolitan AME Church (1821).

Although several Black Methodist churches were formed earlier than Baptist congregations within the NCA, the Baptist movement allowed Black churches to have Black preachers and separate parishes (i.e., without white parent churches) much earlier than other denominations. The Rev. Walter Henderson Brooks attributes this to the ideas of freedom and local democracy espoused by the church leaders. Prior to the turn of the 1800s, some Southern white Baptist churches had Black pastors, such as Thomas Armistead, a pastor at the Portsmouth Church in Virginia until 1792. The first Black Baptist church of Williamsburg, Virginia, formed in 1776, was accepted into membership by the white Dover Baptist Association in 1791. According to Brooks, "all Negro Baptist churches were associated with white Baptist churches in the south." With some exceptions, the formation of Black Baptist churches began in the South and formed later in the North, a pattern reflected in the Baptist churches of the NCA.[359]

At the turn of the 1800s, Baptists in northern Virginia worshiped at the Blacklick Baptist Church, from which the First African Baptist Church formed, today known as the Alfred Street Baptist Church and considered the oldest African American church in Alexandria. It was organized when a group of integrated members of Blacklick Baptist separated to establish the Alexandria Baptist Society. By 1806 the Black members of the Society had established the Colored Baptist Society of Alexandria (also known as the African Baptist Society), which became independent from the white Alexandria Baptist Society in 1850. As this congregation grew in the early half of the 1800s, the Colored Baptist Society rented property at 313 South Alfred Street and eventually purchased the property in 1842.

Individuals who would form the first Black Baptist church of DC, known as the Nineteenth Street Baptist Church, separated from the white congregation at the First Baptist Church of the City of Washington in 1833. At that time the church had moved from 19th and Eye streets, NW to a new building at the current site of Ford's Theater and began segregating Black members to the church galleries. [360] The new Black congregation returned to the 19th Street location for worship; however, they were denied their request to remain under the authority of the DC First Baptist Church, forcing them to find recognition through a Philadelphia Baptist association. The congregation achieved this recognition in 1839 under the leadership of Rev. Sampson White and were joined by a group of his congregants, forming the First Colored Baptist Church of

[xxiv] The claim that freedom seekers hid in the Mount Zion Cemetery's holding vault (which still exists today) has appeared in several histories about Georgetown and the Mount Zion Cemetery; however, no evidence has been uncovered to support this and the conjecture should be subject to future research. Cf. Mitchell, 105.

Washington, the first Black Baptist congregation in the District.[361] One year after receiving a charter as the Nineteenth Street Baptist Church of Washington on November 16, 1870, the church constructed a new building at 19th and Eye streets, NW that would serve as a cultural and spiritual cornerstone for the DC African American community for over a century. The building had been demolished by 1975 and the congregation moved to 4606 16th Street, NW.

As has been discussed previously, religion and education were interlinked in the pre-emancipation African American experience. African American communities valued education that generally had been denied them by white society, which viewed educated Blacks as a threat to the power structure. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, educational instruction focused on literacy and was often provided through the aegis of a church. Like many Black churches in DC, Mount Zion contributed to the education of both adults and children with the opening of a Sabbath school in 1823, supervised by a white superintendent from Montgomery Street Church and three African American leaders. In 1840 a Black head of school, Joseph T. Mason, expertly ran the school, known for a high standard for scholarship and high attendance through 1860.[362] The Nineteenth Street Baptist Church established a Sunday School in 1836 and a day school about 1850.[363] Sunday Schools were attended by Blacks "not merely for their spiritual guidance but as a source of training and educational advancement also."[364]

Starting in 1843, a self-liberated man named John F. Cook served as the pastor of the first Black Presbyterian Church of Washington, which he had helped establish two years before. With past experience as an educator, he opened a primary school that he operated until his death in 1855. The school's direction then passed to his sons, John F., Jr. and George F., who moved the classes into the basement of the Presbyterian Church in 1858. It ceased operation the following year, but the Cooks are credited with promoting and facilitating early education in the district. Similarly, James Enoch Ambush operated a school in the Israel Bethel Church from 1833 to 1843, after which time a purpose-built schoolhouse was built at 10th and E streets and called the Wesleyan Seminary. Classes were also held in private homes, such as those led by Louisa Parke Costin in her father's house on A Street.[365]

Non-parochial schools also emerged in the Antebellum period. When access to white public schools was denied to them, Black Washingtonians founded small private schools that were funded by both Black and white supporters. The Bell School, founded in 1807, was the first school for Black children (free or enslaved) that had no tuition fees. It was established at Second and D streets, SE, by three formerly enslaved men, George Bell, Nicholas Franklin, and Moses Liverpool. An Englishman, Henry Potter, opened a school for the Black population in 1809 on the southeast corner of 7th and F streets, NW, where it operated for some years before relocating to 13th Street between G and H streets, NW. Contemporaneously, Anne Maria Hall, an African American from Prince George's County, Maryland, started a school on Capitol Hill. She had come from Alexandria, where she had attended an integrated school, and is considered the first African American to establish her own school in the district.[366]

Mary Billings, a British woman, had operated a small, integrated school until complaints led her to establish a small all-Black school in Georgetown in 1810. Billings's school on Dumbarton Avenue was relocated to Washington, to a house on H Street, in 1821. One of Billings's former students, Maria Becraft, operated a girls' seminary from 1827 until 1831.[367] K and L streets between 15th and 16th streets, NW became a center for the free Black community's educational

activity beginning in 1823, with the construction of the Smother's Schoolhouse at 14th and H streets. A second schoolhouse was built at Vermont Avenue and Eye Street that became the target in the 1835 Snow Riot.[368]

In 1850 a white city official running for mayor of DC, Jesse E. Dow, advocated for the establishment of all-Black public schools in the district. His plan was to open five schools for Black children and five for white children, yet this idea was attacked by several detractors and gained no traction. Public institutions for African Americans would not be established in the District of Columbia until after the Civil War. Advanced education was provided when Myrtilla Miner opened the Miner Teachers College in a private house on 11th Street near New York Avenue in 1851. Her school was relocated several times until enrollment necessitated a new schoolhouse. In June 1853 Miner purchased a 3-acre property with a dwelling, bounded by 19th, 20th, N, and O streets and New Hampshire Avenue. Miner's school received funding and support from Northern Quaker communities as well as progressive luminaries like Harriet Beecher Stowe, who was one of the school's first trustees. Despite this, the school was under constant duress from harassment, attempts at arson, and, in 1857, a diatribe from the city's mayor, Walter Lennox, published in the *National Intelligencer*, which criticized the school for attracting pupils and thereby enlarging the free Black population in DC. The school was closed in 1860, amid heated political and racial tensions in the city, and Miner died four years later.[369]

Benevolent societies, or mutual aid organizations, completed the triumvirate of institutions that supported free Black communities. These secular institutions pooled resources through membership dues and subscriptions that were then used to assist members throughout the community in times of strife, for example by paying medical or burial costs. In many ways these societies acted like insurance plans. The Resolute Beneficial Society, founded in 1818 by George Bell and others, provided burial and medical insurance but also opened a school for free Black children.[370] Rural communities of free Blacks, such as Gibson Grove, located very close to the District boundary in southeastern Montgomery County, Maryland, used their benevolent society hall in lieu of a purpose-built schoolhouse well into the 1900s. In terms of the built environment, the lines between church, school, and fraternal society were hazy, as many of these functions were held in the same building. Yet all three typologies are found in 1800s free Black communities, in both urban and rural settings, as fundamental civic staples.

D. COLONIZATION, ABOLITION, AND THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

1. The Struggle of Free Blacks in Washington

Life as a "free" African American in Antebellum Washington was tenuous. Beginning in 1808, the local government enforced legal codes (or "Black codes") on the free Black population in attempts to control all aspects of African American activity in the city and to curb the growth of their communities.[371] These codes required all free African Americans to carry papers proving their freedom or manumission as well as signatures and peace bonds from white people vouching for their free status. Congress enacted curfews for all African Americans, restricted places of work, and banned Black people from the Capitol grounds unless there for work. Black Washingtonians always had to compete with white laborers for jobs and routinely faced discrimination by trade

unions. Recognized leaders in the Black community fought against these discriminations, including William Costin, alleged[xxv] to be related to First Lady Martha Washington.[372]

Although Costin was born to an enslaved woman, Ann Dandridge, at Mount Vernon, there is no record of his presence within the well-kept documents about the plantation's enslaved population, leading researchers to believe that Costin must never have been enslaved. After Costin left Mount Vernon at an unknown date, he married an enslaved woman, Philadelphia "Delphy" Judge, who had two daughters, Louisa and Ann. In 1807 Delphy and her daughters were manumitted with Costin's help. Costin held a job at the Bank of Washington for 24 years, which greatly aided him in his efforts to purchase the freedom of his family as well as at least 10 others. The family lived for a time on A Street, NE, just east of the Capitol, where they were known for hosting those in need of shelter. Costin became a well-known figure in the free Black community, but he is perhaps best known for his role in advocating for the rights of African Americans amid the Black Codes imposed on Washington's free Blacks in the early 1800s.

One of the Black Codes passed in 1820 required all free Blacks and mixed-race people living in DC to appear in person and present "papers of freedom or other evidence of freedom...and means of subsistence" to the mayor, as well as "...a certificate...from at least three respectable white inhabitants, householders, residing in his or her neighborhood, setting forth that they are personally acquainted...and that he or she live peaceable and quiet lives."[373] Famously, Costin refused to make the required appearance before the mayor, and after receiving a fine for not complying with the law, he sued the city. Costin argued that the by-law did not apply to those already living in the city and that the law was unconstitutional.[374] The final ruling, passed in 1821, found partly in Costin's favor and allowed him to continue residing in the city without complying with the law; however, it upheld the constitutionality of the law, which affirmed that "every state has the right to pass laws to preserve the peace and the morals of society...it has the right to impose...reasonable terms and conditions of residence, as will guard the state from the evils which it has reason to apprehend" — in effect, solidifying the position of the local government in wanting to thwart the growth of the free African American population.[375] Still, Costin's victory carved enough space in the city for the Black community to combat those pressures and to continue seeking places of equality and opportunity.

The account of Costin's partial success in the courts is counterbalanced by the 1835 Snow Riot. Understood today as the first "race riot" in Washington, the Snow Riot characterizes the racist white ideologies that spread across the NCA prior to the Civil War. Many white people believed that the integration of free Black people into society threatened their jobs as well as the long-term viability of slavery. This resulted in hostility toward the Black population, in social and legal practice as well as physical violence.

The order of events in the Snow Riot is obscure, and sources give varying accounts. Many focus on the story of an 18-year-old enslaved boy named Arthur Bowen, who, as reported on August 7, 1835, had been arrested for attempted murder after entering the bedroom of his female enslaver,

[xxv] According to the White House Historical Association, William Costin was the son of Ann Dandridge, who was possibly half-sister to Martha Washington, nee Dandridge. Costin also may have been the son of John Park Custis, Martha's son, making Costin potentially both a nephew and a grandson to the First Lady. Cf. Morgan Robinson, "William Costin," The White House Historical Association website, December 9, 2019, accessed September 1, 2021, https://www.whitehousehistory.org/william-costin.

Anna Thornton, holding an ax.[376] Bowen's mother was asleep in the same room and took the ax from him before ushering him out of the house. Bowen is said to have pounded on the door shouting, "I've got just as much right to freedom as you," before disappearing into the city.[377] News of the incident spread quickly in local newspapers, and comparisons were made to the Nat Turner Rebellion, which had occurred only a few years before. The ensuing unrest was therefore framed within that context, seemingly centered on tensions between abolitionists and their pro-slavery counterparts.[378] Thornton, Bowen's enslaver, is said to have described him as "fond of ardent spirits while befriending free Negroes in a debating society who talked to him about slavery, the constitution and his rights as a human being."[379] Some have suggested that Bowen's socializing with abolitionists, in part, sparked the threats against him.[380]

Bowen's arrest added fuel to the violence erupting at the Washington Navy Yard. As told in a diary account of free Black Navy Yard worker Michael Shiner, on August 8, 1835, the Navy Yard mechanics "swore they would pull the jail down and they continued making their threats and they said their object was to get Mrs. Thornton's mulatto and hang him without judge or juror."[381] Ultimately, the jury found Bowen guilty of attempted murder and the judge sentenced him to hang; however, Thornton successfully negotiated a presidential pardon for Bowen that spared his life. For his safety Thornton sold him to a friend of President Andrew Jackson's who trained Bowen as a steamship servant.[382]

Others maintain that the riot originated as a labor dispute at the Navy Yard among white Irish mechanics and laborers.[383] On July 13, 1835, a labor strike began that ended on August 15, but only after the strikers engaged in violence against the free Black community. A few years before the strike, Navy Yard Commandant Isaac Hull had submitted a list of enslaved and free Black employees to the Board of Navy Commissioners at their request. Hull remarked in the submission a growing concern among workers on rising prices and stable wages as well as ineffective amounts of staffing in varying areas. The list shows that in 1830 the Navy Yard employed at least nine enslaved workers and three Black men, but the exact number of African Americans employed there is unknown[384]; historians have suggested that the shipyard was the principal employer of African Americans from 1800 to 1830.[385] Racial tensions within the Navy Yard workforce occasionally surfaced in disputes and small protests. In 1835 the workers formally went on strike, seeking a 10-hour workday, a pattern seen across many shipyards throughout the region. Believing that Commandant Hull brought in Black workers to break the strike, the white workers rioted against local Black business owners. Among the Black workers was Israel Jones, who was targeted in the attacks.[386]

Shiner noted in his diary that the riots were incited by the actions of the shipyard mechanics seeking out a Black man named Beverley Snow, who it was rumored had made an insensitive comment about one or more of the mechanics' wives. Snow owned the Epicurean Eating House at the corner of 6th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, which the Navy Yard workers ransacked. The mechanics also made threats to Commandant Isaac Hull at the shipyard. Rioters sought out prominent leaders in the free Black community (such as John Francis Cook, who fled to Philadelphia for safety) and burned several schoolhouses. The riots lasted three days, only to end with an order by President Jackson to engage the U.S. Marines and disperse the mob.[387]

2. Colonization Schemes

Many white Americans feared what would happen if slavery ended and Blacks were integrated into society. To many this seemed downright impossible. To people with this mindset, freedom for enslaved African Americans would lead to a genocidal race war. One might take this as the best evidence of the guilt felt by enslavers—they assumed that those they enslaved felt only violent hatred toward them and feared that African Americans would use any freedom they gained to enact their revenge. According to preacher George Whitefield, "Although I pray God the slaves may never be permitted to get the upper hand, yet should such a thing be permitted by Providence, all good men must acknowledge the judgement would be just."[388]

One of the outcomes of this attitude was the African colonization movement, which promoted the migration, both forced and voluntary, of freed African Americans to Africa. An early motivation for this effort was an event in which Paul Cuffee, a Black and Native American man, transported 38 free Black people to the west coast of Africa in 1815. The exact location of the colony to which he traveled is not known; histories suggest Freetown or Sierra Leone (a British colony). It has been suggested that Cuffee's actions may have tipped the scale toward establishing the American Colonization Society (ACS) only a few months later. The mission of the ACS was:

> To promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the Society shall act to effect this object in cooperation with general government and such states as may adopt regulations upon the subject.[389]

The somewhat disputed origins of the ACS begin with Rev. Robert Finley, a minister from New Jersey often credited as the founder of the Society, although he is not one of the several recognized founders. Rev. Isaac V. Brown writes of Finley's intentions regarding colonization as stemming from religious sentiments:

> He was not satisfied with small daily acts of benevolence, though he abounded in them whenever an opportunity was presented. But his supreme object was to bring forward some great and benevolent scheme, of an elevation and extensive nature, that would make a deep impression – set a noble example – assume a national character – contribute largely to mitigate the sufferings of some aggrieved portion of the human family, and augment the general mass of individual and public happiness.[390]

Finley went to Washington in 1817 to organize a public meeting on the idea of colonization and gained the support of former President Jefferson, Speaker of the House of Representatives Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson, and other influential men in government as well as both pro- and anti-slavery organizations. Jefferson had opined in 1811 that colonization was "the most desirable measure which could be adopted for gradually drawing off this part of our population.…Nothing is more to be wished than that the United States should themselves undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa."[391] A committee formed in the House of Representatives to draft a constitution for the society, whose members included Francis Scott Key, Bushrod Washington, Elias B. Caldwell, James Breckenridge, Walter Jones, Richard Rush, and William G.D. Worthington. Their proposed constitution for the society was unanimously adopted in 1817, establishing the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour in the United States, the first organization of its kind and a model for state colonization societies.[392]

The idea that the ACS was founded with philanthropic, abolitionist intentions was countered by historian Douglas R. Egerton in 1985, when he presented a new account of the founding of the idea of African colonization.[393] His findings correlate with the documented attitude among many white communities at the time that African Americans would use any freedom they gained to enact their revenge on white enslavers. Egerton credits Charles Fenton Mercer, a Virginia Congressman, with reviving the idea of colonization in 1816, leading to the creation of the ACS. Egerton describes the differences in Mercer and Finley's approaches to colonization:

> But if colonization was not fueled by racism, neither was it designed to achieve abolition. In promoting his rationale for colonization, Mercer was completely blunt. "Our Society has," he said much later, "in truth, nothing, whatever, to do with domestic slavery." He had no desire to abolish slavery, for despite the fact that he thought it an abominable system, abolition of any kind would only release into society more of that dangerous class he wished to remove. Nor did he believe that colonization, as apparently Finley did, would hasten the end of slavery by making it more likely for masters to manumit their slaves. Nor was it designed to strengthen slavery by removing a caste dangerous to the planters. Mercer would not raise a finger to either protect or destroy slavery; he simply saw free blacks as a danger to vision of the future American society. Yet the question of primary goal of the colonizationists is one that divides and founds historians, at least partly because Mercer's central place in the organization has been ignored.[394]

The disputes about which figure revived the idea of colonization are significant in identifying the basis for colonization. Although the interpretation of the movement as religiously inspired generally prevailed, it also has roots in class-based and racist views of African Americans. Egerton argues that, because of the intent of some to colonize Africa from fear of free Blacks, the ACS lost support from abolitionists and from the Black population.

Prior to the Civil War, the ACS raised funds by offering memberships to the organization (they would not receive federal funding until Abraham Lincoln's presidency in 1862).[395] In 1817 the ACS sent two surveyors, Samuel J. Mills and Ebenezer Burgess, to find a suitable location in Africa to establish a colony, and by 1820 the first ship had left with 88 emigrants. After two years the colony was named Liberia; its stability gradually grew, yet it fought disease and economic hardship for many years. The ACS was restricted financially, and from the start had to convince emigrants to move to a place they did not consider home and where they faced reports of disease, lack of supplies, and conflict with native Africans. The colony declared its independence in 1847 and was recognized as a sovereign state by Britain two years later, when Joseph Jenkins Roberts, the son of free Blacks from Virginia, was elected the country's first president. Liberia was not recognized by the U.S. Congress until after the Civil War.

Several notable free Black persons opposed colonization schemes, including Frederick Douglass. David Walker, an African American Bostonian, wrote a pamphlet in 1829 entitled "Our Wretchedness in Consequence of the Colonizing Plan," in which he lambasted Henry Clay's advocacy of colonization as self-serving and lacking in empathy. The idea was construed by many, both white and Black, as bringing little to no benefit to Black society, instead shuttling Blacks off to a foreign land without resources for success; it would benefit white enslavers alone, in that it would free them of visible reminders of their guilt and transgressions. Some colonization schemes had a missionary component to them, in which the idea that Christian African Americans would proselytize the African "heathens" was central. Walker's pamphlet asked rhetorically, yet

logically, how illiterate Blacks were meant to convert Africans when most had been denied educations? Furthermore, how was a formerly enslaved group with little or no experience of freedom or autonomy supposed to understand and employ self-governance immediately? Walker ends his polemic by asking, "Is there not land enough in America…. Why should they send us into a far country to die?"[396] Walker underscored African Americans' contributions to the agrarian economy for centuries, rhetorically wondering whether retaining free Blacks in America would not be an economic benefit while colonization would be an economic drain. The question of whether or how African Americans contributed to American society was raised by the African American abolitionist Maria W. Stewart in an address delivered to an audience at Boston's African Masonic Hall in 1833. Stewart maintained that colonization was a faulty premise, asserting that the "colonizationists are blind to their own interest, for should the nations of the earth make war with America, they would find their forces much weakened by our absence."[397]

Colonization schemes reached their height in popularity among white society in the 1820s but were eclipsed by the abolition movement starting in the 1830s. Lincoln supported the effort prior to the Civil War and prior to his presidency, but during the Civil War he reversed his opinion on colonization, realizing its impracticability and the benefits of having African Americans join the Union Army. Still, the ACS had resettled over 13,000 Black Americans in Liberia by the end of the Civil War and continued its work until 1964, when it was officially disbanded.

3. Origin and Operation of the Underground Railroad

I hold it to be morally certain that sooner or later, by fair means or foul means, in peace or in blood, in judgement or in mercy, slavery is doomed to cease out of this otherwise goodly land, and liberty is destined to become the settled law of the republic. –Frederick Douglass[398]

The Underground Railroad has been defined as "the resistance to enslavement through escape and flight [that persisted] through the end of the Civil War."[399] In a late 1800s understanding of the Underground Railroad, Albert Bushnell Hart assessed the system as "simply a form of combined defiance of national laws, on the ground that those laws were unjust and oppressive."[400] A century later scholars called the movement the "most dramatic protest action against slavery in United States history."[401]

Freedom seekers have existed since the inception of the institution of slavery. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, freedom-seekers in America typically fled to maroon communities founded at the edges of settlements or in isolated and inhospitable locales. These enslaved individuals self-liberated on their own volition and succeeded without aid. But by the middle of the 1800s, following the passage of two Fugitive Slave laws, self-liberation became much more difficult without the assistance of others. Organized resistance accelerated in the 1850s, creating a transnational and interracial network opposed to the practice of enslavement.[402] Scholars have disagreed on the exact relationships between and roles played by white and Black abolitionists or Black enslaved persons.[403] Early histories, such as Wilbert H. Siebert's *Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom* (1898), praise whites for their work while portraying enslaved people as lacking any foresight or notable contribution to the schemes. Conversely, Larry Gara (1961) asserts that the role of whites aiding Black self-liberated are myths. More recent scholarship (1995) recognizes that whites, African Americans, and Native Americans all played integral roles—and at the threat of loss of life—in the movement.[404]

Fergus M. Bordewich writes of the beginnings of the Underground Railroad in Philadelphia at the turn of the 1800s and its progression into "a diverse, flexible, and interlocking system with thousands of activists...with one strategic goal: to provide aid to any fugitive slave who asked for it."[405] Pennsylvania passed the first state emancipation law in the country in 1780, the Gradual Abolition Act. The law provided for the automatic emancipation of those enslaved born in the years following the law upon their 28th birthday. Although enslaved persons born prior to the enactment of the law were to remain enslaved without conditions for emancipation, purchasing new enslaved persons in the state was prohibited and any enslaved individual brought into the state would be freed after six months. As a result the enslaved population in the state dropped quickly, from 3,737 in 1790 to 795 in 1810, and Philadelphia emerged as a safe haven for freedom-seeking enslaved people.[406] Members of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society (originally formed in 1775 and incorporated in 1789), led by the actions of Isaac Hopper, a Quaker, conducted outreach to African Americans in the Philadelphia area that can be described as the earliest workings of the Underground Railroad.[407] In collaboration with both Black and white abolitionists, the Quaker community would remain an important ally in the fight for freedom on the Underground Railroad.

One of the earliest known passengers on the Underground Railroad (as an organized network) traveled from North Carolina to Indiana in 1819. Aided by Quakers Levi and Vestal Coffin, and recounted by Addison Coffin about 1900, John Dimery was rescued from kidnappers and "started on the Underground Railroad that night and soon landed at Richmond, Indiana."[408] Bordewich suggests that the reference to the Underground Railroad by Coffin implies that an organized system existed at the time of Dimery's escape; however, legend has it that the earliest historical reference acknowledging its existence is from 1831, when the enslaver of Tice Davids remarked he had "gone off on an underground road."[409] Other early references to the system include a Washington newspaper story reporting a freedom-seeking enslaved person's plan to follow an "underground railroad to Boston."[410]

As it developed, the Underground Railroad "carried" enslaved individuals seeking freedom by way of "stations." A primary route led northward, from the Mason-Dixon Line to Canada. Other routes led in all directions: south to Florida, southeast to the Caribbean, southwest to Mexico, and west to the territories.[411] Enslaved people were transported covertly to the stations, led by conductors and using any means possible, including boats and wagons, until they reached refuge. Disguise, forgery, and secret codes were employed in flight to elude watchful slave-traders and bounty-hunters. Stationmasters opened their homes, barns, and other hiding places to freedom seekers and often provided food and clothing until the enslaved persons were moved again. Other roles included enslaved persons that remained in the South as messengers for the Underground Railroad. Information on escape routes, friendly businesses, and lawyers for self-liberators became critical for the continued operation of the network in the South. One might expect a regimented or universal system of operations for the Underground Railroad to succeed, yet even as the system grew and stations became intricately connected, methods of communication and transport varied from town to town with no consistent organization. Bordewich quotes Isaak Beck, a stationmaster in Ohio: "the method of operating was not uniform but adapted to the requirements of each case…there was no regular organization, no constitution, no officers, no laws or agreement or rule except the 'Golden Rule,' and every man did what seemed right in his own eyes."[412] The diverse methods of operations contributed to the remarkable secrecy of the Underground Railroad, often lauded by historians.

Prior to the establishment of the Underground Railroad, U.S. laws seemed sufficient in keeping slavery viable. According to Article IV, Section 2 of the first Fugitive Slave Act in 1793,

> No person held to service in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping to another state, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, shall be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on the claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

Despite this and other laws pertaining to self-liberating enslaved people, the successes of the Underground Railroad and its spreading network throughout the country in the mid-1800s motivated pro-slavery leaders to advocate for further, stricter legislation. In cities like Boston and Philadelphia, abolitionists very publicly refused to return people to slavery and argued, in some cases, that it violated state law. The passage of a federal law would trump any state laws invoked by Northern abolitionists. As a result the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 directly targeted the workings of the Underground Railroad by allowing self-liberated enslaved people who had been living in free states to be caught, tried, and claimed by an enslaver. Monetary rewards were allocated to commissioners for ruling against the enslaved plaintiff, and fines were levied on any person aiding freedom seekers. James Rhodes described the law as "one of the most assailable laws ever passed by the Congress of the United States.…Under this act…the Negro had no chance; the meshes of the law were artfully contrived to aid the master and entrap the slave."[413] Despite this law—or, more accurately, because of this law—use of the Underground Railroad increased into the Civil War, evidenced by the free Black population in the North increasing by 30,000 from 1850 to 1860. The network had to expand, however, as it was necessary to move people to Canada, out of the reach of U.S. federal legislation, rather than merely to Ohio, New York, or Massachusetts. Excerpts from Canadian newspaper stories cite the dramatic increase of arrivals in the months following the enactment of the law:

> Probably not less than 3,000 have taken refuge in this country since the first of September. Only for the attitude of the north there would have been thousands more.
> –Hiram Wilson, *The Liberator,* December 13, 1850[414]

> The road is doing better business this fall than usual. The Fugitive Slave Law had given it more vitality, more activity, more passengers and more opposition which invariably accelerates business…We can run a lot of slaves through from almost any of the bordering slave states into Canada within 48 hours and we defy the slaveholders and their abettors to beat that if they can…We have just received a fresh lot today and still there is room.
> –Henry Bibb, *The Voice of the Fugitive,* November 5, 1851[415]

Much of the mystery surrounding the historical transportation network can be attributed to a deliberate choice by stationmasters and passengers to limit physical records in fear of capture and punishment. This fear rose intensely after passage of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850, when many records were likely destroyed. For example, as recounted by Siebert, underground manager Robert Purvis of Philadelphia "states that he kept a record of fugitives that passed through his hands and those of his coworkers in the Quaker City for a long period, till the trepidation of his family after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill in 1850 caused him to destroy it."[416] Few physical aspects of the Underground Railroad remain, leaving the rare written accounts of freedom seekers as an invaluable resource in understanding the interstate workings of the network. Nonetheless, historians have been able to characterize the system, piece together common paths taken by slaves,

and tell the stories of many individuals who risked their lives and property to fight against slavery despite the scarcity of documentary and material records.

Several anti-slavery organizations were established that provided funding and other support for Underground Railroad efforts. The Anti-Slavery League played a significant role in the network through Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, funding a large number of passengers and managing an effective group of conductors. The Acting Vigilance Committee of Philadelphia solely worked to harbor freedom seekers on their way to Canada, the invaluable records of which were kept by famous abolitionist and stationmaster William Still. William Lloyd Garrison and Arthur Tappan founded the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS) in Philadelphia, which operated from 1833 to 1870 with the goal of abolishing slavery in its entirety.[417] Known for some of its prominent leaders, including Frederick Douglass, the AASS also supported agents of the Underground Railroad and provided means of travel for freedom seekers.

a. The Underground Railroad in Maryland and the District of Columbia

As the District of Columbia was considered "a center of abolitionist activity during the decades before the Civil War,"[418] the Underground Railroad operated successfully within the District. Rev. Charles Turner Torrey, a white Congregationalist minister from Massachusetts, managed families traveling on the Underground Railroad in Washington and its vicinity for three years, culminating in his arrest in 1844. Other participants included liberated and free-born African Americans, such as Anthony Bowen, Elizabeth and Thomas Smallwood, Leonard Grimes, and John Bush. Mrs. Padgett and Mrs. Ann Sprigg were white women who operated boarding houses used as nexuses, while white men in positions of power—including Jacob Bigelow, a retired lawyer; Oho Congressman Joshua R. Giddings; and Ezra L. Stevens, a clerk in the Interior Department—were also associated. Some of these participants knew and worked with one another[xxvi] while others worked independently, yet each effectively contributed to the movement to undermine slavery.[419]

Washington's location on the Potomac River provided ample opportunity for assisting freedom-seekers headed northward. In 1840 James Curry recounted his experience crossing the Potomac River and traveling along the C&O Canal's towpath before ultimately fleeing into Pennsylvania:

> At Alexandria, I crossed the Potomac River and came to Washington, where I made friends with a colored family, with whom I rested eight days. I then took the Montgomery road (sic), but, wishing to escape (illegible) and it being cloudy, I lost my course, and fell back again along the Potomac River, and traveled on the towpath of the canal from Friday night until Sunday morning…. (After an unsettling encounter with a man on horseback) I soon entered a colored person's house on the side of the canal, where they gave me breakfast and treated me very kindly. I traveled on through Williamsport and Hagerstown, in Maryland, and, on the nineteenth day of July, about two hours before day, I crossed the line into Pennsylvania with a heart full of gratitude to God, believing that I was indeed a

[xxvi] Elizabeth Smallwood, a free-born Virginian, was the laundress for Mrs. Padgett's boarding house, located at 13th Street, NW, where the Reverend Torrey lodged. Her husband Thomas, formerly enslaved in Maryland and working as a cobbler in the District of Columbia by 1842, asked her for an introduction with Torrey. Thus, a small collaborative network arose among these four interracial individuals that later expanded to include John Bush, his wife, and William Nichols, a preacher at Israel Bethel AME Church. Cf. Hilary Russell, "Underground Railroad Activists in Washington, D.C.," *Washington History* 13, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2001-2002):30.

> free man, and that now, under the protection of law, there was 'none who could molest me or make me afraid.'[420]

James Williams liberated himself from enslavement in Maryland at the age of 13 by traveling to Pennsylvania, where he was picked up by Underground Railroad operatives. He then worked for a handful of abolitionists, including Asa Walton, Mr. Dickerson, and Clarkson Crozier, for several years before beginning work with the Underground Railroad himself in 1846 and 1847, carrying many enslaved people to freedom. His experience may be likened to many others at the time:

> The way that we used to conduct the business was this: a white man would carry a certain number of slaves for a certain amount, and if they did not all have money, then those that had had to raise the sum that was required. We used to communicate with each other in this wise: one of us would go to the slaves and find out how many wanted to go, and then we would inform the party who was to take them, and some favorable night they would meet us out in the woods; we would then blow a whistle, and the man in waiting would answer "all right;" he would then take his load and travel by night, until he got into a free State. Then I have taken a covered wagon, with as many as fourteen in, and if I met any one that asked me where I was going, I told them that I was going to market. I became so daring, that I went within twenty miles of Elkton. At one time the kidnappers were within one mile of me; I turned the corner of a house, and went into some bushes, and that was the last they saw of me. The way we abolitionists had of doing our business was called the underground railroad; and in all my travels I always found the Anglo-Saxons to be my best friends.[421]

Ann Marie Weems disguised herself as a male coachman to escape to Philadelphia. Aged 15 years, she was assisted in her flight by her father John, a free Black living in Rockville, Maryland, and Ezra L. Stevens, the white abolitionist and bureaucrat. Weems traveled from Philadelphia to New York and eventually to Canada, where she settled at the Buxton Settlement. On her route she was assisted by several stationmasters and conductors, both white and Black.[422]

Some of the most famous African American abolitionists linked to the Underground Railroad came from Maryland. Freedom-seeking enslaved persons were encouraged by the proximity of Maryland to the free state of Pennsylvania, and many took advantage of the opportunity to escape on the Underground Railroad, including Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass. Census records show that, second only to Delaware, Maryland had the highest average percentage of attempted escapes to the total enslaved population in the country in the mid-1800s.[423]

A typical escape from Maryland, which took seven to 10 days, occurred in the summer months because of better access to food. Typically, the self-liberated were young adults with an average age of 25 or 26. Bridner suggests that the motivation for young adults to flee may have stemmed from a higher risk of being sold, and that the summertime timing corresponded with strenuous growing seasons in which the younger enslaved workers were assigned more difficult tasks.[424] Freedom-seeking enslaved people from counties on the Eastern Shore and those bordering Pennsylvania were generally more successful than those from southern counties, such as Somerset and Dorchester.[425] More escapes were attempted from rural areas compared with urban environments, possibly owing to apparent advantages urban enslaved people had compared with their rural enslaved counterparts. Still, those escaping from an urban environment faced the same oppression and fugitive slave laws as any other.

Harriet Tubman is perhaps the most famous conductor of the Underground Railroad. Born into slavery on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, Tubman first self-liberated with her two brothers in 1849. After returning a few weeks later, she left again on her own for Pennsylvania. At first Tubman knew little about the network. Her passage on the Underground Railroad consisted of stops at safe houses that she learned of during previous stops, where she was given food and rest. She walked at night or traveled by wagon when offered, eventually making her way to Philadelphia. There, she met William Still and joined the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee. Beginning in December 1850 and with the support and resources of the committee, Tubman famously returned to Maryland at least 13 (estimates range from 13 to 19) more times to rescue family and friends, among others. Over the course of eight to 10 years, she led at least 70 (estimates range from 70 to 300) enslaved persons to freedom.[426] Many leaders of the Underground Railroad crossed paths with Harriet, including white Quaker stationmaster Thomas Garrett in Wilmington, Delaware, who maintained regular communication with Still and other stations in the region.[427] In a letter from Garrett to J. Miller McKim dated December 29, 1854, Garrett describes Tubman leaving Wilmington with six men and one woman:

> Wilmington, 12 mo. 29th, 1854.
> ESTEEMED FRIEND, J. Miller McKim: We made arrangements last night, and sent away Harriet Tubman, with six men and one woman to Allen Agnew's, to be forwarded across the country to the city. Harriet, and one of the men had worn their shoes off their feet, and I gave them two dollars to help fit them out, and directed a carriage to be hired at my expense, to take them out, but do not yet know the expense. I now have two more from the lowest county in Maryland, on the Peninsula, upwards of one hundred miles. I will try to get one of our trusty colored men to take them to-morrow morning to the Anti-slavery office. You can then pass them on. Thomas Garrett.[428]

Washington's Underground Railroad stops included the Israel Bethel AME Church at South Capitol and B streets, SW; the burial vault, used for hiding freedom-seekers, in Mount Zion's Cemetery in Georgetown; the Metropolitan AME Church; St. Paul AME Church on 8th Street, SW; Union Wesley AME Zion at 23rd Street, NW; the Mary Ann Shad/Cary house; the Charlotte Forten/Grimke house; John Bush's house east of the old City Hall; Leonard Grime's house at 22nd and H streets, NW; and Anthony Bowen's home on E Street, SW, now the site of L'Enfant Plaza. Among the many sites associated with the Underground Railroad in the wider NCA are the C&O Canal and associated properties; the town of Harpers Ferry in West Virginia; the Catoctin Furnace in western Maryland; the Loudoun County (Virginia) Courthouse and other sites in Leesburg; Conn's house and ferry in Great Falls, Virginia; Fort Washington, in Prince George's County, Maryland; and the site, along Georgia Avenue in Maryland, where William Chaplin was arrested in August 1850. The NPS has mapped these and several other sites on the "Network to Freedom Underground Railroad Locations" website.[429]

b. The Pearl Incident (1848)

The escape on the *Pearl* was orchestrated in part by William Chaplin, a wealthy white abolitionist who arranged for use of the ship (as well as a captain and crew) and coordinated finances donated by other abolitionists. The Washington end of the operation was run by escaping enslaved people themselves. The freedom seekers—old and young, male and female, mothers with children—had worked in homes, boarding houses, and hotels in the region. Most were enslaved descendants of Africans brought to the Tidewater area on Liverpool slave ships to be sold to tobacco planters in

Maryland and Virginia. The cooperation between Blacks and whites was much remarked at the time and has helped to keep the *Pearl* story an icon of the Underground Railroad.[430]

There were three primary organizers within the African American community. One was Paul Jennings, Senator Daniel Webster's butler. The legendary orator met Jennings in the White House, where he had been brought as a valet for his enslaver, President Madison. When Madison died in 1836, his widow Dolley returned to Washington with Jennings. By 1847 her financial affairs were in such disorder that she sold Jennings to an agent for $200.[431] Webster later purchased Jennings for $120 and freed him on condition that Jennings would repay the purchase price at the rate of $8 a month. At the time of the attempted escape, he still owed Webster a considerable sum.[432] The second Black conspirator was Daniel Bell, who was a free husband and father in an enslaved family and is credited with financing the venture to bring his wife and children to freedom. Bell apparently was engaged in litigation over his family's legal status but feared ultimately losing the case or running out of money. The third man was a hired-out enslaved individual named Samuel Edmonson, whose family plays the central role in this story. He and five of his 13 brothers and sisters planned to board the *Pearl*. His sisters Mary Jane and Emily Catherine, aged 14 and 16, eventually became famous figures among abolitionists.

Two days before departure, three white men brought the *Pearl* to a secluded spot near the 7th Street Wharf. Daniel Drayton, who chartered the small schooner for $100, later wrote in his memoirs that he always believed in the nobility of the cause although he was paid for his services. Drayton was in charge of arranging for the "cargo." Capt. Edward Sayres, owner of the *Pearl*, was in charge of the ship and its one-man crew, a young sailor and cook named Chester English.[433]

To reach freedom, the *Pearl* would have to travel undetected more than 100 miles down the Potomac River to the Chesapeake Bay, then another 120 miles up the bay, across the Delaware Canal, and along the Delaware River to New Jersey, a free state. The 77 self-liberated Blacks boarded the schooner docked at the 7th Street Wharf in Washington on April 15, 1848, and made their way down the river by night. But their plan was exposed, and a white posse followed them in a steamer, catching them near the mouth of the Potomac River. The *Pearl* was towed back to Washington, and when it passed the wharves at Alexandria, the enslaved parties were displayed in chains to crowds of angry whites. The enslaved males were manacled (as were Drayton and Sayres, who were charged with theft and illegal transportation of the enslaved individuals), and all were marched across Pennsylvania Avenue to the city jail.[434] The women and children were left unfettered. Mary and Emily Edmonson walked behind their brothers with heads held high and arms around each other's waists. When the procession reached Gannon's slave market, its owner lunged at Drayton and cut his ear with a knife. Other people tried to get at Sayres.[435] In the growing panic the guards hailed a cab and bundled the two white prisoners off to jail. Members of the crowd concluded that responsibility lay with Gamaliel Bailey, editor of *The New Era*, a moderate abolitionist newspaper recently relocated to Washington in a building across from the U.S. Patent Office (now the National Portrait Gallery and Museum of American Art). About 1,000 people gathered in front of the newspaper demanding that it be closed immediately, debating whether to

[xxvii] Such cases often went to court, when heirs contested wills that diminished their inheritance by freeing enslaved persons. Cf. Josephine Pacheco, *The Pearl: A Failed Slave Escape on the Potomac (*Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).
[xxviii] The name was sometimes spelled Edmondson.

lynch Bailey, and hurling rocks and brickbats. Thus began the three-day standoff that became known as the Washington Riot of 1848.[436]

Drayton and Sayres awaited prosecution by Philip Barton Key, U.S. attorney for the District of Columbia and son of Francis Scott Key, author of the national anthem. The two were charged with 77 counts of theft and 77 counts of illegal transportation of slaves. Neither could meet his bond of $77,000 ($1,000 for every enslaved person). Drayton and Sayres, widely admired in the Black community, were pardoned by President Millard Fillmore after serving four years and four months.[437]

Most of the enslaved people caught on the *Pearl* were sold by their enslavers. This was commonly the fate of freedom seekers whose enslavers used the threat of separation from family and familiarity to control "troublemakers" and to set an example for the remaining enslaved servants. Some who knew the Edmonson family rushed to help them. The woman who had hired Mary unsuccessfully attempted to buy her; instead, all of the Edmonson siblings were purchased by slave-traders Bruin & Hill. Bruin was particularly interested in the Edmonson sisters and had tried to buy them years before the *Pearl* incident. Harriet Beecher Stowe writes that, in the midst of the events after the attempted escape on the *Pearl*, Bruin admitted having "had his eye upon the (Edmonson) family for twelve years, and had the promise of them should they ever be sold."[438] There is no explanation as to why the family attracted Bruin's attention.

The *Pearl* incident received much attention, and abolitionists in the North immediately began raising money to purchase some of the freedom seekers before they were sold South. The Edmonson sisters were attractive, light-skinned African American women, and everyone knew that in New Orleans they would likely be sold as prostitutes. The threat of this "sale by a human flesh dealer of Christian girls," as Rev. Henry Ward Beecher put it, aroused great indignation among abolitionists, and purchasing the sisters' freedom became the focus of a campaign that included sermons, rallies, and letters published in the *Anti-Slavery Bugle.* The Edmonsons' father Paul had purchased his freedom earlier and had become active in abolitionist circles; he organized and spoke at fundraisers on behalf of his children. An offer of $1,000 was made for one of the girls, but Bruin refused it, certain that he could get more in New Orleans.

Stowe recounts the harrowing journey of the Edmonson sisters from Alexandria to Baltimore via steamship, where they were "thrown into a slave-pen kept by a partner of Bruin and Hill." They were kept in this slave pen for three weeks, and eventually forced aboard the brig *Union* with 40 or so other enslaved people. They were placed in the custody of a man identified only as "Wilson, a partner of Bruin and Hill, who had the charge of the slaves at this prison."[439] By the time the Edmonsons arrived in New Orleans, a yellow fever outbreak was erupting into an epidemic. Few Louisiana planters were purchasing slaves, since the majority were from the Upper South and were not "seasoned." It must have been apparent that the *Pearl* self-liberated were unlikely to sell and were certainly at risk of contracting yellow fever and dying, which would constitute a total financial loss for all the traders involved. Bruin & Hill had the Edmonsons brought back to Baltimore, although they cited quite a different reason for their reversal in their statement to the abolitionist community at large, explaining the (monetary) conditions under which they were prepared to release the Edmonsons and warning that the sisters would be sent south again if the money for their release was not raised within the designated time. At that point Bruin & Hill had evidently severed their connection with the Baltimore trader who organized transportation by ship,

intending to send the next group of enslaved people south in a coffle.[440] This appears to have become standard practice for the firm after the events of 1848.

Paul Edmonson and his wife Amelia continued their tireless campaign to free their daughters. Armed with letters from supporters, Paul went to the New York offices of the Anti-Slavery Society, where he was sent to discuss his situation with Reverend Beecher. Beecher's church members in Brooklyn raised the necessary funds to purchase the girls' freedom. Emily and Mary were liberated on November 4, 1848 (Figure 5.11).



FIGURE 5.11: The Edmonson Sisters After Winning Their Freedom
(Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Library, Washington, DC)

After helping to obtain the sisters' freedom, Beecher's Brooklyn congregation continued to contribute money so that the girls could attend school. Emily overcame the oppression of slavery and championed the emancipation of enslaved people, working as an outspoken abolitionist alongside Frederick Douglass and others. While studying, the sisters traveled throughout New

York to participate in anti-slavery rallies. Both sisters attended the convention in Cazenovia during the summer of 1850 to protest the Fugitive Slave Act, later passed by Congress (Figure 5.12). That convention, led by Frederick Douglass, declared all those enslaved to be prisoners of war and warned the nation of an unavoidable insurrection of enslaved people unless they were emancipated.



FIGURE 5.12: The Edmonsons Attending an 1850 Anti-Slavery Convention in Cazenovia, New York. The sisters are in bonnets in the center, one seated and one standing (Syracuse Library Special Collections)

In 1853 Emily and Mary Edmonson attended the Young Ladies Preparatory School at Oberlin College in Ohio through the support of Beecher and Stowe. After Mary's death from tuberculosis at the age of 20, 18-year-old Emily returned to Washington and enrolled in the Normal School for Colored Girls under the tutelage of Myrtilla Miner. By 1860 Emily was married. After living for many years in Sandy Spring, Maryland, Emily and her husband moved to Anacostia, where they became founding members of the Hillsdale community. Emily continued working in the abolitionist movement and maintained her relationship with her neighbor, Frederick Douglass. One of Emily's granddaughters wrote, "Grandma & Frederick Douglass were like sister and brother—great

abolitionists. I sat on his knee in his office in the house that is now a museum in Anacostia where we were born." Emily Catherine Edmonson Fisher Johnson died on September 15, 1895.[441]

4. Compromise of 1850

To many people, the presence of slavery in Washington contradicted the America's foundational principles of freedom and democracy. Abolitionist petitions in the 1830s were generally unsuccessful, hindered by the U.S. House of Representatives "Gag Rule," which prohibited the House from considering anti-slavery petitions. Abolitionists continued to expose the hypocrisy of enslavers in the nation's capital, however, eventually making progress with the Compromise of 1850. The Compromise embraced five laws, which included the Fugitive Slave Act and an end to the importation of enslaved persons to the District of Columbia.[xxix] The pertinent portion of *An Act to suppress the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia* reads:

> Sec. 1. Be it enacted…That from and after the first day of January, eighteen hundred and fifty-one, it shall not be lawful to bring into the District of Columbia any slave whatever, for the purpose of being sold, or for the purpose of being placed in depot to be subsequently transferred to any other State or place to be sold as merchandize. And if any slave shall be brought into the said District by its owner, or by the authority or consent of its owner, contrary to the provisions of this act, such slave shall thereupon become liberated and free.[442]

Although some semblance of change had been achieved, enslaved people could still be bought and sold within the city, and the proximity of Virginia and Maryland to the district allowed slave traders to continue their business easily, just outside the city limits. In addition, the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Act permitted the apprehension of freedom seekers and the prosecution of those abetting enslaved persons, increasing fears of being captured and re-sold into slavery. Nevertheless, as a result of the Compromise of 1850, the enslaved population in DC declined. The decline may be attributed to a reduced demand for enslaved agricultural laborers, however, at least in part.[443]

E. PLANTATION LANDSCAPES IN THE ANTEBELLUM PERIOD

Along with its eponymous port town, Alexandria County, Virginia, had been a part of the District of Columbia for only a little more than a half-century when it was retroceded to the state of Virginia in 1846. This act was undertaken, in part, on behalf of local advocates who thought the U.S. Congress had spent too much money and attention in building Washington to the detriment of the once-thriving seaports of Georgetown and Alexandria, whose fortunes began to fade in the 1820s. Fundamentally, the retrocession was made to appease Virginia's slaveholding elite, who saw the burgeoning free Black community in Washington as a beacon to their enslaved workers and thereby a threat to the plantation system. Washington was abuzz with abolitionist activities, and several anti-slavery societies had been formed in the district by the 1830s; this threatened the plantation status quo in the rural areas near the capital.[444] Southern planters had to know that the

[xxix] The three other laws dealt with border disputes between Texas and New Mexico and the territory of Utah as well as the acceptance of California to the Union as a free state.

downfall of slavery was nigh, but the retrocession was a last salvo, intimating that the balance of power lay, albeit tenuously, with the plantation elite, at least for a while.

The agrarian plantation system in the rural counties of Virginia and Maryland within the NCA had adapted, over the course of two centuries, to changes in cultivation and agricultural practice as well as shifts in labor, yet it persisted as the primary landscape model and economic driver in the years prior to the Civil War. In fact the Antebellum plantation has benefited from the most scholarship in comparison with previous eras, and it is the Antebellum plantation that is invoked in the collective imagination when the word *plantation* is uttered. Several plantations that date to the Antebellum period are associated with NPS parklands in the NCA, including Wolf Trap Farm in Fairfax County and Portici in Prince William County, Virginia; Linnean Hall and the Van Ness House in Washington; and Mount Welby in Maryland. The following sections discuss two plantations on either side of the Potomac River and their enslaved communities prior to emancipation in some depth: Arlington House, which gave Alexandria County its name in 1920, and Ferry Hill.

1. Arlington House

Arlington was home to a large enslaved community from its inception through emancipation. The plantation belonged to George Washington Parke Custis, grandson of Martha Washington, who inherited the 1,100-acre tract and 200 enslaved workers, approximately 63 of whom lived at Arlington. In 1831 Custis's only legitimate child to survive to adulthood, Mary Anna Randolph Custis, married her childhood friend, Robert Edward Lee, the son of Revolutionary War hero "Light Horse" Harry Lee. The Lees inherited Arlington following Custis's death in 1857, but soon after the Civil War erupted, Union troops occupied Arlington and the Lee family fled.[445]

Arlington House was constructed between 1802 and 1818 on a high bluff, well back from the Potomac River. The house resembled a Greek temple, following the latest in English architectural fashion, and it was surrounded by an elaborate designed landscape.[446] Yet Arlington was also a working landscape—complete with pastures, cultivated fields, and a fishery—manned by enslaved labor. By the end of the Antebellum period, the enslaved housing on the property included five small log cabins: two along the riverside road that led to the estate's main gate and three set among the farm outbuildings, which included a smithy, a wheelwright's joinery, a saddlery, barns, and a pump house, which may also have housed enslaved field hands. The yard between the outbuildings was used for raising poultry and pigs as well as for cooking and laundry. The overseer's house, which the Custises occupied while Arlington House was under construction, was the only other structure on the property not made of logs.[447]

Behind Arlington House were two matching brick Classically styled outbuildings known as the North and South Dependencies (Figure 5.13). Most of the North Dependency served as a dormitory for enslaved people who worked as house servants. Recent excavations there, in support of restoration efforts, led to a reexamination of slavery on the Custis-Lee plantation. Examination of this community is warranted because Arlington House is such a prominent landmark in the NCA, and the relationships between enslaved people and their enslavers on the property are well documented. Some of the documentation comes from published accounts of disputes between Lee and the enslaved workers on the plantation, which were covered by national newspapers in the years just before the war.[448]



FIGURE 5.13: Arlington: Courtyard, Main House, and North Dependency, 1864 (Arlington House Archives n.d.)

Much is known about several of the enslaved persons at Arlington, such as Selina Norris Gray. Daughter of Sally and Leonard Norris, Selina was born at Arlington and married Thornton Gray, who cared for the Arlington horses, in 1831. The Grays dwelled in one room in the western third of the South Dependency with their six children. Selina was head housekeeper and personal maid to Mary Custis Lee, who entrusted Selina with the keys to the house when the Lees fled Arlington in 1861. This act signifies the responsibility given Selina to safeguard the "Washington Treasures" (family heirlooms from Martha and George Washington) from the occupying Union soldiers. Through Selina's efforts, several of the Washington Treasures were saved: When she discovered possessions had been taken from the house, she notified Gen. Irvin McDowell, who had the remainder removed and kept at the Patent Office. The Grays' daughters were considered important sources for the restoration of the Arlington House in the 1930s, as they provided interviews with the Army Quartermaster in 1929 and 1930, providing details on what Arlington House was like for the Army's rehabilitation project.[449]

Other enslaved persons at Arlington included George Clark, the cook, and Ephraim Derricks ("Uncle Ephraim"), Custis's manservant and gardener, who shared a room above the kitchen in the North Dependency. In Custis's lifetime, during the growing season, a few of the enslaved workers would bundle flowers from the garden (particularly roses, lilies of the valley, and chrysanthemums) into fragrant "nosegays" and garlands that were sold at markets in Georgetown and Washington; the proceeds financed resettlement of the family's enslaved members in Liberia. In the 1820s Custis had been an active member of the ACS, but by the 1840s he had become disillusioned with the ACS's project to repatriate Blacks to Liberia, although his wife and daughter continued to support the cause. The only Arlington residents who went to Africa were William and Rosabella Burke and their four young children. They departed on November 9, 1853, and soon after they arrived in Monrovia, Rosabella wrote to Mary Custis Lee of their happiness and success

there. In closing, she asked Mary to give their love to Catharine, Agnes, and Marianne Burke, who remained at Arlington.

Oral traditions of several formerly enslaved families maintain that their maternal ancestors were impregnated by Custis. Although there is no documentation or genetic evidence, it is now widely accepted that Custis was the father of Maria (or Mariah) Carter, who was born in 1803. Her mother was Arianna Carter (born about 1776 or 1780), who had been enslaved by Martha Washington before moving to Arlington. In 1826 Maria married Charles Syphax, who ran the dining room at Arlington House. Custis freed her and gave her a 17-acre property with a cottage in the southwest corner of the estate, where she raised 10 children. Evidently, her husband was not freed with her, as he is listed among the enslaved workers in the 1858 inventory (see below).

Custis's will stipulated that all the enslaved people at Arlington should be freed upon his death if the estate was found to be in good financial standing, or within five years otherwise:

> And upon the legacies to my four granddaughters being paid, then I give freedom to my slaves, the said slaves to be emancipated by my executor in such manner as he deems expedient and proper, the said emancipation to be accomplished in not exceeding five years from the time of my decease.[450]

Following Custis's death on October 10, 1857, an estate inventory was taken in January 1858 that listed 198 enslaved people, of whom 62 resided at Arlington. They were predominantly members of seven families with the surnames Bingham, Norris, Grey (Gray), Check (or Cheek), Burke, Parks (or Parke), and Taylor.[451] Lee perceived a conflict in carrying out his late father-in-law's evident intention to free the enslaved people at Arlington immediately. The only way he saw to fund his daughters' legacies, as stipulated by the will, was to keep working the enslaved people. Lee applied to the Circuit Court of Arlington for clarification, and the Court ruled that Lee could hold enslaved workers in service to the estate until the legacies were satisfied, but they must be freed no later than five years after the date of Custis's death. For the next four years Lee kept the enslaved field hands at the farms of White House and Romancoke while other enslaved people were hired out to nearby landowners.[452]

In January 1858, 11 of the Arlington enslaved workers were hired out by Lee, but three of them returned to Arlington the first day complaining that their new tasks were too difficult. In a letter to his son Custis, Lee remarked that one of these was "Reuben, a great rogue & rascal whom I must get rid of some way."[453] By May 30, 1858, Lee complained that Reuben, Parks, and Edward Bingham "refused to obey [his] orders, & said they were as free as [he] was."[454] Within six weeks, Lee sent these three men by train (guarded by the constable, Richard Williams) to the Richmond slave trader William Overton Winston, with instructions to keep them in jail until Winston could hire them out to "good & responsible" men in Virginia. He intended they should serve until their freedom was mandated by the terms of Custis's will, in 1862. Lee would not let them come home to Arlington for the holidays, as was customary. He also sent three female enslaved house servants to Winston, adding, "I cannot recommend them for honesty."[455] Lee continued to hire out Arlington's enslaved men and women, and by the middle of 1859, all the work at Arlington was being performed by older men and boys because all the mature men had been hired out.

The fate of the enslaved people at Arlington was a matter of national interest. An anonymous letter, originally sent to a Boston newspaper, was published in *The New York Times* on December 30,

1857. The writer claimed that Custis had spoken to his gathered enslaved workers from his deathbed, promising them immediate freedom when he died. The heirs, the writer claimed, were ignoring this announcement and planning to sell the people south. Lee wrote to the *Times* on January 4, 1858, denying these allegations. On June 24, 1859, two anonymous letters were published in the *New York Tribune* alleging mistreatment of those enslaved at Arlington House. The first related that Lee sent an officer after three enslaved persons who had run away and had made it to within 9 miles of Maryland's border with Pennsylvania, a free state. According to the author, Lee had the two enslaved men and one enslaved woman whipped by the officer, but when the officer refused to whip the woman, Lee did it himself. The second letter provided more detail on the same matter. The author attested that Lee worked Arlington's enslaved population more brutally than Custis had in his lifetime and provided them half rations. The author continues to elaborate on Lee's cruelty, relating that he sent an elderly man, "bent with age," who had retired into the fields to work, and that Lee sent three enslaved persons "to jail, and a few months later three more, for simply going down to the river to get themselves some fish, when they were literally starved." Of the incident with the three freedom seekers, the letter writer states that Lee did not advertise for them, "which looks exceedingly as though Mr. Lee, the present proprietor, knew he had no lawful claim to them." The three were "intercepted by some brute in human form," imprisoned, then transported to Arlington where the presumed bounty hunter administered 39 lashes to the two men. As with the first account, the author states that the bounty hunter refused to whip the woman, at which point Lee interceded and gave her 39 lashes of the whip. The conclusion to the account was that Lee then sent the three to jail in Richmond.[456]

The verity and accuracy of second-hand reports, no matter the provenance, may be questionable; in the case of the anonymous letters, the *New York Tribune* was a staunchly abolitionist newspaper eager to publicize the most gruesome accounts of enslavers' cruelty. However, a first-hand report was provided that corroborated, albeit with slight discrepancies, the events portrayed in the letters. One of the self-liberated, formerly enslaved workers at Arlington recounted his experience, which appeared in an abolitionist journal, the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, on April 14, 1866 (seven years after the publication of the anonymous letters in the *New York Tribune*):

> My name is Wesley Norris; I was born a slave on the plantation of George Parke Custis; after the death of Mr. Custis, Gen. Lee, who had been made executor of the estate, assumed control of the slaves, in number about seventy; it was the general impression among the slaves of Mr. Custis that on his death they should be forever free; in fact this statement had been made to them by Mr. C. years before; at his death we were informed by Gen. Lee that by the conditions of the will we must remain slaves for five years; I remained with Gen. Lee for about seventeen months, when my sister Mary, a cousin of ours, and I determined to run away, which we did in the year 1859; we had already reached Westminster, in Maryland, on our way to the North, when we were apprehended and thrown into prison, and Gen. Lee notified of our arrest; we remained in prison fifteen days, when we were sent back to Arlington; we were immediately taken before Gen. Lee, who demanded the reason why we ran away; we frankly told him that we considered ourselves free; he then told us he would teach us a lesson we never would forget; he then ordered us to the barn, where, in his presence, we were tied firmly to posts by a Mr. Gwin, our overseer, who was ordered by Gen. Lee to strip us to the waist and give us fifty lashes each, excepting my sister, who received but twenty; we were accordingly stripped to the skin by the overseer, who, however, had sufficient humanity to decline whipping us; accordingly Dick Williams, a county constable, was called in, who gave us the number of lashes ordered; Gen. Lee, in

> the meantime, stood by, and frequently enjoined Williams to "lay it on well," an injunction which he did not fail to heed; not satisfied with simply lacerating our naked flesh, Gen. Lee then ordered the overseer to thoroughly wash our backs with brine, which was done. After this my cousin and myself were sent to Hanover Court-House jail, my sister being sent to Richmond to an agent to be hired; we remained in jail about a week, when we were sent to Nelson county, where we were hired out by Gen. Lee's agent to work on the Orange and Alexander railroad; we remained thus employed for about seven months, and were then sent to Alabama, and put to work on what is known as the Northeastern railroad; in January, 1863, we were sent to Richmond, from which place I finally made my escape through the rebel lines to freedom; I have nothing further to say; what I have stated is true in every particular, and I can at any time bring at least a dozen witnesses, both white and Black, to substantiate my statements: I am at present employed by the Government; and am at work in the National Cemetery on Arlington Heights, where I can be found by those who desire further particulars; my sister referred to is at present employed by the French Minister at Washington, and will confirm my statement.[457]

Some other accounts of this incident identify the unnamed cousin as "George." There were only two Georges at Arlington: "Old George" Clarke, the cook, and "Little George" Parks. It seems more likely that young Parks was the third self-liberated person.[458] In the 1866 version of the events, Norris does not allege that Lee personally whipped his sister, but otherwise his account matches the earlier version. One might be inclined, along with most of Lee's biographers and apologists, to dismiss much of this story as false or exaggerated anti-slavery propaganda. However, Elizabeth B. Pryor found five generally consistent accounts of the incident, and most importantly, she found a record in Lee's accounts book for June 1859 of the payment to Constable Williams for his services that day: "To Richard Williams, arrest, &c of fugitive slaves--$321.14."[459]

On December 29, 1862, shortly after the battle of Fredericksburg, Lee executed a deed of manumission for the enslaved people who had been part of the Custis inheritance as well as for Nancy, an enslaved woman, and her children, whom Lee had inherited from his parents.[xxx] Lee wrote to Mary on January 8, 1863, from Fredericksburg:

> I executed the deed of manumission sent me by attorney Caskle and returned it to him. I perceived that John, Lawrence, and James, names had been omitted and inserted them. I fear there are others among the White House people that I did not discover. As to the attacks of the Northern papers I do not mind them. If all the names of the people are not embraced in the deed I have executed, I should want a supplementary deed to be drawn up containing all those omitted. Custis will have to get the lists from my box of papers if he has not them.

[xxx] Lee's declaration of manumission from December 1862 lists the following 59 enslaved people at Arlington: Eleanor Harris; Ephraim Dimicks (Derricks); George Clarke; Charles Syphax; Selina Gray, Thorton Gray, and their six children (Emma, Sarah, Harry, Anise, Ada, Thornton); Margaret Taylor and her four children (Dandridge, John, Billy, Quincy); Lawrence Parks and his nine children (Perry, George, Amanda, Martha, Lawrence, James, Magdalena, Leno, William); Julia Ann Check, her three children (Catharine, Louis, Henry), and a grandchild (Catherine's infant); Sally Norris, Len Norris and their three children (Mary, Sally, Wesley); Old Shack Check; Austin Bingham, Louisa Bingham, and their 12 children (Harrison, Parks, Reuben, Henry, Edward, Austin, Lucius, Leanthe, Louisa, Caroline, Jem, and an infant); Obadiah Grey; Austin Branham; Michael Merriday; Catharine Burke and her child; Marianne Burke; and Agnes Burke. See Joe Ryan, "The Lee Family Slaves," *Joe Ryan's American Civil War, Then and Now* (Richmond, VA: original document on file, Eleanor L.S. Brockenbrough Archives, Museum of the Confederacy, 2012), http://joeryancivilwar.com/Civil-War-Subjects/General-Lee-Slaves/General-Lee-FamilySlaves.html.

> I wish to emancipate the whole, whether of the estate or not. They are entitled to their freedom and I wish to give it to them.[460]

A few months later, Lee learned that the man he had called unruly, Reuben Bingham, had died. Strangely concerned, he wrote a letter from headquarters to his son Custis on March 31, 1863, asking him to investigate: "Can you get the proper evidence of Reuben's death and from what cause? He was of such a turbulent disposition that I fear he may have caused it."[461]

Among the enslaved people who remained at Arlington while it was occupied by Union troops during the war was James Parks, known as "Uncle Jim" (about 1843-1929). His grandfather, George Clark, had been a "gift" from George Washington to Custis. George had worked as the head cook at Arlington, and reputedly lived to be more than 100 years old. Parks was said to have a photographic memory, and he was a crucial informant about the functions of the various buildings at Arlington House when, in 1928, he described the layout of the plantation to Lt. Col. G. Mortimer, quartermaster for the Marine Corps.

2. Ferry Hill

In 1765 Thomas Van Swearingen opened a ferry crossing operation on the Maryland side of the Potomac River. Swearingen charged three pence per person and horses, and eventually built a successful business situated in the crossroads of northwestern Maryland. Roads were constructed that connected Shepherdstown, (now West) Virginia, and Sharpsburg, Maryland, to the ferry landings on either side of the river. These roads eventually connected to towns such as Jefferson and Harpers Ferry in (now West) Virginia and Hagerstown and Baltimore in Maryland. Having previously purchased land south of Swearingen Ferry, in 1816 John Blackford finally connected his Maryland land holdings through the purchase of the entirety of Swearingen's land, including the ferry and three tracts: "Antietam Bottom," "Ferry Landing," and "Ferry Landing Enlarged." This consolidation of land, totaling over 700 acres, became the Ferry Hill plantation (Figure 5.14).[462]

Farming flourished in western Maryland, known for its highly fertile land; in the mid-1800s Washington County led the state in production of corn and was second in wheat. The farming at Ferry Hill was consistent with the farming practices of western Maryland and northern Virginia, which favored diversified agriculture over tobacco cultivation.[463] Farms in the are were highly successful in agricultural pursuits early in the 1800s, and farmers advocated for transportation improvements to better support their industries. In connecting western Maryland to markets in Harrisburg, Baltimore, and Washington, DC, the construction of the Baltimore and Ohio (B&O) Railroad and the C&O Canal, both begun in 1828, as well as improvements to roads, all contributed to the continued success of farming in the region.

Ferry Hill's principal products were wheat and timber. Blackford sold seed to adjacent farmers and used mills located on Antietam Creek to produce flour to ship to Baltimore. Other products were sold in local markets, including apples, vinegar, cider, apple butter, and potatoes. With ample forests, timber was harvested in the fall and winter months for numerous uses. Blackford kept some for use as fuel and building materials on the plantation. Wood was sold as fuel and building materials to customers in Shepherdstown, Sharpsburg, and Boonsboro. Blackford also had logs



FIGURE 5.14: "Ferry Hill Place as of 1940" (Documenting the American South 1961)

sold to mills for their use as well as on the C&O Canal.[464] In addition to Ferry Hill's strategic location along the Potomac River, historian Max L. Grivno credits Blackford's agricultural success, in part, to his use of modern tools and techniques as well as agricultural experimentation such a mineral and organic fertilizers.[465] Blackford also developed his businesses beyond agriculture to include investments in the Boonsboro Turnpike and other new roads as well as contributions to the C&O Canal to increase traffic to Ferry Hill.

Grivno addresses the debate among historians over whether slavery could prosper in a region practicing diversified farming. He argues that the steady decline of the enslaved population in the region offers ample evidence that farmers could not or would not rely on enslaved labor only.[466] The Black population of Washington County had reached 85 percent enslaved in 1810 but dropped to 46 percent by 1860, accounting for around 1,400 enslaved people at the start of the Civil War. During Blackford's ownership from 1816 to 1839, 25 enslaved workers and some part-time laborers worked at Ferry Hill.[467] Census records indicate that Blackford first purchased enslaved persons in 1798.[468] The 1820 federal census lists Blackford in Sharpsburg, Maryland, with 22 other people (12 enslaved and 10 free whites).[469] In 1830 Blackford lived with eight enslaved and 19 free whites.[470]

Two of the enslaved workers at Ferry Hill, Ned and Jupe, operated the ferry while an unknown number of enslaved persons worked as house servants. The majority of duties for the enslaved workers at Ferry Hill included "cutting fire wood and saw timber, caring for the livestock, planting, cultivating, and harvesting the grain, hay, and apple crops, and such irregular jobs as filling the two ice houses and rebuilding the cistern and water works for Ferry Hill Place."[471] They completed these tasks alongside diverse hired laborers, which included local whites, white immigrants to the

region, free Blacks, enslaved workers leased from neighbors, and some Native Americans. Fletcher M. Green counted the number of laborers present during two months of work at the plantation, and they included three enslaved persons, four free Blacks, three Native Americans, two Dutchmen, six Germans, one Irishman, one Italian, and 21 local whites.[472]

Under Blackford's management the property maintained some characteristics of a pre-Civil War plantation that used an enslaved labor force for the production of agricultural products. Unlike many Southern plantations, however, and following western Maryland's agricultural economy, Ferry Hill produced more than one specialized crop, including grains, hay, fruit, potatoes, livestock, and timber, and laborers worked independently with little supervision.[473] Western Maryland farmers had difficulty maintaining slavery as it was practiced in the Lower South. Progressive farming often required the purchase of machinery and other improvements, which left less money for purchasing enslaved people. Seasonal crop cycles demanded changing levels of needed labor, making enslaved labor inefficient on smaller farms. Blackford, however, seems to have created a system of management that allowed his farm to flourish with the use of a mix of enslaved and hired labor on seasonal rotations and, on occasion, leasing his enslaved workers to other farmers. He averaged a higher number of enslaved people at his farm than most enslavers in the county, which typically averaged five or fewer enslaved people per household.[474]

Blackford was unique in his choice to manage the plantation himself and not rely on an overseer. Generally leaving laborers to complete their work independently, he spent his time recording daily activities in a journal, tracking financial records, and managing other businesses, including investments in the C&O Canal, renting farmland to relatives, running a town tavern, and livestock breeding. The journal entry from January 6, 1838, notes rent paid in crops to Blackford by tenant farmer Joseph Knode (Blackford's nephew) as well as daily activities conducted by workers. From his diary entries, several laborers are named but their statuses as free or enslaved are not apparent:

> *22nd Monday*.… sent Enoch to Sharpsg. for the cart sent $1 to purchase sugar. Murf treading out wheat. Will gone to the woods to help Shellman who is not there but at Sharpsg. drunk, Jonathan Miller called, eat his dinner, and I paid him for makeing 2640 shingles $8.27. Shellman brought the saw from Sharpsburgh him and Miller went down to the ferry House. I rode out to shew two free negroes where to cut wood. four Germans called want wood to cut. Will has cut some wood Murf has done sheaves 500 Enoch returned with the cart at dark. Ned & Jupe in the Boat. Small Business.[475]

In some historical accounts Blackford's treatment of his enslaved and hired laborers is described as benevolent. Green relays that Blackford bought good clothing for his enslaved laborers, fed them well, gave them gifts, and provided good healthcare when needed. Blackford often allowed his enslaved workers to make purchases for him, visit nearby neighborhoods, and take full control of many aspects of the plantation's operation. Green notes, however, that Blackford did administer punishment, such as lashings, and newspaper records indicate that Ferry Hill enslaved individuals fled their captivity.[476]

> $100 REWARD. RAN AWAY from the subscriber in May last, negro JOHN, calls himself John Lewis, and sometimes John Butler, aged 35 years, 5 feet 3 inches high, stout and well formed; he walks very erect, his shoulders inclining back, he is very black, his head considerably grey, has a sound good set of teeth, smokes and chews tobacco, is fond of strong drink, is a tolerable shoe maker and rough carpenter; he has worked occasionally in

> the ferry boat; he took with him a variety of clothing, amongst which was a deep blue cloth coat. I will give the above reward for securing said negro in Hagerstown jail, or a liberal reward for any information which may lead to his detection.
>
> JOHN BLACKFORD,
>
> Ferry, opposite Shepherdstown, Potomac River.
>
> Dec. 28 9-tf.[477]

Blackford allowed his enslaved workers to leave the plantation for holidays to see family. Grivno's research showed that the enslaved people at Ferry Hill had a widespread network of social interaction with enslaved and free Black populations in the region. Their connection to the enslaved people working at the Antietam Forge was strongest, as Ferry Hill's enslaved population attended the services at the AME church founded by those at the forge. In short, the Ferry Hill enslaved community "came into frequent contact with free black laborers and travelers" given the degree of mobility they were allowed in the region.[478]

Ferry Hill had five residences within its boundaries. Blackford and his family occupied a large red brick house, known as Ferry Hill Place.[479] Three additional dwellings housed Blackford's son Franklin, his brother Charles Knode, and his nephew Joseph Knode, each of whom contributed in varying degrees to the management of the plantation. The fifth residence, known as "The Cottage," was built by Van Swearingen to house the ferry attendant. Blackford may have housed his enslaved ferry attendants, Ned and Jupe, at "The Cottage." He is also said to have rented homes in Shepherdstown to his hired workers.[480]

Blackford died in 1839, and his land was divided among his three sons, Franklin, Henry, and William Moore. Franklin received most of the land, which included the Swearingen Ferry landing, the related boats and apparatus, the landing in Virginia, a lot along the C&O Canal, and a dwelling in Shepherdstown. Henry inherited Ferry Hill Place, and William Moore was given the Lower Farm, Shepherd Place, and the Bedford Farm. In 1846 Henry sold Ferry Hill Place to Franklin at a value of $17,180.[481] Helena and Robert Douglas purchased the property from Franklin in 1850 and continued the farming practices established by Blackford. Douglas worked as a minister and hired a manager for the plantation. When the property was transferred to the Douglases, Franklin sold the ferry to a company that then constructed a bridge across the river, rendering the ferry obsolete.[482]

3. Joshua Newcomer Farm

What is now known as the Newcomer Farm within the Antietam National Battlefield originated as a light-industrial complex along Antietam Creek in the late 1700s. Prussian immigrant Christian Orndorff, Jr. migrated to Frederick (now Washington) County, Maryland, from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1762 and purchased 515 acres from James Smith. He erected a large log-and-limestone home that he called Mount Pleasant and a large fieldstone gristmill. His business proved so successful that he built several other mills and workshops along the creek, including a sawmill, a plaster mill, a cooper's shop, and tool shops, thereby creating a concentrated area of light industry in the area one decade before the onset of the American Revolution.

Orndorff's industrial enterprises attracted settlers to the area (directly resulting in the founding of Sharpsburg in 1763) and made him a wealthy man. By 1782, Orndorff's eldest son, Christopher, had assumed responsibility for the milling enterprises and had rebuilt and enlarged the gristmill. In the 1790 federal census of Washington County, Christopher was listed as the enslaver of seven people, a considerably larger number than his brother Henry (who enslaved two people) or his father Christian (four people). This suggests that Christopher's enslaved laborers either worked in the mills or on the large farm that fed them.[483]

In 1796 Christopher Orndorff, striking out for frontier land in Kentucky, sold 324 acres and the mills to immigrant Jacob Mumma, who had also come from Germany via Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Mumma and his sons operated the mills until 1841. By 1821 Mumma's son John had taken over the milling enterprises, which were processing 20,000 bushels of corn, wheat, and rye as well as producing 60 tons of plaster. The 1830 federal census listed John as the enslaver of five persons, a larger number than his father or siblings had ever enslaved up to that point, suggesting again that the enslaved laborers likely worked in the various industrial businesses on the property or attended the crops that fed the mills. When John died suddenly in 1835, the milling operations were divested to his brother, who operated the mills from 1837 until 1841. The 1840 census listed Samuel as the enslaver of one person (a man aged between 10 and 23 years) within his 10-person household, yet he listed 51 people engaged in agriculture on his farm, suggesting that the majority of laborers were free men paid wages.

By 1848 the milling property had been sold to Lewis Watson and Joshua Newcomer, neither of whom were enslavers. The 1850 federal census schedule of manufacturers named the property the Watson and Newcomer Mill; that year, Newcomer had a boarder in his household, David Barkman, whose occupation was listed as a miller. Presumably, in the decade prior to the Civil War, all enslaved labor at the property had been replaced by wage earners. Newcomer purchased Watson's shares in 1853, becoming the sole owner of the property, and it was the Newcomer Farm that Union and Confederate troops passed through in September 1862 during the Battle of Antietam. What soldiers would have seen as they were passing through was a prosperous hamlet with a concentration of buildings flanking the Boonsboro turnpike, including two houses, a large barn, a gristmill, a sawmill, and a workshop building, the latter three situated close to the west banks of Antietam Creek. Fields of hay, corn, wheat, and clover as well as an orchard flanked the road and creek. Although no skirmishes occurred on his farm, the Union Army used the house, barn, and gristmill on the property as a field hospital. Newcomer filed a claim for financial losses after the war ended, stating that the passing troops had robbed his cornfield for fodder for their animals, had trampled his pastures, and had broken up his wood fencing for fuel. He claimed a loss of over $3,000 but was rewarded only $145 by the government for not clearly differentiating destruction perpetrated by Union troops versus Confederate troops. The family, financially devastated, moved to Illinois to start anew.[484]

F. SUMMARY

The period leading up to the Civil War was fraught with tension and division, as the free Black population began to outstrip the enslaved population in major urban centers and in several rural counties in the NCA. As the diversification of crops displaced tobacco cultivation, the manumission of enslaved persons in the NCA accelerated. Nevertheless, the interstate trade of enslaved people prospered in the Antebellum years, as enslaved individuals from Maryland and

Virginia were transported to cotton-growing plantations in the Deep South. Alexandria, Georgetown, and Washington all developed and prospered as sites of enslavement, imprisonment, and auction.

Enslaved labor was integral to the building of the nation's capital, and Washington became a divided city with an enslaved population intermingled with a free Black one. Although free Blacks in the district prospered—buying real estate, starting businesses, finding occupations, building schools, and organizing churches and benevolent societies—they lived always under the shadow of slavery. The passage of Fugitive Slave acts severely threatened the freedom of freeborn and newly freed people, who could be captured by slave traders and sold south. Black Codes limited the freedom of free Blacks in DC, who were also the targets of racism from laboring whites who felt threatened economically by the rise of the free Black population. Riots and rebellions broke out, which resulted in draconian legislation, backlash, and deepening racism and fear on the part of white society.

White political leaders, threatened by the instability of slavery and its inherent violence, machinated colonization schemes that would literally remove Blacks from America and resettle them in Africa. Some Black people selected this path to freedom, but most wished to stay in the only homes they ever knew rather than "returning" to a continent unknown to them. By the 1830s the abolitionist movement had replaced colonization schemes and the Underground Railroad emerged as a network of free Blacks and whites who assisted enslaved persons to escape bondage and flee to free states and other countries. By 1850 the District of Columbia had outlawed the importation of enslaved people within its borders, yet local slave trading persisted. Plantations in the NCA, such as Arlington House and Ferry Hill, continued to use an enslaved workforce up to the outbreak of the Civil War and eventual emancipation.

VI. THE CIVIL WAR (1861-1865)

FIND YOUR PARK

Sites Dating from this Time Period: (*Mentioned in this Chapter)
*ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD (ANTI): Locher/Poffenberger Farm [c. 1811], John Otto Farm [c. 1830], Piper Farm [c. 1846], Pry Farm [c. 1844]
*ARLINGTON HOUSE (ARHO): Freedman's Village [1863-1865] (p. 150, 153-157)
*GEORGE WASHINGTON MEMORIAL PARKWAY (GWMP): Camp Greene at Analostan Island [1861-1865] (p. 144)
*HARPERS FERRY NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK (HAFE): John Brown's Fort [1848], Kennedy Farmhouse [1852] (p. 139)
*MANASSAS NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD (MANA): Brawner Farm [c. 1820], Portici [c. 1820], Rosefield [c. 1812] (p. 157)
*MONOCACY NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD (MONO): L'Hermitage Enslaved Village [1794]; Baker, Thomas, and Worthington farms (p. 158)
*CIVIL WAR FORTS/DEFENSES OF WASHINGTON [1862], including Forts Albany, Ethan Allen, Kearny, Lyon, Marcy, Reno, Tillinghast, and Battery Kemble (p. 148-151)

God knew that we could be torn away from our black idol of slavery only by the destroying angel of war. –Henry Wise, former Governor of Virginia, 1866

A. JOHN BROWN AT HARPERS FERRY

Many Americans believe the first shots of the Civil War were fired in abolitionist John Brown's actions in Harpers Ferry, (now West) Virginia in the autumn of 1859. Traditionally called a "raid" or an "insurrection" by his detractors, Brown's occupation of a federal arsenal has been described also as "the fulfillment of a pledge to God to increase hostility toward slavery" and an "attempt to disrupt the security of investing in people as property."[485] Fundamentally, it was a signal that compromise and conciliation over slavery were no longer possible and that the nation was geared for war.

Brown, with 21 young men and two women, camped at the Kennedy Farmhouse near Harpers Ferry to plan a daring siege of a munitions storage depot and rifle factory. Five of the men were African Americans, born free and formerly enslaved, from diverse backgrounds. Three of the men were Brown's sons, and the women were his youngest daughter and a daughter-in-law, both of whom were sent home weeks before the raid. On October 16 Brown led 18 of the young men into the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry to arm, as he said, the enslaved people of the South and lead them in a great rebellion to establish their freedom.[486] Before this could be accomplished, he and his men were trapped in the arsenal by militiamen and armed civilians. They were overwhelmed in a quick battle with U.S. Marines under the command of Col. Robert E. Lee; 10 of Brown's men were killed during the fighting or in the aftermath while five escaped successfully. Brown and six others were caught, tried, and hanged. On his way to the gallows, Brown handed to a guard his famous note that read, "I John Brown am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land: will never be purged away; but with Blood."

Lee hated his assignment and was shocked by both the fanaticism of Brown's men and the savage fury of the militiamen who opposed them; perhaps he received that day his first glimpse of the strong feelings that would make the Civil War so fierce and bloody. By way of continuing the fighting and punishing the rebels, the bodies of Brown's men were handed over to medical students for dissection. Brown's was not, however, because his widow wrote to Virginia's Gov. Henry Wise, who wrote a gracious reply and gave the body a reprieve. Wise was also shocked by the events at Harpers Ferry, not so much by the fighting as by the hundreds of letters he received from Northerners defending Brown or promising bloody retribution if the survivors of Brown's raid were executed.[487]

Harpers Ferry became a trap from which Brown and over three-quarters of his men did not escape. Yet slavery had been outlawed in the United States by the end of 1865. Did Brown's blood sacrifice provide the lever that set the whole avalanche—secession, war, emancipation—in motion? In both North and South, thousands of people thought so.

B. RADICAL MEASURES: THE U.S. COLORED REGIMENTS

The question of whether African American soldiers would be allowed to serve in the Union Army loomed over the Union war effort from its earliest days. Radicals like Frederick Douglass argued strongly for arming free Blacks, but Northern conservatives were frankly horrified by the prospect, and the Republican leadership initially held back. The issue was forced by events in the field. Wherever Union armies went in the Confederacy, they were met by African Americans eager to liberate themselves, and officers began to bombard the War Department with queries about what they should do. Some officers did not wait for instructions but immediately welcomed the self-liberated African Americans and put the able-bodied to work building fortifications or towards other labor. After all, it was an old doctrine that anything the enemy was using to support the fight could be seized as "contraband of war." When Maj. Gen. Benjamin F. Butler refused to return self-liberating enslaved persons seeking refuge at Fortress Monroe to their enslaver, who had petitioned Butler for their return under the Fugitive Slave Act, he concluded that enslaved persons from Secessionist states could be construed as resources who aided the enemy in its fight and therefore could be "seized" by Union forces. Butler's refusal, which became known as the "Contraband Decision," led to the Union Army's decision to treat self-liberated African Americans as "Contrabands,"[xxxi] whom they freed but also employed to construct their own defenses. The term connoted "a provisional state of being neither free nor enslaved."[488]

Limiting able-bodied men to labor seemed a waste to some officers, and there were attempts to organize Black troops from the spring of 1862 onward. President Lincoln, worried about the effect of such a measure on public opinion in the North, continued to repudiate these efforts, which he thought would require explicit legislation. Moves in Congress to authorize Black troops began in the fall of 1862, and Thaddeus Stevens introduced a bill in the Senate to legalize Black regiments on January 12, 1863. Southerners who could see what was coming vowed to execute every captured Black soldier as an enslaved rebel and treat their white officers the same way. With Lincoln's quiet support Congress passed a bill for the raising of Black troops on February 3. It was

[xxxi] It is important to note that only freedom seekers from states that seceded from the United States were legally considered contraband. Slavery was still in effect in federally controlled areas until local emancipatory laws were passed, such as the legislation for emancipating DC enslaved persons in 1862 and in Maryland in 1864. Many enslaved people from Maryland claimed to be from Virginia so they could obtain their freedom.

not all the radicals had wanted: it specifically excluded African Americans from serving as combat officers, and it set the pay of Black troops at less than that of whites.

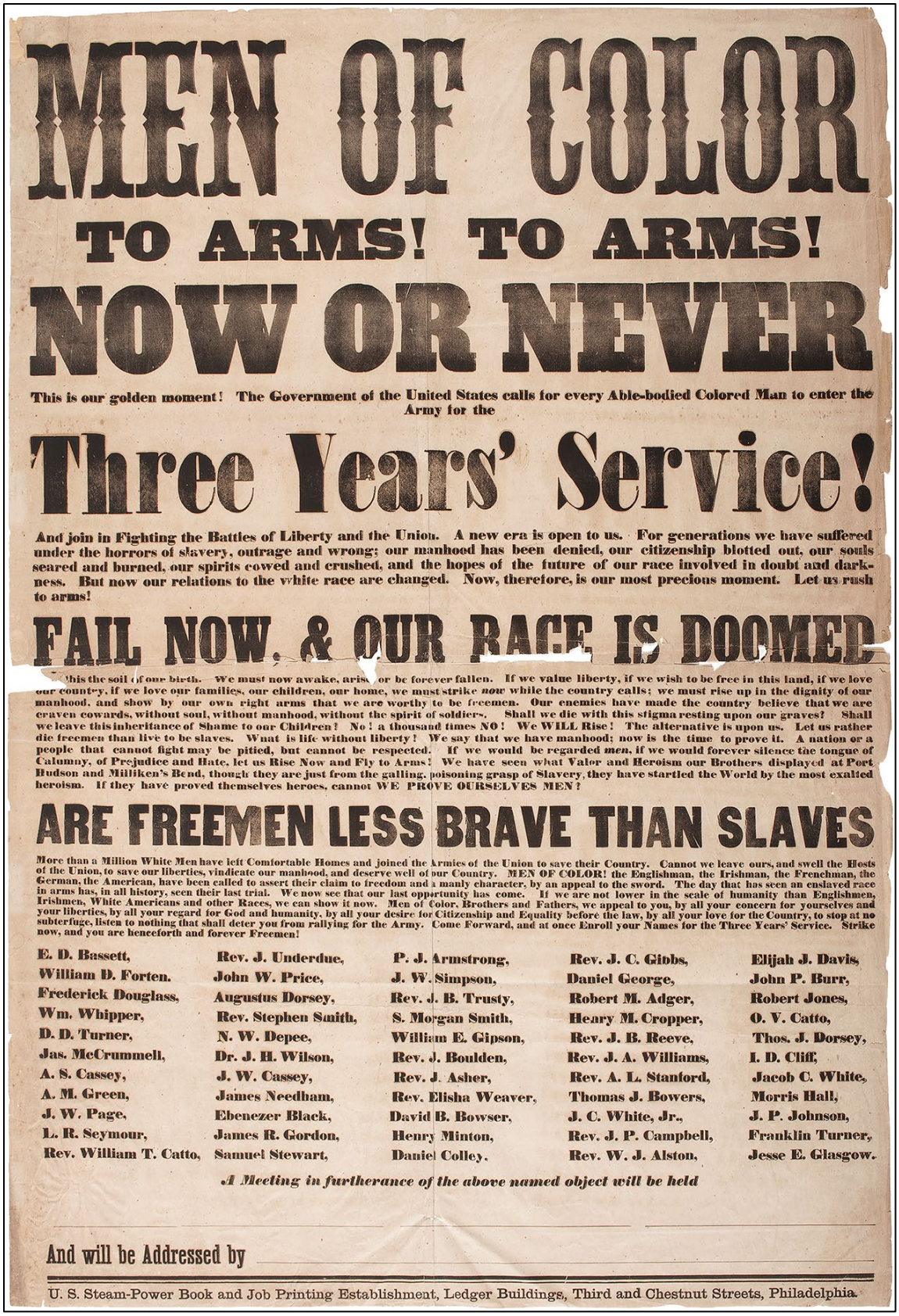
Those failings galled abolitionists but did not deter them. Massachusetts was the first state to recruit Black troops, under the leadership of radical Republican Gov. John Andrew. Andrew and his friends threw themselves into creating what became the Massachusetts 54th Infantry. They recruited sons of some of the state's most prominent white families to serve as officers, eventually landing two veterans who already had exemplary records from the earlier part of the war, Robert Gould Shaw to serve as colonel and Edward Hallowell as lieutenant colonel. Two of Frederick Douglass's sons, Charles and Lewis, joined the regiment in April 1863; Charles became the First Sergeant of the 5th Massachusetts Cavalry while Lewis rose to Sergeant Major of the 54th Infantry. Sojourner Truth's grandson, James Caldwell, enlisted in Company H of the 54th Infantry. To recruit soldiers the Union Army turned to the many famous orators who had long advocated for abolition, including Douglass and his son Frederick Douglass, Jr. Douglass delivered dozens of speeches across the North and published a manifesto, *Men of Color, to Arms*. Some African Americans were skeptical of joining the war on behalf of a government that still allowed slavery, in states that denied free Blacks the right to vote, but Douglass did not agree:

> There is no time to delay. The tide is at its flood that leads on to fortune. From East to West, from North to South, the sky is written all over, "Now or never." Liberty won by white men would lose half its luster. "Who would be free themselves must strike the blow." "Better even die free, than to live slaves." This is the sentiment of every brave colored man amongst us. There are weak and cowardly men in all nations. We have them amongst us. They tell you this is the "white man's war"; that you will be "no better off after than before the war"; that the getting of you into the army is to "sacrifice you on the first opportunity." Believe them not; cowards themselves, they do not wish to have their cowardice shamed by your brave example. Leave them to their timidity, or to whatever motive may hold them back.…
>
> I will not argue. To do so implies hesitation and doubt, and you do not hesitate. You do not doubt. The day dawns; the morning star is bright upon the horizon! The iron gate of our prison stands half open. One gallant rush from the North will fling it wide open, while four millions of our brothers and sisters shall march out into liberty. The chance is now given you to end in a day the bondage of centuries, and to rise in one bound from social degradation to the plane of common equality with all other varieties of men.[489]

As Douglass's rhetoric shows, the raising of Black troops was the crucial issue of 1863 for anti-slavery radicals, the one to which they devoted their greatest efforts. Once those troops were raised, hope for eventual equality was bound up in their success. Many Americans viewed the performance of Black troops as a crucial test of the worthiness of African Americans to be full citizens of their country. The calls of Douglass and others were readily answered, and by the end of the war, about 178,000 Black men had volunteered for the Union Army and about 19,000 for the Navy. Roughly 20 percent of these soldiers died during the war.

1. Raising Black Troops in Washington, DC

The pioneering efforts of Massachusetts were followed by other jurisdictions, including the District of Columbia (Figure 6.1). Thousands of self-liberated people had come to the nation's capital in search of safety or work, and the federal district had a sizeable population of free African



MEN OF COLOR

TO ARMS! TO ARMS!

NOW OR NEVER

This is our golden moment! The Government of the United States calls for every Able-bodied Colored Man to enter the Army for the

Three Years' Service!

And join in Fighting the Battles of Liberty and the Union. A new era is open to us. For generations we have suffered under the horrors of slavery, outrage and wrong; our manhood has been denied, our citizenship blotted out, our souls seared and burned, our spirits cowed and crushed, and the hopes of the future of our race involved in doubt and darkness. But now our relations to the white race are changed. Now, therefore, is our most precious moment. Let us rush to arms!

FAIL NOW, & OUR RACE IS DOOMED

...his the soil of our birth. We must now awake, arise, or be forever fallen. If we value liberty, if we wish to be free in this land, if we love our country, if we love our families, our children, our home, we must strike *now* while the country calls: we must rise up in the dignity of our manhood, and show by our own right arms that we are worthy to be freemen. Our enemies have made the country believe that we are craven cowards, without soul, without manhood, without the spirit of soldiers. Shall we die with this stigma resting upon our graves? Shall we leave this inheritance of Shame to our Children? No! a thousand times NO! We WILL Rise! The alternative is upon us. Let us rather die freemen than live to be slaves. What is life without liberty? We say that we have manhood; now is the time to prove it. A nation or a people that cannot fight may be pitied, but cannot be respected. If we would be regarded *men*, if we would forever silence the tongue of Calumny, of Prejudice and Hate, let us Rise Now and Fly to Arms! We have seen what Valor and Heroism our Brothers displayed at Port Hudson and Milliken's Bend, though they are just from the galling, poisoning grasp of Slavery, they have startled the World by the most exalted heroism. If they have proved themselves heroes, cannot WE PROVE OURSELVES MEN?

ARE FREEMEN LESS BRAVE THAN SLAVES

More than a Million White Men have left Comfortable Homes and joined the Armies of the Union to save their Country. Cannot we leave ours, and swell the Hosts of the Union, to save our liberties, vindicate our manhood, and deserve well of our Country. MEN OF COLOR! the Englishman, the Irishman, the Frenchman, the German, the American, have been called to assert their claim to freedom and a manly character, by an appeal to the sword. The day that has seen an enslaved race in arms has, in all history, seen their last trial. We now see that our last opportunity has come. If we are not lower in the scale of humanity than Englishmen, Irishmen, White Americans and other Races, we can show it now. Men of Color, Brothers and Fathers, we appeal to you, by all your concern for yourselves and your liberties, by all your regard for God and humanity, by all your desire for Citizenship and Equality before the law, by all your love for the Country, to stop at no subterfuge, listen to nothing that shall deter you from rallying for the Army. Come Forward, and at once Enroll your Names for the Three Years' Service. Strike now, and you are henceforth and forever Freemen!

E. D. Bassett,	Rev. J. Underdue,	P. J. Armstrong,	Rev. J. C. Gibbs,	Elijah J. Davis,
William D. Forten.	John W. Price,	J. W. Simpson,	Daniel George,	John P. Burr,
Frederick Douglass,	Augustus Dorsey,	Rev. J. B. Trusty,	Robert M. Adger,	Robert Jones,
Wm. Whipper,	Rev. Stephen Smith,	S. Morgan Smith,	Henry M. Cropper,	O. V. Catto,
D. D. Turner,	N. W. Depee,	William E. Gipson,	Rev. J. B. Reeve,	Thos. J. Dorsey,
Jas. McCrummell,	Dr. J. H. Wilson,	Rev. J. Boulden,	Rev. J. A. Williams,	I. D. Cliff,
A. S. Cassey,	J. W. Cassey,	Rev. J. Asher,	Rev. A. L. Stanford,	Jacob C. White,
A. M. Green,	James Needham,	Rev. Elisha Weaver,	Thomas J. Bowers,	Morris Hall,
J. W. Page,	Ebenezer Black,	David B. Bowser,	J. C. White, Jr.,	J. P. Johnson,
L. R. Seymour,	James R. Gordon,	Henry Minton,	Rev. J. P. Campbell,	Franklin Turner,
Rev. William T. Catto,	Samuel Stewart,	Daniel Colley,	Rev. W. J. Alston,	Jesse E. Glasgow.

A Meeting in furtherance of the above named object will be held

And will be Addressed by _____

U. S. Steam-Power Book and Job Printing Establishment, Ledger Buildings, Third and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia.

FIGURE 6.1: "Men of Color," Civil War Recruitment Broadside, 1863 (Anonymous 1863)

Americans from which to recruit. The government therefore moved to raise a Black regiment from the city, which was successful; in fact, by the end of the war, more than 3,500 African American men from the District had enrolled in the Union military.

Several local leaders were involved in recruiting Black soldiers, including J.D. Turner, an Army chaplain; W.G. Raymond, chaplain of the military hospital at Judiciary Square; and several Black ministers. Most zealous of the ministers was the Rev. Henry McNeal Turner of the Beth Israel African Methodist Episcopal Church at South Capitol and B streets.[xxxii] Turner had been advocating the raising of Black regiments since early 1862, and as the reality of Black soldiers approached, he threw himself into recruiting for the 1st District of Columbia Colored Volunteers. On May 4, 1863, he visited a crowded refugee camp at 12th and Q streets, NW, then held a rally that night at the Asbury United Methodist Church. A detailed account survives of a rally Turner led on May 18 at his own church.[490] The evening opened with a brief prayer and then the hymn, "Am I a Soldier of the Cross." After a report on the progress of recruiting to date, Raymond spoke, saying he hoped the next day would shine on two more companies of Black troops; he "ended his remarks by referring to a beautiful handmade flag draping the pulpit. The banner was made by Julia Henderson, a black woman, who wrote in a letter accompanying the flag that she hoped it might be the first to enter Richmond."[491] Raymond was followed by a Captain Thoret of the British Royal Navy, who spoke of the excellent record of Black regiments in British service. Other preachers followed, one saying that he thought African Americans were bound for the land of Canaan. Turner spoke last, saying "he could not say with his Methodist colleagues that they were bound for the land of Canaan, they were certainly bound for the land of Dixie where they had rich spoils to win."[492] The next day 130 men signed up at Beth Israel.

While the troops had begun mustering in the city on May 15, 1863, the regiment moved to Analostan Island (now Theodore Roosevelt Island) within the week.[493] A great deal has been written about this move in recent times, but the historical record is extremely thin. Some modern accounts state that the troops were moved because the sight of Black men with guns disturbed the populace, but this explanation has not been found in any reliable Civil War-era source. Other accounts say the troops were moved because of fights with other soldiers and the police, and there is plenty of contemporary evidence of such fights.[494] However, Civil War soldiers got into fights all the time—infantry against cavalry, state against state, regiment against regiment—and the Washington police spent a great deal of time dealing with those brawls, so the mere fact of fighting does not necessarily explain the move. Based on the evidence currently available, all reasons for the move to the island cannot be given.

The source most often cited for the claim that racism was behind the move to Analostan Island is Margaret Leech in *Reveille in Washington, 1861-1865*, a Pulitzer Prize-winning book of 1941. Although Leech did not report exactly the motivation for the removal to the island, she did state that "The strictness and secrecy of the seclusion on the island may have been prompted by a fear of race riots and bloodshed, once the Negroes were armed and soldiers continued their persecution of colored men." [495] However, if secluding the African American regiment from hostile white eyes was the main reason for the move, it did not work, for "Early in June, a disorderly gang made an

[xxxii] B Street is now Constitution Avenue.

attack on the contraband camp, and seriously wounded several Negroes before a detachment of Massachusetts troops arrived to protect them."[496]

By June 30, 10 companies were stationed on the island, including the 1st District of Columbia Colored Volunteers, which had been reorganized as the 1st U.S. Colored Troops (USCT).[497] The commander of the 1st USCT was Col. John H. Holman, a Missourian who had served since the beginning of the war. He had organized and led "Holman's Independent Battalion of Sharpshooters," which became Company A of the 26th Missouri Volunteers. The 26th Missouri became part of Grant's Army of the Mississippi and took part in the entirety of the Vicksburg campaign. Sources consulted to date do not explain why Holman was in Washington and available for a new command when his regiment was still besieging Vicksburg; perhaps, like some other officers recruited to lead Black regiments, he had been wounded badly enough to need a long recovery behind the lines. Holman led the regiment until the end of the war and was promoted to brigadier general in April 1865 for "gallant & meritorious service."[498]

Officially, the camp of the 1st USCT on Analostan Island was called Camp Greene. Walt Whitman left a brief description of the camp on July 11, when he went to help distribute the soldiers' pay:

> I write this on Mason's (otherwise Analostan) island, under the fine shade trees of an old white stucco house, with big rooms; the white stucco house, originally a fine country seat (tradition says the famous Virginia Mason, author of the Fugitive Slave Law, was born here.) I reach'd the spot from my Washington quarters by ambulance up Pennsylvania avenue, through Georgetown, across the Aqueduct bridge, and around through a cut and winding road, with rocks and many bad gullies not lacking. After reaching the island, we get presently in the midst of the camp of the 1st Regiment U. S. C. T. The tents look clean and good; indeed, altogether, in locality especially, the pleasantest camp I have yet seen. The spot is umbrageous, high and dry, with distant sounds of the city, and the puffing steamers of the Potomac, up to Georgetown and back again. Birds are singing in the trees, the warmth is endurable here in this moist shade, with the fragrance and freshness. A hundred rods across is Georgetown. The river between is swell'd and muddy from the late rains up country. So quiet here, yet full of vitality, all around in the far distance glimpses, as I sweep my eye, of hills, verdure-clad, and with plenteous trees; right where I sit, locust, sassafras, spice, and many other trees, a few with huge parasitic vines; just at hand the banks sloping to the river, wild with beautiful, free vegetation, superb weeds, better, in their natural growth and forms, than the best garden. Lots of luxuriant grape vines and trumpet flowers; the river flowing far down in the distance.[499]

A contemporary photograph taken from Georgetown shows the camp on Analostan Island. A detail of the image shows orderly rows of tents on the northwest side of the island, south of a road that skirts the northern edge of the island (Figure 6.2). The date for the photograph, taken by A. Russell, is given as "ca. 1861 to 1865"; however, the presence of tents rather than barracks that were constructed later suggests that the photo may have been taken during the summer the 1st USCT was stationed on the island or during the earlier white troop encampment (between 1861 and the end of July 1863). The image also shows a second cluster of what appear to be tents on the south side of the Ferry House.

Tents were replaced typical military barracks, which were narrow, balloon-frame buildings. Many of the officers were quartered in the Mason manor house. The regiment was provided standard-



FIGURE 6.2: Photograph of Mason's Island (A. Russell, ca. 1861-1865)

issue uniforms, drilled daily, advised on firearm safety and maintenance, and taught army etiquette. They were taught to read and the foundations of military tactics in a short amount of time, as they were deployed in late July, within two months of their arrival. The 1st USCT served in battles on Chaffin's Farm, Fair Oaks, Fort Fischer, and, in May 1864, at Wilson's Wharf, the only battle in Virginia in which the Union forces were predominantly African American. The 1st USCT lost 185 men in action before the regiment was disbanded in September 1865.

After the 1st USCT departed in July, a white regiment, the 109th New York State Volunteers, was stationed on Analostan Island in October. By November there were 811 enlisted men and 35 officers on the island, which had winnowed to 698 enlistees and 19 officers by January 1864. The 109th left in March 1864, and by May 1864 the island had become a Freedmen's camp for freedom seekers (see Section C.4).[500]

2. Black Troops in Maryland

Two African American regiments were recruited in Maryland, the 7th and 19th U.S. Colored Troops. The 7th USCT was organized in September 1863 in Baltimore, where the first three companies were recruited, as most African Americans there were free. But when the regiment was not full after a month, recruiters were sent into the southeast part of the state, with new depots set up at Benedict and Millstone Landing (modern California), an area where most African Americans were still enslaved. The regiment's recruiters got into several "altercations" with enslavers when enslaved men tried to enlist. By 1863 the Army's need for men outweighed enslavers' priorities, and enslaved men were accepted into the regiment. Others were recruited from the oystering fleet on the Patuxent River. The regiment sailed for Florida in March 1864, where they served along

the Southern coast for five months. In August 1864 the 7th USCT joined the siege of Petersburg and Richmond, Virginia. As part of the Army of the James, they manned the siege lines all winter, participated in the pursuit of the fleeing Confederate Army, and were present at Appomattox for Lee's surrender. They lost one officer and 84 enlisted men killed in combat; one officer and 307 enlisted men died of disease.[501]

The 19th USCT was organized at Camp Stanton in Benedict, Maryland, beginning December 25, 1863. They also drew many recruits from the Eastern Shore. In April 1864 they were attached to the 2nd Brigade, 4th Division, IX Corps, Army of the Potomac and joined Grant's Overland Campaign. They played a small part in the Battle of the Wilderness in Virginia's Spotsylvania County, near Fredericksburg. On May 13 they were taking a turn guarding the corps wagon trains when they were attacked by Confederate cavalry, which they held off successfully. They marched to Richmond with the rest of the army and fought in several of the battles that punctuated the siege: The Battle of the Crater on July 30, when they lost nearly half their men; the fight at the Weldon Railroad on August 18-21; and Hatcher's Run on February 5-7. The 19th was among the first units to enter Richmond after the Confederate Army evacuated the city. Figure 6.3 shows an African American soldier from Cecil County, Maryland.



FIGURE 6.3: African American Soldier from Cecil County, Maryland (LOC 1863-1865)

C. THE SELF-LIBERATED

Almost as soon as lines formed between Confederate and Union areas of control, enslaved people began to cross over to the Union side. In the absence of any guidance from Washington, commanders in the field decided for themselves how to handle the Black self-liberated in their own districts. Some were set to laboring on fortifications or just general chores around the camp,

while others were allowed to pass deeper into Union territory to look for work. An interesting letter survives from an enslaved man named John Boston, who crossed into Union territory in northern Virginia and wrote home from Arlington:

> Upton Hill [Va.] January the 12 1862
>
> My Dear Wife it is with grate joy I take this time to let you know Whare I am i am now in Safety in the 14th Regiment of Brooklyn this Day i can Adress you thank god as a free man I had a little truble in giting away But as the lord led the Children of Isrel to the land of Canon So he led me to a land Whare fredom Will rain in spite Of earth and hell Dear you must make your Self content i am free from al the Slavers Lash and as you have chose the Wise plan Of Serving the lord i hope you Will pray Much and i Will try by the help of god To Serv him With all my hart I am With a very nice man and have All that hart Can Wish But My Dear I Cant express my grate desire that i Have to See you i trust the time Will Come When We Shal meet again And if We dont met on earth We Will Meet in heven Whare Jesas ranes Dear Elizabeth tell Mrs Own[ees] That i trust that She Will Continue Her kindness to you and that god Will Bless her on earth and Save her In grate eternity My Acomplements To Mrs Owens and her Children may They Prosper through life I never Shall forgit her kindness to me Dear Wife i must Close rest yourself Contented i am free i Want you to rite To me Soon as you Can Without Delay Direct your letter to the 14th Reigment New york State malitia Uptons Hill Virginea In Care of Mr Cranford Comary Write my Dear Soon As you C Your Affectionate Husban Kiss Daniel For me
>
> John Boston (1862)[502]

As this letter is found in the War Department's files, it was presumably never delivered, but we can hope that John Boston was eventually reunited with his wife and son.

At that time and over the next century, most attention was paid to the white Northerners who went south to help Freedmen, and the organizations they set up to provide aid; however, recent scholarship has revealed details on the assistance African Americans gave to one another. For example, African American teachers opened two schools in Alexandria, Virginia, almost as soon as the city was taken by the Union.[503] Other schools were opened by African Americans in Hampton and Norfolk after the Union seized those places.[504] The massive aid effort mounted in the North was highly significant during and immediately after the war, but it soon faded, while the self-help of African Americans, organized largely through churches, never ended.

A steady stream of self-liberated came into Washington, thousands each year. For a time in 1862, they were housed at the city's prison, and then in a row of tenements called Duff Green's Row. Some quickly found work. One, Mary Dines, became the Lincolns' cook at their summer residence, the house at the Soldiers' Home now called the Lincoln Cottage. But others languished in a series of temporary camps set up around the edge of the city. The location of one of them, Camp Barker, is now marked by a monument at Garrison Elementary School. Another was near what is now Logan's Circle.

1. The Freedmen's Bureau

The refugee crisis only intensified as the war went on. Union troops occupied more and more of the Confederacy's territory, giving more enslaved people a chance to escape. Also, the war ruined

the Southern agrarian economy, leading to food shortages that spiraled toward a major famine in 1865. Hundreds of thousands of African Americans either fled or were driven from the sites of their enslavement in search of freedom and safety. Many of them tried to join Union Army columns as they advanced through the South. From early in the war, Northern charities had worked to aid these homeless people, providing food, clothing, and medical care, but the problem was far greater than private charity could handle. It is estimated that by 1865 some 40,000 African American self-liberated had come to Washington alone.[505]

On March 3, 1865, Congress passed a law establishing,

> in the War Department, to continue during the present war of rebellion, and for one year thereafter, a bureau of refugees, freedmen, and abandoned lands, to which shall be committed, as hereinafter provided, the supervision and management of all abandoned lands, and the control of all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen from rebel states, or from any district of country within the territory embraced in the operations of the army, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the head of the bureau and approved by the President. The said bureau shall be under the management and control of a commissioner to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.…
>
> SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That the Secretary of War may direct such issues of provisions, clothing, and fuel, as he may deem needful for the immediate and temporary shelter and supply of destitute and suffering refugees and freedmen and their wives and children, under such rules and regulations as he may direct.[506]

The Freedmen's Bureau, as it came to be known, took charge of the War Department's refugee arm. They continued the efforts that had begun in the War Department and extended them in many directions, especially in the building of schools across the South. After the war the Bureau became entangled in the politics of Reconstruction, its efforts opposed by "states' rights" advocates. President Andrew Johnson tried to veto its budget, only to have Congress override him and keep these programs going into the 1870s.

The refugee problem did not end in 1865 but lingered for years, especially in the nation's capital. During the Reconstruction era, groups of self-liberated moved into old military camps throughout the country, and occupied abandoned forts, such as Fort Reno and Battery Kemble, many of them now NPS property:

> All the forts around or overlooking the city are dismantled, the guns taken out of them, the land resigned to its owners. Needy negro squatters, living around the forts, have built themselves shanties of the officers' quarters, pulled out the abatis for firewood, made cord wood or joists out of the log platforms for the guns, and sawed up the great flag-staffs into quilting poles or bedstead posts…
>
> The strolls out to these old forts are seedily picturesque. Freedmen, who exist by selling old horse-shoes and iron spikes, live with their squatter families where, of old, the army sutler kept the canteen; but the grass is drawing its parallels nearer and nearer the magazines. Some old clothes, a good deal of dirt, and forgotten graves, make now the local features of war.[507]

The most direct and lasting effect the Freedmen's Bureau had on DC's landscape was a neighborhood in Anacostia known as Barry Farm. In 1867 the Freedmen's Bureau purchased 375 acres of farmland in southeast DC, and surveyed and platted it into 359 small (1-acre) lots, which were sold (on an installment payment plan) to recently freed people living in the district. The prices for the lots ($125 or $300) included the lumber required to build a simple, two-room dwelling. Barry Farm was first administered by the Freedmen's Bureau, while Black laborers cleared the overgrown vegetation and carved out roadways, built residences, and created truck gardens. The Freedmen's Bureau was dismantled by 1872, but Barry Farm became a thriving albeit isolated African American neighborhood through the 1900s.[508]

2. Contraband Camps and Free Black Communities

As self-liberated people sought refuge behind Union lines, the number of freedom seekers in those parts of Virginia under federal control grew exponentially during the war. The first three enslaved persons to flee to Fortress Monroe were Frank Baker, Shepard Mallory, and James Townsend, who arrived on May 23, 1861, the day the Virginia legislature formerly ratified secession and joined the Confederate States of America. The three men had been put to work on Confederate Army battlements when their enslaver, Charles K. Mallory, a Confederate colonel, expressed to them his intention to transport them to North Carolina to support the Confederate forces there.[509] Mallory requested their return according to the Fugitive Slave Act, but Fortress Monroe's Maj. Gen. Benjamin F. Butler denied the request, stating that the law did not apply in "another country," which Virginia claimed to be by act of secession. Furthermore, enslaved persons from Secessionist states could be construed as resources who aided the enemy in its fight and therefore could be "seized" by Union forces. Butler's refusal, which became known as the "Contraband Decision," marked Union forts and federally controlled areas as places of refuge for freedom seekers (see Section VI.B).

Within one month of Baker, Mallory, and Townsend's escape, approximately 900 enslaved people sought refuge at Fortress Monroe. To house these hundreds of freedom seekers in their liminal state, the "Grand Contraband Camp" was established in Hampton, Virginia, outside the fort. On August 6, 1861, "Congress passed the First Confiscation Act… which determined that any slaves used in support of the Confederate war effort would be freed upon reaching Union lines."[510] Within two days, Union Army soldiers were directed by their superiors neither to encourage enslaved persons they encountered to seek freedom in their company nor return any enslaved individuals to enslavers who sought them out. This directive opened up an opportunity for freedom seekers but also a sudden refugee crisis, as hundreds and then thousands of freedom seekers sought refuge in Washington.

Facilities to house freedom seekers were quickly erected in Washington. The McClellan Dragoon Barracks were reestablished as Camp Barker in 1862. They were located between 12th and 13th and R and S streets in northwest Washington, the present-day site of Garrison Elementary School. Other contraband camps were erected at forts ringing Washington, DC as well as within the federal city. In 1861 the Defenses of Washington was initiated as a system of 48 forts, artillery batteries, road networks, and other infrastructure encircling the capital district; by 1865 it had grown to include "68 forts, 93 batteries, 37 miles of earthworks, [and] 30 miles of military roads," and an estimated 40,000 enslaved African Americans sought refuge behind this line of defense.[511] In DC,

Fort Kearny, situated due east of Fort Reno, was built with the labor of 200 African American freedom seekers in 1862.[512]

Camp Brightwood was established on the outskirts of Fort Stevens, in the northernmost section of the District of Columbia. Its approximate location was near present-day Brightwood Park, on Meridian Hill, where the 76th New York company was stationed.[513] Enslaved persons from Maryland (which continued as a slaveholding state until November 1, 1864) sought refuge in the northern defenses, such as at Fort Stevens, Fort Reno, and Battery Kemble. It is known, for instance, that "a 17-year-old named David ran 13 miles from Montgomery County, Maryland to Camp Brightwood near Fort Slocum north of the city center."[514] Similarly, contemporary accounts from Union soldiers depict "Runaway slaves came into the lines [eastern, in Anacostia] daily with fresh produce and soon attached themselves as servants to the officers (or were hustled off to contraband camps in the city)."[515] Several small contraband settlements arose between Forts Grebel and Carroll, on the southeastern side of the city (now part of Shepherd Parkway in DC's National Capital Parks–East).

Logically, the Virginia forts subsumed the majority of freedom seekers fleeing the Southern slaveholding states. A contraband camp was established at the U.S. Armory in Harpers Ferry, at the very site of John Brown's uprising. A shanty town for freedom seekers, called Camp Todd, was established near Fort Albany, on Columbia Pike in Arlington County, Virginia (at the present-day site of Banneker Park) in 1863. Other freedom seekers sought refuge within the walls of Fort Lyon (southwest of Alexandria). Fort Tillinghast, on Glebe Road in present-day Arlington County, also hosted a contraband camp. Fort Ellsworth, sited on Shuter's Hill (now the site of the George Washington Masonic National Memorial) in Alexandria hosted a tent settlement for freedom seekers, as did nearby Battery Rogers, in the southeast quadrant of the city.[516]

Settlements were also established on the abandoned farms of Confederates and their sympathizers. By 1863, the Freedmen's Bureau had established farm sites in Virginia where freedom seekers raised crops to support themselves as well as feed the Union army: "Two farms in what is now McLean – Camp Wadsworth near the current George Washington Memorial Parkway and Camp Beckwith on the grounds of the McVeigh and Jackson farms – soon proved self-supporting thanks to the efforts of the roughly 250 people that lived in the farmhouse and outbuildings scattered on the properties."[517] Camp Springdale was established on a part of the Lee estate, Arlington, on May 18, 1863, originally housing 90 people in tents. By June 30, 1863, Camp Springdale held 300 freedpeople, Camp Todd held 230, Camp Wadsworth 178, and Camp Beckwith 72. At the same time, "Camp Rucker, near Falls Church, Virginia, housed 105 freed people in tents" although 15 log cabins were erected by 1864.[518]

Freedom seekers were housed at the Freedman's Village at Arlington and the encampment on Analostan or Mason's Island beginning in May 1863 and May 1864 respectively. They were hired for services and labor, such as cooking and defense construction. They were paid one dollar per day in addition to food and clothing rations by November 1863, an increase from the original 40 cents per day. Despite this, conditions and treatment were not always fair, as in the case recounted

[xxxiii] After the Civil War ended, Barry Farm was established on land northeast of Fort Carroll and northwest of Fort Stanton.

by an aide-de-camp of Gen. Amiel W. Whipple, who reported that several freedom seekers requesting their wages had been employed for over two months on defense works without pay.[519]

Prewar free Black communities were affected by the Defenses of Washington. "The Bottom" was prewar enclave of free Blacks in an area that straddled the Alexandria County and Fairfax County lines, along Pimmit Run and west of the Chain Bridge. A formerly enslaved man, John Jackson, was the first Black landowner in this area, having purchased 3 acres of wooded, rugged land by February 1857. Jackson immediately divested half of his property to his brother Henry, and soon the Jacksons were joined by other free African Americans who turned the remote area into a small farming community that produced staple crops, such as corn, wheat, rye, and potatoes. Jackson, who had resided in Fairfax County and was manumitted before 1850, had been a close childhood friend of the white property owner from whom he purchased the acreage, William Walker. Walker sold an additional 3 acres along Pimmit Run to George Carter, a freeborn African American and a former neighbor of Jackson's in Fairfax County. By 1862 The Bottom included other free Blacks in addition to the Jackson brothers and the Carters, such as John and Allen Honesty, William Vaugh, James S. Hyson, and Luke and Hannah Carter with her children. Luke had been enslaved in DC and had purchased his freedom with the assistance of his wife Hannah, who was freeborn; the couple likely leased 2 acres of the Pimmit Run tract from Walker starting about 1860, and then purchased it outright by 1879.

The inhabitants of The Bottom were described by Kaplan as "poor and hardworking," with the area characterized by small holdings, subsistence agriculture, and meager log dwellings. The women in the community took in laundry or sought domestic jobs with their white neighbors while the men competed with white laborers for positions as field hands or quarrymen. Their relative isolation and the land's location in Alexandria County, where free Black communities were growing before the Civil War, spared them from enforcement of the Virginia regulation that prohibited newly freed persons from residing in the state for more than a year after their emancipation. The community was not spared the hardships of the war, however. Forts Marcy and Ethan Allen were built adjacent to and flanking The Bottom, and its land was marred with rifle trenches between the two fortifications, deforestation, and razed homes. Fort Marcy was intended to protect Leesburg Pike and the Chain Bridge, which crossed the Potomac River into DC. As many as 500 African American freedom seekers were engaged in constructing the fortification between late September 1861 and the autumn of 1862; when it was completed, the fort had a perimeter of 338 feet.[520] Over the same period, Fort Ethan Allen was built on a high hill and southeast of Fort Marcy; larger than its counterpart, its completed perimeter measured 736 yards.

A map made by a Union soldier, E.L. Halsey, in October 1862 depicted a contraband camp on the Fairfax County side of Pimmit Run, where self-liberated, formerly enslaved people were put to work on the forts' defenses. Free Blacks from The Bottom also worked at the forts for wages, such as Luke Carter, who worked in construction. The families in the Bottom were known to host the soldiers for meals and may have been able to supplement their incomes by taking in soldiers' laundry or selling them food. Hyson hauled timber from the Waggaman property to the forts for both fuel and construction purposes. But the advantages of a Union presence in The Bottom did not outweigh the detriments. Carter's wood fence and "little shanty" were destroyed by soldiers looking for fuel, and his horse was seized and crops confiscated. After the war Carter, Hyson, and Sanford Williams sought redress and compensation for their losses in court; during Carter's testimony he was harangued and condescended to and received only $33 for his claim of $2,000.

The war's end provided universal emancipation, but it did not provide freedom from racism and discrimination. Despite this, The Bottom grew to encompass some 20 families during the Reconstruction era. By the turn of the 1800s, gentrification, suburbanization, and segregation combined to displace the residents of The Bottom, who migrated to urban centers in the Washington metropolitan region.[521]

Several sections of Alexandria absorbed hundreds of freedom seekers during the Civil War. Although Alexandria had long had a thriving African American community (of both free and enslaved persons), the African American population surged during the war as freedom seekers from across the South sought protection in federal territory. In January 1862 Alexandria was the site of the Freedmen's Home on the corner of Prince and Royal streets; the Colored Hospital on S. Washington Street, between Duke and Wolfe streets; and three schools for freed children, including the Newtown school on Cameron Street. The "First Select Colored School" founded by the Rev. Clem Robinson was held in a room attached to the Beulah Baptist Church but was nonetheless the largest, with 715 enrolled children when it opened on New Year's Day 1862.

At first, refugees were crowded into the Old School House on King and Washington streets, the slave pens on Oronoco and St. Asaph streets, and the Pest House. Hundreds of people were crowded into these existing buildings, creating unsanitary conditions and epidemics. As a relief measure, two contraband camps were established within blocks of each other in the "suburbs" west of the city center: one on Harvard and Cameron streets and the other on N. Peyton Street and Baggett Place.[522] These became a neighborhood known as "Newtown," in which Freedmen and women settled during and after the war. Grantville and The Berg (short for Petersburg), which straddled Oronoco Bay in the eastern extreme of the city, emerged from two prewar African American settlements called Fishtown and Cross Canal. By 1864 Grantville had become so populated that Harriet Jacobs—a self-liberated woman, activist, and a relief worker in Alexandria during the war—wrote in her diary that she had "given up the idea of visiting it all."[523]

Postwar African American neighborhoods in Alexandria included Uptown and The Fort. Over generations, Uptown (roughly bounded by North Patrick, North West, Cameron and First streets) encompassed several African American neighborhoods that coalesced into Alexandria's largest African American district, now known as Parker-Gray. Parker-Gray thrived from the 1870s for over a century; however, gentrification over the last three decades has eroded its identity as an African American neighborhood. The area southeast of Fort Ward, also in Alexandria, evolved into an African American community called "The Fort," which was redeveloped as the site of Alexandria City (formerly T.C. Williams) High School while the fortification was transformed into Fort Ward Park in the 1960s.[524]

Within the District of Columbia, many of the Civil War contraband camp areas evolved into Reconstruction-era African American neighborhoods. Although recent scholarship suggests that the direct relationship between persons residing in contraband camps and then adjacent postwar Black neighborhoods is negligible, it was a common phenomenon that federal lands were left abandoned after the war or reverted to their prewar owners, who then divided and sold the lots cheaply, oftentimes to free Blacks who were new to the city. St. Phillips Hill emerged in the vicinity of Battery Kemble in the late 1860s, as did Reno City, a working class and racially mixed community near the former Fort Reno. Similarly, Brightwood P.O., in the vicinity of Camp Brightwood, was a rural community that pre-dated the war but developed more densely afterward,

during which scores of African Americans purchased and settled upon small home lots. Camp Campbell on Florida Avenue would become the site of Howard University's Hospital.[525]

3. The Freedman's Village at Arlington House

Union troops occupied Arlington beginning on May 23, 1861. Seemingly overnight, the decorative plantation landscape was altered for fortification, as the "heights" of Arlington provided strategic advantages and panoramic views. Closer to the river, hillsides were trenched, earthworks constructed, and the orchard felled. Tents were set up around the house, the three largest between the manor and the flower garden. A telegraph line supported by wood posts was strung on the property's east slope. The main drive into the estate was extended westward to provide additional egress. Army bivouacs dotted the woods and pastures. The fencing was removed for fuel and building materials. The outbuildings were appropriated, large corrals and stables were erected, and bridle paths and footpaths cut through the verdant lawns.[526]

A military presence remained at Arlington through 1862, and in that time the landscape slipped into a period of general neglect: "all the boundaries, garden plats and smooth reaches of green turf… were swept away and even the gradually descending terraces were broken down and became but rugged embankments."[527] Meanwhile, the Arlington enslaved community largely remained, farming for their own sustenance, through the occupation. Several remained after their manumission on December 29, 1862, living out their lives at Arlington.

By May 1863 Arlington had been selected by Lt. Col. Elias M. Greene, Chief Quartermaster of the Department of Washington, and Danforth B. Nichols of the American Missionary Association for another purpose: The eventual solution proposed for Washington's self-liberated population was the establishment of a Freedman's Village on part of the plantation that had been seized from Robert E. Lee at the beginning of the war. Greene and Nichols intended the settlement to be a model community where an atmosphere of good order and discipline would benefit the self-liberated and help them adapt to life in freedom. The settlement would be in the country, away from the foul air and moral corruption of the city, and the residents would do farm work. As Greene wrote:

> There is the decided advantage afforded to them of the salutary effects of good pure country air and a return to their former healthy avocations as field hands under much happier auspices than heretofore which must prove beneficial to them and will tend to prevent the increase of disease now present among them.[528]

The first residents arrived within a few weeks, and the settlement was formally opened in December with members of Congress and other dignitaries in attendance. The symbolism of placing a community of Freedmen and Freedwomen on the estate of the South's leading general was certainly part of the appeal. An editorial in Washington's *Morning Chronicle* said,

> General Robert E. Lee, who commands the army of rebels, is fighting to enslave the black man. To accomplish this hellish purpose, he kills the loyal soldiers of the nation, and attempts the destruction of the nation's life. In view of this fact, a happy thought has occurred to the Secretary of War which it gives us pleasure to record… He ordered Col. Green to organize the Freeman's Village… upon the Arlington estate.… [529]

The settlement had a population in the hundreds, and quite likely more than 1,000 people passed through it at some point in its history. A detailed plan of the village survives, along with at least two photographs (Figures 6.4 and 6.5). The village was sited on the south part of the estate and west of the turnpike to Alexandria. Orderly rows of square shelters flanked a semi-circular drive, which partially circumscribed a "fountain pond." Larger dwellings, schools, kitchens with mess halls, hospitals, a laundry, a joinery, storage buildings, and stables were set orthogonally along slightly circuitous lanes and abutting open greenspaces. Most of the buildings constructed by the military were wood and intended as permanent structures.[530]

Although the aim for the settlement was to serve as a transitional zone where people would recover from their traumas and perhaps learn new skills, it became a permanent home for many who lived there for years after the war ended. It was the longest-serving Freedman's Village in the nation by the time it was officially dismantled in the 1880s.[531] Intended as a place of hope and recovery, the village was also the site of conflict, as some residents protested the rigid policies of the administrators and the requirement that they pay rent for the housing they had been assigned. Today, the site is underneath the graves of Arlington National Cemetery, but the NPS interprets its history online, including a new storyboard.



FIGURE 6.4: Freedman's Village (LOC)

4. The Freedmen's Camp on Analostan or Mason's (now Theodore Roosevelt) Island

By the spring of 1864, the Freedman's Village at Arlington had become overcrowded, and a second location to serve as a temporary home for self-liberated persons who had good prospects of finding jobs in Washington was deemed necessary. From May 1864 through June 1865, the vacant Army camp on Analostan Island was repurposed for use as a Freedmen's camp.[532] Since the island camp

was an employment depot, only intended to be a short stop-over, accommodations and supplies were sparse; initially, the freedom seekers took refuge in the abandoned military barracks, and shelter was made as meager and inhospitable as possible to discourage anyone from staying long (Figure 6.6). Over the course of the year, however, more self-liberated people came to Washington than could be placed in jobs, so the camp became grossly overcrowded.[533]

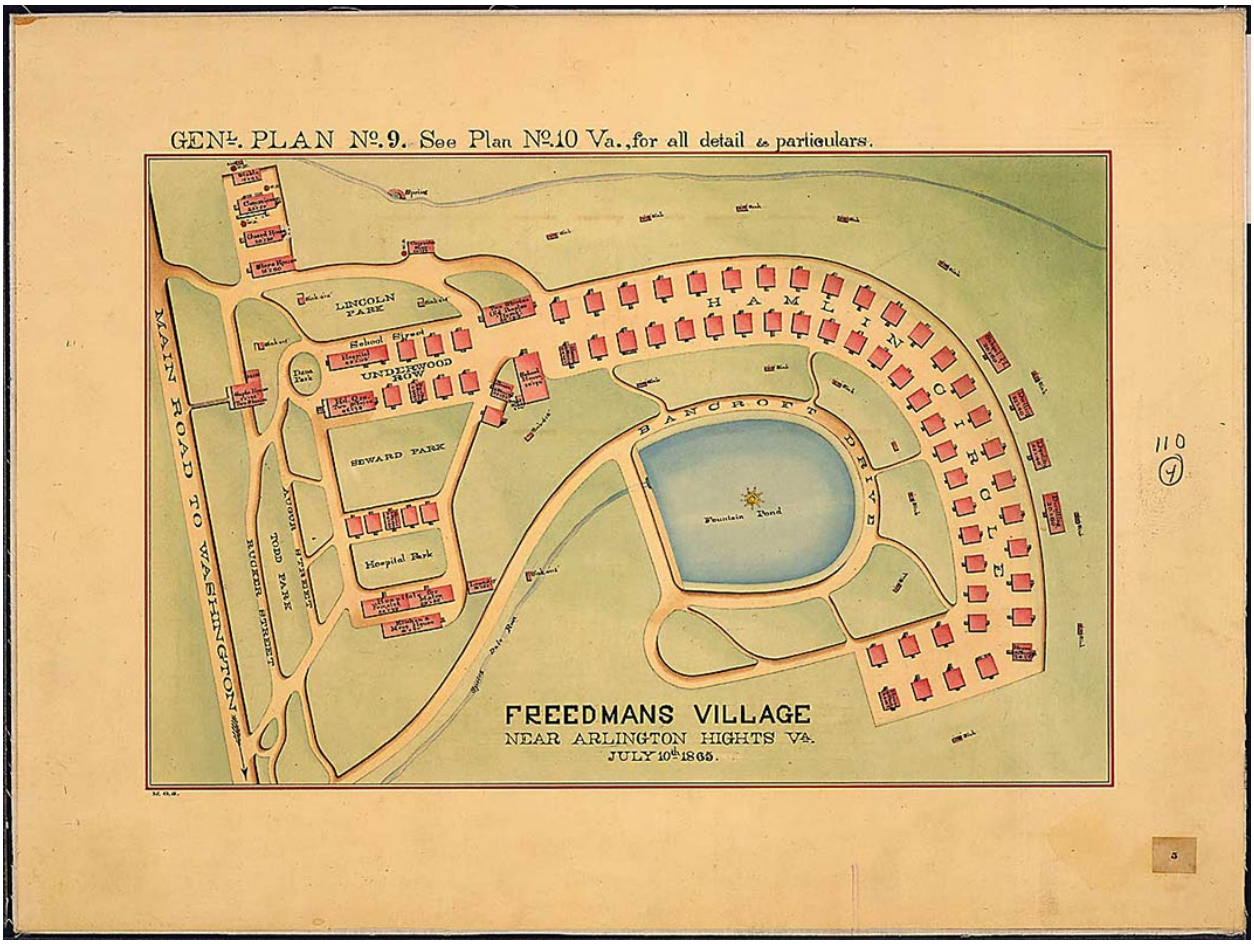


FIGURE 6.5: Freedman's Village near Arlington Heights, Virginia, July 10, 1865 (NARA)

Early conditions at the camp were subpar, the oversight was ad hoc to non-existent, and the encampment had degraded to a state of unhygienic squalor with nearly 1,200 people by July. Several deaths were reported from malnutrition and disease. The government had paid some of the Freedmen to farm corn and potatoes on the island to provide sustenance, which was in very short supply. Not only was food lacking, but kitchen facilities and ovens were also lacking, so that when food was available, it could not be cooked efficiently, quickly, or at the scale necessary to serve the multitudes. During the summer of 1864, the Association of Friends for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen intervened on behalf of the camp tenants, providing food, clothing, hospital support, and other necessities as well as opening a school.[534]

The lion's share of blame for the inferior conditions at the encampment were ascribed to Lieutenant Colonel Greene, Chief Quartermaster for the Department of Washington, who was charged with "general mismanagement, resulting from incapacity or negligence" and was relieved of his duties and sent out west in late August. After his departure conditions at Analostan Island improved.[535]

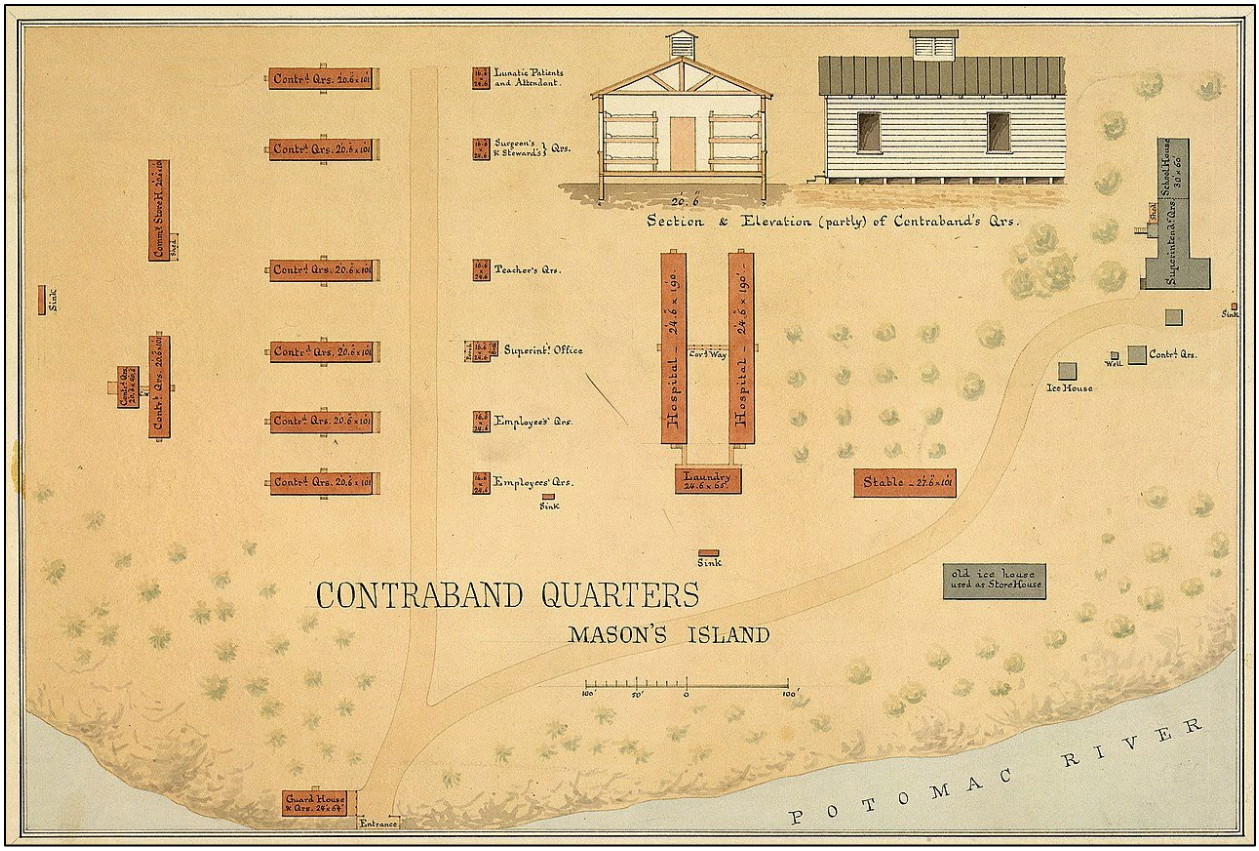


FIGURE 6.6: Contraband Camp on Theodore Roosevelt Island (NARA)

In August Captain Brown initiated a campaign to reduce the populations at all the Freedmen encampments by aggressively seeking places and employment for the freedom seekers. Analostan Island's demographics were skewed, as the men were sent to work in Northern cities or in Washington while the infirmed, elderly, women, and children remained behind. Those who were sent away had little say in their assignments or destinations, and little scrutiny was given to prospective employers. Families were separated in the process. Egregiously, children were "apprenticed," or forced into labor by the white officers without their parents' consent. This practice was prevalent across the encampment system, in which children were hired out to whites in the region, prompting parents to flee "in order to prevent being separated from their children."[536] The mistreatment of self-liberated freedom seekers at the Freedmen's camp on Analostan Island was evocative of the slavery that had reigned there over the previous half-century.

Sojourner Truth, the well-known abolitionist, visited the island in the autumn of 1864, when the population had been reduced to about 410 persons. She delivered inspirational and encouraging speeches to the freedmen while there, boosting morale. In an 1879 interview Truth recollected that President Lincoln had "wanted me to see to the colored people at Arlington Heights and Mason's Island, where they came running in and died like cattle."[537] But the population decline at Analostan Island was primarily a result of employment placements rather than mortality rates, which had decreased significantly since August.[538]

By the early summer of 1865, some 500 self-liberated Blacks remained on the island, and preparations were made to remove them. It is not known what happened to these last refugees, as

the government was closing all its other camps at the same time. In any event, at the end of June 1865, the island was returned to its prewar owner. In July 1865 D.H. Rucker, Quartermaster, placed an advertisement for the sale and relocation of government buildings on Analostan Island, which gives some idea of the infrastructure that had been built there during the war.[539] The buildings listed included eight barracks, each 20.5x110 feet; two hospital wards, 24x190 feet; a hospital mess, 24x65 feet; a cook house, 40x20.5 feet; a guard house, 65x24 feet; five officers' quarters, each 16x32 feet; one office, "ceiled with boards," 16x32 feet; a stable, room for 50 horses, 28x100 feet; and an ice-house, 140x26 feet. Also for sale were the crops on the island belonging to the government, "consisting of about 6 acres of corn and one acre of potatoes."

5. The Freedmen's Cemetery in Alexandria

Alexandria, Virginia, also received a steady influx of self-liberated African Americans from early in the war and through to its end. An interesting sidelight on the lives of the self-liberated in Alexandria appears in the records of the War Department officials who oversaw the camps. They kept a ledger in which they noted where people were placed in jobs. But the most common entry says simply, "Gone to do for himself" or "Gone to do for herself." Rather than waiting for government assistance, those with good health mostly took themselves away to seek jobs on their own.

By 1864 parts of the city were overcrowded with refugees, and disease began to take a deadly toll. So many died that the government seized land in the southwest corner of the city for a Freedmen's Cemetery, which operated until 1869. About 1,800 people were buried in the cemetery. Over the years the cemetery was increasingly forgotten and most of it was built over. It was rediscovered in the 1980s and rededicated in 2007; it has since become an important touchstone for African American history in the region.[540]

D. WAR COMES TO NCA PLANTATIONS

Virginia and Maryland experienced much of the bloodshed wrought by the Civil War. Troops from both sides encamped on, moved through, raided and pillaged, and fought skirmishes and battles on rural plantation lands in the NCA region. For instance, the Manassas National Battlefield in Prince William County, Virginia, encompassed several antebellum plantations, including Rosefield, Portici, and the Brawner Farm. The Battle of First Manassas, fought on July 21, 1861, is considered the first significant battle of the Civil War; conversely, the action seen at the Monocacy National Battlefield in Frederick County, Maryland, occurred toward the end of the war, when favor had shifted from the Confederate Army to the Union Army. Although the one-day-long battle of First Manassas is considered a Confederate victory, it is also called "the battle that saved Washington."[541]

With his army surrounded in Petersburg in the summer of 1864, Gen. Robert E. Lee took a gamble and sent Lt. Gen. Jubal Early and the II Corps to sack Washington. Traveling through Virginia's Shenandoah Valley, Early's forces crossed the Potomac River in the first days of July. By that point Union generals in Washington realized the scale of the Confederate force marching toward the nation's capital and sent Maj. Gen. Lew Wallace to meet them on July 6. The two uneven forces—approximately 6,500 Union troops versus 20,000 Confederate soldiers—met along the south bank of the Monocacy River on the dawn of July 9. Infantry skirmishes took place primarily

on the Best Farm, which was the southern half of the early-1800s Vincendières plantation, L'Hermitage. By 5:00 p.m., the Union forces had been routed by the Confederate forces and had retreated to the heights above the eastern shore of the Monocacy River. The battle was over.

The neighboring Worthington, Baker, and Thomas farms were the sites of cavalry and infantry skirmishes during the day. By evening Wallace had burnt the covered bridge over the Monocacy River, hindering the Confederates' crossing, and started the Union Army's general retreat east, along the Georgetown Pike. Although the Battle of Monocacy is comparatively lesser known than the Battle of Antietam (which occurred 25 miles to the west two years prior), it was important in that it delayed Early's assault on Washington, DC; this delay allowed the Union Army to regroup and plan sufficient resources to defend the city and repel Early's army, which reached the capital on July 11.[542]

The Antietam National Battlefield was formed from several farmsteads that hosted hostilities, including the Pry Farm, Piper Farm, Otto Farm, and Poffenberger Farm. Joseph and Mary Ann Poffenberger owned an approximately 272-acre farmstead just north of Sharpsburg, Maryland. On September 16, 1862, thousands of troops descended on the area from Boonsboro, where a battle had just occurred at South Mountain. Union Gen. Joseph Hooker's I Corps set up camp at the Poffenbergers' home, where they appropriated the barn for administrative headquarters and stationed artillery on high ground to the north. By the next morning skirmishes were being fought in the woods south of the farmstead and Confederate cannons fired on the Union troops at the farm. The Union encampment became a field hospital as the maimed and injured returned from the front. The battle lasted through the morning of the 18th and was effectively over when Robert E. Lee withdrew his Army south of the Potomac River. At that point the Poffenbergers returned to a devastated landscape. Their farmhouse had been emptied of its valuables while lingering Union soldiers continued to raid their larder, crop stores, and livestock. Poffenberger later claimed the Union Army had robbed him of goods (primarily foodstuffs) valued over $2,000, but he never received compensation.[543]

Scholars point to the importance of the Battle of Antietam as a milestone: five days after the battle, on September 22, 1862, President Lincoln issued a preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, which went into effect on January 1, 1863. The Poffenbergers held no enslaved people, but their neighbors did. The 1860 federal census counted seven enslaved individuals living at Henry Piper's farm. This number included Jerry Summers, aged 15 when the battle occurred; he left with the Pipers to seek safety. Elizabeth and Samuel Mumma, neighbors of Piper, had one enslaved individual listed in the 1860 federal census, an 11-year-old boy named Lloyd Wilson. Hilary Watson was enslaved on John Otto's farm, where he stayed during the battle while his enslavers fled. None of these individuals were emancipated in 1863 with Lincoln's proclamation, which affected only the Confederate states. They had to wait another year for the Maryland legislature to pass their own enactment. Many remained working on the farms as free, wage-earning laborers after 1865.[544]

E. EMANCIPATION IN THE NCA REGION

Emancipation came for enslaved African Americans at different dates in different parts of the region. In Washington, DC, the departure of Southern Representatives from the U.S. Congress in 1861 left it with a large Republican and anti-slavery majority. Some anti-slavery leaders

immediately began working to end slavery in the one place Congressmen agreed they had the constitutional power to do so, the District of Columbia. The need to put the country on a war footing preoccupied Congress in 1861, so it was not until April 16, 1862, that a bill ending slavery in the federal district could be passed. That bill provided compensation of up to $1,500 for enslavers, which was partly a political move to soothe enslavers in Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri and partly to keep DC enslavers from either rushing their property across the District line or attempting to backtrack on manumission later. A formal process was set up, with enslavers and enslaved people appearing together before a board that would review applications for compensation and set the amount while simultaneously issuing manumission papers that were sufficiently impressive to grant the freed people real freedom of movement. The process was essentially complete by the end of 1862. The records are kept in the National Archives.

Slavery had been eroding rapidly in Maryland since Lincoln's election. The state already had the nation's largest free African American population, making it easy for enslaved people to join free Black society. Employers like Baltimore's shipyards were crying out for workers and not likely to ask about a willing man's background. More and more enslaved people just walked away from their plantations. Hundreds signed up for military service. They were supposed to have their enslavers' permission, but the Army was not inclined to care any more than factory owners did about a man's provenance. Officers regarded any reluctance on the part of enslavers to see their workers join up as simple selfishness and anti-war sentiment. Yet when a new Maryland constitution banning slavery was put up for a vote in November 1864, it barely passed, and only because of the votes of soldiers on active service. A majority of Maryland's white voters who remained home rejected the end of slavery, even though it was manifestly collapsing all around them.

Across most of Virginia, slavery ended with the arrival of Union troops. Legally, slavery remained in force across northern Virginia until the ratification of the 13th Amendment in January 1865, as the Emancipation Proclamation did not apply to areas under federal control. But the military authorities refused to return enslaved people who fled from the plantations or to enforce discipline, so slavery had almost completely disappeared well before the war's end.

In the District of Columbia emancipation became the focus of an annual celebration.[545] The first Emancipation Parade took place on April 17, 1866, on the fourth anniversary of the DC Emancipation Act. It was a described as a "huge, joyous event," and observers thought that half of the city's African American population participated. A parade of thousands began at Franklin Square and marched down the city's "main street," Pennsylvania Avenue, and through much

[xxxiv] Now known as Franklin Park, the landscaped city block is a part of the National Mall and Memorial Parks system. The locus of natural springs, it was named Fountain Park in 1819 when Congress authorized the channelization of the potable waters to the White House. Between 1828 and 1832, Congress appropriated funds to purchase the square (City Square No. 249 in L'Enfant's plan) and enclose it to protect the water source. The surrounding blocks remained underdeveloped through the 1830s, during which time the square was renamed Franklin. By 1851, when James Keily published his *Map of the City of Washington, D.C.*, the surrounding blocks were mostly bare. Notably, per Keily's map, several churches lay within one to two blocks of the "public square," including the Asbury United Methodist Church (founded in 1836) on 11th and K streets and the First Colored Presbyterian Church (later renamed the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church) on 15th Street between I and K streets. The latter church was established in 1841 and the congregation originally met in the small, wood-frame schoolhouse (Union Seminary, formerly the Smothers School) operated by the self-liberated educator and pastor, John F. Cook. As discussed in Section V.C.1, and corroborated by

of the city before returning to the square for speeches. Many thousands more lined the main thoroughfares, including Pennsylvania Avenue, to watch the parade. The *Washington Bee* claimed that the Emancipation Parade was the "grandest event in the history of the colored race" (Figure 6.7). These celebrations continued until 1901 and were revived in 1991.

The overwhelming joy engendered by DC emancipation was expressed by poet James Madison Bell in his poem, "Emancipation in the District of Columbia":

> Unfurl your banners to the breeze!
> Let Freedom's tocsin sound amain,
> Until the islands of the seas
> Re-echo with the glad refrain!
> Columbia's free! Columbia's free!
> Her teeming streets, her vine-clad groves,
> Are sacred now to Liberty,
> And God, who every right approves.[546]

F. SUMMARY

The African American experience in America began with 250 years of slavery, brutality, violence, and tragedy. It took a bloody Civil War to resolve the issue of abolition, which until then had not been resolved successfully by political and private means for over a century. Nearly one hundred years after the words had been penned, African Americans had the freedom and rights bestowed them that finally applied Jefferson's belief "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" to all men (women are another story). However, the battle for real equality was not over and is in motion still: Following Reconstruction, African Americans (especially in the South) experienced a new period of brutality, oppression, and racism epitomized by the Jim Crow era, which lasted into the 1900s and was put to rest by the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Again, one hundred years passed between emancipation and the ability for African American students to study unmolested at integrated schools and to vote without repercussions.

Although the African American story is one of adversity, it is not without triumphs and successes. The growth of free Black societies in urban centers and rural communities; the lasting contributions of African Americans to the nation's built and intellectual histories; the sacrifice of African Americans in wars for freedom; and the founding of schools, churches, and social

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the presence of this schoolhouse and two African American churches on Keily's map, Franklin Park lay at the center of a thriving antebellum African American community. Furthermore, "by the middle of the [nineteenth] century, Franklin Park seems to have been considered second only to Lafayette Park in importance among city parks, judging by the attention it was given in the annual reports on DC parks, and it received more funds than most other reservations" (see National Park Service, *Cultural Landscape Inventory: Franklin Park, National Mall & Memorial Parks – L'Enfant Plan Reservations* [Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2017], 34). It is therefore logical that significant parades and public events would involve this centralized public space so close to the White House. However, the relationship between Franklin Park, the emancipation parades held there, and the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church (which did not relocate to its present site on 15th and R streets until 1918) warrants further investigation. It was that congregation, under the guidance of Elizabeth Keckley, that organized the first emancipation celebration in April 1863, recognizing the first anniversary of the DC Emancipation Act (see "Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church, African American Heritage Trail," *Cultural Tourism DC*, https://www.culturaltourismdc.org/portal/fifteenth-street-presbyterian-church-african-american-heritage-trail).

organizations that continue to bolster African American society today attest to the resilience of African Americans as well as the mark they have left on this nation. Their contributions are found throughout Washington, DC and its environs. The NCA region's landscape is indelibly one of the African American experience, both historic and present-day, and it is the endeavor of this report to highlight these contributions and associations at sites related to NPS parks and landmarks so that interpretive efforts can be made to highlight these achievements.

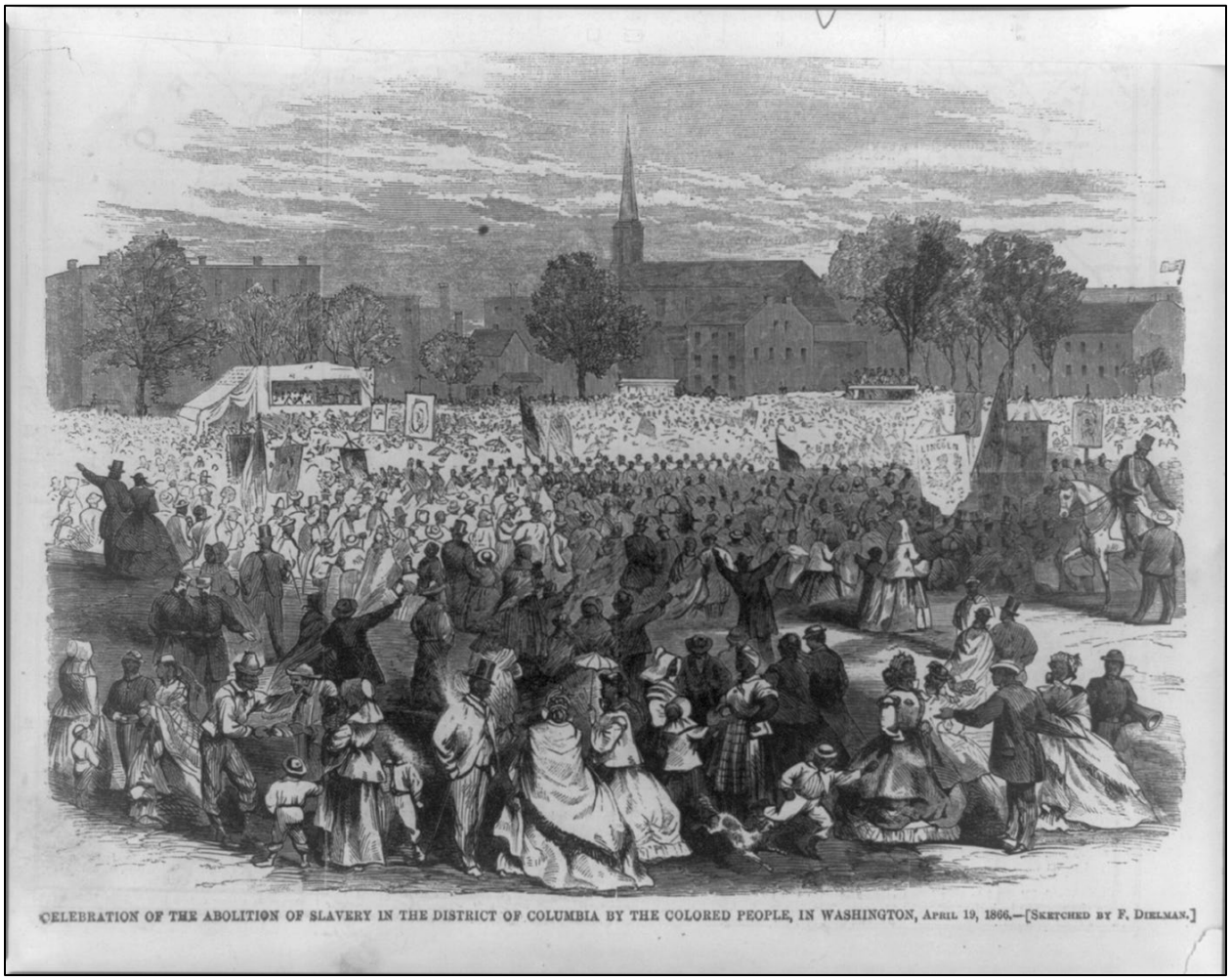


FIGURE 6.7: Engraving of the First Emancipation Day (Dielman 1866)

VII. INDEX OF SITES AND STRUCTURES IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA ASSOCIATED WITH PRE-EMANCIPATION AFRICAN AMERICAN LIFE

NPS UNIT	ABBREVIATION	NPS UNIT	ABBREVIATION
Anacostia Park	ANAC	Manassas National Battlefield Park	MANA
Antietam National Battlefield	ANTI	Monocacy National Battlefield	MONO
Arlington House	ARHO	National Mall and Memorial Parks	NAMA
Baltimore-Washington Parkway	BAWA	Piscataway Park	PISC
Catoctin Mountain Park	CATO	President's Park	PRPA
Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park	CHOH	Prince William Forest Park	PRWI
Fort Washington Park	FOWA	Rock Creek Park	ROCR
Oxon Cove Park-Oxon Hill Farm	NACE	Wolf Trap National Park for the Performing Arts	WOTR
George Washington Memorial Parkway	GWMP	Civil War Forts/Defenses of Washington	none
Harmony Hall	NACE	Shepherd Parkway	none
Harpers Ferry National Historical Park	HAFE	Fort Dupont	none

CHAPTER (PAGE)	NPS UNIT	SITE	TYPE	DATE(S)	ARCH SITE NUMBER	NRHP	NOTES
IV.D (66)	ANAC	St. Elizabeths, Chichester Arran, Attwood's Purchase, Hamilton, Elkenhead, Fortune, Beall's Adventure, Long Meadows, The Knock, The Houpyard, Houp's Addition, Cerne Abbey Manor, Chillum Castle Manor, Haddock's Hill	Plantations	c. 1700	-	-	Plantations that included some land within the park bounds. The Priggs (1792) map shows 11 plantation homes bordering the park. On the south/east side of the river, they would have been well back from the shore on high ground, not in the park, but any fast land would have been farmed by enslaved people (Katz et al. 2016).
VI.D (157-158)	ANTI	Locher/Poffenberger Farm	Standing House	c. 1811	-	Listed	One enslaved young man enumerated in the 1850 census of Alfred Poffenberger household (Walker 2010).

CHAPTER (PAGE)	NPS UNIT	SITE	TYPE	DATE(S)	ARCH SITE NUMBER	NRHP	NOTES
III.B.2 (38); V.E.3 (136); VI.D (157-158)	ANTI	Jacob Mumma Farm	Standing House	c. 1790	-	Listed	Two enslaved people, freed in 1856. The upper story of the spring house served as a slave quarter (Walker 2010).
III.B.2 (38)	ANTI	William Roulette Farm	Standing House	c. 1751	-	Listed	Three enslaved persons in the 1840 census of John Miller household; in 1859 William Roulette manumitted one enslaved servant, Nancy Campbell; midden identified around kitchen structure where enslaved persons may have lived (Bedell and Shellenhamer 2014; Walker 2010).
V.E.3 (136-137)	ANTI	Joshua Newcomer Farm	Standing House	c. 1762	18WA438	Listed	John Mumma enslaved a few people who worked on the farm and at the mill prior to Newcomer's tenure (Walker 2010).
VI.D (142)	ANTI	Pry Farm	Standing House	1844	18WA599	Listed	Free Black housekeeper in the 1860 federal census, Georgianna Rollins.
VI.D (157)	ANTI	John Otto Farm	Standing House	c.1830	18WA601	Listed	Two enslaved persons in the 1840 census, a mother and son; both continued to work at the farm after 1865; narrative of Hilary Watson was published (Walker 2010).
VI.D (157)	ANTI	Piper Farm	Standing Enslaved Quarter	c. 1846	-	Listed	Standing stone kitchen/slave quarter where two families lived in 1850 and 1860 (Walker 2010).
III.B.1 (35); V.E (127-133); V.F (137); VI.C (153-156)	ARHO	Arlington House	Standing House and Enslaved Quarter	c. 1800	44AR0017	Listed	Very well-documented enslaved population.

CHAPTER (PAGE)	NPS UNIT	SITE	TYPE	DATE(S)	ARCH SITE NUMBER	NRHP	NOTES
VI.C (146, 153-154)	ARHO	Freedman's Village	Archeological Site	1863-1865	-	?	Site now under cemetery, but NPS interprets it online.
II.B (14)	BAWA	Birmingham Manor	Archeological Site	1699	18AN208	Rec. Eligible	Snowden family mansion, partially on NPS property. Iron furnace (Site 18AN191) adjacent to NPS property (Raszick et al. 2018).
I.C (2); V.D.3 (117)	CATO	Catoctin Furnace	Site – not in park	1774	-	Listed	As many as 20 enslaved people and free Blacks worked at the furnace. (Bedell et al. 2011a).
	CATO	Charcoal Hearths	Archeological Site	1774	-	-	Known colliers are all white, but many African Americans, some enslaved, worked for the furnace, probably hauling charcoal down the mountain (Bedell et al. 2011a).
I.C (6); I.E (7) III.C.3 (43); IV.D (67 footnote); V.B.1 (101); V.D.3 (117-120); V.E.2 (133-136)	CHOH	C&O Canal	Structure	1828-1850	-	Listed	Numerous African American workers and residents; separate study under development.
III.C.3 (43)	CHOH	King Opessa's Town	Archeological Site	c. 1715-1730	-	Listed	Exact location not known. Escaped enslaved persons lived in the Shawnee community (Bedell et al. 2011b).
V.E (127); V.E.2 (133-136); V.F (137)	CHOH	Ferry Hill	Standing House	c. 1812	-	Listed	Plantation with well-documented enslaved workforce; two enslaved men also ran a canal boat from here (Grivno 2007).
I.C (2); V.C.1 (104)	CHOH	Antietam Iron Works	Standing Furnace – not in park; Archeological Site	c. 1765	18WA27	Listed	Numerous African American workers and residents (Fiedel et al. 2005).

CHAPTER (PAGE)	NPS UNIT	SITE	TYPE	DATE(S)	ARCH SITE NUMBER	NRHP	NOTES
II.D (20); IV.E.2 (72); V.D.3 (117)	FOWA	Fort Washington	Standing Structure	1808	-	Listed	Possibly constructed by enslaved labor.
II.D (20)	FOWA	Warburton Manor	Archeological Site	c. 1700-1808	-		Plantation; a 1970 NPS history has not been located.
V.E (127)	NACE-Oxon Cove Park-Oxon Hill Farm	Mount Welby	Standing Structure	1805-1843	-	Listed	Plantation with several enslaved workers.
III.A.3 (31)	NACE-Oxon Cove Park-Oxon Hill Farm	Oxon Hill	Structures and Landscape	1797		Listed	Plantation house, stable, and root cellar still present, other farm buildings mainly date to the later period when it was part of St. Elizabeth's.
VI.B.1 (141-145)	GWMP	TRIS - Camp Greene	Archeological Site	1861-1865	51NW003	Listed	Camp for Black soldiers, then freedom seekers (Raszick and Bedell 2020).
IV.C.1 (61-64); VI.B.1 (141-145); VI.C (146, 154-157)	GWMP	TRIS - Mason House	Archeological Site	c. 1800-1833	51NW019	Listed	Plantation with numerous enslaved workers; little about them in existing documentation (Raszick and Bedell 2020).
I.C (2); III.A.3 (31); III.C.2 (42); III.D (45-47); IV.A (48-53); IV.C (59, 64); IV.D (646; V.C (104-108); V.D.1 (112)	GWMP	Mount Vernon	Plantation	1674	-	Listed	Some of this property is NPS land, mostly parts of the former River Farm.
IV.D (69)	GWMP	Jones Point Park	Feature	1792	-	Listed	Benjamin Banneker is supposed to have set this boundary stone, the starting point of the DC boundary survey
IV.C.2 (64)	GWMP	Fort Marcy and Fort Ethan Allen	Archeological Site	1861-1865	-	-	Negatively impacted the prewar free African American community, The Bottom.

CHAPTER (PAGE)	NPS UNIT	SITE	TYPE	DATE(S)	ARCH SITE NUMBER	NRHP	NOTES
II.D (20); III.A.3 (31); IV.A (48)	NACE-Harmony Hall	Harmony Hall	Standing House	c. 1770	18PR305	Det. Eligible	90 enslaved laborers in 1790.
II.D (20)	NACE-Harmony Hall	Want Water	House Ruin	c. 1740	18PR589	Det. Eligible	Part of Harmony Hall estate after 1769.
VI.A (139)	HAFE	Kennedy Farmhouse	Standing House, not in park	1852	-	-	Where John Brown's raid was planned.
VI.A (139-140)	HAFE	John Brown's Fort	Standing Structure	1848-1860	-	Listed	Moved and replaced.
-	MANA	Robinson House	Archeological Site	c. 1848	44PW288	Det. Eligible	Free African American family (Parsons 2001).
III.A.3 (31); III.B (35-38)	MANA	Pittsylvania Plantation	Archeological Site	c. 1760	-	-	Up to 152 enslaved people (Bedell et al. 2022; McGarry 1982).
-	MANA	Locus 1 - Plantation House with Enslaved Labor	Archeological Site	c. 1760	44PW287	Det. Eligible	-
III.B.2 (38)	MANA	Locus 4 - Enslaved Cemetery, Possible Adjacent Quarter	Archeological Site	c. 1760	44PW287	Det. Eligible	-
-	MANA	Locus 2 - Blacksmith forge, work area	Archeological Site	c. 1760	44PW287	Rec. Eligible	-
V.E (127); VI.D (157)	MANA	Portici	Plantation	c. 1820-1861			Parker and Hernigle 1990.
-	MANA	Cellar	Archeological Site	1820-1861	44PW348	Det. Eligible	-
-	MANA	Field Quarter	Archeological Site	c. 1820-1861	44PW335	Det. Eligible	Possibly 12 enslaved workers.
VI.D (157)	MANA	Brawner Farm	Standing Structure, Archeological Site	c. 1820	44PW452	Det. Eligible	Foundations of slave quarter structure discovered (Bedell 2006).
IV.C.2 (64)	MANA	Hazel Plain	Archeological Site	c. 1808	44PW008	Det. Eligible	Plantation with approximately 30 enslaved laborers (Bedell et al. 2022; McGarry 1982).
IV.C.2 (64)	MANA	Hooe Dependency Site	Archeological Site	c. 1808	44PW1170	Rec. Eligible	Probable fieldhand quarter for Hazel Plain (Reeves 2000).

CHAPTER (PAGE)	NPS UNIT	SITE	TYPE	DATE(S)	ARCH SITE NUMBER	NRHP	NOTES
III.D (45)	MANA	Brownsville Quarter	Archeological Site	c. 1780	44PW479	Rec. Eligible	1850: 8 enslaved persons listed in census; 1860: 22 enslaved persons listed, residing in 4 structures (Galke 1992).
III.D (45)	MANA	Spring Hill Farm	Standing Structure, Archeological Site	c. 1812-1861	44PW293	Det. Eligible	1822: 23 enslaved people; after 1827, 1-2 enslaved persons present (Parsons and Ravenhorst 2003).
III.D (45)	MANA	Pohoke	Archeological Site	c. 1720-1820	44PW335	Det. Eligible	Enslaved workforce (Parker and Hernigle 1990).
VI.D (157)	MANA	Rosefield	Standing Structure, Archeological Site	c. 1812	44PW301	Det. Eligible	12 enslaved persons in 1820, as per census (Bedell et al. 2022; McGarry 1982).
-	MANA	Mahala Dean Site	Archeological Site	c. 1850		Rec. Eligible	Home of free African American woman (Bedell et al. 2022; McGarry 1982).
-	MANA	Andrew Redman Blacksmith Shop	Archeological Site	c. 1850	44PW2061	Rec. Eligible	Blacksmith shop shown on Civil War maps; after the war it belonged to and was worked by Andrew Redman, an African American, and he was probably in residence earlier (Bedell et al. 2022).
IV.B.2 (56); IV.C.2 (61-64); VI.D (157)	MONO	L'Hermitage Enslaved Village	Archeological Site	1794	-	Det. Eligible	6 hearths found; 1800: 90 enslaved people (Birmingham and Beasley 2014).
IV.D (66-71); VI.D (157)	MONO	Thomas Farm	Standing House	c. 1780	-	Det. Eligible	6 enslaved people in 1803, 7 enslaved persons as per 1820 census.
IV.D (66-71); VI.D (157)	MONO	Baker Farm	Standing House	c. 1760	-	Det. Eligible	1-2 enslaved persons in 1850-1862.
IV.D (66-71); VI.D (157)	MONO	Worthington Farm	Standing House	1851	-	Det. Eligible	7 enslaved people in 1860 census.
V.B.1 (100-102)	NAMA	Washington Canal	Archeological feature	1815	-	Listed	Built with enslaved labor.

CHAPTER (PAGE)	NPS UNIT	SITE	TYPE	DATE(S)	ARCH SITE NUMBER	NRHP	NOTES
IV.C.2 (64); IV.D (66-71)	NAMA	Notley Young's Plantation	Plantation	c. 1720-1792	-	-	Large plantation covering the southwest corner of the Mall, up to 200 enslaved people.
IV.D (66)	NAMA	Beall's Levels, aka The Burns Plantation, later the Van Ness Plantation	Plantation	c. 1720-1792	-	-	Large plantation on the north bank of Tiber Creek; several cabins that were probably housing for enslaved people are shown on the 1792 map; some sources say David Burns enslaved 12 people.
IV.D (66); V.E (127)	NAMA	Van Ness House	House site	c. 1816	-	-	-
V.C.1 (104); VI.E (158)	NAMA	Franklin Park [Square]	Landscape	1862-1865	-	Listed	Site of events marking DC emancipation, the Emancipation Proclamation, and the 15th Amendment (Library of Congress n.d.).
III.A.3 (31); IV.A (48)	PISC	Marshall Hall	House Ruins	c. 1725	-	Listed	Enslaved workers present from 1725 to 1860, up to 85.
II.B (14)	PISC	Hansonton/Mockley Point	Plantation	c. 1725	-	-	Colonial plantation.
-	PISC	Bryan Point	Plantation	c. 1725	-	-	Colonial plantation.
-	PRPA	White House	Standing House	1792	-	Listed	Enslaved workers helped build it, many enslaved servants to 1860 (White House Historical Association).

CHAPTER (PAGE)	NPS UNIT	SITE	TYPE	DATE(S)	ARCH SITE NUMBER	NRHP	NOTES
IV.D (66-69); V.A.3 (98)	PRPA	Lafayette Park [Square]	Park	1792	-	Listed	Workers building the White House camped on this site, including enslaved people. An enslaved woman named Alethia Browning Tanner ran a vegetable stand here and earned enough money to purchase her freedom in 1810. There is mention of sales of enslaved individuals, but a verifiable source has not been found. (White House Historical Association [WHHA]).
IV.D (66-71)	PRPA	Decatur House and enslaved quarter	Standing Structure	1819	-	Listed	Not NPS property, but WHHA offers a virtual tour.
-	PRWI	Prince William County Poorhouse	Archeological Site	1795	44PW1128	Det. Eligible	Sheltered African American and white residents, mainly elderly (Bedell 2004).
-	PRWI	Luke Cannon Site	Archeological Site	1792	44PW1138	Det. Eligible	Up to 14 enslaved workers (Bedell 2004).
IV.B.4 (58)	PRWI	Henry Cole Farm	Archeological Site	1842	44PW1267	Det. Eligible	Free African American farmer, 1800-1870, who owned 239 acres of land (Bedell 2004).
IV.B.4 (58)	PRWI	Batestown	Archeological District	1807	-	Det. Eligible	Free African American community (Bedell 2004).
-	PRWI	Abraham Farrow plantation	Plantation	c. 1708-1724	-	-	Farrow first claimant of much of the park land, 10 enslaved workers in 1731 (Bedell 2004).
II.D (20); III.A.3 (31)	PRWI	Westwood	Plantation	1745	-	-	House site was on MCB Quantico but included c. 1,000 acres of PRWI; 12 enslaved people in 1782 (Bedell 2004).

CHAPTER (PAGE)	NPS UNIT	SITE	TYPE	DATE(S)	ARCH SITE NUMBER	NRHP	NOTES
I.C (4)	ROCR	Peirce Shoemaker Farm and Mill	Standing Mill	c. 1800	-	Listed	Varying number of enslaved workers, sometimes more than 20.
V.E (127)	ROCR	Linnean Hill	Standing House	1823	51NW156	Listed	11 enslaved people in 1862.
	ROCR	Thomas Blagden Farm and Mill	Standing House – not in park	c. 1790	-	-	No enslaved people but 5 free black workers in 1860 (Fiedel et al. 2008).
I.C (4)	ROCR	Federal/Lyons Mill	Archeological Site	c. 1780	-	-	John Lyons enslaved 8 persons in 1820; 3 African Americans worked at the mill in 1860, but their status is uncertain.
-	ROCR	Montrose Park	Archeological Site	c. 1806	51NW161	unknown	Large house with adjacent slave quarter built by Richard Parrott (Fiedel et al. 2008).
IV.D.2 (69)	ROCR	Old Stone House	Standing Structure	1766	-	Listed	Residence and shop used enslaved labor.
I.C (4); V.A.3 (98)	ROCR	Georgetown Waterfront	Site	c. 1745	-	unknown	Embarkation point for enslaved people leaving for the south and possibly arriving from Africa, although this latter point has not been documented.
V.C.2 (108-112); V.D.3.a (127)	ROCR	Mount Zion Cemetery/Female Union Band Society Cemetery	Site: Two African American cemeteries	1808	-	Listed	These are mapped as outside NPS property, but the exact limits of the area with burials is unclear.
V.E (127)	WOTR	Wolf Trap Farm	Standing house	c. 1855	-	under Eval.	Seven enslaved workers in 1850 (Katz et al. 2020).

CHAPTER (PAGE)	NPS UNIT	SITE	TYPE	DATE(S)	ARCH SITE NUMBER	NRHP	NOTES
VI.C (146-157)	various	Civil War Forts / Defenses of Washington	Archeological Sites and Parks	1862-1865	-	Listed	Contraband camps formed around several Civil War Forts, including (possibly) Forts Albany, Ellsworth, Carroll, Greble, Reno, Slocum, Stanton, Stevens, and Tillinghast as well as Batteries Kemble and Rogers. Camps include Beckwith, Brightwood, Campbell, Rucker, Springdale, Todd, and Wadsworth. Fort Kearny built with freedom-seeker labor (CEHP 2004).
VI.C (146)	Shepherd Parkway	Shepherd Parkway	Parkway	1862-1865	-	-	The landscaped parkway on the former lands of Forts Carroll and Greble.
-	Fort Dupont	Fort Dupont	Park	1862-1865	-	-	Part of the Civil War Defenses.

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