

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form**

This form is used for documenting property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information.

  X   New Submission                                         Amended Submission

**A. Name of Multiple Property Listing**

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia

**B. Associated Historic Contexts**

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

The African American Experience in Fauquier County from Settlement to the Civil War (1607–1860)

The Reconstruction Years (1865–1877)

Growth, Jim Crow, and Two World Wars (1878–1945)

The New Dominion (1946–1991)

Development of African American Churches in Fauquier County (1865–1973+/-)

Development of African American Schools in Fauquier County (1865–1973+/-)

Development of African American Fraternal Lodges in Fauquier County (1865–1973+/-)

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May 2022

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

**D. Certification**

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.

*Julie D. Sanger*      *Director*      *11.1.22*  
Signature of certifying official      Title *SHPO*      Date

Virginia Department of Historic Resources

State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

*James Gabbert*  
Signature of the Keeper

12/15/2022  
Date of Action

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

**Table of Contents for Written Narrative**

Create a Table of Contents and list the page numbers for each of these sections in the space below.

Provide narrative explanations for each of these sections on continuation sheets. In the header of each section, cite the letter, page number, and name of the multiple property listing. Refer to *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* for additional guidance.

E. Statement of Historic Contexts..... 5

    Introduction..... 5

    The African American Experience in Fauquier County from Settlement to the Civil War (1607–1860)..... 5

    The Reconstruction Years (1865–1877)..... 28

    Growth, Jim Crow, and Two World Wars (1878–1945)..... 46

    The New Dominion (1946–1991)..... 51

    Development of African American Churches in Fauquier County (1865–1973+/-)..... 55

    Development of African American Schools in Fauquier County (1865–1973+/-)..... 58

    Development of African American Fraternal Lodges in Fauquier County (1865–1973+/-)..... 61

F. Associated Property Types ..... 63

    National Register of Historic Places Criteria for Evaluation..... 63

    Name of Property Type: Churches ..... 64

    Name of Property Type: Schools..... 69

    Name of Property Type: Fraternal Lodges ..... 73

G. Geographical Data..... 77

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods ..... 77

I. Major Biographical References..... 79

**Paperwork Reduction Act Statement:** This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.). We may not conduct or sponsor and you are not required to respond to a collection of information unless it displays a currently valid OMB control number.

**Estimated Burden Statement:** Tier 4

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

## E. Statement of Historic Contexts

### Introduction

The history of the development of Fauquier County's African American communities is a topic that has been explored by local researchers and historians for decades. Much of this work has been compiled and shared by the Afro-American Historical Association of Fauquier County (AAHA). There are also physical remnants of these centers for African American life dotting the landscape. While this Multiple Property Documentation Form is not exhaustive of all property types or resources, it addresses African American churches, schools, and fraternal lodges found in Fauquier County and reflects resources that were important to daily community life in the public sphere. Despite limited in-person access due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, we are indebted to countless area residents who provided historical information to support this study. Additional research and historical data were provided by Karen Hughes White, Norma Logan, and Angela Davidson of the AAHA who recently completed an impressive StoryMap for African American resources in Fauquier County (Afro-American Historical Association of Fauquier County [AAHA] 2021).

This multiple property document (MPD) for African American churches, schools, and fraternal lodges is divided into three contexts—the development of African American Churches in Fauquier County from 1865–1973 +/-, development of African American schools in Fauquier County from 1865–1973 +/-, and the development of African American fraternal lodges in Fauquier County from 1865–1973 +/- . The places included within the contexts are not exhaustive and are based on a preliminary survey completed in 2020. As this MPD is designed to be a guide for individual nominations, specific place histories have been excluded in an effort to keep contexts broad and applicable to as many resources as possible. When using this document to nominate an individual resource, the nominator should include an individual property history. Finally, the larger history of African Americans within Fauquier County is nuanced and greater than the sum of these three contexts. These resource types have been selected as they have some of the most complete records and relate directly to communities and community development.

### The African American Experience in Fauquier County from Settlement to the Civil War (1607–1860)

#### The First Africans

Although African Americans did not arrive in what is today Fauquier County until the mid-eighteenth century, many trace their lineage to the first arrival of Africans on the Virginia shores. The *White Lion*, an English privateering ship captained by John Colyn Jope, arrived at Cape Comfort (Point Comfort) in Hampton, Virginia on August 25, 1619. Onboard were “20 and odd” Africans captured from the Portuguese ship, the *San Juan Bautista*. The *San Juan Bautista* had initially set sail from the seaport village of Luanda, Angola with 350 or so captives. At sea, the *White Lion* and the *Treasurer*, another English privateering ship, seized the *San Juan Bautista* and split the Africans onboard between the two ships. Once in Virginia, Captain Jope sold some of the African men, women, and children to Governor George Yeardley of the Flowerdew Hundred Plantation and to Abraham Piersey, Yeardley's cape merchant, in exchange for provisions (Murphy 2020:17–33). Some of the Africans were transported to Jamestown where they were sold again (Wolfe 2021). These actions commenced the centuries-long act of enslaving those who became African Americans in the Virginia colony.

Historians believe that the Africans sent to work on the tobacco plantations of Yeardley and Piersey were from Ndongo in the Kingdom of the Kongo (present-day Angola in West Africa) (Murphy 2020:17–33). The Ndongo were “an advanced, permanently settled farming and herding people who forged iron tools and weapons, and who

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property ListingVirginia  
State

lived in the same towns year-round” (Murphy 2020:23). While most followed the local religion, some were influenced by the Portuguese—who had permanent outposts in the area—and converted to Catholicism. The influence of the Portuguese can also be seen in the names of the first Africans in Virginia, which included such names as Antonio, Juan, and Margarita (Murphy 2020:24).

The first Africans arrived when the colony was on the verge of collapse. Many of the English settlers had died from disease and starvation and the inhabitants, largely indentured whites from urban areas, had no agricultural skills and minimal knowledge of animal husbandry. The Angolans, who were farmers and understood agricultural techniques like crop rotation, were recognized for their knowledge and skills and soon had the struggling plantations turning a profit (Murphy 2020:21–22; 35). The first Africans, writes Murphy (2020:23) “contradict the perception that colonial slaves were downtrodden and inferior to white Europeans [...] [and many] epitomized the culture and status of the royal kingdom they called home.” Their knowledge, coincidentally, helped to perpetuate the system that kept hundreds of thousands of African Americans in bondage.

Throughout the 1600s, Virginia’s labor force primarily consisted of white indentured servants, though there were a handful of convict laborers, Native American servants, and enslaved Native Americans. The ratio of white servants to enslaved Africans was four to one in the 1670s, but by the 1690s the ratio had reversed. Some theorize that this shift occurred because of a transition in the workforce. Around 1660, there was a decline in the supply of white indentured servants as wages rose in Britain. Others believe that as Virginia got more involved in the Atlantic slave trade, enslaved Africans were considered a more economical long-term option (Menard 2013:378–379; Wolfe 2021).

In regard to the trade of enslaved Africans, before 1680 the majority were brought to Virginia from the West Indies. Direct trade with Africa increased after 1680 when the Royal African Company began sending ships to Africa and entering into contract sales with Virginia businessmen. By 1710, most enslaved Africans in the colony were from a region on the west coast of Africa called the Bight of Biafra. However, by 1770, 91 percent of enslaved Blacks had been born in Virginia (Westbury 1985:229–231; Wolfe 2021).

Enslaved Africans and African Americans lived and labored in both rural and urban areas. The general conditions set forth for domestic life did not alter much in the first two centuries of the enterprise. Enslaved individuals in urban settings often slept where they worked, whether in the kitchen, laundry, smokehouse, or stables. Some urban enslavers had separate quarters constructed outside of the main house. Quarters were generally one story in height and had one room; some also had a loft. Very early quarters, like some early Anglo dwellings, did not have formal foundations but either sat directly on the ground surface or were slightly elevated on corner piers composed of wood or piled stones (Figure 1) (Pogue and Sanford 2022). In rural areas, enslaved Africans and African Americans lived in a variety of housing types. Quarters, either an individual building or a cluster of houses, were often erected near the fields where the enslaved individuals labored. These farm quarters generally included an overseer’s house and outbuildings such as barns and corn cribs. Elite plantations sometimes had “home house quarters” near the main house. These quarters differed significantly in quality to those out in the fields. They “tended to be sturdy frame structures set on masonry foundations... [and] some were even built entirely of brick or stone” (Pogue and Sanford 2022). Another form of housing was barracks. These structures housed large numbers of enslaved individuals and were often timber-frame buildings, one story in height, with a heat source at one end (Pogue and Sanford 2022).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

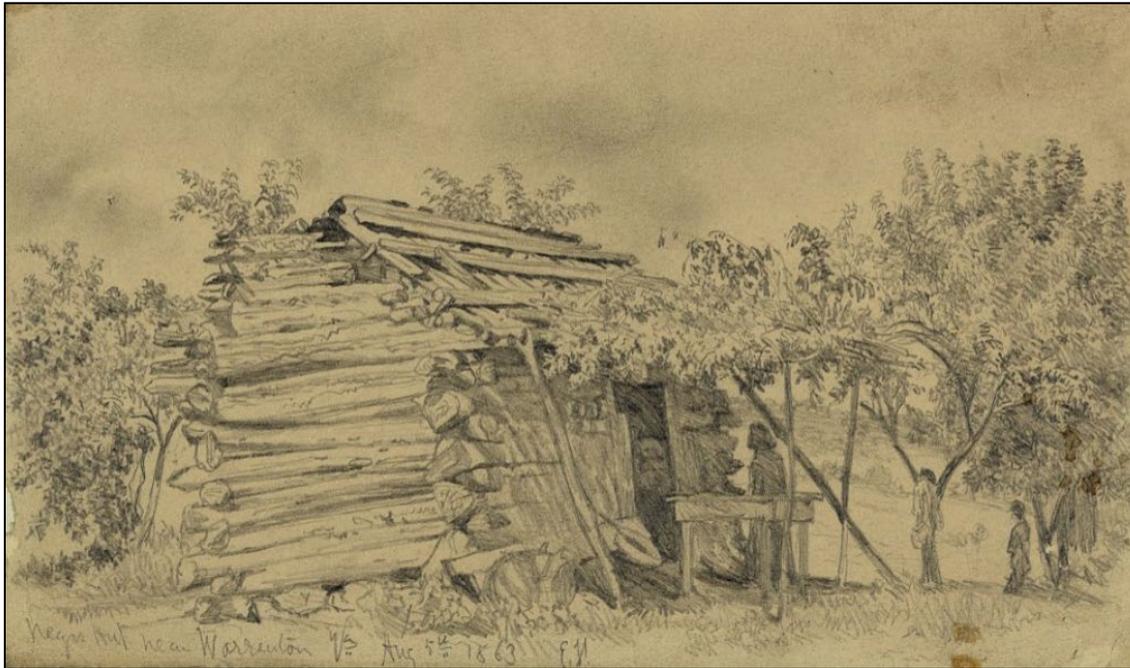


Figure 1: An Early Quarter for Enslaved People Near Warrenton, as Drawn By Edwin Forbes in 1863 (Forbes 1863).

Most enslaved Africans and African Americans provided agricultural labor. Others trained in skilled trades such as blacksmithing, carpentry, and coopering. Women cleaned, cooked, and cared for their enslaver's children. While their lives were controlled by their enslaver, and slave laws were passed that limited their movements, prohibited learning to read and write, forbade meeting in groups, and issued violent public punishments for violations, "African Americans resisted the debilitating effects of slavery and created a vital culture supportive of human dignity [...] Through their families, religion, folklore, and music, as well as more direct forms of resistance" (Virginia Museum of History and Culture 2022a).

#### The Northern Neck Proprietary and Virginia's Social Hierarchy

The presence of African Americans in the colony greatly impacted the development of what became Fauquier County. The land was part of the vast proprietary estate of the Northern Neck, which was bounded by the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers and extended from the Chesapeake Bay to the headsprings of the two rivers. The Piedmont region, stretching east from the Blue Ridge Mountains to the Fall Line, was included in Northern Neck Proprietary grant. Fauquier County is located within this region (Figure 2) (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:10).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

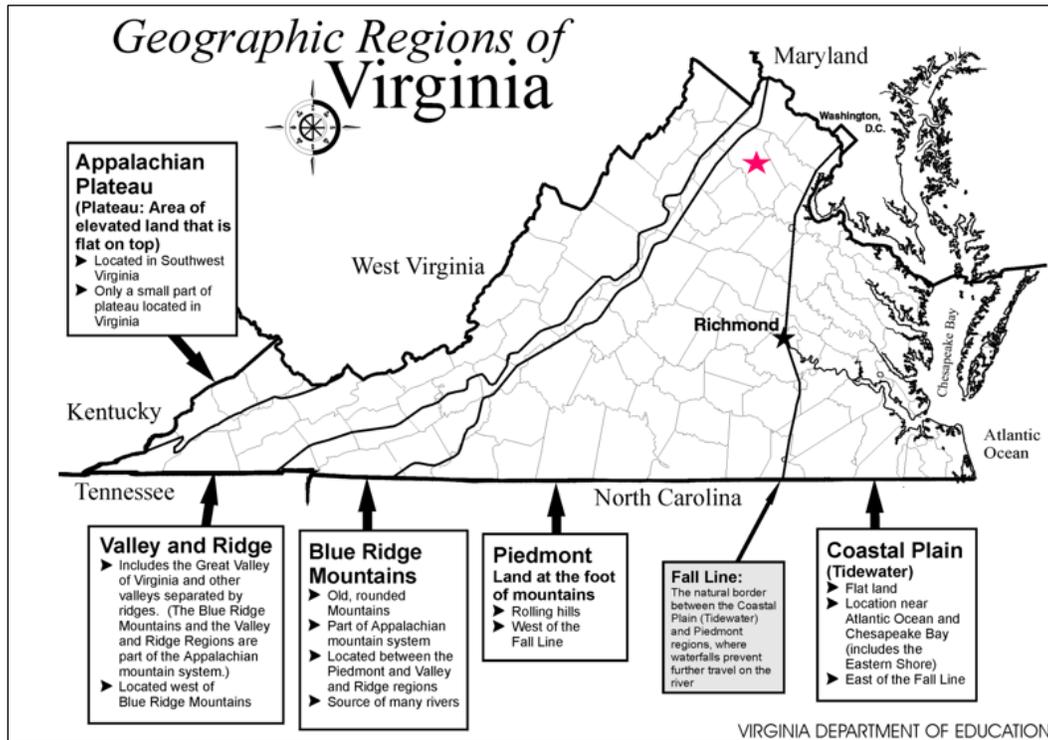


Figure 2: Map of the Geographic Regions of Virginia. Fauquier County, identified by a pink star, is located within the Piedmont region of Virginia (Virginia Department of Education n.d.).

The Northern Neck Proprietary, covering about 5.2 million acres, or about one-sixth of the state of Virginia, was granted by then-exiled King Charles II to seven loyalists, including John Culpeper, in 1649 (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:10; Geddes 1967:9; Poland 1978:7). The legitimacy of the proprietorship, however, was challenged by the Governor of Virginia and the General Assembly, inhibiting the proprietor's efforts to organize the Northern Neck and collect rents (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:17; Weisiger 2002:2). Frustrated by these complications, the grantees sold the "whole tract, territory and portion of land" to Thomas Culpeper, 2nd Baron Culpeper, the eldest son of John Culpeper, in 1681 (Fauquier County 1914:24–28; Weisiger 2002:2). Thomas Fairfax, 6th Lord Fairfax of Cameron became the proprietor of the Northern Neck upon his father's passing in 1719 (Fauquier County 1914:24–28; Haynie 1959:143–144; William and Mary Quarterly 1898:222).

The Culpepers and Fairfaxes were absentee landowners and appointed a land agent to manage their interests. Robert "King" Carter was appointed land agent from 1702 to 1712 and from 1722 to 1732 (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:13; Groome 1927:13). As land agent, Carter issued patents (a land grant) to settlers on a "leasehold" basis. Settlers therefore did not buy the property outright, but were tenants/leaseholders. "Quit rents," either in the form of money or a commodity, were paid to the land agent annually on September 29th, St. Michaelmas Day (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:185, 22; Weisiger 2002:2).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 1732, Carter died and the Fairfax family assumed the responsibilities of land agent (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:185, 22; Weisiger 2002:2). The Proprietary as a legal entity essentially ceased to exist after Lord Fairfax's passing in 1781 (Netherton et al. 2004:2).

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

During Carter's tenure as land agent, Virginia had transitioned from a "slave-owning society" to a "slave society." In the former, enslaved individuals were part of the larger social matrix but did not dominate the economy; in the latter, the labor of enslaved people became the backbone of the colony's wealth (Menard 2013:380). Carter himself owned the largest number of enslaved Africans and African Americans in Virginia and made his fortune by having enslaved individuals farm tobacco on his land (Wolfe 2021). Large tobacco planters like Carter were at the top of Virginia's social hierarchy and "held the lion's share of political and financial power in the colony" (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:18). Second to planters were the yeoman farmers, who held less acreage and wealth in comparison. However, when working together toward a shared goal, yeoman farmers had considerable influence in the House of Burgesses and when casting a vote. Yeoman farmers challenged the almost oligarchical power of the elite planters (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:18).

Merchants were under the yeoman farmers in Virginia's social hierarchy. They served as the middlemen between the tobacco planters and foreign markets. This position allowed them to essentially control the exchange rate. Many merchants, particularly when the tobacco market was at its peak in Virginia, were Scottish. These enterprising individuals promoted the building of roads, opened stores at key crossroads, and established themselves at ports. At the bottom of the social hierarchy, but above enslaved Africans and African Americans, were white tenant farmers (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:18).

### The Formation of Fauquier County

Anglo and African American settlement of the Virginia Piedmont was slow; the first major settlement was Brent Town in what is today Prince William County, founded in 1687. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, there were roughly 80 settlers in Brent Town (Haley 1989:5; Russell and Gott 1977:2-3; Watts 2021:6).

The Elk Run settlement in the rich lowlands of Elk Marsh was formed by 1715. By 1734, nearly 900 people lived in the area (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:13-15; Netherton et al. 2004:103). The Elk Run settlement was followed by the formation of German Town (Germantown), which was established around 1720 by Germans formerly indentured to Colonial Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:15). The German colonists were granted a total of 1,805 acres on Licking Run around present-day Midland in Fauquier County (Figure 3) (Fauquier Historical Society 1982:1; Huffman 1961:7; Petro 1956:13). In the early 1730s, John Rector, a descendant of one of the original German Town settlers, purchased a portion of a large tract of land which extended from the present-day town of Marshall to Route 50 and from Goose Creek to Little River. Rector divided the tract into 200-acre lots, and in 1772 the town was incorporated as Maidstone (Fauquier Historical Society 1982:1-2; Kalbian 2004:34). While Maidstone, more commonly referred to as Rector's Town, developed into a thriving community, the majority of the buildings in German Town were in ruins by 1775 (Russell and Gott 1977:3). Although difficult to find, there is evidence of enslaved African Americans in the early settlement period, specifically in the 1724 Stafford County Tobacco Tender List and the 1747 Hamilton Parish Tithable List (Prince William County 2022). In Will Book 1 (1759) of the newly-established Fauquier County, enslaved people are listed and appraised in the first will recorded, indicating that enslaved people definitely resided in the area before 1759 (Wendy Wheatcraft personal Communication).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State



Figure 3: 1737 Map of the Northern Neck, including Brent Town (established in 1687), Noted in White Circle (Warner and Fairfax 1737). Not to scale.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, settlement increased in earnest. Around 1710, European demand for tobacco increased, raising tobacco prices. The Piedmont's soils were well-suited to the cultivation of tobacco, specifically the oronoco tobacco favored by the French markets (Morgan and Nicholls 1989:216). The resulting movement westward had a notable impact on the African American experience in Virginia; enslaved individuals with no agency were viewed as material goods that were transported to new locales to provide labor for this expansion.

Some of the Tidewater gentry who obtained land in this area were absentee landowners, and leased their land in small parcels to tenant farmers (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:22; Russell and Gott 1977:2).<sup>2</sup> Others would eventually relocate to the Virginia Piedmont, but first had enslaved African Americans prepare the land under the supervision of a white overseer. This work included clearing the fields, cutting and hauling timber, and building fences and other structures associated with the operation of farms and plantations (Brown and Harpole 2015:46–47; Morgan and Nicholls 1989:245). Enslaved African Americans during the early settlement of the region typically lived on properties with fewer than 10 enslaved individuals. While a white overseer was on site at times,

<sup>2</sup> From 1723 to 1725, Carter issued grants for more than 70 small parcels on his Elk Run tracts. These parcels were settled by Scotch Irish tenant farmers who immediately began planting tobacco. Other Scotch Irish purchased land to the east of Pignut Mountain and along the Bull Run Ranges (Fauquier Historical Society 1982:1, 2008:22).

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property ListingVirginia  
State

the presence of such oversight often was the result of the size of the operation and the funds of the landowner (Morgan and Nicholls 1989:238, 245).

Living conditions of African Americans during this period mirrored those noted earlier in the seventeenth century, with numerous individuals occupying small living spaces regardless of whether they were free or enslaved. Personal items were minimal in number, but the quarters did often offer a place of minor refuge and a locale to practice cultural traditions that were important to African American culture, including maintaining a swept yard and continuing foodway practices passed down through generations (i.e., Franklin 2001; Heath and Bennett 2000). The eighteenth century also sees the proliferation of a feature that became a staple on many quarter sites, the subfloor pit. While the public narrative on the African American experience was fraught with oversight and control, Black populations (most notably those of enslaved people) sought ways to create what has been called a hidden transcript—subvert ways that they could control their own worlds in such an Anglo-dominated culture (Trouillot 1995). The subfloor pit was a subterranean storage area that provided a space to hold both known items, such as food, but also those that were preferred kept out of sight. Often located in front of hearths where warmer soils were present, the pits were below the floorboards and thus hidden from daily view (Samford 2007). Such pits are often found on archaeological sites associated with the enslaved experience in this area.

Population growth in the second half of the eighteenth century was fueled in part by the division of the Tidewater gentry's large landholdings in the Piedmont region (Haley 1989:7). While there was a rise in the white population, it was largely the Black population that increased—by the middle of the eighteenth century, the Virginia Piedmont was occupied by 40,000 enslaved African Americans, or one-third of the colony's total. White settlers from the Tidewater region brought enslaved African Americans with them, but Piedmont farmers also purchased additional laborers to support tobacco cultivation (Morgan 1988; Morgan and Nicholls 1989:217). The Tidewater African Americans and African immigrants were disproportionately composed of children and women. Morgan and Nicholls (1989:219) propose that the reason for this was two-fold: 1) children were less expensive and thus more practical to purchase when large sums of money were already being expended to set up plantations on the Virginia frontier; and 2) Virginia's decreased importance in the Atlantic slave trade resulted in fewer men being transported into the region. The wills of Piedmont slaveholders even indicate a preference for women, likely because women increased the value of their estate by virtue of the fact that they could reproduce (Morgan and Nicholls 1989:219, 235–236).

Population growth merited the establishment of a new county and, in 1755, area white male residents submitted a petition to the General Assembly to create a new county out of the larger Prince William County (formed from the counties of King George and Stafford in 1730).<sup>3</sup> In 1759, the creation of a new county was approved. The county was named Fauquier after the Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, Francis Fauquier, who was in office from 1758 to 1768. At the time of its formation, Fauquier's population was centered around Elk Run Church in Hamilton Parrish (see Figure 2) (Groome 1927:163). After its organization, the crossroads settlement at the junction of the Winchester and Culpeper Roads was selected for the county's first courthouse. Fauquier Court House, which began with a trading post known as the Red Store and an ordinary, developed into a thriving county seat (Fauquier Historical Society 2016; Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission 1983:8-1–8-2).

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<sup>3</sup> This petition and the two following were rejected, presumably due to the Tidewater gentry's reluctance to create new political units and thereby dilute their power (Fauquier County 1914:5; Fauquier Historical Society 2008:22–25; Groome 1927:162–163).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

### Enslaved African Americans in Fauquier County

By 1775, the population of Fauquier County was 13,500 (Table 1). Approximately 8,700 were white and the remainder (n=4,800) were enslaved or free African Americans. While enslaved African Americans made up 35 percent of the population, they were owned by only 15 percent of the white male population. Most white land owners in Fauquier County owned fewer than five enslaved individuals (Russell and Gott 1977:1). By 1782, 88 major landholders owned 44 percent of all enslaved people in the county (Russell and Gott 1977:1). Charles Carter, the son of Robert “King” Carter, was the largest owner of enslaved people in Fauquier County in 1782. Carter held 188 enslaved African Americans (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:48; Groome 1927:93–94).

Table 1: Fauquier County Population. Information compiled from the *Fauquier County, Virginia Register of Free Negroes 1817–1865* (Ibrahim et al. 1993) and the 1850 and 1860 United States Population Census (United States Federal Population Census [U.S. Census] 1850, 1860). It is of note that the white and African American population dropped between 1840 and 1850 due to an agricultural depression in Virginia (Givens 1972:2–3).

Year	White Population	Enslaved Population	Free Population	Total African American Population	Total Population
1790	11,157	6,542	93	6,635	17,892
1800	12,444	8,754	131	8,885	21,329
1810	11,984	10,361	344	10,705	22,689
1820	11,429	11,167	507	11,674	23,103
1830	13,656	12,612	621	13,233	26,889
1840	10,501	10,708	688	11,396	21,897
1850	9,875	10,350	643	10,993	20,868
1860	10,430	10,455	821	11,276	21,706

By 1810, nearly 50 percent of the population of Fauquier County was African American (Groome 1914:24; Ibrahim et al. 1993). In 1820, the African American population surpassed the white total. The Fauquier County register recorded 11,157 enslaved and 507 free African Americans—a total of 11,664—and a white population of 11,429 (Brown and Harpole 2015:53; Ibrahim et al. 1993).

As discussed above, enslaved African Americans were the literal and physical backbone of the county’s agricultural economy. Some were also taught specific skills, either domestic, agricultural, industrial, or commercial, to maximize labor potential (Dodson 2003; Williamson and Cain 2022). It also increased their profitability through renting services. The practice of hiring out laborers was common in Virginia. While the hiring out process may have been financially beneficial for white owners, the practice made it difficult for enslaved laborers to maintain family ties as they were often separated from their spouses, children, and/or parents. For those who hired this labor, there was a notable connection between the ability to purchase a human being outright and social standing. By having enslaved laborers on their property, there was a perceived improvement in their social standing. In fact, real estate and personal estate values in the 1860 U.S. Census indicate that the majority of those who temporarily hired out enslaved individuals were of the lower and middle classes (Eaton 1960:663–664, 667; Sanford 2021).

Hiring out agreements could be informal or short-term, though most hiring out agreements were typically for a year. Women and girls were typically hired to white families to perform such domestic tasks as cleaning, cooking, and childcare. Enslaved women, as well as men and boys, were also hired out as agricultural laborers to supplement the labor force during the planting and harvesting seasons (Eaton 1960:676; Sanford 2021). Other

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property ListingVirginia  
State

industries that brought on enslaved African Americans included iron, lumbering, milling, and tobacco. Salt makers and railroad and canal builders also brought on enslaved African Americans on a rental basis. In some cases, the individual did receive compensation beyond the payment that would go to their owner and/or received funds for food and lodging; however, this was rare (Eaton 1960:663, 669–671, 678; Sanford 2021). The hiring practice was often yet another mechanism to reflect the absence of agency among those held in bondage.

Enslaved men and women could also self-hire with the permission of those who owned them. This ability, which sometimes gave enslaved individuals a very small degree of autonomy, was usually extended to enslaved African Americans skilled in a particular task such as blacksmithing, cobbling, and brick masonry. The individuals were required to give their owner a portion of their wages; if this did not occur, they often were subject to some sort of punishment (Eaton 1960:672; Sanford 2021). In 1801, however, a law was passed in Virginia that read: “If any person permits his slave, or any slave hired by him, to go at large or hire himself out, the slave may be sold” (Guild 1969:70). This law, while not regularly enforced, was implemented because some members of white society were concerned about the unsupervised activities of enslaved persons and others wanted to eliminate competition with white laborers and artisans (Eaton 1960:672; Sanford 2021). In 1860, the law was modified and the punishment changed to a fee of between \$10 and \$30, to be paid by the individual’s owner (Guild 1969:70).

In Fauquier County, enslaved African Americans were hired out as early as 1761 (Afro American Historical Society Association of Fauquier County [AAHA] 2016:FN/E1761-003). This corresponds with the overall trend of the state, which saw an increase in hiring out between 1750 and 1825 because of the general growth of the African American population and the shift from tobacco, which was more labor intensive, to more diversified agriculture (Sanford 2021). Some enslaved African Americans were sent to the quarries in the Bull Run Mountains to extract stone for the construction of mills, houses, and other buildings (Brown and Harpole 2015:46–47). Others were hired out for their skills—blacksmith, cooper, cook, and housekeeper (AAHA 2016:FN/E1819-021, FN/E1848-038, FN/E1851-019). The length of the hire out agreement varied; some were for one year while others were for three or even five years (AAHA 2016: FN/E1820-035, FN/E1822-002). Sometimes it was a single enslaved individual that was hired out and other times there were several enslaved individuals, including children. In one case, 14 enslaved African Americans were hired for three years (AAHA 2016:FN/E1822-002). There is also evidence that some enslaved African Americans were hired out to earn their freedom. The 1810 unrecorded trust of Elizabeth Elliot states that Peter Knight, an enslaved African American under her ownership, was to be freed after \$237 had been earned from his being hired out (AAHA 2016:FN/E1810-013).

Hire out agreements generally required the employer to provide the enslaved with the “usual Summer and Winter Clothing” and to “treat [them] with humanity” (Figure 4) (AAHA 2016:ARCH.00786). If these conditions were not met, owners could sue. In the 1784 *John Lee v. James Withers* suit, for example, the employer was charged with a breach of contract over the hiring of three enslaved African Americans and failure to comply with the provision of clothes (Peters 2001:25). According to archival records, some hired out enslaved individuals ran away. This could have been due to mistreatment or an attempt at self-manumission (Eaton 1960:666). In 1796, Bob, a hired-out carpenter, ran away, was captured, and hired out again (Peters 2001:33). Henry, another enslaved African American, ran away from his employer and was caught and jailed. His owner was required to pay a fee for his prison stay (Peters 2001:340).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

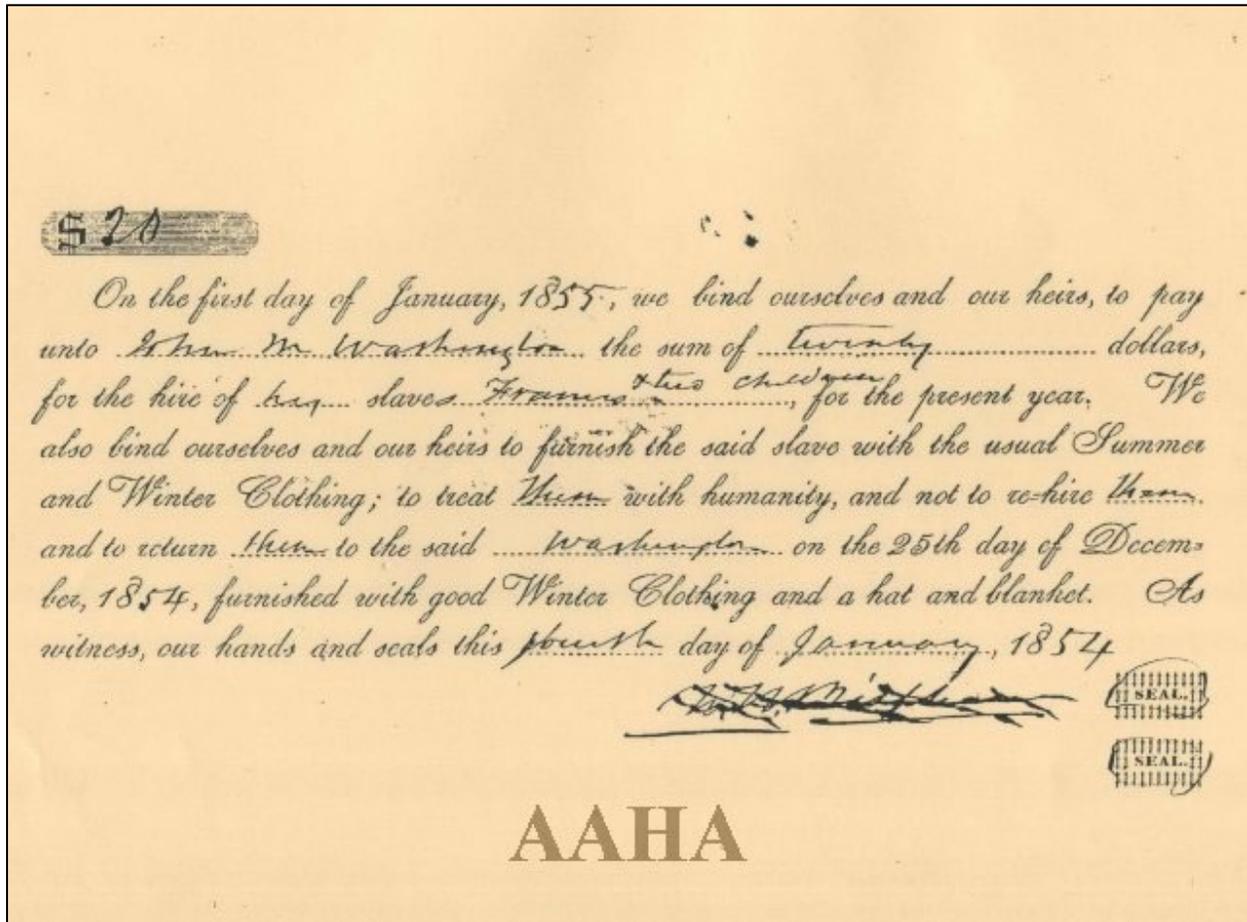


Figure 4: 1854 Hire Out Agreement (AAHA 2016:ARCH.00786).

The available records also indicate that some white owners of enslaved people in Fauquier County permitted enslaved African Americans to hire themselves out even after the 1801 law that put this practice to an end. In 1809, for example, Steptoe Pickett was charged for allowing Agga, Jack, and Frank, enslaved African Americans under his ownership, to go at large (AAHA 2016:FN/E1809-001; Peters 2001:5). In 1811, Dixon Roberson (enslaver of Moses) and Sarah Churchill (enslaver of Hannah) were charged for allowing enslaved African Americans to hire themselves out (AAHA 2016:FN/E1811-015). George Nelson (enslaver of Jim) was charged in 1848 for permitting Jim, hired out to Robert Knight, “to go at large and trade as a free man” (AAHA 2016:FN/E1849-004). These records do not document what punishment was issued to the enslaver and enslaved individual.

While the laws and punishments for attempted self-manumission changed over the years (Table 2), these laws continued to dehumanize enslaved individuals as they “‘legitimized’ white ‘power’ and ‘authority’ over slaves because slave owners and legislators perceived the need for slave control to be a paramount interest” (Fede 1985:95).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

Table 2: Summary of Legislative Acts Regarding African Americans in Virginia (Guild 1969).

Year	Law
1726	Chapter IV: Runaway slaves, whose masters are not known, may be hired out by the keeper of the public gaol, with a strong iron collar with the letters "P. G." stamped thereupon (p. 53).
1748	Chapter XIV: Runaways who use stolen or forged certificates shall stand in the pillory two hours; there shall be rewards for taking up runaway servants or slaves. Any Negro or other person not declaring the name of his owner shall be committed to jail and delivered to his owner on satisfying the sheriff's fees; if no owner appear, the runaway shall be hired out, the runaway to wear a strong iron collar with letters "P. G." stamped thereon; owners claiming runaway slaves shall make proof of ownership, but if no owner finally appear the sheriff shall sell the runaway at public auction after charges paid (pp. 56-57).
1769	Chapter XIX: The taker-up of a runaway at his option may convey him to his owner, or if the owner is not in the county, carry him to gaol, and the gaoler shall advertise a description of the runaway in the <i>Virginia Gazette</i> for three weeks (pp. 58-59).
1785	Chapter LXXXIV: Runaway servants and slaves may be apprehended by any person, who shall be rewarded by the owner. If the owner is not found, the runaway shall be placed in jail, and may be hired out with an iron collar on his neck. A runaway being a slave, after one year from the last advertisement in the <i>Virginia Gazette</i> , shall be sold (p. 63).
1808	Chapter XV: Any person who may hereafter apprehend a runaway slave shall be entitled to a reward of \$2.00, and mileage as heretofore. If the owner does not claim a runaway within twelve months, the sheriff shall advertise for one month in any public newspaper the time and place of selling the runaway (p. 73).
1817	Chapter XXXVI: Because of serious inconvenience experienced by Virginians from the frequent elopement of slaves to states north of the Potomac it is enacted that hereafter \$20.00 reward, and mileage, be allowed any person who may apprehend any runaway slave attempting to cross the Potomac if the plantation on which the slave is employed be not less than ten miles from the river. If the slave is apprehended in Maryland or Kentucky, the reward shall be \$25.00; in Delaware., New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York, or Ohio, \$50.00, plus twenty-five cents a mile.
1822	Runaway slaves confined in jail hereafter are not to be sold by the sheriff, except on court order.
1823	Chapter 35: The reward for apprehending runaway slaves in Ohio, Pennsylvania, or Indiana, shall be \$50.00 and 20 cents per mile for traveling to the residence of the owner or the jail at which the runaway is delivered. The reward shall be \$120.00 for apprehending slaves in New York, New England, and the British Provinces. The rewards allowed shall operate as a lien on the slave. If the slave is taken up not more than twenty miles distant from his plantation, the reward shall be \$25.00 and mileage.
1829	Chapter 21: Jailors shall try to ascertain the owners of runaway slaves and notify them by mail (p. 83).
1835	Chapter 62: If the owner of a runaway slave does not claim him within four months after the keeper of the jail has advertised, the runaway shall be sold.
1841	Chapter 73: Any person apprehending a runaway slave above sixteen years of age more than twenty miles from his place of abode and within ten miles of dividing lines between Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Maryland shall be entitled to recover \$30.00 and ten cents for every mile he shall necessarily convey the runaway (p. 86).
1856	Chapter 49. This act amends previous legislation by increasing the reward for the arrest of runaway slaves. In the case of slaves arrested in a non-slaveholding state and delivered to the owner or a jailer in this Commonwealth, a reward of 25 per cent of the value of the fugitive shall be paid. If the arrest be in a non-slaveholding state and the person is entitled to \$100.00 or more from the owner, it shall be the duty of the auditor of public accounts to issue his warrant on the treasury for \$50.00. Rewards and mileage are also allowed for arrests of runaways in this state (p. 90).

The AAHA of Fauquier County archives have numerous county claim records pertaining to self-manumission. There is one document from 1773 reflecting a jailor's account for holding several fugitives of slavery. William Kitson, enslaved by John Moffett of Fauquier County, was one of the enslaved African Americans being held at the jail (AAHA 2016:ARCH.00802, FN/E1777). Nace, an African American enslaved by Francis Berryman of Fauquier County, was found in Stafford County and jailed as a fugitive of slavery in 1788. Berryman was responsible for paying Joseph Brown, who was caught and carried Nace 36 miles back to Fauquier County

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

(AAHA 2016: ARCH.00806, ARCH.00804). In 1793, Charles, from the estate of Captain James Scott of Fauquier County, was captured 42 miles from the Scott plantation in the county (Figure 5) (AAHA 2016:ARCH.00808). These documents do not indicate how the enslaved individuals were punished. One document found during the course of research did mention a punishment of 20 lashes (AAHA 2016:ARCH.01095).

In addition to county claim records, newspapers also issued rewards for fugitive of slavery (Figure 6). Beverley, enslaved by the late Henry Rose, Esquire of Fauquier County, was reported as a fugitive of slavery in an undated newspaper. The newspaper provides a physical description of Beverley and different reward amounts depending on where she was captured (Figure 7) (AAHA 2016:ARCH.00811).

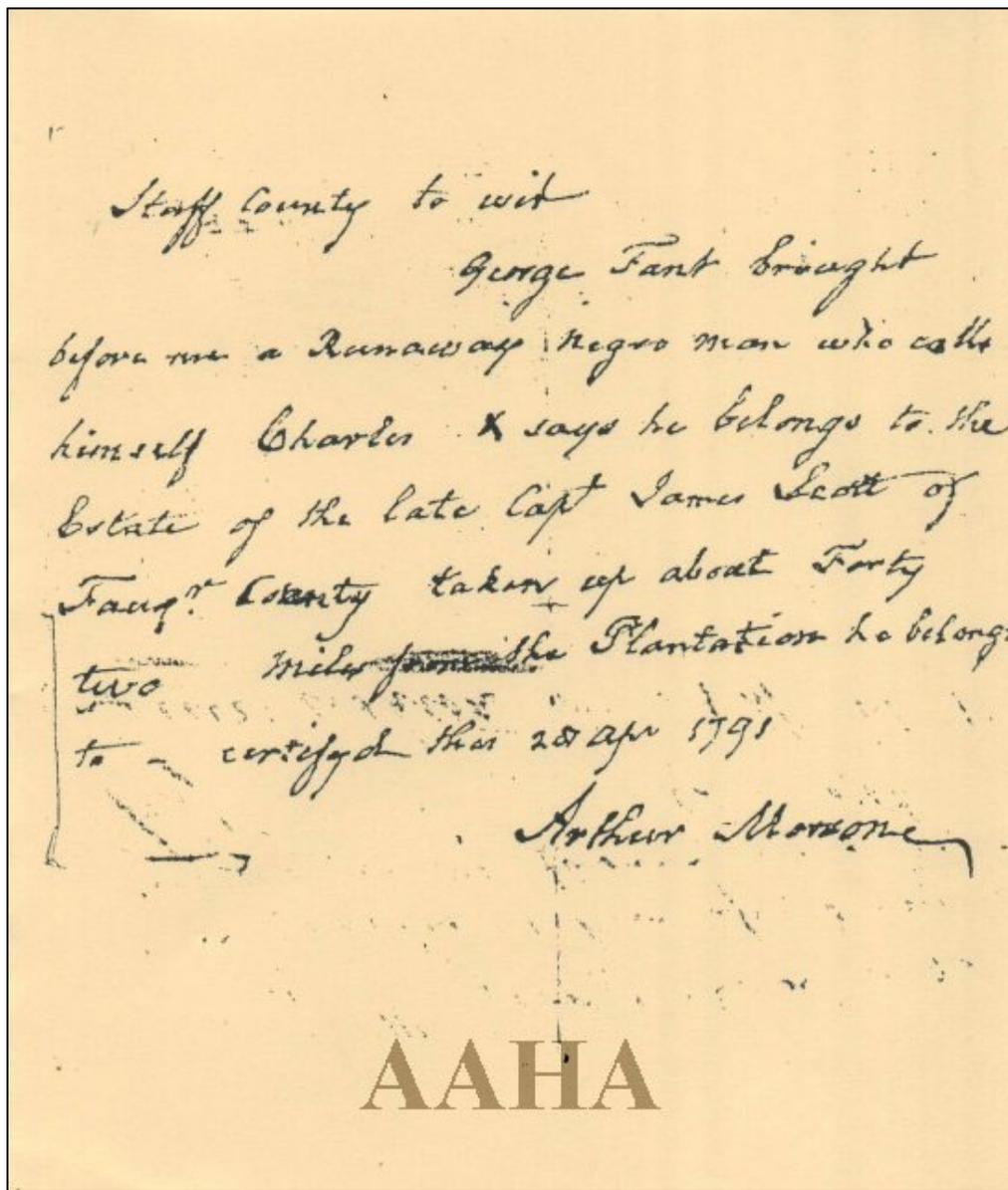


Figure 5: Account of a Captured Fugitive of Slavery (AAHA 2016:ARCH.00808).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

**\$1200  
Reward!**

**Ranaway from the subscribers, on Saturday night, 13th of September, a negro man named *Elias*, about 35 years of age, and about 5 feet seven or eight inches high, well made, a dark mulatto, civil in manner when spoken to, a blacksmith by trade.**

*Lytleton*, about 28 years of age, a dark mulatto, rather stoutly made, 5 feet nine or ten inches high.

*John Lawrence*, black, about 5 feet seven or eight inches high, and about 40 years of age.

*Oakley*, about 16 years of age, very slim, a dark mulatto.

*Arthur*, belonging to Dr. R. M. Stribling, description not known to the writer.

*Jim*, an albino, about 28 or 30 years of age, about 5 feet eight inches high, with downcast countenance when spoken to.

The above reward will be given for the whole of them, if apprehended beyond the borders of Virginia, and returned to us, or lodged in jail so that we get them; \$600 if caught in Hampshire County; and \$30 each, if caught in the County of Fauquier; and \$50 each, if caught elsewhere; and lodged in either case in jail at Warrenton, Fauquier County, Va.

**JAMES K. MARSHALL.  
R. M. STRIBLING.  
E. L. S. MARSHALL.**  
*Markham Station, Fauquier Co., Va.*

DAILY SENTINEL PRINTING ESTABLISHMENT, ALEXANDRIA, VA.  
**AAHA**

Figure 6: Reward for Fugitives of Slavery from Fauquier County (AAHA 2016:ARCH.00829).

**ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD** —Ran away from the plantation of John Baker, Esq., near Salem, Fauquier county, Virginia, a negro man named Beverley, belonging to the heirs of Henry Rose, Esq., late of that county.

Beverley is about 40 years old, very black, and about 5 feet 8 or 10 inches high. He has lost the end of the forefinger to the first joint on the right hand. He went off in company with another negro man, the property of Mr. Baker, and probably also with a white man. I will give \$30 reward for the apprehension of Beverley, if taken in Fauquier county; \$60 if taken out of that county and within the State of Virginia; or \$100 if taken out of the State, provided that in either case he is so secured that I may recover him. If Mr. Baker has offered a reward also for Beverley's apprehension, the person taking will be entitled either to that or this, but not to both.

**H. LUFBOROUGH,**  
Sept 28—ctf

**AAHA**

Figure 7: Advertisement for Beverley of Fauquier County, an Enslaved African American (AAHA 2016:ARCH.00811).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

Some of these accounts indicate that enslaved communities worked together to reach freedom. In a 2021 newsletter, the Fauquier Historical Society recounts the escape attempt of a group of enslaved African Americans from Fauquier and Loudoun counties. On Christmas Eve night in 1855, Frank Wanzer, Anne Wood, Barnaby Grigby, and Mary Elizabeth Grigby took their enslaver's carriage and set out north. Two enslaved men from Fauquier County joined them on horseback. The group reached Maryland but were then stopped by six white men asking to see their papers. Both sides raised arms, and the white men fled to avoid their own death. During this encounter, the two men from Fauquier County were separated from their party. One was shot and brought to the Warrenton jail where he was to be retrieved by their enslaver, Charles Simpson. The rest of the group made it to Philadelphia and eventually Canada. This particular story indicates some level of coordination, as two groups from separate plantations met, either by design or accident, and continued on together. The date of their escape also indicates some forethought as there were likely fewer patrols on the roads (Redmiles 2021:1–2).

Whites were also wary of the Underground Railroad and insurrection, so numerous Virginia state laws were passed prohibiting the gathering of free and enslaved African Americans (Table 3). In 1804, a law was passed that prohibited enslaved individuals from gathering at night and corporal punishment, not to exceed 20 lashes, on offenders (Guild 1969:71). Furthermore, pursuant to an 1832 law, African Americans were prohibited from assembling day or night for any religious meeting conducted by an enslaved or free preacher, or a white preacher without the written permission of their enslaver. Offenders were punished with lashes, not to exceed 39 (Guild 1969:106–107).<sup>4</sup> In addition to assembling for worship, the 1848 Criminal Code established that enslaved and free African Americans were prohibited from assembling for the purpose of learning to read or write. Punishment if caught was stripes not to exceed 39 lashes (Guild 1969:178–179).<sup>5</sup> According to an 1801 law, enslaved African Americans were sentenced to death if found guilty for conspiracy or insurrection. The governor could also purchase the guilty and have them transported. In both cases, enslaver would be paid the value of the enslaved individual (Guild 1969). A summary of laws regarding prohibition of movement and associated penalty is provided below.

Table 3: Laws Related to Prohibition of Gatherings and Travel for Enslaved and Free African Americans (Guild 1969).

Year	Law
1824	Chapter XXXV: For enticing or advising any servant or slave away from home, or knowingly employing or harboring a runaway servant or slave, the penalty is \$10-\$20, one half to the informer and the other half to the Literary Fund, or ten to 20 lashes on the bare back if not paid. Search warrants are to be allowed to search for runaway slaves. Whenever the master or owner of any slave shall desire to confine him in jail, it shall be lawful for the jailer to receive him, provided the justice be of the opinion he may be confined without public inconvenience, and he shall not be confined in the same apartment with any free white person (pp. 82–83).
1829	Chapter XXI: Persons assisting slaves to escape are guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be punished by confinement in jail three to 12 months, be fined at the discretion of the jury, and liable also to action by the party aggrieved (pp. 83–84).
1832	Chapter XXII: Riots and unlawful assembly, trespasses and seditious speeches by free Negroes shall hereafter be punished with stripes with stripes, as heretofore directed for slaves (pp. 106–107).

<sup>4</sup> As early as 1805, enslaved African Americans were permitted to attend religious services conducted by a white minister if accompanied by their owner or the owner's family (Guild 1969:72).

<sup>5</sup> Any white person instructing enslaved and free African Americans "to read or write, or associating with them in any unlawful assembly [were] confined in jail not exceeding six months and fined not exceeding \$100. Any such white person may [have been] required to enter a recognizance with sufficient security to appear for trial..." (Guild 1969:178–179).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

Year	Law
1834	Chapter LXVIII: If any free person shall advise or persuade any slave to abscond, or shall furnish any slave any pass, or any money, clothes or provisions to aid such slave abscond, every such person, being free, shall be guilty felony and shall be imprisoned for from two to five years. If a slave shall commit or aid such an offense, he shall receive 39 lashes on a second conviction he shall be deemed a felony, within the benefit of the clergy, and on the third conviction he shall receive 39 lashes and be banished (p. 109).
1841	Chapter LXXIV: If any person secret or aid in secret any slave or free Negro, or send any slave or free Negro out of the country where he has committed an offence, shall be punished by a penalty for the use of the Overseers of the Poor. The act authoring free Negroes to be carried out of the state at public expense is repealed. After August next, free Negroes are prohibited from coming into the state, except as servants of white persons, who do not remain more than five days (p. 113).

Despite these laws, the AAHA of Fauquier County archives have numerous records pertaining to the unlawful assembly of African Americans. In 1818, John Crain was indicted for the unlawful assembly of enslaved individuals. There is no record of his punishment (AAHA 2016:ARCH.04415). Rioters and Gaines were charged with the unlawful assembly of enslaved individuals in a public road in 1821. Enslaved African Americans present included Alfred, Hairy, and Daniel (enslaved by John Gaines), Ralph (enslaved by Dennis Griffith and under the employ of Lloyd Noland), and Chas and Tiller (enslaved by Rev. William Williamson). The document does not specify what sort of assembly (religious, conspiratorial, etc.) nor the punishment issued (AAHA 2016:FN/E1821-027). In 1835, Berry Benjamin was charged with permitting the unlawful assembly of African Americans and fined “\$25 & costs.” The document does not specify what sort of assembly (AAHA 2016:FN/E1835-001-17). Harrison Lunceford was charged that same year and given a “\$5 fine & costs” (AAHA 2016:FN/E1835-011). Lucinda (or Synthia Pinn), a free African American, was charged the following year for allowing an unlawful assembly of African Americans in her house. There is no mention of whether they were enslaved, free, or both, or what punishment was issued (AAHA 2016:FN/E1836-003). Lucina Pinn was recorded in the Free Negro Records in 1837 as born free (AAHA 2016:FNR.261).

The route of the Underground Railroad went north through Fauquier County (Figure 8). While there is no direct mention of conductors in Fauquier County, it is possible that some cases of unlawful assembly are indicative of the presence of the Underground Railroad (Karen White, personal communication 2022). The 1858 case of the *Commonwealth v. George Holland*, for instance, may be an example. Holland, a white male, was indicted for permitting the unlawful assembly of enslaved individuals, not his own, in his storehouse (AAHA 2016:FN/E1858-014, ARCH.00832). Similarly, in 1840, Hammon Olinger and Wilford Olinger were charged with permitting an unlawful assembly of African Americans at their store (AAHA 2016:FN/E1840-005-18). The following year, they were charged again (AAHA 2016:FN/E1841-006-18, FN/E1841-017-18). In 1844, Thomas Johnston was charged with permitting an unlawful assembly of African Americans in his house (AAHA 2016:FN/E1844-018). Two years later, in 1848, Johnston was charged again for permitting more than five enslaved African Americans, not his own, to remain on his property (AAHA 2016:FN/E1848-003-20). George Smith of Fauquier County was charged in 1847 and 1848 with permitting an unlawful assemblage of African Americans at his house (AAHA 2016:FN/E1847-004-20, FN/E1848-021).

Some people who owned enslaved humans in Fauquier County did take legal measures to free their enslaved African Americans. However, as early as 1691, the Virginia legislature impeded emancipation by placing restrictions on manumissions. Pursuant to the 1691 Act for Suppressing Outlying Slaves, enslaved African Americans could be freed through legal documents but the owner was required to transport the newly freed individual(s) out of the county within six months (Hening 1823:87–88). The law changed in 1723 and established that: “No Negro or Indian slaves shall be set free upon any pretense whatsoever, except for some meritorious services, to be adjudicated by the governor and council, and a license thereupon obtained” (Hening 1820:132).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

The restraint on manumission was removed in 1782 after African Americans proved their loyalty by fighting in the Revolutionary War (Ibrahim et al. 1993). Before 1782, there were less than 3,000 free African Americans in Virginia. The population quadrupled to 12,886 within eight years of the removal of the restraint (Burr 2016:23).

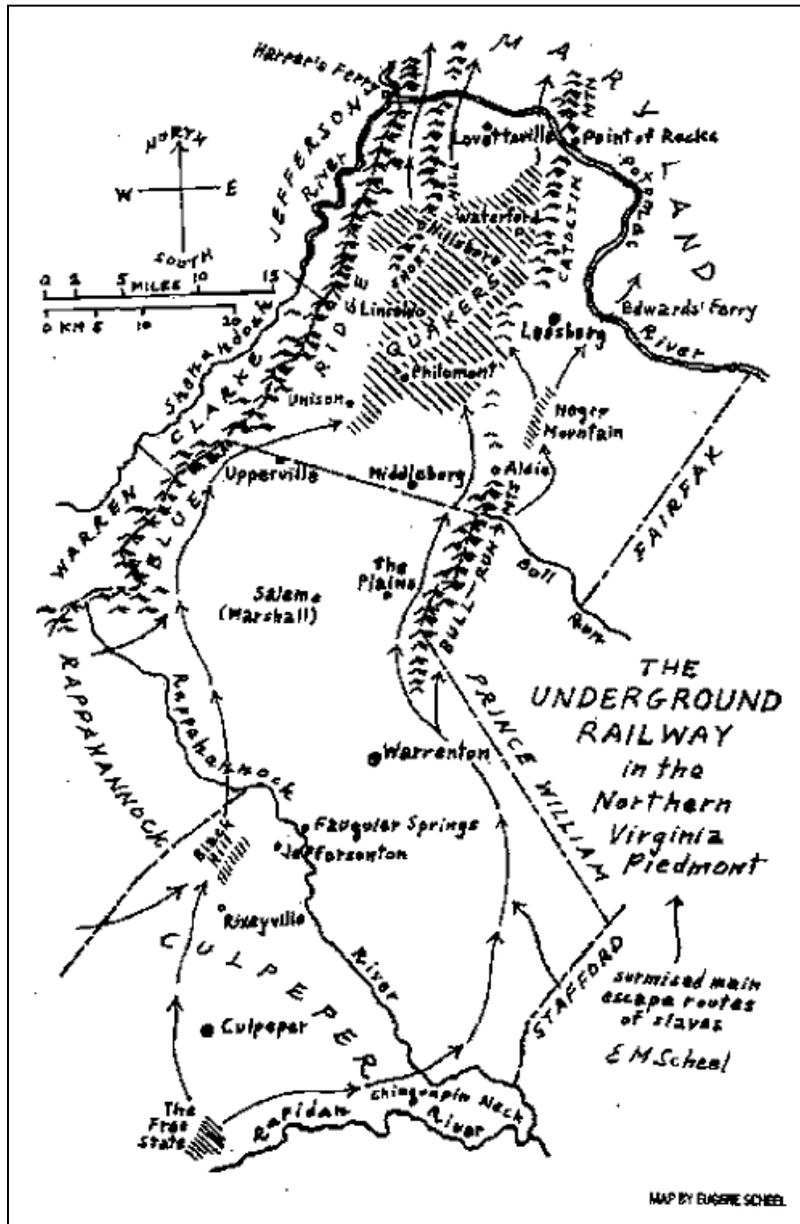


Figure 8: Map of the Underground Railroad in Northern Virginia Piedmont (Scheel n.d.).

Virginia legislation made manumission more difficult in 1806 after enacting legislation that required the formerly enslaved person to leave Virginia within 12 months. Owners who did not comply faced prosecution. The 1806 law was enforced by the 1848 criminal code, which established that freedmen who failed to leave within 12 months would forfeit their freedom and be sold back into slavery. This law forced freedmen and women to choose between freedom and family. Ted Maris-Wolf (2015) wrote in *Family Bonds: Free Blacks and Re-Enslavement Law in Antebellum Virginia* that a substantial number of manumitted African Americans chose to be re-enslaved in order to stay near their family (Burr 2016:29–30; Eslinger 2013:270–271; Maris-Wolf 2015). The 1806 statute,

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

however, was sporadically enforced, and by 1860 an estimated one-third of the free African American population was living in Virginia illegally (Klebaner 1955:449). One example of this law being enforced is the 1820 case of Selah Harris, a free African American who was charged with remaining in Virginia contrary to law (Peters 2001:384).

Although manumission in Fauquier County was lower than the average in Virginia, the *Fauquier County, Virginia Register of Free Negroes 1817–1865* (Ibrahim et al. 1993) and the 1850 and 1860 U.S. Census documents that the percentage of free African Americans generally increased each year, except during the agricultural recession from 1840 to 1850. In his research on the manumission of enslaved African Americans in Fauquier County, Givens (1972) found that the majority of deeds of manumission were issued for one individual while three-fourths of the wills between 1830 and 1860 liberated more than one enslaved individual. This suggests that deeds of manumission were motivated by a slaveholder's relationship with an individual while liberation by will reflected the slaveholder's attitude toward slavery in general. Also, in the case of wills, the slaveholder more often provided financial support or property out of the state, bequeathed articles of personal property, or directed the executor of their estate to fund the transportation of the formerly enslaved out of the state. In some more unusual cases, larger bequests were given. Betty Parker, a resident of Fauquier County, gave her entire estate to those she freed (Fauquier County Court [FCC] 1831:Will Book [WB] 15:400), and another, Richard Chichester, disinherited his sons, giving 80 percent of his estate to the enslaved African Americans that he had set free (FCC 1829:WB 11:165–166). Thomas O. B. Carter, who freed 76 enslaved African Americans by will, provided financial assistance for life to the elderly and those with families (FCC 1841:WB 17:80). The remainder were given financial assistance for one year (Givens 1972:2–4).

John Fox, who held 193 enslaved African Americans across Fauquier, Rockingham, and Shenandoah counties, was one slaveholder who provided for manumission by will. His will, dated November 1839 and executed in April 1859, provided for emancipation and the purchase of land in Ohio to be divided among those freed. Additional funds were to be provided for the acquisition of building materials and other necessities. Elizabeth Blackwell, John Fox's sister and the executor of his estate, refused to send those freed to Ohio and a lawsuit ensued. Eli Tackett, formerly enslaved by John Fox, sued the administrator of Fox's estate, Charles P. Chilton, for inaction (Fauquier Historical Society 1983:4). Fox's estate was settled in the late 1860s and his 335-acre Great Run Tract in Fauquier County was divided into 33 equal lots to be given to the formerly enslaved (Fauquier Historical Society 1983:4; Peckler et al. 2016:11). This community came to be known as Foxville.

Elizabeth Blackwell was not opposed to emancipation as she herself had manumitted enslaved African Americans under her ownership in 1859. She, however, deeded them land in Midland, Fauquier County, and provided funds for the settlement of an African American community (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:74). Similar to Fox's estate, relatives of the deceased were opposed to the conditions of her will and a long Chancery case ensued. Blackwell's estate was settled in the late 1860s/early 1870s and lots were auctioned off to create the African American community of Blackwelltown (Peckler et al. 2016:11)

Despite numerous changes in laws related to enslaved individuals in the nineteenth century, archaeological and architectural data from buildings and sites from this period reflect that the physical parameters of their daily lives did not greatly change. Most enslaved people continued to live either in multiuse spaces in primary dwellings or nearby outbuildings such as kitchens or laundries, or they inhabited separate quarters. According to Pogue and Sanford (2022), who have recorded dozens of extant quarters as part of their larger slave housing in Virginia project, "The relatively large number of surviving duplexes that date to the 1820s–1850s are generally more substantial and weather-tight, with continuous foundations or masonry piers, raised wooden floors, glazed windows, and brick or stone fireplaces." The use of larger and more substantial buildings reflects two conditions.

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

The first is the availability of better building products, as the invention of machine-cut nails and circular sawn lumber greatly expedited the building process (i.e., Elliott 1999). The second is a general change in philosophy regarding housing for enslaved people. According to some researchers, there was a pervading notion at this time that better treatment may result in higher quality and quantity of work (Vlach 1995). As such, some plantation owners made improvements to quarters and other spaces inhabited by enslaved people in the nineteenth century such as added windows, better roofs, and whitewashed interiors. African Americans still had limited agency in the operation and appearances of their homes; swept yards continued to be employed as well as maintenance of small garden plots in many instances (Heath and Bennett 2000).

### Free African Americans in Fauquier County

While it was lawful to emancipate enslaved African Americans (1782 Chapter XXI), white Virginians sought to rid the state of free blacks because they feared the influence they would have on the enslaved (Guild 1969:94; Wolfe 2022). According to Virginia lieutenant governor Sir William Gooch (1729–1752), Virginia’s free African Americans “were suspected of aiding ‘a Conspiracy discovered among the Negroes’” (Wolfe 2022).

The Virginia legislature instituted laws to suppress the manumission of slaves. In 1691, an act was passed that established that freed African Americans were to be transported out of the country at the expense of their former owner within six months (Guild 1969:94).<sup>6</sup> The General Assembly modified the act and established that if those freed after May 1, 1806 remained in the Commonwealth for more than a year they could be put on trial. If found guilty, they would be re-enslaved and sold, the funds going to the state treasury (after 1827 funds went to the Literary Fund) (Guild 1969:103; Virginia Memory 2021a). The law also allowed freed individuals to petition the legislature for permission to remain in the Commonwealth. Beginning in 1837, free African Americans could petition the court directly. As of 1856, free African Americans could also submit a petition to remain in the Commonwealth as a slave (Virginia Memory 2021a). This was an option for those not granted permission to remain as a free person, but did not wish to be separated from their family.

The records from Fauquier County indicate that some newly freed African Americans remained in the state contrary to law. Daniel Warner, who purchased his freedom from William McNish in 1839, was indicted for staying in Virginia in 1853 (AAHA 2016:FNR.461, FN/E1853-030). Warner, a barber, subsequently submitted a petition to stay in Virginia with his wife, who was also free. A total of 117 residents from Warrenton signed the petition, citing that both were known to conduct themselves “with proprietary & are considered useful citizens” (AAHA 2016:FN/E1853-040). Samuel Johnson, freed in 1811 by fulfilling the stipulations of a contract with his owner, Edward Diggs, was another free African American who submitted a petition to remain in Virginia (AAHA 2016:FNR.3, ARCH.09437). The General Assembly granted this request. After purchasing his enslaved wife, Patty, and children, Sam and Lucy, and obtaining lots in the Town of Warrenton, Johnson submitted subsequent petitions to the General Assembly in 1815, 1820, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1826, 1835, and 1837 for his wife, children, and grandchildren to remain in the Commonwealth upon emancipation. All these petitions were denied. In 1837, Samuel Johnson finally manumitted his daughter and her three children through a deed of emancipation in 1837 (AAHA 2016:ARCH.01069, ARCH.09460).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Free African Americans were also prohibited from migrating into the state (1793 Chapter 23) (Guild 1969:95). Moreover, in 1723, a master’s ability to free an enslaved person was further limited by a “better government” act which mandated that enslaved African Americans could only be freed “for some meritorious services, to be adjudged and allowed by the governor and council” (Wolfe 2022).

<sup>7</sup> Lucy Johnson married a free African American man named Spencer Malvin in 1826, and they had three children, Sam, Rebecca, and Thornton. In Samuel Johnson’s 1837 petition, it states that Malvin deserted the family due to his participation in Nat Turner’s Rebellion

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

Some white residents of Fauquier County did not support free African Americans remaining in the state. In 1832, 119 white residents sent a petition to the General Assembly that read:

The undersigned petitioners having long witnessed the corruption of the slaves by the free negroes of the commonwealth [and] feel thoroughly convinced that the interest and perhaps the safety and peace of slaveholders if not the whole white population and the welfare of the slaves themselves, call loudly for the passage of a law excluding free persons of colour from the state... [Givens 1972:10].

In 1832, a second petition with 42 signatures was sent to the General Assembly, requesting the transportation of free African Americans to Africa. The third petition, submitted in 1837, was signed by 144 Fauquier County residents and called for a more effective law to remove free African Americans. Some Fauquier residents went as far as to include a provision in their will that called for the transportation of the manumitted to Liberia (Givens 1972:10).

Free African Americans that remained in Fauquier County were required by a 1793 law to register with the authorities annually (Eslinger 2013:266). The town clerk kept a record that specified age, name, race, status, and by whom they had been emancipated. Registrations were to be renewed annually for 25 cents and free African Americans were required to re-register every three years. If a free African American remained unregistered or failed to renew or re-register, they faced imprisonment as a runaway (Burr 2016:23; Ibrahim et al. 1993). Free African Americans were also required to pay taxes. If they failed to do so, a 1723 law gave the sheriff permission to hire them out until the amount owed was raised. This practice continued until the Civil War (Guild 1969:95). The following individuals, all persons of color in Fauquier County, were hired out to pay their 1825 taxes: Stephen Rennoe, Elijah Timbers, Charles Douglas, Moses Gaskins, Dennis Spence, Samuel Wells, Richard Wells, Sampson Walker, and William Nickens (AAHA 2016:FN/E1832-012). The available records document that Timbers and Wells were both born free and that Gaskins and Well were both farmers (AAHA 2016:FNR.645, FNR.280, FN.00021, FN.00152).

Freedmen and women lived in “quasi-freedom” as there were many laws that governed their every move. They were required to carry documentation and could be asked at a moment’s notice to produce their paperwork. If they could not, they could be sold back into slavery as all African Americans were assumed enslaved until proven otherwise (Hollie et al. 2009:11–13). Free African Americans could not gather for religious worship if the service was conducted by a free or enslaved individual, could not be instructed in reading or writing, even if taught by a white person, and could not assemble for any reason at nighttime. Punishment for these transgressions, either free or enslaved, was a whipping not to exceed 39 lashes (Guild 1936:178–179). African Americans, while not permitted to have their own congregation, were permitted to attend white churches. Warrenton Baptist Church was the first church in Fauquier County that permitted people of color to attend. The congregation, upon its organization in 1849, had 19 white and nine African American members (Fauquier Historical Society 1985:1). Roll books indicate that other churches, including Broad Run Baptist Church, Thumb Run Baptist, Zoar Baptist,

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or “the disturbances in Southampton,” during which time Malvin circulated “Anti-Slavery papers, and disclosed a disposition to array the Blacks against the Whites with a view to the Supremacy of the former.” Spencer Malvin never returned to Warrenton. In 1838, Samuel Johnson submitted a final petition to the General Assembly on his daughter’s behalf for a separation from Malvin. Lucy Malvin eventually remarried Sandy Elkins, an enslaved blacksmith (Wendy Wheatcraft personal communication 2022).

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property ListingVirginia  
State

Long Branch Baptist, St. James Episcopal, and Broad Run, had enslaved and free members. Some of these members were baptized by the church (Piedmont Environmental Council [PEC] 2022).

The apprenticeship of the poor is further evidence of “quasi-freedom.” Legislation was passed in 1765 that called for the apprenticeship of free African American children. Initially, the apprenticeship program was overseen by a churchwarden, but in 1785 the responsibility was passed to the overseer of the poor. The overseers of the poor apprenticed poor orphans and children to individuals approved by the county courts. Boys were bound out until they were 21 years old and girls until they were 18. Pursuant to an 1839 law, the parents of any child of color bound out would receive payment for his/her services. If the child was an orphan, the same was to be paid to the overseers of the poor. The last years’ service was to be paid to the apprentice (Guild 1936:112). The law was modified in 1848 so that money received by the overseer of the poor went to the apprentice at the end of his/her term as apprentice. Furthermore, the law established that “a bond shall be taken from the master to cover the reasonable annual value of services of the apprentice. If there are parents, they are to receive the value of the apprentice’s service, except the later years’ service, or when the court may for good cause order all payment to be held for the benefit of the apprentice” (Guild 1936:116).

In Fauquier County, free African American children were apprentices in a variety of trades (Figure 9). In 1821, Emily Nickins was indentured to Stephen Chilton to learn the trade of weaving until age 18. Chilton was to provide sufficient meal, drink, apparel, washing, and lodging during her indenture, at the end of which he was to pay her \$12 (AAHA 2016:ARCH.00078). Stephen Coram, the 16-year-old son of Betty Coram, was apprenticed to James Stringfellow in 1801 to learn the trade of blacksmith and wheelwright (AAHA 2016:FN/E1802-001 Box #1; Peters 2001:478). Emily Thomas, age seven, the daughter of Samuel Thomas, was indentured to Catherine Mitchell in 1821 to learn spinning and weaving (Peters 2001:466). William H. H. Carter, the son of Elizabeth Carter, was indentured to John T. Bronaugh as a house servant in 1842 when he was only 1.5 years old (Peters 2001:340). Other free African American children were apprenticed as millwright (William H. White), hostler and house servant (William Randolph Stewart, age 7), shoemaker (Levi Proctor), brickmaker and brick layer (Frank White, age 17), carpenter (George White), carpenter and house joiner (John Jackson, age 13, and Howard Jackson, age 15), farmer (Braddus Jackson, age 13), seamstress (Harriet Vass, age 18), housekeeper (Elizabeth Craig), and tanner and carrier (Enoch Nickens, age 6) (AAHA 2016:1853-002 Box #1, 1853-003 Box #1, ARCH.00821, ARCH.01226, ARCH.01728; Peters 2001:444, 461, 476–477).

While their lives were controlled and constantly threatened, “African Americans resisted the debilitating effects of slavery and created a vital culture supportive of human dignity... Through their families, religion, folklore, and music, as well as more direct forms of resistance” (Virginia Museum of History & Culture 2022). African Americans practiced their trades, created homes, and carved out lives for themselves (Hollie et al. 2009:11–13). In regard to trades, some free African Americans worked as farmers, brickmakers, millers, shoemakers, carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths, cooks, servants, livery stable keepers, hack drivers, seamstresses, midwives, and housemaids (U.S. Census 1860). Others worked at the Franklin Gold Mine, which opened in 1825 (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:65–66). Lafayette Mann, a 29-year-old African American, was employed at the mine as a Chief Engineer (U.S. Census 1860). Free African Americans could use their earning to purchase the freedom of family members (Guild 1936:106–107). Hezekiah Gaskins, documented as a stone mason in Fauquier County, was born free and worked to earn his family’s freedom (AAHA 2016:FNR.635). In 1854, he purchased his wife, Fanny, and three children, Nancy, Polly and Frances, from their slaveholder, Edward Carrington Marshall (AAHA 2016:ARCH.00168).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

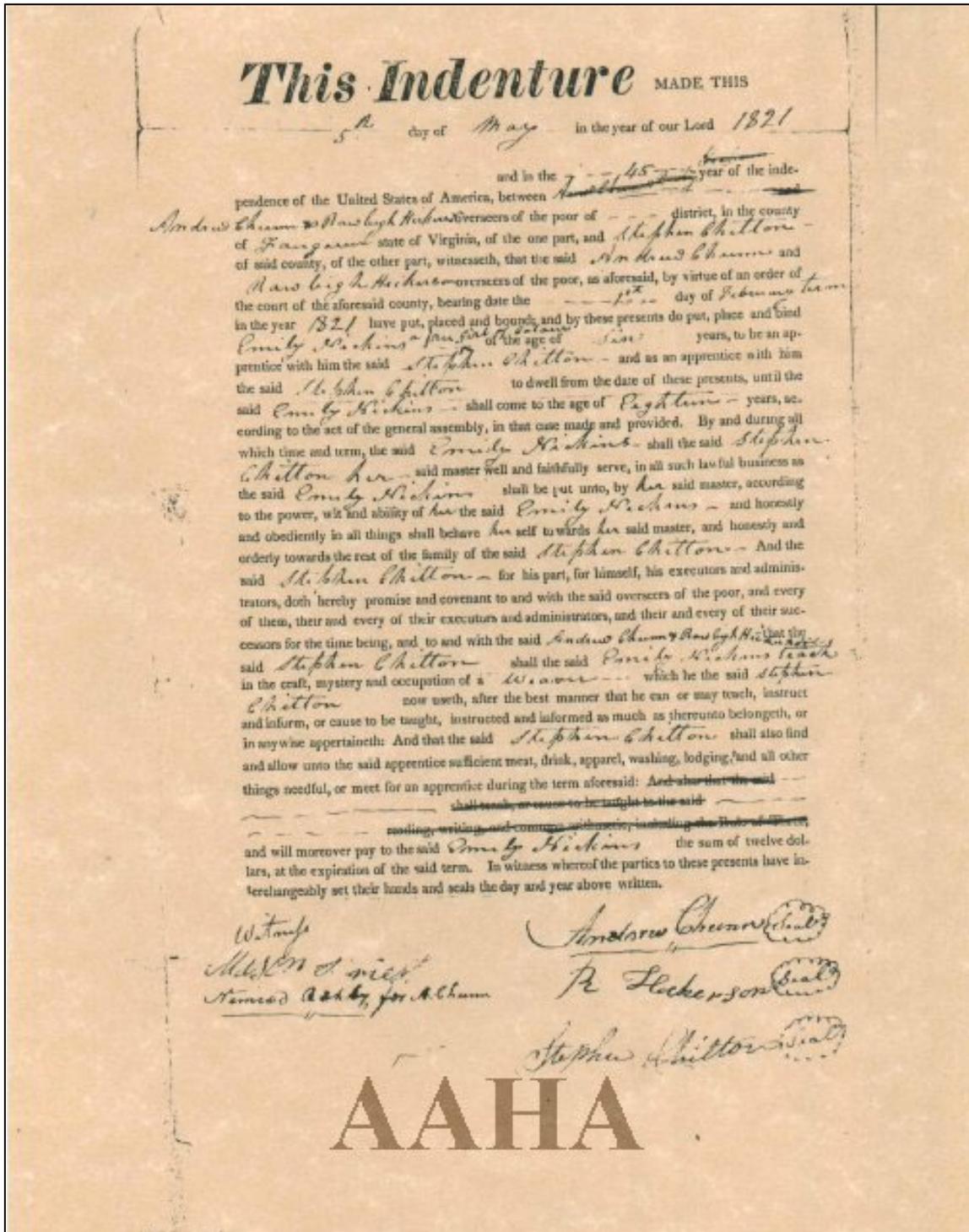


Figure 9: 1821 Indenture of an African American Child (AAHA 2016:ARCH.00078). On Maya 5, 1821, Emily Nickins, a free African American child, was indentured to Stephen Chilton to learn weaving.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, 93 percent of the African American population in Fauquier County was enslaved and supported the county's agrarian-based economy (Scheel 1985:2). Economic tradition, therefore, favored

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

slavery. Edmund S. Morgan in *Virginians at Home: Family Life in the Eighteen Century* (1952) writes: “So much of the planter’s capital was invested in slaves that, if he freed them, he would be obliged to abandon the standard of living which made him a planter.” Moral tradition also favored slavery as “many believed that the problem was one of race as well as status and that the two races could not exist side by side” (Morgan 1952, as cited in Fauquier Historical Society 1983:4).

### African Americans During Wartime

It is important to note the contributions and lifeways of both free and enslaved African Americans during the two wars that predominately affected life in Fauquier County, the Revolutionary War and the Civil War. Free and enslaved African Americans served on both the sides—British and Continental—during the American Revolution (1775–1783). Initially, General George Washington and most Southern slaveholders were against recruiting free and enslaved African Americans to join the war efforts. They feared that training and arming those of color would embolden and encourage an insurrection. However, once the royal governor of Virginia, Lord Dunmore, offered freedom to any enslaved African American who joined British forces, Washington relented (about 20,000 enslaved African Americans fled to the British during the American Revolution) (Collins 2013; National Park Service 2022a). Although hesitant to recruit African Americans troops for the Army, the Southern states had no objection to enlisting free and enslaved African Americans as seamen and pilots. In Virginia, approximately 150 African Americans, many enslaved, served in the navy. Some were granted their freedom for their service after the war. Black soldiers in the Continental Army were usually in desegregated infantry units and were assigned roles such as wagoner, cook, waiter, or artisan. There were several all-black units that fought directly with the British, including Rhode Island’s Black Battalion, established in 1778. Dunmore himself had an all-black “Ethiopian Regiment” composed of runaway enslaved African Americans. By the end of the war, between 5,000 and 8,000 African Americans had served in the Revolution (Ayres n.d.).

Not all African Americans joined the Revolutionary War efforts willingly. In Virginia, many enslaved African Americans were enlisted by their owners as a substitute for themselves or their sons. They were presented as free to the recruiting officers, but after the war were often forced back into servitude. The Virginia legislature passed a law in 1783 that freed enslaved African Americans in recognition of their service during the war. It also proclaimed that any enslaved African American who served in the war but was forced back in servitude had the right to sue for damages (Ayres n.d.; General Assembly 1783; Guild 1936:191). African Americans could later apply to receive a pension for the service (Fold3 2022).

Size rolls, which listed a soldier’s name, height, appearance, occupation, and place of birth or residence, were kept to aid in the capture of deserters. These records include African Americans who served during the Revolutionary War, including African Americans from Fauquier County. A 22-year-old planter, born in Fauquier County and with the last name of Philips, was enlisted as an “18-month man,” which meant that he was enlisted under the May 1780 act that “required each county whose militia was not already engaged to recruit or draft one militiaman out of each 15 over the age of 18 to serve in the Continental Army” (Harris 2021). Substitutes could be used in place of those drafted (Harris 2021). The Phillips listed on the size rolls is likely Philip Phillips who was taxable in Culpeper County from 1787 to 1802. Deed book records indicate that Williams Roberts sold Phillips 130 acres in Culpeper County on August 20, 1781 for only 5.6 pounds, which may have been payment for substituting for Robert during the American Revolutionary War (Heinegg n.d.).

Numerous others served, including Robert Wood who enlisted in Fauquier County and was part of the 3rd Virginia Regiment during the early years of the war. Wood then joined the State Artillery Regiment commanded by Colonel Marshall. In August 1818, Wood applied for a pension in Washington, D.C. Henry Curtis, bound to

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

George Henry as an apprentice carpenter in August 1769 by the Fauquier Court, may be the same Henry Curtis that served on the boat *Liberty*. Said Henry Curtis enlisted in October 1778 and was discharged in October 1781 (Heinegg n.d.). Curtis received a bounty land reward and was later taxed in Caswell County, North Carolina. Richard Redman, a 21-year-old planter born in Fauquier County, enlisted for 18 months in September 1780. After the war he was taxable in the western district of Hardy County, West Virginia from 1809 to 1816. In 1830, he was listed as the head of household of two “free colored” persons in Hardy County (Heinegg n.d.).

During the Civil War, at least 302 African American residents of Fauquier County either volunteered for the Union or were conscripted by the Confederacy. For example, in 1861, Chief Engineer of the Confederacy Thomas H. Williamson conscripted men of Fauquier, Culpeper, Orange and Rappahannock counties to provide fortifications at Rappahannock Station. Many of these individuals were also conscripted to dig entrenchments in Manassas. Others were enslaved by the 38th Infantry, the 7th Regiment, and the 49th Regiment, including at Wytheville, Manassas, Dumfries, and Fredericksburg. Union branches of service include multiple regiments of the U. S. Colored Infantry, Heavy Artillery, and Cavalry regiments and of the Massachusetts Cavalry regiments. Many of these enlisted in Virginia (particularly Mason's Island) or Washington, D.C., though others enlisted in Tennessee, Missouri, Maryland, Kentucky, Arkansas, New Jersey, Corning, Indiana, Kansas, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Elk River, New York, Louisiana, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Ohio, Mississippi, and elsewhere. One individual named Melford Diggs volunteered for the US Navy at the Washington, D.C. Naval Yard on August 14, 1862 and received a monthly pension after the war (Know Their Names: Civil War 2022).

Most of regiments in which African Americans served during the Civil War were auxiliaries though the 31st Infantry Regiment and the 5th Regiment Massachusetts Colored Volunteer Cavalry, among others, were considered Regular units, and offered veteran status (Dyer 1959). At least five from Fauquier County served in the 31st Infantry Regiment and at least 24 from Fauquier County served in the 5th Regiment Massachusetts Colored Volunteer Cavalry (Know Their Names: Civil War 2022). The 5th Regiment Massachusetts Colored Volunteer Cavalry was organized at Camp Meigs in Readville, a neighborhood of Boston, between January and May 1864. They served as infantry starting May 12, 1864, fighting at Baylor's Farm during the Second Battle of Petersburg and the Siege of Petersburg. In total during these conflicts, seven men were killed in combat at 116 died of disease (Civil War Archive 2022; Dyer 1959). The 31st became active November 14, 1864 in Virginia, taking part in the advance from the Rapidan River to the James River, the Battle of Cold Harbor, the sieges of Petersburg and Richmond, the Bermuda Hundred Campaign, and the Battle of Appomattox Court House before being assigned to the Rio Grande in Texas from May to June 1865 (Civil War in the East 2022). Auxiliary regiments within which Fauquier County African Americans served also fought in the Civil War in Virginia, many for example were in the 1st Regiment which saw duty at Petersburg, Richmond, the James River, Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Yorktown as well as in the Carolinas at Fort Harrison, Fort Fisher, Sugar Loaf, and Wilmington (Dyer 1959).

Civil War service records at times also included occupations: 94 laborers, 115 farmers, three brick makers, four field hands, three shoemakers, eight blacksmiths, one farm laborer, three farm servants, one farmer and waiter, four coopers, one gardener, one carpenter, four waiters, three house servants, seven teamsters, one plasterer, one hackman, one saloon waiter, one miner, two hostlers, one box maker, five carpenters, one fisherman, one slave, two barbers, one mechanic, one servant, and one boiler maker. Ages of enlistment ranged from 18 to 50, though most were 18 to 25 (Know Their Names: Civil War 2022).

Enslaved people who ran away from their enslavers during the first two years of the war joined the Union at Fort Monroe in Hampton, Virginia when Union forces took control of the base in the spring of 1861. General Butler referred to these individuals as "contraband of war" and some fought with or supported the Union as freed people

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

of color. Congress confirmed this policy in the August 1861 Confiscation Act, which was expanded in the Second Confiscation Act of July 1862 (Martinez 2021). Throughout the country, 500,000 to one million slaves fled to Union areas and about 200,000 to 300,000 formerly enslaved people were paid laborers for the Union from 1862–1865 (Glymph 2012).

Scheel (2003) described the reaction of people in Fauquier County to Proclamation Day, January 1, 1863, when Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation took effect and freed all persons held in bondage in regions controlled by the Confederacy. In March 1862, Pennsylvania troops entered Fauquier County and some newly freed people joined the Union, working as servants, teamsters, hospital attendants, cooks, and fortifying or transporting wagons, as well as building or repairing roads, bridges, and railroad tracks (Glymph 2012; Scheel 2003). One African American servant was photographed, serving white officers in Warrenton, in November 1862 (Photo 1), and laborers were photographed working on the railroad in Northern Virginia in either 1862 or 1863 (Photo 2). Other freed persons never left Fauquier County after emancipation in 1863 and even remained in the same households. Scheel (2003) described such occurrences among the Horner family of Mountain View (now Dondoric), the Marshalls of Ivanhoe, and the Bentons of New Lisbon (now Huntland) as examples.



Photo 1: Servant and Soldiers, November 1862, Warrenton, Virginia (Gardner 1862).

### **The Reconstruction Years (1865–1877)**

During the war, houses and farm buildings were burned, crops and livestock were commandeered, and railroad travel was disrupted. The hardest hit areas were the corridors along the Manassas Gap and Orange and Alexandria railroads, the town of Warrenton, and the banks of the Rappahannock River. Emancipation left farmers without

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

an adequate workforce, and the raids left them with an insufficient stock of oxen and horses. All of this combined temporarily destroyed the agrarian economy of Fauquier County, and forced some to leave (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:120; Haley 1989:10).

Fauquier's post-war economy rebounded soon after the war's end with the resumption of railroad operations in September 1865 facilitating the transportation of goods to market (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:120; Hollie et al. 2009:16). Livestock was slow to come back, and in 1870 the herds were half of what they were in 1860. Although the farms were smaller than those of the antebellum period—many had been subdivided and ranged from 100 to 500 acres—tilled acreage rebounded (Peckler et al. 2016:12; USDA 2010). By 1870, the number of acres in production exceeded the pre-war level by 20,000 acres. Corn, wheat, and oats were the county's primary cash crops, and very little tobacco was produced. Corn production was up while oat production was stable and wheat production was down by 3 percent. Wine production rose, doubling between 1860 and 1870 (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:120, 132; McClane 2003:8, 108).



Photo 2: Union African American Laborers Working on Rail in Northern Virginia (Russell 1862/1863).

This increase in farm production occurred in conjunction with formerly enslaved individuals being granted the right and ability to purchase land throughout the south. At the end of the Civil War, much of the land within the southern states had become unsettled, thus increasing the availability of land and driving down the price (Hinson 2018). Avenues to property ownership were opened for African Americans post emancipation (Guild 1936). Some former enslavers were willing to sell small parcels of land to free African Americans to start their own farms while in rare instances former enslavers would give recently emancipated people land (Hollie et al. 2009:23).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

This bequeathal of land was the case of the earlier Blackwellton and Foxville community settlements from the 1850s (Fauquier Historical Society 2008). Although it had decreased in the years following the war throughout Fauquier County, the cost of land was still a prohibitive factor and limited African Americans to properties with the cheapest and rockiest soil (Mangus 1998:364–365). Despite economic hardship and systemic racism, African Americans in Fauquier County created thriving communities centered around homes, schools, places of worship, businesses, and farms (McClane 2003: 7–20). By 1870, 100 African Americans were enumerated in the Census as farmers (U.S. Census 1870). Although this number only accounts for about 6.8 percent of all farmers in the county, it was a step towards financial independence and, possibly, the first time formerly enslaved individuals were working the land for their own personal and financial gain. Additionally, of these African American farmers, 37 percent owned real estate, indicating that they owned the land they were farming (U.S. Census 1870).

The 1870 census indicates that African Americans in Fauquier County held a number of occupations after the war, the majority of which involved farming, domestic work, and general labor, but also included trades, like carpentry, masonry, shoemaking, and blacksmithing. By 1870, over half of all blacksmiths in Fauquier County were African American (U.S. Census 1870). According to the National Park Service, skilled African ironworking artisans were imported to the American colonies in the early-eighteenth century. The specialized smithing skills made these individuals useful and desirable to enslavers (National Park Service n.d.). Culturally speaking, in Africa, ironworkers have occupied a higher-status place in society due to their believed links to ancestors, and although enslaved in the American colonies, ironworking probably reaffirmed formerly enslaved individuals own sense of African identity, their social esteem and sense of personal agency (National Park Service n.d.).

### Post-War Politics

The white male citizens of Fauquier County and Virginia as a whole recognized that in order to have political influence and restore “Old Virginia,” they had to take the oath or seek pardon from the President. By late 1865, about 1,228 of the 2,500 white males in Fauquier County had taken the oaths or sought pardon (Zeggil 2015:39–40). Those of the planter class, as well as former Confederates, could legally run for local government and soon the political structure and economy of Fauquier County resembled that of the antebellum period (Zeggil 2015:13–14, 44–45). At the national and state level, Fauquier County residents voted overwhelmingly conservative throughout the Reconstruction era. In 1865, the Conservative candidate for the House of Representatives won by a landslide and, in 1869, Gilbert C. Walker, a Conservative, was elected Governor of Virginia. Walker won by a large margin in each voting district of the county. By the late-nineteenth century, the House of Delegates and Senate were largely conservative. The result of this majority was the removal of the Freedmen’s Bureau and Union military forces and the rise of “Old Virginia” (Zeggil 2015:47).

Prior to remittance to the United States, Virginia had to produce a new state constitution. To achieve this, a constitutional convention met in the chamber of the House of Delegates in the Capitol in Richmond on December 3, 1867 (Virginia Memory 2021b). The convention included twenty-four African Americans who were heavily criticized by white residents and the media, but were advocates for the rights of the formerly enslaved people. The constitution reformed local government and required the General Assembly to create a statewide system of free public schools for all children; it granted the governor the right to veto bills that the assembly had passed; and it granted the vote to “Every male citizen of the United States, twenty-one years old,” except some supporters of the Confederacy (Virginia Memory 2021b). During the convention, hostile white politicians and editors condemned the convention and its members. The Warrenton Sentinel, in no uncertain terms, opposed the new constitution, and beseeched readers to “Try to kill the thing (the Constitution) as you would a snake, with whatever you can lay your hands on—fire, fence-rails, mud, brimstone or the Ku-Klux Klans” (The Warrenton Sentinel 1868). The New Constitution was ratified in July 1869 by a vote of 210,585 to 9,136 (Virginia Memory 2021b).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

With the ratification of the constitution, and the federal passing of the fourteenth amendment, African American men found themselves in a position to vote for the first time in the United States. Grant easily won reelection over the main challenger Horace Greeley, who died during the campaign (Pallardy 2021). Grant handily took the African American vote overall, and in Fauquier County he came away with 95 percent of the African American vote. By 1867 1,139 African Americans were registered to vote across nine districts in Fauquier County. AAHA maintains a database of the names enumerated in the 1867 List of African American Registered Voters. Many factors contributed to his popularity among the African American population, but he and the Radical Republican party's commitment to the total eradication of slavery without compromise, as well as their protection of the Civil Rights Act in 1868, aligned them with issues that were the primary concern of formerly enslaved people (Pallardy 2021).

In addition to the right to vote, African Americans began to enjoy additional freedoms after the Civil War. They got married, a symbol of commitment that was prohibited to them prior to the Civil War, and the marriage license became a "symbol of freedom" (Hollie et al. 2009:16; Washington 2005:58). Education, which was also forbidden to African Americans in Virginia before the Civil War, became a reality for many (Fauquier County 2007a:10). The Freedmen's Bureau in Warrenton provided facilities and teachers, but the push for education came from Fauquier's African American communities (Zeggil 2015:69). According to the Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the period from 1874–1878, Fauquier County soon had 15 schools for African Americans. The average school year lasted about four months because children were needed to help in the fields (Kalbian 2003b:14–15). For more information on the education in the county, see the section titled "Development of African American Schools in Fauquier County (1868-1973 +/-)."

Religion had been central to the life of enslaved African Americans. In the years following the Civil War, the church was often the core of the community and provided a venue for social interaction (Kalbian 2003b:16). The construction of actual church buildings was sometimes prohibited by white resistance and financial complications. Many churches after the war began in outdoor spaces or "bush arbors." Other congregations would meet at family homes (Zeggil 2015:71). For additional information on churches in the county see the section titled "Development of African American Churches in Fauquier County (1865–1973 +/-)."

The presidential election of 1876, which pitted Republican Rutherford B. Hayes against Democrat Samuel Tilden, was a famously disputed contest because there was no clear winner. Secretly, Republican and Democrat leaders met to resolve the impasse and came up with the Compromise of 1877. Pursuant to this informal deal, Hayes was elected president and, in return, federal troops were withdrawn from the south. The Compromise of 1877 effectively ended the Reconstruction era and set in motion the legalization of "separate but equal" in the 1896 Supreme Court case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (Pollard 2019:61).

### Post-War Hostility

Although the hypernationalists in Fauquier County transformed their support for the Confederacy into a devotion to Virginia, they retained their racist attitudes and intimidated both African Americans and whites. Some white residents had their homes burned down in retaliation for renting a room or home to an African American (Zeggil 2015:72–73). John Holland, the owner of Brookside in the Crooked Run Valley, requested protection from the Freedmen's Bureau after his neighbor threatened to burn down his mill for his renting a room to an African American (McClane 2003:7–20). The Freedmen's Bureau in Warrenton was actually guarded by 100 men of the 96th New York Volunteers because its presence spurred anger in some of the white population (Zeggil 2015:30–31). When the bureau helped establish a school for African Americans in Warrenton, the teacher, a northern white woman, was threatened. She received a letter that read: "Head Quarters, Negroeville Va. Feb. 19, 1866. Mrs. Fannie Wood, We the young men of this town think you are a disgrace to decent society and therefore wish for

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property ListingVirginia  
State

you to leave this town before the first of March and if you don't there will be violence to make you comply with this request" (Scheel 1985:94; The True Index 1866a, 1866b). In the middle of March, the schoolhouse was bombarded with rocks. George Morse, a white school teacher at the Freedmen's School in Warrenton, was also verbally harassed and intimidated. A group of white men even physically attacked him with rocks (Hollie et al. 2009:57).

In June and July 1867, representatives of the Loyal League held meetings in Warrenton and Salem that were attended by several freed men. Local Loyal League chapters were "principally composed of colored men." The Union League of America (or Loyal League) was an organization affiliated with the Republican Party. It was established in the North in 1863 as a patriotic club to support the Union. After the Civil War, the Loyal League expanded throughout the South, mainly, but not exclusively, among the freed people (Wendy Wheatcraft, personal communication 2022). Paid organizers, including freedmen advocates, traveled throughout the South to promote membership. Many freedmen saw this as an opportunity to seek fair treatment and equal rights. Topics of concern included land ownership, public school rights for children, securing opportunity to testify in court, and ending plantation culture. By the summer of 1867, thousands of freed people had joined the League, and it became a strong political force. Because many Warrenton white citizens saw this organization as a "radical, midnight group" associated with the Republican Party, they threatened to "not employ the labor of colored persons who belonged to the Loyal League" (Rogers 2009; corroborated by Wendy Wheatcraft, personal communication 2022). Due to fear of retaliation, African American Warrenton businessmen were made to publicly denounce their membership in the Loyal League, including James Dorum, shoemaker; Andrew Morton, barber; Daniel Brown, carpenter; William Webster, blacksmith; Minor Grayson, blacksmith; and Beverly Thornton, carpenter. Some went as far as stating that they would vote the conservative ticket. By December 1867, the Loyal League had disbanded in Fauquier County (Rogers 2009).

Many African Americans left Fauquier County after the Civil War. One estimate has the African American population decreasing by 4,000 in the following decade (McClane 2003:8-108). Another has the African American population at 50 percent of the total population in 1860 and 40 percent by 1870 (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:73). The possibility of more profitable employment in urban centers was thought to have been the primary reason for this demographic shift (Brown and Harpole 2015:53). However, the hypernationalist sentiments of Fauquier's pro-Confederates was another contributing factor. These individuals adopted harsh methods of persecution and violence to intimidate African Americans (Berkey 2003:284). In September 1866, two white men from Fauquier attacked two freedmen. One, Henry Taylor, was shot (Zeggil 2015:34). By the end of 1867, white residents began committing atrocities under the guise of the Ku Klux Klan. In December 1867, Edward David, an African American, was knocked out with a shovel and his feet were placed in a burning fire. Another African American man was ordered to come out of his house late at night by a group of six or more men. This man was brutally beaten with the butt-end of pistols and sabers (Hollie et al. 2009:57).

The African Americans who stayed in Fauquier County worked as field hands, laborers, blacksmiths, gardeners, domestic servants, cooks, laundresses, teachers, nurses, seamstresses, stone fencers, stone masons carpenters, mechanics, and barbers among other professions. Others leased farms for one third to one half of the profits (McClane 2003:8-108). The white population controlled most of the labor in the county and used this advantage to assert power over African Americans. Many were forced to return to their former owner who gave them the minimum amount of compensation established by the Freedmen's Bureau. Their job security was also constantly threatened; some whites threatened termination if they sent their children to school or if they joined an all-black church (Zeggil 2015:32-33). White control over the workforce "meant that the white community could reestablish the rigid hierarchy [that existed before the war] that reinforced white supremacy" (Zeggil 2015:15-16). African

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

Americans responded to this persecution by forming their own communities. In the following section, a sample of the Reconstruction-era African American communities that developed are discussed.

### African American Communities

#### *Africa Mountain*

After the Civil War, a community called Africa was established at the west end of today's Moss Hollow Road in northern Fauquier County. Although African Americans also lived along Moss Hollow Road, it was at Africa, at the top of the mountain, that the community's church and school were built (Figure 10). In 1867, Mount Paran Baptist Church, then known as Zion, was organized in this community. The founding members had previously attended the white Old School Baptist Church between Markham and Linden. Zion was constructed near the Cherry Hill School,<sup>8</sup> which was adjacent to the Washington farm on Rattlesnake Mountain. After the church was destroyed in a fire, services were temporarily held in the home of Roberta Clark, and likely inside the schoolhouse. In 1877, the Old Stone Church was built about 20 feet from the current church building, which was constructed in 1963. A surviving cornerstone from a previous building reads: "Mount Paran Baptist Church of Primitive Baptist, Built by Rev. S.W. Brown, August 2, 1896." This suggests that the congregation constructed a new church in 1896 or expanded the 1877 building with an addition (McClane 2007:87).

The Baltimore Cemetery, located on the east side of the road leading to the church, is associated with the congregation of Mount Paran Baptist Church. It has about 20 marked graves in addition to unmarked burials. The earliest marked grave is from 1888. The graveyard is also associated with the Baltimore family. Reverend John Phillip Baltimore, who oversaw the construction of the present building, was a descendant of the Baltimores. Peter Baltimore, Sr., was a free African American born around 1823. He owned a large farm on Rattlesnake Mountain, which was previously part of Dr. Jacquelin Marshall's Cleaveland farm. His son, Peter, Jr., was born in 1853 and stayed in the area. Other families that lived in the area include the Crismans, Marshalls, Fords, Chloes, Johnsons, Thompsons, Keenes, and Jacksons. Many of these families were subsistence farmers and labored at the nearby Piedmont, Freezeland, and Salisbury orchards (McClane 2007:60, 87).

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<sup>8</sup> Cherry Hill School is one of the earliest known one-room school houses for African American children in this part of Fauquier County. In 1886, Peter King and his wife sold 0.5 acres to the County School Board; it was on this land that the Cherry Hill School was constructed around 1898 (Fauquier County Clerk of Court [FCCC] n.d.:DB 77:334).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

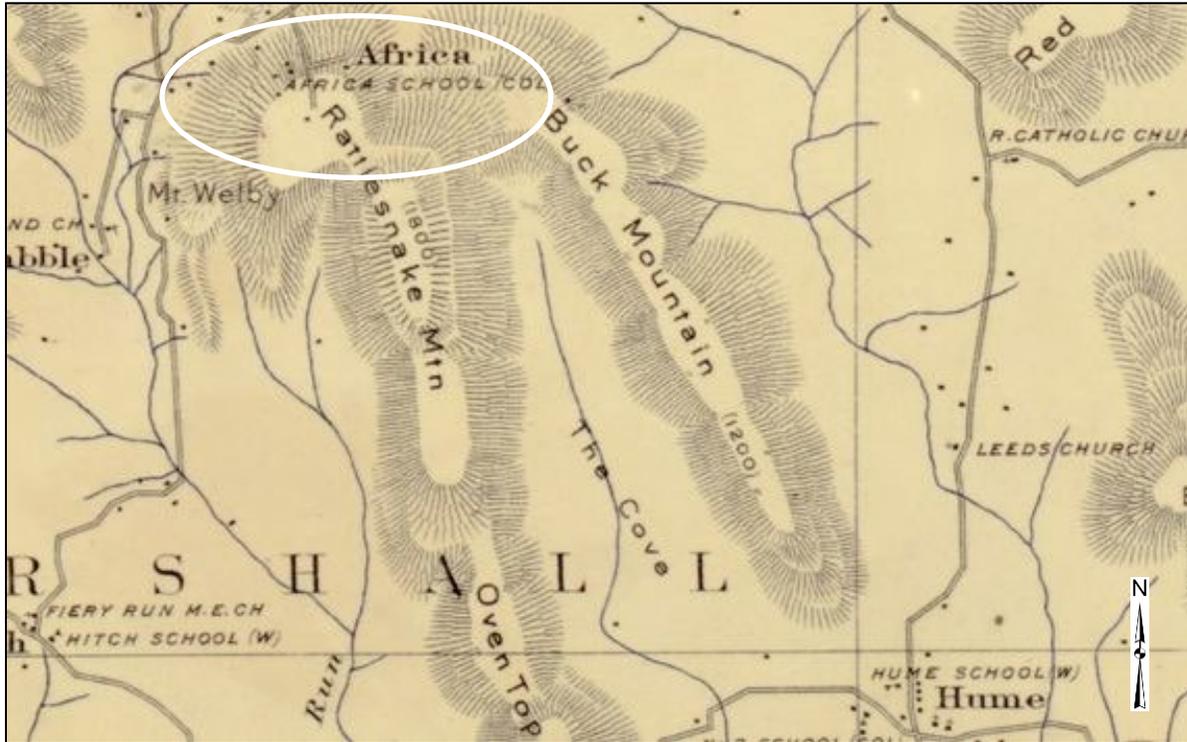


Figure 10: 1914 Map Showing Africa, Circled in White (Fauquier County Board of Trade 1914). Not to scale.

### *Ashville*

Ashville was a Reconstruction-era village established on the land willed to Frank Settle and Jacob Douglas, both enslaved African Americans, by sisters Harriet and Catherine Ash in northwest Fauquier County (Figure 11). The Ash sisters acquired their land, totaling 150 acres, in 1852. Pursuant to their wills, William Ash was to receive 10 acres, James Shacklett 10 acres, Betty Ash 20 acres, and Settle and Douglas 55 acres each. The 1870 tax records for Fauquier County confirm that Settle and Douglas received their share and both appear as property owners well into the twentieth century (Fauquier County 2007a:10; Kalbian 2003b:10).

In 1876, Douglas conveyed land to the Trustees for the Public Free Schools for \$25. The date of the school's construction is unclear, though classes were held at the Ashville First Baptist Church until the school was built. Funds for the construction of the school were raised by parents and patrons. There is no evidence that the school received outside assistance (Kalbian 2003b:14). The Underwood Constitution of 1870 established the first statewide public education system in the Commonwealth. Tax records for 1891 show that \$3,123 of the \$12,490 paid in land taxes by African Americans went to "colored schools" in Fauquier County, presumably including Ashville (Kalbian 2003b:10, 15). The schoolhouse closed in 1963 (Kalbian 2003b:16).

Douglas also donated land for an African American church, the Colored Baptist Church, which was organized in 1874. Although the church was organized in 1874, the land was deeded to the church in 1883 and not recorded until 1886. A cornerstone on the current church building indicates that the church was rebuilt in 1899 (Fauquier County 2007a:10; Kalbian 2003b:16). The Ashville Community Cemetery, located on top of a hill off of Old Ashville Road, is associated with the church. The earliest burial is that of Samuel Morris Armstrong who died August 19, 1873. Other gravestones belong to African American landholders, including families with the

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

surnames Sanford, Ashby, Lewis, Ford, O'Bannon, Bushrod, White, O'Neill, Allen, Marshall, and Brooke (Kalbian 2003b:6).

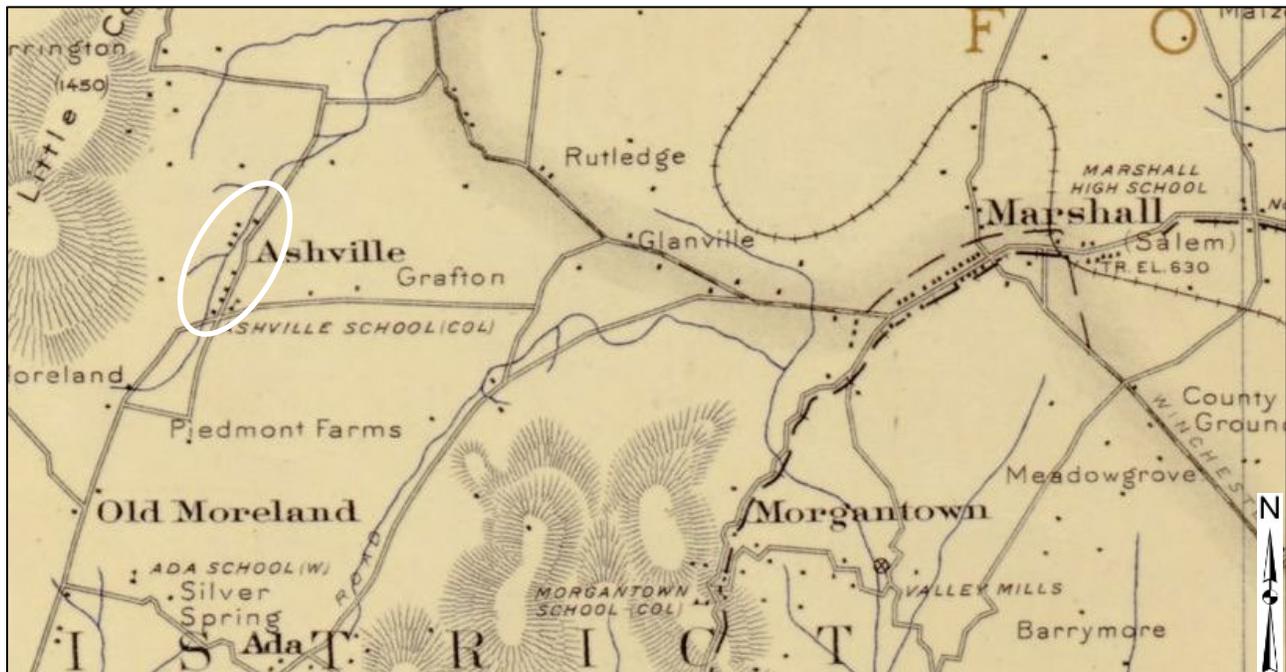


Figure 11: 1914 Map Showing the Location of Ashville, Circled in White (Fauquier County Board of Trade 1914). Not to scale.

### *Clevers Oak*

The African American village of Clevers Oak (also seen as Cleavers Oak) is located north of the village of Goldvein in southern Fauquier County. It was likely named for a large oak tree on or near the current property of the Clevers Oak Baptist Church (established around 1955). Local history suggests that enslaved people worshipped at this site as early as the Revolutionary War (Lee 2009:157). Near the end of the Civil War, Reverend George Taylor preached in an open brush arbor in Clevers Oak. The Bible was supposedly laid upon two cut cedar trees that were joined together to form an altar. A log church building was constructed in the mid-1860s, and in 1906 a larger frame church was built (Lee 2009:157).

### *Double Poplars*

Double Poplars is a rural African American community situated roughly 4.5 miles east of Warrenton along Gupton Run and began as a free community prior to the Civil War (Figure 12). It was established along what is now Old Auburn Road/Route 670 (historically Double Poplars Road) and Kines Road. Although the earliest extant building in this community dates to around 1900, burials and a headstone in the cemetery of Poplar Fork Church reflect its mid-nineteenth-century origins. The church congregation was organized by Elder John Clark in 1870, and the lot was purchased from an African American minister, Phillip Hughes, and his second wife, Sarah Hughes, by the Second Ketotcan Association of Colored Regular Churches of Fauquier County in 1874 (AAHA n.d.a, n.d.b; Fauquier County Circuit Court, Warrenton, Virginia [FCCC] n.d.: Deed Book [DB] 66:178). The site of the former Double Poplars School, a school historically for Black children in the area, is located on the west side of Kines Road, south of its intersection with Old Auburn Road, and appears on historic topographic maps into the mid-twentieth century (Figure 13) (United States Geological Survey [USGS] 1943).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

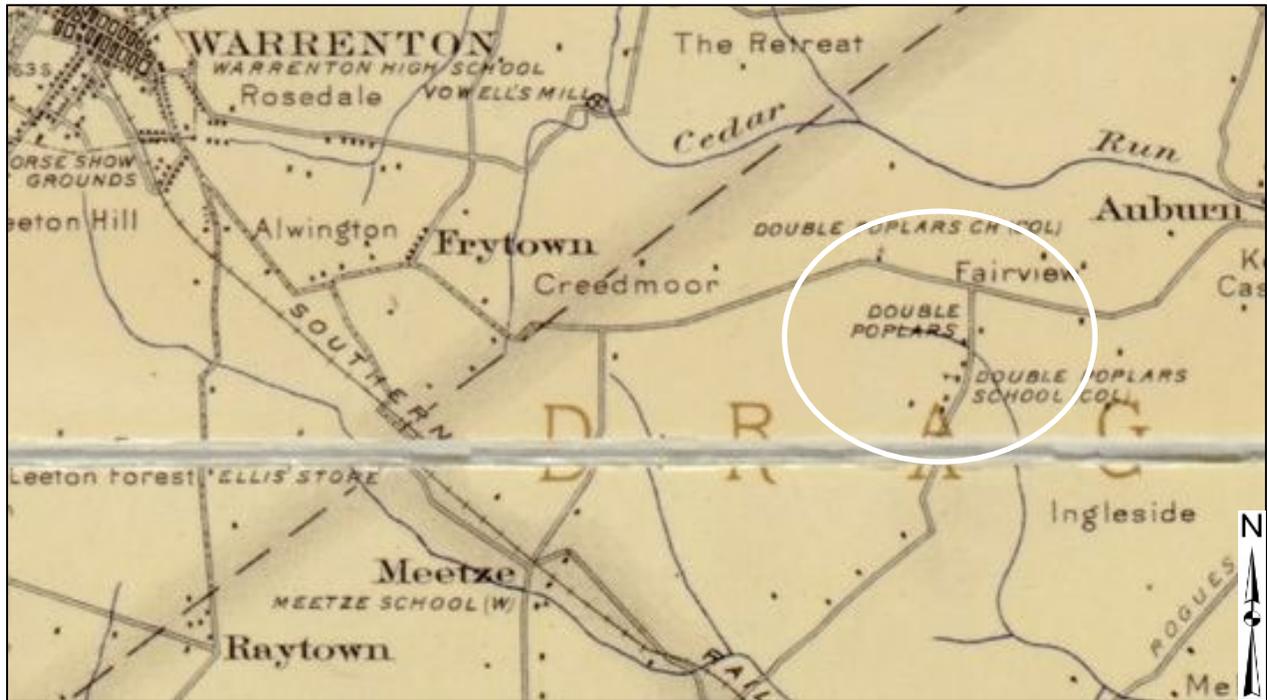


Figure 12: Double Poplars as Shown on a 1914 Map was an African American Community that Developed After the Civil War. The map documents the existence of a “colored school” (Fauquier County Board of Trade 1914). Not to scale.

### *Hurleytown*

Hurleytown, situated roughly 5 miles southeast of Warrenton along Green Road in an area north and east of Licking Run, began as a settlement of free African Americans after the Civil War (Figure 14). Hurleytown emerged around the property of Lawson Hurley, a farmer that purchased land along what is now Green Road after the Civil War (AAHA n.d.c). The 1880 population and agricultural censuses describe Hurley as a 56-year-old African American who was illiterate, but owned land and tilled 114 acres alongside a group of African American agrarians: William Alexander, Henry Davis, Alexander Williams, and Samuel Smith (United States Agricultural Census 1880; U.S. Census 1880).

In 1894, Samuel Smith and his wife, Belle, granted the 0.25-acre lot upon which St. John’s Baptist Church currently rests to trustees Edward Bell, Richard Madison, and James Dawson, although a church building is said to have been established in the community as early as 1869 (FCCC n.d.:DB 85:199; Fauquier Times-Democrat 2000). In 1910, the Smiths deeded roughly 0.16 acres of the property that they had purchased from Lawson Hurley to James Dawson, Samuel Smith, C.M. Tyler, Stepney Addison and William Ross, the trustees of the “Moses and Juvenile Lodge of Hurleytown” (FCCC n.d.:DB 104:43). The Hurleytown School for African Americans was constructed at the southern end of the community at what was the northwest corner of the Green and Old Hurleytown Road intersection. The school was known to have existed at that location as early as 1914 (AAHA n.d.c).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

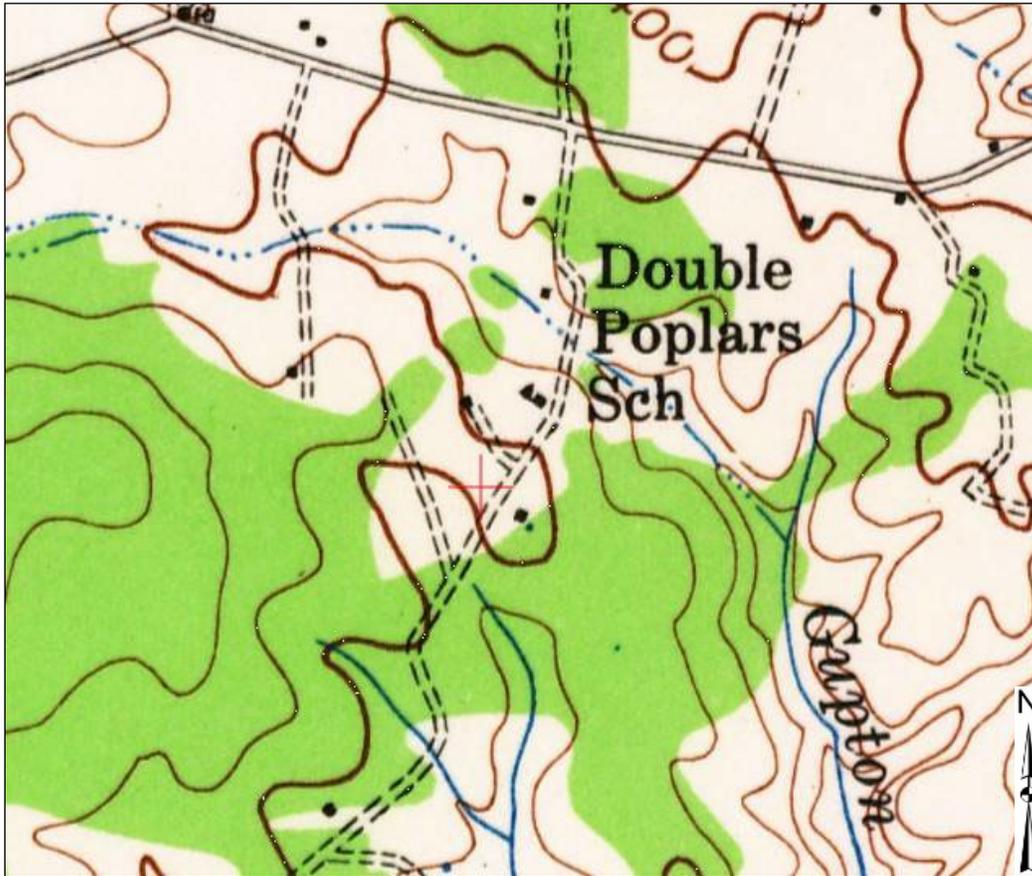


Figure 13: The Double Poplars School was a “Colored School” That Served the African American Community of Double Poplars (USGS 1943). Not to scale.

### *Morgantown*

Morgantown was an African American community that developed after the Civil War. Deed records from 1871 indicate that Ann R. Morgan and her children conveyed land on Carter’s Run to seven former enslaved African Americans—Willis Gant, Alfred King, Stephen George, and Briser (or Briscoe) Grigsby, James Lawson, and Henry Welch—who had presumably been enslaved by William J. Morgan, Ann R. Morgan’s husband. The parcels granted to these freedmen varied in size, ranging from 8 acres to 20 acres. The names Grigsby, Welch, Grant, and Lawson appear in county records in the following decade (Figure 15) (Fauquier County 2007a:52; Kalbian and Peters 2003:9).

James Lawson and his wife, Letitia, deeded the land for Morgantown’s original church to the “Trustees of Morgantown Colored Baptist Church [...] for purposes of building a church” in 1876 (Kalbian and Peters 2003:13–14). Thomas Edmonds was ordained the church’s minister in 1877, and in 1879 the Morgantown Colored Baptist Church was organized. It was constructed on a hill near the present-day cemetery on Mount Nebo Church Road. Peter and Lucy Grigsby sold a 1-acre parcel to the church in 1901 for \$50. A new church, Mount Nebo Baptist Church, was constructed on the land. The old church was reportedly moved to the rear of the new parcel. Today, the Morgantown Community Cemetery, while associated with the church, is not owned by the church. There are between 50 and 100 marked interments, numerous unmarked graves, and mounds circle with stones which clearly mark a burial. The earliest gravestone in the cemetery dates to 1880 (Kalbian and Peters 2003:13–14).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State



Figure 14: Hurleytown, Circled in White, as Shown on a 1914 Map (Fauquier County Board of Trade 1914).  
Not to scale.

The Morgantown Colored Baptist Church functioned as a school until a school building was constructed. In 1891, Bennett Saunders deeded a 1-acre lot to the Trustees for the Public Schools of Marshall District for \$40. The school was built around 1891, presumably using funds donated by parents and patrons of the school. Some money paid in taxes likely went to the school (Kalbian and Peters 2003:12).

### *Rosstown*

Rosstown is an African American enclave of African American land ownership and occupation within the Marshall Historic District that was established during the Reconstruction era. As early as 1870, Robert Ross purchased a parcel of land in Fauquier County for \$75 near the town of Salem (today called Marshall) from Thomas A. Rector, executor of Ludwill Rector (FCCC n.d.:DB 62:171). It is not known with certainty whether Robert Ross was born with slave or free status. According to the 1870 Federal Population Census, Robert (~1840–1922) was a blacksmith who lived with his wife (Mary) Ellen who kept house (U.S. Census 1870). They had at least three children of their own, but also housed African American boarders over the years, who may have been employed as servants at nearby houses in Marshall (U.S. Census 1870, 1880, 1900). Throughout the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, neighbors recorded in the census included other African American family names such as Gains, Craig (also seen as Craigg), Boyd, Braxton, and Lacey. Lewis Craig, a local African American carpenter, likely constructed a house for himself in Rosstown, as well as those of several of his neighbors (Wendy Wheatcraft, personal communication 2022).

According to Salem Baptist Church history, the congregation began in 1872. They first met in the home of Robert and Mary (Ellen) Ross, and in 1891, the Rosses conveyed a parcel of land adjoining the tract where they resided to the trustees of First Baptist Church (FCCC n.d.:DB 88:214; Fauquier Times-Democrat 2001). The church cemetery is located across Rosstown Road to the southeast of today's Salem Baptist Church. In the cemetery, there are six inscribed markers, five fieldstone markers, and one twentieth-century fieldstone maker (Wendy Wheatcraft, personal communication 2022). There appear to be at least four late-nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century marked graves, most of which are associated with the Ross family.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State



Figure 15: Morgantown, Circled in White, as Shown on a 1914 Map (Fauquier County Board of Trade 1914).  
Not to scale.

### *Sagetown (The Sage)*

The African American settlement known as The Sage or Sagetown is located south of Markham and approximately 0.6 miles north of the intersection of Sage (Route 724) and Carrington (Route 729) roads. Sagetown was first settled by Irish railroad workers in the 1850s and was originally called Fagan's Hill or Fenny's Hill (Fauquier County 2007a:81). After the Civil War, the area transformed into an African American settlement and attained its new name from the sage-like flora that grew in the area. On the 1914 Fauquier County Board of Trade map, only a handful of buildings are visible along Sage Road with a concentration of three to four just north of the Sagetown School (also referred to as Fenny's Hill School) (Figure 16). Garden's (1876) historic map depicts this portion of the county but does not indicate any buildings along Sage Road, though only large properties may have been noted (Figure 17). The Sage school was moved to the village of Hume around 1946 and attached to an existing circa-1906 school built on the land of Anthony Dangerfield. Both buildings served African American students in the Hume area as one school. Cary Wanser's Store was built in 1910 on the south side of Sage Road across from the Sage school. The store served the community into the 1930s. The Wanser house, located behind the store, was built in 1912 (Wendy Wheatcraft, personal communication 2020).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

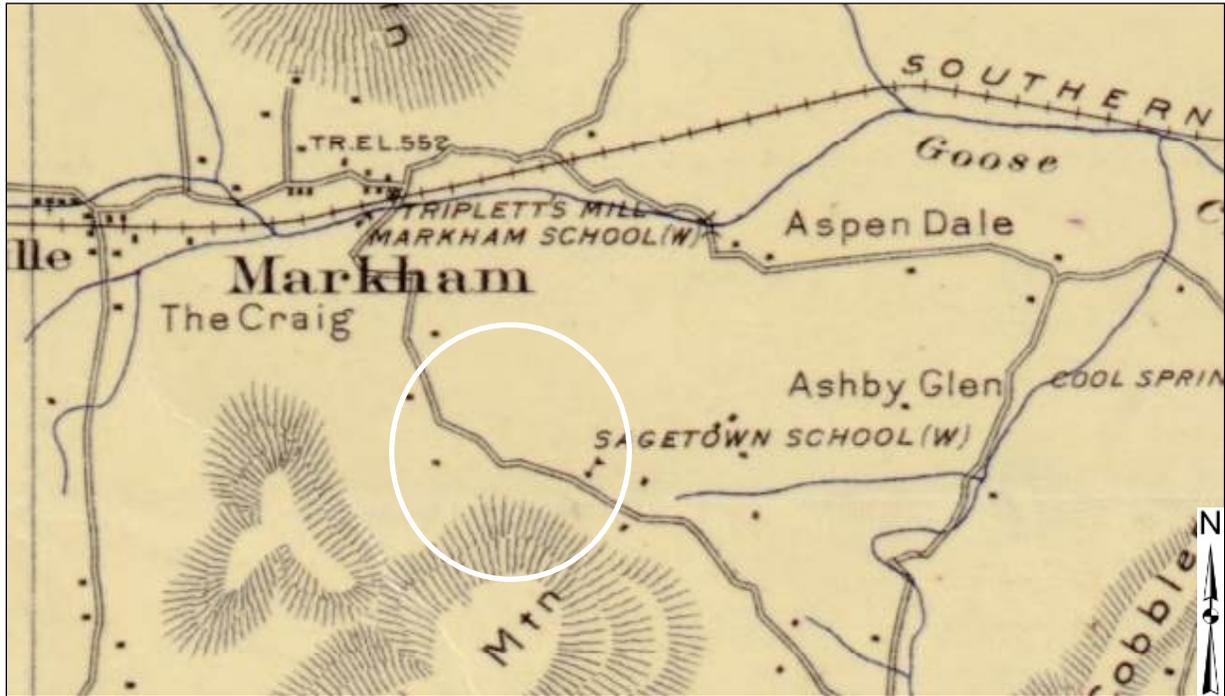


Figure 16: Sagetown, Circled in White, as Shown on a 1914 Map (Fauquier County Board of Trade 1914). Not to scale.

### *Blackwelltown*

In 1859, Elizabeth Blackwell manumitted her enslaved African Americans and deeded them land on her estate. However, her executors did not immediately follow through with this request and distant relatives filed suit against her executors and those of her brother, John Fox, claiming a right to the real and personal property of their father, Samuel Fox. In 1866, after the Civil War, Eli Washington, a former enslaved African American, filed a suit against Ms. Blackwell's executors that identified 78 former enslaved African Americans, or descendants thereof, with a claim to the estate. In 1873, 27 lots of Blackwell's property along what was then known as Horse Pen Run (also Edwards or Browns Branch) and the Fredericksburg and Marsh Roads were auctioned to several of the estate's designees. Tangible remnants of Blackwelltown's formative period include a community well, a portion of the Blackwelltown roadway, and the 27 lots and parcel boundary lines they created, many of which have remained in place and undivided since they were platted in 1867 by W.T. Weaver, the surveyor of Fauquier County (see Figure 17) (Chancery Records Index n.d.; Peckler et al. 2016:27).

Although the extant church building dates to 1903, the congregation of Ebenezer Baptist Church was established soon after Blackwelltown was created along with a local school (Journey Through Hallowed Ground 2015). A map of the county produced in 1876 identifies one dwelling belonging to W.S. Blackwell within the original boundaries of Blackwelltown (Figure 18). This resource appears to be no longer extant. A 1937 Works Progress Administration (WPA) inventory form recorded the account of Eli Addison "Uncle Ad" Blackwell, one of Blackwell's formerly enslaved African Americans, who was living on the site of Armistead and Elizabeth Blackwell's brick dwelling at that time (Gore and Blackwell 1937). The house was said to have been demolished by Ad Blackwell and his mother around 1886, but does not appear on a circa-1863 map of the region showing the names and locations of area residents (Figure 19). Gore and Blackwell's WPA account also noted the presence of a circa-1760 tombstone belonging to Lydia Hardin lying on the ground near Ad Blackwell's garden. This same stone was noted to sit next to the stone-lined Community Well at 4577 Midland Road in a 2016 survey conducted

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

by Dovetail (Peckler et al. 2016:28). Another feature within the community is the Blackwellton Rosenwald School. “In 1893, Welford & Martha Butler and William E. & Matilda Boswell donated property for a school in Blackwelltown. In 1924, this early school was replaced with a two-classroom Rosenwald school, which operated until 1962. After its closing, the remaining students were transferred to Southeastern Elementary School in Calverton” (Wendy Wheatcraft, personal communication 2022).



Figure 17: Detail of 1876 Map of Fauquier County Showing Generalized Boundaries of the Blackwelltown Survey Area in Green (Garden 1876). Not to scale.

### Silver Hill

Silver Hill, whose name was probably derived from Hannah Blackwell’s Silver Hill tract located on the road from Crittenden’s Mill to Morrisville, is an African American enclave located south of the village of Morrisville. Blackwell’s heirs sold lots divided from the estate to African Americans, including Hannibal Cole (Wendy Wheatcraft, personal communication 2020). The community was established by Hannibal Cole, a former enslaved man and blacksmith. Cole lived with wife, Ellen, at Silver Hill. In 1876, he purchased 33 acres of the Silver Hill Estate from the heirs of Hannah Blackwell (FCCC n.d.:DB 76:385). In 1885, Cole purchased 1 acre of Blackwell’s estate “for use of worship by the Silver Hill Church forever” (FCCC n.d.:DB 78:397). Thomas H. Coles (Hannibal Cole) was listed as a church trustee along with David Jackson and Horace West (FCCC n.d.:DB 78:397). The 1914 Fauquier County Board of Trade map indicates that there were several other buildings in the community, one of which was a school for African Americans located next to the Silver Hill Church on land donated by Silas Darnell & Richard Raymond (Figure 20).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State



Figure 18: Overlay of 1867 Chancery Court Plat of Elizabeth Blackwell's Estate Division, W. T. Weaver, Surveyor, and 2015 Satellite Image of Blackwelltown Lots (Peckler et al. 2016:27). Not to scale.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

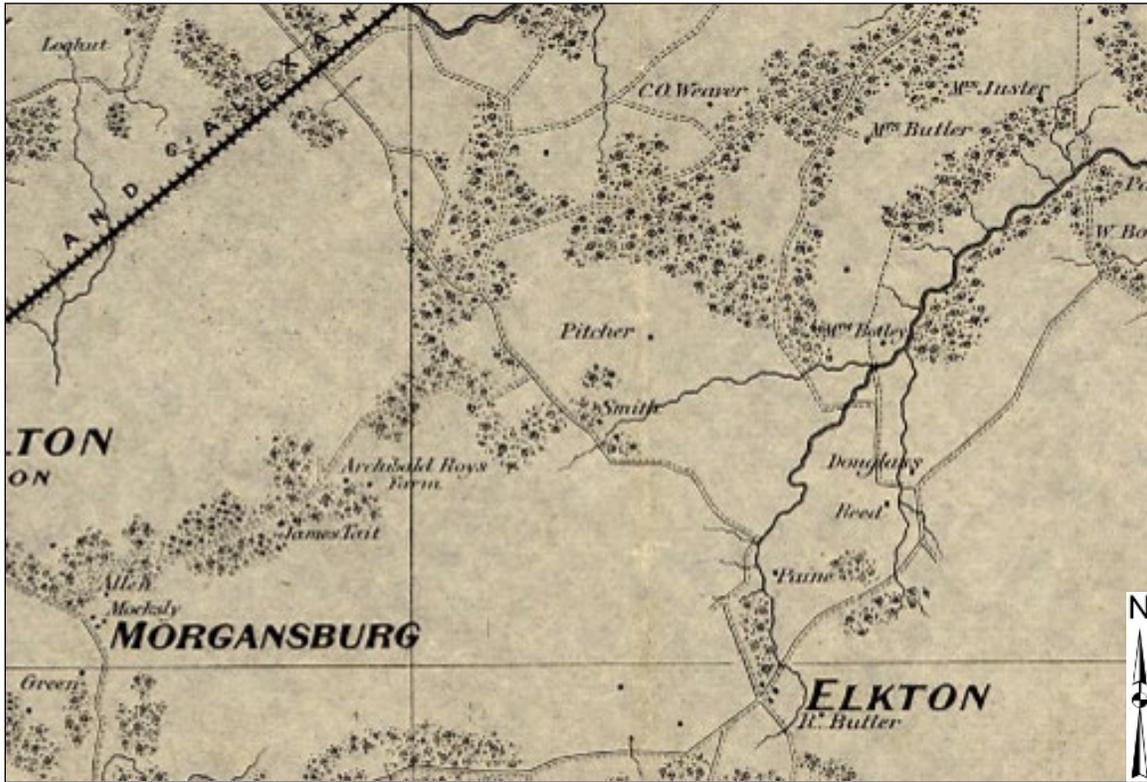


Figure 19: Detail of 1863 “Map of Culpeper County with parts of Madison, Rappahannock, and Fauquier counties, Virginia” Showing Blackwelltown Area and Roads (Schedler 1863). Not to scale.

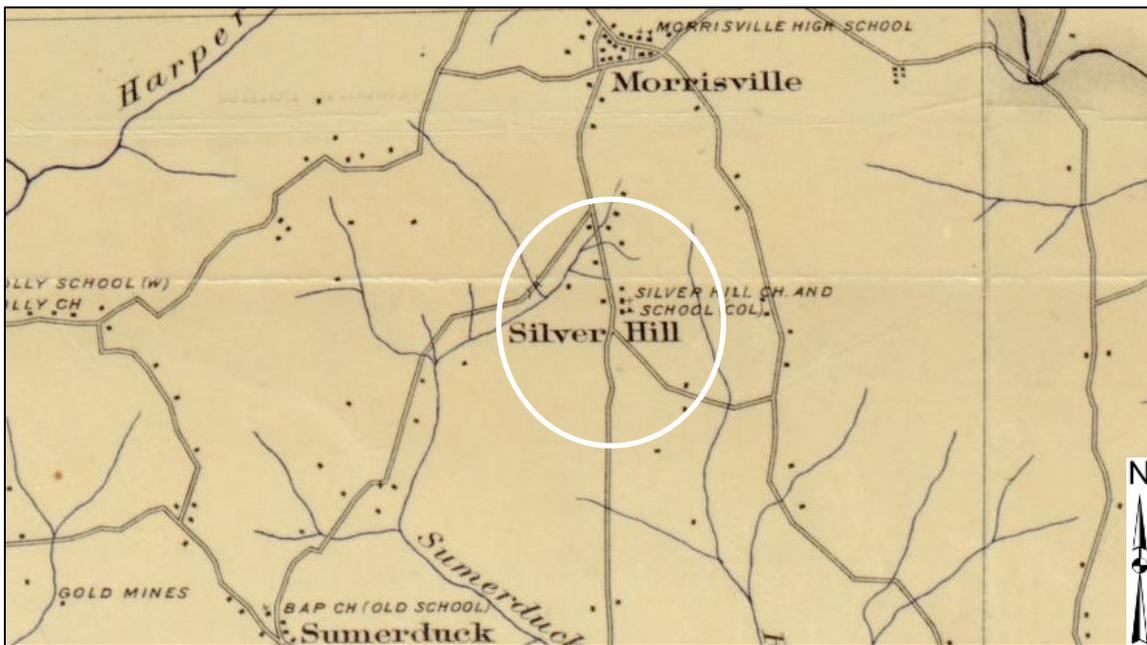


Figure 20: Silver Hill, Circled in White, as Shown on a 1914 Map (Fauquier County Board of Trade 1914). Not to scale.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

*Other African American Communities: Pilgrim's Rest, Frogtown, Frytown, Greenville, and Turnbull*

Pilgrim's Rest was settled by freed African Americans after the Civil War and was named after the verse in Hebrews 11:13–16. The sole remaining fixture of the original settlement is the Beulah Church, whose congregation was formed in 1899. The church was erected in 1911 and remodeled by Reverend James E. Brown in 1966 (Fauquier County 2007a:73). Frogtown was established at the corner of Frogtown and Rectortown Roads (Routes 710 and 702) at the base of Negro Mountain (Figure 21). The settlement was founded outside Rectortown by freed enslaved African Americans. Eugene Scheel's 1976 *Guide to Fauquier* states that the village earned the name Frogtown because some of the earliest preppers sing here (Fauquier County 2007a:46).



Figure 21: Pilgrim's Rest, Circled in White, as Shown on a 1914 Map (Fauquier County Board of Trade 1914).  
Not to scale.

Frytown is situated roughly 2 miles east of the town of Warrenton. It emerged around the property of Al Fry, an enslaved cobbler who served with his owner during the Civil War as a cook in the 7th Virginia Regiment of the Confederate Army. After the war, as a free man, Fry settled outside Warrenton along what is now Frytown Road (Figure 22). The Frytown community, named after Al Fry, developed in this area. After the Civil War, formerly enslaved African Americans also settled in Greenville, possibly named for Silas Green, an African American shown living in the area in the 1880 census. In 1879, Little Zion Church was established in the community. It was rebuilt twice after that. An old cemetery and Rosenwald school are located on the church property (Fauquier County 2007a:52). Turnbull was formed during the Reconstruction era approximately five miles south of Warrenton near Fauquier White Sulphur Springs when formerly enslaved African Americans developed the settlement on the land of their former owner, Colonel Lewis Porter (Figure 23). The settlement remained a vibrant African American community with First Springs Baptist Church (organized 1877), the Mt. Perrin Tabernacle No. 787 Grand United Order of Galilean Fisherman Lodge, and a two-room schoolhouse throughout the twentieth century (Fauquier Times-Democrat 1999:A7).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

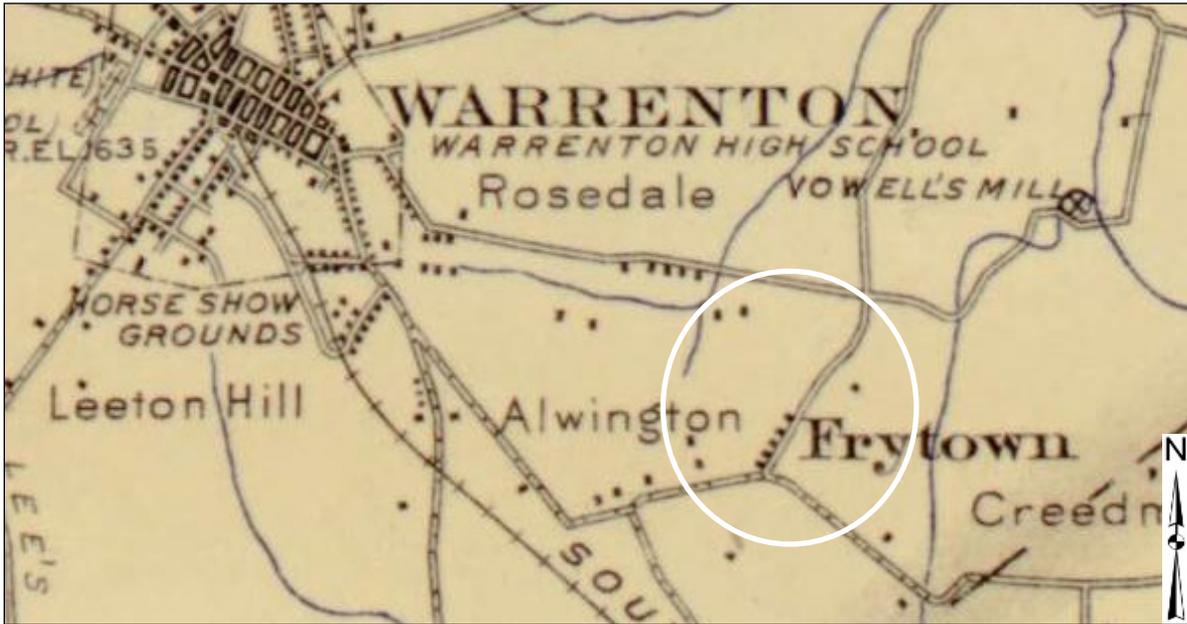


Figure 22: Frytown, Circled in White, as Shown on a 1914 Map (Fauquier County Board of Trade 1914). Not to scale.

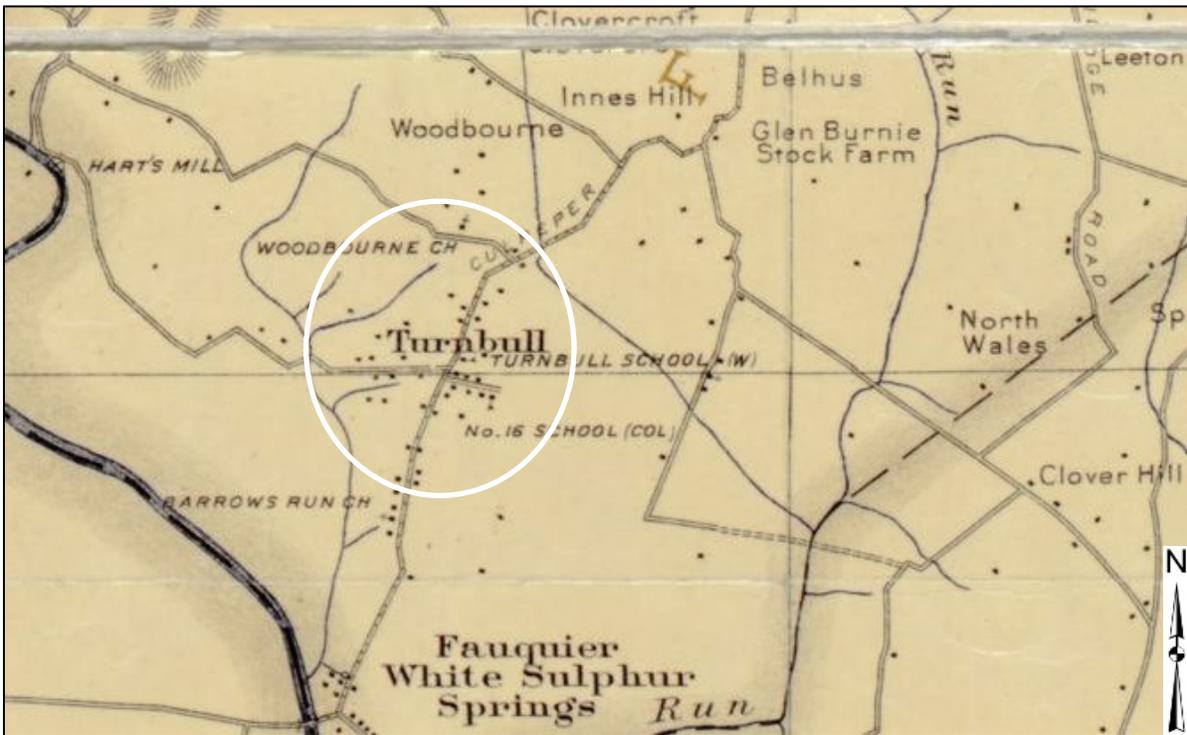


Figure 23: Turnbull, Circled in White, as Shown on a 1914 Map (Fauquier County Board of Trade 1914). Not to scale.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

## Growth, Jim Crow, and Two World Wars (1878–1945)

Financial distress in the later decades of the nineteenth century greatly affected the incomes of those in the agricultural sector, as three severe depressions, the first from 1873–1879, the second from 1882–1885, and the third from 1893–1897, impeded the growth of America’s industrial economy (Davidson et al. 1999:486; Peckler et al. 2016:12). Despite these crises and the continued practice of subdividing larger farm properties for development, agriculture remained Fauquier County’s leading industry (Klein et al. 2010:37).

At the turn of the century and continuing until the end of the First World War, Fauquier County, along with much of America, experienced an economic boom that spurred development and expanded road systems to connect farms and markets. In the early 1920s, the state began maintaining all-weather roads. By the 1930s, maintained roads had reached the most rural portions of Fauquier County (Bubb 2021:9; Petro 1956). Between 1928 and 1935, the road through Thoroughfare Gap was paved. It was also updated into Virginia Route 55 (Bubb 2021:9; Brown and Harpole 2015; Fonzo et al. 2012:17). This growth was particularly visible in areas along railroads (Fauquier County Board of Trade 1914).

Area farmers profited from increased transportation as the railroads and an expanding system of “farm-to-market” roads encouraged the production of perishable farm goods for local and regional urban centers (Watts 2021:12). Dairy farming became a major industry during this period as special milk trains delivered dairy products to Washington, D.C. (Bubb 2021:9; Ryder et al. 1995:34). Horse breeding also became an important part of the economy with horse and livestock breeders buying large derelict plantations in the county at low prices (Bubb 2021:9; Petro 1956). This begins a long tradition within the county of African American’s working closely with horses. Throughout the 1880, 1900, and 1910 census the large majority of those working with horses, in the form of being attendants, groomers, hostlers and the like, was overwhelmingly African American (U.S. Census 1880, 1900, 1910). One Fauquier County resident, Charles Smoot, stands out in this regard. Smoot was a jockey and later race barn manager at Montpelier (The Culpeper Star-Exponent 2019). During his career, Smoot raced in segregated stadiums where he normally would not have been allowed, and he went on to win a race at Steeplechase with a broken collarbone (The Culpeper Star-Exponent 2019).

Livestock in Fauquier country in 1910 included 25,595 cattle, 10,217 horses, 434 mules, 17,145 swine, and 18,573 sheep. The predominant cash crops were wheat, rye, corn, oats, and hay grasses. Corn covered the most acreage (45,023 acres) and wheat the second most (22,429 acres). A significant amount of acreage was also given to apple orchards (106,988 acres) and peach orchards (19,988 acres) (Groome 1914:23; Leithoff et al. 2016:15). By 1910, 22 percent of farmers in the county were African American. The typical African American farm ranged from 3–90 acres of land, and produced a variety of farm products that included grain, dairy, and vegetables (National Agricultural Statistics Service 1910).

The Great Depression did not affect Fauquier and Virginia’s farmers as much as it affected farmers elsewhere because of the diverse array of crops cultivated and sold at market (Heinemann 1986:139–140; Stewart et al. 2017:16). In other words, it was a benefit to Virginia that it was “neither a progressive industrial state nor a backward one crop state” (Heinemann 1968:292). For this same reason, the impact of New Deal programs on rural Virginia was limited (Heinemann 1986:139–140; Stewart et al. 2017:16). That is not to say that the county went unscathed; one sign of economic downturn was the high number of land for sale at distressed prices (Fauquier County Historical Society 2008:159–160). Many farmers did seek additional employment and some gave up farming altogether. Many Fauquier County African Americans listed as “farmers” in the early-twentieth century census records, performed additional jobs within the community. For instance, William H. Brooks who owned a

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

farm of approximately 13 acres in the Orlean area is listed as a farmer in the 1900 census. He undoubtedly farmed his land. However, he was instrumental in establishing the first Black school in the Orlean area adjacent to the Orlean Baptist Church (later replaced by a Rosenwald). In the 1900 Virginia Teachers Directory, W. H. Brooks is listed as a “colored” teacher in the Orlean area. His 1932 death certificate lists his occupation as school teacher.

Jim Crow and Fauquier’s African American Community

In 1900, the African American population in Fauquier County peaked at 8,298 (McClane 2003:108). However, after the 1902 Virginia Constitution enacted Jim Crow-era laws, many moved north (Klein et al. 2010:37). By 1917, about one third of the county’s population was African American, or 7,333 of 22,000 (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:145). Those who stayed in Fauquier County worked as field hands, laborers, blacksmiths, domestic servants, cooks, laundresses, barbers, teachers, and nurses, among others (McClane 2003:108; U.S. Census 1900).

The Jim Crow era was a period of steady erosion of civil and human rights for African Americans in the South. While things had not been particularly easy for African Americans during Reconstruction, the fourteenth amendment, and similar amendments to the Virginia Constitution, did initially attempt to provide equal treatment under the law. As previously stated, the Compromise of 1877 effectively ended the Reconstruction era and set in motion the legalization of “separate but equal” in the 1896 Supreme Court case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (Pollard 2019:61). It took four years to codify any separate but equal policy within the Virginia Constitution. By 1900, any railroad “running steam” in the state was required to provide “separate coaches for white and colored passengers. There [was] to be no difference in the quality, accommodations or conveniences in the cars” (Guild 1936). Further, a railroad company could be fined for not making these accommodations and those unwilling to sit in their assigned cars could be removed from the train and charged with a misdemeanor. Any conductor unwilling to enforce this could also face misdemeanor charges (Guild 1936). By 1902, a law was passed allowing train conductors and street car motormen to carry concealed firearms while on duty (Guild 1936). The arming of these professional provided them with the ability to enforce segregation or removal of noncompliant passengers. It also increased the risk of escalation and violence by reinforcing an unbalanced power structure through arming white civilians.

The 1872 presidential election was the first in which African Americans could vote. While Virginia, as a whole, voted conservatively, recently freed individuals overwhelmingly voted more liberally. Ninety-five percent of African Americans in Fauquier County voted for Grant. Therefore, placing barriers to voting became a favored tactic employed by white southerners interested in maintaining power. If they could disenfranchise black voices, they could maintain the status quo (Smith 2002). In 1902, Virginia’s Constitution was modified to enstate poll taxes and literacy tests. While initially these taxes were to be paid prior to voting, they became more complex and harder for African Americans to adhere to. The poll tax in 1902 was \$1.00, and any male 21 years of age or older who met residency requirements and could read a section of the constitution or could give a reasonable explanation of it was allowed to register to vote (Guild 1936). This amendment to the Virginia constitution was phased, and notes that by 1904 poll taxes would need to be paid three years in advance, up to six months before the election, and unless physically unable to do so, the registration would need to be done in their own handwriting (Guild 1936). At the time of this legislation, over half of voting-aged African American men in the South were illiterate (Margo 1990). A later amendment stated that the assembly could impose a property qualification not to exceed \$250.00 (Guild 1936). Although it is unclear if it was enacted or enforced, this final piece of legislation would have disqualified any voter who didn’t also own real estate valued up to \$250.00. At a time when African American teachers were making about \$196.00 annually, enforcing this legislation would have made qualifying to vote almost impossible for many African Americans (Margo 1990). Suppressing the Black vote has allowed many southern states to maintain a conservative stronghold in southern states up until today. The draconian laws

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

demanding literacy and potentially an unattainable amount of poll tax money disproportionately impacted low-income African Americans. Recognizing the importance of voting led to the creation of the Negro Voter League of Fauquier County in 1934, which assisted members of the community with voter registration and provided voting tutorials (The Circuit 1940a:1). The League often met in churches, which functioned as the hub of activity for African American communities.

Segregation was not legally enforced in just the public sphere. In 1912, the Virginia constitution was again modified. This time in the interest of “public safety, health and morality” towns within the commonwealth could divide areas into segregation districts which made it illegal for an African American to live in a white district and vice versa (Guild 1936). Further disenfranchisement occurred in 1926 when a law was passed requiring any public hall, motion picture, show, or any place of public entertainment or assemblage to separate the races (Guild 1936). During a series of oral histories, the AAHA heard from participants that they had experienced discrimination firsthand while growing up in Fauquier County. One participant states;

Blacks and whites had their little sections where they stayed in which was on 2nd Street [in Warrenton] and now its 5th Street. I can remember at the Frost Diner or restaurant that you couldn't go in and sit down. That wasn't allowed. If you wanted something to eat you had to go to the back door and knock on it, they would fix you something [Robinson 2019].

While understanding the gradual loss of hard-won and hard-earned freedoms through legislation is important to understanding this period, much of the oppression was more invidious, and came in the form of racial bias and personal discrimination. One Fauquier County resident, speaking under the condition of anonymity, stated, “In listening to the stories people tell about this time, many things happened ‘off the books.’ Black people couldn't get loans unless they knew someone. If someone didn't want you to have something they could make sure you didn't get it” (anonymous informant, personal communication 2022).

African American communities, including churches, “remained a source of strength, solace, and solidarity... as the enactment of Jim Crow laws confirmed that severe racism still existed” (Center for Historic Preservation Middle Tennessee State University 2000:21). In 1905, Oliver City, an African American community, was established in Warrenton. Carpenter William F. Oliver initiated construction of Oliver City on land southeast of Warrenton (FCCC n.d.:DB 100:190). It is not known with certainty whether Oliver was born into slavery. A mechanic's lien document from 1907 reveals that Bettie A. Oliver and Peter Grigsby, with W. F. Oliver as the agent, were contracted to build houses in Oliver City (FCCC n.d.:DB 100:190). Oliver City, as it was called from its conception, became an enclave of African American land ownership and occupation within Warrenton (Watts 2021:80).

It's also during this time period that the nation witnesses a revival of the Ku Klux Klan. The revival began in Georgia in 1915. According to the Southern Poverty Law Center:

In addition to the group's anti-Black ideological core, this second iteration of the Klan also opposed Catholic and Jewish immigrants. A growing fear of communism and immigration broadened the Klan's base throughout the South and into the Midwest, with a particular stronghold in Indiana. By 1925, when its followers staged a march in Washington, D.C., the Klan had as many as 4 million members and, in some states, considerable political power [Southern Poverty Law Center 2022].

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

Additionally, patriotic groups began to increase activity around the erection of monuments to the confederate cause. The biggest spike in Confederate memorials came during the early 1900s. During this period, more than 400 monuments were built as part of an organized strategy to reshape Civil War history (Best 2020). This effort was largely spearheaded by the United Daughters of the Confederacy, who sponsored hundreds of statues, predominantly in the South, in the early twentieth century. This group would also reject any school textbook that said slavery was the central cause of the Civil War; they praised the Ku Klux Klan [KKK] and gave speeches that distorted the cruelty of American slavery and defended slave owners (Best 2020). The United Daughters of the Confederacy Black Horse Chapter #9 is still active in Fauquier County.

In 1922, John Powell, of Richmond founded the Anglo-Saxon Club of America (Smith 2002). While some whites in Virginia eschewed association with the KKK, they did not shy away from Powell's new white-supremacist group. The Club's ethos was simple and they were dedicated to "the preservation and maintenance of Anglo-Saxon ideals and civilization" (Smith 2002). Powell was staunchly against interracial marriage and praised laws making it illegal; however, he felt the laws did not prevent "intermixture." He stated, "it is not enough to segregate the Negro on the railway trains and street cars, in schools and theaters; it is not enough to restrict his exercise of franchise so long as the possibility remains of the absorption of Negro blood into our white population" (Richmond-Times Dispatch, 1923:52). Powell and the Anglo-Saxon Club of America drew much of their ideology from the concept of eugenics, much like another notable white-supremacist group, the Nazis, did in the following decade (Smith 2002; United States Holocaust Memorial Museum 2022).

When the United States entered World War I in July 1917, Fauquier County residents were quick to join the war efforts. Fauquier was the first county in Virginia to meet its quota of men to join the conflict. A total of 4,134 men registered for the draft in Fauquier, though only about one-third were classified as Class I, or meeting the qualifications to be called for service. Only 86 of these men were drafted, while more than 200 volunteered to serve. Of these 4,134 men, 90 were African Americans and, by the conclusion of the war, 29 had been called upon to serve and at least 10 had died in service (Fauquier County Historical Society 2008; Know their Names: World War I 2022). The women of Fauquier County also aided the war effort, some serving overseas as Red Cross nurses with the American Expeditionary Forces and others assisting at home with the planting and harvesting of crops (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:147–145). The local Red Cross chapters were among the most active organizations in the county during this time. Additionally, a civilian relief committee assisted more than 350 county [white?] families in coping with the influenza epidemic of 1917–1918 (Fauquier County Historical Society 2008).

On the home front, all races did their part to ensure that life moved on as normally as possible. African American schools and churches promoted patriotic messaging in classrooms and services. However, many southern whites were uncomfortable with the notion of training and arming African Americans for combat. In Virginia, draftees were segregated from their white counterparts and provided with inferior training (Smith 2018). Once they arrived on the front lines, African Americans were assigned to labor battalions due to the prevailing thought that they were "insufficiently courageous to lead in battle" (Smith 2018).

Servicemen allowed to serve under French commanders were cited for their bravery (Smith 2018). One such example is James Madison, Warrenton, who volunteered for service in the Army and was assigned to the 349th Field Artillery unit, attaining the rank of Sergeant. While in France, he was under fire for 190 days, a stint for which he was awarded the Croix de Guerre for bravery by the French government. After the War, Sergeant Madison returned to Warrenton and the family's barber shop business (Fauquier County Historical Society

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

2008)<sup>9</sup>. Some of the men, including Marshall, served in the 370th Infantry Regiment, 93rd Infantry Division/92nd Infantry Division. The 370th is one of few African-American regiments that served in combat in World War I, and notably was the only regiment commanded entirely by black officers (Braafladt 2021).

Upon returning home, Black soldiers faced the harsh reality that, while they risked their lives to defend democracy, they were still not entitled to full equity under the law. In fact, returning service men were met with violence and resistance back home. During the summer of 1919, lynch mobs killed 80 Black men throughout the South (Smith 2018). As a result, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was formed (Smith 2002). In 1919, a group of both white and African American men met in Atlanta to form the commission:

The Commission on Interracial Cooperation functioned as the major race reform organization in the South during the period between the world wars. The service of hundreds of thousands of African Americans in what was then known as the Great War highlighted the racial inequality under which blacks had suffered for so long. Though many whites tried to suppress any black agitation—the most violent resorted to race riots and lynching to convince black Southerners to "stay in their place"—a minority of progressive white men and women, encouraged in part by the performance of black soldiers in the war, hoped to open new lines of communication and address black problems. The CIC never openly challenged segregation or advocated racial equality, but it did strive for an end to racial violence and for better treatment for all classes of black men and women [Sistrom n.d.].

Ten years later in 1928, after much campaigning by local newspaper editor Louis Isaac Jaffé, Virginia passed an anti-lynching law after the state's political and business leadership recognized that mob violence was a threat to their efforts to attract business and industry. Ironically, no white person was ever convicted of lynching an African American under the law (Smith 2021).

During World War II, over 2,000 Fauquier County men and women served in the Pacific and Europe. About 400 Fauquier County men were in the 29th Infantry Division and were part of the Normandy invasion on June 6, 1944. About 100 residents died during World War II, which was more than the average for a county its size. On the home front, German and Italian prisoners of war were brought to Fauquier County to temporarily work on farms. The Marine Corps training base, Quantico, was also expanded by 50,000 acres into Stafford, Prince William, and Fauquier counties. The acquisition of land in southeastern Fauquier County meant that 20 families, including their livestock and farming equipment, had to move (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:163, 169, 171). A 1942 article in the Circuit describes the event, saying, "... all the inhabitants of this area had to evacuate their homes" (The Circuit 1942). This included the residents around Hearts Delight Baptist Church, an African American church located south of Sowego. The Marine Corps base boundary line extended "within about 200 yards of the rear of the church and included the cemetery." Those who evacuated in the Hearts Delight area included: "Mesdames Beulah Bumbrey, Blanche Jackson, Lulu Gordan, Virginia Foutz, Susie Colvin, Elizabeth Edwards, Messrs Henry Washington, John Russel, Lewis Bumbrey, Marshall Gordon, Aaron Bumbrey, Alex Bumbrey, Granderson Edwards, and Luther Edwards" (The Circuit 1942).

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<sup>9</sup> Like his father, Alfred, and brothers, James Madison was a barber in Warrenton. Potentially due to injury received during military service, James Madison is shown in the 1930 and 1940 census as living in the U. S. Veterans Hospital in Tuskegee, Alabama. In the 1940 census, he is shown as an "insane" patient (Personal communication Wendy Wheatcraft 2022).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

An even larger military development was the establishment of a military intelligence post northeast of Warrenton. In 1942, the United States Army acquired historic Vint Hill Farm, transforming the site into Vint Hill Farms Station.<sup>10</sup> Vint Hill Farms Station employed civilians for encryption and other secret assignments, and for half a decade was one of the county's largest employers (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:169; Leithoff et al. 2016:16).

## The New Dominion (1946–1991)

### Fauquier's Population and Economy

By 1950, the population of Fauquier had increased to 21,248 (Fauquier County 2007b:3). The population continued to increase in the twentieth century, with a 13.3 percent increase in the 1960s, 9.6 percent in the 1970s, and 36.1 and 35.8 percent in the 1980s and 1990s. This growth was facilitated by the construction of Interstate 66, which provided the western counties of Virginia with more direct access to Washington, D.C. Additionally, the development of Washington, D.C. into a major metropolitan center, especially after World War II, transformed counties all across northern Virginia into "bedroom communities" for the capital (Bubb 2021:9; Fonzo et al. 2012).

As the population increased, the number of Fauquier County residents involved in agriculture declined. Over half the population was involved in agriculture in 1950, and by 1970 only 20 percent of the population was employed as full-time agricultural workers (Bubb 2021:9). In 1990, only 701 persons were employed full time in agriculture and forestry. Mechanization, labor competition with the metro Washington, D.C., area, and the increased difficulty sustaining smaller farms contributed to this decrease (Fauquier County 2007b:14). Despite these difficulties and the reduction of agricultural land, the 1982 and 1987 Census of Agriculture document a resurgence in agricultural activity (Fauquier County 2007b:14).

In regard to land, farms accounted for 73 percent of the county's total acreage in 1960. There were 1,500 farms averaging 204 acres. Per-farm acreage was higher, though the number of farms was down one-third from 1900. Also, since 1900, the apple and peach orchard business had declined by 85 percent, corn acreage had been halved, and wheat acreage was down approximately 80 percent. Meanwhile, small grains and hay production had increased, reflecting the shift to pasture and forage crops. Orchard grass seed had become the county's major cash crop by the 1950s, and together with Loudoun County, produced more than half of the orchard grass seed in the United States. Beef cattle, which had risen into prominence in the 1920s, continued to dominate Fauquier's livestock industry into the 1950s. Dairy farms continued to produce a substantial amount of milk annually and horse breeding was key to the economy (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:179–180). During the 1950s there were 1204 enumerated African American households within the county. Of these, 482 are listed as being farms while 636 were indicated as being on more than three acres of land, suggesting that at least 40 percent of the entire African American population was participating in agriculture and running their own farm while 52 percent had the acreage to undertake small-scale sustenance farming (U.S. Census 1950).

The African American population in the county was around 5,736, roughly 27 percent of the total population in 1950 (U.S. Census 1950). As the number and sizes of farms dwindled, so did opportunities to find gainful employment, therefore, African Americans in Fauquier County found work off of the farm. The 1950 census

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<sup>10</sup> Vint Hill Farms Station was operated by the Department of the Army until 1997 when it was closed during Base Realignment Closure Commission Activities. In recent years (2013), a Cold War Museum was opened on the Station (Leithoff et al 2016:16; see also Fauquier Historical Society 2008:169).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

indicates that agriculture was still the largest employer of African Americans, with 38 percent of the African American population working, in some capacity, on a farm. This includes farm hands, stables grooms, farm helpers, brush clearers, and farmers among other specialties. Twenty-two percent found employment as domestic help with professions such as cook, house keeper, house cleaner, or laundry worker among many other titles. The gamut of professions present within the county at the start of the civil rights era include: beauticians and barbers, laborers, construction work, skilled carpenters, masons, brick layers, tinnners, teachers, janitors, bus drivers, mechanics, plasterers, restaurant servers, factory workers, quarrymen, pastors, organists, tailors, seamstresses, cobblers/shoe repairers, dentists, and undertakers to name a few (U.S. Census 1950).

Daily life, as described in a collection of oral Histories at AAHA, was ordinary for African Americans. It included the mundane chores, going to school, preparing meals, and visiting friends and relatives. Prior to desegregation, African Americans live in segregated communities that were often comprised of family members or close friends that functioned as extended families. One oral history recalls women sharing stoves to can produce. While one house was temporarily used as a cannery, a relative or friend would prepare meals for their own family as well as the family of the woman who was, at the time, without a stove. As previously noted, 56 percent of households had enough land for small-scale farming. Throughout many of the interviews, participants recalled waking up early to tend to livestock before heading to school.

Population growth and the development of Fauquier County became a concern for many residents. Groups were formed to protect agricultural land, including the Piedmont Environmental Council, which was established in Warrenton in 1972. The mission of this group was “to promote and protect the rural economy, natural resources, history, and beauty” of Fauquier and surrounding counties (Fauquier County 2008:187). Fauquier County’s Board of Supervisors also recognized the inevitable pressures that would result from the further growth of the Washington, D.C. area, and decided to create a Comprehensive Plan (Fauquier County 2008:187). In 1967, a full seven years after efforts commenced, the county’s Comprehensive Plan was released. The plan called for setting aside one-third of the county for service districts, where growth and commercial activity would be channeled. Ninety percent of the county would therefore remain rural despite the anticipated tidal wave of growth—Fauquier County’s population was projected to reach 235,000 by 2000 (Fauquier County 2008:187, 191).

### The Civil Rights Movement in Fauquier County

There is very little information about the earliest years of the civil rights movement within the county. Overall, it seems that while there was unrest, the Civil Rights Era, which is typically seen as a volatile time period, came to Fauquier County quietly. In 1950, the African American population in Fauquier County was roughly 5,000, a 50 percent decrease from a century earlier. This trend of out-migration was common throughout the rural south as African Americans sought employment and educational opportunities in northern urban centers. Still, the African Americans that chose to remain in the county, and state for that matter, dealt with continued inequitable treatment from their white counterparts (Smith 2002).

From emancipation forward, Virginia was seen, compared to states in the deep south, as having positive race relations (Smith 2002). This was due, in large part, to “Separation by Consent,” also known as the “The Virginia Way” (Smith 2002). This form of segregation is defined as an arrangement wherein African Americans lived separate lives as long as whites provided more equitable treatment and services (Smith 2002). This Separation by Consent allowed white Virginians in power to appear to have better race relations than other southern states, and provided them with unregulated separation that, while not legally enforceable, was socially powerful (Smith 2002).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

In Virginia, “whites postponed meaningful reform with unremitting emphasis on civility, which served as a way of dealing with people and problems that made good manners more important than substantial action” (Smith 2002). During a 2002 oral history interview, Fauquier County resident Robert Lee Walker (2002) stated, “Back in that day it wasn’t no talking about racial stuff, it was a thing that was just accepted, you know. I’m Black you white, you stay in your place and I’ll stay in mine.” However peaceful on the surface and tacitly understood these race relations were, the power dynamics at play ensured that African Americans were required to stay in-line with the demands and expectations of the white ruling class (Smith 2002).

Further, complicated race relations have led to hesitation on the part of African Americans, even up to the present day, to talk about how segregation and the fight for civil rights impacted county residents. The AAHA conducted oral history interviews with lifelong African American residents of the county in 2002 and again in 2018. During the 2002 interviews participants were specifically asked “how did the Civil Rights Movement impact you?” Overwhelmingly, participants said that it had little or no impact on them. This response reflects two distinct conditions. First, there is still an unease in talking about race relations in the area. One Fauquier County resident, speaking under the condition of anonymity, stated, “Many people don’t want to talk about the civil rights era or segregation because they have kids or grandkids and they don’t want to cause any trouble for them” (anonymous informant, personal communication 2022). Second, as explained by the Fauquier Historical Society (2008:285), “even in these most turbulent times for the civil rights movement across the country, Fauquier retained a polite veneer of civility.” While this appears to speak from a white perspective, this sentiment is echoed by residents of the county of varying backgrounds. The anonymous interviewee noted that “African Americans in the county saw race riots in other states and didn’t want their history to be defined by hoses and dogs” (anonymous informant, personal communication 2022).

Virginia’s political leadership and the county’s conservative government utilized a delay tactic known as “massive resistance,” so desegregation occurred slowly in Fauquier County (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:182–183). This delayed reform is most visible in the realm of education. The separate but equal doctrine was overturned with the 1954 Supreme Court ruling of *Brown v. Board of Education*, yet Fauquier County Schools were not integrated until 1969. At the state level, Fauquier County Public Schools opened three new elementary school buildings in the early 1960s to accommodate the children attending the county’s community-based African American schools. These new schools (Northwestern, Central, and Southeastern), while modern and equal to those of the county’s white students, remained segregated (AAHA 2021). By 1964, only five percent of the county schools were integrated (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:183). Full integration was not reached until 1969 and occurred without reported major incidents. However, it did result in some students having to travel greater distances, often with a bus transfer (AAHA 2021; Fauquier Historical Society 2008:183). During this time, African American and some white residents petitioned the school board for equal access to schools for their children. In a series of oral history interviews conducted by the AAHA on the topic of how the Civil Rights Movement impacted participants, many of them noted how the segregation of schools, and eventual integration, was what they remembered. One interviewee states:

During elementary school I could remember somethings; there was just a cloud of darkness where I would have to walk to school in rain, snow, hail, whatever and then there would be a bus right across 55 that stopped on the opposite side of our driveway that picked up the white students. That was a hurting that always left a scar with me [Walker 2002].

Newspaper articles from the time show this resistance, not only towards integration, but also towards the hiring of qualified African Americans to administrative or leadership positions within schools (The Fauquier Times-Democrat 1969). Instances include not hiring any new African American teachers for the upcoming 1970 school

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

year, the demotion of an African American principal to the “Director of Attendance” (a truant officer), an African American librarian was removed from their post and made to teach English classes, and a notable absence of African American Senior or Junior High school principals, assistant principals, librarians, assistant librarians, department chairmen, band or choir directors, coaches or assistant coaches (The Fauquier-Times Democrat 1969).

In Fauquier County, schools for African Americans were overcrowded, underfunded, and understaffed. The schools relied on financial assistance from the students’ parents and donors to secure basic resources (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:182). Upon the completion of the Taylor School, an all-Black high school, there were no books for students and spaces like the gym remained under construction when school began. Efforts were undertaken by local residents as well as the NAACP to help ensure that African American students were provided with access to traditionally white schools, which were better equipped. One nationwide program, “A Better Chance” (ABC), took academically successful African American students and enrolled them in New England boarding schools. Locally, a masonry trade school was established. It was led by local African American tradesmen and open to both Black and white students (Karen White, personal communication 2022).

In 1959, pressure to desegregate local businesses began to mount. At this time, Maximilian A. Tufts, a white businessman and gentleman farmer, and Charles Madison, Jr., an African American and prominent barber shop owner in Warrenton, formed a bi-racial alliance dedicated to integrating the county’s restaurants, motels, theatres, and stores. Tufts, the president of the Chamber of Commerce, reached out to Madison, a member of the all-black American Legion Post 360, about recruiting members of the African American community to the Chamber of Commerce. The American Legion agreed to join the Chamber of Commerce and, soon after, two white veterans joined Post 360, beginning the process of integration (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:183, 185).

A committee composed of six Post 360 members and six white chamber men was formed. County residents were largely tolerant to change, and sit-ins, marches, and violent confrontations were deemed unnecessary. One African American oral history participant stated that: “I never had a problem [with racism]. I had just as many white friends as Black friends... We used to hang out at the post office; sit up on the steps—whites there Blacks here—and we just mingled.” Later when asked about riots following the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., he stated: “I think we turned over a couple of trash cans here or there. Nothing like what was happening in D.C. and other places” (Gaines 2018).

The Post 360 committee met at Airlie, a historic estate turned conference center, to discuss integration. At the same time, and unbeknownst to the committee, Martin Luther King, Jr., and other members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference were at Airlie planning the March on Washington. In June 1963, following the committee’s meeting, Fauquier’s white and African American restaurant owners met to discuss integration tactics. By July, most businesses and public facilities, including restaurants, drugstores, and motels, had quietly desegregated without notable public incident (Fauquier Historical Society 2008:185). In 1963, president John F. Kennedy wrote a letter to Tufts and the Chamber of Commerce: “... regarding the desegregation of restaurants and lunchrooms in Warrenton. Certainly this supports the thesis that the most effective and enduring achievements in the desegregation of public facilities come from the local community” (The Washington Post 2003). It is clear that the locals’ willingness to quietly integrate kept more violent episodes from occurring within the county. The 1963 outreach of the Chamber of Commerce and Post 360 would continue through a countywide Human Relations Committee, the forerunner of today’s Community Action Committee (The Washington Post, 2003).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

## Development of African American Churches in Fauquier County (1865–1973+/-)

To properly understand the development of churches between 1865 and 1973, it is essential to first address the history of African American churches and religion in the county in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Nationally, religious practices among enslaved individuals varied from the commencement of the institution of slavery in the colonies until the early- to mid-nineteenth century (Sambol-Tosco 2004). Enslaved individuals, despite being considered chattel by law and without agency in the eyes of their slavers, brought with them and maintained many religious practices. In some places they blended their traditions with European beliefs to create entirely new religions such as Voodoo in Louisiana (Sambol-Tosco 2004). The desire to maintain traditional practices were often at odds with the practices of colonies in the Dutch New Netherlands and Spanish Florida, where participation in the dominant European religion reflected, and helped to bring about, a colonial society in which Blacks were more fully integrated and enjoyed greater rights than later generations of slaves. Some enslaved people also saw conversion to Christianity as a road to freedom. In the early years of settlement, for instance, fugitive slaves headed for Florida where the Spanish Crown promised them freedom as a reward for conversion. Encouraging enslaved people to flee to Florida met with resistance from slaveholders and colonizers, and quickly, slaveholders in the British North American colonies became fearful that Christianization of slaves would lead to demands for emancipation. To address this issue and clarify legal stature, in 1667 Virginia passed a law declaring that conversion did not change the status of a person from slave to free in the Virginia colony (Sambol-Tosco 2004).

During the Great Awakening (1730–1770), some enslavers felt it was their religious duty to expose enslaved people to Christianity. This was accomplished through hiring preachers to give sermons on their plantations, allowing enslaved people to preach to one another as long as it was an approved doctrine, or by taking enslaved people to church with them (Hollie et al. 2009). This last option resulted in somewhat integrated congregations in some areas of the South; while the two populations were in the same building and participating in the same sermons, they were, however, physically separated (Hollie et al. 2009). While some enslavers engaged in this practice as a benevolent way to spread religious doctrine, others engaged in this practice as a way to acculturate enslaved African Americans into white ecclesiastic practice, thereby narrowing freedom of thought. Prior to the end of the Civil War, a number of Fauquier County churches have records showing that enslaved and free Blacks were part of a primarily white congregation. These churches included St. James Episcopal in Warrenton, Warrenton Baptist, Broad Run Baptist, Thumb Run Baptist, Zoar Baptist in Bristersburg, Liberty Church of Christ, Pleasant Vale Church, Bealeton Baptist, Carter's Run Baptist, Grove Baptist, North Fork Church, and Long Branch Baptist in Halfway (AAHA 2021). Church membership was generally recorded on roll book pages under separate headings: White Males, White Females, Colored Males, and Colored Females. African American members were identified by first name, sex, name of their enslaver, dates of baptism, dates dismissed, and the reason for the dismissal (AAHA 2021).

The years that followed the Great Awakening, 1770–1795, saw an influx in evangelical preachers in the South. Initially these preachers brought with them a message of hope claiming that all were equal in the eyes of God; these messages were decidedly anti-slavery. Larger numbers of Black men and women were converted during the resurgence and intensification of revivalism during the Second Great Awakening (1795–1835) of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. However, the messaging of evangelicals changed shortly thereafter and invoked a Christian hierarchy and interpreted the Bible in ways that rationalized slaveholding and white supremacy, thus supporting plantation owners who wanted to perpetuate the message of legitimizing slavery leading to an increase in evangelical Christianity among whites throughout the South (Calhoun 2021; Sambol-Tosco 2004). Conversely, itinerant Baptist and Methodist ministers appealed to both enslaved and free Black populations, preaching a plain-styled message of hope and redemption while also catering to manners of worship

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

that African men and women carried with them to America, including spirit possession, call-and-response singing, shouting, and dancing (Sambol-Tosco 2004).

Regardless of what enslavers and itinerant ministers preached, enslaved people and free Black populations were meeting clandestinely to express their own spirituality. Some convened secretly in “hush harbors” also known as “brush arbors”—natural spaces in the woods, hidden praise houses, or by creeks. In these spaces, they combined their diverse African spiritual practices with Christianity, countering the everyday violence of white supremacy and enslavement. It was the “invisible institution” where formerly enslaved people could escape the gaze of the master and nurture their own beliefs (Calhoun 2021). Slave preachers possibly emphasized the need for obedience to the master while whites were present, but among other slaves they reformulated their teachings, emphasizing themes of suffering and redemption offering enslaved individuals the promise of salvation (Sambol-Tosco 2004).

Christianity’s potential subversive nature did not go unnoticed by enslavers who remained mindful of how and when formerly enslaved people worshipped.

In the 1820s and 1830s, two of the most significant slave rebellions in American history were plotted by Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner, two men driven by religious fire. In 1829, David Walker’s inflammatory text, AN APPEAL TO THE COLOURED CITIZENS OF THE WORLD, not only condemned Christians who supported slavery, but also used Christianity as a way to validate slave revolt. In South Carolina, Virginia and throughout the South, these and other events resulted in regulations on black meetings and black preaching without white supervision. Biracial churches also limited the rights of black congregant. Fear of slave insurrection led to prohibitions on black churches meeting openly in many parts in the South prior to the end of the Civil War [Sambol-Tosco 2004].

It is not until the Reconstruction period (1865–1902) that independent Black churches began to appear on the landscape in Fauquier County. These were not churches in the traditional sense, but much like hush harbors, were safe community spaces where congregations could freely meet. One of the earliest known surviving examples of this type of space in Fauquier County is Julia Grant’s House (030-5434-0148). Deaconess, Sister Julia Grant, and her husband, Charles, were early African American landowners in the Frogtown area and used the rear portion of their house to hold Mt. Olive Baptist Church’s first weekly prayer meetings in the mid-nineteenth century before a church building had been constructed (AAHA 2021; Erma Robinson, personal communication 2020). The Mt. Olive Baptist Church congregation grew and is now in their second location at 2932 Atoka Road. Julia Grant’s House has stayed in the Grant family for more than 100 years and is still owned and maintained by her descendants. It is not uncommon to find that nationally many African American congregations have organization dates that predate the construction of their earliest churches, and intermediate structures or meeting places allowed congregations to form while fundraising for land purchase and building construction was underway.

Beginning in the late 1860s through the 1870s, county records provide information on the formation of churches, land deeded for the purpose of a “colored” house of worship, and the naming of church trustees, moderators or ministers. Although many of these new churches held services only one Sunday a month, congregants could attend church every Sunday if desired by visiting a church in a neighboring community (AAHA 2021). In total, there are at least four Reconstruction-era churches still extant in Fauquier County. The churches from this period are typically smaller, one-story buildings with modest stylistic features. The extant churches include Hearts Delight Church (030-5900), which formed from the African American congregation at Zoar Baptist Church in Bristersburg in 1894. This is followed by Mount Paran Baptist Church, which served the community of Africa Mountain, founded in 1896 (030-5428-0019). Waterloo Baptist Church (030-5289) served the community of

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

Waterloo since 1898 and Silver Hill Baptist Church (030-5180) served the community of Silver Hill since 1902. As stated, these churches were founded and erected to serve specific communities, and small congregation sizes often meant that services rotated between churches or places of worship. This led to a strong connection of congregations that would have otherwise been isolated from one another.

One of the complicating issues with many of the African American churches within the county is the congregation founding dates compared to the church construction dates. Typically, congregations are founded much earlier than the dates of construction for their current churches. In this case the physical church building may date to a later time period while the history begins much earlier. AAHA's StoryMap contains this example:

Hearts Delight Church was organized in 1868. The struggle to purchase the land lasted several months but finally occurred in 1870. 16 "Negro members" of the white Zoar Baptist Church in Bristersburg were given letters of dismissal. Zoar's pastor and delegates from the adjacent white churches were called together on the first Sunday in Sept. 1870 to organize Heart's Delight into an independent Baptist church. The existing church building was constructed in 1894 (AAHA 2021).

The number of churches and congregations grew in Fauquier County during the Jim Crow era (1902–1940). The Jim Crow era was a "dark and shameful chapter of American history" where legislation codified and legalized racism and segregation (Constitutional Rights Foundation 2021; Fauquiernow.com 2019). During this time, Churches offered sanctuary to African Americans, and acted as "nerve centers of their denominations, simultaneously sending pulses of humanity running upward through the institutional hierarchy and generating cohesion and a sense of belonging among people in isolated neighborhoods and settlements whom the larger society shunned because of their race" (Montgomery 1993:254). Alone, they were not able to protect their congregations from the outside world. In 1920, about one-third of the population in Fauquier County was African American compared to just eight percent today (Fauquier County Historical Society 2008). Due in part to rampant racism and draconian laws, the size of African American communities, and in turn congregations, dwindled as people left the area for education and employment opportunities outside of rural Virginia (Barthel 2021). Further adding to the flight was unchecked lynching. Throughout the South, it is regarded that over 4,000 lynchings occurred from 1877 to 1950 (Fauquiernow.com 2019). Some researchers suggest that between 80 and 100 lynchings took place in Virginia during this time frame, with four occurring in Fauquier County. Although a decrease in the African American population occurred during this period, free Black communities do still remain and they continue to organize and construct churches. Nine Black churches erected between 1902 and 1950 are still extant in Fauquier County. During this period, churches got larger, and are more aligned with Gothic Revival and Neoclassical styles. They are: Mt. Morris Primitive Baptist Church (030-5893), founded in 1867, current church constructed around 1909, remodeled in 1922; Cross Road Baptist Church (030-5212), started in 1916; First Springs Baptist Church (030-0298/030-5427-0192), built 1900; Walnut Grove Baptist Church (030-5061), built 1922; St. James Baptist Church (030-5898), founded in 1922; Second Mt. Morris Old School Baptist Church (030-5892), built 1926 (030-5892); Salem Baptist Church (030-5156-0136), built 1929; St. Johns Baptist Church (0320-5236) built 1929, rebuilt 1933; and Mt. Olive Baptist Church (030-5434-0248), built 1911. The migration of congregants during this period spawned the tradition of "homecoming" where congregates who have moved away from the area return to their home church to participate in large celebrations (Barthel 2021). The homecoming season lasts from June to September (Barthel 2021).

The Civil Rights era (1940–1973) brought about sweeping national social changes that were long overdue. In Fauquier County, citizens were slowly becoming more equal in the eyes of both the law and social practices, even as policy and progress were developmentally behind the national arena. The most notable example of this is Fauquier County's resistance to school integration. The practice was not instilled in the county until 1969, 15

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

years after *Brown v. Board of Education* (Barthel 2021). During this time churches were often used to organize civil rights activities. The activities carried out by individual churches should be addressed by those nominating a resource under this MPD.

By this time churches constructed in the county were second or third iterations for congregations that date to or predate Reconstruction, suggesting a rebuilding trend designed to improve and modernize built resources. These new buildings or older buildings with several periods of additions and modifications, which was also common, reflect the church and community's importance. These layers of change illustrate the growth of the local community and flourishing congregation which was not uncommon as "better church buildings became possible with the challenge and eventual smashing of Jim Crow segregation," which was followed by an "intensified period of church building and modernization" (Center for Historic Preservation Middle Tennessee State University 2000:43). However, stylistically the buildings draw inspiration from the Gothic Revival and Neoclassical styles much like the earlier churches constructed from 1886 to 1940. Eleven extant African American churches date to this period, including: Oak Shade Baptist (030-5912), built in 1945; Little Zion Baptist Church (030-5895), dating to 1948; Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church (030-5902), built in 1950; Clevers Oak Baptist Church, founded in 1955 (no DHR ID); Poplar Fork Baptist Church (030-5370), built in 1950; Trough Hill Baptist Church (030-5894), dating to 1962; Beulah Baptist Church (030-5891), constructed in 1966; Oak Shade Baptist Church (030-5900), dating to 1968; Oak Grove Church (030-5903), constructed in 1971; and Little Zion Baptist Church (030-5904), built in 1978.

As churches were often the center of activity for African American communities within Fauquier County, it should be noted that nomination under Criterion A for their ties to education should be explored by the nominators. For example, during Reconstruction and the early part of the Jim Crow era, prior to the construction of community schools, churches were used to educate children in the community. The Salem Baptist Church (030-5156-0136) served as the school for the Rosstown Community until 1907 when a new school was constructed in Marshall for white students, and the ca. 1887 No. 18 School was made available for African American students (Hollie et al. 2009). Another example of a Church nominated using Criterion A is the St. James Baptist Church (030-5898). The church was nominated under Criterion A for its continued connection to the growth and development of the Foxville and Bealton Communities. Throughout all periods discussed Churches remained the center of African American communities and, as such, were often hosts to community and county-wide organizations. Churches, such as the Mount Pleasant Church, were meeting place of the Negro Voters League of Fauquier County, which assisted members of the community with voter registration and provided voting tutorials (The Circuit 1940a:1). St. Ebenezer Church was the meeting location for the Youth Progressives league (The Circuit 1940d:1). In addition to meeting one of the NRHP Criteria, a church must also meet Criteria Consideration A, which states that a religious property must derive its "primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance" (Shrimpton et al. 1990:2, 26).

### **Development of African American Schools in Fauquier County (1865–1973+/-)**

Prior to the establishment of a segregated school system in 1870, there was little in the way of formal African American education in the South. During slavery and the Civil War, some enslaved people were taught basic literacy skills in order to read and understand the bible. However, this was taught to them by enslavers and varies greatly between individuals (Coleman 1939). Unfortunately, education of the African American population became seen as one of the leading causes for Nat Turner's Rebellion in Southampton County, Virginia, which led to the passage of laws prohibiting the education of slaves in all southern states, practically eradicating education and literacy for almost all African Americans in the South by 1861 (Coleman 1939). In September 1861, Mary L. Peake was hired to open a school for African Americans at Fortress (Fort) Monroe located at the mouth of the

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

Chesapeake Bay where it meets the James and Elizabeth Rivers (Butchart 2022; Coleman 1939). Between 1861 and 1865, large amounts of money were sent by various agencies to establish new schools for African Americans in southern territory held by the Union Army (Butchart 2022).

In the early years of the Reconstruction Era (1865–1902), the Freedman’s Bureau (1865–1870), took on the task of establishing new schools for African Americans, and by the time it closed in 1870, the Bureau had successfully established 4,000 schools (Butchart 2022). The creation, maintenance, and funding of schools, both African American and white, became the responsibility of state and local agencies in Virginia in 1870, leading to an inequitable distribution of funding between African American schools and their white counterparts (Coleman 1939). The establishment of a local school system led to the creation of 16 schools for African American children in Fauquier County in 1870. After only three years the number of African American schools in the county was reduced to 12 (Coleman 1939). Throughout this and the anteceding era it is notable that education of African American children was done by African American teachers, many of whom were male (Coleman 1939). In 1896, the Supreme Court ruled in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case that state sanctioned segregation laws were legal if accommodations provided to African Americans were equal to whites (Constitutional Rights Foundation 2021).

The Virginia Teachers Directory of 1900 shows at least 22 “colored” schools in Fauquier County at that time in the following areas: Hume, Linden (aka Africa Mountain), Orlean (2 teachers), Delaplane (2 teachers), Markham (2 teachers), Marshall, Rectortown (3 teachers), Paris (1 teacher), Bethel (2 teachers), New Baltimore (3 teachers), Cliff Mills (1 teacher), Morrisville (2 teachers), Bealeton (2 teachers), Elk Run, Remington, Midland (3 teachers), Cedar Run, Bristersburg, Selone, Auburn, Catlett, Warrenton (4 teachers). Since it is a listing of teachers under post office headings, it’s hard to say how many actual school buildings are represented (Gruver 1900; Wendy Wheatcraft, personal communication 2022).

Secondary education was available at the Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth. This school was founded in 1893, by Jennie Dean, a former enslaved person who believed in the value of vocational education for both males and females. This residential school served youth of five northern Virginia counties: Prince Williams, Fairfax, Arlington, Loudoun, and Fauquier (AAHA 2021). Presently only one school from this time period is extant in Fauquier County, School No. 18, which was constructed around 1887 (030-0135).

It was evident after only a few years that separate but equal schools were anything but equal during the Jim Crow Era (1902–1940). In an effort to bring some equality, at least in the realm of education, Booker T. Washington of the Tuskegee Institute and Julius Rosenwald, philanthropist and president of Sears, Roebuck, & Co., built state-of-the-art schools for African American children across the South (National Trust for Historic Preservation 2021). The program was a major force in rural school design and addressed some of the concerns surrounding existing education facility conditions, including lighting, ventilation, heating, sanitation, instructional needs, and aesthetics—all intended to create a positive, orderly, and healthy environment for learning (Hoffschwelle 2012). The Rosenwald School Program applied these progressive ideas to the rural South and created buildings that served as models for all rural schools (Hoffschwelle 2012). At the program’s conclusion in 1932, it had produced 4,977 schools, 217 teachers’ homes, and 163 shop buildings that served 663,625 students in 15 states (Hoffschwelle 2012). Overall, 382 Rosenwald schools were constructed in Virginia, and eight were constructed in Fauquier County. Blackwelltown School, circa 1923 (030-5441); County Training School (also called Rosenwald High School), circa 1914 (156-5141); Crest Hill School, circa 1929 (030-5297); Greenville School, circa 1924 (030-5850); Orleans School, circa 1924 (No DHR ID); Rectortown School No. 15 (also called Piney Ridge School), circa 1923 (030-208); and Routts Hill School, circa 1922 (030-0429) (Fisk University 2002). Five Rosenwald Schools remain: Blackwelltown, Crest Hill, Greenville, Remington #15 (Piney Ridge), & Orlean (White 2019).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

Two surveys of public schools were conducted during the 1930s. The first was completed in 1936, and another in 1939. The earlier survey carried out by W.G. Puller addressed physical characteristics of the schools and notes size and construction materials among other attributes, like heating sources, number and type of desks, and windows. The results of this survey show that the majority of schools were single-story frame buildings, clad in weatherboard, on a stone or concrete foundation and often without electricity (Puller and Hundley 1936). The survey conducted in 1939 by William Coleman provides more information about the condition of the schools. He notes, for example, that only three of the 32 African American schools in Fauquier County at the time had electricity. Other findings included: 28 out of the 32 schools did not have access to safe water on site; eight out of 32 buildings needed to be repaired or rebuilt; due to the condition of roads, five schools were not accessible by automobile; all but one school had a metal roof; and seven schools had roofs that leaked. Additionally, enrollment in the schools varied greatly with class sizes ranging from 10–60 students (Coleman 1939). Often schools were established, funded, built, and maintained by their community, and typically were located near a church (Barthel 2021). Even Rosenwald schools were partially funded by the local community. Presently there are nine remaining non-Rosenwald schools dating to this era in the county: Catlett School #12, circa 1920 (030-5090); Foster Hill School, circa 1910 (030-5341); Delaplane School, circa 1929 (030-5361/030-5369-0100); Silver Hill. Circa 1920; Upperville No. 11, circa 1880 (no DHR ID); Cherry Hill, circa 1898 (no DHR ID); Morgantown, circa 1891 (no DHR ID); Goldvein, circa 1924 (no DHR ID); and Turnbull School, circa 1910 (030-5505/030-5427-0190).

During the Civil Rights Era (1940–1973), education opportunities continued to grow for African Americans. The County-Wide Parent-Teacher League was formed in 1937, and fought for the construction of new schools with adequate facilities and curriculum for county students. In February 1940, this league petitioned to the Fauquier County School Board for:

...Better educational facilities in the County. The recommendations called for (1) modern, fireproof high building so constructed and equipped that curriculum appropriate to an accredited high school rating could be followed, offering Home Economics, Trade and Industrial Courses, Vocational Agriculture, Commercial and Music Courses. (2) The consolidation of schools where economically and socially advisable, with bus transportation adequate to the demands, and (3) The appointment of a truant officer to enforce the attendance of all children of school age [The Circuit 1940:1].

After many years of lobbying, the William C. Taylor High School opened in 1952 to serve all of Fauquier's African American high school students (Brown 2019). While the school had modern amenities such as indoor plumbing, multiple classrooms, a gym, auditorium, and vocational classrooms, it remained unfinished for years after its initial construction, and lacked resources such as books (Brown 2019). Parents raised money to fund furnishings, food, and extracurricular activities. The school was named for William C. Taylor, the former principal of the Warrenton Rosenwald Training School. The community held fundraisers in the gymnasium with one of the more notable instances being a James Brown concert (The George Mason University Film Lab 2019).

In 1954, the Supreme Court repealed its earlier decision made in *Plessy v. Ferguson* with their ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* stating that segregated schools were unconstitutional (Barthel 2021). At this time, many of the schools once considered state-of-the-art were outdated and in disrepair (National Trust for Historic Preservation 2021). Despite *Brown v. Board of Education* and companion cases, desegregation did not come readily. In some Virginia counties, opponents of integration were moved to employ resistance efforts (AAHA 2021). In the early 1960s, Fauquier built and opened three modern elementary school buildings which could service African American students from the County's many community schools. These three consolidated schools, Northwestern, Central, and Southeastern, were built to demonstrate the equality of educational facilities

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

for the African American while remaining segregated (AAHA 2021). These new consolidated schools were built with modern amenities including indoor plumbing, auditoriums, cafeterias, multiple class rooms and offices, and the appropriate student-to-teacher ratio (AAHA 2021). With the opening of the consolidated schools, all of the community schools were closed in 1964 (AAHA 2021). Complete integration of the county's schools did not occur until 1969 (Barthel 2021). Only one school dating to this time period is presently known to be extant: Northwestern Elementary School, circa 1963 (030-5434-0065).

Schools in African American communities in Fauquier County are representative of the aspirations the community members had for their children. As such, many community resources went into the consultation and maintenance of schools, and even Rosenwald schools required an initial investment from the community prior to their construction (National Trust for Historic Preservation 2021). A school could be considered under Criterion A if organizations like the County-Wide Parent-Teacher's League met there. A school could also be considered under Criterion A if it is an African American school associated with a historically African American community in Fauquier County.

### **Development of African American Fraternal Lodges in Fauquier County (1865–1973+/-)**

While currently there is no scholarship on African American lodges in Fauquier County pre-emancipation, it should not be assumed that African American fraternal groups did not exist here pre-1865. Mutual aid societies were created by free Blacks and potentially by enslaved individuals throughout the country starting in the early days of the United States (Barga 2018). More established, white societies like the Free Masons and The Independent Order of Odd Fellows (IOOF), initially limited their membership to white men of a particular economic and social class, effectively excluding African American participation in the more formal, better known fraternal organizations from this era (McBride 2005). Masonic lodges are one of several types of fraternal and benevolent organizations, where white chapters began in the nineteenth century or even earlier in England. However, in New York, Black freemasons organized during the Revolutionary War under the leadership of freedman Prince Hall. Black chapters really proliferated during the Reconstruction era (Watts 2020).

It appears that most African American fraternal groups have their roots in the Reconstruction period (1886–1902) following the Civil War. African American secret and/or benevolent societies formed to provide an informal insurance system when local and national insurance companies discriminated against Blacks and refused to provide services. These societies proliferated in great numbers in the late-nineteenth century. Members received monetary benefits during hardship and at death, but also derived status and elevated social positions in their communities. W.E.B. DuBois noted that churches, fraternal, and benevolent organizations were of utmost importance in the African American community (Kathan et al. 2017:24). DuBois (1995:233) explained:

Their real function is to provide a fund for relief in case of sickness and for funeral expenses. The burden which would otherwise fall on one person or family, is, by small regular contributions, made to fall on the group. This business feature is then made attractive by a ritual, ceremonies, officers, often a regalia, and various social features.

Fifty years after the Civil War, from 1865 to 1915, is considered the Golden Age of Fraternalism in the United States. A number of factors account for this but the main drivers were the desire for Civil War Union veterans to continue the camaraderie felt during the war, and the need for new social programs and protections especially for African Americans (McBride 2005). This Golden Age saw the establishment of many new societies across the United States. A few predominately or exclusively African American societies include: The Grand United Order of the Odd Fellows established in 1840, the Afro American Order of Red Men established in 1904, the Fraternal

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

Order of Hawks establish date unknown, Grand United Order of True Reformers established in 1881, and The Order of Tents established in 1867 as a predominately female group (Skopol et al. 2008). Also represented in Fauquier County were the Grand Order of Galilean Fishermen and the Ancient United Order of the Sons and Daughters, Brothers and Sisters of Moses, which had divisions for women, men, and adolescents (Wendy Wheatcraft, personal communication 2022).

Within Fauquier County only six lodges have been identified, four of which were constructed during the Jim Crow Era (1878–1940): (030-5235) (056-0019-0280), and (030-5434-0253), while the other was founded during this period but later rebuilt (030-5899). Three extant lodges from this period, Moses Lodge/ St. Johns Odd Fellow's Hall, circa 1905 (030-5235) and Mt. Olive Odd Fellows Lodge, circa 1930 (030-5434-0253), Richard Henry Lee Odd Fellows Lodge (056-0019-0280), circa 1875 are all part of the Odd Fellow's Order. The Sovereign Grand Lodge IOOF was a historic fraternal order promoting personal and social development that believed "all men and women regardless of race, nationality, religion, social status, rank and station are brothers and sisters" (The Sovereign Grand Lodge IOOF n.d.a). The other lodges are; Moses Hall of Union Tabernacle #60, circa 1860 dwelling, converted to a hall circa 1883 (156-0019-0063); and View Tree Masonic Lodge, circa 1912 (156-0019-0269).

The Grand United Order of Odd Fellows had been predominately African American since its founding in 1840, and most often, the groups provided benefits related to illness, death, and other family matters as insurance does today (Barga 2018). While churches were often charitable within their community regarding these matters, the Odd Fellows defined themselves more broadly and saw themselves as a secular order offering aid to anyone regardless of affiliation (Barga 2018). Additionally, their aid was not just financial, but rather tied to a social duty that promoted fraternal relations among the whole community. Vows were made to remain sober, honest, industrious and benevolent, a good husband, a kind father, and a loyal and virtuous citizen (Barga 2018). Overall, the group aimed to be well-rounded community members and citizens outside of the social mores placed on them by religion. In addition to their social function within their lodge buildings, they were also involved in the community through their women's division, known as the Rebekahs (The Sovereign Grand Lodge IOOF n.d.b). The two aforementioned extant lodges from this time in Fauquier County are two-story, frame buildings, with Greek Revival elements. Both resources retain their date stones.

Lodges continued their social programming into the Civil Rights era (1940–1973). Nationwide membership began to decline, and there is no evidence to suggest that this trend was not seen within Fauquier County (McBride 2005). During this time, there is evidence to suggest that there were many lodges in the county that would meet annually for different occasions. In June 1946, the Masonic Lodges of Midland 238, Piedmont 75, Culpeper; Foxville 261, Bealton and Viewtree 142, Warrenton: Culpeper Chapter O.E.S., and Viewtree O.E.S., Warrenton comprising the lodges of the 30th Masonic district, A.F. and A.M., convened at the First Baptist Church in Warrenton to pay honor to St. John the Baptist (The Circuit 1946:3). St. John's Day was in memory of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, both of whom are patrons of Masonry and founders of the Christian church (The Circuit Newspaper 1945). While churches are often seen as the center of civil rights activities in the 1960s for African Americans, the Odd Fellows and similar fraternal orders played roles throughout the struggles that led to greater equality (Barga 2018). At this time, there are no extant lodges within Fauquier County constructed during this period; however, if one were to be identified, its ties to any civil right era groups or events should be discussed and highlighted by the nominator.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

## F. Associated Property Types

### National Register of Historic Places Criteria for Evaluation

The National Park Service (NPS) established a set list of criteria for evaluated properties for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). In the National Register Bulletin Number 15: *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, the NPS (Shrimpton et al. 1990:2) states:

The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and:

- A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- B. That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
- C. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- D. That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Ordinarily cemeteries, birthplaces, or graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, properties primarily commemorative in nature, and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years shall not be considered eligible for the National Register. However, such properties will qualify if they are integral parts of districts that do meet the criteria or if they fall within the following categories:

- a. A religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or
- b. A building or structure removed from its original location but which is significant primarily for architectural value, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event; or
- c. A birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no appropriate site or building directly associated with his or her productive life; or
- d. A cemetery which derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events; or

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

- e. A reconstructed building when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived; or
- f. A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own exceptional significance; or
- g. A property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance.

### **Selected Property Types**

There are many resources associated with African Americans in Fauquier County. This MPD builds upon a previous study that identified many of the property types that are known to be present within the county: churches, cemeteries, schools, dwellings, buildings related to fraternal groups, commercial buildings, and communities (Watts 2021). Of these, churches, schools, and fraternal orders/lodges that date from 1865-1973+/- are described in detail below. Other property types and those from other periods may be added to this MPD at a later date as research and field investigations continue.

#### **Name of Property Type: Churches**

##### Description

African American churches in Fauquier County dating to 1865-1973+/- are often vernacular, one-story, gable-roofed, rectangular buildings of masonry or frame construction, sometimes reflecting architectural styles including Gothic Revival and Colonial Revival. While most of the extant buildings date to the early- to mid-twentieth century, there are some known examples constructed during the late-nineteenth and third quarter of the twentieth centuries. These religious resources often retain their sanctuary but were commonly altered to update the building with modern technologies or to meet the needs of a growing congregation. Updates would typically include new exterior cladding, additions to house functions such as classrooms, fellowship and dining halls, and storage and office spaces, as well as the application of exterior architectural decoration reflective of another style. Churches are not only important to their communities as a place of worship, but they often served as a safe place for community social activities and gatherings. Associated secondary resources could include parsonages, schools, sheds, garages, separate education or office buildings, playgrounds, and cemeteries.

##### Significance

Churches associated with Fauquier County's African American communities are important because of their multiple functions in addition to being places of worship. Scholars of African American history and culture continually point to ecclesiastic facilities as the most important institution in African American life historically and today. Historic African American churches, especially those associated with rural groups, are "historical artifacts of the creation, development, persistence, and continuity of three vital and interrelated components of African-American ethnic heritage: ethnic identity, religion, and education" (Center for Historic Preservation Middle Tennessee State University 2000:5, 27). As demonstrated in the historic contexts in this MPD, churches often "remained a source of strength, solace, and solidarity in African-American communities at the turn of the century as the enactment of Jim Crow laws confirmed that severe racism still existed" (Center for Historic Preservation Middle Tennessee State University 2000:21). In many African American enclaves, these buildings were a key part of the community as well as an assured safe place for social gatherings during many years of

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

racial segregation and discrimination. Many rural African American churches in the American South “were the nerve centers of their denominations, simultaneously sending pulses of humanity running upward through the institutional hierarchy and generating cohesion and a sense of belonging among people in isolated neighborhoods and settlements whom the larger society shunned because of their race” (Montgomery 1993:254). Churches could be the meeting place for a variety of community activities, such as reading groups, educational classes, youth camps, bible studies, and civil rights organizing, among others. The significance of the churches nominated under this MPD is usually found in its association with the African American community and the role it played within daily life.

### Registration Requirements

To be considered eligible for the NRHP under this MPD, a church must have historic association with an African American community in Fauquier County between 1865–1973+/- . According to the NPS guidelines, a church cannot be listed in the NRHP based on “the merits of a religious doctrine” (Shrimpton et al. 1990:26). Instead, its significance may be for “architectural or artistic values or for important historic or cultural forces that the property represents” and must, therefore, meet one or more the NRHP eligibility criteria as well as Criteria Consideration A, which states that a religious property must derive its “primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance” (Shrimpton et al. 1990:2, 26).

A church may also be considered a contributing resource to a historic district. In order to be contributing, the resource should be constructed within the district’s period of significance and associated with one or more of the areas of significance that make the historic district eligible for the NRHP.

The NPS provides a list of areas of significance with which a resource may be associated. While there are possible exceptions, the following are the most likely areas of significance for African American churches in Fauquier County dating to 1865 to 1973+/-.

- Archaeology
- Architecture
- Community Planning and Development
- Education
- Ethnic Heritage
- Religion
- Social History

### National Register of Historic Places Criteria for Evaluation

#### *Criterion A*

A religious property nominated under this MPD for Criterion A should have a significant association with a notable historical trend or event that occurred 1865-1973+/-, including, but not limited to:

- The African American experience in Fauquier County
- Jim Crow-era segregation policies
- The Civil Rights movement
- Community development

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

There are many ways that a church could be associated with one or more of these trends; however, some examples could include meetings to organize civil rights actions, activities for the educational advancement of members of the congregation or larger community, publications, or social gatherings or trips sponsored by the church for the betterment of the congregation or community.

### *Criterion B*

A religious resource may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion B under this MPD if it has an association with an important figure in a Fauquier County African American community from 1865–1973+/- . As stated in the NPS guidelines, “A property is not eligible if its only justification for significance is that it was owned or used by a person who is a member of an identifiable profession, class, or social or ethnic group. It must be shown that the person gained importance within his or her profession or group” (Shrimpton et al. 1990:14). Examples may include pastors or other key members of the church or congregation who may have been integral in their community, especially in situations where the church was used as a planning or meeting space.

### *Criterion C*

A church may be individually eligible for listing under Criterion C for significance in the area of architecture under the MPD. In addition to possessing historical or architectural significance, the property must retain sufficient physical integrity to convey this significance during the period in which it was attained. The presence of certain secondary resources that date to the period of significance could add to the property’s integrity or significance. Similarly, if important secondary resources that contributed greatly to the property’s significance are no longer extant, this could negatively impact the property’s integrity as a whole.

### *Criterion D*

Significance under Criterion D is somewhat rare for an extant building; however, a church may be significant under Criterion D if it is likely to yield important information not otherwise available about the experience of African Americans in Fauquier County during the period of significance or if there is a below-ground aspect to the resource, such as an archaeological site or a cemetery.

### *Criteria Considerations*

In addition to Criteria Consideration A, which is essential to meet for nominating a church to the NRHP, other criteria considerations could be used to nominate a religious resource under the auspices of this MPD. The one that is most likely to be applied is Criteria Consideration G, which states that a “property achieving significance within the last fifty years is eligible if it is of exceptional importance” (Shrimpton et al. 1990:41). This criteria consideration should be used in situations where it can be argued that a religious property achieved its significance within the last 50 years, including when a period of significance has a clear and justifiable end date that is less than 50 years from the NRHP nomination date. Another is Criteria Consideration D, as church properties often include cemeteries on their lots and, especially with regard to older cemeteries, may contain the only information about individuals interred there that is readily available. Traditional funerary practices also are significant in the overall historical functions and importance of churches in African American communities.

### Aspects of Integrity

#### *Setting and Location*

Religious resources should be located within the current boundaries of Fauquier County. They could be within one of the previously identified African American communities (e.g., Rosstown, Turnbull, or Frytown), but that

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

is not essential; however, the property's relationship to a historic community can provide additional insight into the church's historic significance and functions for local residents.

*Design, Materials, and Workmanship*

The design, materials, and workmanship of religious resources nominated under this MPD will vary. Alterations and modifications among this resource type are common and reflect the progress and growth of the local community and a flourishing congregation. It is important to analyze these changes, noting whether they occurred during the resource's period of significance. Changes that postdate a property's period of significance should not be of a type or scale that they impede the property's ability to convey its significant historical associations. Retention of character-defining historic interior features, such as the sanctuary, built-in features like pulpits, choir lofts, apses, and balconies, are important to retaining integrity of design, workmanship, and materials. Common additions, such as space for a fellowship hall, kitchen, pastor's study, classrooms, and restrooms, generally do not detract from a church's integrity of design as these types of updates are often integral to a church's continued relevance and functionality and to the congregation's growth. Occasionally, an indoor baptismal pool may have been constructed to replace an outdoor pond or stream, and this alteration is directly related to continuity of the congregation's religious practices. Installation of modern electrical, plumbing, and heating and air conditioning systems also should not be considered detrimental to a church's integrity as they are often necessary for the building's continued use. The provision of ramps, railing, accessible restrooms, and other features to allow universal accessibility most often began to be used during the late twentieth century. Ramps and railings typically lead to the building's main entrance and, therefore, are immediately visible on the façade. These features can be built in a way that avoids damage to the building's historic fabric. Although they alter the immediate public perception of the church, ramps and railings that meet local building codes serve to maintain the building's function as a communal space and to meet requirements of the Americans with Disabilities Act. While an alteration to the church's integrity of design, accessibility features generally can be immediately differentiated from the historic fabric and, for ramps and railings, do not obscure the majority of the façade or side elevations, thus leaving the building's original form and massing readily identifiable. Inclusion of universal accessibility features also reflects the community spirit imbued in churches and represent an intention to be welcoming to all who approach these buildings. As such, ramps and railings may diminish the church's architectural integrity but are unlikely, in and of themselves, to render a church ineligible for listing.

Loss of character-defining exterior features during the property's period of significance, such as a belfry, wood window sash, and wood-frame doors, do not automatically erode the building's integrity of design and materials. If the alterations occurred after the period of significance, they can be detrimental to the property's integrity. Regardless of when the changes occurred, the context for such alterations is necessary to understand as integrity is being evaluated. Alterations that were caused by a natural event, such as a fire, flood, or tornado, represent a response by the church's congregation in the moment to keep their property safe, usable, and functional. The constraints of the Jim Crow era, in particular, may have affected or limited the options available to the congregation in making repairs and obtaining materials. Other historic alterations, such as installation of brick veneer over weatherboard siding, replacement of metal roofing with asphalt shingles, and installation of decorative treatments to highlight entrances, may have become feasible as the congregation's financial resources improved and/or reflected a particular sentiment, such as permanence, that the church members wanted to convey, and therefore should not be considered as detrimental to integrity. More recent alterations to doors, window, sash, and cladding may have resulted from unexpected damage caused by a natural event, from complying with local building codes, and/or from a desire to reduce maintenance demands, to name just a few possibilities. In short, not all alterations that occurred during or after a property's period of significance are automatically desirable or undesirable. Careful documentation of historic period versus more recent alterations and a thorough

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

understanding of the purpose of the alterations will allow for a reasonable evaluation of integrity based on the property’s unique context and its historic and current uses; this approach should be used rather than evaluation based solely on aesthetic principles.

Although the materials, design, and workmanship found among churches constructed between 1865–1973+/- and associated with Fauquier County’s African American community vary greatly, there are some commonalities that are observed when this resource type is reviewed as a whole. Although not exhaustive, the list below outlines some of the main elements, components, details, and materials found among religious buildings from this period (Table 4).

Table 4: Commonly Found Elements and Components among African American Churches in Fauquier County, 1865–1973+/-.

<b>Element</b>	<b>Typical Components and Materials</b>
Stories	The original core is often one story in height
Foundation	*Often continuous but piers may be present *Materials could include: stone, poured concrete, or concrete block
Structural System	Frame or masonry (brick or concrete block)
Exterior Treatment (Original or Replacement)	Weatherboard, stucco, masonry veneer, or asbestos, vinyl, or aluminum siding, or some combination of the above
Roof	Often front gable with metal or asphalt shingle sheathing
Bell Towers	*Common, especially centered on the façade *Can be full height projecting from the building’s wall or a belfry on top of the roof *May be topped with a steeple
Primary Entrances	*Often single- or double-leaf doors located on the façade, sometimes on the projecting bell tower or vestibule *Materials could include: wood, metal, or fiberglass
Windows	*Original window sash are often wood or metal framed and vinyl replacement units are common *Sash, casement, and fixed windows are prevalent; when the building reflects the Gothic Revival style, lancet or pointed arch windows are typical *Some religious buildings have stained, painted, or textured windows, especially at the sanctuary
Additions	*Additions are common *Although they vary in massing, stories, and design, medium- to large-sized additions containing classrooms, kitchens, offices, and social spaces are typical *If the additions date after period of significance, they should not overwhelm or encompass the original core
Interior	The interior space may still reflect its use as a place of worship, especially the sanctuary
Additional Elements	*Some religious buildings may have date stones *Elements that are reflective of its time period or style, such as a portico or eave returns *Use of materials to create decorative elements (e.g., bricks used to create cross shapes on the façade)
Secondary Resources	*Signs, sheds, and cemeteries are common *Religious resources could also contain cemeteries, parsonages, detached buildings for classrooms, offices, or social halls, sheds, garages, well caps/houses, playgrounds, and baptismal pools, among others

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

### *Feeling and Association*

The NPS defines feeling as “a property’s expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time,” whereas association is “the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property” (Shrimpton et al. 1990:43). Churches being nominated under this MPD should be historically associated with the community and religious worship practices of African Americans in Fauquier County and be the place where those activities occurred. The NPS goes on to say “because feeling and association depend on individual perceptions, their retention alone is never sufficient to support eligibility of a property for the National Register” and the resource must retain other aspects of integrity, meet one of the four eligibility criteria, and meet Criteria Consideration A for religious properties (Shrimpton et al. 1990:43).

### **Name of Property Type: Schools**

#### Description

Schools dating to 1865–1973 +/- that are associated with the African American population in Fauquier County are typically one-story, one or two-room, frame, gable-roofed buildings, sometimes reflecting Classical Revival elements, but traditionally do not exhibit a discernable style. These resources are often longitudinally oriented north-south or east-west with banks of windows on the lateral elevations to take advantage of natural light. Most of the extant schools in Fauquier County date to the early- to mid-twentieth century; however, at this time, one has been identified that dates to 1887: School #18 (030-0135). Many of the school buildings have been converted into dwellings and some have additions; however, the original core of the school is still evident on the exterior of these resources. Updates would typically include new cladding or additions to modify the spaces into dwellings. Educational resources reflect the means for upward mobility available to African Americans from Reconstruction onwards, and should be seen as a symbol of hope and freedom within the community. Secondary resources could include privies, sheds, industrial buildings/ workshops, pump houses, and garden plots. Although none were documented during the initial phase of survey in 2020, a dwelling for the teacher may be present on the school site or nearby.

#### Significance

Schools in African American communities represent an effort to provide education that was primarily denied prior to the-Civil War. The efforts were enacted not only for the betterment of the individual student but also for the community as a whole. Schools, much like churches within the community, were multi-functional spaces that provided education, meals, and recreation for children. They also served community needs by hosting activities such as dental clinics and toxoid clinics in the late 1930s, providing spaces for recreational and social activities, and serving as a focus for community pride (Coleman 1939:130). In addition, African American schools provided employment for many highly trained African American men and women during the years of segregation when most professional opportunities were severely limited based on race and sex. These historic African American educational facilities were extremely important to the communities they served throughout most of the twentieth century and, although most no longer function as schools, they continue to be part of community residents’ living memories and are notable resources for their communities and touchstones to Fauquier County’s past.

#### Registration Requirements

To be considered eligible for the NRHP as a school or educational property using this MPD, the resource should have historic association with an African American community in Fauquier County between 1865–1973 +/-.

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

A school may also be considered to be a contributing resource to a historic district. In order to be contributing, the resource should be constructed within the district's period of significance and reflect one or more of the elements that make the historic district eligible for the NRHP.

The NPS provides a list of areas of significance that may be associated with this resource type. While there are possible exceptions, the following are the most likely areas of significance for African American schools in Fauquier County dating to 1865 to 1973.

- Archaeology
- Architecture
- Community Planning and Development
- Education
- Ethnic Heritage
- Social History

National Register Criteria for Evaluation

*Criterion A*

A school or educational property nominated under this MPD under Criterion A should have a significant association with a notable historical trend or event that occurred within the period of significance, including, but not limited to:

- The African American experience in Fauquier County
- Jim Crow-era segregation policies
- The Civil Rights movement
- Community development
- Evolving pedagogical theory and practices

*Criterion B*

A school or educational resource may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion B under this MPD if it has an association with an important figure in a Fauquier County African American community. As stated in the NPS guidelines, "A property is not eligible if its only justification for significance is that it was owned or used by a person who is a member of an identifiable profession, class, or social or ethnic group. It must be shown that the person gained importance within his or her profession or group" (Shrimpton et al. 1990:14). Examples may include principals and educators or other key members of the school staff or larger community who may have been integral in their community, especially in situations where the school was used as a planning, activities, or meeting space.

*Criterion C*

A school or educational resource may be individually eligible for listing under Criterion C for significance in the area of architecture between 1865-1973+/- . In addition to possessing historical or architectural significance, the property must retain sufficient physical integrity to convey its significant historical association(s) during the period in which it was attained. The presence of certain secondary resources that date to the period of significance could add to the property's integrity and significance. Similarly, if important secondary resources that contributed

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

greatly to the property's overall significance are no longer extant, that could negatively impact that resource's integrity as a whole.

### *Criterion D*

Significance under Criterion D is somewhat rare for an extant building; however, a school or education-related property may be significant under Criterion D if it is likely to yield important information not otherwise available about the experience of African Americans in Fauquier County during the period of significance or if there is a below-ground aspect to the property, such as a demolished school site.

### Aspects of Integrity

#### *Setting and Location*

Educational resources should be located within the current boundaries of Fauquier County. They could be within one of the previously identified African American communities (e.g., Turnbull or Delplane), but that is not essential; however, the property's relationship to a historic community may strengthen its significance.

#### *Design, Materials, and Workmanship*

The design, materials, and workmanship of schools nominated under this MPD will vary. Alterations and modifications among this resource type are common and reflect the progress and growth of the local community. It is important to analyze these changes, noting whether they occurred during or after the resource's period of significance. Historic-period alterations, such as additions to create more classrooms or space for meals, libraries, labs, and other functions, reflect efforts to improve educational opportunities for African Americans during an era of systemic discrimination and are most likely significant in their own right. Alterations that occurred to a building after it ceased functioning as a school can obscure the building's historic function and significant associations. For example, as part of a conversion of the school to a residence, altering fenestration to reduce window sizes, relocating the primary entrance, and additions to house kitchens and bathrooms likely will adversely affect a school building's integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. Interior alterations that divided classrooms, removal of fixtures such as blackboards and book cabinets, and concealment of historic finishes with new treatments are examples of changes that erode integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. Field investigations at former African American schools have demonstrated that historic interior materials can be largely intact beneath later materials, such as blackboards concealed by sheetrock, original beadboard ceilings above dropped ceilings, and walled-over door and window openings. Wherever possible, thorough field investigations should attempt to ascertain the extent to which historic materials are present beneath later finishes. In rural frame schools, exploration of attics, basements, and crawl spaces also have identified important features, such as vernacular construction methods, hand-cut and planed floor, wall, and ceiling coverings, and hand-cut log joists. Equalization schools of the late 1940s-1950s often were smaller, had minimal ornamentation, and used standardized materials, all of which were typical of post-World War II construction methods. The quality of design, materials, construction, and amenities such as cafeterias, auditoriums, science labs, home economics spaces, and workshops, however, of schools for African American students often was lesser when compared to schools for white students. Rural, frame, one- or two-room schools may have been rehabilitated for use as a community center, museum, or other public function. Post-World War II schools may continue to serve as schools or as space for administrative offices. In such cases, universal accessibility features, such as a ramp and railing leading to the primary entrance and an accessible restroom, may be added to meet local building codes and requirements of the Americans with Disabilities Act. While an alteration to the church's integrity of design, accessibility features generally can be immediately differentiated from the historic fabric and, for exterior features, do not obscure the majority of the façade or side elevations, thus leaving the building's original form

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

and massing readily identifiable. Inclusion of universal accessibility features also reflects the community spirit imbued in schools and represent an intention to be welcoming to all who approach these buildings. As such, accessibility features may diminish the building's architectural integrity but are unlikely, in and of themselves, to render a building ineligible for listing.

The materials, design, and workmanship found among schools constructed from 1865-1973+/- and associated with Fauquier County's African American communities did not vary greatly during preliminary survey of these resources. While not exhaustive, the list below outlines some of the main elements, components, details, and materials commonly used for schools and educational buildings from this period (Table 5).

Table 5: Commonly Found Elements and Components among African American Schools in Fauquier County, 1865–1973 +/-.

Element	Typical Components and Materials
Stories	The original core is often one story in height
Foundation	*Often continuous but piers may be present *Materials could include: stone, poured concrete, or concrete block
Structural System	Frame or masonry (brick or concrete block)
Exterior Treatment (Original or Replacement)	Weatherboard, stucco, masonry veneer, or asbestos, vinyl, or aluminum siding, or some combination of the above
Roof	Often front gable with metal or asphalt shingle sheathing
Cupola	*Common, especially centered on the façade or at the center ridgeline *May be topped with a pyramidal roof
Primary Entrances	*Often single- or double-leaf doors located on the façade *Materials could include: wood, metal, or fiberglass
Windows	*Original windows are often wood or metal framed and vinyl replacements are common *Sash, casement, and fixed windows are prevalent *Some schools have banks of tall windows on the lateral elevations indicative of design that utilized natural light
Additions	*Additions are common on schools converted to dwellings *If the additions date after period of significance, they should not overwhelm or encompass the original core
Interior	Ideally the interior space may reflect its historic use as a school and maintain the interior partition walls. However, adaptive reuse into a dwelling may interfere with this. Evidence to the historic interior configuration (seams in walls, changes in floor boards, ghosting of original interior partition walls) could be used if the interior has been reconfigured
Additional Elements	*Elements that are reflective of its time period or style, such as eave returns or a cupola that may have once housed a school bell
Secondary Resources	*Secondary resources could be present but are not necessary for a resource to be eligible under the MPD *Resources could include: privies, pump houses, industrial buildings, and garden plots

### *Feeling and Association*

The NPS defines feeling as “a property’s expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time,” whereas association is “the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property” (Shrimpton et al. 1990:43). Schools nominated under this MPD should be historically associated with the community and educational practices of African Americans in Fauquier County and be the place where those activities occurred. The NPS goes on to say “because feeling and association depend on individual perceptions,

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

their retention alone is never sufficient to support eligibility of a property for the National Register” and the resource must retain other aspects of integrity and meet one of the four Criteria (Shrimpton et al. 1990:43).

**Name of Property Type: Fraternal Lodges**

Description

Lodges dating to 1865–1973 +/- that have been documented to date for this MPD are often vernacular, one- or two-story, gable-roofed, rectangular buildings of masonry or frame construction, sometimes reflecting architectural styles such as Classical Revival. While most of the extant buildings identified thus far date to the early twentieth century, there are some known examples constructed during the third quarter of the twentieth century. These resources were not only important to their communities as a place to gather; they often served the community as a center of social enrichment and fellowship.

Significance

Lodges associated with Fauquier County’s African American communities are important because they so often functioned as early centers for social and mutual assistance programs. Additionally, they gave members and the communities they served a place to gather and provided social services and care for those in need. They are also representative of social change and organization especially from 1865 to 1915 in the wake of the Civil War. The significance for the lodges nominated under this MPD is usually found in their association with an African American community and the roles that lodges played in daily life.

Registration Requirements

To be considered eligible for the NRHP as a lodge under this MPD, the resource should have historic association with an African American community in Fauquier County between 1865–1973+/-.

In addition to individual eligibility, a lodge may also be considered a contributing resource to a historic district. In order to be contributing, the resource should be constructed within the district’s period of significance and reflect one or more of the elements that make the historic district eligible for the NRHP.

The NPS provides a list of areas of significance with this a resource may be associated. While there are possible exceptions, the following are the most likely areas of significance for African American lodges in Fauquier County dating from 1865 to 1973.

- Archaeology
- Architecture
- Community Planning and Development
- Education
- Entertainment/Recreation
- Ethnic Heritage
- Social History

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

National Register of Historic Places Criteria for Evaluation

*Criterion A*

A lodge or fraternal building nominated under this MPD for Criterion A should have a significant association with a notable historical trend or event that occurred within the property's period of significance, including, but not limited to:

- The African American experience in Fauquier County
- Jim Crow-era segregation policies
- The Civil Rights movement
- Community development from the 1870s to the 1970s
- Social and communal roles of fraternal lodges and lodge members

There are many ways that a lodge could be associated with one or more of these trends; however, some examples could include its use as the location of meetings or rallies, activities for the educational advancement of members of the lodge or larger community, publications, or social gatherings or trips sponsored by the lodge for the betterment of the members or community.

*Criterion B*

A lodge or fraternal resource may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion B under this MPD if it has an association with an important figure in a Fauquier County African American community from 1865–1973+/- . As stated in the NPS guidelines, “A property is not eligible if its only justification for significance is that it was owned or used by a person who is a member of an identifiable profession, class, or social or ethnic group. It must be shown that the person gained importance within his or her profession or group” (Shrimpton et al. 1990:14). Examples may include Grand Masters, Presidents, or other key members of the lodge who may have been integral in their community, especially in situations where the lodge was used as a planning, social, recreational, and/or meeting space.

*Criterion C*

A lodge may be individually eligible for listing under Criterion C for significance in the area of architecture.. In addition to possessing historical or architectural significance, the property must retain sufficient physical integrity to convey this significance during the period in which it was attained. The presence of certain secondary resources that date to the period of significance could add to the property's integrity or significance. Similarly, if important secondary resources that contributed greatly to the significance are no longer extant, that could negatively impact that lodge's integrity as a whole.

*Criterion D*

Significance under Criterion D is somewhat rare for an extant building; however, a lodge may be significant under Criterion D if it is likely to yield important information not otherwise available about the experience of African Americans in Fauquier County during the period of significance or if there is a below-ground aspect to the resource, such as an archaeological site.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

## Aspects of Integrity

### *Setting and Location*

Lodges should be located within the current boundaries of Fauquier County. They could be within one of the previously identified African American communities (e.g., Hurleytown or Rectortown), but that is not essential; however, the lodge's relationship to a historic community may strengthen its significance.

### *Design, Materials, and Workmanship*

The design, materials, and workmanship of a lodge or fraternal resource nominated under this MPD will vary. It is important to analyze these changes, noting whether they occurred during or after the resource's period of significance. Changes that postdate a property's period of significance should not impede the property's ability to convey its significant historical associations. Retention of character-defining historic interior features, such as the fraternal order's meeting space, storage and preparation rooms for materials used in rites, and offices for the lodge's leadership, directly impinge on integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. Alterations to the historic floor plan, particularly division of the primary meeting/ritual spaces, can eliminate the building's ability to convey its significant associations. Retention of built-in features, such as a dais or platform used in rites, niches for displaying items of symbolic or ritualistic importance, and storage cabinets, contribute to the building's integrity of design, materials and workmanship; however, the presence of movable historic furnishings such as chairs and benches, is not required. Some decorative elements, such as painted murals or other painted motifs reflective of the lodge's mission and values, are sometimes found in fraternal lodges and are illustrative of the fraternal group's historic (or current) activities, while interior draperies on windows in the historic meeting space often were used to conceal activities from outside viewers. Such features contribute to integrity of design, materials, and workmanship but, for lodges that have been adapted to other uses, they may be concealed under later finishes or no longer exist. Careful examination of interior finishes should be done to determine if historic finishes remain under later materials. Loss of decorative elements directly associated with the fraternal lodge's historic use should be considered when evaluating the lodge building's overall integrity. Meanwhile, installation of modern electrical, plumbing, and heating and air conditioning systems should not be considered detrimental to a lodge's integrity as they are considered to be necessary to the property's continued use. The provision of ramps and other features, such as accessible restrooms, that allow universal accessibility most often began to be added during the late twentieth century. Ramps and railings typically lead to the building's main entrance and, therefore, are immediately visible on the façade. These accessibility features can be built in a way that avoids damage to the building's historic fabric. Although they alter the immediate public perception of the lodge, ramps and railings that meet local building codes and requirements of the Americans with Disabilities Act serve to maintain the building's function as a communal or other public space. While an alteration to the lodge's integrity of design, accessibility features generally can be immediately differentiated from the historic fabric and, for ramps and railings, do not obscure the majority of the façade or side elevations, thus leaving the building's original form and massing readily identifiable. Inclusion of universal accessibility features also reflects the community spirit imbued in lodges. As such, ramps and railings may diminish the lodge's architectural integrity but are unlikely, in and of themselves, to render a lodge ineligible for listing.

Loss of character-defining exterior features during the property's period of significance, such as one entrance for the building's more public space and another to the lodge's private meeting space, affects the building's integrity of design and materials. Changes to fenestration also can be detrimental. Lodge ritual spaces may originally have had few, if any, windows and alterations made after the period of significance, such as to enlarge or add windows, will diminish integrity of the lodge's design. Regardless of when the changes occurred, the context for such alterations is necessary to understand as the lodge's integrity is being evaluated. Alterations that were caused by

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

a natural event, such as a fire, flood, or tornado, represent a response by the lodge’s membership in the moment to keep their property safe, usable, and functional. The constraints of the Jim Crow era, in particular, may have affected or limited the options available to the fraternal lodge in making repairs and obtaining materials. Other historic alterations, such as installation of brick veneer over weatherboard siding, replacement of metal roofing with asphalt shingles, and installation of decorative treatments to highlight entrances, may have been added by the lodge as the organization’s financial resources improved and/or reflected a particular sentiment, such as respectability or permanence, that the membership wanted to convey and, therefore, should not be considered as detrimental to integrity. In contrast, more recent alterations to doors, window, sash, and cladding may have resulted from unexpected damage caused by a natural event, from complying with local building codes, and/or from a desire to reduce maintenance demands, to name just a few possibilities. To evaluate a lodge’s integrity of design, workmanship, and materials it is important to note alterations that occurred during the property’s period of significance, as well as later alterations. Careful documentation of historic period versus more recent changes will allow for a reasonable evaluation of integrity based on the property’s unique context and thorough understanding of its historic and current uses; this approach should be used rather than evaluation based solely on aesthetic principles.

Although the materials, design, and workmanship found among lodges constructed between 1865 and 1973 and associated with Fauquier County’s African American community vary greatly, there are some commonalities that are observed when this resource type is reviewed as a whole. Although not exhaustive, the list below outlines some of the main elements, components, details, and materials found among lodges from this period (Table 6).

Table 6: Commonly Found Elements and Components among African American Lodges in Fauquier County that date to 1865–1973+/-.

<b>Element</b>	<b>Typical Components and Materials</b>
Stories	The original core is often two stories in height
Foundation	*Often continuous but piers may be present *Materials could include: stone, poured concrete, or concrete block
Structural System	Frame or masonry (brick or concrete block)
Exterior Treatment (Original or Replacement)	Weatherboard, stucco, masonry veneer, or asbestos, vinyl, or aluminum siding, or some combination of the above
Roof	Often front gable with metal or asphalt shingle sheathing
Bell Towers	*Common, especially centered on the façade *Can be full height projecting from the building’s wall or a belfry on top of the roof *May be topped with a steeple
Primary Entrances	*Often single- or double-leaf doors located on the façade *Materials could include: wood, metal, or fiberglass
Windows	*Original windows are often wood or metal framed *Sash, casement, and fixed windows are prevalent
Additions	*Additions are not common *If the additions date after period of significance, they should not overwhelm or encompass the original core
Interior	The interior space may still reflect its use as a lodge; this could include a discernable meeting room
Additional Elements	*Some lodges may have date stones *Elements that are reflective of its time period or style, such as a portico or eave returns
Secondary Resources	*No standard or common secondary resources have been identified

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

### *Feeling and Association*

The NPS defines feeling as “a property’s expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time,” whereas association is “the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property” (Shrimpton et al. 1990:43). Lodges being nominated under this MPD should be historically associated with the African Americans communities in Fauquier County. The NPS goes on to say “because feeling and association depend on individual perceptions, their retention alone is never sufficient to support eligibility of a property for the National Register” and the resource must retain other aspects of integrity and meet one of the four Criteria (Shrimpton et al. 1990:43).

## **G. Geographical Data**

This multiple property documentation form concerns properties within the boundaries of Fauquier County, Virginia.

## **H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods**

Identification of associated resources covered by this MPD was conducted and directed in two phases. The first phase was conducted and completed in 2020 by Dovetail Cultural Resource Group (Dovetail) at the request of the DHR and the Fauquier County Planning Division (the County). The project, completed in satisfaction of requirements outlined in the DHR Cost Share Program contract and comprised a Phase I-level investigation of selected African American historic architectural resources and the completion of Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (VCRIS) documentation packets for each studied resource. As part of this Phase I study, a vehicular and pedestrian reconnaissance survey was conducted on 47 historic African American resources. Each resource was evaluated for architectural, historic, and cultural significance. Recommendations on NRHP eligibility fell outside of the scope, as Phase I of this project focused instead on strengthening documentation of African American resources. The resources were documented through written notes and digital photographs. The information obtained during the survey was then used to create a report, update or generate a new DHR VCRIS form, print archival-quality color photographs, and sketch site plans. After the Phase I-level study was completed, it was suggested that a Multiple Property Document be completed as part of a Phase II initiative. Dovetail conducted the Phase II portion of this project from 2021–2022.

Discussions were held with Blake McDonald, DHR Architectural Survey and Cost Share Program Manager, Aubrey Von Lindern, DHR Northern Region Preservation Office Certified Local Government Coordinator and Architectural Historian, Wendy Wheatcraft, Fauquier County Community Development Preservation Planner, and members of AAHA and members of the African American community to determine contexts already noted as important to the local African American community. Context themes and sites related to three main themes were identified.

Any previously recorded resources were subject to an architectural and historical background literature and records search at the DHR Archives in Richmond, Virginia. This investigation included a review of existing records, cultural resource surveys, maps, and additional information on file at the DHR. All of the resources selected for this survey were also researched at the AAHA, and the majority of resources, especially schools and churches, had their own vertical files. Historic maps available online at the Library of Congress were studied and the staff at Fauquier County Planning Division also provided copies of historic maps and other data collected from various local repositories and knowledgeable citizens. During the course of the investigation, additional historical data was obtained in the field from area property owners and African American church members.

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

The goal of the MPD is to show the evolutionary history of African Americans in Fauquier County. The historic context begins in 1607 and ends with the third quarter of the twentieth century, and encompasses many early organization and construction dates for extant resources.

There are four criteria utilized for listing properties in the NRHP:

Criterion A: a property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history;

Criterion B: a property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past;

Criterion C: a property that embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction; and

Criterion D: a property that has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria A and C were primarily used to evaluate sites for this MPD; however, many sites in Fauquier County could be eligible under Criteria A, B, C, and/or D. Criterion A allows discussion of the broad patterns of Fauquier County's African American history that these properties collectively reflect. Criterion B relates directly to significant people and how their use and interaction in a community was shaped or helped shape a resource. Criterion C pertains to architectural style as it is present and expressed in African American resources. Criterion D is associated with resources that have the potential to yield new information, for example the site of a former school, or unusual construction techniques.

This project could and should be continued by adding more property types, specific resources, and additional themes to the existing period as more information comes to light. Additional themes could include commercial enterprises and the range of economic activities in which African Americans participated; agricultural activities and farming habits of African Americans in Fauquier County; industrial sites with a notable connection to the African American experience within the county; and community development and historic African American settlements as historic districts in the county.

Suggested topics for further research and future amendments to this MPD that could provide information on the lives of African Americans in Fauquier County through the years of initial settlement, prosperity, depression, freedom, and renewed prosperity include:

- Fauquier County's African American Archaeological resources
- The African American population in Fauquier County prior to 1865
- Communal organizations in the early twentieth century that impacted the lives, residences, and work places of African Americans
- Private houses that served as schools and churches for African Americans
- American commercial development

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

African American Resources in Fauquier County, Virginia  
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Virginia  
State

- African American churches established before and during the Civil War
- Properties associated with Fauquier County's African American enslaved population
- African American cemeteries
- African American industrial activities
- African American agrarian activities during and after the Civil War
- Dwellings built by and for African Americans before, during, and after the Civil War
- The Civil War, the Underground Railroad, and locations connected with runaway enslaved peoples seeking freedom

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Virginia  
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Virginia  
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