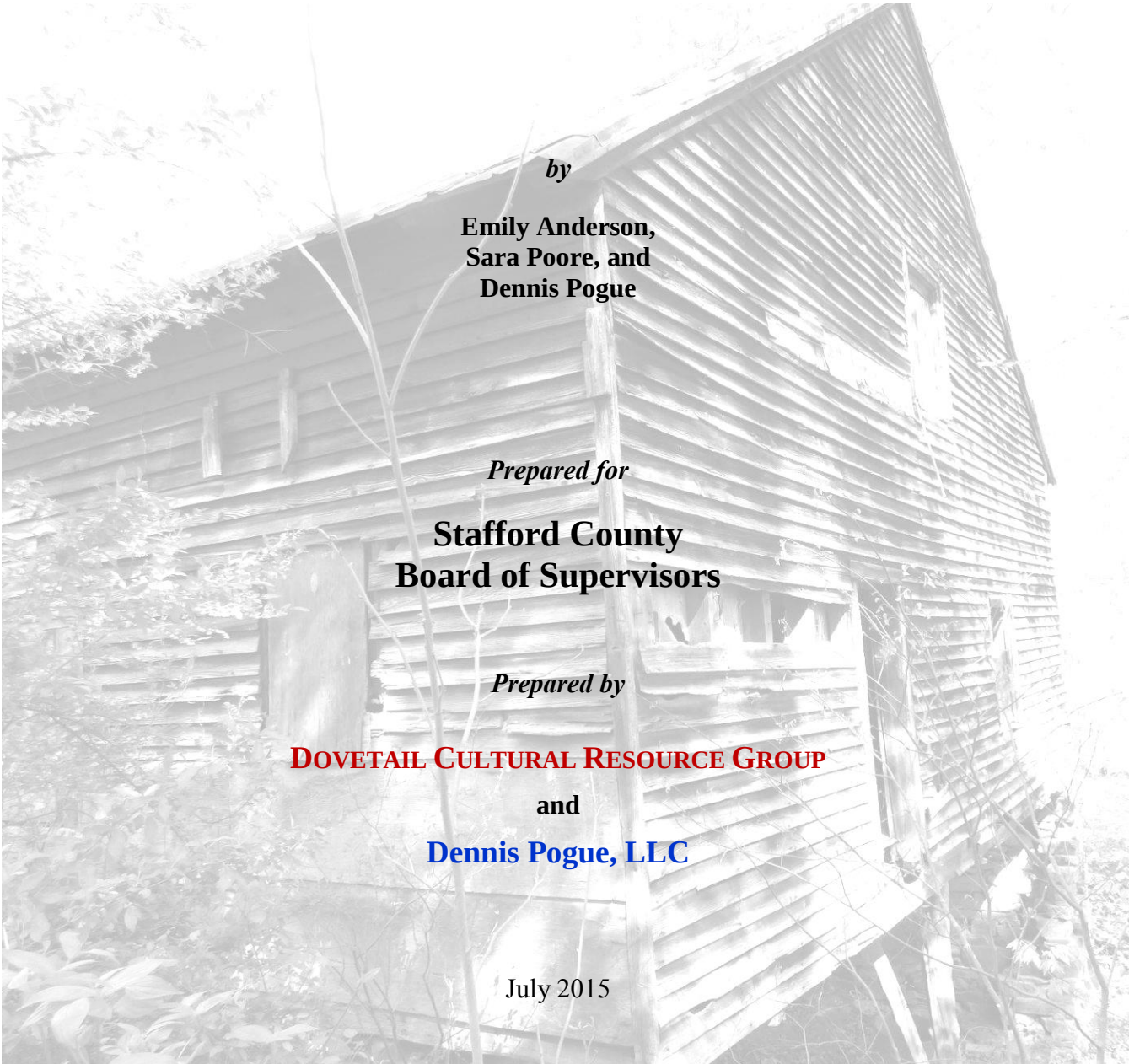

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CULTURAL RESOURCE STUDY OF SLAVERY-RELATED BUILDINGS AND SITES IN STAFFORD COUNTY, VIRGINIA



by

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Sara Poore, and
Dennis Pogue**

Prepared for

**Stafford County
Board of Supervisors**

Prepared by

DOVETAIL CULTURAL RESOURCE GROUP

and

Dennis Pogue, LLC

July 2015

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ABSTRACT

Dovetail Cultural Resource Group (Dovetail), along with Dennis Pogue, LLC (Pogue), conducted a county-wide survey of Stafford County, Virginia between October 2014 and May 2015. The project was completed at the request of the Stafford County Board of Supervisors in satisfaction of requirements outlined in the Virginia Department of Historic Resource (DHR) through the Certified Local Government (CLG) Grant Program. The goal of this CLG project, entitled *Cultural Resource Services for Slavery-Related Sites*, was to gather data to note the extant above- and below-ground slave-related resources in the county. This is the first step in the development of a county-wide context for historic properties with an association with enslaved individuals.

The survey included a background review of slavery related resources throughout the county, the identification of up to 30 places with a connection to slavery in the county for field study, fieldwork on these 30 properties, limited archival research, Geographic Information System mapping, and the production of a report on the investigations. For documentation, each property received a reconnaissance architectural summary and additional resource documentation including mapping, photographs, and CAD drawings of their respective footprints. This report contains recommendations on additional studies on this topic, as the current survey is a preliminary document to ascertain the potential of this subject as a future research venue. Given this and due to the cursory nature of the current undertaking, the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) eligibility for each recorded property as an individual resource was not determined.

In addition, as part of the CLG project, the Center for Historic Preservation at the University of Mary Washington agreed to fund student aides from the Department of Historic Preservation, working under Professor Douglas W. Sanford, to conduct historical research. Specifically, the students gathered and analyzed data from the U.S. Federal censuses for Stafford County as evidence for African American slavery. The study sought to provide a demographic and historical context for: slave ownership patterns; the different sized groupings of enslaved African Americans on the County's farms and plantations; and the number of slave buildings in the County and as possible, the composition of slave households for the 1860 census. For additional information and analysis of the census records see Appendix B entitled *Examining African American Slavery in Stafford County, Virginia from the Perspective of the U.S. Federal Censuses, 1810 to 1860*.

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INTRODUCTION

On behalf of Stafford County and the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR), Dovetail Cultural Resource Group (Dovetail) and Dennis Pogue, LLC (Pogue) conducted a limited survey of slavery-related resources throughout the county. This Certified Local Government (CLG) Grant Program project entitled *Cultural Resource Services for Slavery-Related Sites* called for a multi-tasked approach to gather data on potential slavery-related properties throughout the county and conduct a follow-up identification survey of approximately 30 resources.

Located mid-way between Washington D.C. and Richmond, Virginia, Stafford County is one of the fastest growing regions in the Commonwealth (Figure 1, p. 2). In an effort to manage this growth in a responsible and sensitive way, the county is making special efforts to “identify resources in areas currently eligible for development in the County’s Comprehensive Plan 2010-2030 and the County’s various redevelopment plans” (Stafford County 2014).

Stafford County has a rich and vibrant cultural history. Commencing with the Native Americans prior to the initial English settlement of the region in the seventeenth century and the formation of the county in 1664, to the rapid growth of the region connected with the establishment of Interstate 95 and later the Virginia Railway Express in the twentieth century, the architectural and archaeological fabric of the county reflect the area’s multifaceted past. Consideration of this historic fabric is imperative to a locality’s well-being. Yet despite the decades of cultural resource studies completed on the county’s tangible heritage, recorded sites associated with the African American experience are few in number and even more scarce in written literature. The County’s desire for this undertaking is to fill this void. As such, the goals for the project as established by the County and the DHR were to identify previously recorded and unrecorded properties with a potential slave-related connection, document approximately 30 slave-related sites in the county, understand the extent and character of the county’s resources as they relate to slavery, and increase the number of documented slavery-related sites in the county and state inventories.

The survey included extensive coordination with the local community, a background review, fieldwork on these 30 properties, limited archival research, GIS mapping, and the production of a report on the investigations. For documentation, each resource received a reconnaissance architectural summary and additional resource documentation including mapping, photographs, and CAD drawings of their respective footprints. Given this and due to the cursory nature of the current undertaking, the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) eligibility for each recorded property as an individual resource was not determined.

Background review and interviews with local informants was completed between October 2014 and February 2015. Fieldwork for this project was conducted intermittently over a period of four months, from March to June 2015. Additional research and documentation for the identified resources was ongoing from February to July 2015. This report details the methodologies used in the survey, a historic context to aid in the understanding of historic resources in Stafford County, preliminary outcome from the background review, findings of

the subsequent field survey (including a description of the resources, brief historical background information gathered from the DHR Archives and other repositories), a summary of the types of properties identified during fieldwork, and recommendations for future studies.

In addition, students from the University of Mary Washington's Department of Historic Preservation gathered and analyzed data from the U.S. Federal censuses for Stafford County as evidence for African American slavery. The study sought to provide a demographic and historical context for: slave ownership patterns; the different sized groupings of enslaved African Americans on the County's farms and plantations; and the number of slave buildings in the County and as possible, the composition of slave households for the 1860 census.

Work for this project was conducted by Emily Anderson, Sara Poore, and Dennis Pogue with Dr. Kerri S. Barile serving as Principal Investigator. Stafford County resident Anita Dodd also aided in the fieldwork, and numerous residents and local historians aided in the background review and attended meetings on the project. Dr. Barile meets and exceeds the professional standards established for Archaeologist and Architectural Historian by the Secretary of the Interior (SOI). Dr. Pogue meets or exceeds the standards established for Archaeologist, and Ms. Poore meets or exceed SOI standards established for Architectural Historian and Historian.

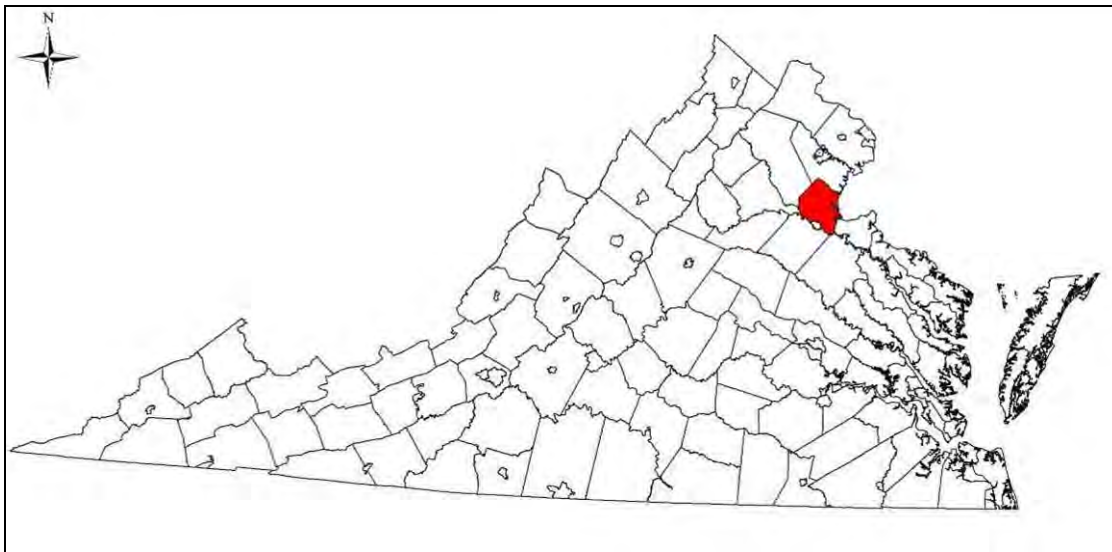


Figure 1: Map of Virginia and Stafford County.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology employed to meet the goals of this survey and report was chosen with regard to the project's scope and in consultation with Stafford County, the Advisory Committee for the project (composed of County representatives, local historians, and professors from the University of Mary Washington [UMW]), and additional stakeholders. The Stafford County Slavery-Related Sites project was broken down into three separate tasks. Task I: Coordination, Background Review and Database Development, Task II: Archival Research, Fieldwork and GIS Mapping, and Task III: Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (V-CRIS) Entry, Report Production and Public Presentation.

Task I: Coordination, Background Review and Database Development

Work on the project commenced on November 10, 2014 with an organizational meeting. The Dovetail/Pogue team, County staff, the Advisory Committee for the project, and additional stakeholders were present. This meeting resulted in a list of possible resources to include in the project. Both project areas and the surrounding vicinity were then the subject of an architectural and historical background literature and records search at the DHR Archives in Richmond, Virginia. This investigation reviewed existing records, cultural resource surveys, maps, and additional information on file at the DHR. Historic maps available online at the Library of Congress (LOC) were also studied. Staff at Stafford County Department of Planning and Zoning and Quantico Marine Corps Base (Quantico) also provided copies of historic maps, historic aerial images, and other data collected from various local repositories and knowledgeable citizens. Additional historical data was obtained in the field during the course of the investigation from area property owners. These results were presented to the County and Advisory Committee in a meeting in January 2015 and the stakeholders/informants in March 2015.

Task I also included the development of a GIS base map for the project. Using ArcMap, county geospatial data was overlaid with topographic maps and aerial imagery to create the basis for a GIS project database.

Task II: Archival Research, Fieldwork and GIS Mapping

Task II comprised the bulk of the data collection related to this undertaking. The work included task coordination, preliminary archival research on potential slave sites in the County, fieldwork on approximately 20 slave-related properties and 10 cemeteries (Photo 1, p. 4), and GIS mapping. Archival research for the identified sites did not include in-depth diachronic chains of title or analyses of single properties, but rather the goal of this research was to identify places and landscapes that may have slave-related components.

The 30 identified resources were placed within the Stafford County Election District in which they are located (Figure 2–Figure 3, pp. 5–6; Table 1, p. 7). Fieldwork comprised a mid-level investigation, with the exception of five previously recorded resources: the brick kitchen-quarter and duplex at Sherwood Forest (089-0014), a brick duplex at the Phillips

House (089-0249), the Caretaker's Cottage at Belmont (089-5078), and a single-room building on the former Sanford-Burgess property (089-5016). These resources were surveyed previously by faculty and staff from UMW's Center for Historic Preservation, along with Pogue. During this project these buildings were re-examined and records updated.

Photodocumentation of the exterior of the above-ground resources was completed during Task II along with exterior measurements and written notes to aid in the documentation. For the identified cemeteries, the work included similar components, but mapping included an approximate exterior boundary rather than a full delineation of the interments.

Task III: V-CRIS Entry, Report Production and Public Presentation

DHR V-CRIS forms were completed during Task III. This included authoring narrative descriptions for each resource, completion of site plans, printing and labeling black & white and digital photographs, and completion of online V-CRIS forms for each recorded property. Packets were compiled and disseminated to the DHR for curation. This step assures that the properties are recorded within the permanent state documentation archives. In addition, during this task, the current report was prepared on the investigation, and a public presentation was crafted to update the project informants and committee of the final results of the undertaking.



Photo 1: Dovetail's Emily Anderson Measures Hollywood Kitchen (089-0072).

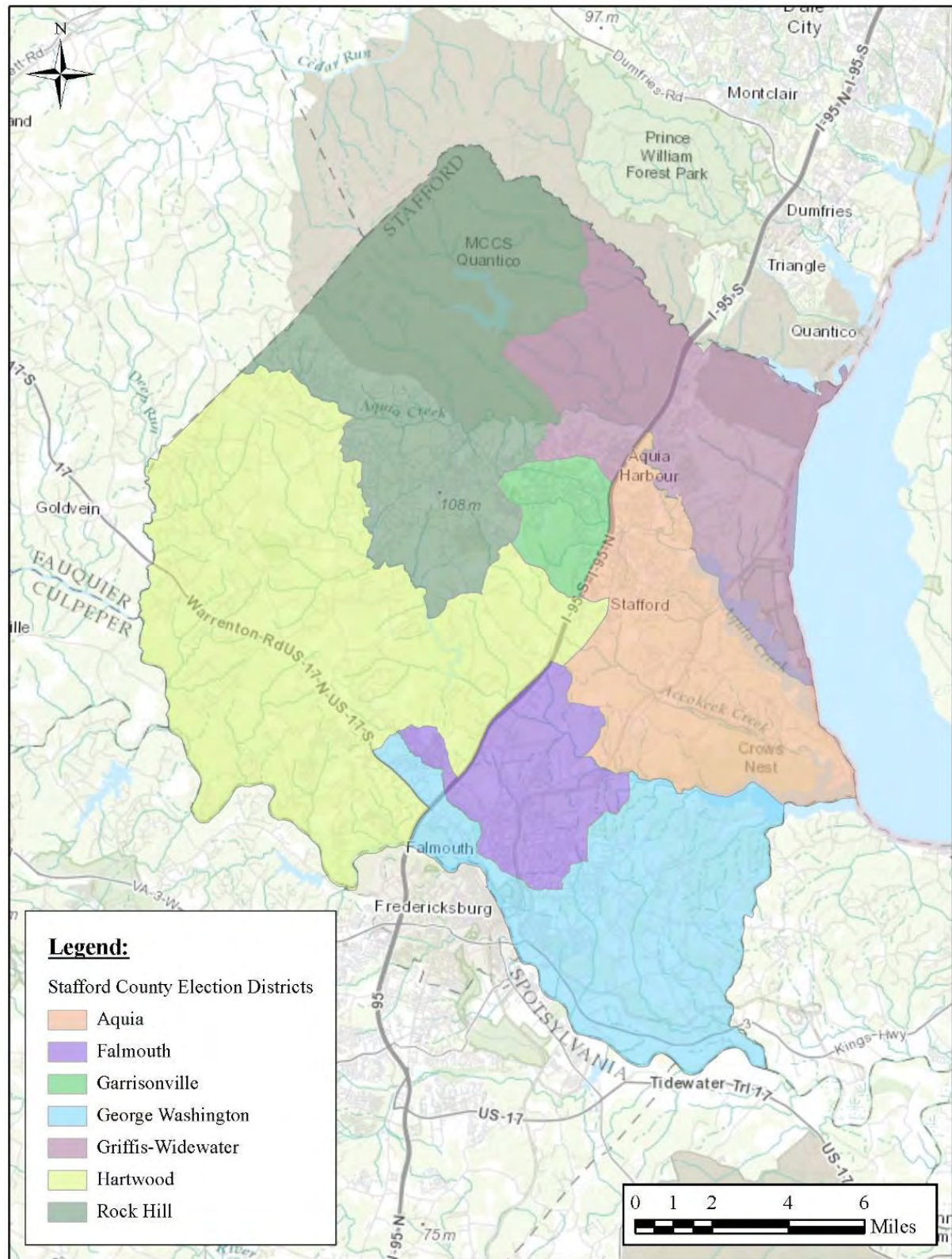


Figure 2: Map of Stafford County Election Districts (Stafford County GIS 2015).

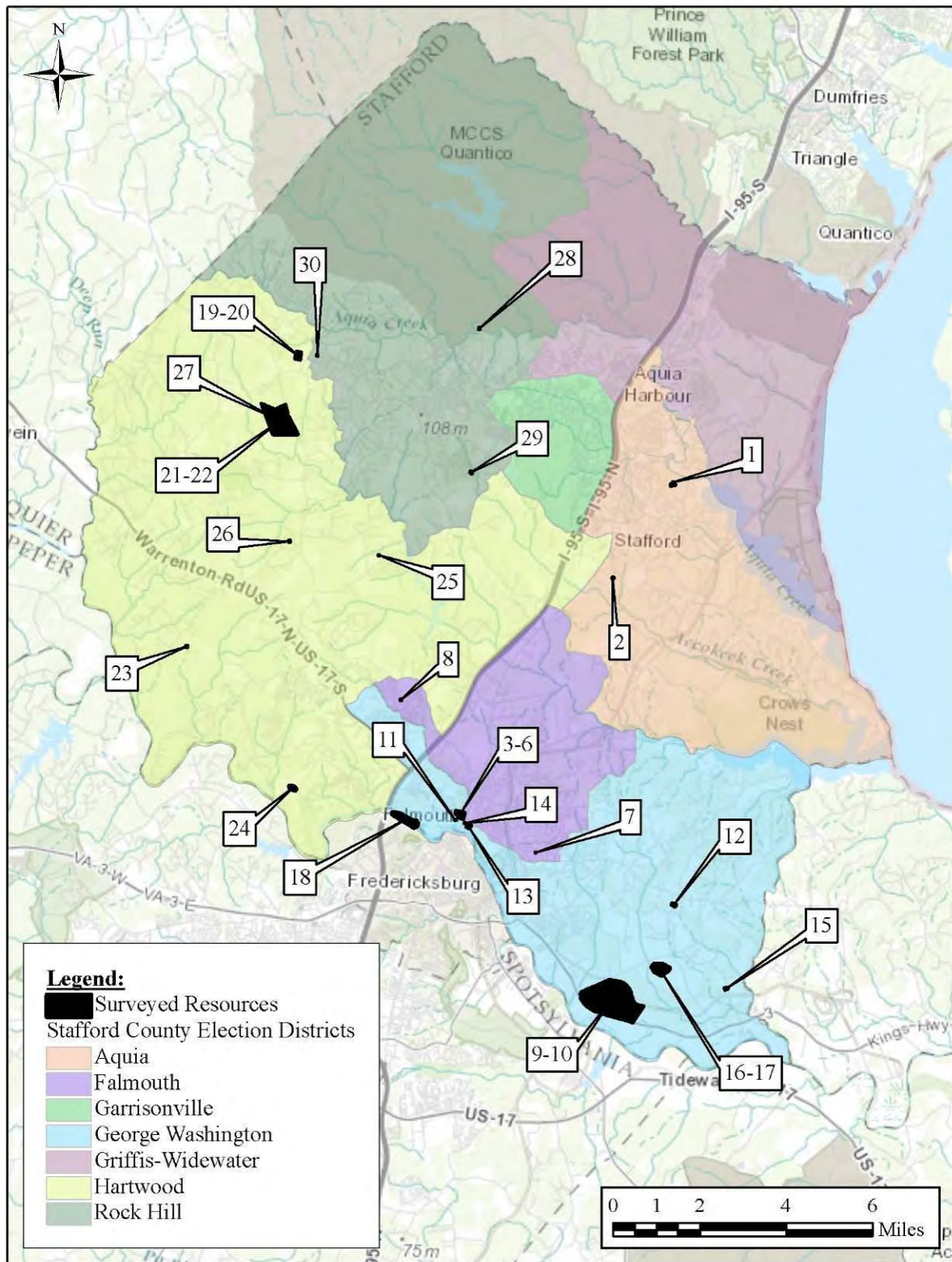


Figure 3 Map of Stafford County Election Districts with Surveyed Resources (Stafford County GIS 2015).

Table 1: Key for Resources within Stafford County Election Districts.

Key #	Resource	V-CRIS Number	Address	Election District
1	Lam Burial	089-0097/ 44ST1199	296 Olde Concord Road	Aquia
2	Stevens Cemetery	089-5424/ 44ST1140	Old Potomac Church Road	Aquia
3	Carlton Kitchen/Quarters	089-0010	501 Melchers Drive	Falmouth
4	Carlton Meat House	089-0010	501 Melchers Drive	Falmouth
5	Carlton Dairy	089-0010	501 Melchers Drive	Falmouth
6	Carlton Slave Cemetery	089-0010/ 44ST1202	501 Melchers Drive	Falmouth
7	Phillips House, Bentley Forest (Current), Burnside Manor (Current)	089-0249	901 Northside Drive	Falmouth
8	Ellerslie Slave Cemetery	089-5587/ 44ST1201	Between 8 & 10 Azalea Street	Falmouth
9	Sherwood Forest Slave Quarters	089-0014	971 Kings Highway	George Washington
10	Sherwood Forest Kitchen/Quarters	089-0014	971 Kings Highway	George Washington
11	Belmont Caretaker's Cottage	089-5078	225 Washington Street	George Washington
12	50 Caisson Road	089-5585	50 Caisson Road	George Washington
13	Falmouth Cemetery	089-0067-0037/ 44ST0081	Carter Street	George Washington
14	Dunbar Kitchen/Quarters	089-0067-0009	107 Carter Street	George Washington
15	Hollywood	089-0072	189 Hollywood Farm Road	George Washington
16	Springfield Farm Kitchen	089-0094	Springfield Lane	George Washington
17	Springfield Farm Smoke/Meat House	089-0094	Springfield Lane	George Washington
18	Hunter's Iron Works Dam	089-5060	1 Old Forge Drive	George Washington
19	Walnut Hill Farm Spring House	089-0196	West side of SR 644	Hartwood
20	Walnut Hill Farm Stone Walls	089-0196	West side of SR 644	Hartwood
21	Poplar Grove Kitchen	089-0218	1499 Poplar Road	Hartwood
22	Poplar Grove Spring House	089-0218	1499 Poplar Road	Hartwood

Key #	Resource	V-CRIS Number	Address	Election District
23	Patton outbuilding	089-0286	379 Richards Ferry Road	Hartwood
24	Sanford Farm	089-5016	off of Greenbank Road, adjacent to the Rocky Pen Run Reservoir	Hartwood
25	Blackburn Family Slave Cemetery	089-0088/ 44ST1198	449 Kellogg Mill Road	Hartwood
26	Oakley Slave Cemetery	089-0089/ 44ST0359	Janney Lane	Hartwood
27	Fitzhugh Slave Cemetery	089-0218/ 44ST1200	1499 Poplar Road	Hartwood
28	Kendall's Mill (Historic), Kindall's Mill (Alternate Spelling), Masters Mill (Historic), Mill, Aquia Creek (Current), Wiggarton's Mill (Alternate Spelling), Wigginton's Mill (Historic)	089-0023	Rt. 675, Toluca Road	Rock Hill
29	Augustine North Slave Cemetery	089-5058/ 44ST1203	Between 35 & 39 Muster Drive	Rock Hill
30	Gordon Family Slave Cemetery	089-5586/ 44ST1204	Between 2 & 5 Franklin Street	Rock Hill

HISTORIC CONTEXT

The research presented in the following section is imbued with the results of Dovetail's archival research on the history of the general project area. The goal is to present general data on the county as a whole, as well as additional data on some of the industries that were prevalent in the county in the seventeenth through mid-nineteenth centuries where slave labor was likely employed. Abbreviated property-specific archival data for the resources identified for this study is presented with the results of the field study (p. 27).

English Settlement and the Establishment of Stafford

The first written account of the region and its indigenous populations was provided by John Smith in his *Generall Historie of Virginia* (Smith 1966), published in 1624. This invaluable narrative described the 1608 explorations of Smith and his company as they traversed up the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers in search of trading opportunities and potentially exploitable resources. Smith's account also describes his party's encounters with members of the powerful and widespread Patowomeke tribe and a trading visit to what was believed to be their principal village located on present-day Marlborough Point (Blanton 1999).

When settlement of the Virginia colony began in the early decades of the seventeenth century, the area that is present-day Stafford County was part of a larger district known as the Northern Neck proprietary—a vast tract of land containing over 5.2 million acres. Bounded on the north and south by the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers, this area stretched from the Chesapeake Bay all the way to present-day West Virginia. Colonization proceeded according to a 'Headrights' system whereby grants of 50 acres per person were provided to the shareholders of a company bringing would-be settlers to the colony, to those who financed and transported others to the colonies, and/or to individuals who financed their own emigration (Wise 1973). Those who received property were required to pay annual quitrents and satisfy a three-year residency requirement. Others made their way in the New World by apprenticing or indenturing themselves to owners of plantations in exchange for the promise of eventually becoming land owners themselves. The Northern Neck district became known as the Fairfax Proprietary after 1690 when Thomas Lord Fairfax took possession of the lands contained therein and began administering the distribution grants and the sub-division of properties. Disputes over the formal boundaries of the Northern Neck persisted throughout the colonial period, resulting in numerous and frequent court proceedings (Weiseger 2002; Wise 1973).

Giles Brent, a Catholic from Maryland, was among the first to settle in the Stafford County area on lands purchased in 1647 near Aquia Creek (Stafford County Historical Society [SCHS] 2002). After the arrival of his two sisters, Margaret and Mary, and several other family members, a small community—the Brent Settlement—began to develop. Colonization in Stafford moved next to the Accokeek and Potomac Creek watershed areas south of Brent's land (Eby 1997).

By the mid-1600s, a growing number of plantations had already begun to dot the landscape. An administrative infrastructure also evolved beginning with the formation of county districts. Stafford County was established in 1664. At the time it comprised a significantly larger area than it does today, encompassing all or parts of current Prince William, Fairfax, Fauquier, Loudoun, Arlington, Westmoreland, and King George counties (Netherton et al. 2004). Court systems were established with appointed justices and sheriffs to address legal matters and oversee the collection of taxes. Stafford's first courthouse was built on Potomac Creek, but was moved in 1692 to a burgeoning port community on Marlborough Point. The new town, Marlborough, had been founded in 1691 on the site of the older Native American village (SCHS 2002).

In his 1954 study of late-eighteenth century Virginia tax records, historian Jackson Turner Main (1954:243) noted that by 1787, 85 percent of lands in the Northern Neck's Tidewater region and around 80 percent in the Piedmont area had been granted and were in the hands of private owners. Previously patented lands in the Fairfax proprietary remained mostly undivided, persisting as large single tracts in the hands of a limited number of speculative landowners (Main 1954). By 1790, the year of Virginia's first census, population densities in the Northern Neck averaged about one person for every 35 acres. Within the region, densities varied—40 acres per person in coastal areas, 65 per person in the Piedmont region, and anywhere from 90 to several hundred acres per person farther west (Main 1954:243).

During the last decades of the seventeenth century, the population of Stafford gradually increased as settlers moved into the region to work the fertile lands and take advantage of its abundant water resources. Most plantation owners and small farmers relied on tobacco as their primary cash crop. The plant took very well to the Virginia soils and, thanks to tariffs and regulations established by Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood in 1772, planters were assured fair prices for their harvest (Havighurst 1967). Along with an increase in agricultural production, Stafford planters brought increasing numbers of enslaved Africans to work the land. Like most of Virginia, slavery quickly supplanted the indentured servant system in Stafford during the first decades of the eighteenth century.

Speculative developers like George Mason and William Fitzhugh were among the early arrivals to Stafford. They acquired large tracts of land in the area and established one or more plantation estates to house their families. Fitzhugh landed around 1670 and proceeded to become one of the single largest landholders in the Colony. At the time of his death in 1701, his estate was estimated to contain over 50,000 acres (Tyler 1950).

Early Industries and the Revolutionary War

Historic Period Mining Activities

While agriculture was still the staple of Stafford County's economy during the late-eighteenth century, other industries had also evolved. The mining of ore and precious metals was one such enterprise. The acquisition of exploitable resources, both above and below ground, had been a primary factor underlying England's efforts to colonize Virginia. Relatively rich sources of iron ore and other metals and minerals were present in

several regions throughout the colony. This was particularly true along the Fall Line, a geological zone running roughly north-south through Stafford County that divides the Virginia's coastal plain and piedmont physiographic regions (Grymes 2007). Mineral-rich stone outcroppings of varying composition exist along the Fall Line. The stone outcroppings that manifest in this zone exhibit a range of constituent elements such as gold, iron, copper, graphite, mica and silver. In areas where the underlying soils contain high concentrations of sand and gravel, visible protrusions of a uniquely composed and aesthetically appreciated sandstone ("Aquia Sandstone") occur (Clem et al. 2006; Eby 1997).

The importance of such resources to the Crown is reflected in the standard deed language from this period. Figure 4 below is excerpted from a deed granted by agents of the Northern Neck Propriety to Peter Daniel (1706–1777) in 1747 for a 75-acre property located on Accokeek Creek. The instrument conveys “all Members Rights and Appurtenance thereunto’ with the exception of those rights ‘belonging to Royal Mines” and a “full third part of all Lead Copper Tinn [sic] Coals Iron Mines and Iron Ore that shall be found thereon” (Library of Virginia 2007). Transactions such as this are exceptionally important for their association with slavery in the county, as industries such as this relied on enslaved labor.

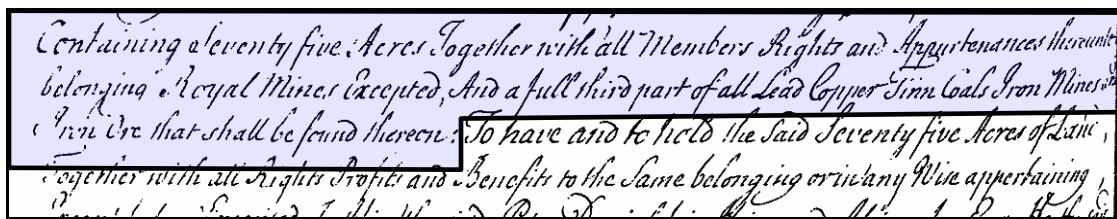


Figure 4: Excerpt from Deed Dated March 3, 1747 Whereby Lord Fairfax as Proprietor of Lands in the Northern Neck of Virginia Granted 75 Acres of Land in Stafford County to Peter Daniel (Library of Virginia 2007).

Before 1782, at least 28 iron works, including both furnaces and forges, had been built in Virginia. Two of the largest operations—the Accokeek Iron Works (089-0066/ 4ST0053) on Accokeek Creek (established in the 1720s) and Hunter’s Iron Works (089-5060) of Falmouth (established in the mid 1700s)—were located in the Stafford area (Bruce 1931, cf. Lewis 1974). During the Revolutionary War, Hunter’s facility produced pots, camp kettles, anchors, muskets, bayonets, pistols, shovels, and other materials for the Colonial Army (Eby 1997:308–311; Writer’s Program of Virginia 1992:349). A British customs officer who traveled through Falmouth during the war called the enterprise “the greatest ironworks that is upon the Continent” (quoted in Conner 2003:207).

Because an abundance of fuel was needed to keep these industries running, an enormous amount of timber was required to supply the furnaces, subsequently deforesting the surrounding region. In addition, owners of these furnaces also relied heavily upon slave labor as their work force. In the instance of Hunter’s Iron Works, the owner of the forge, James Hunter, is known to have owned 260 slaves in 1783, and many of them are presumed to have labored in his ironworks (Schools 2012:12).

Stone Quarrying

The same geologic attributes of Virginia's Fall Line that were responsible for such rich deposits of iron ore and other metals, also rendered a unique and eventually much desired type of sandstone. As a result, a significant stone quarrying industry had also evolved as an equitable pursuit by the late 1700s. The presence of high-quality sandstone was known at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Barile 2006), but it was not until the late 1700s that the stone was quarried for large-scale building projects. One of the most successful sandstone quarries belonged to William Robertson who established his quarry along the northern branch of Austin Run (Eby 1997:139). Stone from his quarry and nearby Government Island, became known as 'Aquia Sandstone' or 'Aquia Freestone' and was used in the construction of several Washington D.C. buildings including the White House and a score of other important civic, religious, and residential properties around Virginia (Webb and Sweet 1992). The stone was marketed as "Aquia Freestone, The Stone of Colonial Virginia," for use in churches, homes and school buildings. The operation closed permanently during the Depression (Webb and Sweet 1992:32). The sandstone quarries along Aquia Creek, on and near Government Island, operated off and on between 1650 and the 1930s. Quarrying became, along with a fishery operation near Clifton and the iron works at Accokeek and Falmouth, one of Stafford's largest industries during the historic period (Eby 1997:86, 301–302). The Conway Quarry, also known as the George Washington Quarry, was also situated on Aquia Creek near the end of Quarry Road. This facility operated on a fairly consistent basis from the early 1700s into the early-twentieth century (Eby 1997:65; Webb and Sweet 1992:32).

Sandstone outcroppings were present in pockets scattered over a large area of Stafford, particularly along the present-day I-95 corridor, the Accokeek and Potomac Creek watersheds, and along other waterways running through the Fall Line zone. Unlike the operations established on Aquia Creek however, most of these sites were quarried sporadically and on a limited scale to procure raw materials for localized building, landscaping and other projects (Eby 1997:302). Harry Webb and Palmer C. Sweet (1993:32) describe these outcroppings.

Ledges of this sandstone, referred to as "freestone" by the early settlers, are exposed on both sides of Interstate 95 southeast and northeast of Stafford and along Aquia Creek. The sandstone is fine grained at the base and coarsens upward to a conglomeratic layer. Bedding is up to six feet thick.

Though not as broad in terms of scale and production as Virginia's agricultural activities, quarrying in Stafford County was nevertheless an important industrial pursuit during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—an industry that directly relied on slave labor prior to emancipation. A few sites operated into the early decades of the twentieth century but ceased entirely with the onset of the Great Depression.

According to site files maintained by the DHR, there are currently eight officially recorded sites in Stafford County with an identified quarry associated, four as archaeological or below ground (44ST0151, 44ST0314, 44ST0941, and 44ST0971), and two possessing both an architectural and archaeological component (089-0103/44ST0110 and 089-5017/44ST0149).

There are also at least five additional historic properties around the county where a quarry was known or believed to have been in active use at some point during the last 250 years.

Two quarry sites located south of Accokeek Creek and north of Eskimo Hill Road in the vicinity of the R-Board Landfill property (44ST0941 and one unrecorded) are representative of this group. Evidence of quarrying in the form of scattered spoil and debris piles, and the presence of tool and chisel marks on stones found onsite, are all that remains of this once-profitable industry.

The data presented in the two tables below provides a broad picture of the scope and geographic distribution of quarrying activities in Stafford County between the mid 1600s and the early 1900s. Table 2 lists sites architecturally and archaeologically associated quarry sites officially recorded by the DHR. Table 3 comprises a list of other quarry operations reported in various primary and secondary sources that operated at various times in Stafford.

Table 2: Recorded Architectural and Archaeological Quarry Sites in Stafford County.

DHR Site #	Architectural/ Archaeological	Site Name	Date(s)	Location
089-0103 / 44ST0110	Architectural / Archaeological	Aquia Creek Quarries (aka: Government Island Sandstone Quarry)	1700s–1800s	Government Island
44ST0139	Archaeological	Government Island Sandstone Quarry	Late 1800s–Early 1900s	SE of Government Island (3/4 mile)
089-5017 / 44ST0149	Architectural / Archaeological	Robertson-Towson House Site / Robertson Quarry	Late 1700s–1800s	Rocky Run
44ST0151	Archaeological	N/A	1700s–1800s	Austin Run
44ST0314	Archaeological	N/A	N/A	Near Potomac Creek
44ST0941	Archaeological	South Accokeek Quarry	Late 1700s–Mid 1800s	Accokeek Creek
44ST0971	Archaeological	N/A	1800s	Austin Run

Table 3: Unrecorded Quarry-Related Sites in Stafford County (Eby 1997; The Eugene Scheel [Scheel] Map 2003; Virginia Historic Inventory Collection, Misc. Years).

#	Architectural / Archaeological	Site Name	Date(s)	Location
1	N/A	Myrtle Grove Quarry	1800s	Aquia Creek
2	N/A	Rock Ramore Farm / George Washington Quarry	1700s–1920s	Aquia Creek / End of Quarry Road
3	N/A	Concord Quarry	1700s– 800s	Aquia Creek
4	N/A	Chopawamsic Creek Quarry	Mid-1600s–1800s	Chopawamsic Creek
5	N/A	Unidentified	Late 1700s–Mid- 1800s	Accokeek Creek
6	N/A	Aquia Quarries	Late 1700s–1800s	Aquia Creek
7	N/A	Towson’s Quarries	1800s	Still House Branch, N of Government Island

The Milling Industry

The post-Revolutionary War years brought numerous economic changes to Stafford. With independence came the loss of the English consumer market. The reign of Virginia's tobacco industry was also coming to an end as the plant's depletive effects on the soil had, by the end of the eighteenth century, left many fields fallow. Most area farmers turned to grains and other cash crops as an alternative. This shift in turn spurred the need for a new infrastructure of production and processing. Though mills of varying types—grist, corn, and forge—had been operating in Virginia since the mid 1600s, they assumed an increasingly broader and more significant role in the State's industrial economy as the nineteenth century progressed.

Stafford County's milling industry evolved early in the colonial period beginning with George Brent's facility on Aquia Creek. Over the next 200+ years, the county manifested a full range of mill types including grist, flour, saw or lumber, and forge mills, the predominant type was the grist mill. In 1667, the House of Burgesses passed a law encouraging the building of mills in Virginia. The need for closer regulation soon became apparent, and in 1705 a second law was enacted restricting the placement of new mills within a mile of an existing facility on the same waterway without permission from the local courts (Eby 1997:146).

Additional restrictions were added in 1745 when a third law was passed requiring that all persons intent on building a new mill petition the local court system for permission. A review of tax records from the years 1841, 1851, and 1861 show that the industry experienced its most significant growth during early- to mid-nineteenth century (Eby 1997:151). In 1861, at the height of its development, there were at least 16 known mills operating in Stafford County (Eby 1997:145–152). Like the quarrying activities previously discussed, milling ventures grew in many areas of Stafford but typically operated on a sporadic basis and generally serviced local populations exclusively. The proliferation of milling operations in port towns like Falmouth quickly rendered them regional centers of economic and social importance as farmers used the growing number of mills and warehouses to process and store their crops (Johnson 1996, 1997). It also was an industry with direct ties to slavery—the workforce required to run such operations. By the late-nineteenth century, commercial milling had rendered small local mills obsolete; the latter were slowly abandoned and fell into disrepair (Eby 1997:152).

For most of the historic period, grist mills remained the predominant type in Stafford. Forge mills were built at the Accokeek Iron Works and at Hunter's Forge and Furnace in Falmouth. Saw mills also became more prevalent as the nineteenth century wore on. Tackett's Mill on Aquia Creek, Wither's Mill near Abel Reservoir, and Brent's Mill in Widewater, are just a few examples (Eby 1997:152; Scheel 2003). Table 4 and Table 5 provide a broad picture of the nature and scope of Stafford County's milling activities from the seventeenth through the early-nineteenth centuries. [Note: The information provided in this table represents neither an authoritative nor comprehensive accounting of historic milling operations in Stafford County, Virginia. The names and locations reported for each mill site listed were culled from a variety of primary materials (e.g., deeds, plats, surveys, and other historic maps, personal letters and accounting records from the period, etc.) and three main secondary sources, which were informed in certain instances by anecdotal evidence: Eby 1997; Eugene

Scheel Map 2003; and the Virginia Historic Inventory Collection accessed through the Library of Virginia (LOV) website.]

Table 4: Recorded Mill Sites in Stafford County.

DHR #	Architectural / Archaeological	Site Name	Date(s)	Sub-Type
089-0023	Architectural	Kendall's Mill , (<i>aka</i> Kindall's Mill , Masters Mill , Aquia Creek Mill, Wiggarton's Mill , Wigginton's Mill)	1700s, 1800s	Manufacturing mill
44ST0067	Archaeological	Bellfair (<i>aka</i> Mountjoy's / Clark's) Mill	Mid- to Late-1800s	Grist mill; saw mill
44ST0078	Archaeological	N/A	N/A	Mill
44ST0098	Archaeological	N/A	1700s, 1800s	Mill
44ST0112	Archaeological	Brooke's Mill (?)	Historic/Unknown	Mill / tail race
44ST0113	Archaeological	Brent's Mill	Early- to Mid-1800s	Mill
44ST0115	Archaeological	Shackleford's Mill?	1700s–Early 1800s	Mill
44ST0153	Archaeological	Roaches's (<i>aka</i> Chatham & Fitzhugh's) Mill?	1700s, 1800s	Mill
44ST0159	Archaeological	N/A	Early 1800s	Mill, mill raceway
44ST0161	Archaeological	Benson's Mill & Race	Late 1700s	Mill, mill raceway
44ST0183	Archaeological	Wigginton's (<i>aka</i> Kellog's) Mill	1800s–Early 1900s	Mill, mill raceway
44ST0550	Archaeological	Colvin's Mill (?)	Mid - to Late 1900s	Saw mill
44ST0848	Archaeological	Tolson's Mill	1800s	Mill, mill raceway

The typical mill facility in Stafford, regardless of type, was of wood frame construction resting on a stone (usually sandstone) foundation. A few, including those operated by George Brent, John Brooke, and possibly Charles Tackett at his original facility, were known to have been constructed of sandstone (Eby 1997). Grist mills were characterized by a large wooden mill wheel that rotated to power the mill's gears and inner workings that, in turn, rotated the millstones, which ground the meal (Eby 1997:150–151). Mill wheels were of two basic designs: 'undershot' and 'overshot' (Eby 1997:150–151). Overshot mill wheels were more powerful and ultimately the best option for generating sufficient power on a consistent basis. Mills employing an overshot mill wheel type were often built at the bottom of a hill near stream or other waterway that could be damned upstream to store water for future use. A mill or tail race, usually lined with stone, was excavated to channel the water from the stream or dam to the mill. A wooden flume carried the water from the race to the wheel which had numerous small buckets attached to catch enough water—usually eight buckets' worth—to generate the torque required to turn mill's inner gears and grinding stones (Eby 1997:146, 150–151).

Table 5: Known But Unrecorded Mill-Related Places in Stafford County.

#	Site Name	Date(s)	Sub-Type
1	Gray's Mill	1800s	Grist mill
2	Hunter's Forge & Mill	Late 1700s	Grist mill; saw mill; forge mill; commercial mill
3	Banks' (<i>aka</i> Scott's) Mill	1800s	Grist mill
4	Briggs' (<i>aka</i> Skinker's) Mill	Pre-1817–1940s	Grist mill; cotton gin
5	Withers' Mill	1800s	Grist mill; saw mill
6	Skinker's Spring Mill	1800s	Grist mill
7	Norris' Mill	Historic/Unknown	Unknown
8	Falmouth Manufacturing Company	1839–Late 1800s	Grist mill; cotton mill
9	Alcock's Mill	1800s	Grist mill
10	Tackett's (<i>aka</i> Skinner's) Mill	Late 1600s, 1700s, 1800s	Grist mill; saw mill; commercial mill
11	Humphrey's Mill	Historic/Unknown	Grist mill
12	Stone's (<i>aka</i> Peyton's) Mill	Historic/Unknown	Grist mill
13	Widewater Mill	Late 1600s–1700s	Grist mill
14	Hoffman's Mill	Historic/Unknown	Grist mill
15	Little Falls (<i>aka</i> Newton's & Gray's) Mill	Late 1600s – Late 1800s	Grist mill
16	Boscobel Mill	Early 1800s	Grist mill
17	Missouri Mill	Late 1700s–1800s	Grist mill; commercial mill
18	Fristoe's Mill	1800s	Grist mill; saw mill
19	Brooke's Mill	Historic/Unknown	Grist mill
20	Ravenswood (<i>aka</i> Moncure's) Mill	ca. 1800s	Grist mill
21	Heflin's Mill	Historic/Unknown	Saw mill
22	Burton's Mill (?)	Historic/Unknown	Grist mill
23	Accakeek Furnace Mill	Historic/Unknown	Forge mill
24	Strother's Mill	Historic/Unknown	Grist mill
25	Pollack's Mill	Historic/Unknown	Grist mill
26	Peyton's (<i>aka</i> Towson's & Grape Hill) Mill	1800s	Grist mill
27	Shelkett's Mill	Mid-1800s	Grist mill
28	Purkins' Mill	Historic/Unknown	Grist Mill
29	Aquia (<i>aka</i> Brent's Upper?) Mill	1700s–1800s	Grist mill
30	Cropp's Mill	1800s	Unknown
31	Thompson's (<i>aka</i> Harding's, Cropp's 2 nd) Mill	1800s	Grist mill
32	Sterne's Mill	1800s	Grist mill
33	C.N. & M.N. Dodd's Mill	Historic/Unknown	Grist mill
34	L. Wigginton's Mill	1800s	Grist mill
35	Fitzhugh's Mill	Late 1600s–1700s	Grist mill

As Stafford County's milling industry steadily emerged, various subsidiary businesses also rapidly developed to house, feed, and entertain those who came to town to mill their goods. Because of this, Falmouth was at the height of its commercial prosperity from the 1780s through the 1810s (Eby 1997:145–153) the quantity of enslaved individuals employed in this field was at an all-time high as well.

The Antebellum Years

Because of a dramatic shift in transportation routes and a gradually diminished need for grain flour, Stafford County and Falmouth underwent a decline during the Antebellum Period. This downturn in Falmouth's fortunes was probably intensified by the gradual silting up of the river. Steamboats now traveled to small ports on Potomac and Aquia creeks to retrieve goods and passengers, and the Potomac, Fredericksburg, & Richmond Railroad was established between Aquia Creek and Richmond in 1842 (Netherton et al. 2004:43).

Despite a declining economy, stone quarrying continued to be a fruitful venture. In 1820, 90 'quarriers' were listed on the county-wide census. Continued building efforts in the capital city, along with a steady supply of an enslaved work force and northern financial backing, provided the local industry with necessary resources. Substantial quarrying continued until the stone quality diminished. For detailed information on Stafford County's enslaved population during the Antebellum years, see Appendix B entitled *Examining African American Slavery in Stafford County, Virginia from the Perspective of the U.S. Federal Censuses, 1810 to 1860*.

Civil War Occupation of Stafford

With the Civil War came great destruction in Stafford County. Troops traveled over almost all of the roads established in the county at that time, including what is today known as Route 1. This region of Stafford County was subjected to direct occupation by Union forces beginning with the First Battle of Fredericksburg. After this battle the Federal Army of the Potomac went into winter quarters. Numerous Federal units camped in southern Stafford County over the next eight months (Marvel 1993).

During the Fredericksburg–Chancellorsville campaigns, from November 1862 through June 1863, Stafford County was occupied by 130,000 troops, of the Federal Army of the Potomac. Its military encampments occupied thousands of acres from Aquia Creek south to the Rappahannock River.

By the spring of 1863, the XI Corps was well established between the southern banks of Accokeek Creek and to the northern edge of the Potomac Creek. However, the men of the XI Corps were certainly in winter quarters prior to the spring of 1863. With troops numbering 130,000 the effect of the army's presence was devastating. As they traveled throughout the county, many properties were used as encampments. These camps, especially winter encampments, completely obliterated the landscape of a once-pristine countryside. Soldiers dug hut holes for their winter housing in agricultural fields, woods, and in the yards of the area's residents. Nearly every tree in sight was cut down for their huts, for firewood,

and for their roads. Homes were looted as well to supply the soldiers, fences were taken down and windows were removed from homes.

In a letter home, Henry Blakeman (1863) expressed his views on the economic situation of Stafford, County:

You might travel fifty miles and not pass in sight of a half a mile of fence and as there are not fences of course the people can raise nothing for all would be destroyed. What they intend to live on next year is more than I can tell.

RESULTS OF BACKGROUND REVIEW AND INFORMANT INTERVIEWS (TASK I)

The first task completed by the project team was to gather previously recorded and other known data on slavery related properties from several resources. Through initial coordination with the County and the project Advisory Committee, stakeholder meetings were held to commence the data gathering. Interviews with local historians and informants provided information on the potential presence of slave-related places as a launching pad for compiling a thorough list of resources. This was followed by a background literature and records review at the DHR, limited archival research on the county as a whole to note large geographic trends, and additional primary and secondary research. The information gathered during these steps was compiled into a series of tables and GIS maps (Figure 5). A summary of the data acquired during this study is presented here.



Figure 5: Sample Segment of GIS Map Crafted for the Project. The data in the file was continually updated during the study and copies of the shapefiles were disseminated to Stafford County and the DHR.

Archival Research

Archival research completed during this phase did not include in-depth, diachronic chains of titles or analyses of single properties but instead provided a synchronic lens of study to understand the landscape of slavery prior to the Civil War. The goal was to identify places and landscapes that may have a slave-related component, including plantations, urban lots, industrial sites, and other places of interest.

A portion of the research gathered during this phase was presented in the previous Historic Context section. The team examined records at numerous repositories and localities and on the internet, including the Stafford County Circuit Court, the Library of Virginia, the SCHS, Virginia Historical Society, and others. Online resources included the Library of Congress (LOC) in Washington D.C., DHR, and several other historical research web pages. The county has been documented through historic photographs, for example, since the Civil War. These images captured the people and places that comprise Stafford's vast history. Some resources, such as Aquia Landing (Photo 2), have a well-known connection to the institution of slavery, while others are newly noted as part of this study.

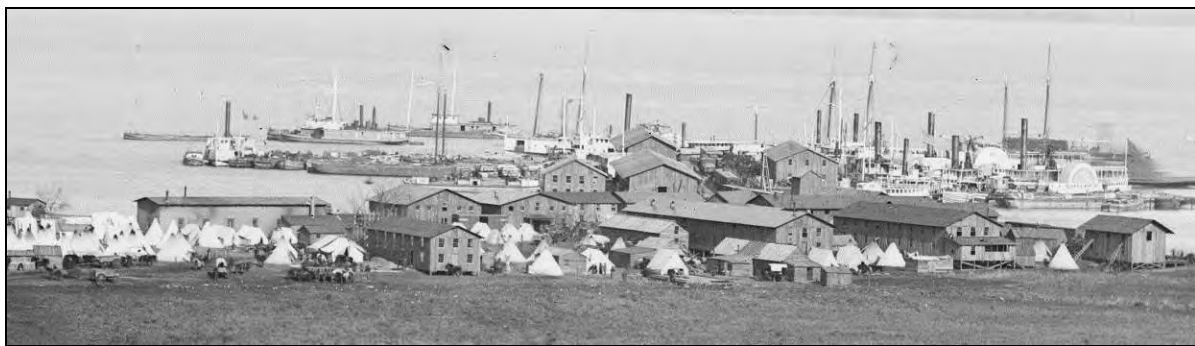


Photo 2: Historic Photo of Aquia Landing, a Very Popular Port During the Antebellum and Civil War Years (LOC 2005).

Historic maps dating to the Civil War and earlier were especially helpful in the initial phases of research. These early maps not only highlighted the locations of former buildings and roads across the landscape but also often provided associated owner names (Figure 6, p. 21). These owner names were then used to study U.S. Census Records, U.S. Agricultural Census Records, Slave Census Records, and Works Progress Administration (WPA) documents to note individuals who had enslaved individuals on their properties and where, in turn, slave-related properties may still exist on the extant landscape.

Additional primary and secondary resources were also consulted during this phase of work, notably works by several local historians including, but not limited to, Jerrilynn Eby MacGregor, Jane Connor, Al Connor, Norman Schools, Anita Dodd, John Janney, Paula Royster, and more. Their lifelong research and passion for Stafford history provided a bounty of data that was used in this study and included in the tables and narratives gathered as part of this process.



Figure 6: An Example of a Civil War-Era Map Used During the Archival Research (Gilmer 1864). This map shows “Hollywood” Farm in the center, one of the properties visited during the field component of the project.

DHR and County Database Research

In addition to archival research, the team conducted an extensive background records review to determine what pre-1865 resources had been recorded in the county. This includes both above-ground resources (buildings, structures, objects, districts, cemeteries and landscapes) and below-ground resources (archaeological sites). This review included an inspection of recordation forms for each previously recorded property, evaluation of any photographic evidence captured when the resource was recorded, and a review of any authored reports on the studies, including both formally published materials and “grey” literature held on compliance studies at both the County and the DHR.

Details that were gathered during this study helped to elucidate the kinds of slave-related properties that had already been recorded and those that could be found throughout the county but had not yet been investigated. Information gathered on these properties included: location, date of construction, use, ownership, size, significance, and current integrity. Any available notes on completed and proposed studies were also evaluated.

Summary of Task I Results

An abundance of information was gathered during Task I to provide the County, DHR, Advisory Committee, and stakeholder group with ideas on basic results, preliminary trends, and recommendations for Task II fieldwork. All of the information gleaned during the task was compiled into a multi-columned spreadsheet and keyed to numerous important factors such as:

- Has the property been previously recorded as a resource? If not, where was the data on its existence collected?
- Has the presence of the resource been field verified? If so, how recently?
- What is the construction/establishment date of the resource?
- What is its theme related to slave-related places in the county?
- Is it recommended for additional study? Why or why not?

The lists were divided into above-ground resources (both previously recorded and assumed based on archival research) that pre-date 1865 and have a slavery connection and previously recorded archaeological sites that pre-date 1865 with a slavery connection (See Appendix A, p. 177, for lists of properties recorded during the background review). In addition, several categories of resources were established outside of these lists because properties did not neatly fit within these defined categories. They included, among others, transportation routes that were established before 1865, historic districts, and churches, as all of these often had a spectrum of individuals using and/or living in these resources and teasing out the slavery connections during this preliminary study would be difficult.

A total of 70 above-ground resources that pre-date 1865 and may have a slavery association were noted in the county. This includes those that were previously recorded and on file with the DHR and the County and those that were defined based on the informant interviews, information from local historians, and archival research. Interestingly, while a portion of these resources were commonly known prior to this study, such as Sherwood Forest or Dunbar Kitchen, several properties had not come to light before this review. In sum, the resources included 38 domestic properties (54 percent), 20 funerary properties (cemeteries) (29 percent), seven industrial properties (10 percent), four religious properties (6 percent), and one governmental property (1 percent) (Figure 7, p. 23). Domestic properties involved those places where an enslaved individual likely lived on a daily basis. This includes both stand-alone quarters as well as multipurpose buildings such as kitchens with sleeping lofts. The industrial properties revolved around places where enslaved individuals likely worked—whether as part of their forced servitude to their owners, as rented workers, or as paid laborers. They included mills, ironworks, and warehouses. The one governmental property that was included in this list is the well house at Stafford County Courthouse. This well dates to the 1780s and is the last above-ground element of the original courthouse at the site of the current county seat. It is almost certain that enslaved individuals utilized this well while their owners conducted county business.

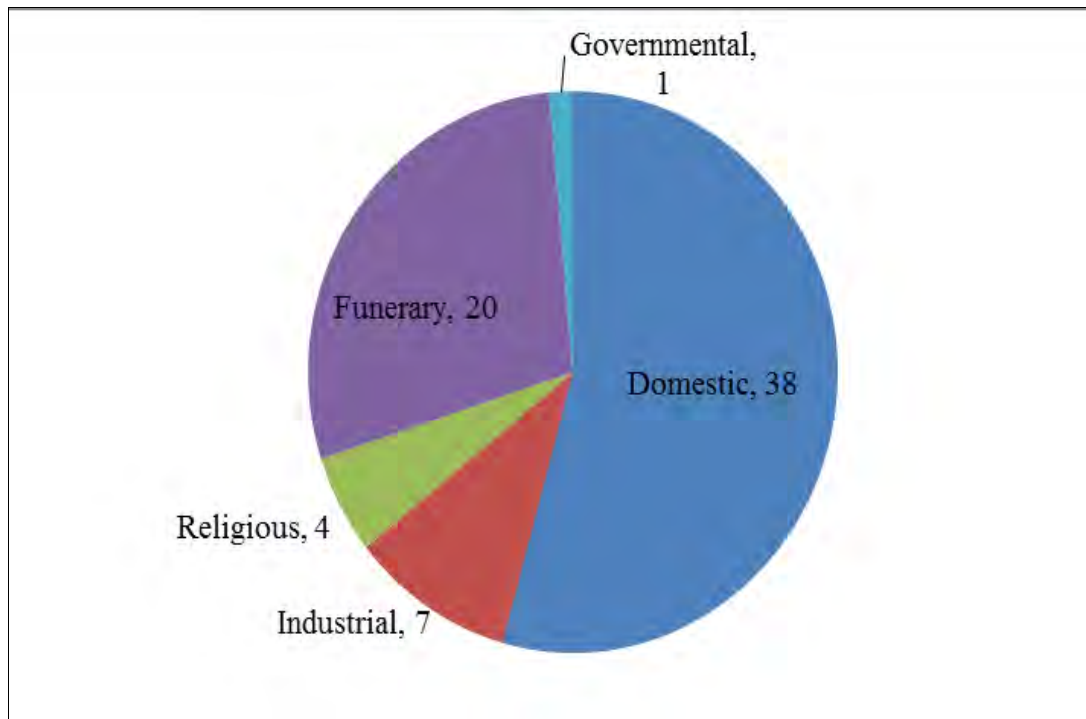


Figure 7: Above-Ground, Pre-1865 Resources Recorded as Part of the Background Review (Quantity of the Overall Total).

Numerous previously recorded archaeological sites that pre-date 1865 have been recorded in the DHR and County database. Discerning which sites had a slavery tie was extremely difficult, as the majority of the sites were recorded during Phase I-level archaeological surveys conducted as project compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. Many did not go past the Phase I level due to the archaeological review process and, as such, archival research was not completed on each site at the time it was recorded to determine its use and historic occupants.

The total quantity of archaeological sites recorded in the county to date that were in use between the mid-seventeenth century and 1865 is 209 (Figure 8, p. 24). As with the above-ground resources, the majority of the sites (52 percent, n=103) were domestic in nature and represented homelots, plantations, and other living areas. As aforementioned, this includes all domestic sites that date during or before the Civil War in the county, thus these 103 sites may or may not be affiliated with African-American occupation. Industrial sites represented 34 properties on the list (16 percent); the remaining categories each had less than five related sites (less than 2 percent). Twenty percent of the sites that have been recorded (n=42) did not have complete records at the DHR or the County, thus the exact nature of their association could not be determined. In most cases, these were sites that were recorded in the 1970s and early 1980s based on map projections or informant data that were never field verified. This lead to incomplete records that included relative chronological affiliation but little additional data (listed as “unknown” in Figure 8 below).

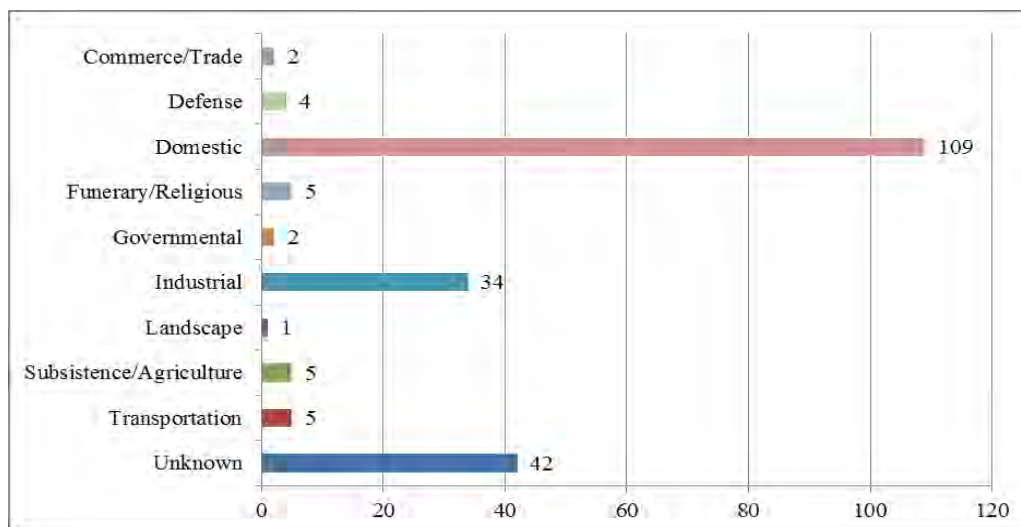


Figure 8: Pre-1865 Recorded Archaeological Sites in Stafford County by Category.

Recommendations for Task II

The archival and background review data was presented to the County, DHR, and Advisory Committee in January 2015 and to a group of stakeholders in March 2015, along with a set of recommendations on the 30 resources to move forward to the field survey stage. It immediately became apparent that the level of previous study on the listed resources varied dramatically. Some have received many years of in-depth investigations to document their history. Others had not even been recorded with the DHR and/or County. Given this, although some resources have a well-known association with the institution of slavery, they were not selected for further study. This includes buildings such as Ferry Farm and the outbuildings surrounding Chatham Manor (Photo 3).

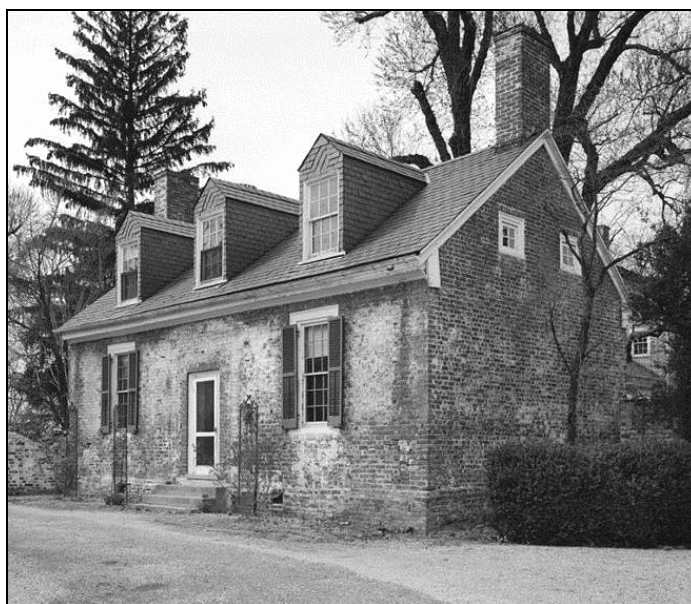


Photo 3: Kitchen Outbuilding at Chatham (LOC 1925–1929).

Similarly, a handful of properties on the list are in the hands of owners who have meticulously preserved their physical integrity and are not in current danger of demolition by neglect or another means. Properties in this category include, for example, the Moncure Conway House (Photo 4) and Aquia Church. For these reasons, some of the more well-known places were not recommended for additional study. This does not negate their significance but rather highlights one of the primary goals of this study—to record previously undocumented slave-related places and assure that these resources are noted in the records before they are lost, like so many have already been.



Photo 4: The Moncure Conway House in Falmouth.

The properties selected for study, therefore, comprise a spectrum of resources. They are spread throughout the county geographically and cover a range of site types including domestic properties, funerary/cemetery properties, industrial sites, and more. Some are in danger of being lost forever, such as the Sanford-Burgess quarter, and others were found to be in good condition. Together, they reveal an incredible amount of details on slavery-related properties in Stafford County. The following chapter presents the results of the fieldwork on the places that received further study.

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RESULTS OF FIELDWORK (TASK II)

The cultural resource fieldwork involved a field survey of 30 slavery-related resources throughout the Stafford County, 20 above-ground resources and 10 cemeteries. Several resources that were identified are primary resources (main buildings) while some are outbuildings. For example, the primary resource at Carlton (089-0010), located in the Falmouth Election District, was not investigated; however, the kitchen, meat house and dairy were all surveyed as part of the current project.

Each property was documented through written notes, photographed, assigned DHR numbers, and recorded in V-CRIS as stipulated by the project scope of work. This chapter provides a summary of the survey's findings and identifies common property types in each election district in which they are located.

Aquia Election District

Two slave-related resources within the Aquia election district were chosen for the current study: the Lam Burial and the Stevens Cemetery (Table 6; Figure 9, p. 28).

Table 6: Resources Surveyed in the Aquia Election District.

Key #	Resource	V-CRIS Number	Address	Election District
1	Lam Burial	089-0097/ 44ST1199	296 Olde Concord Road	Aquia
2	Stevens Cemetery	089-5424/ 44ST1140	Old Potomac Church Road	Aquia

Lam Burial

Associated with Concord

296 Olde Concord Road
Stafford County, Virginia
DHR #: 089-0097 / 44ST1199
Date: 1815



This resource, a slave burial, is situated on the south side of the intersection of Olde Concord Road and Buttgens Lane at 296 Olde Concord Road in the Aquia election district of rural Stafford County. The parcel on which the resource sits measures 2 acres and is covered by a manicured grass lawn containing mature trees and saplings as well as small and medium-sized shrubbery (Figure 10, p. 29). A steel I-beam surrounded by sandstone fieldstones is located northwest of the grave (Photo 5, p. 30). The resource is accessed by the road and sits atop a small hill.

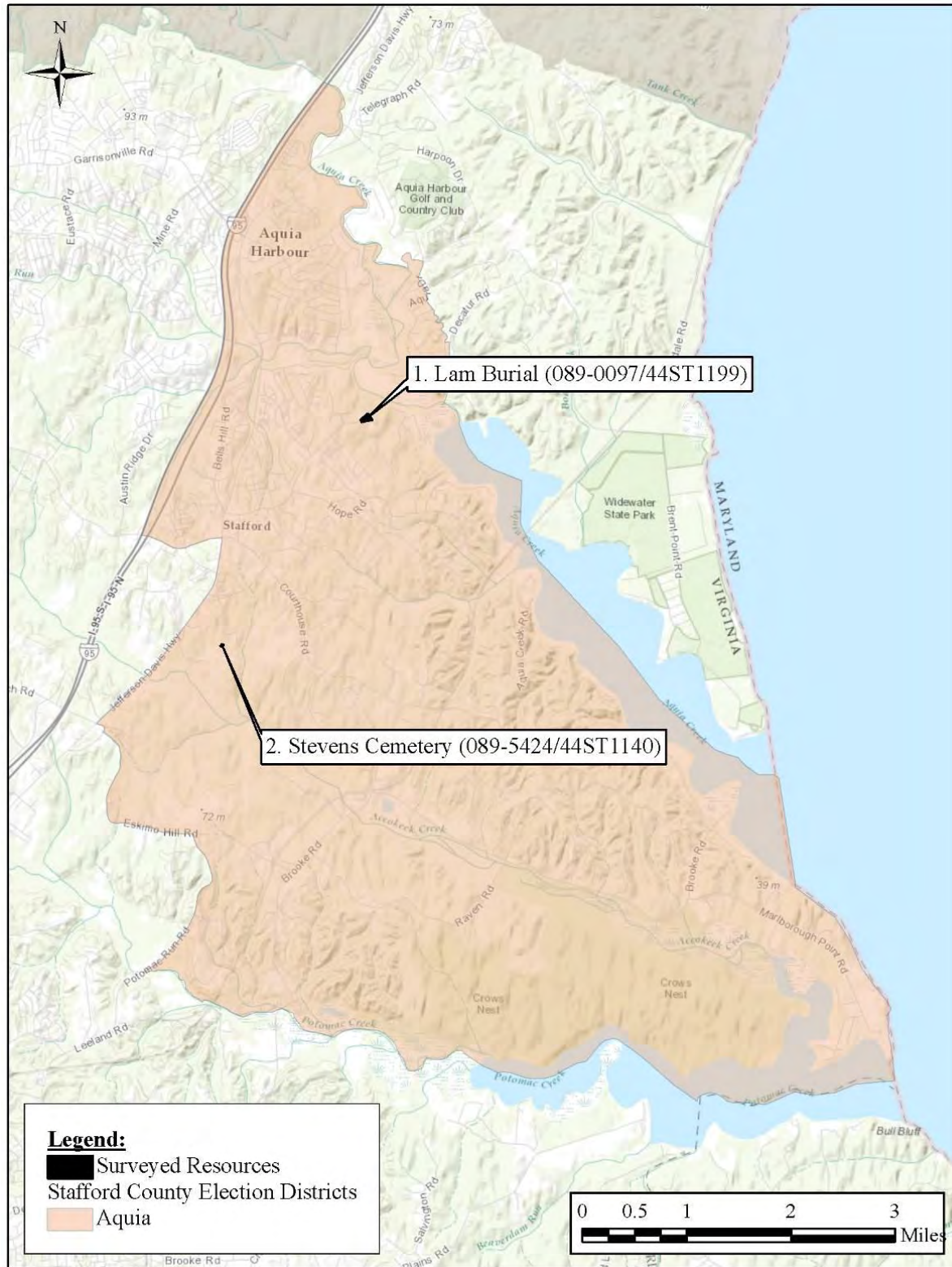


Figure 9: Surveyed Resources in the Aquia Election District (Stafford County GIS 2015).

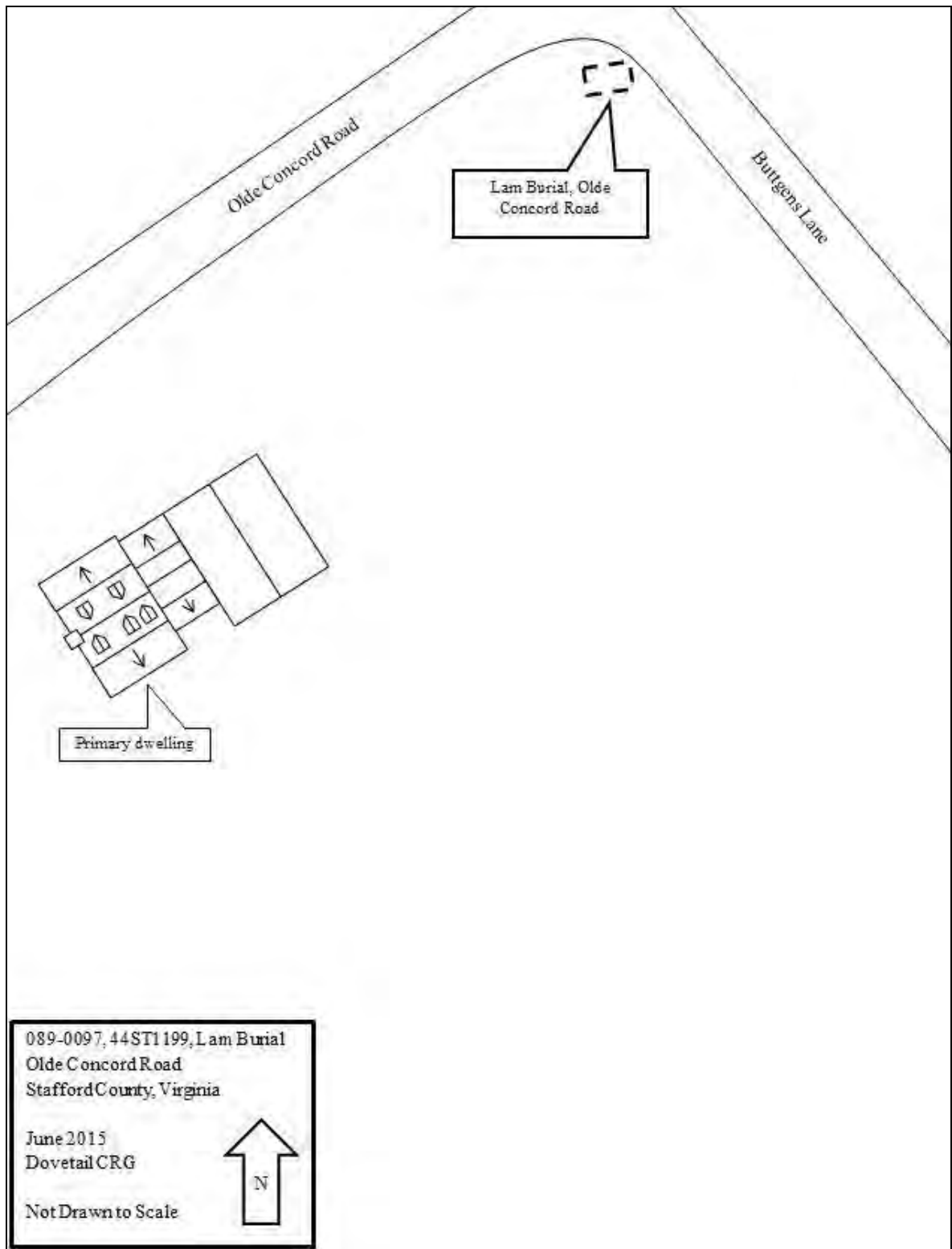


Figure 10: Site Plan of the Lam Burial Cemetery.

Archival

The Lam Burial is associated with Concord, which was built by William Waller in the mid-to late-eighteenth century. Concord, a one and one-half story, three-bay dwelling, is a good example of eighteenth-century vernacular architecture in Virginia that is quickly disappearing. The Lam Burial, which dates to 1815, is one of the only surviving secondary resources on the Concord property. The grave is that of Mary Lam, wife of William M. Lams, who worked at a stone quarry and is said to have made the headstone for his wife (Eby 1997:121–124). Additional archival research is recommended to ascertain the connection between William Waller of Concord and the Lams.

Architectural Description

The Lam Burial at 296 Olde Concord Road is a presumed slave burial dating to 1815. A sandstone headstone marks the grave (Photo 6, p. 31). The inscription on the stone reads “In memory of Mary Lam a wife of Wil. m. Lams who departed this life Feb 1.th 1815, Aged 48 years.” The headstone inscription faces east, as is common in Christian burials. A footstone once associated with the interment is no longer *in situ* but can be found within the main house at 296 Olde Concord Road (Photo 7, p. 31).



Photo 5: Lam Burial, Looking West.



Photo 6: Headstone Detail, Looking West.



Photo 7: Footstone Detail, Stored Inside the Main House.

Stevens Cemetery

Associated with Cedar Hill Farm

Stevens Cemetery
Old Potomac Church Road
Stafford County, Virginia
DHR #: 089-5424 / 44ST1140
Date: Circa 1850



This resource is located on the west side of Old Potomac Church Road approximately 0.4 miles east of Jefferson Davis Highway (Route 1) and 0.4 miles south of Hospital Center Boulevard in the Aquia election district in Stafford County. It is located just north of Accokeek Creek (Figure 11, p. 33). The parcel on which the resource sits is composed of 11.95 acres; however, the cemetery measures approximately 4.1 acres, all of which is covered by dense woods (Photo 8, p. 34). The resource is situated at the top of a hill and is accessed by an overgrown dirt path leading west from Old Potomac Church Road.

Archival

The R. H. Stevens family owned the parcel that contains the Stevens cemetery throughout the nineteenth century. The Stevens' resided at Cedar Hill Farm (089-0061), built circa 1750 (CRI 2012). In the pre-Civil War era, the family owned at least nine slaves (U.S. Census 1860). The exact location of where the slaves were interred is not known through historical record research. Preliminary research conducted by the Stafford County Cemetery Committee (SCCC), in addition to local lore, suggested that it is possible that the slaves are buried in this cemetery; hence its inclusion in this study. However, archaeological surveys conducted after the selection of this resource suggest that it is a Caucasian cemetery—determined by the grave goods uncovered—and not an African American cemetery (Dodd, personal communication 2015).

Architectural Description

The resource at Old Potomac Church Road is a circa-1850 cemetery. Due to logging and modern relic hunting near the resource, many of the fieldstones have been moved or removed. During a delineation study conducted in August 2012 by Cultural Resources, Inc., it was determined that the cemetery contained 11 grave shafts with four to five additional potential shafts (DHR n.d.). Some of these burials are marked by stones associated with the Aquia Formation which dates to approximately 56–66 million years ago (Photo 9–Photo 11, pp. 34–35). In a survey conducted by the SCCC in July 2013, the Aquia Formation “...immediately followed the mass extinction event which marked the demise of the non-avian dinosaurs. This formation travels thorough Stafford County from Quantico south towards Fredericksburg” (SCCC 2013).

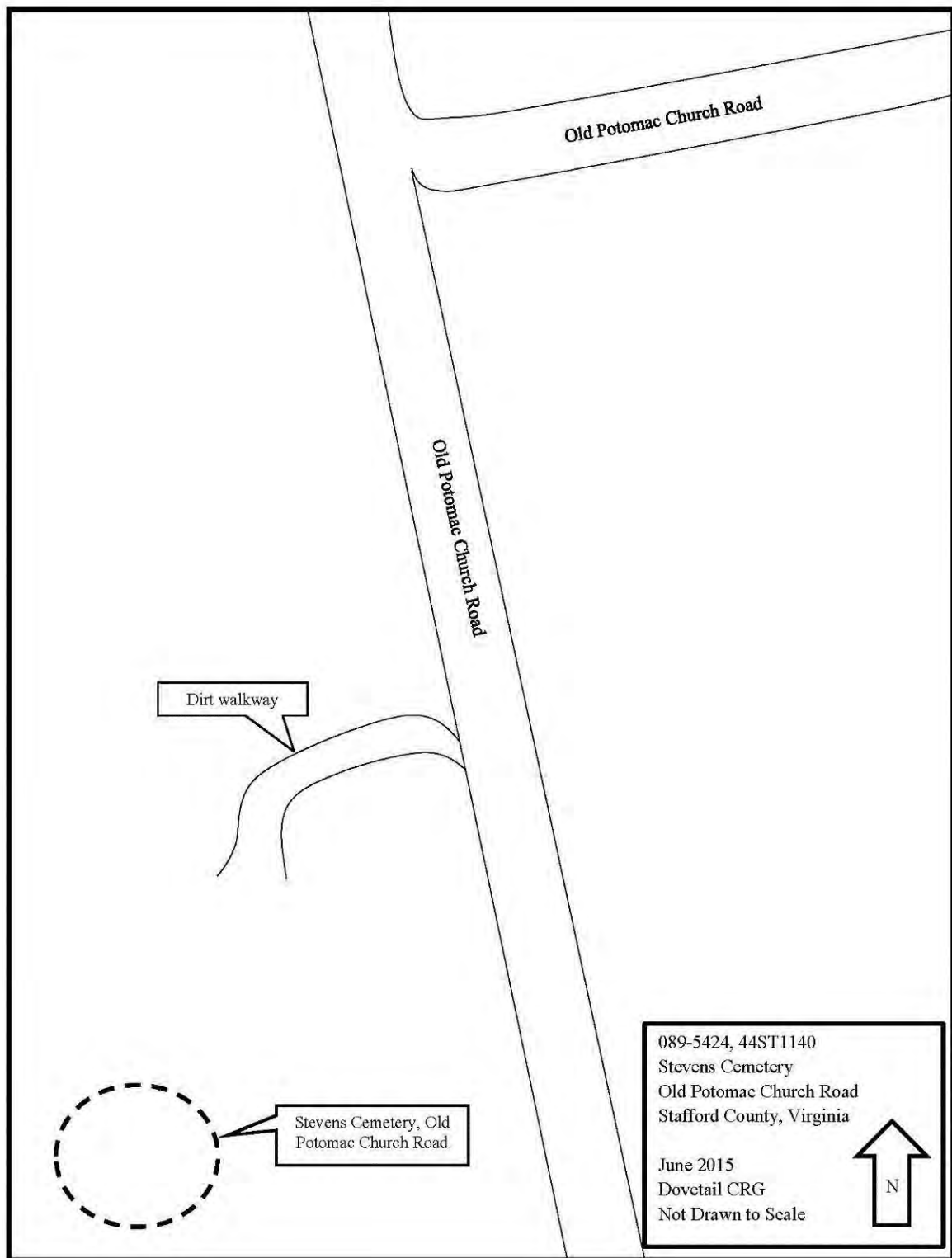


Figure 11: Site Plan of the Stevens Cemetery.



Photo 8: Stevens Cemetery, Looking Southwest.



Photo 9: Grave Marker, Looking West.



Photo 10: Grave Marker.



Photo 11: Grave Marker Detail.

Falmouth Election District

Six slave-related resources within the Falmouth election district were chosen for the current study: buildings associated with Carlton, the Carlton Slave Cemetery, the Phillips House, and the Ellerslie Slave Cemetery (Table 7; Figure 12, p. 37). Carlton was listed on the NRHP in 1973. The primary resource was not included in this survey.

Table 7: Resources Surveyed in the Falmouth Election District.

Key #	Resource	Address	V-CRIS Number	Election District
3	Carlton Kitchen	089-0010	501 Melchers Drive	Falmouth
4	Carlton Meat House	089-0010	501 Melchers Drive	Falmouth
5	Carlton Dairy	089-0010	501 Melchers Drive	Falmouth
6	Carlton Slave Cemetery	089-0010/ 44ST1202	501 Melchers Drive	Falmouth
7	Phillips House, Bentley Forest (Current), Burnside Manor (Current)	089-0249	901 Northside Drive	Falmouth
8	Ellerslie Slave Cemetery	089-5587/ 44ST1201	Between 8 & 10 Azalea Street	Falmouth

Carlton Kitchen/Quarters, Smoke House, Dairy, & Cemetery

Carlton
501 Melchers Drive,
Stafford County, Virginia
DHR #: 089-0010 / 44ST1202
Date: Kitchen/Slave Quarters, circa 1785;
Smoke House/Meat House, circa 1785;
Dairy, circa 1785



The resource is located on the northeast side of Warrenton Road (Route 17) approximately 0.2 miles northwest of the intersection of Jefferson Davis Highway (Route 1) and Warrenton Road within the limits of the Falmouth Historic District in the Falmouth voting district in Stafford County. The parcel is primarily covered by a manicured, grass lawn dotted with young and mature deciduous and coniferous trees as well as small- and medium-sized shrubbery. The 13.7-acre parcel is surrounded by a densely wooded area. A gravel walkway lined with bricks extends southwest from the kitchen to meet the driveway. A gravel driveway extends southeast from Warrenton Road and forms a circle to the west of the primary (Figure 13–Figure 14, pp. 38–39).

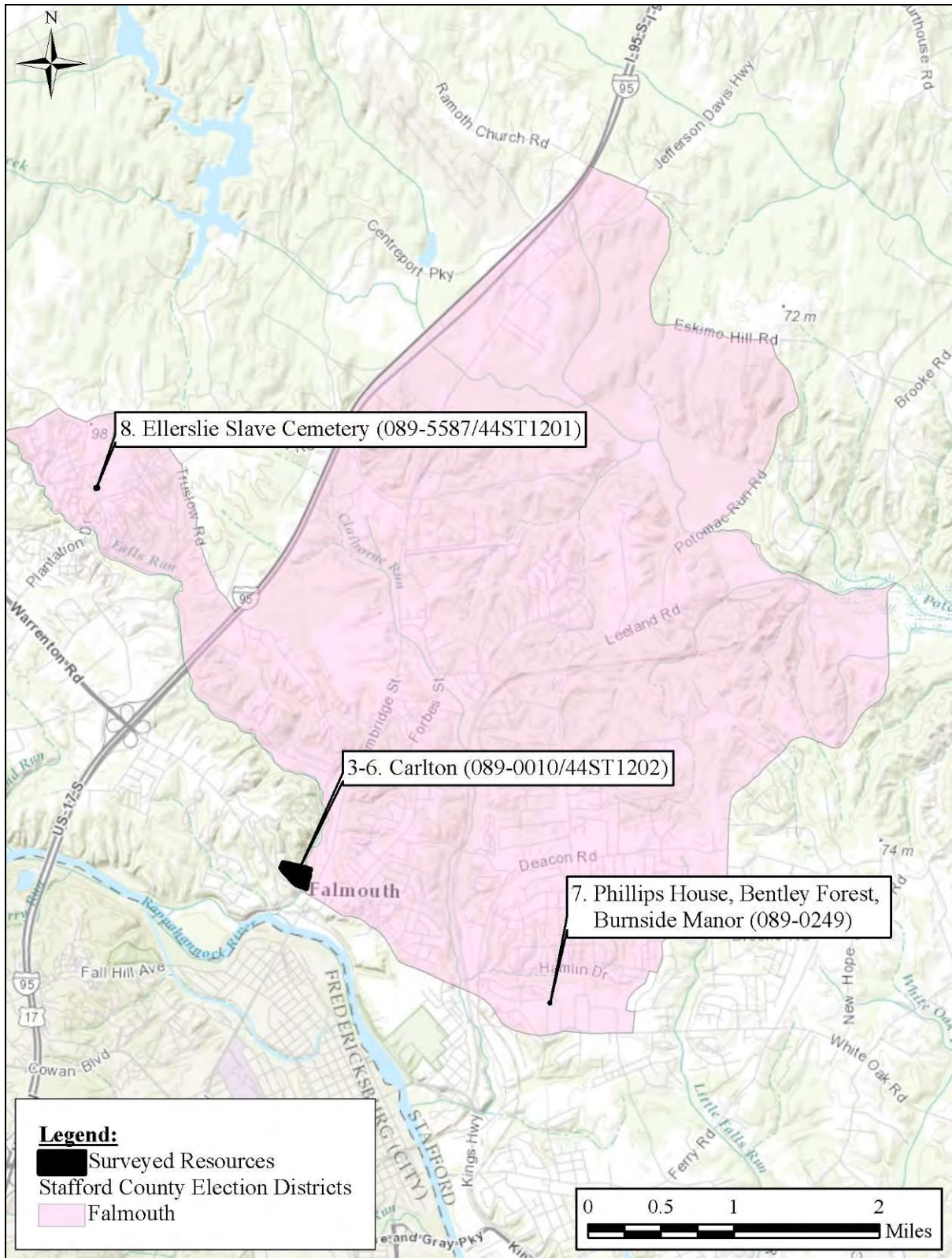


Figure 12: Surveyed Resources in the Falmouth Election District (Stafford County GIS 2015).

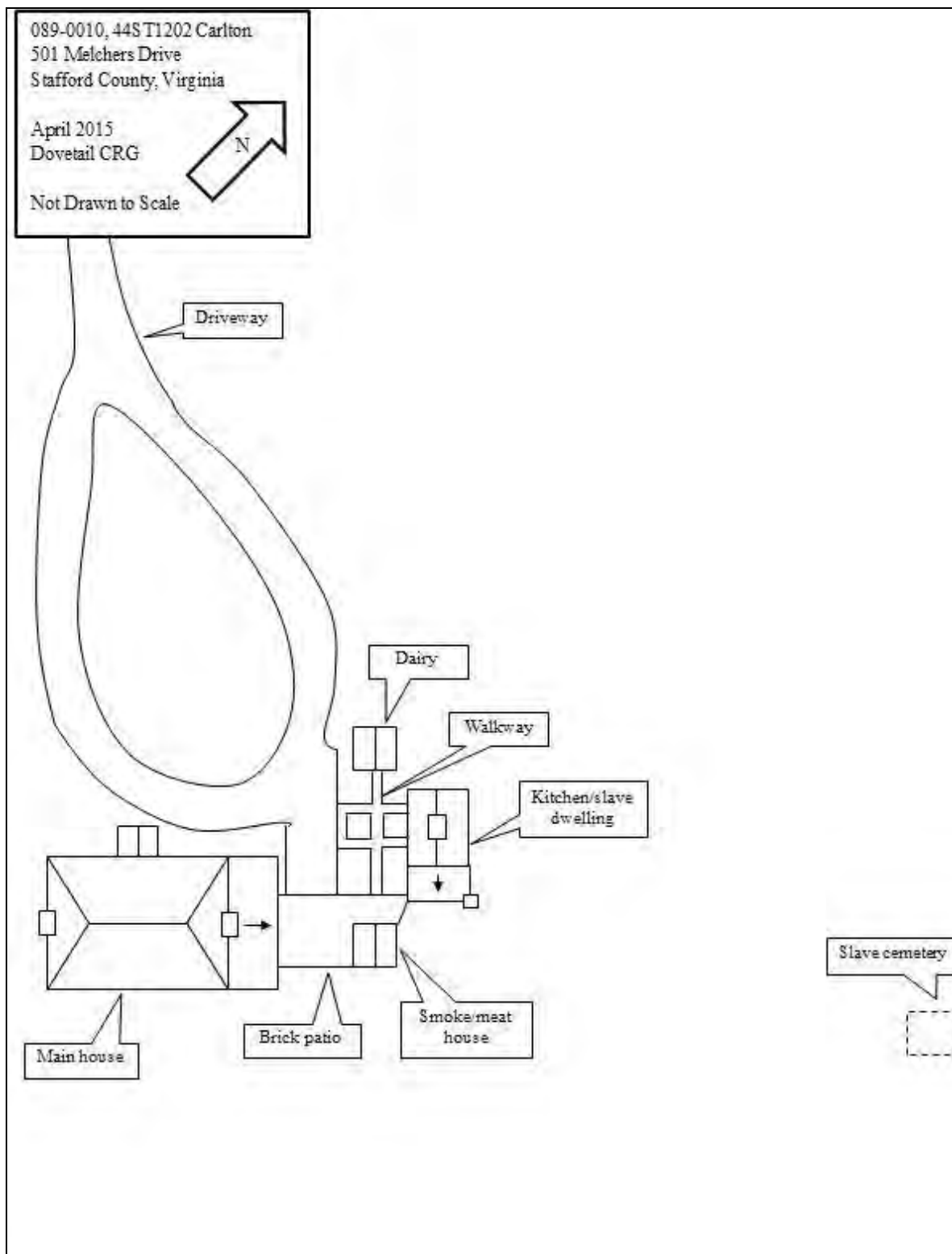


Figure 13: Carlton (089-0010/44ST1202) Site Plan, Showing the Kitchen/Slave Quarters, Smoke/Meat House, Dairy, and Slave Cemetery.

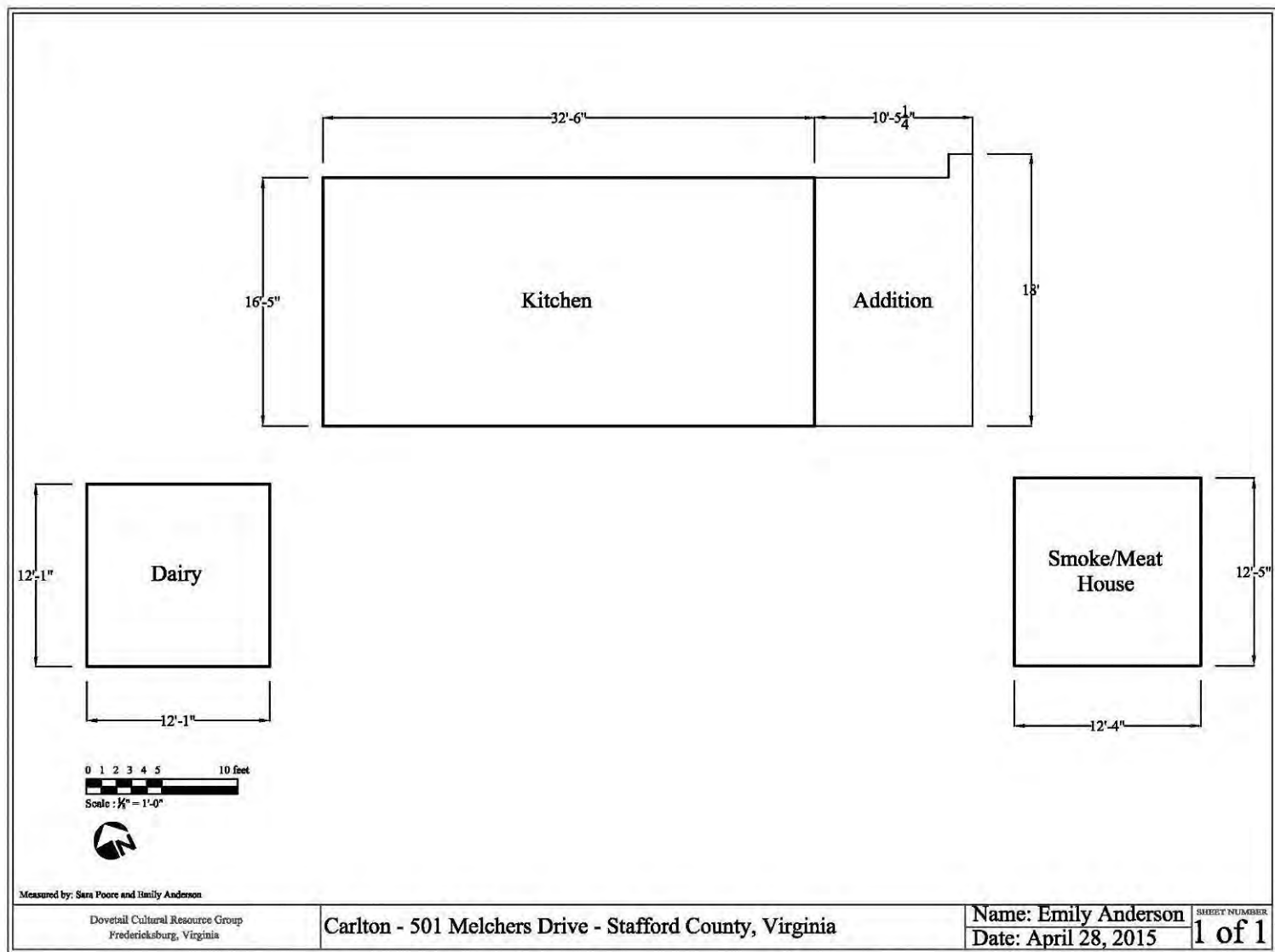


Figure 14: Measured Exterior Plan of the Carlton Outbuildings.

Archival

The land on which Carlton stands was part of the tract sold by John Dixon to John Richards in 1775, which he later deeded to his son William. William in turn sold the land to John Short sometime between 1785 and 1794. Short was a prosperous merchant and landowner in the area (Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission 1973). The property was insured in 1786 for “five buildings on the hill near the town of Falmouth consisting of a dwelling house, dairy, kitchen, meathouse, and stable” (Eby 1997:317–318). In 1837 the approximately 4,000-acre property was sold to John O’Bannon. In 1850, O’Bannon’s ownership narrowed to about 800 acres. He owned 24 slaves and provided their labor to the town of Falmouth during the town’s prosperous shipping era (U.S. Census 1850). By 1860, he owned 20 slaves and is listed on the United States Federal Census as having three slaves houses (U.S. Census 1860). During the Civil War, Carlton was not subject to occupation by the Army of the Potomac, nor was it involved in any fighting, thus spared any damage from the war (Eby 1997:318). The kitchen, dairy, and smoke house are still standing on the property today. The outbuildings are arranged with the dairy and smoke house flanking the kitchen quarter, with the ensemble on axis with the main house. The Carlton property is listed on the NRHP under Criterion C for its architectural significance.

Architectural Description

Of Carlton’s historic outbuildings, three survive, although much altered: a substantial frame building referred to as the kitchen, but which is likely to have served as a quarter for slaves, either exclusively or in addition to the cooking function; a frame smoke house; and a brick dairy.

The kitchen/slave quarter’s proximity to the main house and its relationship to the other outbuildings serves as the primary justification for the large frame building having served as a kitchen, but its size and division into two equal-sized downstairs rooms suggests that it may have served as a duplex quarter. This is a one-story, four-bay building (Photo 12, p. 41). The original core of the building measures 32 feet 6 inches by 16 feet 5 inches. The continuous, stone foundation supports the wood-frame structural system, which is clad with wide-plank beaded weatherboard with wooden corner boards on all corners of the building (Photo 13, p. 41). The building is covered by a side-gabled roof sheathed in standing-seam metal with a boxed wood cornice, wood box end fascia board, and decorative bed molding below. A large interior stone chimney pierces the ridge of the roof in the center of the building. The central chimney serves two stone fireplaces positioned back to back spanning the medial wall dividing the building into two chambers. Access to the interior of the structure was not granted; therefore, it was not possible to determine either the means of egress to the garret rooms above or to test the hypothesis that one of the fireplaces served a kitchen.

The two primary entrances are located on the primary (southwest) elevation and are filled by single-leaf, board-and-batten doors with strap hinges and simple wood surrounds. Additional fenestration includes six-over-six, double-hung sash, wood-framed windows. Six-light, wood casement windows are located in both gables.



Photo 12: Primary Elevation of the Carlton Kitchen/Quarter, Looking Northeast.



Photo 13: Carlton Kitchen/Quarter, North Oblique.

A one-story addition extends from the southeast elevation (Photo 14–Photo 15). The addition is composed of brick on the southwest elevation and is parged on the southeast and northeast elevations. The addition is covered by a roof sheathed in standing-seam metal. A running-bond brick chimney with a corbeled cap is located on the east corner of the addition. Access is gained through a single-leaf board-and-batten door on the southwest elevation with a wooden lintel above. Wooden awning windows span the southeast elevation. Other fenestration includes paired, eight-light wood casement windows on the northeast elevation.



Photo 14: Kitchen/Quarter Addition, Looking North.



Photo 15: Kitchen/Quarter Addition, Southeast Elevation.

Located just west of the kitchen and slave quarters is a circa-1785, one-story, one-bay smoke or meat house (Photo 16). Measuring 12 feet 5 inches by 12 feet 6 inches, the continuous, fieldstone foundation is primarily dry-laid with some Portland cement infill. The structural system, while not visible, is clad in beaded board siding with the exception of the northeast elevation which is clad in weatherboard siding. Wood corner boards are present on all corners of the building. The building is covered by a steeply pitched, front-gabled roof sheathed in asphalt paper on the southwest elevation and asphalt shingles on the northeast elevation (Photo 17). A single-leaf, board-and-batten door with a simple wood surround and strap hinges is centered on the primary (northwest) elevation. Other fenestration includes a wooden casement window with diamond-shaped muntins (Photo 18, p. 44).



Photo 16: Carlton Smoke House, West Oblique.



Photo 17: Carlton Smoke House, Northeast Elevation.



Photo 18: Carlton Smoke House, Southeast Elevation.

The circa-1785 Carlton dairy is a one-story, one-bay structure (Photo 19, p. 45). The dairy, with a square plan, measures 12 feet 1 inch by 12 feet 1 inch. The continuous, stone foundation is primarily dry-laid with some Portland cement infill. The masonry structural system is laid in a five-course American bond. The gables are clad in weatherboard siding. The building is capped by a front-gabled roof sheathed in standing-seam metal with overhanging wood boxed eaves (Photo 20, p. 45). A single-leaf, board-and-batten door with a simple wood surround is centered on the southeast elevation. All other fenestration is covered by board-and-batten shutters on the southwest and elevation (Photo 21, p. 46).

Neither of the two nearly square buildings flanking the kitchen/quarter on the south are heated, and their ascribed functions as a dairy (milk house) and smoke house match well with their overall character. The lack of a source of running water is the crucial distinction for the designation as a dairy rather than a spring house (Olmert 2009:93–98).



Photo 19: East Oblique of the Carlton Dairy.



Photo 20: Carlton Dairy, North Oblique.



Photo 21: Carlton Dairy, Southwest Elevation.

The circa-1800 slave cemetery is located north of the primary dwelling in a densely wooded area accessed by a dirt path. The cemetery, measuring approximately 44 by 34 feet is bordered by a plastic chain supported by square wood posts (Photo 22, p. 46). It is covered by English ivy and is marked by a brick and granite memorial plaque that reads “Slave Grave Site, Carlton Heights, 1800’s” (Photo 23, p. 47). No additional markers are visible. The northern portion of the cemetery has been moderately disturbed by logging activity.

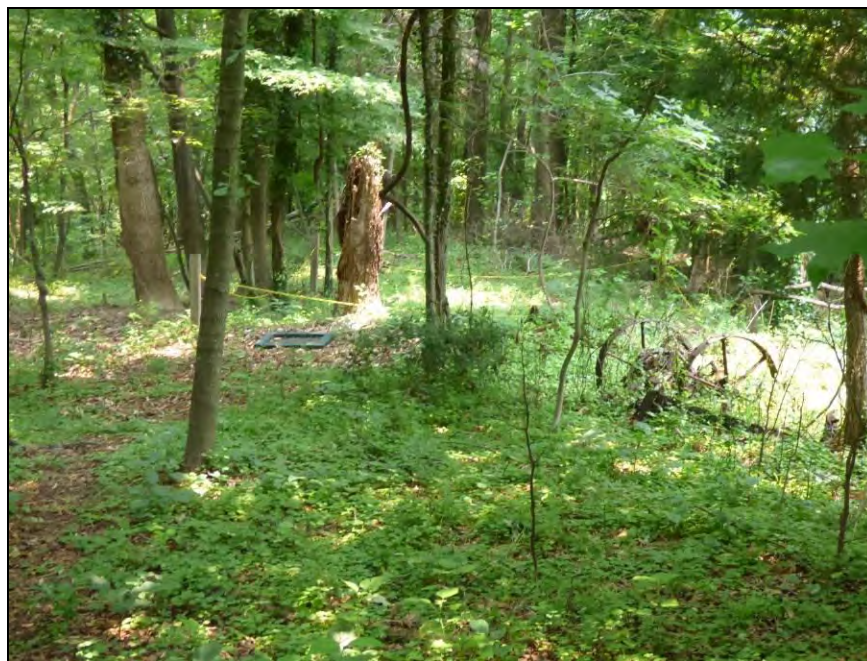


Photo 22: Carlton Slave Cemetery, Looking East.



Photo 23: Carlton Slave Cemetery Memorial Plaque.

Phillips House/Bentley House/Burnside Manor

Phillips House Duplex
901 Northside Drive
Stafford County, Virginia
DHR #: 089-0249
Date: Circa 1840



The structure is situated within a well maintained parkland setting, separated by a service lane from the nearby main house, surrounded by grassy lawns and occasional mature trees. The resource is located approximately 1.8 miles southeast of Falmouth on the south side of South Pointe Lane on Northside Drive within the Falmouth election district in Stafford County. The duplex is well maintained and is in good structural condition, although it has been subjected to a variety of alterations (Figure 15–Figure 16, pp. 48–49).

Archival

The Phillips House/Bentley House/Burnside Manor, referred to as Mulberry Hill by its original owner, had a brief life, burning during the war just a few years after its completion (Eby 2013: 437). The expansive house was owned by businessman and farmer Alexander K. Phillips, who after the war founded the National Bank of Fredericksburg. The Gothic farmhouse and its dependencies (one duplex survives) stood at the heart of a 550-acre farm.

The 1860 census recorded that Phillips kept 18 of his 27 enslaved individuals at the Phillips House (U.S. Census 1860). It is unclear if he and his family lived there—its completion coincided with the onset of the Civil War. During the war, the house became a destination for some escaping slaves. Fredericksburg slave John Washington spent significant time at the Phillips House as a paid camp servant to a Union general (Blight 2007:196–197).

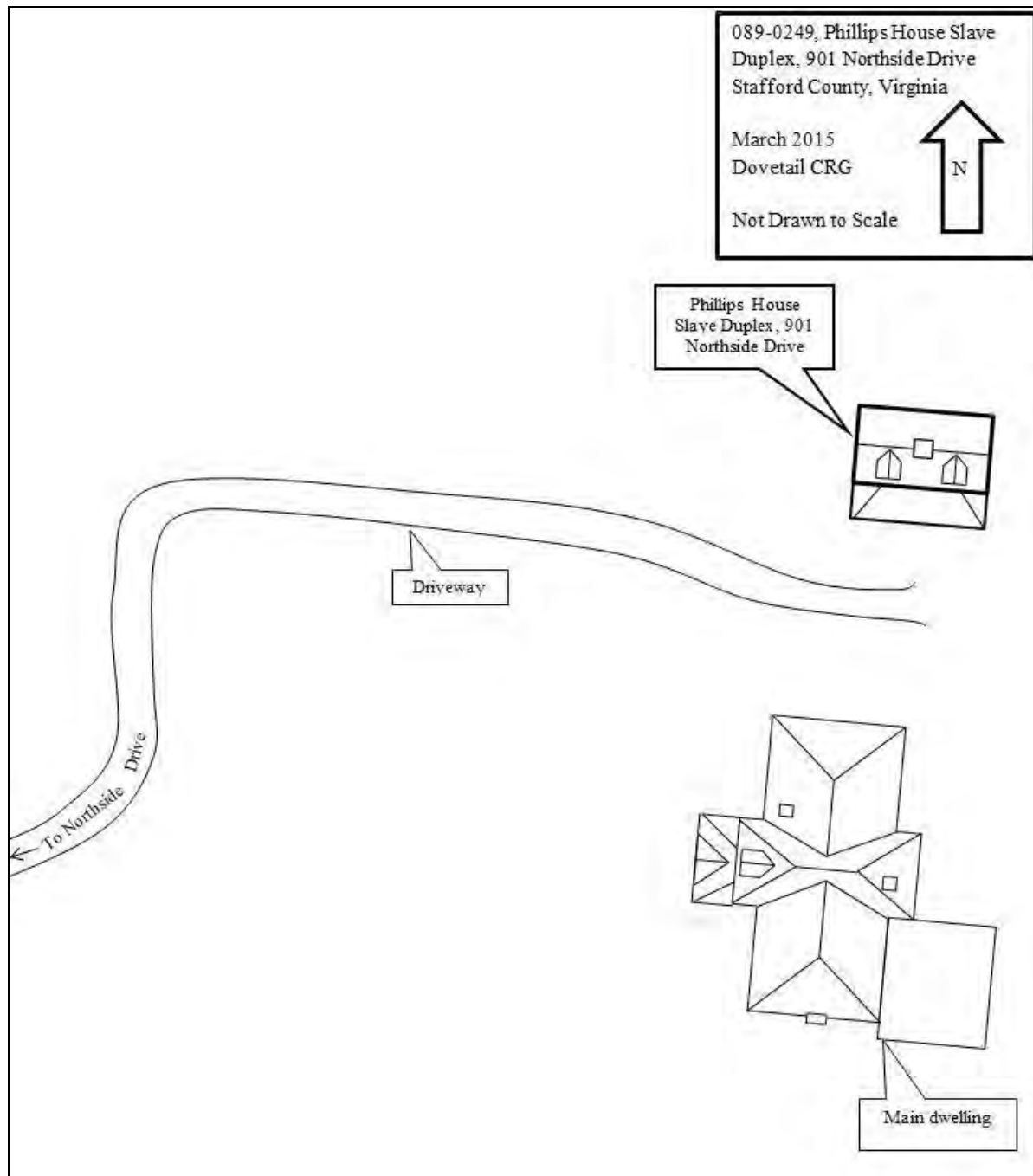


Figure 15: Site Plan of the Phillips Property.

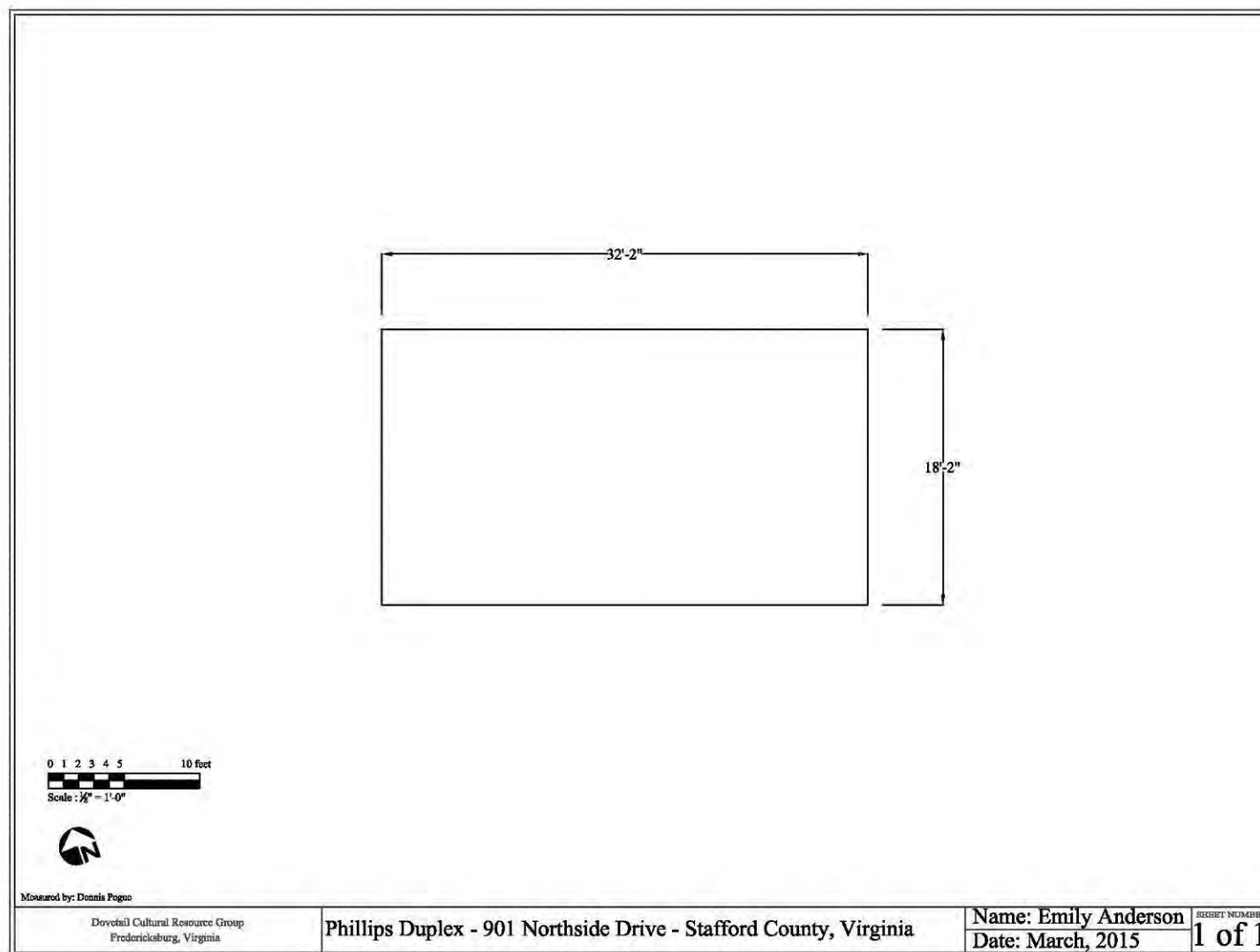


Figure 16: Measured Exterior Plan of the Phillips House Duplex.

Architectural Description

The Phillips House slave duplex is a four-bay, one-and-a-half story, brick building (approximately 32 by 18 feet in dimension) with a side-gabled, standing-seam sheet metal roof, and a central brick chimney (Photo 24). The symmetrical facade has two doorways located near the corners, flanking two double-hung sash windows; a window is centered on each of the gable ends; two gabled dormers have been added to the southern slope of the roof. All of the first-floor openings for windows and doors appear to be original, with flat brick headers laid in stretcher bond supported by the substantial beaded wood frames. Access to the interior identified additional details. The two first-floor rooms are roughly equal in size, each heated by a fireplace, oriented back to back, and sharing the central chimney mass; the garret rooms are heated as well in the same manner (Figure 17, p. 51). An enclosed staircase rises from the northwest corner of the west room to the chamber above. The east garret room is currently accessed via an exterior stairway rising from the southeast corner to a landing and a doorway centered on the south end wall, but this is likely an addition. Two regularly spaced windows in the façade provide light to the garret rooms; a fifth window is positioned in the south gable (Photo 25, p. 51).



Photo 24: Phillips House Slave Duplex, South Elevation.

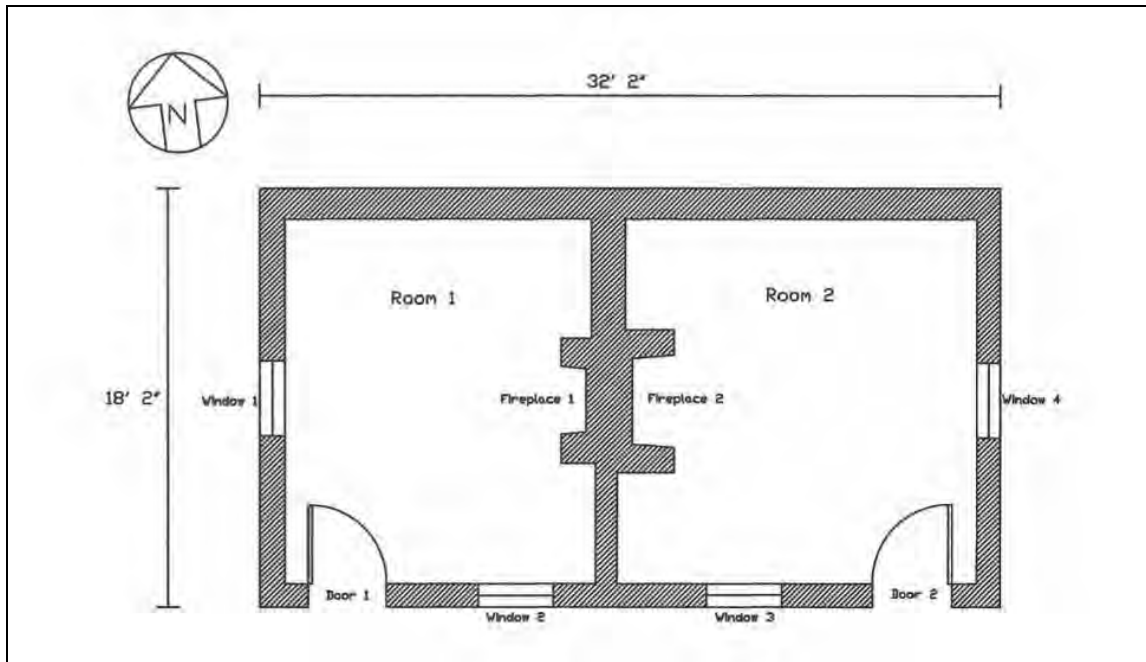


Figure 17: Phillips House Slave Duplex, Detailed First Floor Plan.



Photo 25: Phillips House Slave Duplex, West Elevation.

The building has undergone significant modifications, especially on the interior: installation of wall paneling and dry wall partitions for two bathrooms, replacement of joists for the upper story, cutting doorways to connect the two ground-floor rooms as well as the two garret spaces, and the insertion of a stairway in the western downstairs room. Dimensional lumber with circular saw marks and wire nails characterize these alterations. On the exterior, the current hip-roofed porch on the facade is a replacement for an earlier porch with a slightly different roofline; a former window opening has been converted into a doorway to allow exterior access to the garret. Based on the five-to-one common bond brickwork (on the north and east walls) alone, the building's original construction could date to circa 1830 to 1850; but the south and west walls are laid in running (all stretcher) bond, which would have been an unusual practice before the Civil War. In addition, the insertion of transoms above the two original exterior doorways also appears to be remarkable, not only for a slave building but for any outbuilding dating before the Civil War. A photograph in the possession of the owner, Virginia Grogan, shows the house with the entire roof frame missing. The image is roughly dated to the decades following the Civil War. At least one structure is included in the picture that may depict the brick outbuilding, but the only detail that is visible is a chimney stack. Given that the main house was largely rebuilt some time during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it is possible that the outbuilding, with its unusual brick work and transoms, also may have been erected or substantially rebuilt during this period. Therefore, it may reflect the continued utility of duplex-type structures to house free servants in the decades following manumission.

Ellerslie Slave Cemetery

Ellerslie Slave Cemetery
Azalea Street
Stafford County, Virginia
DHR #: 089-5587 / 44ST1201
Circa 1836



The resource, a cemetery, is located on the south side of Azalea Street between 8 and 10 Azalea Street approximately 0.1 miles north of the intersection of Lyons Boulevard and Plantation Drive in the England Run North neighborhood in the Falmouth election district of Stafford County, Virginia. The circa-2000 neighborhood development has infringed on what was historically a rural and remote setting. The resource is situated approximately 0.2 miles southwest of the primary dwelling, known as Ellerslie (089-0311), a 1754, two-story, brick dwelling. The Beth Shalom Temple is located directly south of the resource. The parcel, measuring 0.2 acres, is covered by a manicured grass lawn and is situated at the top of a hill flanked by two circa-2000 dwellings. Mature Oak trees sparsely dot the parcel. The resource is accessed on the north side, toward Azalea Street (Figure 18, p. 53).

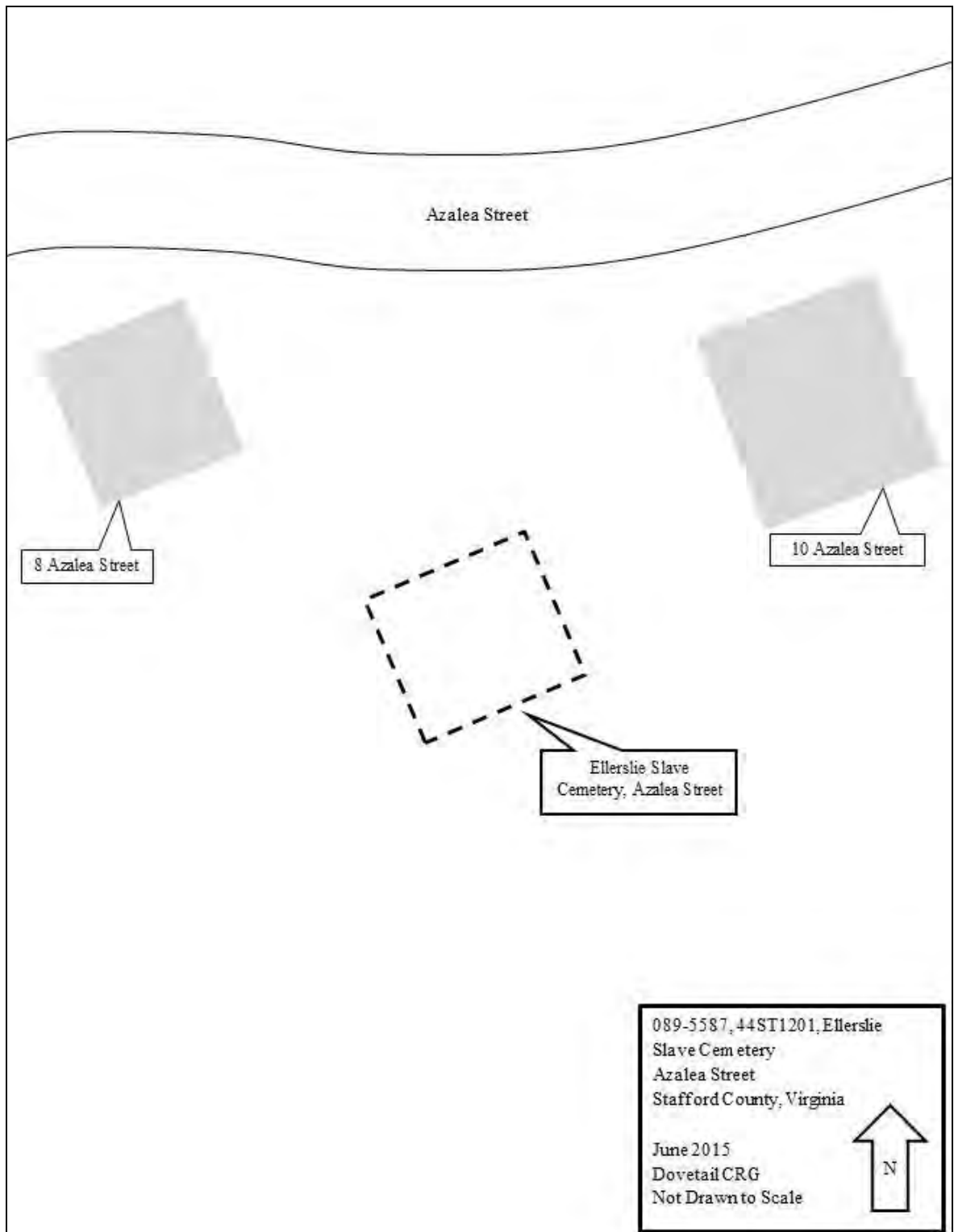


Figure 18: Site Plan of the Ellerslie Slave Cemetery.

Archival

Oral tradition suggests that the Ellerslie slave cemetery is associated with Ellerslie, built by Dr. Michael Wallace in approximately 1754. The property changed hands within the family several times and ended up in the possession of Gustavus Ellerslie in 1817 (Eby 1997:331). The 1850 Slave schedule lists Gustavus as owning 49 slaves (U.S. Census 1850). It is very likely that the cemetery known as the Ellerslie Slave Cemetery contains the graves of several of these people.

Architectural Description

The resource at Azalea Street is associated with Ellerslie and, based on oral tradition, is a circa-1836 slave cemetery. While not given a formal delineation, the arbitrarily bounded cemetery measures approximately 40 by 42 feet and is bordered by powder-coated aluminum fencing (Photo 26). A gate on the north side provides access. It contains one fieldstone grave marker located in the southeastern portion of the cemetery which does not bear a date or a name (Photo 27–Photo 28, p. 55).



Photo 26: Ellerslie Slave Cemetery, Looking West.



Photo 27: Ellerslie Cemetery, Looking Southwest.



Photo 28: Grave Marker Detail.

George Washington Election District

Ten resources within the George Washington election district were chosen for the current study (Table 8; Figure 19, p. 57).

Table 8: Resources Surveyed in the George Washington Election District.

Key #	Resource	Address	V-CRIS Number	Election District
9	Sherwood Forest Slave Quarter	089-0014	971 Kings Highway	George Washington
10	Sherwood Forest Kitchen	089-0014	971 Kings Highway	George Washington
11	Belmont Caretaker's Cottage	089-5078	225 Washington Street	George Washington
12	50 Caisson Road	089-5585	50 Caisson Road	George Washington
13	Falmouth Cemetery	089-0067-0037/ 44ST0081	Carter Street	George Washington
14	Dunbar Kitchen	089-0067-0009	107 Carter Street	George Washington
15	Hollywood	089-0072	189 Hollywood Farm Road	George Washington
16	Springfield Farm Kitchen	089-0094	Springfield Lane	George Washington
17	Springfield Farm Smoke/Meat House	089-0094	Springfield Lane	George Washington
18	Hunter's Iron Works Dam	089-5060	1 Old Forge Drive	George Washington

Sherwood Forest Slave Quarter and Kitchen

Sherwood Forest duplex slave quarter and Kitchen
971 Kings Highway
Stafford County, Virginia
DHR #: 089-0014
Date: Slave quarter, circa 1846;
Kitchen, circa 1840



Sherwood Forest was a substantial agricultural operation, which currently is slated for development. The resources surveyed during this study are situated on a parcel in the George Washington election district in rural Stafford County. The core of the property consists of the circa-1840s brick residence and a variety of supporting buildings, which includes the duplex slave quarters and other structures dating to the mid-nineteenth century. The duplex is situated at the edge of the current farm complex, approximately 150 feet north of the primary dwelling, in a copse of mature trees overlooking the surrounding fields. It is located at the top of a hill accessed by Sherwood Forest Farm Road, a dirt road, which extends northeast from Kings Highway then curves in a southeasterly direction toward the agricultural outbuildings then meets back up with Kings (Figure 20–Figure 21, pp. 59–60).

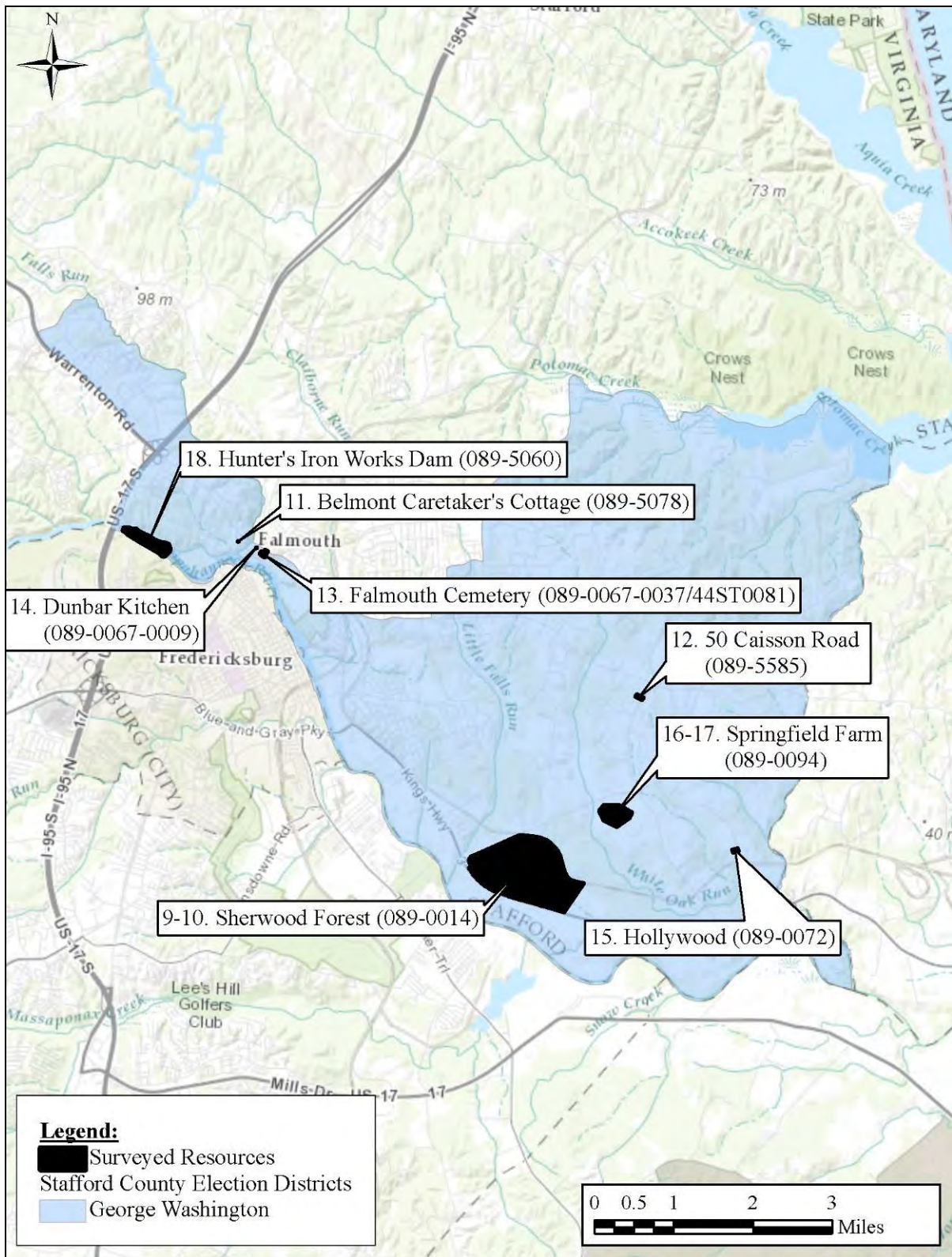


Figure 19: Surveyed Resources in the George Washington Election District
(Stafford County GIS 2015)

Archival

Sherwood Forest was one of the largest plantations in Stafford County. Owned for nearly 70 years by Mary Ball Washington and managed for 10 years by her son, George, the lands would later be called Sherwood Forest were ancillary to the family's main operation at Ferry Farm. The property descended from the Ball and Washington families until it was purchased by Joseph Downman in 1791, then was acquired through marriage by Henry Fitzhugh in 1837. Sherwood Forest emerged in its own right in the late-1830s when Ball descendant Jane Downman and her new husband, Henry Fitzhugh, built the main house and kitchen. The Fitzhugh buildings and a dilapidated duplex slave cabin remain. A local resident called Sherwood Forest under Fitzhugh's management "the best farm, certainly, between Fredericksburg and the mouth of the river" (National Archives 1873). In 1860 Fitzhugh was one of the largest slaveholders in the county, with his real estate valued at \$40,000 and his personal estate at \$60,000 (Stanton 2007; U.S. Census 1860). The 50 enslaved persons included 21 males (aged 1 to 38) and 29 females (aged 1 to 49); 14 children were aged 12 or under. With seven slave houses, the average number of occupants per house would have been slightly more than seven, somewhat higher than the normal, but the presence of at least two duplex quarters would have mitigated the crowding.

The enslaved individuals at Sherwood Forest worked a farm of 781 acres, producing more corn (10,000 bushels) than any farm in Stafford County and an uncommonly large crop of tobacco (10,000 pounds). Fitzhugh's use of force to punish his enslaved workforce is well documented in his postwar claim to the Federal government for damages—indeed, his is the most vivid example of its kind from the Fredericksburg region (Southern Claims Commission, Fitzhugh Claim testimony).

Architectural Description

The Sherwood Forest duplex slave quarters is a well-built one-story, side-gabled timber-frame building, approximately 30 by 16 feet in dimension, supported on a continuous stone foundation (Photo 29, p. 61). The exterior walls are covered with wide Hardieplank, but portions of the original, narrow-width wood weatherboards are exposed. The spaces between the studs, the siding, and the interior horizontal sheathing boards were infilled with clay nogging (Photo 30, p. 61). The symmetrical façade faces west, with doorways positioned towards the corners of the building, flanking two windows. Another window is located in the south end wall, and one window is centered in each gable.

The building is laid out with two nearly equal-sized, first-floor rooms, divided by a partition of horizontal boards, which originally were heated by fireplaces that shared the central chimney (Photo 31, p. 62). A ladder stair was located in a corner of each room to provide access to the unheated garret, which also is divided by a board partition into two roughly equal-sized spaces (Figure 22, p. 62). A twentieth-century, shed-roofed addition and small porch cover the entire east side of the building, with doorways cut through the original rear wall to provide interior access (Photo 32, p. 63). The gaps between the studs, the siding, and the interior horizontal sheathing boards were infilled with clay nogging. The first floor interior surfaces (wall boards, ceiling joists, underside of attic flooring) have been

whitewashed. The rafters and the partition in the garret are whitewashed as well, and, although unheated, it is certain that the garret was used as a domestic space (Photo 33, p. 63).

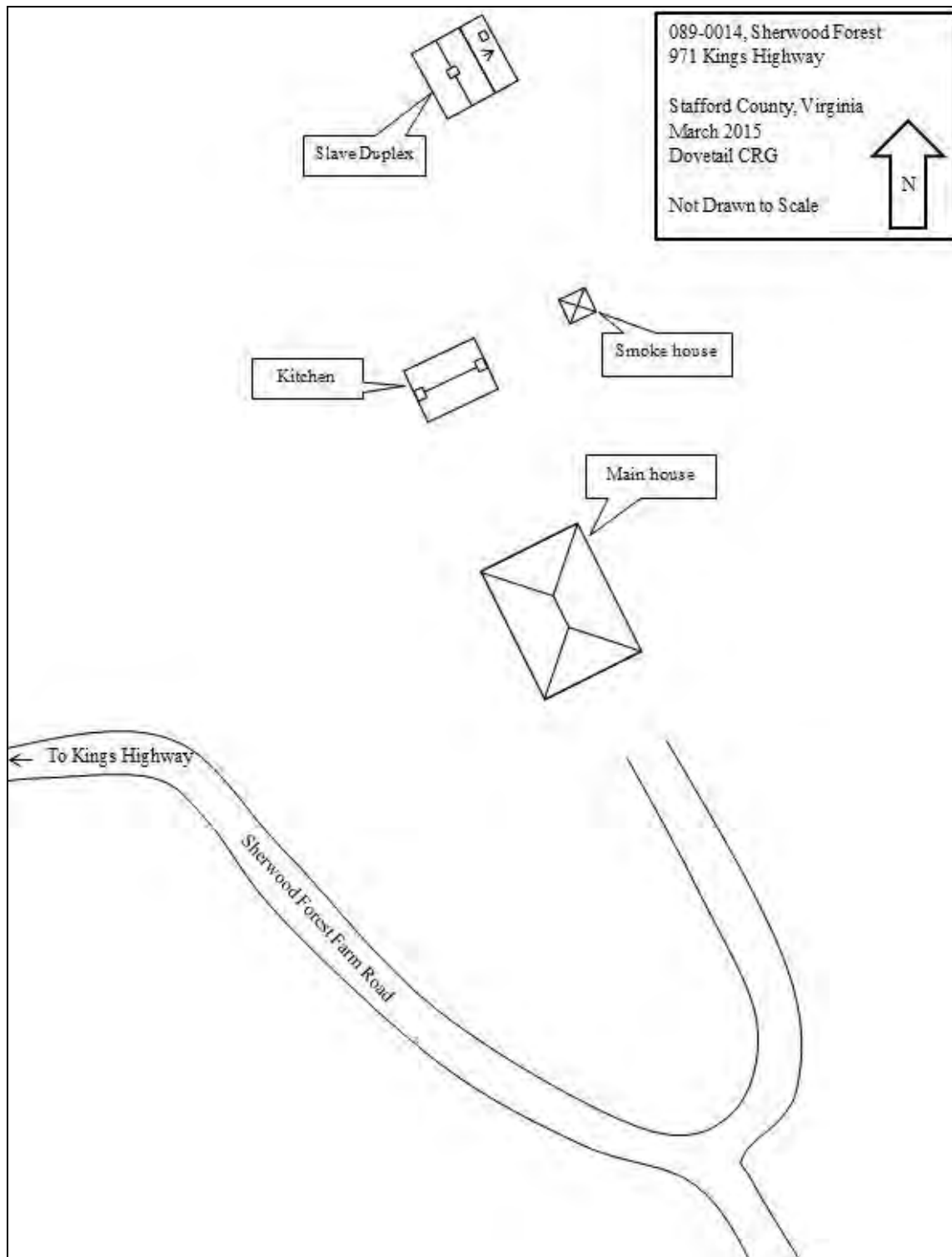


Figure 20: Site Plan of Sherwood Forest.

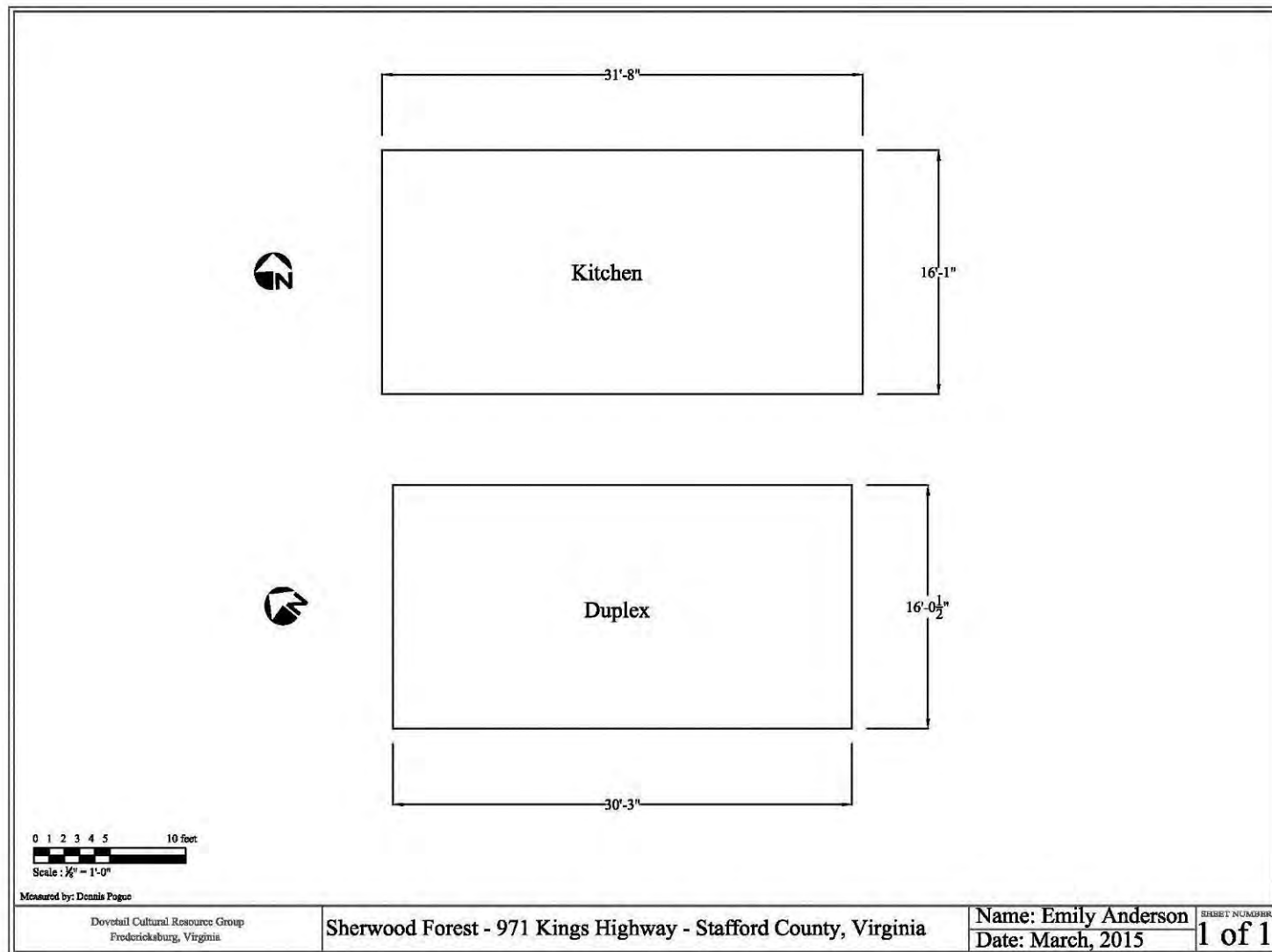


Figure 21: Measured Exterior Plans of the Sherwood Forest Kitchen and Duplex.



Photo 29: Primary (West) Elevation of Sherwood Forest Quarter Duplex.



Photo 30: Clay Nogging on Sill and Siding of the Duplex.



Photo 31: Infilled Fireplace and Stove Hole in the Duplex.

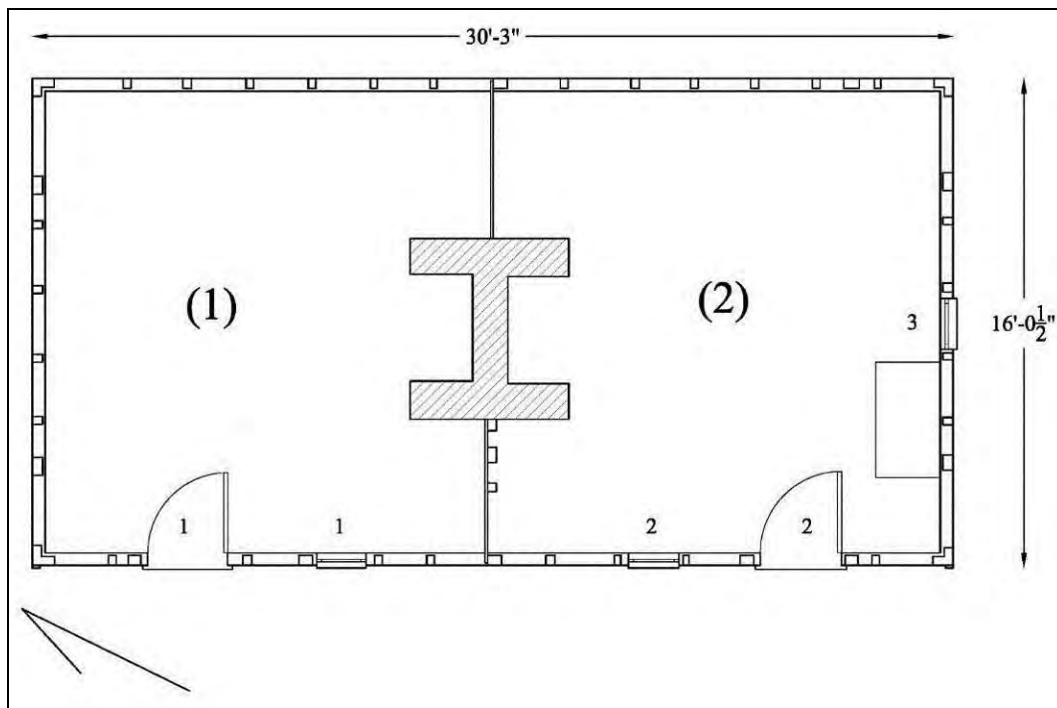


Figure 22: Sherwood Forest Duplex Detailed First Floor Plan.



Photo 32: Sherwood Forest Quarter Duplex, Northeast Oblique.



Photo 33: Roof Frame of the Duplex.

The Sherwood Forest kitchen/quarter is a substantial brick building, four-bays in form and one-and-a-half stories high, roughly 32 by 16 feet in dimension, with a slate-covered, side-gabled roof featuring a corbelled cornice and interior-end chimneys (Photo 34). The kitchen/quarter is in good condition and has recently undergone a variety of repairs, including rebuilding the roof frame, resetting the slate tiles, and restoring the window sash. The symmetrical façade includes two separate doorways, closely set on either side of the interior medial wall, each flanked by a double-sash window (Photo 35, p. 65). The rear elevation is similar, with two centrally positioned doorways and flanking windows, but the western doorway is shifted slightly to accommodate the off-centered stairway positioned in the west room that provides access to the garret (Photo 36, p. 65).

The first-floor rooms are nearly equal in size, separated by the brick wall, but the placement of the stairway in the west room constricts that space; a large fireplace is centered on each end wall (Figure 23–Figure 24, p. 66; Photo 37, p. 67). The layout of the garret is identical, but with fireplaces of a more domestic scale centered on the end walls (Photo 38, p. 67). Two horizontal windows in the façade (currently hinged to tilt inward) provide light to the spaces. The garret had been divided by a wood partition, which was removed during recent repairs made to the roof structure. Based on masonry and carpentry techniques, along with nail types and historical evidence, this structure likely dates to the 1840s and represents the combination of a kitchen and probable laundry downstairs, and domestic spaces for slaves in the half-story above. As such, it exemplifies the more architecturally ambitious, multiple-use structures that served as both work place and domestic space for slaves that were a feature regularly found on elite plantations.



Photo 34: Kitchen/Quarter, Smoke House, and Main House, Southeast Elevation of Kitchen.

Considerable period fabric survives, and the structure retains its essential interior configuration, despite major renovations undertaken during the 1920s–1930s when the entire Sherwood Forest estate and farm was updated. The work included installing new interior wall surfaces (plaster on wire mesh), new trim work around doors and windows, and cabinet-style shelving to either side of the fireplaces, replacing the interior stairs, inserting a doorway in the medial wall, and lowering the ceiling in the garret (Photo 39, p. 68). The building appears to have been kept as a combined kitchen and living space during the twentieth century.



Photo 35: Sherwood Forest Kitchen/Quarter, Primary (South) Elevation.



Photo 36: Kitchen/Quarter, Northeast Oblique.

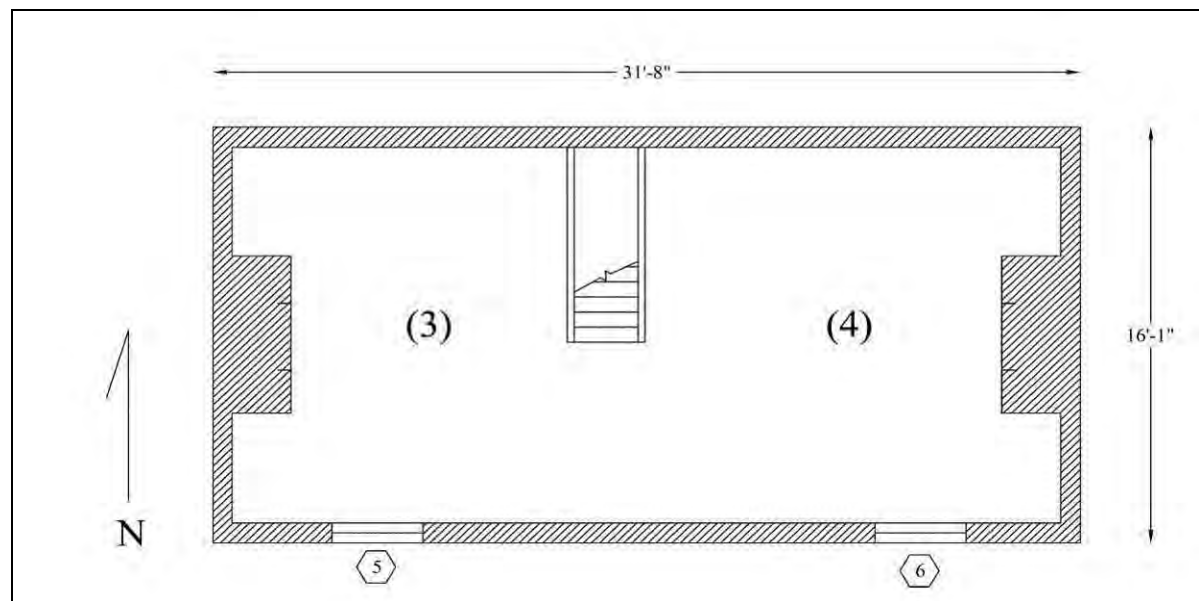
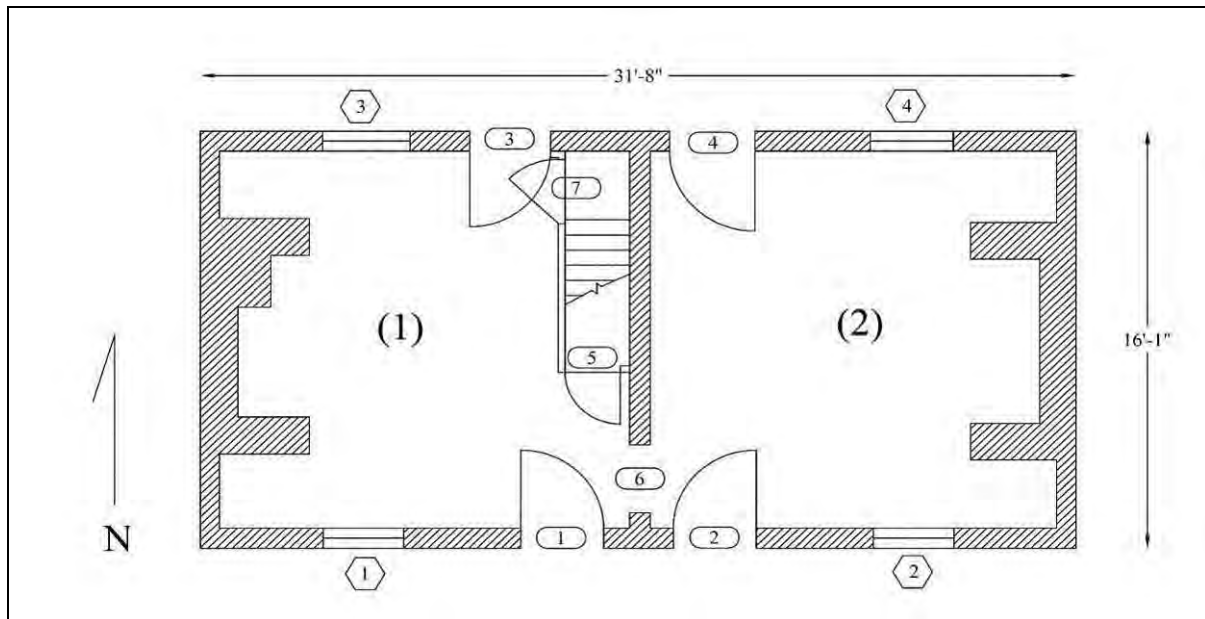




Photo 37: Kitchen/Quarter Fireplace in West Room.



Photo 38: Kitchen/Quarter Garret, East Room.



Photo 39: South Wall in West Room of Kitchen/Quarter.

Belmont Caretaker's Cottage

Belmont "Caretaker's Cottage"
 225 Washington Street
 Stafford County, Virginia
 DHR #: 089-5078 / 089-0067-0052
 Date: Circa 1840



This resource, the "Caretaker's Cottage", is located approximately 175 feet northeast of the Belmont primary dwelling (089-0022) and is a feature of the estate's historic site landscape. It rests on a hill directly northeast of Washington Street, formerly known as Warrenton Road within the Falmouth Historic District in the George Washington election district in Stafford County. The parcel is covered by a manicured grass lawn sparsely dotted with mature trees and medium-sized shrubbery. The lot is bounded by densely wooded areas on the northeast and southeast sides and Washington Street on the northwest and southwest. A stone retaining wall runs along the western border of the parcel along the road, just east of the retaining wall is a wood fence that runs along the property. Both the retaining wall and wood fence terminate northwest of the primary resource at a stone gate. A dirt driveway extends east from Washington Street through the stone gate. The primary elevation faces southwest toward the road (Figure 25–Figure 26, pp. 69–70).

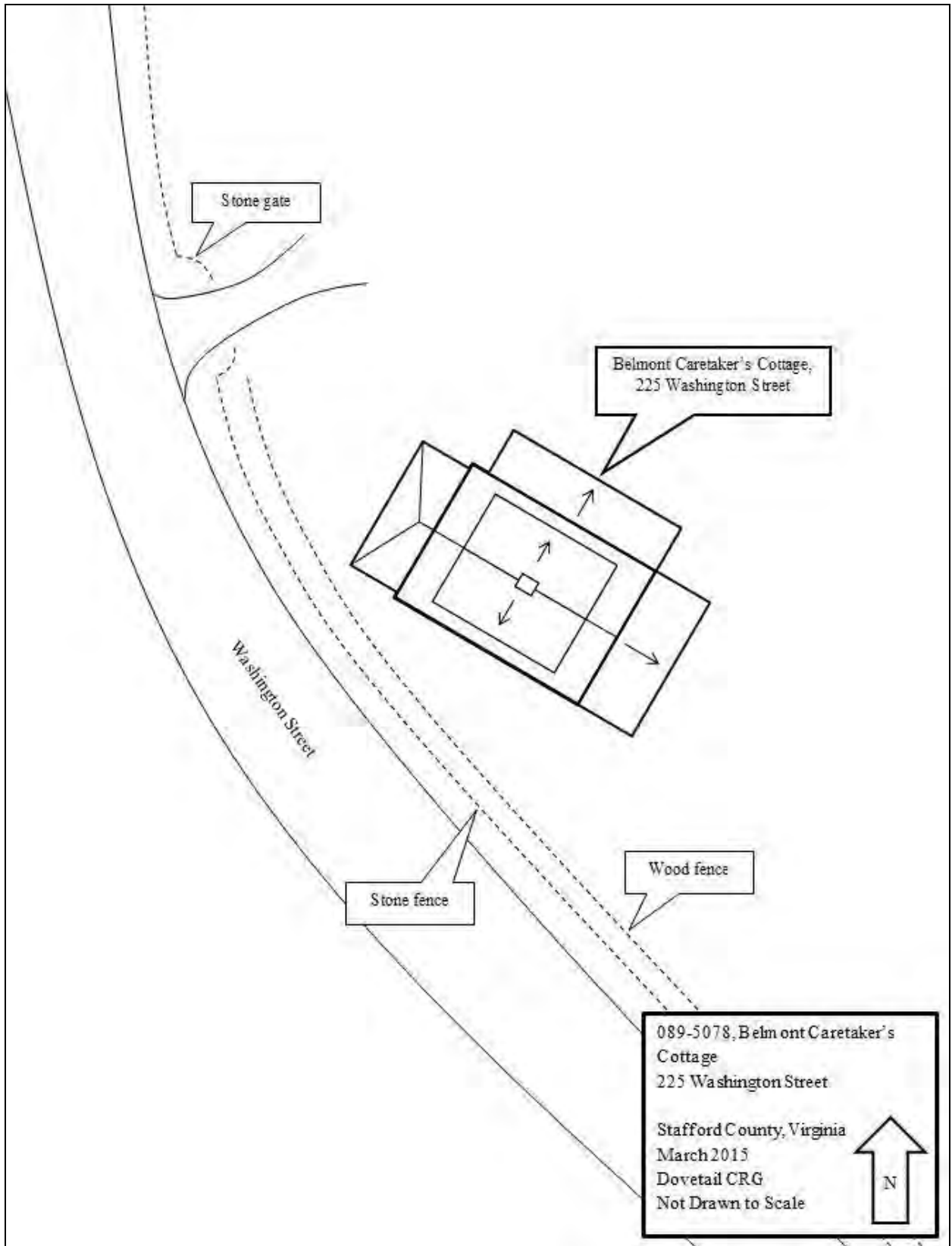


Figure 25: Site Plan of the Belmont Caretaker's Cottage.

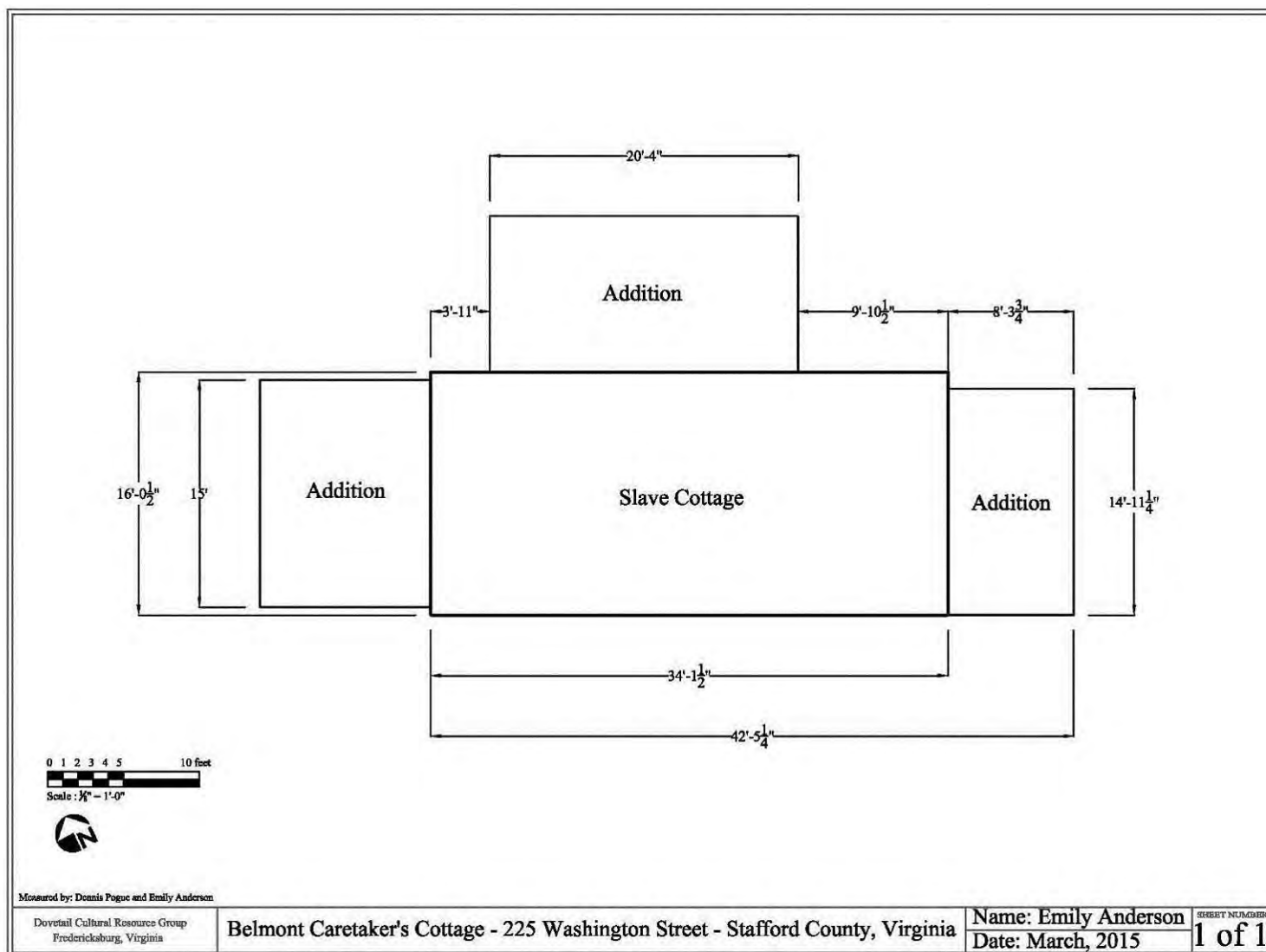


Figure 26: Measured Exterior Plan of the Belmont Caretaker's Cottage.

Archival

The first documentary reference to Belmont consists of a notice that appeared in the December 17, 1823, issue of the Fredericksburg *Virginia Herald* newspaper, advertising the sale of a “large and well-finished dwelling house, and every necessary outhouse, all in good repair.” Most early land records pertaining to the property were destroyed during the Civil War, however what is known is that Belmont had been owned by Susannah Knox, until her death served as the catalyst for the sale in 1823. Joseph B. Ficklen, a prominent local businessman, purchased the tract and made it his home, expanding the existing house in the 1840s to meet the needs of his growing family. The character of the original portion of the cottage, and the types of nails and other details of construction, suggest that what is today known as the Caretaker’s Cottage outbuilding was erected at that time. The cottage is likely to have accommodated enslaved servants for the Ficklen household in the main house, located just a few hundred yards distant (Byrd 2012).

Ficklen’s enterprises, in addition to agriculture, included merchant mills located in the nearby community of Falmouth, and he appears to have been an extremely successful businessman. In 1860 his real estate was valued at \$100,000 and his personal estate at \$300,000. Some of Ficklen’s wealth was in the form of the 27 enslaved individuals listed in the 1860 federal census (U.S. Census 1860). Seven slave houses are enumerated in the census, on average accommodating just less than four individuals. The breakdown of sexes and ages suggests that several families were included, with 12 children listed ranging in age from one to 11 years. The slaves undoubtedly worked his 590 acres of improved farmland while others worked in his Bridgwater Mill located across the Rappahannock from Belmont. Though a Unionist, Ficklen embraced slavery. In a December 30, 1862 letter to his wife, he lamented that he would henceforth have to pay wages to the slaves who remained on his property, “I am at a loss what to do with them.” His house and grounds are well preserved and open to the public. The caretaker’s cottage is one of several surviving dependencies.

Architectural Description

The Belmont Caretaker’s Cottage is a one-and-a-half story, single-family dwelling originally constructed as a slave dwelling around 1840 (Photo 40–Photo 41, pp. 72–73). The caretaker’s cottage is a highly evolved timber-frame structure that at its core incorporates a building that is believed to have functioned originally as a quarter for enslaved workers, likely house servants, on the Belmont property. Currently, a continuous fieldstone foundation supports the building. Portions of the foundation are missing and have been re-pointed with Portland cement. The dwelling is composed of a wood-frame structural system clad in weatherboard siding and is covered by a front-gabled roof sheathed in asphalt shingles. Shed dormers pierce the roof on the southwest and northeast elevations and feature paired six-over-six, double-hung sash, wood windows. A central brick chimney with a corbeled cap pierces the ridge of the roof near the center of the building.



Photo 40: Caretakers Cottage, Southwest Oblique.

The primary resource is off-centered on the northwest elevation. It is filled with a half-light, wood-paneled door covered by a metal and glass storm door. A secondary entrance on the southwest is covered by a wood screen door. Other fenestration includes six-over-six, and four-over-four, double-hung sash, wood windows with simple wood surrounds. The windows on the first floor are flanked by fixed, louvered shutters.

A one-story porch spans the northwest elevation. It rests on a continuous stone foundation, and the ceiling is clad in beaded-boards. Four wood, Doric columns support the hipped roof sheathed in asphalt shingles. The porch is accessed by two large stone steps. A rear screened-in porch extends from the southeast elevation. It rests on a continuous stone foundation, and the wood-frame structural system is partially clad in vertical wood boards.

A one-story addition is located on the dwelling's northeast elevation (Photo 42, p. 73). Its continuous stone foundation supports the frame structural system partially clad in weatherboard siding and partially clad in vertical wood boards. A shed roof sheathed in

asphalt shingles caps the addition. Fenestration includes a single-leaf secondary entrance under the primary roofline, a tripartite window composed of six, fixed-light wood frame windows, and a three-light, wood window.



Photo 41: Caretaker's Cottage, Northwest Oblique.



Photo 42: Caretaker's Cottage Additions, Northeast Oblique.

While the resource has been significantly altered, various studies including historic context, comparative analysis, and architectural study of the current building form and materials conducted by Belmont staff and during the current study indicate what the original building may have looked like. The original one-story, side-gabled roof, four-bay duplex cabin, is supported on a stone foundation, measuring roughly 34 by 16 feet.

The symmetrical façade faced the Belmont house approximately 400 yards to the south, with doorways for each of the roughly equal-sized downstairs rooms, and two regularly spaced double-sash windows in between (Figure 27, p. 74). Ladder stairs positioned in the front corners of the rooms led to the unheated garret spaces above, which mirrored the ground floor layout; a small sash window was likely positioned in each gable. A central chimney stack served the fireplaces positioned back to back on the first floor on either side of the medial partition (Photo 43, p. 75).

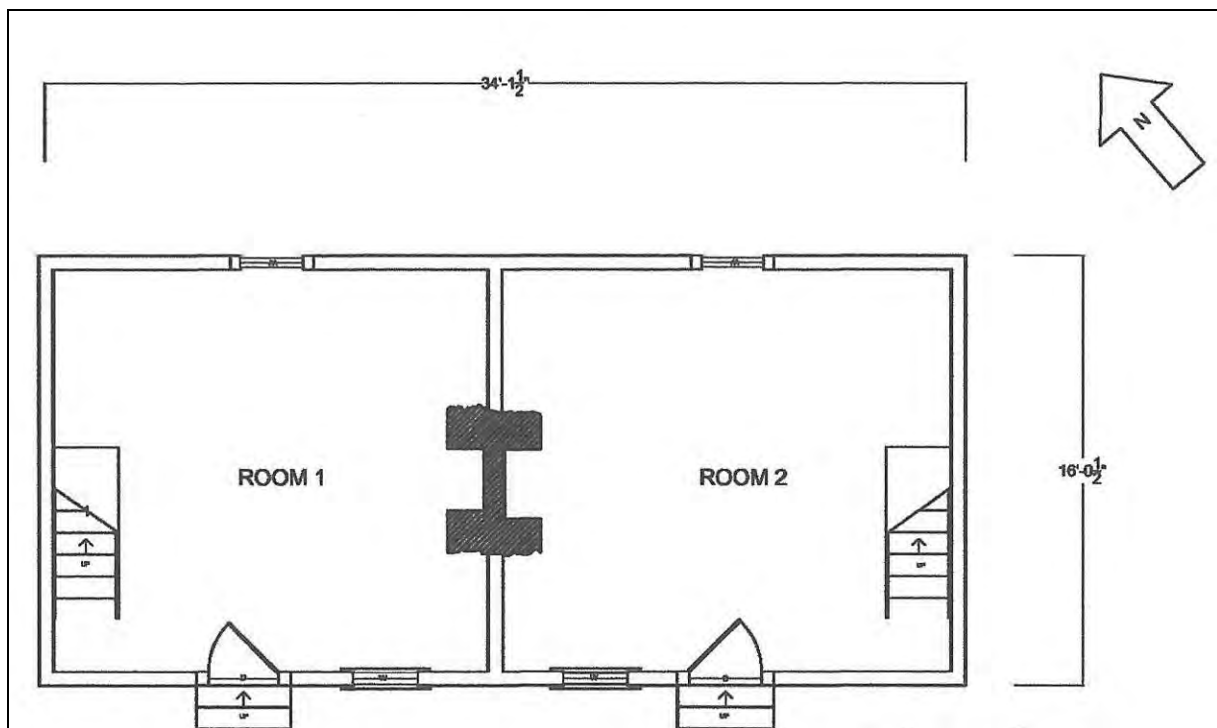


Figure 27: Caretaker's Cottage Original First Floor Plan.



Photo 43: Medial Wall and Fireplace in the East Room.

50 Caisson Road

Log House
50 Caisson Road
Stafford County, Virginia
DHR #: 089-5585
Date: Circa 1820



The resource is a single-family log house located on the northwest side of Caisson Road in rural Stafford County. The parcel is covered by a manicured grass lawn spotted with matured shrubbery and trees. In addition to the main building, various outbuildings dot the property. The 4.1-acre parcel is surrounded by a densely wooded area on all sides. A poured-concrete walkway extends northeast from the driveway and splits into two walkways to meet two entrances on the primary elevation of the resource. A gravel driveway extends northwest from Caisson Road and forms a circle just south of the primary resource. The primary elevation faces southwest toward the driveway (Figure 28–Figure 29, pp. 76–77).

Archival

This log residence was home to Isaac Fines, his wife Delila, and their children. The 1860 census records Isaac as a school teacher owning just \$800 in real estate and \$300 in personal property. That year he and his family (he had two sons listed as “farmers” in the census)

actively farmed just 60 acres of the 135 he owned. There is no evidence that Fines ever owned slaves—none appear in the 1850 or 1860 census and the value of personal property owned (just \$300 in 1860) also suggests the family did not own slaves (US Census 1850, 1860). Oral tradition indicated that this resource was used as slave housing, resulting in its inclusion in the list of properties selected for investigation; however, subsequent archival research completed as part of this study indicates that this site has no connection to use by slaves.

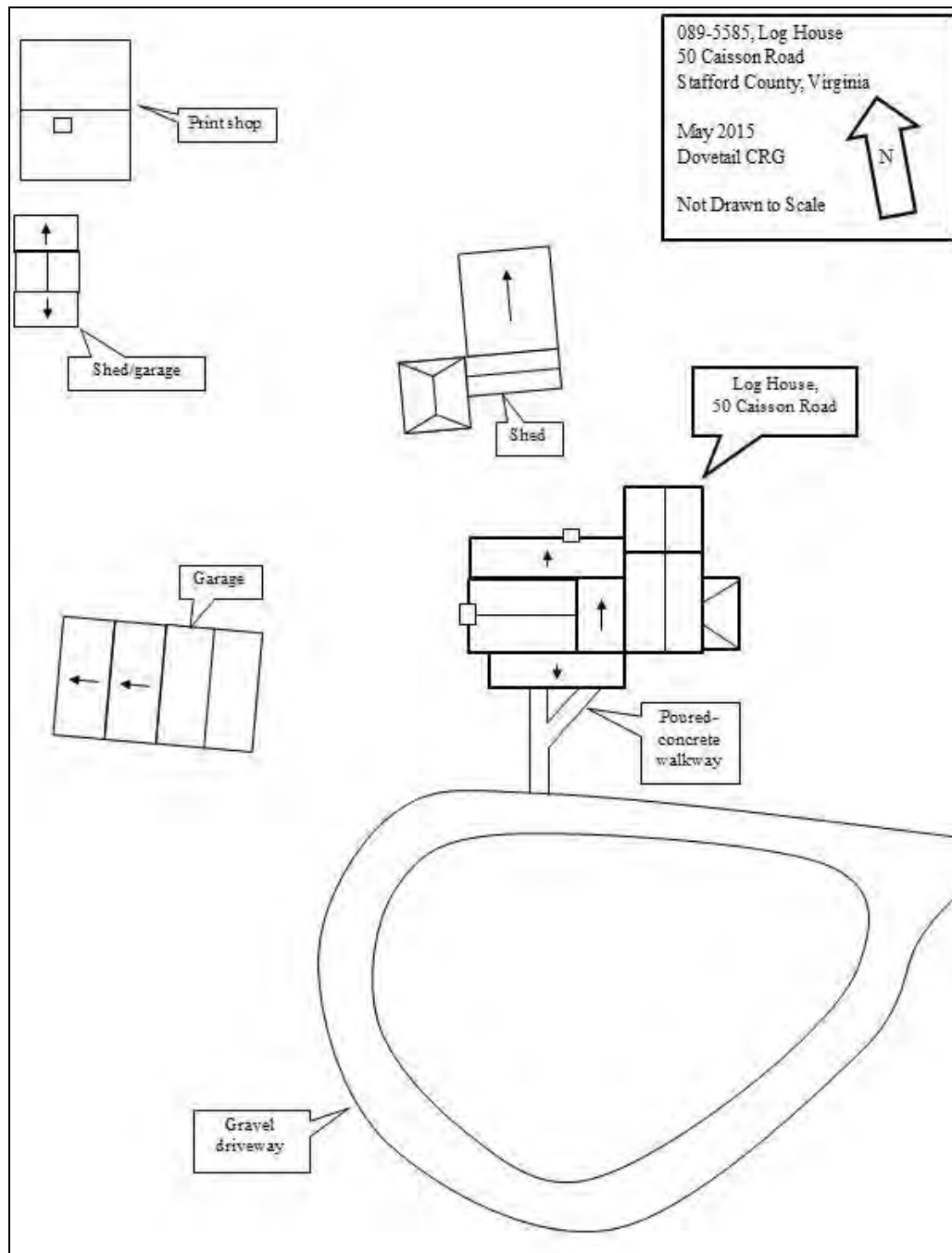


Figure 28: Site Plan of the House at 50 Caisson Road.

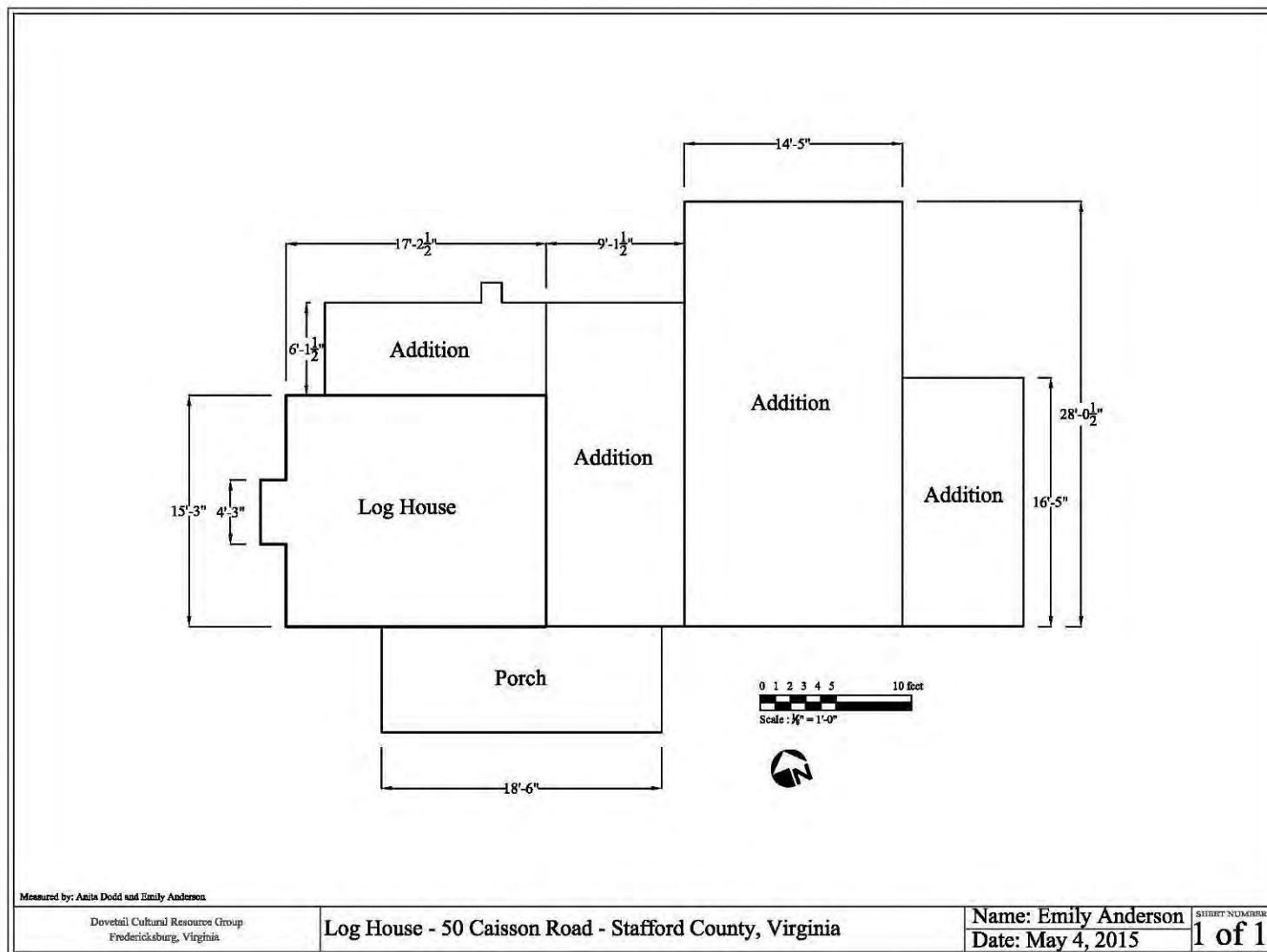


Figure 29: Measured Exterior Plan of 50 Caisson Road.

Architectural Description

The log house at 50 Caisson Road is a one-story, two-bay, single-family log house constructed around 1820 with a form common to the area and era in which it was constructed (Photo 44). The original core of the house measures 17 feet 2.5 inches by 15 feet 3 inches. A jetty measuring approximately 6 inches is located on the northeast and southwest elevations (Photo 45, p. 79). This treatment dates back hundreds of years in England and America, as a means of creating a somewhat more commodious second-story space, which was especially popular in urban environments where ground space was at a premium. The dwelling rests on sandstone piers with cement infill and the log structural system is clad in wood shingles. The building is covered by a moderately pitched, side-gabled roof sheathed in asphalt paper. A 4-foot, 3-inch, hipped brick chimney is flush against the northwest elevation.



Photo 44: 50 Caisson Road, Primary (South) Elevation.



Photo 45: Jettied Construction Detail on Northeast Elevation.

The primary entrance, filled with a single-leaf, wood, board-and-batten door covered by a wood screen storm door, is located on the primary (southwest) elevation. Other fenestration includes three-over-three and four-over-four, double-hung-sash, wood windows with wood surrounds and a six-light casement window in the gable. Louvered, wood shutters flank the windows on the primary elevation. A one-story, two-bay porch spans a portion of the southwest elevation. It rests on poured concrete and is supported by chamfered wood posts. The porch is covered by a shed roof sheathed in asphalt paper.

Extending from the northeast elevation is a one-story addition clad in wood shingles and covered by a shed roof sheathed in asphalt paper (Photo 46, p. 80). Immediately adjacent to the northeast elevation is a brick chimney with an arched brick chimney cap. Access is gained through a single-leaf, board-and-batten door with a simple wood surround located on the northeast elevation. Other fenestration includes three-over-three, double-hung sash, wood windows with wide wood frames.

A two-story addition extends from the southeast elevation. While the foundation and structural system are not visible, it is clad in wood shingles and covered by a shed roof sheathed in asphalt paper with exposed rafter tails below. Fenestration includes a single-leaf, 12-light, one-panel door and six-over-six, double-hung sash, wood windows both flanked by wooden louvered shutters. A two-story, two-bay addition set on non-visible foundation extends off of the southeast elevation of the addition. The addition is covered by a front-gabled roof clad in standing-seam metal with exposed rafter tails below. It is clad in wood shingles and contains six-over-six, double-hung-sash, wood frame windows flanked by wood, louvered shutters on the southwest and southeast elevations. A vent is located in the gable on the southwest and northeast elevations.

Extending from the two-story addition's southeast elevation is a one-story addition (Photo 47). The foundation and structural system are not visible but are clad in wood shingles and capped by a hipped roof sheathed in standing-seam metal with exposed rafter tails. A single-leaf, wood door covered by a metal and glass storm door is located on the southeast elevation. Other fenestration includes one-over-one, double-hung sash, vinyl windows with false muntins.



Photo 46: Additions on 50 Caisson Road, North Elevation.



Photo 47: Additions on 50 Caisson Road, Southeast Oblique.

Falmouth Cemetery

Falmouth Cemetery
Carter Street
Stafford County, Virginia
DHR #: 089-0067-0037 / 44ST0081
Date: Circa 1850



The Falmouth Cemetery is located approximately 200 feet southwest of Butler Road and approximately 300 feet southeast of Carter Street in the George Washington election district within the town of Falmouth in Stafford County. The parcel on which the resource sits measures 2.9 acres and is covered by manicured grass and contains mature deciduous and coniferous trees. The lot is bounded by Carter Street on the northwest, Butler Road on the northeast, a gravel parking lot on the southeast, and a densely wooded area on the southwest. The cemetery is lined by a chain fence supported by brick piers. One marked slave interment is located in this cemetery but it is probable that additional unmarked graves of enslaved individuals are located in this lot (Figure 30, p. 82).

Archival

The Union Church and Cemetery is a contributing resource in the Falmouth Historic District and dates back to 1733. The original church building had a cross-shaped plan and was located on the hill in the center of the cemetery. The church was destroyed by fire, and a new church was built to the southwest in the location of the current church building. Given this landscape, the Falmouth Cemetery was original designed to encircle the original church footprint; after the original church was destroyed, this central element was gone and interments were installed over the old church foundation area to create a continuous layout. Currently, the cemetery contains 461 marked graves beginning in the late-eighteenth century, including several African-American graves, and is still in use today (DHR 2010).

Architectural Description

The marked slave burial in the Falmouth Cemetery dates to around 1850 (Photo 48, p. 83). The sandstone headstone in the shape of a pointed arch with caps reads “In Memory of OSBORNE MERRICKS, Servant of Murray Forbes, Aged 85 years, Well done thy good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many” (Photo 49, p. 83). The inscription on the stone faces east as is typical for Christian burials. There is no footstone visible on the surface.

The Osborne Merricks burial is surrounded by approximately 461 other known/marked graves dating from 1758 through 2015. However, there are no other marked burials of known enslaved individuals, although Falmouth’s population was approximately one-quarter to one-half enslaved during eighteenth and nineteenth century. It is probable that additional graves of enslaved people are located in this cemetery, but they were originally marked with less permanent material than stone. Over the years, the markers have been removed—whether due to rot or landscaping of the surrounding grass.

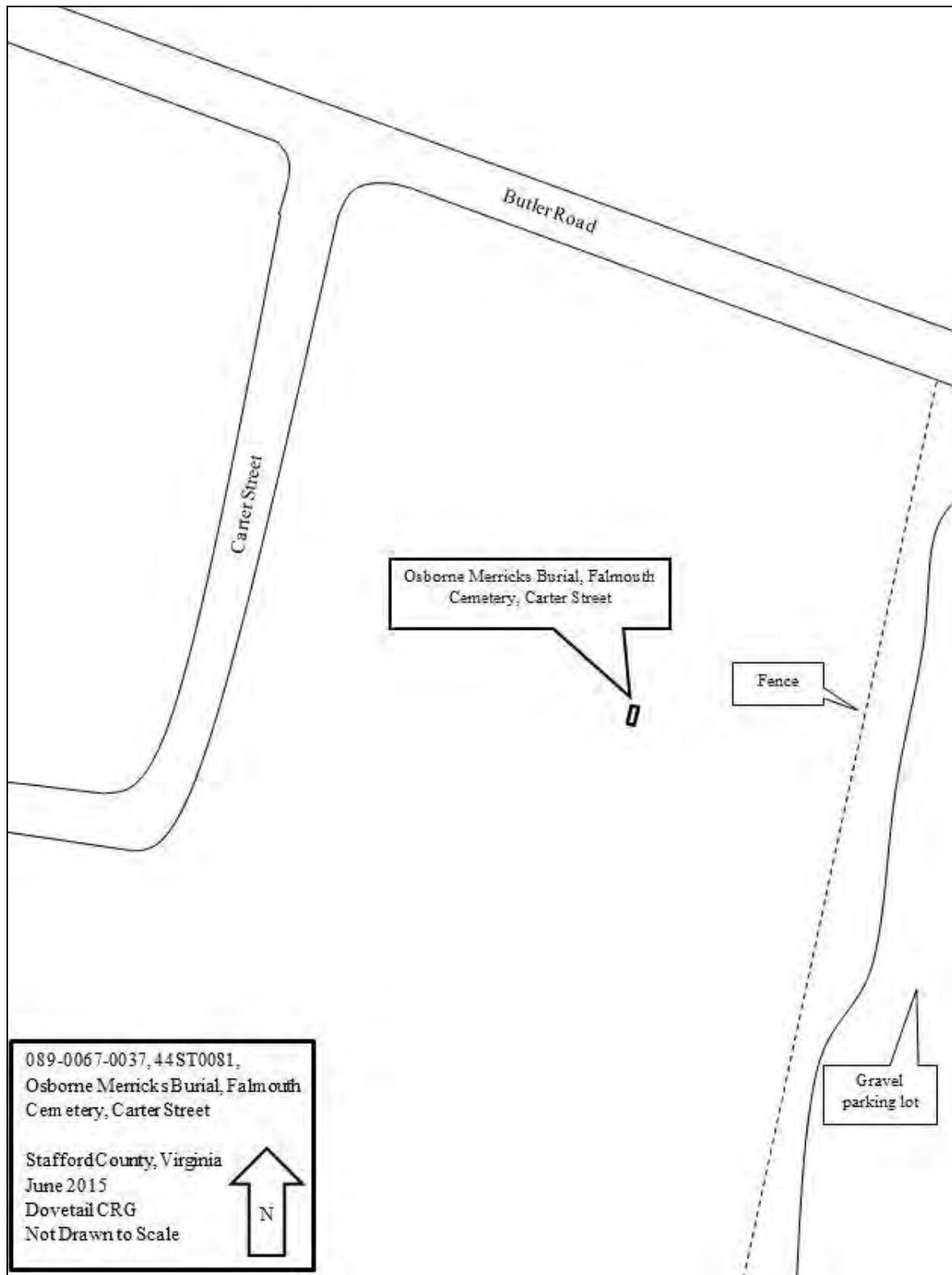


Figure 30: Location of the Osborne Merricks Burial within the Falmouth Cemetery.



Photo 48: Osborne Merricks Headstone at Falmouth Cemetery, Looking West.



Photo 49: Headstone Detail.

Dunbar Kitchen/Quarter

Dunbar Kitchen/Quarter
107 Carter Street
Falmouth, Virginia
DHR #: 089-0067-0009
Date: Circa 1780



The resource is located on the northeast side of Carter Street, approximately 200 feet southeast of the intersection of Jefferson Davis Highway (Route 1) and Warrenton Road (Route 17) in the George Washington election district in the town of Falmouth in Stafford County. The rectangular parcel is covered by a manicured, grass lawn sparsely dotted with mature trees. A wood fence is located directly northeast of the primary resource. Road improvements are infringing on the parcel on the northwest and northeast sides. An asphalt driveway extends northeast from Carter Street and terminates just southwest of the primary resource. The primary elevation faces southwest toward Carter Street (Figure 31, p. 85).

Archival

Robert Dunbar was a merchant and a substantial property owner who made his home in the town of Falmouth, not far from Joseph Ficklen's residence at Belmont. In 1790 Dunbar purchased several houses and properties from Daniel Triplett, and he lived for many decades at Lot #21, currently bounded on the south by Carter Street (Dunbar n.d.). According to the 1810 federal census, Dunbar oversaw a substantial household of 20 and owned 38 slaves (U.S. Census 1810). Upon his demise in 1831, Dunbar's heirs remained in the family home until Anna Dunbar's death in 1878. In 1860 Anna Dunbar owned four slaves, an adult man and woman and two children, aged 3 and 6, and was noted as having one slave house (U.S. Census 1860). The main residence is believed to have been destroyed around the turn of the last century, but a substantial framed structure survives that was located nearby, which likely served as a combined kitchen and slave quarter.

Architectural Description

The building at 107 Carter Street is a one-story, five-bay kitchen/quarter (Figure 32, p. 86; Photo 50, p. 87). The timber-frame structural system, measuring 32 feet 4.5 inches by 18 feet 8 inches, is parged with stucco—a practice that was often undertaken to obscure the evidence of significant alterations made to a façade. The building is covered by a side-gabled roof sheathed in wood shakes with unadorned wood boxed eaves. Three gabled dormers pierce the roof on the southwest elevation and two on the northeast elevation. They contain six-over-six, double-hung sash, wood windows and are covered by gabled roofs sheathed in wood shakes. Two hipped, composite masonry chimneys flank the building on the northwest and southeast elevations (Photo 51, p. 87). They are composed of fieldstone on the bottom half and stretcher-bond brick on the top with a corbeled brick cap. At more than 10 feet in width the base of the east chimney is quite large, suggesting that it serviced a correspondingly expansive fireplace of the type usually found in kitchens of the period.

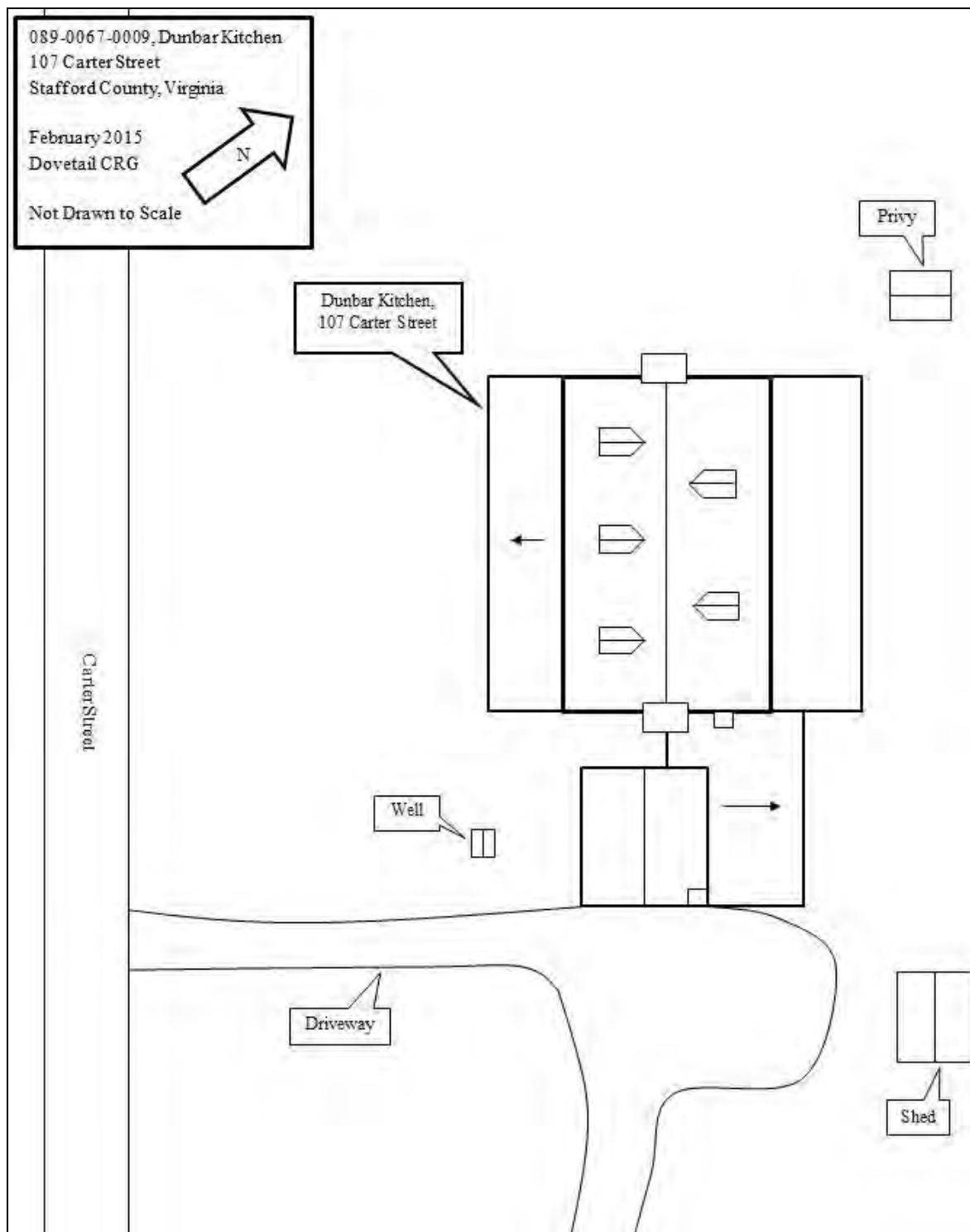


Figure 31: Site Plan of the Dunbar Kitchen/Quarter and Other Outbuilding.

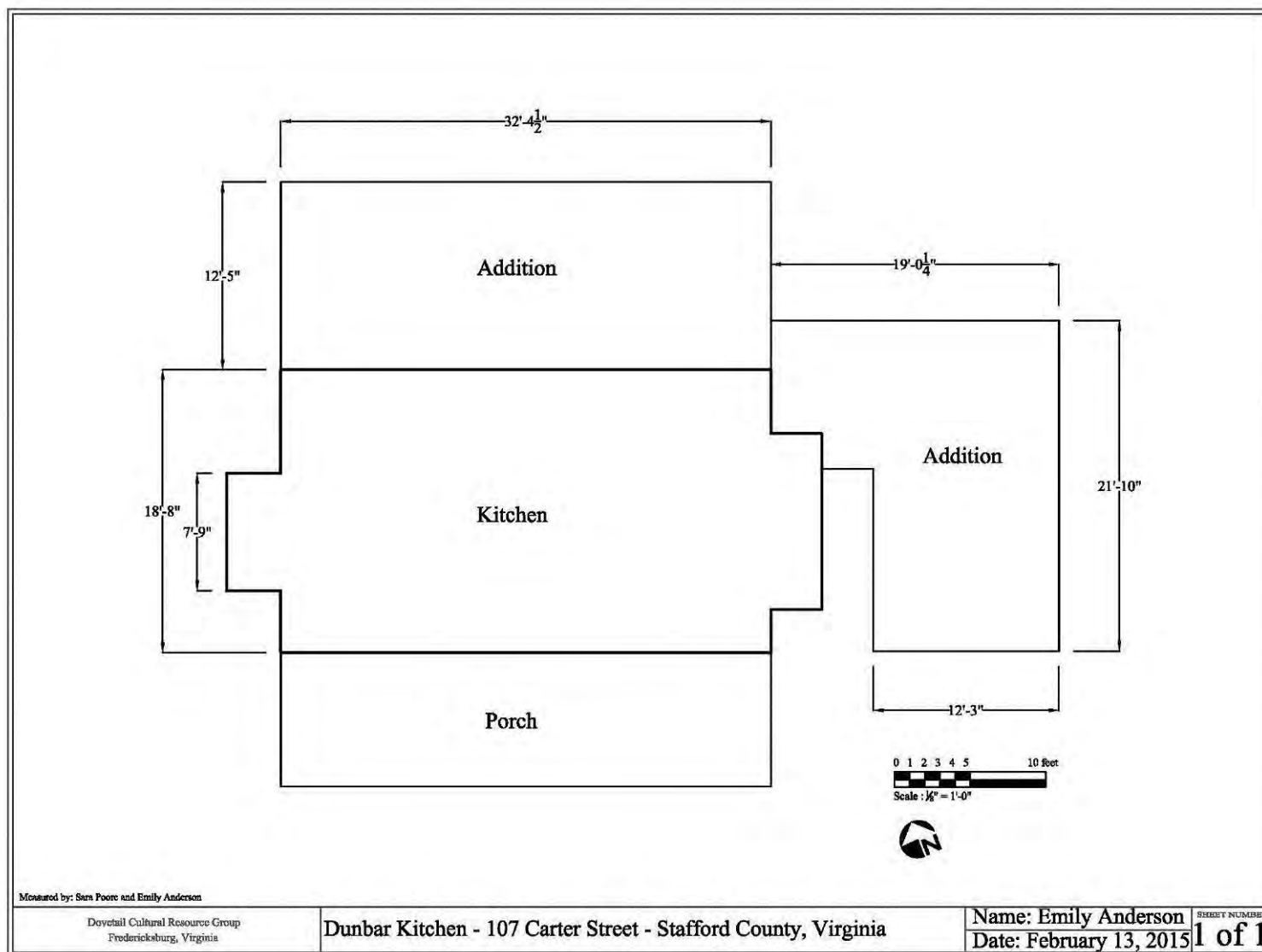


Figure 32: Measured Exterior Plan of the Dunbar Kitchen/Quarter.



Photo 50: Dunbar Kitchen/Quarter, West Oblique.



Photo 51: Dunbar Kitchen/Quarter, Northwest Elevation.

The primary entry—filled by a single-leaf replacement door covered by a metal and glass storm door—is off-centered on the southwest elevation (Photo 52). Other fenestration includes six-over-six, double-hung-sash, wood-framed windows. Comparison to a photograph taken between 1925–1929 indicates that the building has been altered somewhat from its original four-bay façade, which had a doorway and window centered in each bay (Photo 53).



Photo 52: South Oblique of Dunbar Kitchen/Quarter.



Photo 53: Dunbar Kitchen/Quarter, Circa 1920 (LOC 1925–1929).

A one-story, full-width porch spans the southwest elevation. It rests on poured-concrete covered by flagstone and is supported by paired metal posts. The porch is covered by a shed roof.

Located on the northeast elevation is a one-story addition. Its parged foundation and structural system are covered by a flat roof sheathed in metal. Fenestration includes single and paired two-over-two, double-hung-sash, wood windows. The window on the southeast elevation is covered by an aluminum awning.

Extending from the addition's southeast elevation is a one-story screened-in porch (Photo 54). It rests on a poured-concrete foundation, and the wood frame structural system is capped by a shed roof sheathed in metal. A concrete-block chimney pierces the roof near the northwestern portion of the porch.



Photo 54: Kitchen/Quarter Additions, Southeast Elevation.

The apparent two-room ground-floor plan of the main building space, with separate entries and fireplaces as indicated in the historic photograph, suggests that it could have served as a duplex slave quarter, but the oversized chimney centered on the east end wall makes it more likely that it was a multi-use building. In that case the west ground-floor room would have served as a quarter, likely with access to the garret above, with the east bay (and the site of the main house) serving as the kitchen.

Previously an outbuilding, a one-story addition is joined to the primary resource through the screened-in porch (Photo 55, p. 90). This addition is supported by a continuous, dry-laid stone foundation. The structural system, likely wood frame, is clad in weatherboard siding with unadorned wooden corner boards. A side-gabled roof sheathed in wood shakes covers

the addition. A stretcher-bond brick chimney pierces the roof on the northeast elevation. Access is gained through a single-leaf, half-light, wood paneled door covered by a glass and metal storm door on the southwest elevation. Other fenestration includes six-over-six, double-hung sash, wood windows with simple wood surrounds and a window in the southeast gable covered by a board-and-batten shutter. Its approximately square footprint and lack of a chimney suggests that it may have functioned as a dairy.



Photo 55: Addition, Looking East.

Hollywood

Hollywood Kitchen
189 Hollywood Farm Road
Stafford County, Virginia
DHR #: 089-0072
Circa 1823



The resource at 189 Hollywood Farm Road is located on west side of Hollywood Farm Road on a hill approximately 0.2 miles north of the railroad bed in the George Washington election district of rural Stafford County. The resource sits on a 2-acre, rectangular parcel covered by a manicured grass lawn and surrounded by a densely wooded area on the south, west and part of the north. The parcel is sparsely dotted with mature trees and saplings. Extending from the kitchen's northwest elevation is a pressed concrete walkway which spans the entire northwest elevation and terminates at the rear (southwest) elevation. A gravel driveway extends southwest from the road and forms a circle directly west of the primary resource. The primary elevation faces northeast toward Hollywood Farm Road (Figure 33–Figure 34Figure 34, pp. 91–92).

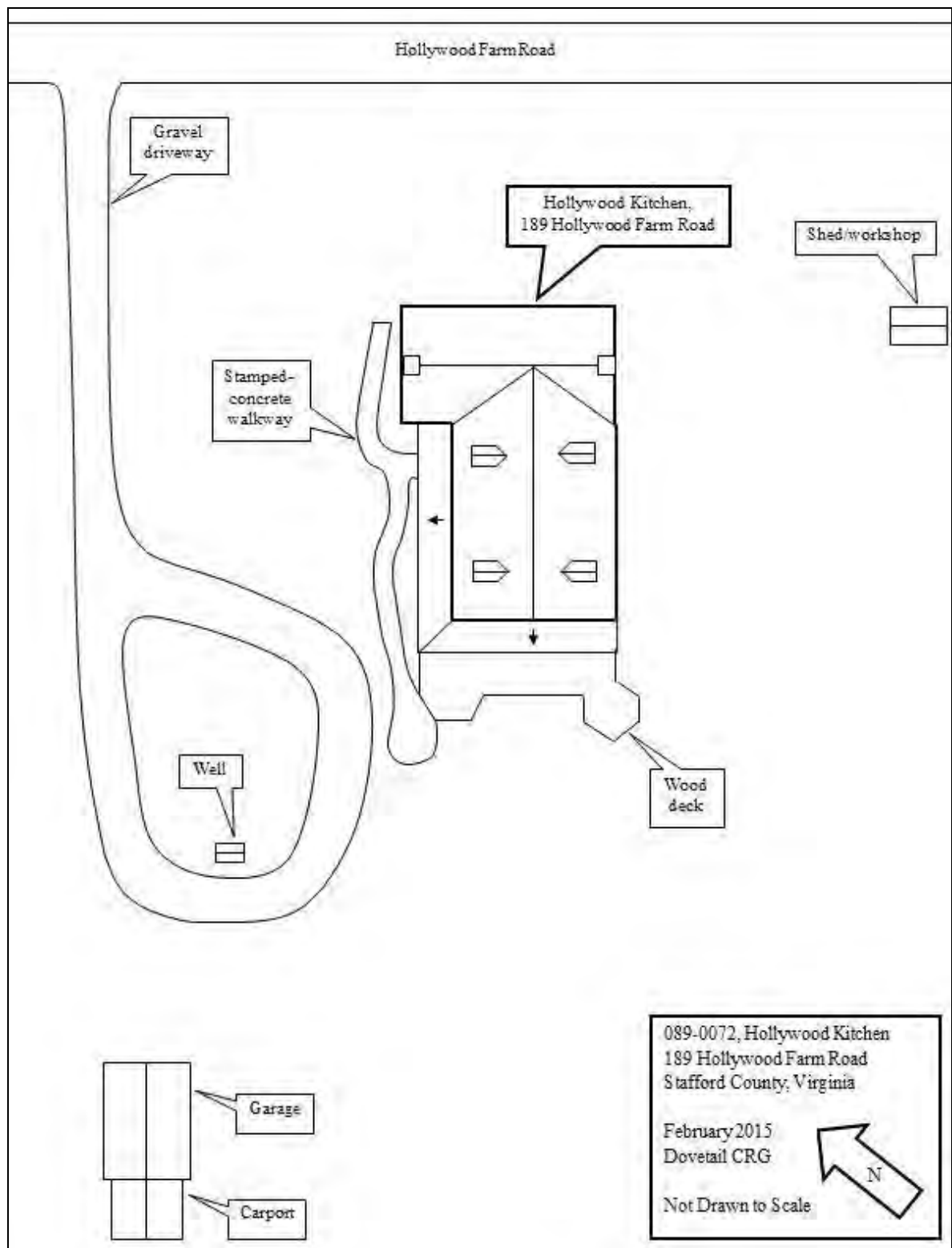


Figure 33: Site Plan of Hollywood Farm.

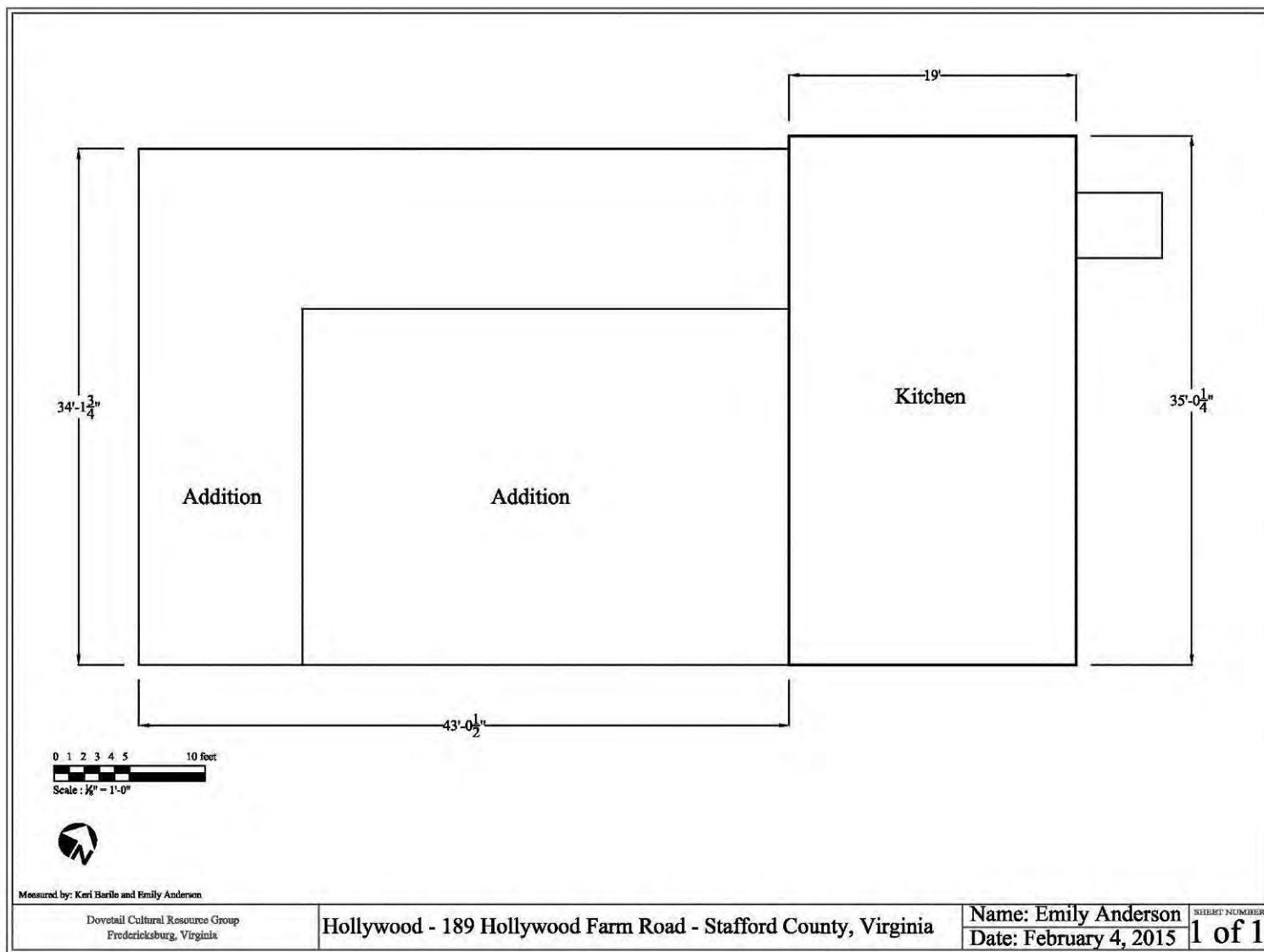


Figure 34: Measured Exterior Plan of Hollywood Farm.

Archival

The tract known as Hollywood was established by Major Francis Thornton in the late 1600s. The property remained in Francis's possession until his death in 1726, at which time it was passed to his grandson William. Upon William's death the property was passed down to his daughter Lucy who eventually married John Alexander. John's death led to the transfer of property to William Alexander of Snowden, whose daughter Ann married Alexander Morson in 1800. It is likely that Alexander Morson built the house (no longer standing) and outbuildings currently known as Hollywood in 1823 (Eby 1997:259). In 1850, Alexander Morson owned 59 slaves who worked his 600 acres of fields and 630 acres of forest and unimproved land. That year Hollywood yielded 1,500 bushels of corn and 1,000 bushels of oats—one of the most productive farms in Stafford County (U.S. Agricultural Census 1850). Morson died in 1850. The property has been known as Hollywood since his occupation, including several references to the property on Civil War-era maps.

Architectural Description

The building at 189 Hollywood Farm Road is a one story, two-bay brick kitchen that measures approximately 35 feet $\frac{1}{4}$ inch by 19 feet (Photo 56). The building faces the site of the former Hollywood farm house and its size and proximity suggest that it served as a kitchen, with quartering spaces very likely provided for slaves in the garret. The kitchen is constructed with a masonry foundation and structural system laid in a three to one bond. Various Greek inscriptions are carved into the brick on the southeast and northwest elevations, one of which reads "rest from toil" (Photo 57, p. 93); some of these inscriptions may date to the Civil War. Covering the building is a side-gabled roof sheathed in standing-seam metal with a boxed eave, frieze board, unadorned fascia, and decorative wood bed molding. Two interior-end brick chimneys with corbeled caps are flush against the northwest and southeast elevations.



Photo 56: Hollywood Kitchen, Northeast Elevation.



Photo 57: Greek Inscriptions on Southeast Elevation.

Access is currently gained through an addition; however, a splayed jack arch and scarring in the brick indicate the previous presence of a door off-centered on the primary (northeast) elevation (Photo 58). A tripartite stained-glass, wood-framed window is located on the northeast elevation. Other fenestration includes two-over-two, double-hung sash wood windows and a one-over-one, double-hung sash aluminum window covered by a splayed jack arch (Photo 59, p. 95). While no windows are located on the rear (southwest) elevation of the kitchen, a portion of a splayed jack arch is visible and provides an indication of the previous placement of a window (Photo 60, p. 95).



Photo 58: Splayed Jack Arch and Brick Scarring on Northeast Elevation Showing an Original Entry Location.



Photo 59: Hollywood Kitchen, East Oblique.



Photo 60: Splayed Jack Arch on Southwest Elevation Noting an Original Fenestration.

A one-and-a-half story modern addition extends from the southwest elevation (Photo 61, p. 96). The addition rests on a poured-concrete foundation, and its wood-frame structural system is clad in beaded vinyl siding. The building is covered by a side-gabled roof clad in asphalt paper. Gabled dormers pierce the roof on the northwest and southeast elevations. They are sheathed in beaded vinyl siding and asphalt paper and contain one-over-one,

double-hung sash vinyl windows. The primary entrance is filled by a single-leaf, half-light door and located on the northwest elevation. Two secondary entrances—filled by double-leaf, French doors—are located on the southwest elevation. A secondary entrance on the southeast elevation is filled by a single-leaf, half-light door. Other fenestration includes single and paired one-over-one, double-hung-sash, vinyl windows. A wrap-around porch extends from the addition's northwest and southwest elevations. Its shed roof is supported by square wood posts and sheathed in asphalt paper. A wood deck extends from the addition's southwest elevation. It rests on wood piers and is circled by a wood balustrade (Photo 62).



Photo 61: Addition, West Oblique.



Photo 62: Addition and Deck, South Oblique.

Springfield Farm Kitchen and Smoke/Meat House

Springfield Kitchen and Smoke/Meat House
Springfield Lane
Stafford County, Virginia
DHR #: 089-0094
Date: Kitchen, circa 1830s;
Smoke/Meat House circa 1830s



The resources at Springfield Lane are located approximately 0.25 miles southeast of Forest Lane Road on Springfield Lane in the George Washington election district in rural Stafford County and are associated with historic Springfield (no longer standing). The approximately 10-acre parcel on which the resource sits is covered by a manicured grass lawn dotted by mature trees, saplings, and both medium and large-sized shrubbery. The resource is located directly east of a primary dwelling. A gravel driveway extends southeast from the road and turns in an easterly direction along the parcel line and intersects with Caisson Road approximately 0.5 miles east of the primary resource. Small shrubberies grow adjacent to the foundation on the south elevation (Figure 35, p. 98).

Archival

Another of the expansive farms along the tidal Rappahannock, Springfield included about 440 acres of land managed from a main residence that still stands. Built by Charles Bruce in the 1820s, the house featured six rooms, “several convenient closets,” an excellent spring nearby, “and constant springs in every direction where water is necessary” (Eby 1997:529). By 1850, the farm had passed to Bruce’s daughter Sarah Mason Bruce and her husband, Thomas Battle Hay. Hay managed 300 acres of improved land, running a variety of livestock worth \$1,000 and producing 625 bushels of corn and 700 bushels of oats. (U.S. Agricultural Census 1850). In 1850, Hay owned eight enslaved individuals, and, given the size of his operation, possibly rented more (U.S. Census 1850).

Architectural Description

The two outbuildings at the Springfield farm very likely represent the remnants of the nineteenth-century homelot complex. The building at Springfield Lane is a one-story, one-bay kitchen constructed sometime in the 1830s (Figure 36, p. 99; Photo 63, p. 100). The kitchen measures 16 feet 2 inches by 14 feet 4.5 inches. The building rests on concrete slab, likely a later improvement from an earlier foundation. Board-and-batten siding covers the wood-frame structural system. A front-gabled roof sheathed in standing-seam metal caps the kitchen; it features overhanging, open eaves and exposed rafter tails.

The primary entrance is located on the west elevation and is filled with a single-leaf, door composed of vertical wood boards and a fixed, square light at the top (Photo 64, p. 100). A secondary entry—a single-leaf, board-and-batten door—is located on the south elevation (Photo 65, p. 101). Other fenestration includes six-light, wood, awning windows. A ribbon

window composed of six-light awning windows is featured on the north elevation (Photo 66, p. 101).

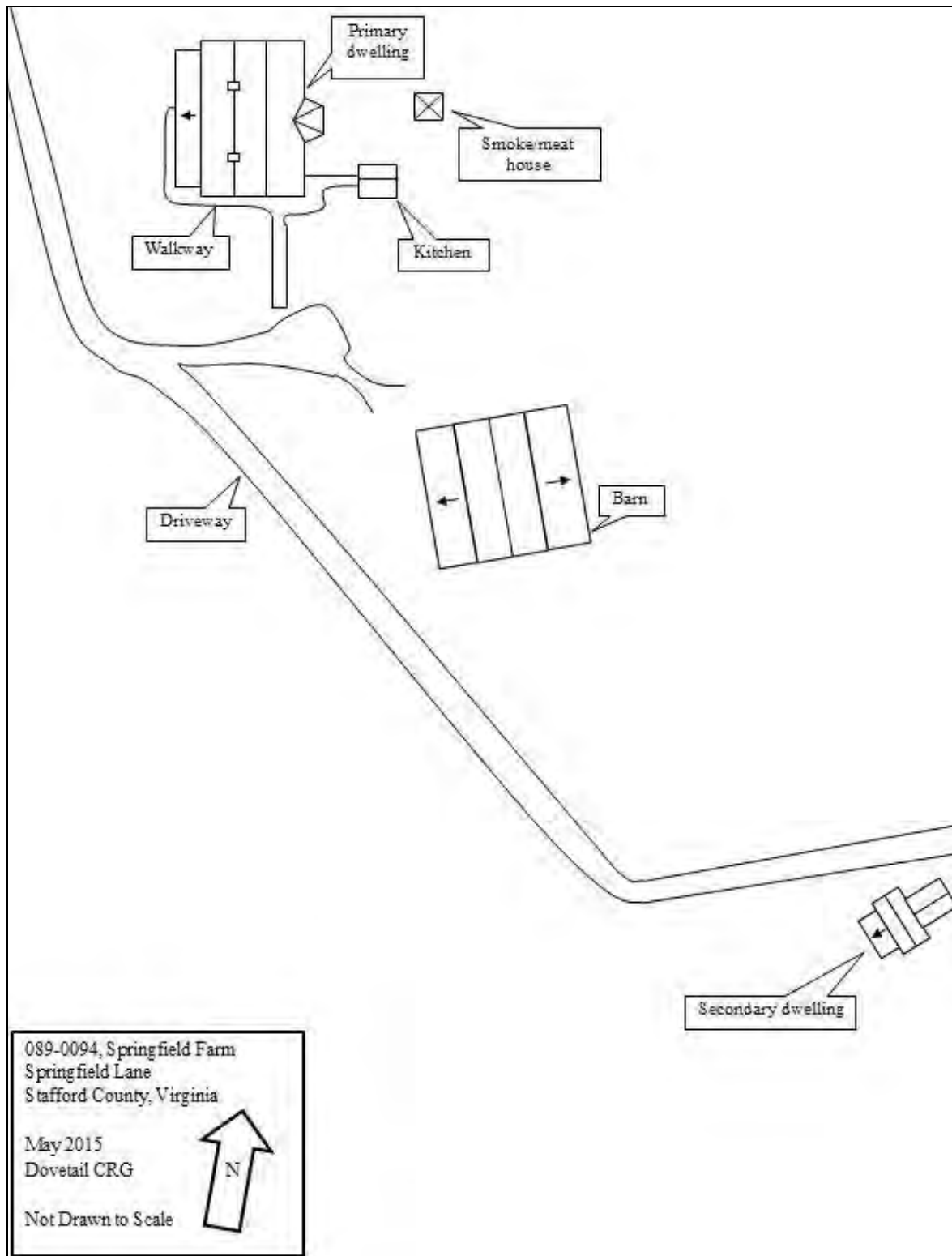


Figure 35: Site Plan of Springfield Farm.

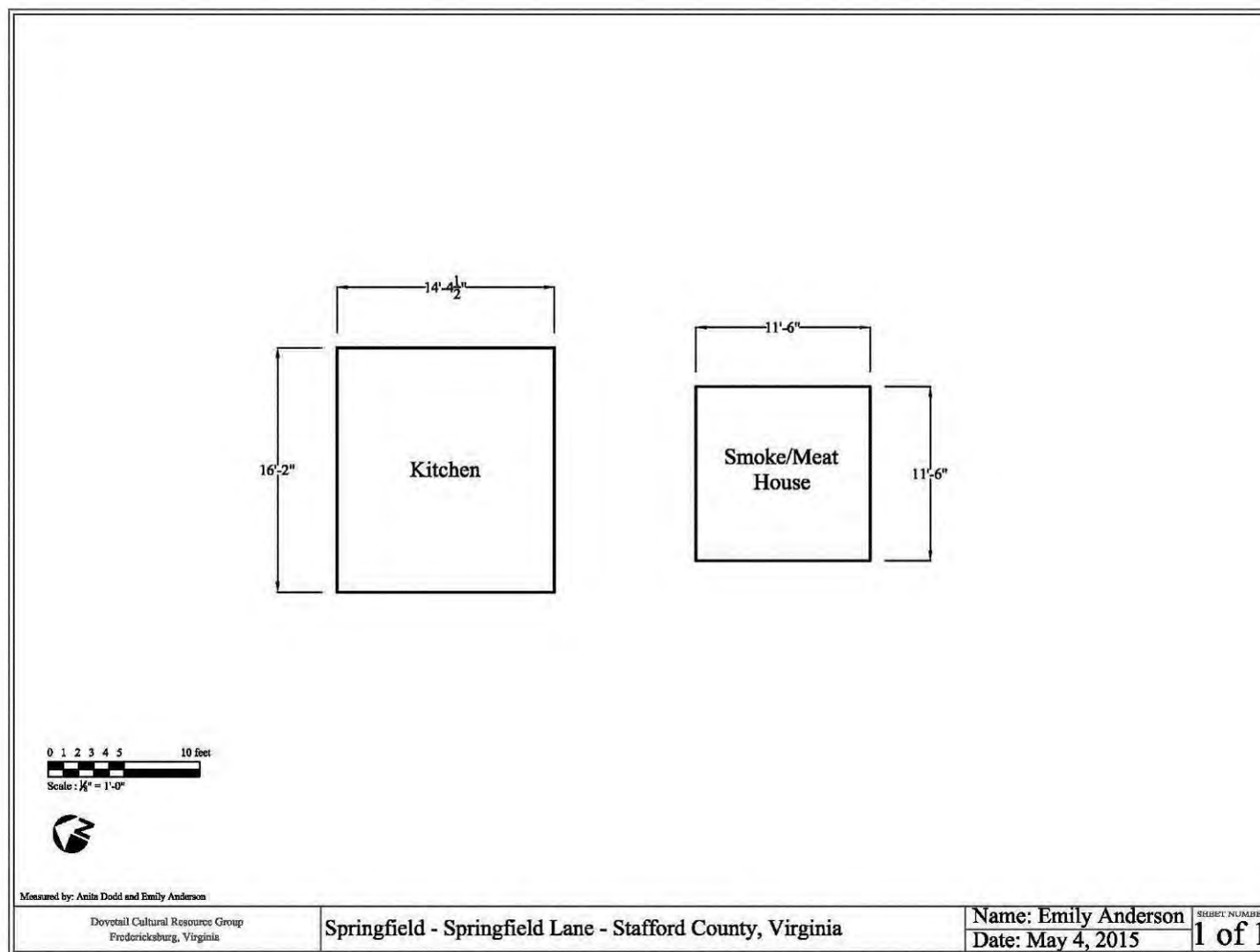


Figure 36: Measured Exterior Plans of the Outbuildings at Springfield Farm.

Limited access to the interior revealed wood paneled walls, ceiling, and a decorative mantel piece with both Ionic and Doric columns (Photo 67, p. 102). No heat source currently exists, but a mantel piece is centered on the rear wall, with a corresponding hole for a stove pipe (Photo 68, p. 102). Stoves began to be used with regularity both as sources of heat and for cooking by the mid-nineteenth century.



Photo 63: Springfield Kitchen, Primary (West) Elevation.



Photo 64: Door Detail on West Elevation of Kitchen.



Photo 65: Springfield Kitchen, Southeast Oblique.



Photo 66: Springfield Kitchen, North Elevation.



Photo 67: Interior of Kitchen, Looking East.



Photo 68: Springfield Kitchen, Northeast Oblique.

The smoke/meat house at Springfield Lane is an 11.5 by 11.5 foot, one-story, one-bay building constructed sometime in the 1830s. The foundation and structural system are not visible and are clad in weatherboard siding with wood corner boards at each corner. A steeply pitched pyramidal roof with wood boxed eaves is clad in wood shakes (Photo 69–Photo 70). A board-and-batten door with strap hinges is centered on the primary (west) elevation. No other fenestration is featured on the resource.



Photo 69: Primary Elevation of the Springfield Smoke/Meat House, Looking Northeast.



Photo 70: West Oblique.

Hunter's Iron Works

Hunter's Iron Works Dam
Blaisdell Lane
Stafford County, Virginia
DHR #: 089-5060 / 44ST0007
Date: Circa 1768



Hunter's Iron Works is situated 50 feet northeast of the Rappahannock River. It is located approximately 1 mile upstream from Fredericksburg, Virginia, and nearly 1 mile southeast of the town of Falmouth in the George Washington election district of Stafford County. The resource is located at the bottom of a hill and accessed by an overgrown walking path off of Blaisdell Lane. The area surrounding the resource is densely wooded. A telephone line running northeast to southwest bisects the property. The wall is oriented toward the river facing southwest (Figure 37, p. 105).

Archival

The Rappahannock Forge, also known as Hunter's Iron Works, was a major industrial enterprise where hundreds of enslaved workers toiled to produce metal that was used to supply the American Continental Army, as well as for any number of other uses. The owner of the forge, James Hunter, is known to have owned 260 slaves in 1783, and many of them are presumed to have labored in his ironworks (Schools 2012:12). Hunter's Iron Works played a vital role during the Revolutionary War supplying a variety of iron and iron products to the American war effort. While the main structures disappeared years ago, remnants of a stone dam that provided power for the forge survives. The ironworks was listed in the NRHP in 1974.

Architectural Description

The only extant above-ground element of the ironworks is the dam. Hunter's Iron Works Dam at Blaisdell Lane dates to 1768. Although the stone wall of the dam resembles that of the 1854 crib dam constructed for the Rappahannock Navigation system, local traditions suggests that this is the only remaining wall of the 1768 dam. The wall measures roughly 40 feet long and 5 feet deep and is composed of quarried stones laid in a stretcher bond with mortar (Photo 71, p. 106). Quarry marks are visible on some stones; however, a majority of the wall is covered in overgrowth. Large piles of stone rubble are located southwest and southeast of the primary resource (Photo 72–Photo 73, pp. 106–107). Limited access and visibility during the current survey resulted in the inability to obtain information pertaining to any additional portions of the dam.

In addition to the dam, the Hunter's Iron Works site includes an abundance of archaeological remains, including structural foundations and other industrial features related to the operation of a large ironworks. Although limited excavations have been completed to ascertain the integrity of the deposits, a large-scale dig has never been conducted at the site. Among the

features that are likely on the property are storage buildings, iron production facilities and, especially pertinent to this study, slave quarters.

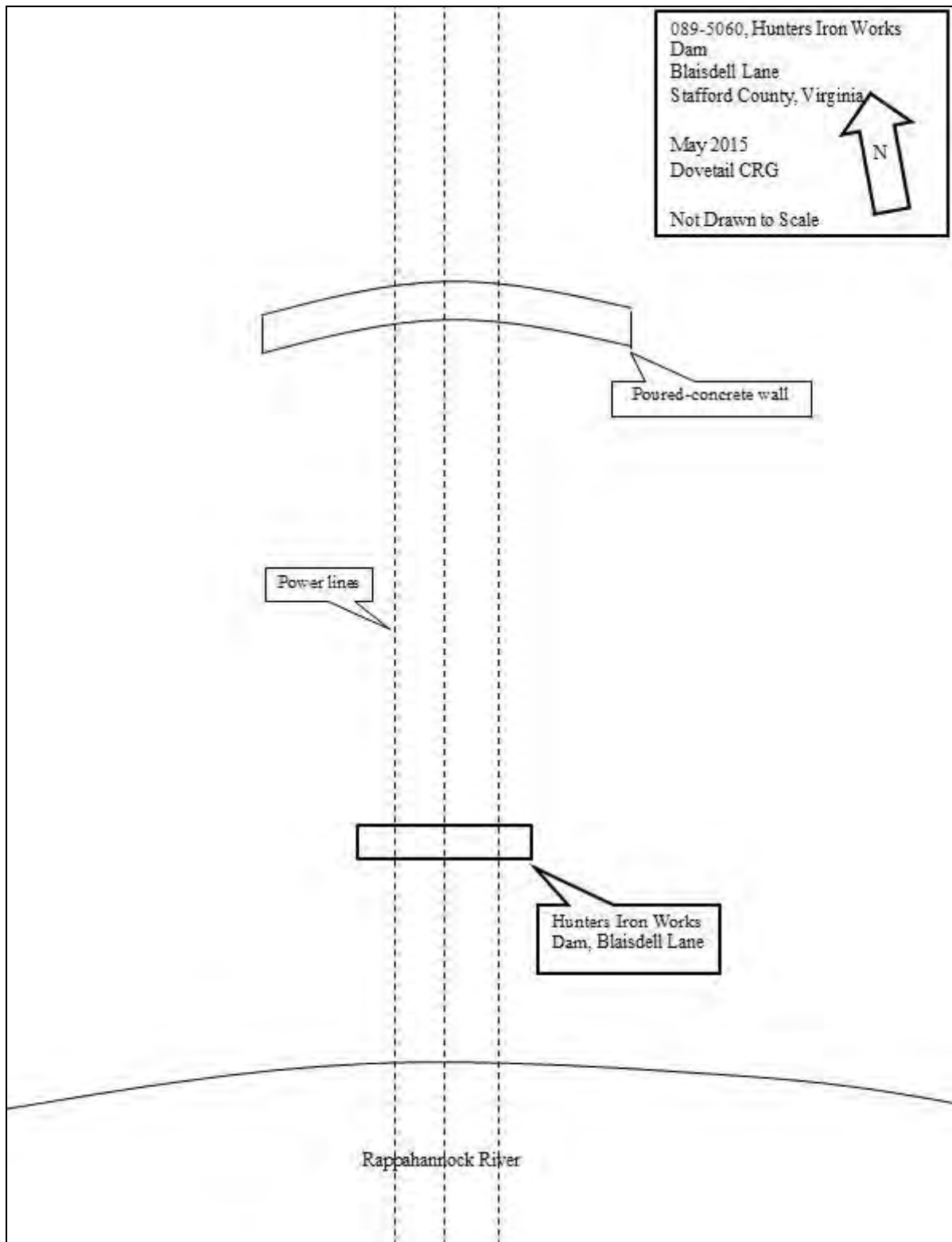


Figure 37: Site Plan of the Hunters Iron Works Dam.



Photo 71: Hunters Dam Stone Wall, Looking Northwest.



Photo 72: Hunters Dam Stone Wall and Rubble, Looking North.



Photo 73: Hunters Dam Stone Wall, Looking Northwest.

Hartwood Election District

Nine slave-related resources within the Hartwood election district were chosen for the current study: five buildings, one object, and three cemeteries (Table 9; Figure 38, p. 108).

Table 9: Resources Surveyed in the Hartwood Election District.

Key #	Resource	Address	V-CRIS Number	Election District
19	Walnut Hill Farm Spring House	089-0196	West side of SR 644	Hartwood
20	Walnut Hill Farm Stone Walls	089-0196	West side of SR 644	Hartwood
21	Poplar Grove Kitchen	089-0218	1499 Poplar Road	Hartwood
22	Poplar Grove Spring House	089-0218	1499 Poplar Road	Hartwood
23	Patton outbuilding	089-0286	379 Richards Ferry Road	Hartwood
24	Sanford Farm	089-5016	off of Greenbank Road, adjacent to the Rocky Pen Run Reservoir	Hartwood
25	Blackburn Family Slave Cemetery	089-0088/ 44ST1198	449 Kellogg Mill Road	Hartwood
26	Oakley Slave Cemetery	089-0089/ 44ST0359	Janney Lane	Hartwood
27	Fitzhugh Slave Cemetery	089-0218/ 44ST1200	1499 Poplar Road	Hartwood

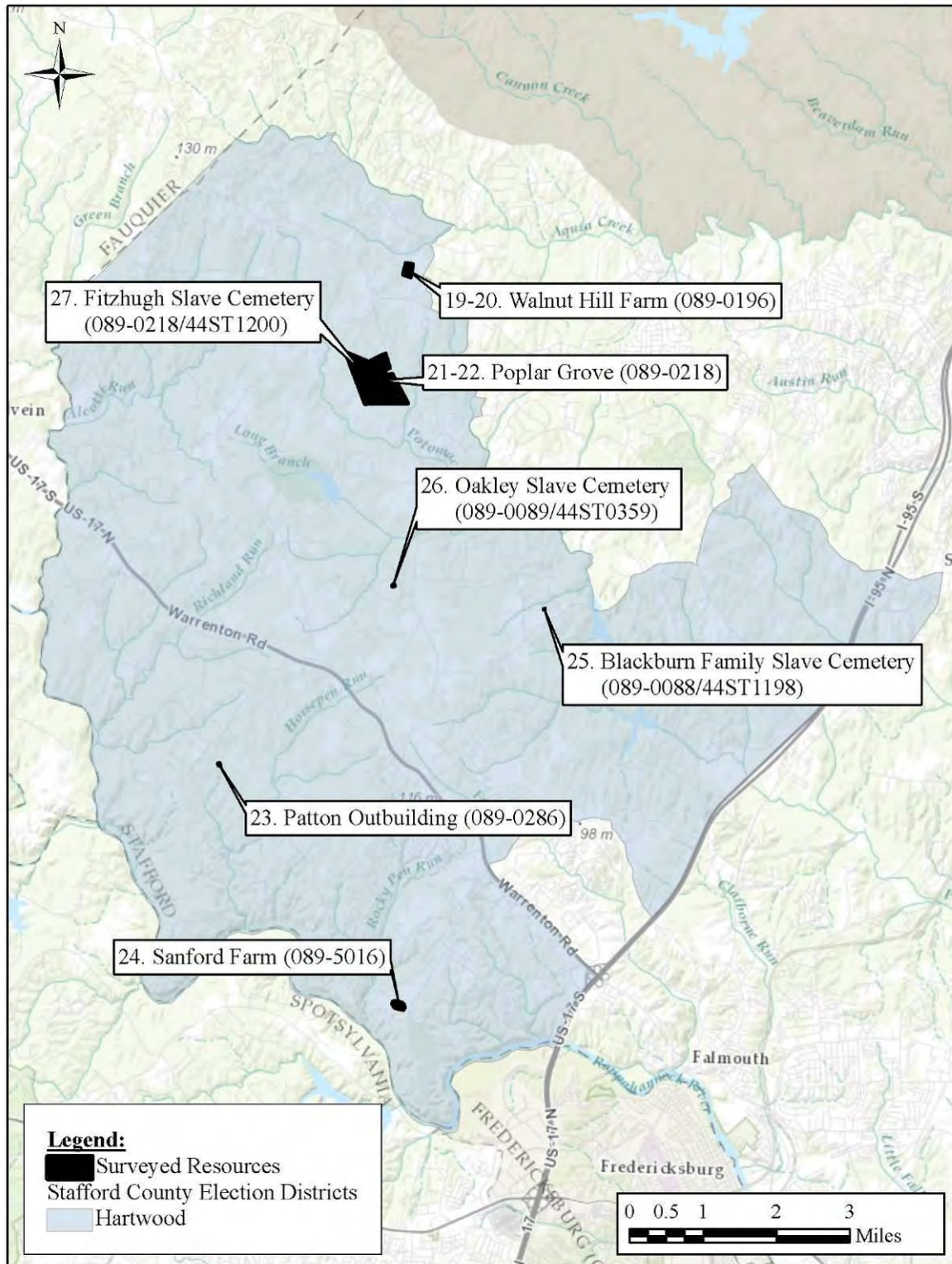


Figure 38: Surveyed Resources in the Hartwood Election District (Stafford County GIS 2015).

Walnut Hill Farm Spring House and Stone Wall

Walnut Hill Spring House and Stone Wall
Rock Hill Church Road
Stafford County, Virginia
DHR #: 089-0196
Date: Circa 1840



The Spring House and Stone Wall surveyed are located approximately 0.2 miles west of Rock Hill Church Road in the Hartwood election district of Stafford County and is associated with historic Walnut Hill. The 98.9-acre parcel on which the resource sits is covered by a grass lawn heavily dotted with mature deciduous and coniferous trees as well as shrubberies. A dirt driveway extends west from Rock Hill Church Road and splits in a northerly and southerly direction in front of the primary dwelling. A second dirt driveway extends north and west near the barn on the property (Figure 39, p. 110).

Archival

Nathanial Greaves built Walnut Hill circa 1814. In 1850 it is recorded that Greaves and his wife Jane owned six enslaved individuals (U.S. Census 1850). Nathaniel's will, recorded in Stafford County on October 16, 1861, emancipated his slaves "... on the condition that they elect to go to Liberia in Africa and in that event I bequeath to them the sum of One Hundred Dollars each. Should they refuse to go to Africa, they are to remain, and be treated as belonging to my Estate" (Eby 2013:445–447).

Architectural Description

Walnut Hill farm in northwest Stafford is a remarkably well-preserved, evolved farm complex, with a variety of surviving agricultural outbuildings, two of which might date to the decade before the Civil War. The spring house associated with Walnut Hill is a one-story, one-bay structure constructed around 1840 and measures 20 feet 10 inches by 10 feet 1.5 inches with the brick portion measuring 10 feet 9 inches by 10 feet 1.5 inches and the open-air portion measuring 10 feet 1 inch by 10 feet 1.5 inches (Figure 40, p. 111; Photo 74–Photo 75, p. 112). The eight-to-one course brick foundation and structural system features a decorative brick vent on the east elevation (Photo 76, p. 113). The building is covered by a gabled roof sheathed in v-crimp metal with wood boxed eaves and a single wood board barge board.

The primary entry is a single-leaf, board-and-batten door with a thick wood surround and a brick and stone splayed jack arch above (Photo 77, p. 113). The primary entrance opens to a one-story extension which is supported by square wood posts and partially clad in wood lattice. The extension exists under the primary gabled roof line. A wood gate provides access on the south elevation. A water trough filled by spring water is located adjacent to the foundation on the east elevation (Photo 78, p. 114). Limited access to the interior uncovered the presence of a cooling trough inside the brick portion of the resource.

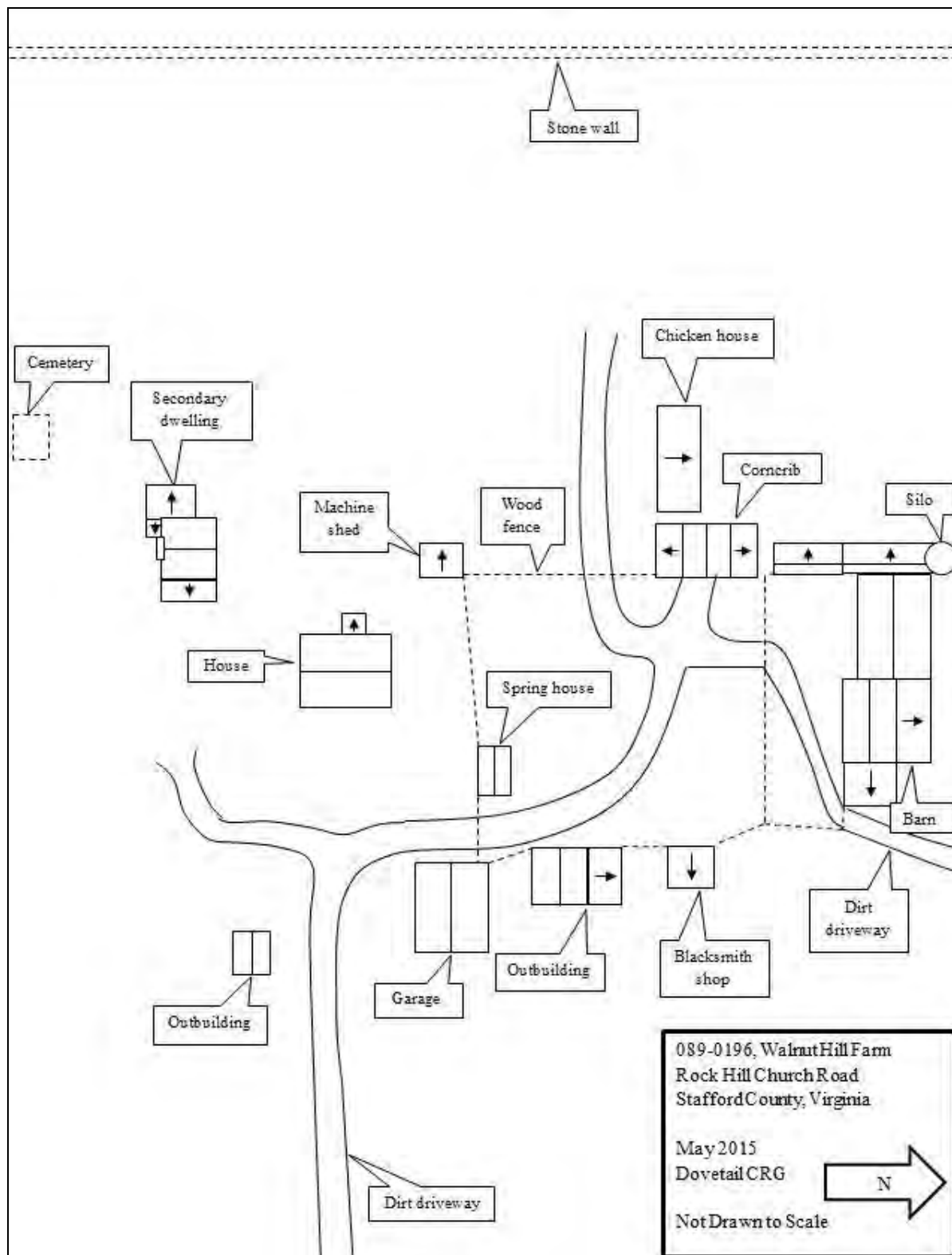


Figure 39: Site Plan of Walnut Hill Farm.

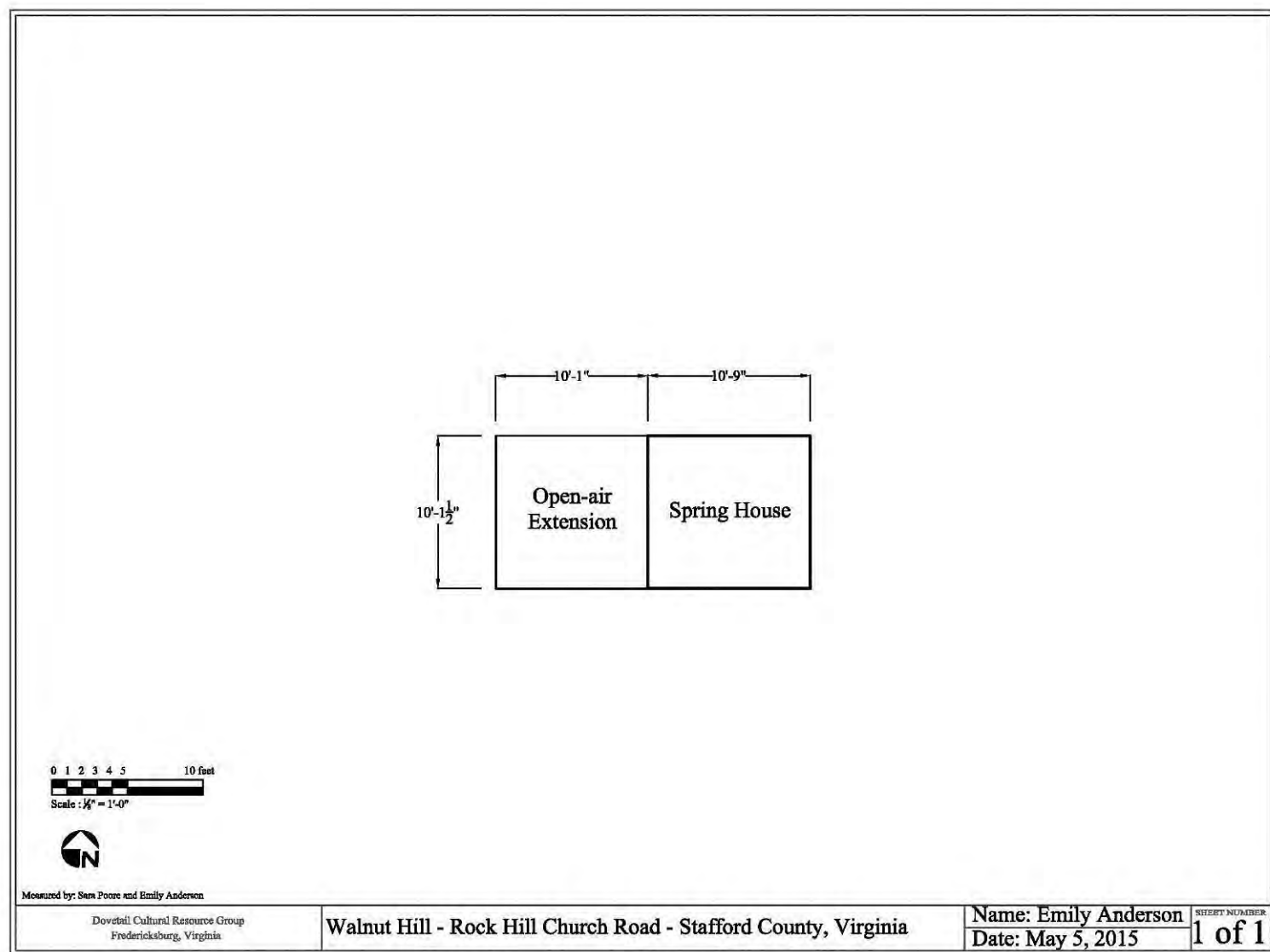


Figure 40: Measured Exterior Plan of the Spring House at Walnut Hill.



Photo 74: Walnut Hill Spring House, Southwest Oblique.



Photo 75: Spring House, Northwest Oblique.



Photo 76: Spring House, Brick Detail on East Elevation.



Photo 77: Spring House, Jack Arch Detail on Interior.



Photo 78: Water Trough on East Elevation.

The stone wall lines a portion of the property along the western boundary line (Photo 79 and Photo 80, p. 115). The wall is dry laid and composed of fieldstones. Portions of the wall are lined by barbed wire fencing. Oral tradition indicates that the walls were laid by the slaves of William Greaves.



Photo 79: Walnut Hill Stone Wall, Looking Northwest.



Photo 80: Detail of the Stone Wall, Looking Northwest.

Poplar Grove Kitchen/Quarter and Spring House

Poplar Grove Kitchen/Quarter and Spring House
 1499 Poplar Road
 Stafford County, Virginia
 DHR #: 089-0218
 Date: Circa 1850



The resource at 1499 Poplar Road is located approximately 0.2 miles west of Poplar Road in the Hartwood election district of rural Stafford County, Virginia. The resource sits on a large parcel measuring approximately 237 acres covered by a manicured grass lawn, agricultural fields, and densely wooded areas. The parcel is dotted with mature trees and saplings. The primary extant resource, a kitchen, is situated near the center of the parcel at the top of a hill. A gravel driveway extends southwest from Poplar Road and curves in a southerly direction and terminates approximately 150 feet south of the primary resource (Figure 41–Figure 42, pp. 116–117).

Archival

Said to have been originally built by Quakers in the late-eighteenth century, Poplar Grove transferred to Sarah “Sallie” Curtis and her new husband James French in 1830 as a dowry from the George Curtis family. The main house, built of stone, was taken down about 1900, but a spring house and kitchen remain (Stobbe 2002:12). The Frenches were increasingly prosperous farmers, and their ownership of enslaved individuals reflected this—they owned 11 in 1850 and 21 (worth more than \$20,000) in 1860. The increase in slave labor resulted in

a doubling of corn production at Poplar Grove to 1,000 bushels in 1860 (U.S. Agricultural Census 1860.)

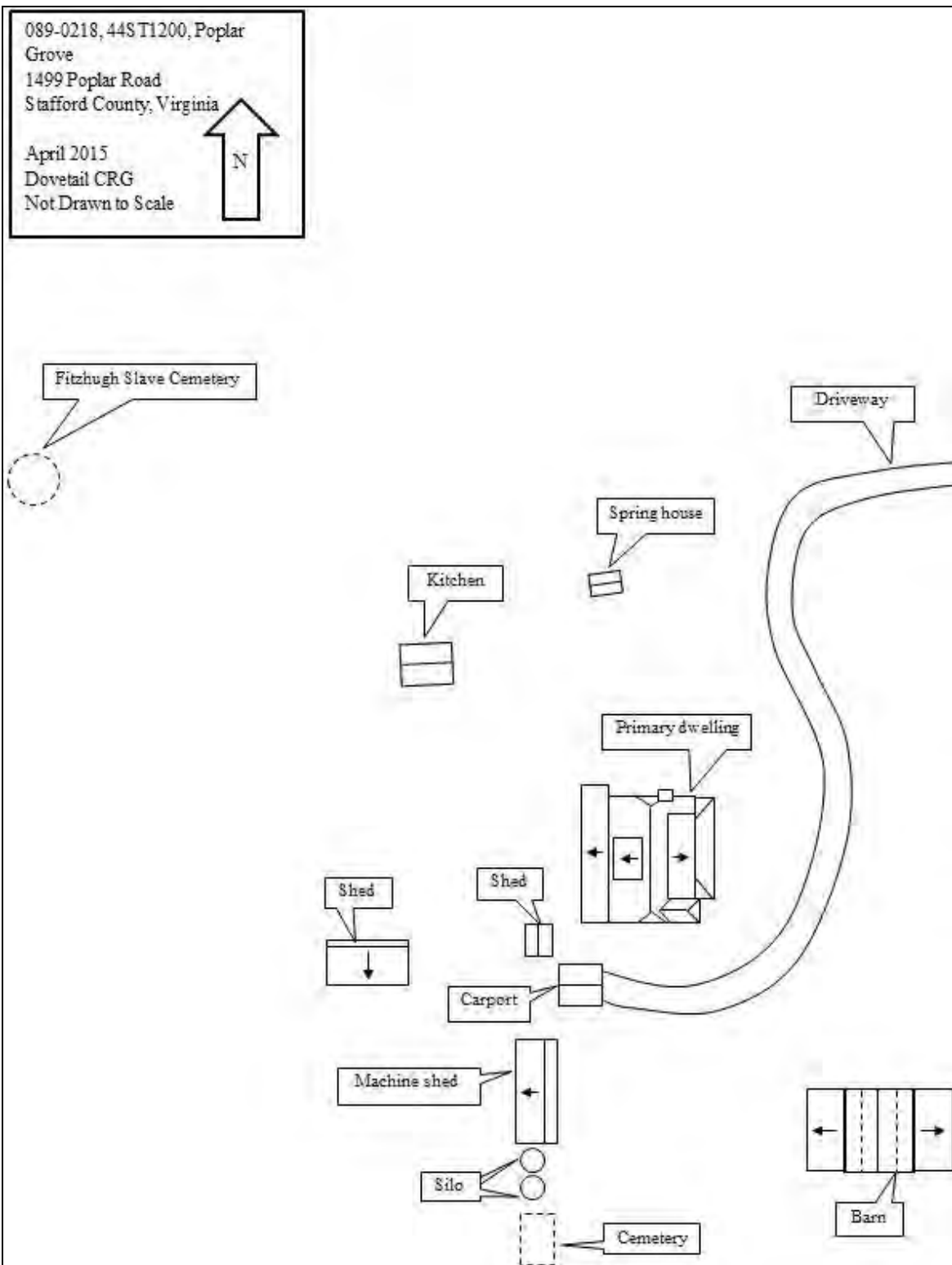


Figure 41: Site Plan of Poplar Grove.

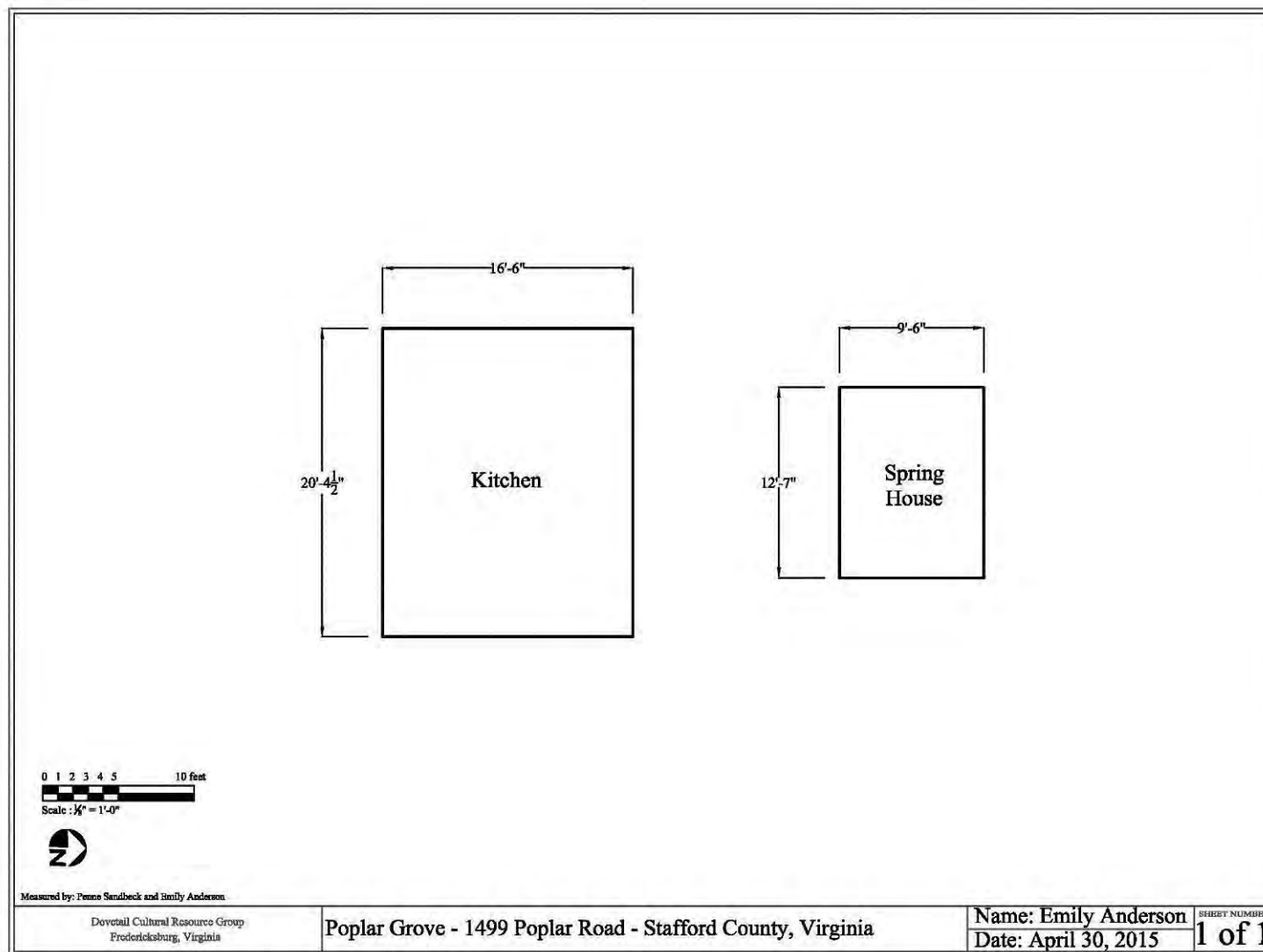


Figure 42: Measured Exterior Plans of the Outbuildings at Poplar Grove.

Architectural Description

Two substantial outbuildings at the Poplar Grove property reflect the typical layout for a nineteenth-century farm complex. Both structures are built on the slope behind the main house, with the kitchen located nearby and the spring house positioned to take advantage of the natural spring for cooling milk products. The kitchen is a one-and-a-half story, one-bay building that measures 16 feet 6 inches by 20 feet 4.5 inches, rather typical in size for a kitchen in this context, but with a half-story above that suggests that the upper floor also may have served as quarters for slaves (Photo 81). The resource rests on a replacement concrete-block, pier foundation. The wood-frame structural system which exhibits both pit saw and circular saw marks is clad in weatherboard siding (Photo 82, p. 119). A side-gabled roof sheathed in standing-seam metal with an open eave and enclosed rafters. The chimney on the east elevation was destroyed by a 2011 earthquake (Photo 83, p. 119). The space that it once occupied is now filled with vinyl siding and aluminum sheeting with a simple wood surround.

The primary entry, a board-and-batten door with a wood surround, is off-centered on the south elevation. Other fenestration includes six-over-six, double-hung sash, wood windows and two-light, fixed wood windows in the eaves.



Photo 81: Poplar Grove Kitchen/Quarter, Primary (Southeast) Elevation.



Photo 82: Circular Saw Mark Details on Northeast Elevation.



Photo 83: Location of Demolished Chimney, West Elevation.

The spring house associated with Poplar Grove is a one-story, one-bay stone spring house that measures approximately 12 feet 7 inches by 9 feet 6 inches. The stone-walled spring house built into the slope would have provided a cool environment for storing milk products, which would have been further enhanced by the stream of water from the nearby spring that is directed through the predictably small building (Photo 84).

The resource is constructed with a masonry foundation and structural system composed of fieldstones and mortar which has since been infilled with cement. Covering the building is a side-gabled roof sheathed in wood shakes with exposed rafter tails and a wood board cornice return. Access is gained through an unfilled opening on the south elevation covered by a wooden lentil (Photo 85, p. 121). Other fenestration includes wood-framed window openings on the north and east elevations with wide wood sills.

A stone wall extends from the west elevation, then curves in a southerly direction and lines a stone staircase directly south of the primary resource (Photo 86, p. 121). The interior, composed of fieldstone, contained a cooling trough on the north and west elevations (Photo 87, p. 122).



Photo 84: Poplar Grove Spring House, Northeast Oblique.



Photo 85: Northeast Elevation.



Photo 86: Retaining Wall, Looking West.



Photo 87: Interior Detail, Looking North.

Patton Outbuilding

Patton Log House
379 Richards Ferry Road
Stafford County, Virginia
DHR #: 089-0286
Date: Circa 1840



The resource at 379 Richards Ferry Road is located approximately 0.3 miles southeast of Richards Ferry Road in the Hartwood election district in rural Stafford County, Virginia. The resource is located on a large parcel measuring 10.4 acres which is covered by a grass lawn dotted with mature trees and medium and large sized shrubbery. The resource is located directly south of a primary dwelling. A gravel driveway extends southeast from the road and turns in a northeasterly direction around the primary dwelling and terminates northeast of the primary resource. Small shrubberies grow adjacent to the foundation on the west elevation. The primary elevation faces north toward the primary dwelling (Figure 43–Figure 44, pp. 123–124).

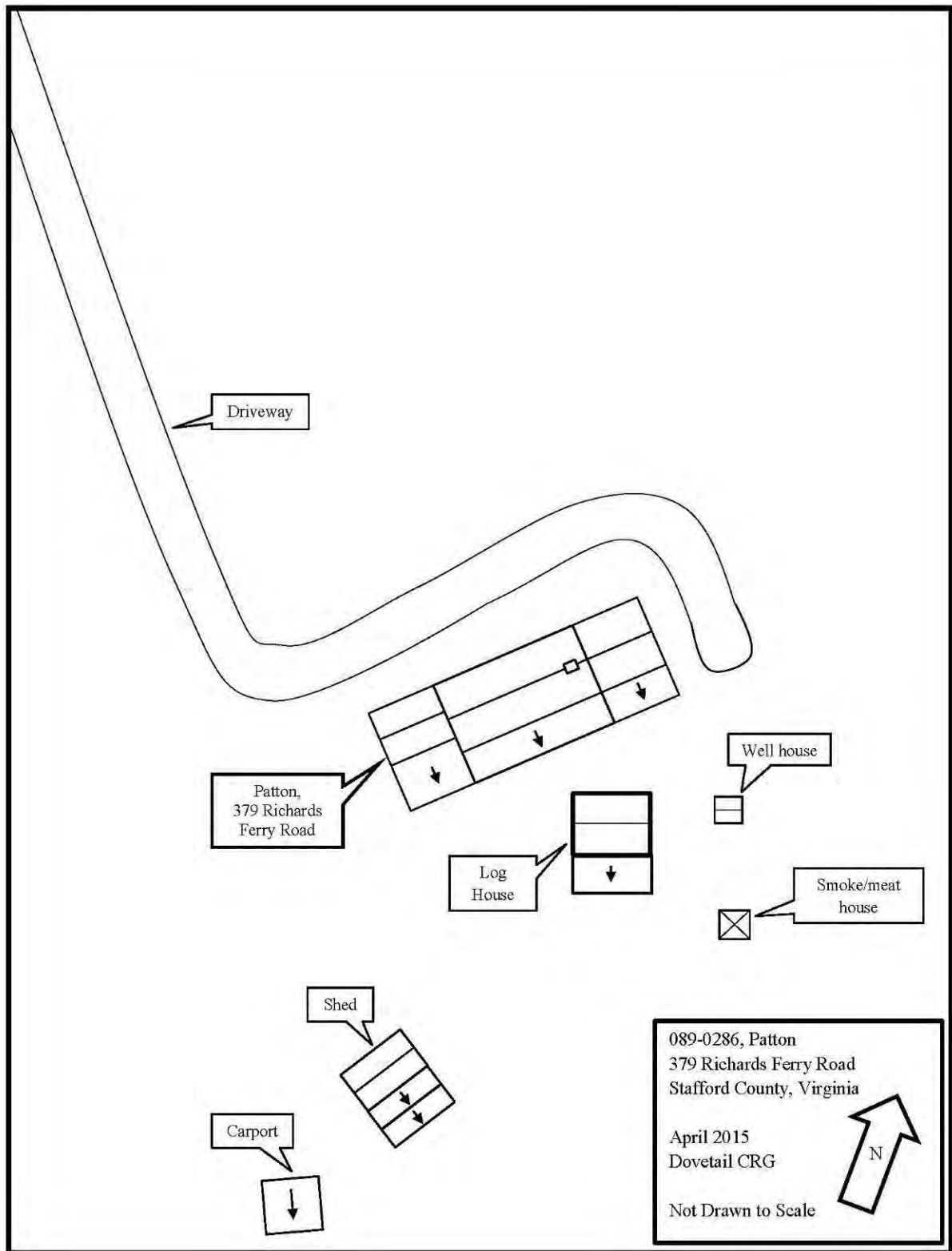


Figure 43: Site Plan of the Patton Property.

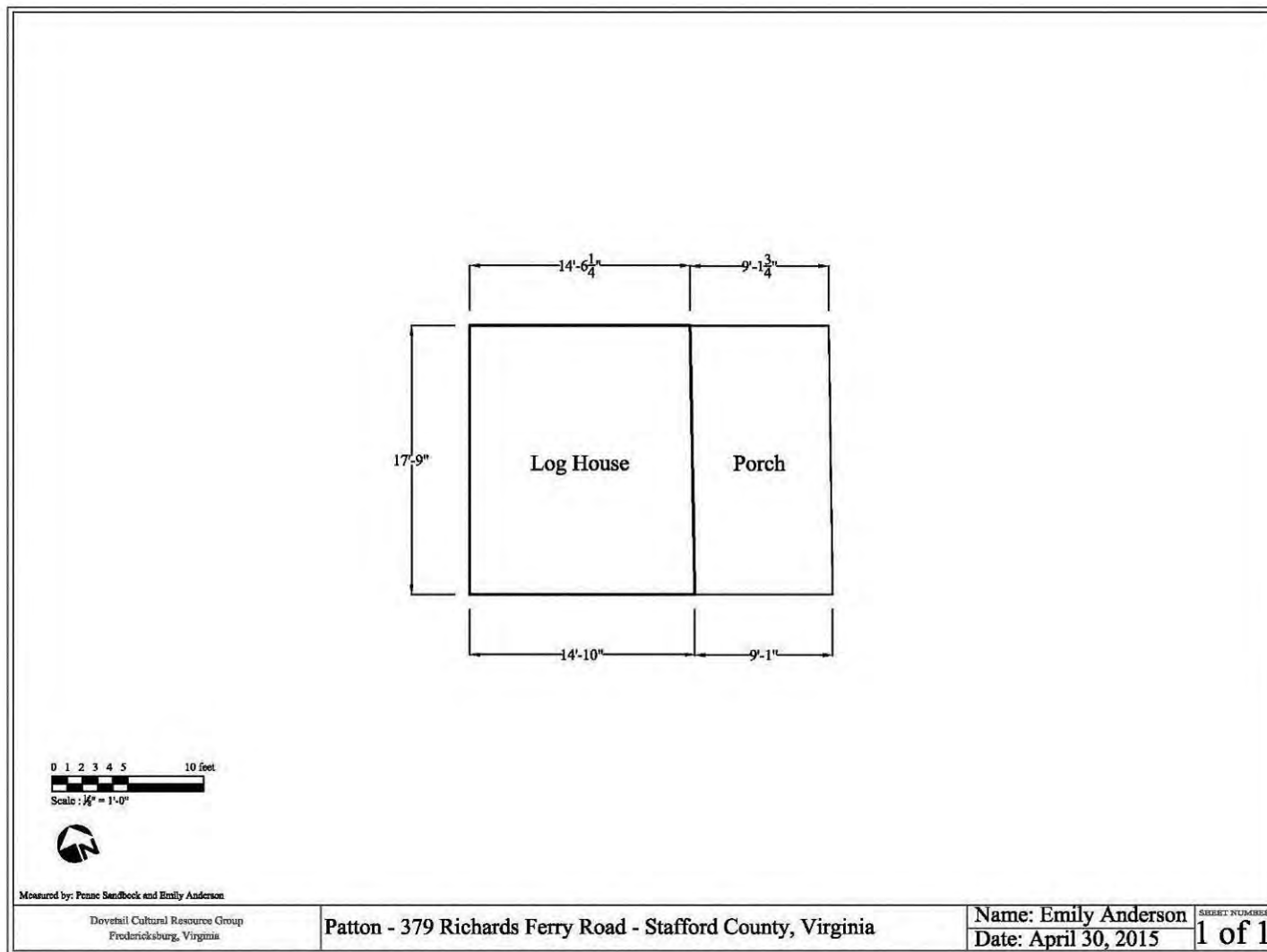


Figure 44: Measured Exterior Plan of the Outbuilding on the Patton Property.

Archival

The log building known as the “Patton Outbuilding” was part of a large tract of land located on Richard’s Ferry Road. This land, spanning both sides of the road, has been in the hands of the Monroe family since what appears to be the mid 1800s (Stafford County Deed Book 1845 NN:445). The land housed the large family estate known as Cedar Hedge. Small log cabins lined each side of the road functioned as residences for family members. Kevin Patton, the great-great grandson of William Monroe, purchased the land in 2006. This is the last surviving log cabin from the Monroe era. Records indicate that this building has no known slave association (Eby 2013:336–341).

Architectural Description

The building at 379 Richards Ferry Road is a two-story, two-bay log cabin constructed around 1840 (Photo 88, p. 125). The building rests on a continuous fieldstone foundation and measures approximately 14 feet 8 inches by 17 feet 9 inches. The dwelling is composed of hand-hewn logs with half-dovetail notching at the corners (Photo 89, p. 126). The second story floor joists are visible on the exterior of the north and south elevations. The log house is covered by a moderately pitched, side-gabled roof sheathed in v-crimp metal with open, overhanging eaves.

The primary entrance is located on the north elevation and is filled with a single-leaf, half-light, double-paneled wood door with a simple wood surround. A secondary entry—an unfilled opening—is located on the south elevation (Photo 90, p. 126). Other fenestration includes six-over-one, double-hung-sash, wood windows, six-light fixed windows, one unfilled opening in the east gable, and a window covered by a board-and-batten shutter on the east elevation (Photo 91, p. 127). A one-story, shed-roof porch extends from the south elevation. It rests on poured-concrete and the shed roof sheathed in v-crimp metal is supported by rounded wood posts (Photo 92, p. 127).



Photo 88: Northeast Elevation of the Patton Outbuilding.



Photo 89: Half-Dovetail Notching at the Corners of the Building.



Photo 90: South Elevation.



Photo 91: East Elevation Detail.



Photo 92: Patton Outbuilding, South Elevation Shed Roof.

Sanford Farm

Sanford Farm Slave Quarter

Off of Greenbank Road, adjacent to Rocky Pen Run Reservoir
Stafford County, Virginia

DHR #: 089-5016

Date: Circa 1850s



The Sanford Farm Slave Building (also known as the Sanford-Burgess slave quarter) is located on a rise overlooking the Rocky Pen Reservoir. The associated structures, driveways, and parking areas are surrounded by tall grass and encroaching shrubs, vines, and pine trees (Figure 45, p. 129). The resource is approximately 2 miles west of Falmouth in the Hartwood election district in rural Stafford County. Other surviving but deteriorated structures associated with the farm operated, successively, by the Sanford and Burgess families are distributed nearby. The resource is situated on the north side of a dirt access road which extends west from Greenbank Road.

Archival

The Sanford family operated a substantial farm in central Stafford County from at least the 1820s until after the Civil War. This property was acquired by Lawrence Sanford around 1812. According to Stafford County land tax records, he had likely constructed this home by 1820, when buildings on the tract were valued at the considerable sum of \$1,200. The house built by Sanford no longer stands. Lawrence Sanford is listed in the 1820 federal census as owning 20 enslaved individuals (U.S. Census 1820); by 1850 the number had fallen to 13 (U.S. Census 1850). In 1850, the farm consisted of 287 acres with 200 acres improved. In 1850, the house stood at the center of a 287-acre farm (200 acres improved). Sanford died in 1858, and the property continued in his family, with his widow, Apphia Sanford, listed as owning nine enslaved individuals and three slave houses in 1860 (U.S. Census 1860). Agricultural production had also dropped; in 1860, it was less than one-fourth what it had been in 1850 (U.S. Agricultural Census 1850). After Apphia's death in 1864, the property was sold out of the family.

Architectural Description

The Sanford-Burgess slave quarter is a one-and-a-half story, single-celled, gable-roofed log cabin, supported by a dry-laid stone foundation, measuring approximately 14 by 12 feet (Figure 46, p. 130; Photo 93, p. 131). In the twentieth century the log structure was converted into a workshop, with a frame shed supported by earthfast posts added along the north wall (Photo 94, p. 131). Other alterations included covering both the original, low-pitched gable roof and the shed roof in standing-seam metal, which obscures the former brick flue opening at the peak of the west gable (Photo 95, p. 132). Three sides of the building exhibit remnants of circular-sawn board siding that is contemporary with the shed; the exposed logs on the north wall covered by the shed are whitewashed (Photo 95, p. 132). Elements reflecting the farm shop function survive on the interior, including low counters arranged along the south and west walls.

The current exterior doorway is located at the southeast corner of the east end wall and is likely an addition. Other fenestration includes six-over-six, wood-framed, double-hung sash windows though most of the muntins and glass are no longer extant.

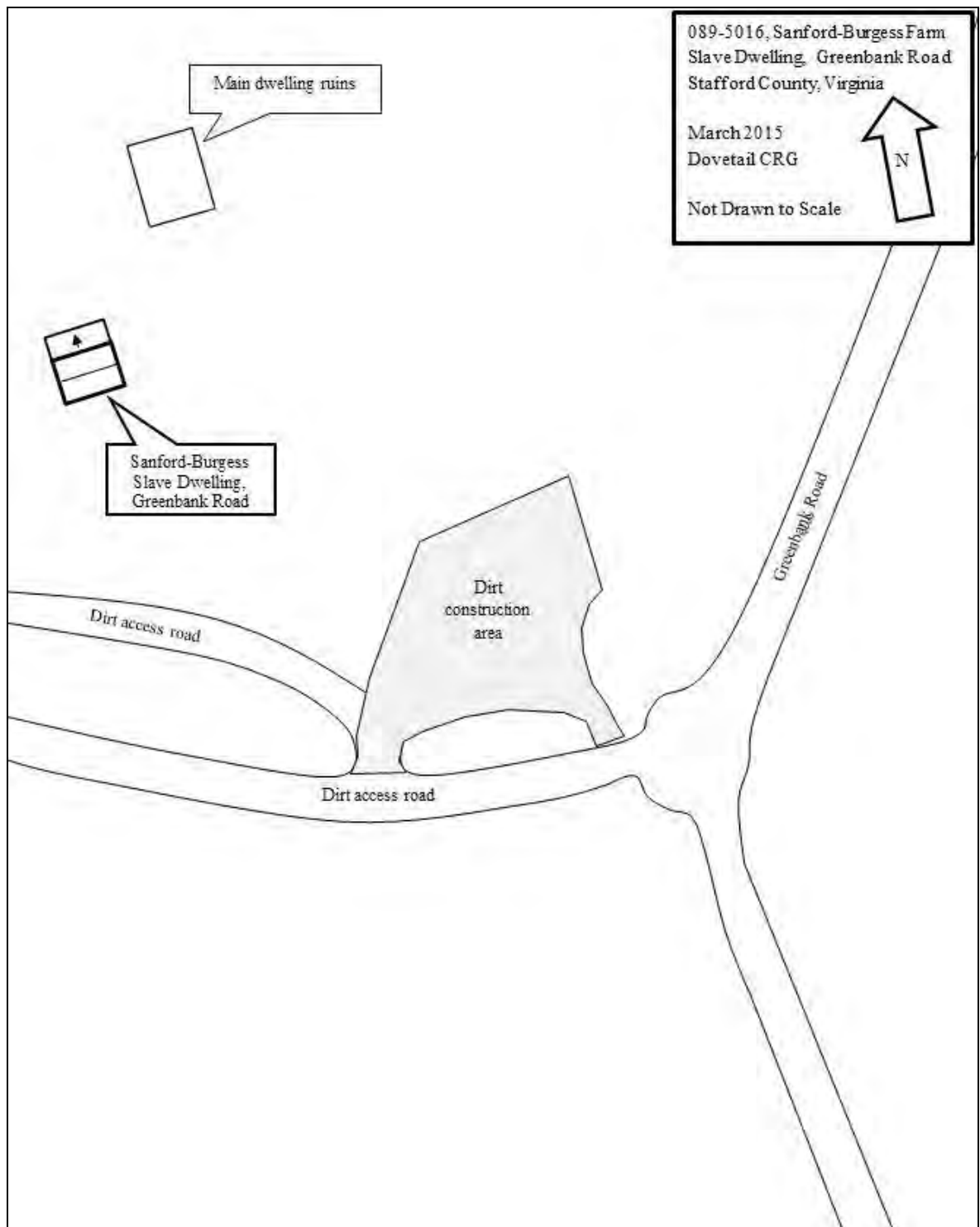


Figure 45: Site Plan of the Sanford-Burgess Property.

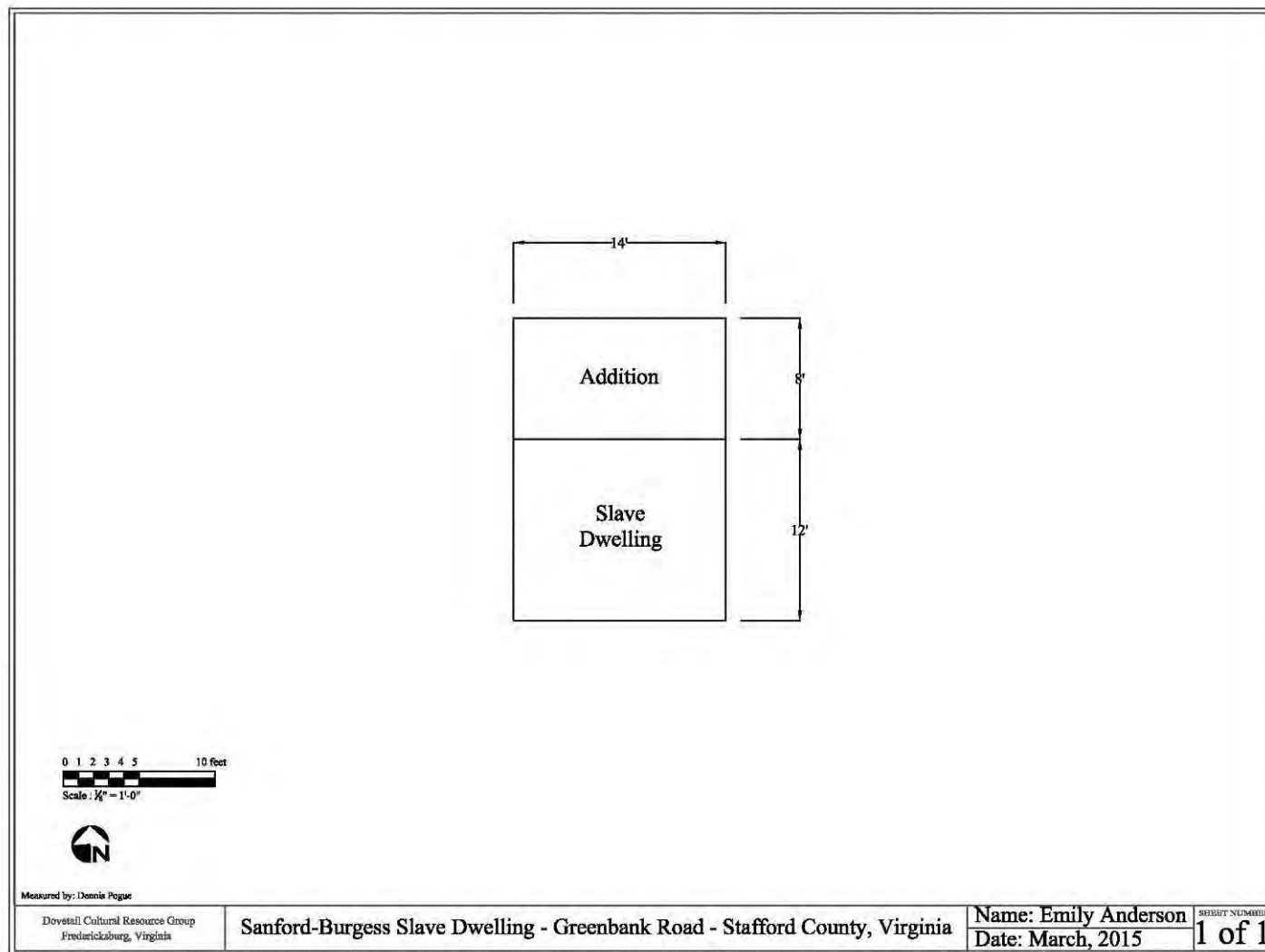


Figure 46: Measured Exterior Plan of the Sanford-Burgess Slave Quarter.



Photo 93: Sanford-Burgess Slave Quarter, South Elevation.



Photo 94: Sanford-Burgess Slave Quarter, East Elevation.



Photo 95: Northwest Oblique.

Access to the interior was granted during the current survey (Figure 47). The doorway connecting the one-room cabin to the shed almost certainly served as the original means of egress (Photo 96, p. 133). There is no indication of a fireplace, but a 7-inch-diameter hole in the ceiling correlates with a brick structure that served as a flue, raised on a wooden platform centered on the west gable wall in the garret; the chimney/flue that presumably pierced the roof is not extant. Access to the garret was provided by an open staircase positioned along the east wall, rising from the northeast corner and with an enclosed storage space below (Photo 97, p. 134). One window is positioned in each of the south and west walls and in the east gable. The first floor ceiling is relatively low, measuring 5 feet 10¾ inches from the floor to the bottom of the ceiling joists. Both the downstairs room and the garret space have whitewashed interior surfaces. The wall logs are hewn flat on two sides, chinked with a mixture of saplings and stones and daubed with mud, and are joined by half-dovetail notches at the corners (Photo 98, p. 134). The gables are enclosed with horizontal siding and rake boards. The top log in each end wall extends 7 inches beyond the eave (north and south), which support a half-lapped false plate; the rafters are set to the outside edge of the plate and are covered with sheathing boards.

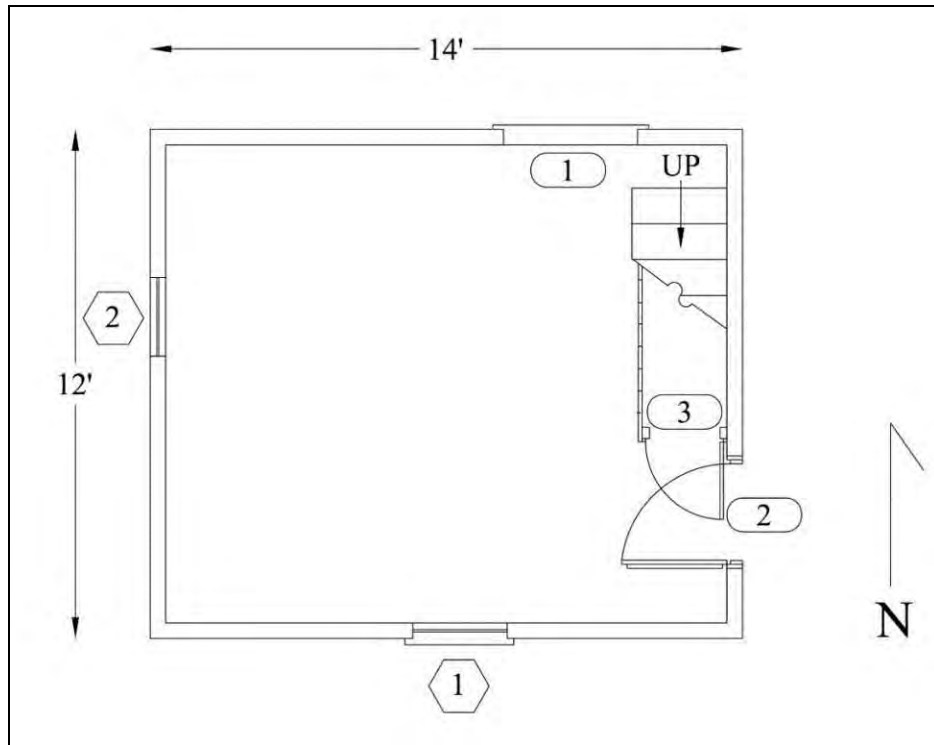


Figure 47: Sanford-Burgess Cabin, Detailed Floor Plan (Without Shed Addition).



Photo 96: North Doorway Detail.



Photo 97: Staircase Detail.



Photo 98: Dovetail Notching Detail.

Blackburn (Blackbourne) Family Slave Cemetery

Blackburn (Blackbourne) Family Slave Cemetery
Kellogg Mill Road
Stafford County, Virginia
DHR #: 089-0088 / 44ST1198
Date: Circa 1850



The resource, a cemetery, is located approximately 0.2 miles north of Kellogg Mill Road (CR 651) in the Hartwood election district in rural Stafford County. Containing 38.47 acres, the parcel contains agricultural fields, a manicured grass lawn, a pond, and densely wooded areas. The resource is accessed by a gravel driveway that extends north from Kellogg Mill Road, then curves in an easterly direction toward the primary resource and extends north toward an agricultural complex and the cemetery. The resource is situated in a densely wooded area containing mature deciduous and coniferous trees and is approximately 50 feet north of the primary resource. The cemetery is covered by a manicured grass lawn (Figure 48, p. 136).

Archival

George Blackbourne lived at Elmspring located off of Kellogg Mill Road. He operated a small farm of 160 acres adjacent to Antioch Methodist. He owned few slaves and only sporadically. The 1850 census indicates he owned one mulatto boy, aged 12. He does not appear on the 1860 slave schedule. It cannot be said for sure that the cemetery known today as the Blackburn Family Slave Cemetery is indeed a cemetery for slaves (U.S. Census 1860).

Architectural Description

The resource at Kellogg Mill Road is a cemetery dating to the mid-nineteenth century. While no formal delineation was given, an unadorned wood picket fence borders the cemetery (Photo 99, p. 137). Only three fieldstone grave markers were visible during the current survey; however, notes from a previous survey conducted by the SCCC in the fall of 2009 notes the presence of nine marked graves (SCCC 2009). None of the fieldstone grave markers contain inscriptions. The use of informal stones as grave markers is common for the burials of both enslaved individuals and poor whites throughout Virginia (Photo 100–Photo 101, pp. 137–138). Like other cemeteries documented during this survey, although many of the stones have been displaced, the general orientation of the stones is north-south, thus placing the stone near the head of the interment, which would have been oriented east-west.

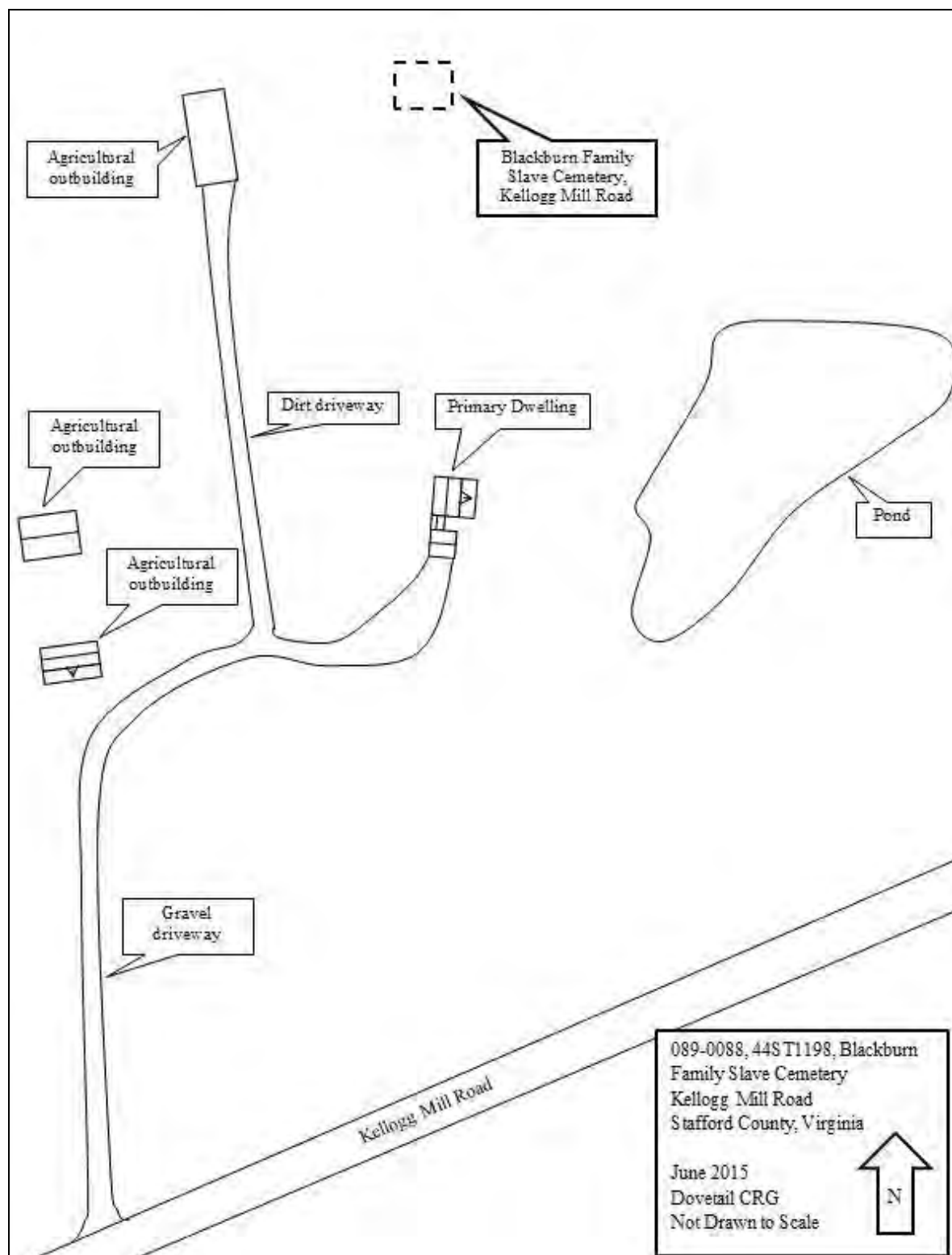


Figure 48: Site Plan of the Blackburn (Blackbourne) Cemetery.



Photo 99: Blackburn (Blackbourne) Family Slave Cemetery, Looking North.



Photo 100: Grave Marker Detail.



Photo 101: Grave Marker Detail.

Oakley Slave Cemetery

Oakley Slave Cemetery
 Janney Lane
 Stafford County, Virginia
 DHR #: 089-0089 / 44ST0359
 Date: Circa 1820



The resource, a cemetery, is situated on the south side of Janney Lane, approximately 0.1 miles southwest of the intersection of Gibson Drive and Janney Lane in the Hartwood election district in Stafford County, Virginia. The resource is located on a 0.5-acre parcel within the Oakley Farms neighborhood. The cemetery is located directly south of 43 Janney Lane and is 0.1 miles south of the site of the Oakley primary dwelling. The parcel is heavily dotted with mature deciduous and coniferous trees and is accessed by foot (Figure 49, p. 139).

Archival

Oakley Manor was owned by Samuel and Margaret Skinker. They had two daughters, Lucy S. and Louise K. In 1850 Oakley consisted of 1,100 acres with livestock and agricultural crops including wheat, corn, oats, peas, beans, potatoes, sweet potatoes, hay, butter, market garden produce and “domestic manufactures” (U.S. Agricultural Census 1850). Skinker owned 18 enslaved individuals: nine females ranging in age from nine to 70, and 11 males

aged one through 50 (Laird 2004). It is assumed that the cemetery located on the property is slave related, and initial pedestrian survey conducted by the SCCC indicates that there are at least 19 burials in the cemetery.

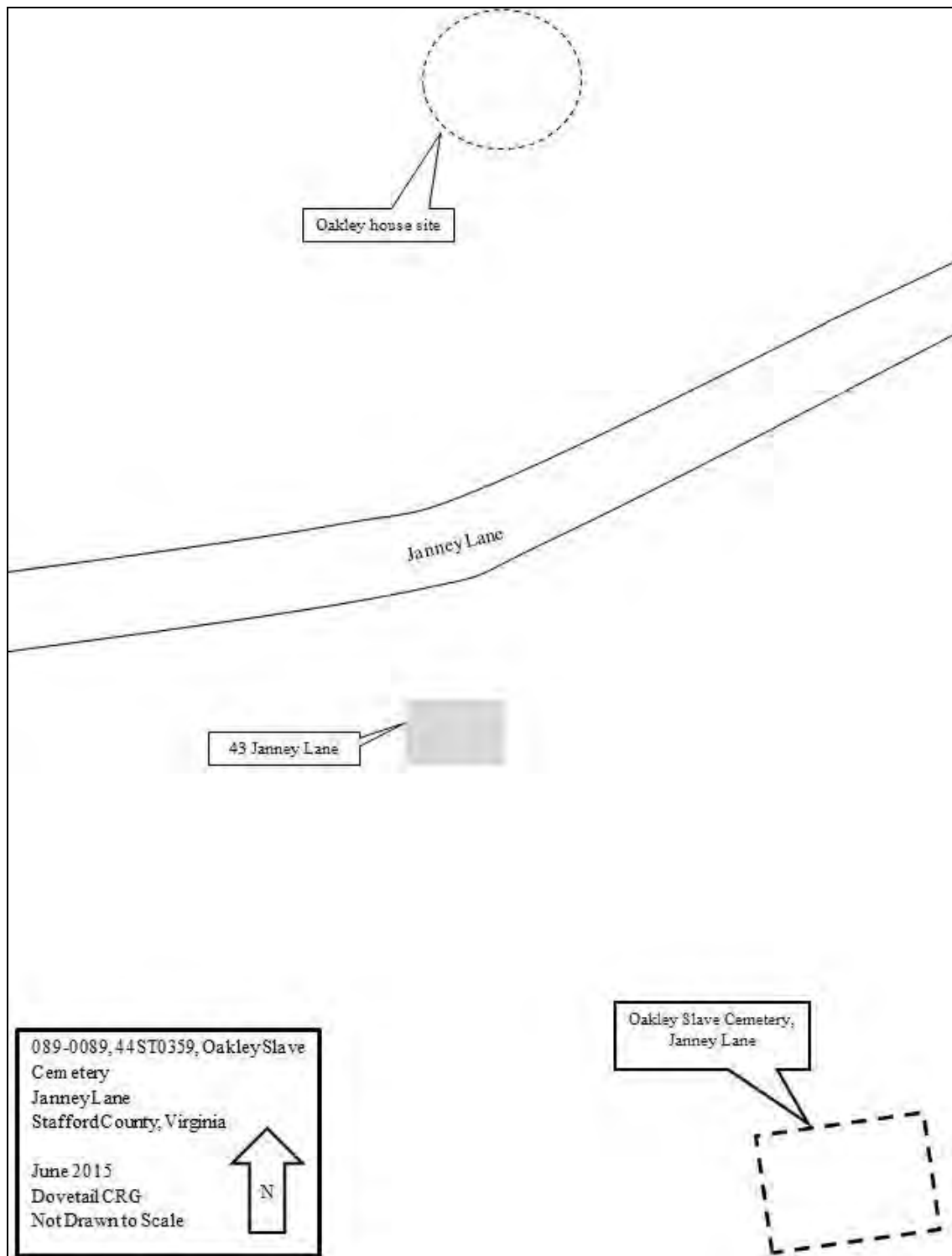


Figure 49: Site Plan of the Oakley Slave Cemetery.

Architectural Description

This resource is a circa-1820 presumed slave cemetery. The cemetery is bordered by barbed wire fencing supported by metal posts. Due to heavy overgrowth, the number of interments was not ascertained during the current study, but previous explorations by the SCCC suggests that up to 19 individuals may be interred in this area. Unadorned fieldstones and depressions indicate locations of burials, many of which are additionally marked by orange flags, a remnant of the SCCC field investigation (Photo 102–Photo 105, p. 141).



Photo 102: Oakley Slave Cemetery, Looking Southeast.



Photo 103: Flag Marker Noting the Location of Graves.



Photo 104: Flag Markers Noting the Location of Graves.



Photo 105: Cemetery Overview, Looking South.

Fitzhugh Slave Cemetery

Fitzhugh Family Slave Cemetery
1499 Poplar Road
Stafford County, Virginia
DHR #:089-0218 / 44ST1200
Date: Circa 1830



The resource at 1499 Poplar Road is located approximately 0.2 miles west of Poplar Road in the Hartwood election district of rural Stafford County. The resource sits on a large parcel measuring approximately 237 acres covered by a manicured grass lawn, agricultural fields, and densely wooded areas. The parcel is dotted with mature trees and saplings. The primary resource, a slave cemetery, is situated northwest of the primary dwelling in a wooded area surrounded by agricultural field and can only be accessed by foot (Figure 50, p. 143).

Archival

This cemetery was historically associated with Poplar Grove (see p. 115). Said to have been originally built by Quakers in the late-eighteenth century, Poplar Grove transferred to Sarah “Sallie” Curtis and James French in 1830 as a Dowry from the George Curtis family. The main house, built of stone, was taken down about 1900, but a spring house and kitchen remain as well as this cemetery. The Frenches were increasingly prosperous farmers, and their ownership of slaves reflected this—they owned 11 in 1850 and 21 (worth more than \$20,000) in 1860. The increase in slave labor resulted in a doubling of corn production at Poplar Grove to 1,000 bushels in 1860 (U.S. Agricultural Census 1860). This cemetery represents the interment area for the enslaved individuals who lived on the land, some of whom were quartered in the kitchen described earlier in this report.

Architectural Description

The Fitzhugh Family Slave Cemetery is a circa-1830 presumed slave cemetery associated with Poplar Grove (Photo 106 and Photo 107, p. 144). While overgrowth prohibited entry to the cemetery during the current survey, a survey conducted by the SCCC in the fall of 2007 notes various details pertaining to the resource. The cemetery contains approximately 30 interments whose locations are marked by fieldstones—a marking system very common for enslaved individuals in this area. Records on file by the SCCC suggest that this cemetery was used as a burial location for 100 years from 1830–1930, thus it continued to be employed after emancipation as individuals tied to those interred in this area were buried in this graveyard to be near their kin. Given the length of use, although the above-ground visible elements of the cemetery measure approximately 100 feet by 100 feet, it is possible that graves extend beyond this boundary and are no longer visible on the surface (SCCC 2007).

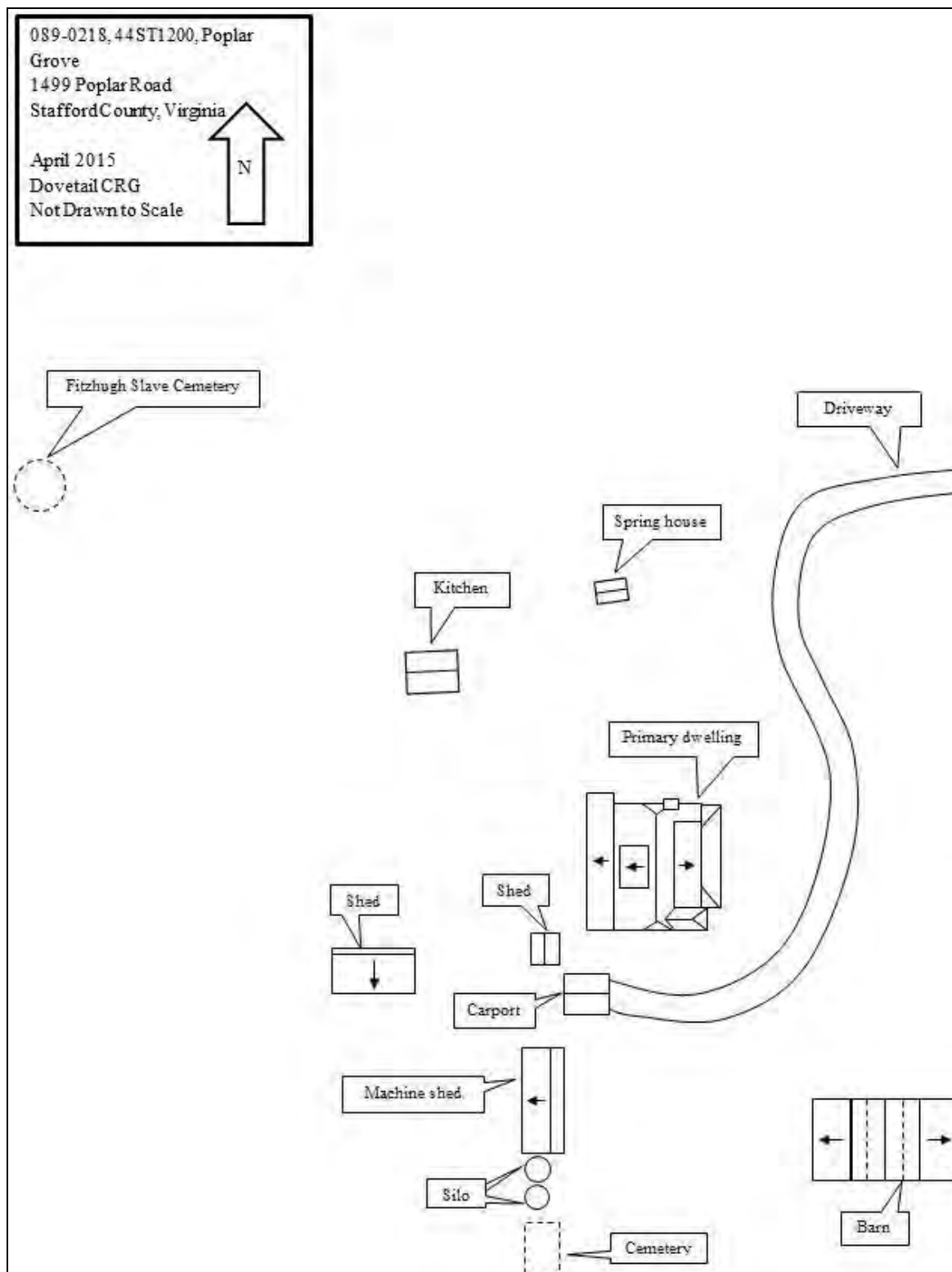


Figure 50: Site Plan of Poplar Grove Showing the Fitzhugh Slave Cemetery (Northwest Corner of the Poplar Grove Property).



Photo 106: Fitzhugh Family Slave Cemetery, Looking West.



Photo 107: Looking Northwest.

Rock Hill Election District

Three slave-related resources within the Rock Hill election district were chosen for the current study: Kendall's Mill (Master's Mill), Augustine North Slave Cemetery, and Gordon Family Slave Cemetery (Table 10; Figure 51, p. 146).

Table 10: Resources Surveyed in the Rock Hill Election District.

Key #	Resource	V-CRIS Number	Address	Election District
28	Kendall's Mill (Historic), Kindall's Mill (Alternate Spelling), Master's Mill (Historic), Mill, Aquia Creek (Current), Wiggarton's Mill (Alternate Spelling), Wigginton's Mill (Historic)	089-0023	Rt. 675, Toluca Road	Rock Hill
29	Augustine North Slave Cemetery	089-5058/44ST1203	Between 35 & 39 Muster Drive	Rock Hill
30	Gordon Family Slave Cemetery	089-5586/44ST1204	Between 2 & 5 Franklin Street	Rock Hill

Kendall's Mill

Kendall's Mill (Master's Mill)
Toluca Road
Stafford County, Virginia
DHR #: 089-0023
Date: Circa 1820



This resource is located approximately 250 feet east of Toluca Road within the contemporary subdivision of Master's Mill in the Rock Hill election district in rural Stafford County. The 0.5-acre parcel on which the resource sits is bounded by Toluca Road on the west and an oxbow in Aquia Creek on the east. Mature trees heavily populate the parcel. A bike path runs north to south just west of the primary resource (Figure 52–Figure 53, pp. 147–148).

Archival

Kendall's Mill, also known as Master's Mill, Kindall's Mill, Aquia Creek Mill, Wiggarton's Mill and Wigginton's Mill, was constructed in the early 1800s. It is the only extant vernacular mill from the nineteenth century remaining in Stafford County. The earliest conclusive document pertaining to the mill is the will of Lymon Kellogg, when he passed the mill and surrounding 50-acre parcel to Betty Masters in 1897. Based on the 1850 census record, Mr. Kellogg owned seven enslaved individuals (U.S. Census 1850). It is assumed that several of these individuals worked at the mill. Interestingly, his name does not appear on the 1860 slave schedule.

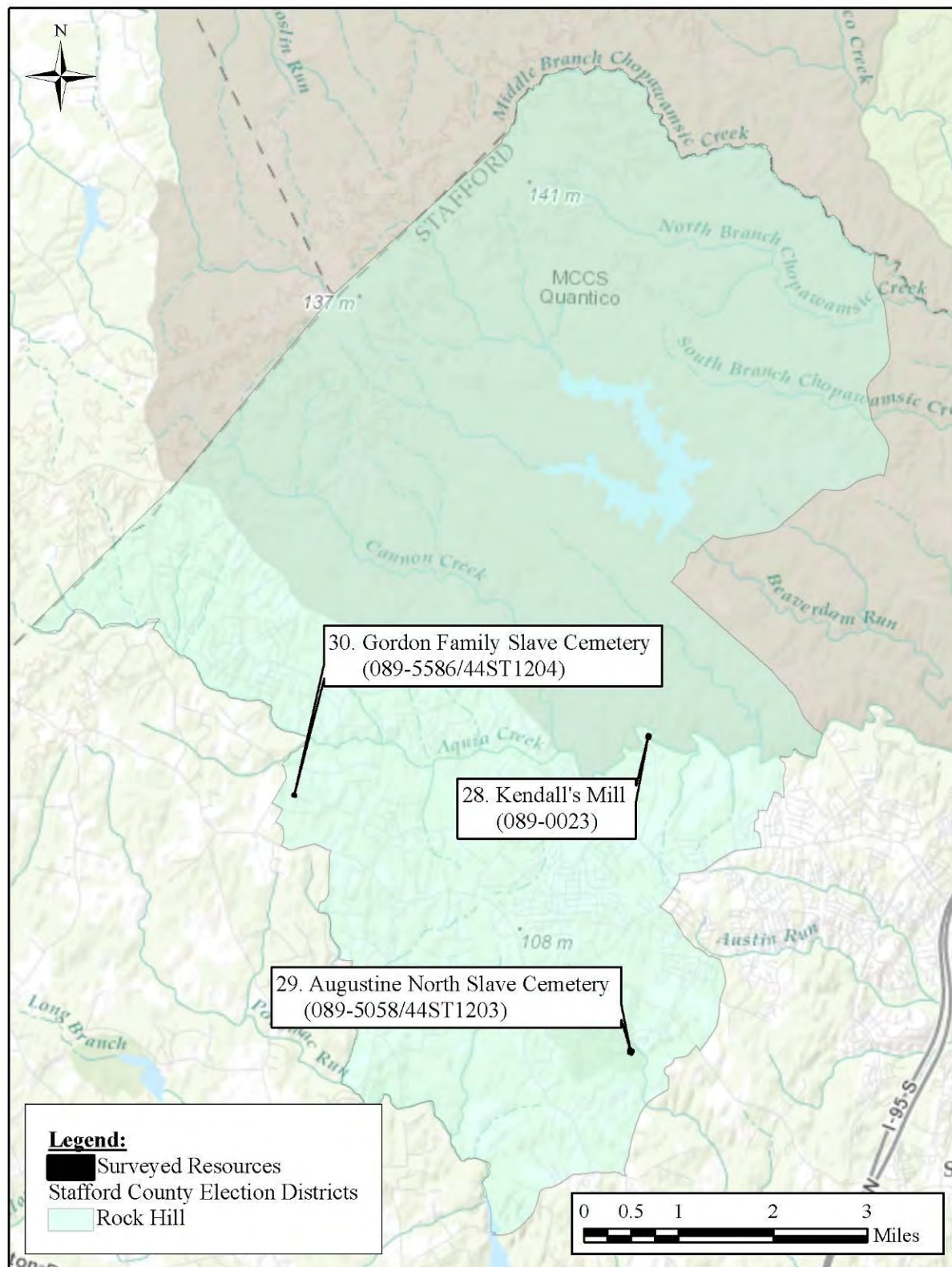


Figure 51: Surveyed Resources in the Rock Hill Election District
(Stafford County GIS 2015).

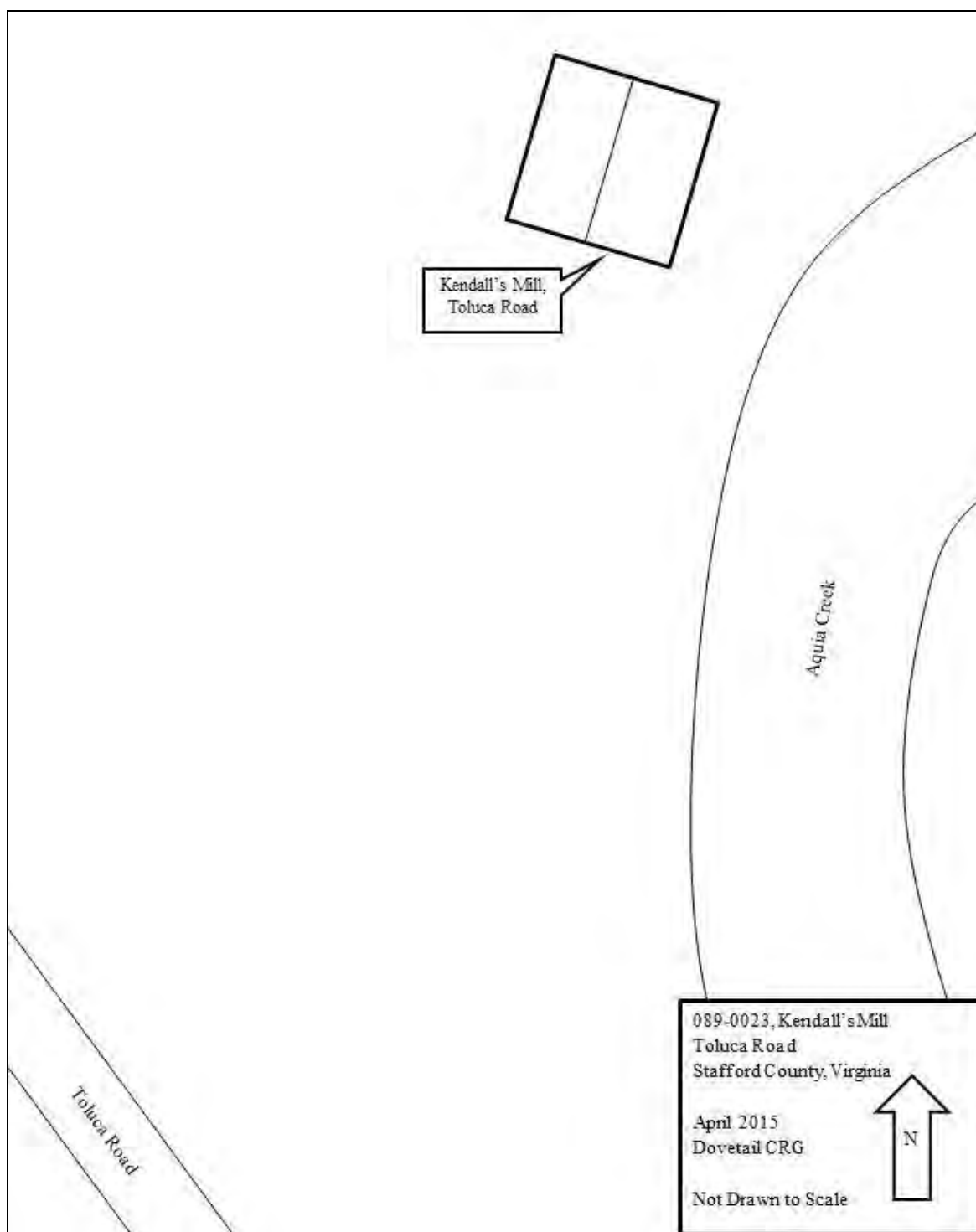


Figure 52: Site Plan of Kendall's/Master's Mill.

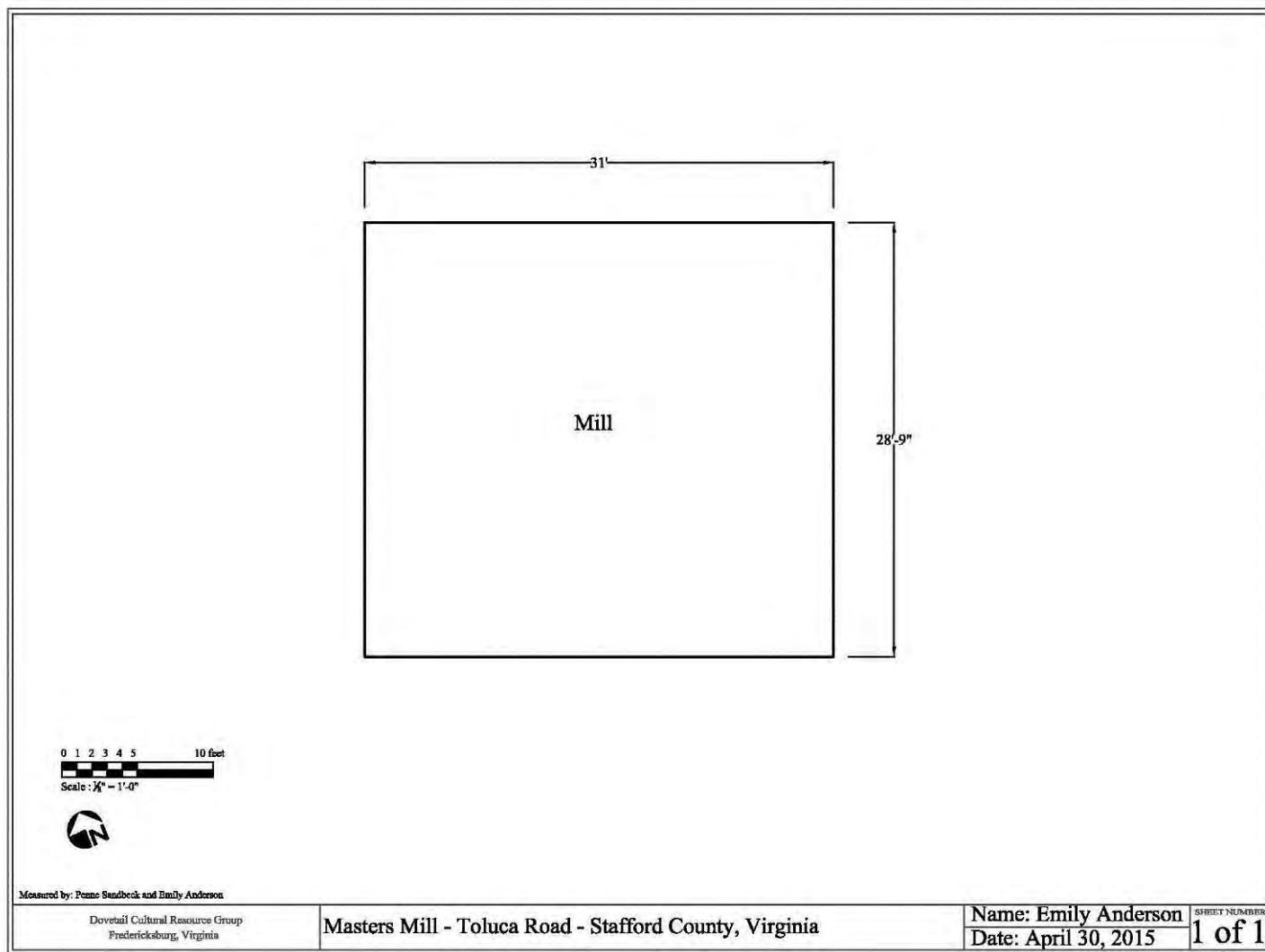


Figure 53: Measured Exterior Plan of Kendall's/Master's Mill.

Architectural Description

Water mills of various types, but especially those employed in grinding wheat into flour, were a crucial element of the county economy. Kendall's Mill (some time's referred to as Master's Mill) is a rare survival of a merchant mill that may have been constructed as early as the 1820s (Photo 108). As with virtually every other enterprise in the county before end of slavery, enslaved workers would have almost certainly provided the labor to enable the mill to operate.

Kendall's Mill is a one-and-a-half story, two-bay structure. The building rests on a dry-laid stone pier foundation. The Dutch H-frame structural system is composed of notched and pegged mortise and tenon members. An open ground-floor portion located on the south elevation exposes the plank flooring, summer beam, and floor joists (Photo 109, p. 150). The exterior walls are clad in German siding on the north elevation, and plain weatherboard siding on all other elevations which is affixed to the wall with cut nails (Photo 111, pp. 150–151151). The mill is covered by a front-gabled roof sheathed in v-crimp metal and exposed rafter tails.

The primary entrance is located on the north elevation. It is filled with a single-leaf, wood, board-and-batten door with a simple wood surround. An identical door is located on the south elevation. All other fenestration is covered by wood, board-and-batten shutters.



Photo 108: Kendall's Mill, Northeast Elevation.



Photo 109: Structural System, Looking Northeast.



Photo 110: Saw and Adze Marks on Southwest Elevation.



Photo 111: Northwest Elevation.



Photo 112: South Oblique.

Augustine North Slave Cemetery

Augustine North Slave Cemetery
Muster Drive
Stafford County, Virginia
DHR #: 089-5058 / 44ST1203
Date Circa 1800



The resource is located on the north side of Muster Drive in a cul-de-sac in the Augustine North neighborhood within the Rock Hill election district in Stafford County. It is located on a rectangular parcel bounded by 35 Muster Drive on the west, 39 Muster Drive on the east, the Augustine Golf Club golf course on the north, and Muster Drive on the south. The parcel measures 0.5 acres and is covered by a manicured grass lawn and periwinkle. The lot is heavily dotted with mature coniferous and deciduous trees and overlooks the north fork of Accokeek Creek. An asphalt public sidewalk is located immediately south of the primary resource. The primary resource is accessed by a dirt path (Figure 54, p. 153).

Archival

Oral tradition suggests that this cemetery is connected to the “Furnace Tract.” A delineation study conducted by ECS LLC Mid-Atlantic in 2005 recorded 40 graves, 27 adults and 13 children (ECS 2005). This report does not suggest slave burials, nor does it include archival information. Without further research it is difficult to assume who the owners of this tract of land belonged to. There is some indication that the Moncures, a prominent Stafford family, might have possibly been owners at some period.

Architectural Description

The primary resource at Muster Drive is a circa-1800 possible slave cemetery (Photo 113, p. 154). The cemetery contains roughly 40 interments. No dates of actual graves can be ascertained, as the graves are marked by unadorned fieldstones of various sizes (Photo 114–Photo 115, pp. 154–155). Most of the grave markers were moved from their original location during a 2005 delineation study (ESC 2005). It is possible that archaeological exploration can help reconnect the stones to the interments through an analysis of small stone fragments in the earth that mark where the stones may have originally been placed. A similar technique was used at an African American cemetery in Winston-Salem, North Carolina when formal headstones and field markers were removed from the graves in the early-twentieth century to make way for an addition appended to a nearby church (e.g., Ferguson 2011).

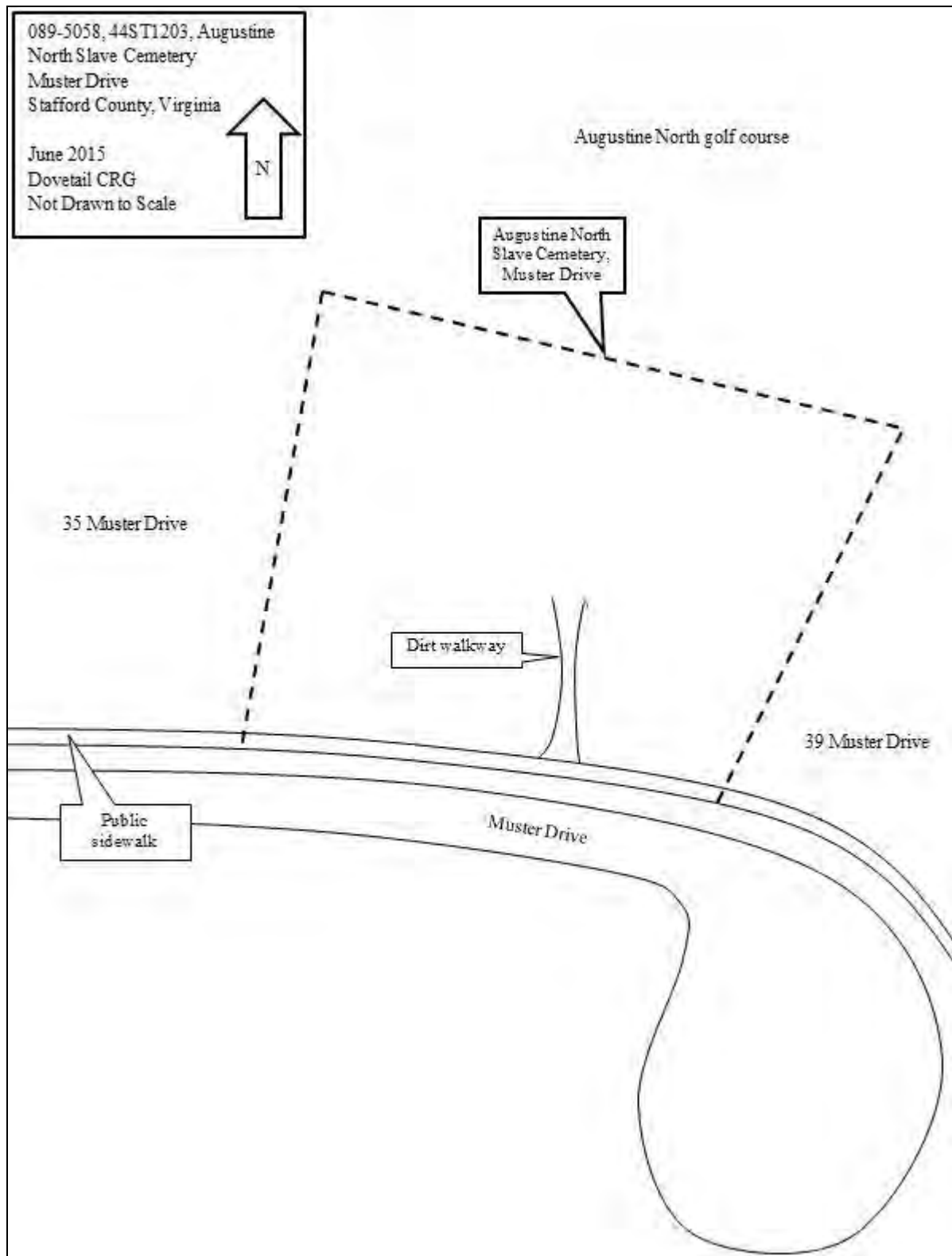


Figure 54: Site Plan of the Augustine North Slave Cemetery.



Photo 113: Augustine North Slave Cemetery, Looking South.



Photo 114: Grave Marker Detail.



Photo 115: Grave Marker Detail.

Gordon Family Slave Cemetery

Gordon Family Slave Cemetery
 5 Franklin Street
 Stafford County, Virginia
 DHR #: 089-5586 / 44ST1204
 Date: Circa 1750



The resource, a slave cemetery, is located on the south side of Franklin Street at 5 Franklin Street within the Rosedale neighborhood in the Rock Hill election district of Stafford County. The parcel on which the resource sits measures 1.1 acres and is covered by a manicured grass lawn and is sparsely dotted with mature trees and is surrounded by a densely wooded area. The cemetery is situated in and between residential lots (Figure 55, p. 156). A drainage ditch is located north of the resource.

Archival

Oral tradition suggests that the slaves buried in the Gordon Family Slave Cemetery belonged to William Richards Gordon of Rosedale (1780–1855). Circa 1850 census records indicate that Mr. Gordon owned 10 enslaved individuals at the time, six males and four women. According to Homer Musselman’s book, *Stafford County Virginia, Veterans and Cemeteries*, those buried in the cemetery are Henry, Sally and their children, Melly and her children (SCCC 2013).

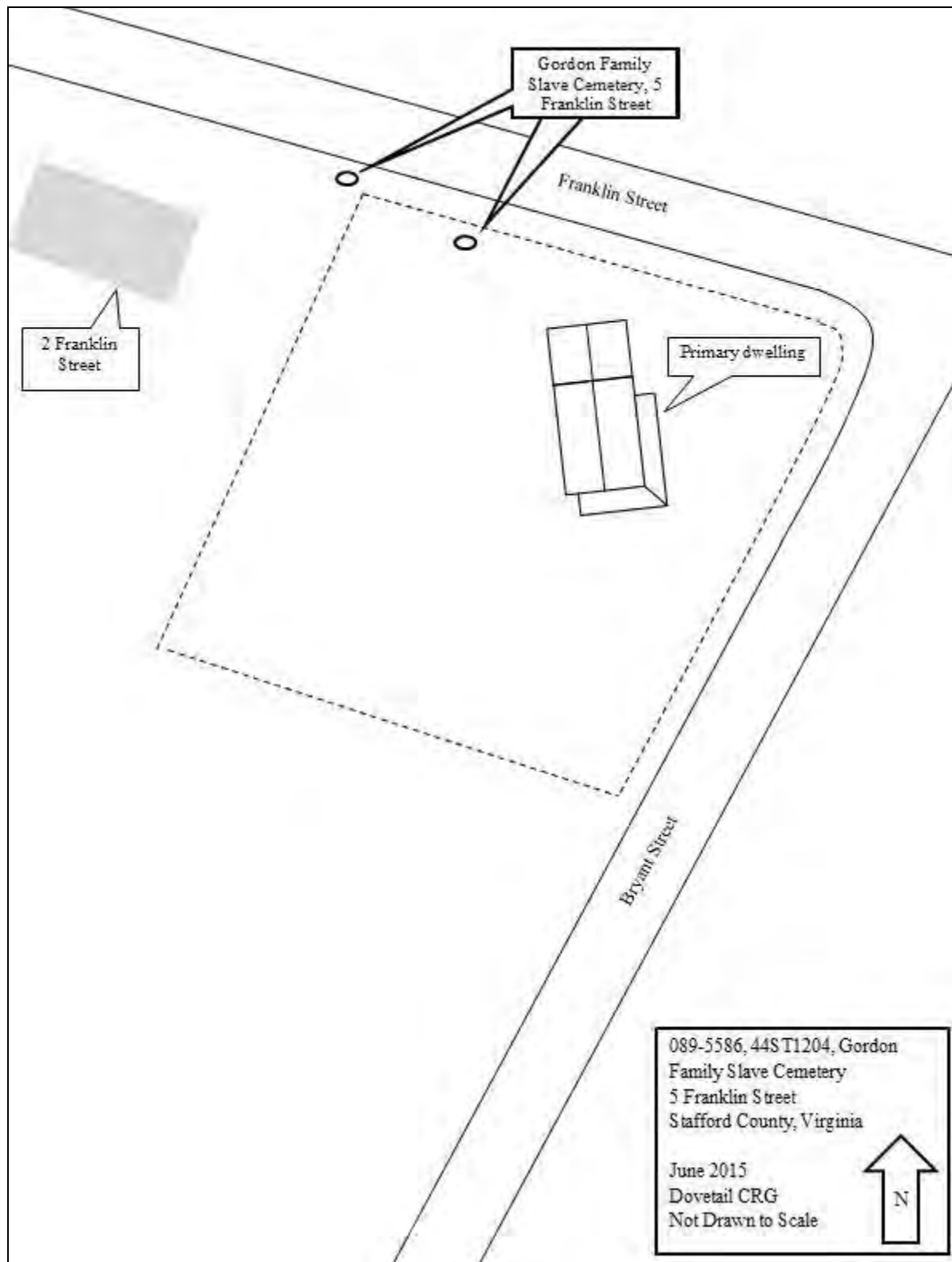


Figure 55: Site Plan of the Gordon Family Slave Cemetery.

Architectural Description

The Gordon Family Slave Cemetery at 5 Franklin Street is a presumed mid-eighteenth century slave cemetery. Only two grave markers were visible during the current survey. One is situated south of a chain-link fence at 5 Franklin Street. The other is located just northwest of 5 Franklin Street. Both are unadorned fieldstones. No additional information on the individuals interred in this cemetery or their burials is visible on the ground surface (Photo 116–Photo 118, p. 158).



Photo 116: Gordon Family Slave Cemetery, Looking South.



Photo 117: Grave Marker Detail, Looking South.



Photo 118: Grave Marker Detail, Looking Southwest.

Garrisonville Election District

There were no resources included in this study located within the Garrisonville election district.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF ARCHITECTURAL PROPERTIES

A total of 21 above-ground architectural resources were investigated as part of the survey, found on 13 properties distributed across the breadth of Stafford County. The buildings range in date from the late-eighteenth century to circa 1860 and reflect the wide array of activities and duties performed by the county's enslaved black residents. Moreover, they also suggest the range of circumstances in which these people lived and labored. They include several buildings that were once part of extensive plantations owned by members of the county elite and related to wealthy merchants living in the port town of Falmouth, as well as some of the more modest holdings (where the overwhelming majority of the enslaved were employed), and a small sample of the more industrial activities that took on greater importance over time.

Slave Holding in Context

Considering the 200-year history of slave holding in the area, and its pervasive presence throughout every aspect of life in Stafford, it is no surprise that literally thousands of places associated with slavery have been lost to time, indifference, and later construction. The properties that have been investigated during this study, therefore, represent neither a valid sampling of the variety of the places associated with the lives of the enslaved, nor provide the opportunity to draw new insights by considering those resources alone. But by adding other types of evidence that relate to Stafford County in particular—such as the federal census data—and to the architecture of slave life across the Commonwealth and beyond, it is possible to provide the context to more fully interpret these findings.

The trajectory of the role of slavery in the economy and society of Stafford County over a span of two centuries largely mirrored the situation throughout the Tidewater region of Virginia. By the mid-eighteenth century, Virginia had been transformed from a society with slaves to a “slave society” (Kulikoff 1986:3–14). The percentage of the enslaved in the Virginia population rose steadily from 6.9 percent in 1680 to 43.9 percent in 1750; but by 1790 the percentage had dropped to 39.2 percent. The decline was largely a consequence of the growing practice of Virginia masters selling excess laborers to supply the needs of the expanding plantations of the Deep South, and the parallel decision of many Tidewater planters to relocate westward. That trend only increased over the next decades. The slave population in Virginia increased 41 percent between 1790 and 1860, and it remained the largest slave-holding state in the Union (n=490,865), but the percentage of the enslaved in the overall population had declined to 30.7 percent. In contrast, the numbers of the enslaved in the western states of Kentucky, Missouri, and Tennessee increased 40-fold between them, and the population in the eight Deep South states increased 16 times during this period. As a result, Virginia's share of the total slave population in the U.S. dropped from 42 percent in 1790 to 12 percent by 1860 (Kolchin 1993:95–96, 240–242).

Similar trends are discernible for the enslaved population of Stafford County as revealed in the federal censuses of 1790–1860 (Appendix B, p. 179). In 1790 the percentage of slaves in the Stafford population (42.4 percent) was slightly higher than for the state as a whole, reflecting the continued concentration of slaves in the Tidewater Region, even as slavery was undergoing rapid expansion in the western parts of the state. Over the next 70 years the number of slaves in the county decreased, along with its percentage of the total population—from a high of 4,368 (45.9 percent) in 1820 to 3,314 (38.7 percent) in 1860. The population trends in Stafford generally parallel the situation throughout Tidewater, again due to the relocation of many planter families to the west, especially to the piedmont region of Virginia and to the newly opened territories (then states) of Kentucky and Tennessee. A crucial factor contributing to this migration was the declining fertility of soils in the face of decades of tobacco cultivation and the corresponding fall in profits from tobacco. In response to these developments many planters also switched from growing labor-intensive tobacco to grains, primarily wheat, as their cash crop, which brought with it a much reduced requirement for the number of field workers (Hofstra 1999:10–12; Kulikoff 1986:157–161; U.S. Census 1790-1860; U.S. Agricultural Census 1790–1860).

Even with the relative decline in the fortunes of the tobacco economy, Stafford County remained steadfastly agricultural in orientation, with the great majority of inhabitants living and working on farms and plantations, ranging from dozens to hundreds of acres in extent. White landowners continued their commitment to slavery; of the 1,022 property owners in the county in 1860, 60 percent of them (n=617) owned slaves. In comparison with the enormous holdings found in other parts of Virginia and the South, none of the plantations in Stafford County were truly large. In 1860 only four Stafford residents possessed as many as 50 slaves, which together represented less than 0.1 percent of the total population. In contrast, plantations of that size accounted for 11.8 percent of slaves in the Upper South and 29.6 percent of slaves in the Deep South states.

In Stafford, plantations with 16 or more slaves comprised the statistically significant upper stratum, with those 47 masters making up 7.6 percent of the total, and their slaves representing 38 percent of the enslaved population. Within that category, nine masters owned more than 40 slaves, together accounting for 13 percent of the county total, and it was these owners and their plantations that had an out-sized impact on both the white and black communities. The wealth and status of the owners meant that they were notable players in the social and political affairs of the county. Their slaves on the other hand formed a relatively cohesive group that was more conducive to family development and the maintenance of cultural traditions, and served as a source of support for the black community in the face of the arduous work and frequently cruel treatment that they were forced to endure (Morgan 1998:512–519).

The town of Falmouth emerged as an important commercial center beginning in the late-eighteenth century, with numerous grain mills established there to serve the burgeoning production of wheat at the surrounding farms and plantations. With its location at the falls of the Rappahannock, it was well positioned for milling, as well as a point of transshipment for goods and produce both entering and leaving the port. Substantial warehouses were erected to house the goods of the prominent merchants who set up business there. The Rappahannock Forge (Hunter's Ironworks [089-5060]) was established nearby around 1770

to take advantage of the natural trade outlets. All of these enterprises depended on slave labor for their success, and Falmouth therefore became a locus for the county's enslaved population (Schools 2012:12–23).

The percentage of slave owners in 1860 (60 percent) represented a significant increase from previous decades, when Stafford's slave population had been controlled by roughly 45 percent to 50 percent of landowners. The shift reflects two related developments: the reduction in the number and importance of the largest plantations, where a correspondingly large force of labor had been required, and the increase in the numbers of masters who owned fewer than five slaves to work their smaller land holdings. In 1860 the mean number of slaves per owner was 5.3 (down from roughly eight per owner previously), but 71 percent of owners (n=439) held between one and five slaves, representing 25.5 percent of the total population, while 41.5 percent owned just a single individual. Both of these totals represent notable increases from earlier years. At the other end of the spectrum were the 47 masters who owned as many as 16 individuals, with a high of 59. While the stark division between the large landholders who owned dozens of slaves and the majority of small farmers who owned just a few had existed for decades, by 1860 the proportion of small-scale slave owners had increased dramatically, while the holdings of the great planters had fallen significantly.

Slave-Related Buildings in Stafford County

Farms and plantations in Virginia almost universally included a variety of outbuildings in addition to the main house, often arranged in descending order in terms of value and appearance, to support the variety of tasks that were required. Needless to say, these duties were primarily allotted to slaves. The description by an Italian visitor in 1786 provides an evocative image of just such a scene: "The master's house is ... on a good site, either on a hillside or a spacious plain and all around are the little dwellings of the overseer and the slaves, and likewise the kitchens and the barns, so that the whole complex looks like a small village" (Castiglioli, as quoted in Welles 1993:21). Thus, not only the quarters designed to house the workers, but also the various structures associated with their labor, both on the plantations and in town, qualify as representing important resources relating to the world of slavery.

The U.S. Census of 1860 was the first (and only) attempt on the part of the federal government to enumerate the "houses" that masters provided for their slaves, and the results demonstrate just how few of those buildings survive (U.S. Census 1860). The seven buildings in this sample that are likely to have served in that capacity equate to roughly 1.4 percent of the 499 slave houses listed in the county for that year alone. It should be noted that at properties where the number of slaves was small, there may not have been any structures that were specifically intended to serve as quarters. In those cases, slaves likely slept in available spaces in other outbuildings and even in and around the main house. This practice undoubtedly contributed to the result that 390 owners (63.21 percent) in Stafford in 1860 are listed as having no slave houses, even though they together owned 865 individuals. The percentage in Stafford is abnormally high when compared to the data from neighboring counties, however, where the number was less than five percent. This suggests that for unknown reasons the census taker employed a different standard in identifying slave houses

in Stafford. For example, he may only have counted structures that were used solely for housing slaves, excluding the many others where slaves occupied a portion of a building, such as a kitchen, laundry, office, stable, etc. Therefore, the number of buildings where slaves lived in 1860 was undoubtedly much higher than the 499 slave houses listed in the census.

The seven slave dwellings reflect both the similarities and some of the diversity in the character, quality, and comfort of living conditions that characterized this type of building. Quarters for the enslaved exhibited a wide range in terms of their dimensions, the number of rooms and construction materials, and the level of finish and degree of architectural design, yet they also shared many similarities. Of particular consequence in contributing to the character of slave houses was the size and family make-up of the enslaved community, and the role of the occupants and the location of the structures in relation to the home and the household of the master. The construction methods and materials used in erecting quarters varied over time and space, but wooden buildings—either log or frame—as a rule were more popular than masonry in the eastern part of Virginia, except in special circumstances such as urban areas or at elite plantations. By the late-eighteenth century substantial barracks-like structures, to accommodate large numbers of usually unrelated individuals, had been replaced by smaller dwellings, almost always consisting of one or two main rooms, to accommodate kin groups. This development was due to an unusual feature of slavery in the Chesapeake, where the black population was able to increase naturally (births outpacing deaths), and the family structure took on increasing significance (Morgan 1998:512–517). With the potential for masters to profit financially from every child born into slavery, it was in their self-interest to promote births and to provide a relatively healthful environment, and this is reflected in an extensive literature promoting efficient and cost-effective methods for housing and treating slaves, which appeared in the region's farming journals (Breedon 1980).

At larger plantations and farms a rough hierarchy often existed in terms of the quality of housing. The domiciles of workers living near the master's residence were generally better constructed and outfitted with certain amenities that were unknown to the great majority of slaves living in more distant locations, where they served as laborers in the fields (Chappell 2013:156–178). All seven of the likely Stafford County slave houses included in the current survey fit the general category of home quarters, as each is located within easy sight of the main house, and six of the seven are relatively well built, substantial structures: three of brick and three frame, each likely accommodating two separate living spaces.

Three of these buildings are located within the homelot surrounding the main house on a plantation or farm: Sherwood Forest (089-0014) and Sanford-Burgess (089-5016). Four others -- Belmont (089-5078), Dunbar (089-0067-0009), Phillips House/Burnside Manor (089-0249) and the outbuildings at Carlton (089-0010) -- were associated with the residence of a wealthy individual who was primarily involved in mercantile activities and are located within the port town of Falmouth. Three of the buildings were duplex quarters: Sherwood Forest, Belmont, and Phillips. At least three of the six were used for multiple purposes, with quarters sharing the building with a kitchen (and in one instance probably also a laundry): Sherwood Forest kitchen/laundry/quarter, Dunbar kitchen/quarter, and Carlton kitchen/quarter. The seventh building is the log cabin located on the Sanford Farm, with one room on the first floor and an unheated garret above. As part of a more modest

domestic complex, it also was erected within sight of the main house, and may be the only survivor from what had been a group of three similar buildings. As such it is a particularly rare survivor of what had been the most prevalent type of slave house found in the region.

As a specific example of the information presented by slave-related landscapes, the two slave buildings at the Sherwood Forest plantation provide some insight into the spatial arrangement and hierarchy of functions and of building forms and materials found at such elite sites. The brick building that almost certainly served as a kitchen and laundry, with two rooms above for quarters, was purposely relegated to the fringes of the “polite” space surrounding the main house, but near enough to perform its primary role in supporting the planter’s household. The choice to build in brick to match the main house, and the symmetrical façade and generous size, reflects the relative prominence of the building, distant but fully visible from the main dwelling. The frame duplex is positioned on axis with the other buildings, but is located several hundred feet farther away and is largely obscured from view. While a well-built frame structure, it clearly occupied a lesser place within the hierarchy of the built environment. The frame smoke house was clearly a carefully considered part of the complex, again typically positioned at some remove but easily accessible from the kitchen.

No slave-related buildings existed in a vacuum, but in most instances no contemporary associated buildings appear to have survived at the majority of the properties studied during this survey. The exceptions represent homelots associated with two of the largest slave holders in the county: Carlton, built by John Short around 1785, and the aforementioned Sherwood Forest, erected by Henry Fitzhugh in 1843. Along with the duplex quarter/kitchen, a smoke house (meat house), and a dairy survive at Carlton; at Sherwood Forest, a smoke house survives along with the frame duplex slave quarter and the combined kitchen, laundry, and quarter. At the Dunbar property, in Falmouth, a dairy is located just a few feet from the combined kitchen/quarter. Other properties with more than one surviving resource are: Poplar Grove, with a kitchen and spring house; Springfield, with a kitchen and smoke house; and Walnut Hill, with a spring house and blacksmith shop. Other resources include log houses that at present cannot be related to occupation by slaves but which offer important comparative evidence, and a mill and the site of an iron works.

An Analysis

The characteristics of the Stafford County quarters correlate well with the larger pattern of rural slave housing in nineteenth-century Virginia. With the decline of large barracks-like quarters that were common in the earlier periods, the norm became smaller structures composed of either one or two heated ground floor rooms, each accommodating an individual family. These spaces were typically one story and less than 300 square feet in dimension (although they often included access to an unheated space under the eaves), with a side-gable roof, heated by an end fireplace (Table 11, p. 164). In the case of two-room cabins (duplexes), heat could have been provided by end chimneys or by a centrally positioned chimney stack that served fireplaces in both sides of the building (Photo 119, p. 164; Figure 56, p. 165). As a comparison, the generally small size of the buildings and their construction types are reflected in the data from the valuations of slave quarters made in St. Mary’s County, in Southern Maryland, from 1780–1841; the modal building sizes were just

16 by 14 feet and 16 by 12 feet, and logs were by far the most common construction material used, with no brick or stone quarters recorded (Table 12, p. 166) (Marks 1979:49–51, 53).

Table 11: A Comparison of Usable Space Within the Recorded Stafford County Quarters (First Floor).

Building Name	Room 1	Room 2	Total
Belmont Duplex	258 sf	255 sf	513 sf
Carlton Kitchen/Quarter	@235 sf	n/a	470 sf
Dunbar Kitchen/Quarter	@210 sf	n/a	420 sf
Phillips Duplex (brick)	240 sf	233 sf	473 sf
Sanford-Burgess Cabin (log)	146 sf	n/a	146 sf
Sherwood Forest Duplex	226 sf	217 sf	443 sf
Sherwood Forest Kitchen/Laundry/Quarter (brick)	223 sf	217 sf	440 sf



Photo 119: “Old Cabin on Fall Run, Scott’s Hill,” Falmouth, a Rare Depiction of a Largely Unaltered Duplex Quarter (LOC 1925–1929).

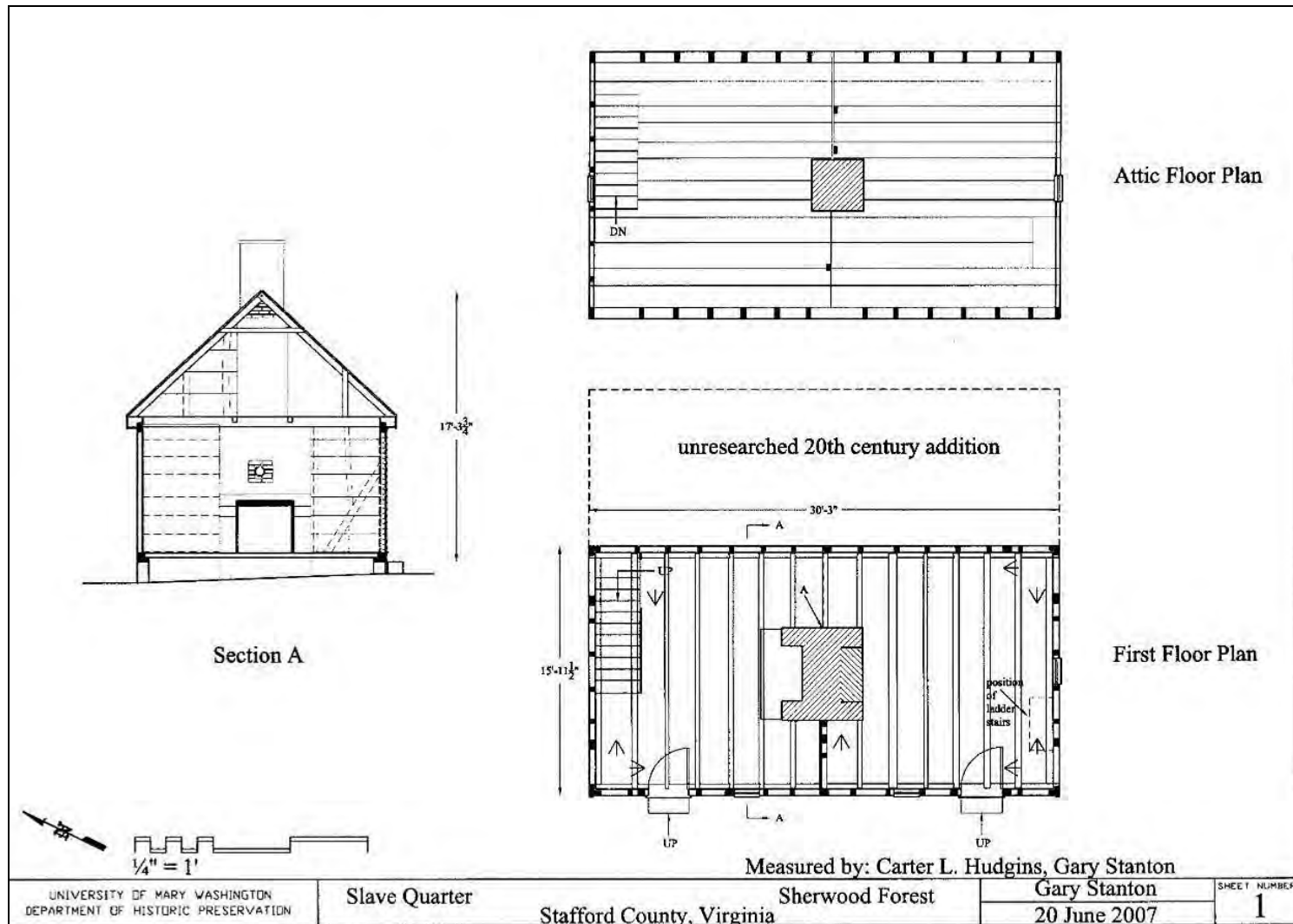


Figure 56: Measured Drawing of the Sherwood Forest Quarter Showing the Central Chimney and Overall Plan (UMW Center for Historic Preservation 2007).

Table 12: Quarter Building Sizes and Relative Quantity in St. Mary's County, Maryland (adapted from Marks 1979).

Period	Modal Dimension	Number	Brick	Log	Frame
1780-89	16' by 12'	20	0%	100%	0%
1790-99	24' by 16'	10	0%	66%	33%
1800-09	16' by 12'	35	0%	40%	46%
1810-19	16' by 16'	7	n/a	n/a	n/a
1820-29	16' by 14'	19	0%	84%	16%
1830-41	16' by 14'	42	0%	100%	0%

Of the literally thousands of slave quarters that were in existence in the American South by the time of the Civil War, a relatively small percentage survives. Small, often hastily built and poorly maintained, and distributed in groups inconveniently strewn across the landscape, field quarters in particular have been lost in great numbers as the function they served was eliminated. As in St. Mary's County and as presented in the archival research gathered on Stafford County, the evidence indicates that by the early-nineteenth century quarters built of logs had become the most prevalent type of housing, especially for field hands, in eastern Virginia. The quarters that survive tend to be the larger and better-built examples that had been reserved for those living and working at the plantation core, many of whom performed duties as servants in the house or as craftsmen, and this is the case in Stafford as well. Of the 391 extant buildings in Virginia that are recorded as likely slave quarters, 180 are frame, 89 are brick, 44 are stone, and only 68 are log; all are small (Table 13, p. 167). Across the Potomac the situation is similar; of the 156 structures listed as slave quarters in the Maryland Inventory of Historic Places, 66 are stone, 25 brick, 35 frame, and only 30 log (Sanford and Pogue 2009).

With a total of seven, the current assemblage of Stafford County slave houses reflects the general preservation bias for substantial duplex quarters and multiple-use spaces, built either of masonry or frame, which is prevalent throughout the region. Aside from the Sanford-Burgess cabin, which is notable both for its small size and log construction, the Stafford buildings are well built and relatively commodious. Although not representative of the range of slave housing that would have been found in Stafford County, they make up a significant collection and warrant additional investigation and documentation. The total number of slave houses in Virginia that have been recorded in detail remains small—fewer than 50—and the opportunity to record more buildings decreases each year, as these structures continue to be lost and/or modified beyond recognition.

Table 13: Sample of Duplex Quarters in Virginia (adapted from Sanford and Pogue 2009).

Building Name	Room 1	Room 2	Total	Dendro Date
Clover Hill (stone)	110 sf	107 sf	217 sf	n/a
Hartland (log)	156 sf	120 sf	276 sf	n/a
Arcola I (stone)	181 sf	110 sf	291 sf	1813
Ben Lomond (stone)	162 sf	140 sf	302 sf	1834
Green Level Farm (brick)	170 sf	162 sf	332 sf	n/a
Arcola II (stone)	171 sf	165 sf	336 sf	1845
Berry Plain	179 sf	181 sf	360 sf	n/a
Prestwould	185 sf	211 sf	396 sf	1790/1840
Logan Farm	205 sf	209 sf	414 sf	1837
Bacon's Castle	210 sf	213 sf	423 sf	1829/1848
Tuckahoe D	214 sf	213 sf	427 sf	n/a
Pruden	170 sf	260 sf	430 sf	n/a
Sherwood Forest	217 sf	227 sf	444 sf	1846
Howard's Neck C (log)	223 sf	223 sf	446 sf	n/a
Howard's Neck B (log)	222 sf	225 sf	447 sf	n/a
Santee (brick)	225 sf	227 sf	452 sf	n/a
Tuckahoe A	221 sf	241 sf	462 sf	n/a
Tuckahoe B	218 sf	252 sf	470 sf	n/a
Spring Hill I	233 sf	240 sf	473 sf	1858
Wilton	237 sf	237 sf	474 sf	n/a
Spring Hill II	234 sf	240 sf	474 sf	n/a
Ivy Cliff	247 sf	259 sf	506 sf	n/a
Four Square	315 sf	298 sf	613 sf	1789/1830
Presquisle I (brick)	323 sf	323 sf	646 sf	n/a
Presquisle II (brick)	318 sf	328 sf	646 sf	n/a

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SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Dovetail/Pogue team conducted a county-wide survey of Stafford County, Virginia between October 2014 and May 2015. The project was completed at the request of the Stafford County Board of Supervisors in satisfaction of requirements outlined in the DHR through the CLG Grant Program.

Of the literally tens of thousands of slavery-related resources that were in existence in the American South by the time of the Civil War, few survive. Without these resources the lives of hundreds of thousands of people vanish from the landscape. The scarcity of these sites in Stafford County is not unlike those across the South. This project was carried out to not only study and document a small number of these resources, but also to aid in determining the next steps in documenting these resources.

The current survey included a background review of slavery-related resources throughout the county, the identification of up to 30 places with a connection to slavery in the county for field study, fieldwork on these 30 properties, limited archival research, GIS mapping, and the production of a report on the investigations. For documentation, each property received a reconnaissance architectural summary and additional documentation including mapping, photographs, and CAD drawings of their respective footprints. This report contains recommendations on additional studies on this topic, as the current survey is a preliminary document to ascertain the potential of this subject as a future research venue. Given this, and due to the cursory nature of the current undertaking, the eligibility of each resource for the NRHP was not determined.

Prior to starting fieldwork, Dovetail conducted a formal background literature and record review at the DHR. This included an examination of records on previous cultural resource investigations, previously recorded archaeological site, and architectural properties with a possible slave-related component in Stafford County. In addition, resource information was gleaned from Stafford County residents and other stakeholders. A total of 315 sites were identified: 70 above-ground resources, 18 cemeteries, and 209 archaeological sites.

The resources selected for the current survey were selected through consultation with Stafford County officials, project Advisory Board, and local stakeholders. Thirty resources (20 above-ground resource and 10 cemeteries) were identified as having potential slavery-related history. The Dovetail/Pogue team conducted fieldwork, a cursory archival study, and GIS mapping for each site.

The properties selected for study comprise a spectrum of resources. They are spread throughout the county geographically and cover a range of site types including domestic properties, funerary/cemetery properties, industrial sites, and more. Some are in danger of being lost forever, such as the Sanford-Burgess quarter, and others were found to be in good condition. Together, they reveal an incredible amount of details on slavery-related properties in Stafford County. Subsequent field work and archival research interestingly determined that two above-ground resources and one cemetery have no known slavery association (Table 14, p. 170). It is recommended that additional archival research be conducted on the remaining

27 resources to determine the depth of their connection to the story of slavery in Stafford County.

Table 14: Resources that Have No Known Slave Association.

Key #	Resource	VCRIS #	Address	Election District
2	Stevens Cemetery	089-5424/ 44ST1140	Old Potomac Church Road	Aquia
12	50 Caisson Road	089-5585	50 Caisson Road	George Washington
23	Patton Outbuilding	089-0286	379 Richards Ferry Road	Hartwood

Due to the large quantity of sites recorded during the background review and based on questions derived from the analysis, the Dovetail/Pogue team recommends a themed approach for further studies. Utilizing the lists gathered during Task I, our recommendations are to (in no specific order):

1. Identify, research and record Archaeological Sites (Phase IA / pedestrian study to confirm presence/absence and potential for deposits);
2. Study churches built before 1865 to ascertain which intuitions have a confirmed slave-related association;
3. Locate transportation routes in use before 1865 to record how enslaved people utilized these passages;
4. Record Historic Districts which contain buildings, structures, objects, sites, and landscape features that were utilized by enslaved individuals;
5. Identify, research and record (where remaining) sites within Marine Corps Base Quantico.
6. Study Contraband/Wartime associated places that have a notable connection to the experience of enslavement; and
7. Return to known resources not visited due to known significance or previous studies such as Chatham and Ferry Farm.

Together, the results from the current study, combined with future research, will help reveal information on the lives of enslaved citizens of Stafford County, providing a voice to those who have been, until recently, silenced.

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**APPENDIX A: LISTING OF IDENTIFIED RESOURCES
FROM PROJECT BACKGROUND AND ARCHIVAL REVIEW**

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Table 1: Above Ground Resources Identified During the Background Review and Archival Research

Resource	Address	Election District	VCRIS #	Theme
Anne Moncure House (Current), Fleurry (Historic), Flurry (Historic)	2938 Jefferson Davis Hwy.	Aquia	089-0071	Domestic
Accakeek Farm	175 Big Spring Lane	Aquia		Domestic
Lam Burial at Concord	296 Olde Concord Road	Aquia	089-0097/ 44ST1199	Funerary
Aquia Church Cemetery	2938 Jefferson Davis Hwy.	Aquia		Funerary
Nancy Ross Cemetery	86 Bexley Road	Aquia		Funerary
Stafford County Courthouse Well House	1300 Courthouse Road	Aquia	089-0015	Government
Aquia Church (Historic/Current)	2938 Jefferson Davis Hwy.	Aquia	089-0008	Religious
Phillips House	Northside Drive	Falmouth		Domestic
Carlton	501 Melchers Drive	Falmouth	089-0010	Domestic
Bentley Forest (Current), Burnside Manor (Current)	901 Northside Drive	Falmouth	089-0249	Domestic
Clearview	420 Forbes Street	Falmouth	089-0012	Domestic
Glencairne (Historic)	559 Cambridge Street	Falmouth	089-0020	Domestic
116 Cambridge Street	116 Cambridge Street	Falmouth	089-5085	Domestic
Ellerslie Slave Cemetery	Between 8 & 10 Azalea Street	Falmouth	089-5587, 44ST1201	Funerary
Glencairne Slave Cemetery	559 Cambridge Street	Falmouth		Funerary
Basil Gordon Warehouse	104 Cambridge Street, West	Falmouth	089-0067-0011	Industrial
Rockdale Farm (Historic)	Rockdale Road (Route 671)	Garrisonville	089-0178	Domestic
Sherwood Forest (Historic)	971 Kings Hwy.	George Washington	089-0014	Domestic
Belmont Caretaker's Cottage (Historic/Current), House, 225 Washington Street (Function/Location)	225 Washington Street	George Washington	089-5078	Domestic
Chapel Green Farm	279 Chapel Green Road	George Washington	089-0260	Domestic
House, Rt. 682 (Current)	Purvis Lane	George Washington	089-0028	Domestic
Gordon Green Terrace (Historic), Sam Gordon House (Historic)	100 Carter Street	George Washington	089-0067-0012	Domestic

Resource	Address	Election District	VCRIS #	Theme
Moncure Conway House	305 King Street	George Washington	089-0067-0031	Domestic
Chatham	120 Chatham Lane	George Washington	089-0067-0125	Domestic
Dr. Lee's Place (Historic), Fleetwood (Historic)	151 Route 600 (Bethel Church Road)	George Washington	089-0098	Domestic
Albion (Current)	Route 3	George Washington	089-0261	Domestic
50 Caisson Road	50 Caisson Road	George Washington	089-5585	Domestic
Carlton Slave Cemetery	501 Melchers Drive	George Washington	089-0010, 44ST1202	Funerary
Union Church in Falmouth, Falmouth Cemetery	Carter Street	George Washington	089-0067-0037/ 44ST0081	Funerary
Unmarked Honey Weightman Slave Cemetery	South side of Butler Road	George Washington		Funerary
Chaves House (Current), Melcher's Studio (Historic), Old Stone Bakery (Historic), Stone Warehouse (Historic)	106 Washington Street	George Washington	089-0067-0047	Industrial
Brooks Warehouse, 77 Cambridge Street (Historic/Current)	77 Cambridge Street	George Washington	089-5065	Industrial
White Oak Baptist Church	8 Caisson Road	George Washington	089-0076	Religious
Dunbar Kitchen	107 Carter Street	George Washington	089-0067-0009	Domestic
Hollywood	189 Hollywood Farm Road	George Washington	089-0072	Domestic
Springfield Farm (Historic)	Springfield Lane	George Washington	089-0094	Domestic
Hunter's Iron Works	1 Old Forge Drive	George Washington	089-0006	Industrial
Canal Keeper's House (Historic), Falls Run, 104 King Street (Current), Payne House (Historic)	104 King Street	George Washington	089-0067-0028	Industrial/Domestic
Barnes House, 118 Washington Street (Historic/Location)	118 Washington Street	George Washington]	089-0067-0026	Domestic
Richland (Historic), Richlands (Historic/Current)	945 Widewater Road	Griffis-Widewater	089-0019	Domestic
Cemetery, Southeast of Decatur Road (Function/Location)	Route 635	Griffis-Widewater	089-5205	Funerary
Locust Grove Cemetery	1205 Clift Lane	Griffis-Widewater		Funerary

Resource	Address	Election District	VCRIS #	Theme
RF&P Section House, Widewater (Historic/Location), RF&P Station Master House (Alleged), Tenant house, Off of Route 611 (Function/Location)	Route 611	Griffis-Widewater	089-0147	Industrial
Sanford Farm (Historic)	494 Greenbank Road, adjacent to the Rocky Pen Run Reservoir	Hartwood	089-5016	Domestic
Oakenwold Farm (Historic/Current)	70 Oakenwold Lane	Hartwood	089-0157	Domestic
Walnut Hill Farm (Current)	West side of SR 644	Hartwood	089-0196	Domestic
Poplar Grove (Historic/Current)	1499 Poplar Road	Hartwood	089-0218	Domestic
House, 379 Richards Ferry Road (Function/Location), Patton (Current)	379 Richards Ferry Road	Hartwood	089-0286	Domestic
Lyndale Farm (Current)	1295 Poplar Road	Hartwood	089-0035	Domestic
House, Route 651, near Mountain View (Function/Location)	1056 Route 651	Hartwood	089-0206	Domestic
Stony Hill (Historic/Current)	Route 662	Hartwood	089-0219	Domestic
House, 1270 Warrenton Road (Function/Location), Vinson House (Current)	1270 Warrenton Road	Hartwood	089-5047	Domestic
Scotland	North side of Stony Hill Rd., by the intersection with Poplar Rd.	Hartwood		Domestic
Blackburn Family Slave Cemetery	449 Kellog Mill Road	Hartwood	089-0088/ 44ST1198	Funerary
Oakley Slave Cemetery	Access- Gibson Drive in Oakley Reserve lot 92	Hartwood	089-0089/ 44ST0359	Funerary
Sally Fitzhugh Cemetery/Fitzhugh Slave Cemetery	1499 Poplar Road	Hartwood	089-0218/ 44ST1200	Funerary
Rose Family Cemetery	1339 Poplar Road	Hartwood		Funerary
Stevens Family Cemetery	84 Coakley Road	Hartwood	089-5424/ 44ST1140	Funerary
Berea Baptist Church (Historic/Current)	28 Fleet Road	Hartwood	089-0009	Religious
Hartwood Presbyterian Church	State Route 705	Hartwood	089-0082	Religious
Augustine North Cemetery- 164 Muster Drive (Historic/Location)	164 Muster Drive	Rock Hill	089-5058/ 44ST1203	Funerary
Gordon Family Slave Cemetery	5 Franklin Street	Rock Hill	089-5586/ 44ST1204	Funerary

Resource	Address	Election District	VCRIS #	Theme
Gordon Family Slave Cemetery 2	9 Rosehaven Street	Rock Hill		Funerary
Kendall's Mill (Historic), Kindall's Mill (Alternate Spelling), Masters Mill (Historic), Mill, Aquia Creek (Current), Wiggarton's Mill (Alternate Spelling), Wigginton's Mill (Historic)	Rt. 675, Toluca Road	Rock Hill	089-0023	Industrial

Table 2: Archaeological Resources Identified During the Background Review

Resource	Address	Location	VCRIS #	Theme
Marlborough Point/Thorton Rhone	Route 621 And 681, Near Intersection	Potomac and Accakeek Creeks	089-0001/44ST0008	Industrial
Belle Plain	Belle Plain Road along Potomac Creek	n/a		Domestic/Industrial
Valley View, Seddon Property	Eskimo Hill Road	Aquia		Domestic
Patawomeke (Historic), Potomac Creek Archaeological Site (Current)	Route 621 And 608, Near Intersection	n/a	089-0002	Archaeology Site
Clifton Home	off of Route 611	n/a	089-0003	Domestic
Barlowe House Site (Historic), Robertson-Towson House Site (Historic/Current)	Garrisonville Road, South of	Garrisonville	089-5017	Domestic
Clifton Fishery	off of Route 611	Widewater		Industrial
Crow's Nest (Daniel Cemetery) (Current), Crow's Nest (Historic), Crow's Nest Farm (Historic), Daniel's Cemetery (Historic)	Route 212 And 608, Near Intersection	n/a	089-0004	Funerary
Falmouth Canal (Historic/Current), Falmouth Canal Archeological Site (Historic)	Rappahannock River, North Bank	n/a	089-0005	Transportation
Trench, Ferry Farm (Function/Location)	268 King's Highway	n/a	089-0016-0001	Defense
Chelsea (Historic), Wandrick House (Current)	Route 611	Widewater	089-0018	Domestic
Irvine/Hartwood Manor	335 Hartwood Road	Falmouth Town and the Rappahannock West of Falmouth	089-0021, 089-0068, 089-0134, 089-0229	Domestic
Little Whim (Historic)	375 White Oak Road	n/a	089-0041	Domestic
Accokeek Iron Furnace	North of terminus of Route 651	Falmouth Town and the Rappahannock West of Falmouth	089-0066/44ST0053	Industrial
Falmouth Beach Park (Current)	80 Butler Road	n/a	089-0067-0128	Landscape

Resource	Address	Location	VCRIS #	Theme
Hartwood House (Historic/Current)	Route 17	n/a	089-0068	Domestic
Tacketts Mill (Historic), Tacketts Mill (Historic/Current), Tacketts Mill Ruins (Current)	Poplar Road	Garrisonville and Roseville Areas	089-0075	Industrial
Oakley	Poplar Road, SR 616	Potomac and Accakeek Creeks	089-0089	Domestic
Stone Structure, Rt 654 (Current)	Rt 654	n/a	089-0090	Domestic
Hickory Hill (Historic/Current)	Route 600	Potomac and Accakeek Creeks	089-0091	Domestic
Aquia Creek Quarries (Current), Brent's Island (Historic), Government Island Quarry (Historic), Government Island Sandstone Quarry (Current), Wigginton's Island (Historic)	Northern section of Stafford County approximately four miles southeast of the intersection of Jefferson Davis Highway (US Route 1) and Garrisonville Road (State Route 610)	Aquia and Chopawamsic Creeks	089-0103	Industrial
Stony Hill (Historic), Stony Hill Site (Current)	Route 610	n/a	089-0104	Archaeology Site
Charter Farm (Alternate Spelling), Chartter Farm (Current), Cherry Grove (Historic), Cherry Hill (Historic), Farm, Rt. 670 (Function/Location)	Rt 670	Potomac and Accakeek Creeks	089-0240	Domestic
Rumford	554 Kings Highway	The Rappahannock River East of Falmouth	089-0280	Domestic
Little Falls Farm (Duff Green House)	South side of Kings Hwy/Rt 3	n/a	089-0283	Domestic
Quarry (Historic/Current)	Eskimo Hill Road	n/a	089-5201	Industry
Trench, North of Eskimo Hill Road (Function/Location)	North of Eskimo Hill Road	n/a	089-5208	Defense
Garrard's Tavern (Alternate Spelling), Garrett's Tavern (Historic), Garrett's Tavern Site (Current), Garrit's Tavern (Alternate Spelling)	US 1 and Hope Road, Intersection of	n/a	089-5365	Archaeology Site
New Hope Mine (Historic)	Warrenton Road	n/a	089-5375	Industry
Cemetery, "Site 6" (Alleged), Towson Cemetery, Route 2 (Historic/Location)	Route 2, Off of	n/a	287-5142	Archaeology Site
Hunter's Iron Works Archaeological Site	n/a	n/a	44ST0007	Industry
Greenlow	n/a	n/a	44ST0010	Domestic
Hall Hill Site	n/a	n/a	44ST0013	Domestic, DSS Legacy
Marie Site	n/a	n/a	44ST0017	DSS Legacy

Resource	Address	Location	VCRIS #	Theme
Historic Hall Site	n/a	n/a	44ST0022	Domestic, DSS Legacy
Law	n/a	n/a	44ST0028	DSS Legacy
Courthouse	n/a	n/a	44ST0030	DSS Legacy
Stone Point	n/a	n/a	44ST0035	n/a
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0042	Domestic
Stanstead	n/a	n/a	44ST0059	Funerary
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0060	DSS Legacy
Lawrence's Mill 1817	n/a	n/a	44ST0078	DSS Legacy
Falmouth Union Church and Cemetery	n/a	n/a	44ST0081	Funerary, Religion
Eagel Mine	n/a	n/a	44ST0095	Industry
New Hope Mine	n/a	n/a	44ST0096	Industry
Kelsey Site	n/a	n/a	44ST0097	n/a
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0098	DSS Legacy
Daffodil Cottage	n/a	n/a	44ST0100	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0107	Domestic, DSS Legacy
Mill	n/a	n/a	44ST0113	DSS Legacy
O'Bryhim Cemetery	n/a	n/a	44ST0129	Funerary
Brent Site (Woodstock)	n/a	n/a	44ST0130	Domestic, Funerary
Twelfth Campsite at Peytons Tavern-1782	n/a	n/a	44ST0134	Military/Defense
French Camp on Truslow Rd	n/a	n/a	44ST0135	Military/Defense
Woodstock	n/a	n/a	44ST0137	DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0139	DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0141	DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0147	Commerce/Trade, Government/Law/Political
North Quarry	n/a	n/a	44ST0151	DSS Legacy
Old Mill	n/a	n/a	44ST0153	DSS Legacy
Eagle Mill and Race	n/a	n/a	44ST0159	DSS Legacy, Industry
Miller's House	n/a	n/a	44ST0160	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0163	DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0164	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0180	DSS Legacy, Agriculture
Demay Site	n/a	n/a	44ST0191	Domestic
#73	n/a	n/a	44ST0206	DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0207	DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0212	DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0215	DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0224	DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0236	Domestic, Industry
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0300	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0304	DSS Legacy
Lee Farm (Carmora)			44ST0308	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0326	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0330	Agriculture
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0331	Agriculture

Resource	Address	Location	VCRIS #	Theme
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0334	Agriculture
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0335	Agriculture
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0338	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0360	Domestic, DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0380	DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0385	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0390	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0394	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0449	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0472	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0473	Domestic, DSS Legacy
Silver knoll	n/a	n/a	44ST0488	DSS Legacy
Danang Trail 1	n/a	n/a	44ST0489	DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0492	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0493	Domestic
Historic/Native American artifact scatter	n/a	n/a	44ST0532	n/a
Native American/Historic site	n/a	n/a	44ST0535	n/a
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0565	Domestic, DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0605	Domestic
Bloomington	n/a	n/a	44ST0611	Domestic, Funerary
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0616	DSS Legacy, Industry
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0629	Domestic
Rappahannock Landing	n/a	n/a	44ST0633	Industry
Rappahannock Landing	n/a	n/a	44ST0634	DSS Legacy
Rappahannock Landing	n/a	n/a	44ST0635	DSS Legacy, Industry
Chatham Plantation	n/a	n/a	44ST0650	Domestic, Landscape, Military/Defense, Agriculture
Southgate Tract 1	n/a	n/a	44ST0664	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0671	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0675	Industry
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0691	Domestic, Industry
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0698	
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0701	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0704	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0705	DSS Legacy, Funerary
Rose Hill	n/a	n/a	44ST0707	Domestic
Accokeek farm	n/a	n/a	44ST0709	Domestic, Military/Defense
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0730	Domestic, Industry

Resource	Address	Location	VCRIS #	Theme
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0732	DSS Legacy, Industry/Processing/E xtraction
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0736	DSS Legacy, Industry/Processing/E xtraction
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0737	DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0739	DSS Legacy, Industry/Processing/E xtraction
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0745	DSS Legacy, Industry/Processing/E xtraction
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0749	DSS Legacy, Industry/Processing/E xtraction
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0751	DSS Legacy, Industry/Processing/E xtraction
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0752	DSS Legacy, Industry/Processing/E xtraction
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0757	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0758	DSS Legacy, Industry/Processing/E xtraction
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0759	DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0761	DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0762	Domestic, Industry/Processing/E xtraction
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0763	DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0765	DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0766	DSS Legacy, Industry/Processing/E xtraction
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0769	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0772	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0774	DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0787	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0789	Domestic, Industry/Processing/E xtraction
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0791	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0793	Domestic, Industry/Processing/E xtraction
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0794	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0795	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0803	Domestic, DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0804	Domestic, DSS Legacy

Resource	Address	Location	VCRIS #	Theme
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0805	Domestic, DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0817	Domestic, Industry/Processing/Extraction
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0818	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0827	DSS Legacy, Funerary
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0829	DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0834	DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0838	Domestic, DSS Legacy, Industry/Processing/Extraction
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0845	DSS Legacy, Industry/Processing/Extraction
Chopawamsic Church	n/a	n/a	44ST0847	Religion
Tolson's Mill	n/a	n/a	44ST0848	DSS Legacy
	n/a	n/a	44ST0853	Domestic, DSS Legacy
Chopawamsic Tenancy	n/a	n/a	44ST0867	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0890	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0891	Domestic, Industry/Processing/Extraction
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0899	DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0911	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0918	DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0923	DSS Legacy
Earth Tech SA1	n/a	n/a	44ST0927	Domestic
Ferry Farm	n/a	n/a	44ST0932	Domestic, Subsistence/Agriculture
Ferry Farm	n/a	n/a	44ST0933	Domestic, Subsistence/Agriculture
South Accokeek Quarry	n/a	n/a	44ST0941	Industry/Processing/Extraction
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0960	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0967	DSS Legacy, Industry/Processing/Extraction
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0973	DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0974	DSS Legacy
Clermont	n/a	n/a	44ST0981	Domestic
Griffis Grave	n/a	n/a	44ST0985	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0987	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0989	
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST0993	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST1023	Domestic, Funerary
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST1030	Domestic, Funerary

Resource	Address	Location	VCRIS #	Theme
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST1032	Domestic, Industry/Processing/Extraction
The Cannon Creek Site	n/a	n/a	44ST1041	Domestic, Industry/Military
	n/a	n/a	44ST1044	Domestic
Campsite No. 4 of American Wagon Train Sept. 1781	n/a	n/a	44ST1049-0001	Domestic
Campsite No. 3 of Lauzun's Legion Sept. 1781	n/a	n/a	44ST1049-0002	Domestic
French Infantry campsite No. 11 at Falmouth in July 1782	n/a	n/a	44ST1050-0001	Domestic
Campsite No. 4 of Lauzun's Legion at Falmouth in July 1782	n/a	n/a	44ST1050-0002	Domestic
French Infantry campsite No. 12 at Garrit's Tavern in July 1782	n/a	n/a	44ST1051-0001	Domestic
Campsite No. 5 of Lauzun's Legion at Garrit's Tavern in July 1782	n/a	n/a	44ST1051-0002	Domestic
French Infantry campsite No. 13 at Peyton's Tavern in July 1782	n/a	n/a	44ST1052	Domestic
French Wagon Train Camp No. 4 at Peyton's Ordinary	n/a	n/a	44ST1053	Domestic
American Wagon Train Return March Camp No. 6 at Potomac Creek	n/a	n/a	44ST1054	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST1055	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST1064	Domestic, Industry/Processing/Extraction, Subsistence/Agriculture
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST1068	DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST1095	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST1099	DSS Legacy
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST1102	Commerce/Trade
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST1104	Industry/Processing/Extraction
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST1112	Domestic
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST1113	Government/Law/Political
Stafford County Jail	n/a	n/a	44ST1116	Government/Law/Political
n/a	n/a	n/a	44ST1125	DSS Legacy
n/a	069-0157	n/a	44ST1148	Domestic
Pine Grove	West side of Kings Hwy/Rt 3	n/a	n/a	Domestic
Wayside	East of the intersection of SR 610 and SR 659	n/a	n/a	Domestic

Resource	Address	Location	VCRIS #	Theme
Traveler's Rest	Quantico			Domestic
Traveler's Rest	Rt. 3			Domestic
Widewater/Fishing Industry				Industrial
Brents Mill	Southwest side of Widewater Road			Industrial
Gums Fishery				Industrial
Myrtle Grove Fishery	Near the end of the peninsula between Aquia Creek and the Potomac River			Industrial
Brooke's Mill	Between Route 629 and Route 608			Industrial
Eagle Mine	Between Holly Corner Road and Richard's Ferry Road			
House, 1643 Kings Highway (Function/Location)	1643 Kings Highway		089-0253	Domestic
Walnut Hill Farm (Current)	West side of SR 644		089-0196	Domestic
Park Farm (Historic/Current)	107 Park Farm Lane		089-0186	Domestic
Ellerslie (Current)	Truslow Road		089-0311	Domestic
Eastwood (Historic/Current)	498 Caisson Road		089-0288	Domestic
Rock Ramore Quarry, Previously George Washington Quarry	End of Quarry Road			Industrial
Patterson's Place				Domestic
The Old Stone House	Between SR 610 and 630			Domestic
Rhodie Shelkett House	Between Aquia and Cannon Creeks on SR 644			Domestic/Industrial
Hampstead (with family cemetery)	SR 616 next to Poplar Grove			Domestic
Rosedale	North side of SR 627 and on the east side of the intersection of SR 627 and 644			Domestic
Salvington	Between the junction of Potomac Creek and the Potomac River			Domestic
Mill Vale	South side of SR 608			Domestic
Boscobel	Ridge between Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers			Domestic
Ravenswood	Between Route 1 and I-95			Domestic
Snowden				Domestic
Albion	5.5 miles east of Fredericksburg			Domestic
Locust Grove	1205 Clift Lane			Domestic
Marsh Home	8.9 miles from Falmouth between Warrenton road and SR 612			Domestic
Old Stone House	13.3 miles from Falmouth on Warrenton Road, 1 mile west of SR 612			Domestic
Poplar Hill				Domestic

Resource	Address	Location	VCRIS #	Theme
Mountjoy's Warehouse	Mouth of Richland Run			Industrial
Poor House Farm	2.4 miles northwest of Falmouth on US 17			Domestic

Table 3: Cemeteries Identified During the Background Review.

Resource	Address	Election District	VCRIS #	Theme
Augustine North Cemetery- 164 Muster Drive (Historic/Location)	164 Muster Drive	Rock Hill	089-5058/ 44ST1203	Funerary
Cemetery, Southeast of Decatur Road (Function/Location)	Route 635	Griffis-Widewater	089-5205	Funerary
Blackburn Family Slave Cemetery	449 Kellog Mill Road	Hartwood	089-0088/ 44ST1198	Funerary
Carlton Slave Cemetery	501 Melchers Drive	George Washington	089-0010/ 44ST1202	Funerary
Ellerslie Slave Cemetery	Between 8 & 10 Azalea Street	Falmouth	089-5587/ 44ST1201	Funerary
Gordon Family Slave Cemetery	5 Franklin Street	Rock Hill	089-5586/ 44ST1204	Funerary
Lam Burial at Concord	296 Olde Concord Road	Aquia	089-0097/ 44ST1199	Funerary
Oakley Slave Cemetery	Access- Gibson Drive in Oakley Reserve lot 92	Hartwood	089-0089/ 44ST0359	Funerary
Sally Fitzhugh Cemetery/Fitzhugh Slave Cemetery	1499 Poplar Road	Hartwood	089-0218/ 44ST1200	Funerary
Union Church in Falmouth, Falmouth Cemetery	Carter Street	George Washington	089-0067-0037/ 44ST0081	Funerary
Aquia Church Cemetery	2938 Jefferson Davis Highway	Aquia		Funerary
Glencairne Slave Cemetery	559 Cambridge Street	Falmouth		Funerary
Gordon Family Slave Cemetery 2	9 Rosehaven Street	Rock Hill		Funerary
Locust Grove Cemetery	1205 Clift Lane	Griffis-Widewater		Funerary
Nancy Ross Cemetery	86 Bexley Road	Aquia		Funerary
Rose Family Cemetery	1339 Poplar Road	Hartwood		Funerary
Stevens Family Cemetery	84 Coakley Road, east side of driveway	Hartwood	089-5424/ 44ST1140	Funerary
Unmarked Honey Weightman Slave Cemetery	South side of Butler Road	George Washington		Funerary

**APPENDIX B: SLAVERY-RELATED CENSUS ANALYSIS
COMPLETED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF MARY
WASHINGTON (2015)**

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Examining African American Slavery in Stafford County, Virginia from the Perspective of the U.S. Federal Censuses, 1810 to 1860

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Part. I. Project Overview

Introduction

As part of the Certified Local Government grant project entitled “Survey of Slavery-Related Sites,” sponsored by Stafford County and the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, the Center for Historic Preservation at the University of Mary Washington agreed to fund student aides from the Department of Historic Preservation to conduct historical research. Specifically, the students gathered and analyzed data from the U.S. Federal censuses for Stafford County as to evidence for African American slavery. Professor Douglas W. Sanford supervised the student aides. The study sought to provide a demographic and historical context for: slave ownership patterns; the different sized groupings of enslaved African Americans on the County’s farms and plantations; and the number of slave buildings in the County and as possible, the composition of slave households for the 1860 census.

At the project’s outset we anticipated studying each census year between 1790 and 1860. Unfortunately, the original records for 1790 and 1800 do not survive since those documents were destroyed when the British military sacked and burned Washington, D.C. in 1814, as part of the War of 1812. We consequently focused our attention on the censuses between 1810 and 1860. We realize that slavery existed within Stafford County since its founding in 1664 and hence, the Mary Washington-based study does not address slavery during the 17th and 18th centuries. But in light of this project’s time and budgetary constraints, only a basic analysis of these census years was feasible. Still, we accumulated and examined a significant amount of information, generating important results, while establishing a basis for future research.

This report has multiple purposes. First, it provides a brief summary of our methods for gathering specific types of census data, analyzing that information in consistent fashion, and generating a range of interpretive results. This report does not attempt to summarize all of the findings from the individual reports for the census years between 1810 and 1860. Readers should refer to the census reports contained in Part II of the Mary Washington project for specific results, especially since the U.S. government often changed the format and types of information requested from its citizens from one census to the next.

Second, this report does contain an analytical section that summarizes more general findings and then compares our results over time, adding a chronological perspective for patterns of slave ownership and the living conditions for enslaved African Americans. Third, the report’s final section contains a series of recommendations regarding future research for the census data.

I enjoyed working with the three student aides from the Department of Historic Preservation who put in the necessary time and effort to record and analyze large amounts of census data. They accomplished the lion's share of the census reports that follow in Part II. Having done such research myself, I know that the data gathering stage, while critical, is not the most exciting task. In contrast, coming to understand more of how slavery functioned in a locality and how it influenced African American and European American lives and a regional landscape makes the analytical component more rewarding. The student aides from Mary Washington included: Alexis Ankersen (fall 2014 and spring 2015 semesters), Kayleigh Barbee (spring 2015 semester), and Nolan Kime (fall 2014 semester). I particularly appreciated Alex's extra efforts to improve the reports' quality and consistency, and her willingness to think critically throughout the study.

Summary of Data Gathering Methods

For our reports we used the Ancestry website (www.ancestry.com) to examine scanned, digital images of the original U.S. federal census records for the years between 1810 and 1860. Importantly, the Ancestry website provides transcribed versions of blank census sheets for each decade, which proved highly valuable for establishing the original data categories used in these national canvassing activities. In many cases, particularly the census years of 1810, 1820, and 1830, the headings of the census forms' columns were destroyed or partially visible. As fellow researchers know, other problems for the census records include their variable physical condition and the legibility of the census marshals' handwriting.

As noted above and while obtaining generally consistent types of data, the census forms could differ from one decade to the next as to the types and details of the recorded information. The individual census reports discuss those categories and changes. For example, the census marshals documented property owners' names, ages, gender, occupations, and household members. We did not record all of that information. For our study's purposes we focused on and extracted information related to slave ownership and as possible, data related to the age and gender of the enslaved African Americans. Given the massive extent of these data, we only examined age information for a sample of slave households in the 1860 census.

For each census year then, we extracted the names of individual slave owners (reduced to their initials), the number of slaves per owner, and, the number of male and female slaves per owner. We did record age information in some instances, but that data varied in specificity. Between 1810 and 1840 for example, the census sheets relied on age intervals for both free whites and blacks, and slaves. The intervals ranged from five years to 20, 30, or more years. In the 1850 and 1860 censuses, marshals collected the specific year ages of the enslaved African Americans, along with a determination of their "color," meaning black or mulatto. Student aides recorded all of this "raw" information in Excel worksheet files.

It is important to emphasize a recording convention of the U.S. federal censuses that affects our discussion of slave ownership. Throughout the time period under discussion, the census forms employed family-based households as the basic unit of property and slave ownership. Typically a family head, most often an adult male, comprised the initial entry and the marshals counted these family heads and their households as the total number of property and slave owners. In the 1850 and 1860 censuses, two "schedules" were used, Schedule 1 for "free inhabitants" (free

whites and free blacks) and Schedule 2 for slaves. The latter schedules included the names of individual slave owners.

Consequently and in the census reports below, our use of such terms as slave owner, master, and property owner should be understood as corresponding to these named family and household heads. We realize that more than one family head and more than one slave owner could (and did) reside within the enumerated households. For future research, the individual names listed in the Schedule 2 census sheets for 1850 and 1860 could be compared with the household members in Schedule 1 to determine the extent of multiple owners per household.

In addition, we need to point out the types of information not recorded in one or more census years. For example and unfortunately, the 1810 to 1860 censuses for Stafford County did not distinguish the towns of Falmouth and Stafford Courthouse. At times in other counties, census marshals did note specific towns or cities. Studies of urban slavery point to a common pattern wherein most owners had few slaves, often one or two, in contrast to the larger average holdings of farm and plantation owners. The 1810 census for Stafford did divide the County into the Aquia (northern) and Falmouth (southern) districts, but the other census years did not.

Furthermore and with few exceptions, the census marshals for Stafford did not recognize commercial and/or industrial companies with slaveholdings. Similarly, the commonly prevailing practice of owners hiring out slaves to employers for a term of service did not achieve recognition in the census records for Stafford. Finally, we did find several instances of multiple listings for the same person as a slave owner. We assume this recording convention relied upon the assumption that the named individual owned more than one property, with a distinct number of slaves associated with each property. Hence, we counted the different properties as distinct ownerships.

Summary of Analytical Methods

We used standardized categories of information for structuring our analyses. First, we generated summary information for each census, including: the total number of property owners and household heads in the County; the total number of slave owners in the County and the percentage those individuals formed of all property owners; and, the total number of slaves in the County and then number and percentage of male and females slaves within that total. Next, we established the range of slave ownership (number of slaves per owner), along with the mean and median number of slaves per owner. As discussed in the reports, the median number proved to be the more reliable indicator of a common level of slave ownership.

Summary tables and bar charts of slave ownership served to further analyze the generated data. We examined the varying numbers of owners with certain numbers of slaves, along with the relative and cumulative percentages of those ownership categories. Such results also allowed us to determine patterns of residency for enslaved African Americans. Throughout the census years most property owners and household heads in Stafford County held few slaves, between one and five. This meant that many enslaved African Americans had to endure confined lives with few companions on small farms and in town lots, making it difficult to secure marital partners or retain family members.

Oppositely, many other slaves often lived and worked on the County's small to large plantations. While places of enforced labor and oppression, these agricultural operations did serve as important African American communities, allowing a greater range of social and cultural connections. A common finding, one seen in other parts of Virginia and southern states, centered on how a relatively small number of elite plantation owners and families accumulated a significant proportion of the County's slaves, often approaching 40% of the total.

We also extracted the top 10 to 20 slave owners in each census year, looking at these elite individuals as property holders who typically had 30 or more slaves. Their physical estates, often the largest or "great" plantations within the County, had better chances of being well documented over time and of having surviving architecture, such as their mansion houses and ancillary buildings. Other researchers can use this information to find either surviving slave buildings and/or the archaeological sites of former quarters on the modern properties corresponding to these estates.

Because of the special nature of the 1860 census form, we conducted additional analyses for this year. Directions for this census had the marshals ask slave owners to state the number of slave houses on their properties. Such information allowed us to determine how many owners had (and did not have) quarters, as well as the range, mean, and median figures for slave house ownership. Conversely, we used the housing data to estimate, under certain conditions, the number of slaves per house, getting an impression of slaves' living conditions. Lastly, for a sample of properties with a single slave house and a "typical" number of slaves, we drew upon the 1860 census' Schedule 2 to examine the age and gender composition of different types of enslaved households. Those results are not discussed here, but in the 1860 census report.

Conducted Analyses and Results

Table 1 lists the total population of Stafford County that incorporated whites, free blacks, and slaves, and then the County's slave population between 1790 and 1800. While following a rise and fall trend, both populations remained fairly consistent between 1790 and 1820 and overall, enslaved African Americans typically amounted to 42% to 46% of the County's total population. In brief, Stafford County represented as a classic slave-based society and economy, one overwhelmingly agricultural, but with commercial, manufacturing, and industrial activities as well. Enslaved African Americans, besides comprising a near majority of the total population, were a constant presence across the County's landscape and formed the primary source of labor for a large variety of work in the private and public sectors.

The 1830 census results reflected a noticeable change in the County's overall and slave populations, as both totals had declined since 1820 and this trend continued until the 1850s. The County's total population decreased by over 1,400 individuals between 1820 and 1850, with 1,057 fewer slaves corresponding to a staggering 72% of this loss. Out-migration of whites and their slaves to the developing plantations regions of the Deep South likely formed one primary cause for this demographic shift, along with Virginia's troubled economy in the antebellum period. Clearly, many other masters sold one or more of their slaves to traders who marketed these African Americans to anxious buyers in the Deep South. Many Stafford County slave

families experienced forced separations as part of this geographic process or diaspora, while the others who moved with their owners' families lost contact with friends, neighbors, and other family members.

Table 1. 1790-1860 Slave Population, Stafford County			
Year	Total Population	Slave Population	% Slave
1790	9,588	4,063	42.4%
1800	9,971	4,343	43.6%
1810	9,830	4,195	42.7%
1820	9,517	4,368	45.9%
1830	9,362	4,164	44.5%
1840	8,454	3,596	42.5%
1850	8,044	3,311	41.2%
1860	8,555	3,314	38.7%

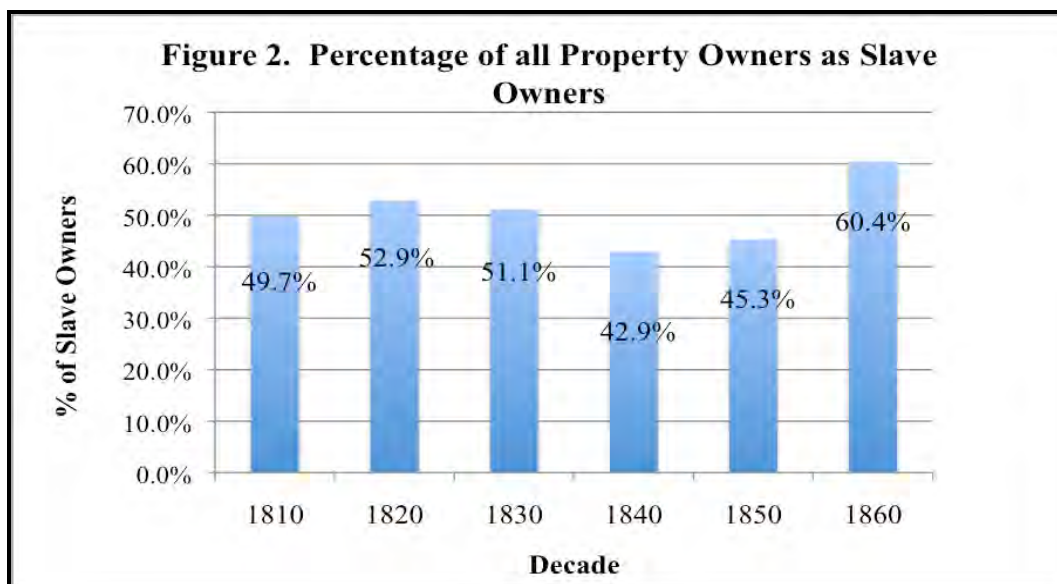
Between 1850 and 1860 the demographic situation had stabilized, with the total population reaching over 8,500 by the latter date. Importantly, the increased population in that ten-year period overwhelmingly came from free whites, as the slave population only grew by three people. In other words, enslaved African Americans in Stafford County, who comprised a self-sustaining and even an expansive population with respect to replacing deaths with births, still had family members and kin being sold off to other regions of the American South. By 1860, slaves represented a new low of about 39% of the County's total population.

The extent of slave ownership between 1810 and 1860 remained fairly steady, except for a noticeable increase between 1850 and 1860 (Figures 1 and 2). Seen in relation to the total number of property owners and household heads, slaveholders represented a simple majority between 1810 and 1830, hovering between 50% and 53% (Figure 2). In other words, half of the County's households owned one or more enslaved African Americans. So while another half of the property owners did not have slaves, the practice of slavery was extensive, even when considering that slaves, often described as "property," represented an expensive commodity. Slavery, existing in Stafford since the late 17th century, remained a common and traditional institution in public and for many white families throughout the 19th century.

The percentage of slave owners decreased between 1830 and 1840, reaching an all-time low of 43%. As discussed above, the out-migration of white families and their slaves, along with the selling off of excess slaves to the Deep South, marked this time period. By 1850, slave ownership had stabilized and increased. This trend continued and even accelerated so that by 1860, a new high of 60% of all property owners having slaves had been reached. As discussed in the census report for 1860, this expanded level of ownership largely occurred among the white families that only could afford a few slaves, typically less than five.

Discussed below, the late antebellum era in Stafford County also corresponded to a decline in the number of large plantations. Some large planters had emigrated from the County for the southern and southwestern regions of the United States, or their estates had become divided amongst heirs. In sum, disruption and forced separation characterized the period between 1830 and 1860 for many enslaved African American families and communities. At the same time

though, more and more middle class whites gained an attachment to slave ownership, a condition that contributed to pro-Confederate leanings as Stafford County and Virginia entered into the Civil War.



As displayed in Table 2, slave ownership in the County encompassed a wide numeric range. White households could own anywhere between one and over one hundred enslaved African Americans. Yet distinct patterns of ownership prevailed. Most households had few slaves, often less than five. A simple majority of around 50% owned between one and five slaves, while

about 70% of owners had 10 or fewer slaves. For the vast majority of these instances, such households comprised the County's small and large farms. Fewer owners occurred at the plantation scale, that of 20 or more slaves, but as a group, these family and household heads owned a significant minority of the County's enslaved African Americans, a proportion often reaching towards 40%.

Table 2. Slave Ownership Variation in Stafford County			
Year	Range	Mean	Median
1810	1 to 85	8.9	5
1820	1 to 111	9.9	6
1830	1 to 118	8.6	5
1840	1 to 149	8.7	5
1850	1 to 66	7.9	5
1860	1 to 59	5.4	2

The consistent mean number of slaves per owner between 1810 and 1850, around 8 to 10 slaves, while a decent “ballpark” figure, must be understood as misrepresenting the most common level of ownership. As seen in the census reports, the overall distribution of slave ownership followed a skewed pattern, with relatively few owners at the upper end of the scale (40, 60, and 80-plus slaves per owner) and the vast majority at the scale's lower end (one to five slaves; see Table 3 below). Consequently, the median values in Table 2 form the more accurate estimate of a typical slave ownership in Stafford County. The significant decrease in the median value from five slaves per owner in 1850 to two in 1860 reinforces the earlier identified trend, the expansion of middle class slave ownership in this period as larger-scale ownerships declined.

Converting these numeric patterns of slave ownership into more human terms forces us to consider the living conditions for residential groupings of enslaved African Americans in Stafford County. As noted earlier, many slaves had to live by themselves or with only a couple of fellow slaves, limiting their opportunities for greater social contacts and marriages. These small groups occurred on town lots, small estates, and especially the County's farms. Oppositely, larger groups of slaves existed on the small to large plantations dispersed across the County. Viewed demographically, such plantations formed African American communities that could number 20, 40, 60, or over 100 slaves. Slaves could exploit these settings to establish larger family and kin-based networks and centers of African American community and cultural life. Many of Stafford County's enslaved people would have had long-term experience with these plantations.

Table 3. Small and Large Slave Owners in Stafford County		
Year	% of Owners w/1-5 slaves	% of Owners w/> 20 slaves
1810	53.7%	10.2%
1820	48.9%	12.8%
1830	51.5%	9.8%
1840	51.5%	9.6%
1850	54.5%	7.7%
1860	71.2%	4.7%

The data displayed in Table 3 demonstrate the aforementioned increase in small slaveholdings in the late antebellum period, namely between 1850 and 1860. And similarly, the decline in large-scaled slave ownerships, most often represented by the County's bigger plantation operations, had begun by the 1830s. By 1850 less than 8% of all slave owners had over 20 slaves and by 1860 this proportion of owners had fallen to less than 5%. Still, together the relatively few owners in this elite grouping had accumulated from 30% to 42% of the County's enslaved African Americans during each of the decades.

Future Research Recommendations

The Mary Washington-based study of slavery in Stafford County has generated a significant amount of contextual information for characterizing patterns of slave ownership and of slaves' residential conditions. The U.S. census data for the 1810 to 1860 period also allowed us to grasp how the demography of this institution had elements of consistency, but also of noteworthy change over the course of these 50 years.

Still, the project's time constraints meant that a number of research angles for the census information went unexplored. Hence, a series of recommendations for future research follows below. The suggestions do not follow a designed order or come with a particular sense of priority. The scale of research varies from relatively minor efforts to more substantial investments of time and analytical labor. We hope that future students in the Department of Historic Preservation will undertake some of proposed tasks, but that local researchers and historians will contribute to the larger enterprise as well.

1. Although varying in degree of specificity, nearly all of the census years' sheets contain demographic information for slaves' age and gender per white household. Thus, researchers could examine the age and sex composition of slave groupings for a large sample of households or the entire County. The Historical Census Browser at the University of Virginia Library (<http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu>) could be used to facilitate this research, as it allows one to generate aggregate data for the County, including for different scales of slaveholding.
2. Given the lack of surviving U.S. census records for 1790 and 1810, researchers could study the private property tax records for Stafford County that are available on microfilm at the Library of Virginia in Richmond. While taxable slaves only included those over age 12 or age 16, these yearly records would allow for a basic assessment of slave ownership patterns during the missing census years and possibly earlier time periods.
3. To examine the issue of slave ownership by free white females, researchers could review the original census records within the Ancestry website for each decade, determining the number and percentage of female slave owners, as well as their levels of slaveholding.
4. To address the issue of there being multiple, individual slave owners within the family- and property-based households of Stafford County, researchers could compare the lists of individual slave owners in Schedule 2 of the 1850 and 1860 censuses, with the names of the household members listed in Schedule 1 of those census years. Such research cannot be done for the 1810 to 1840 censuses since the marshals did not record the names of the individual persons within the households, only the family heads.

5. To better characterize the different types of slave owners, researchers could examine the “occupation” (profession) category used in the 1850 and 1860 censuses for non-agricultural terms. For these late antebellum censuses, the term “farmer” encompassed the owners of small to large farms, but also of small to large plantations. Other slave owners included such occupations as merchant, a variety of artisans, laborer, factory hand, minister, and physician. While some of these people with higher social or economic rank could own farms or plantations as well, others had much smaller properties or residences within towns or at commercial and industrial establishments. It would be useful to know if particular patterns of slaveholdings corresponded with these occupational differences.
6. To obtain the full view of African Americans during the era of slavery, researchers should review the census data for free African Americans, referred to as “free blacks” in the 19th century. It would be useful to know, for each census year, the total number of free blacks and the percentage they composed of the County’s total population and of the County’s African American population. Per recommendation #1 above, the census data will allow an analysis of the age and gender composition of the County’s free blacks. It should be recognized that some free African Americans lived within white households, while others established their own households and properties.
7. Last, but not least, researchers should further determine, the possible association between the larger slave and property owners identified in this study, and known historic properties, such as former plantation houses and estates. If surviving into the modern era, such properties more likely would retain either surviving slave quarters or the archaeological sites of these buildings. In this manner researchers could survey the properties for architectural and/or archaeological evidence of slave-related structures. John Hennessy, chief historian for the National Park Service’s Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, in an email of January 26, 2015, kindly provided the following examples of this type of association for elite slave owners found in the 1840 and 1860 censuses.
 - a. William Pollock (1860): Rumford, near Duff Green Park
 - b. G. B. Wallace (1860): Little Whim (purchased from James Scott in 1860)
 - c. Hugh Morson (1860): Little Falls
 - d. Henry Fitzhugh (1860): Sherwood Forest
 - e. Jane Gray (1860): Traveller’s Rest
 - f. John Seddon (1860): Snowden
 - g. Edward Waller (1860): possibly Wayside, near Moncure Elementary school.
 - h. James Scott (1860): Pine Grove
 - i. J. Horace Lacy (1860): Chatham (owned 92 slaves, only 32 counted at Chatham)
 - j. Samuel S. Brooke (1860): Millvale, near Brooke Station
 - k. John Moncure (1840): Ravenswood, on Potomac Creek between Rte. 1 & I-95
 - l. Hannah Coulter (1840): Chatham

Examining African American Slavery in Stafford County, Virginia from the Perspective of the U.S. Federal Censuses, 1810 to 1860

Part II. Census Reports

Introduction

We composed the individual reports for the federal census years to follow a similar pattern of organization (as discussed in Part I). In that respect each report can stand on its own merits, allowing readers to grasp essential results without having to examine the reports for previous or later decades. Using the same reporting format did lead to some repetition of phrasing between reports. Finally, readers will find only limited comparisons between decades for the results of African American slavery in Stafford County in the census reports. Broader temporal comparisons are placed in Part I of the Mary Washington study.

A. Report for the 1810 Census.

Analysis of the 1810 U.S. Census for Stafford County, VA
Alexis Ankersen

A student aide at the University of Mary Washington assembled this analysis in the Spring 2015 semester. Professor Douglas Sanford in the Department of Historic Preservation supervised the report's data collection and analysis. The primary data come from the 1810 federal census records for Stafford County, Virginia archived in an image database at the Ancestry (www.ancestry.com) website. The image database contained 65 images that correspond to 33 original pages of census information. Each page constituted 17 to 22 names of the individual heads of family households and a tally of the men, women and enslaved African Americans in each household living in Stafford County at the time.

Information Gathered in the 1810 Federal Census

The 1810 Stafford census did distinguish two districts, namely Aquia to the north and Falmouth to the south. While not utilized here as an analytical category, this geographic separation could be drawn upon in future research to compare slaveholding within the County. The original census sheets show considerable damage along the top edges. Column headings were destroyed completely, but the raw data in each column remained intact, matching the results from the Virginia Places website (www.virginiaplaces.org) that was used in this and the following census reports to confirm our findings. The Ancestry website does provide blank census forms for each year and that for 1810 allowed us to recreate the column headings. Within the Ancestry website the census form's spreadsheet format is represented as images, with the Aquia district images labeled one to 14 and the Falmouth district images designated one to 29. Pages for the Aquia district contained between 17 and 22 entries per sheet, while those for the Falmouth district held between 18 and 28 entries.

The 1810 census form was organized in a row-column format observed in the following census years, although the questions asked and the column headings used vary over time. The 1810

census sheet involved a single page (Figure 1). Each row corresponded to the name of a family head. For each household the columns categorically recorded the ages of “Free White Males,” “Free White Females,” “All other Free Persons,” and “Slaves.” Age categories varied in period, but including “Under 10; 10 thru 15; 16 thru 25; 26 to 44; and, “45 and over” per gender. No age or gender information was provided for the other free persons (such as free blacks) or slaves, with only a total of each category given. The census marshal noted a total number of people for each household on the far right of each sheet, while the bottom row of the right facing page (image) contained a tally of the information for each column.

1810 United States Federal Census

ancestry.com

State: _____ Call Number/URL: _____ Enumeration Date: _____

County	County	Page	Names of Heads of Families	Free White Males					Free White Females					All other Free Persons	Slaves
				Under 10	10 thru 15	16 thru 25	26 thru 44	45 and over	Under 10	10 thru 15	16 thru 25	26 thru 44	45 and over		

Names of Heads of Families	Free White Males					Free White Females					All other Free Persons	Slaves
	Under 10	10 thru 15	16 thru 25	26 thru 44	45 and over	Under 10	10 thru 15	16 thru 25	26 thru 44	45 and over		

Figure 1: Blank census form 1810.

Data Collection Methods for this Report

In our analysis for this report we focused on broad patterns of slave ownership in the County, particularly given that the census data were limited to a total number of slaves for each family-based household. The names of the “heads of families” were reduced to initials within an Excel spreadsheet that also included the number of slaves and the district location.

In the interpretation that follows, it is important to emphasize that our use of such terms as slave owner, master, and property owner corresponds to the named family heads (seen in the census forms’ individual rows). We recognize that there may have been more than one head of a family within a given household and similarly, more than one slave owner within that household. But since the census data do not allow for such distinctions, our generated interpretations should be understood with these limitations in mind. In sum, the observed patterns of slave ownership reference households on identified properties, not individual owners of enslaved African Americans.

Analysis

As summarized in Table 1, the 1810 census for Stafford County listed a total of 944 heads of families as property owners. Of these people 469 or nearly 50% owned one or more slaves, who together amounting to 4,195 enslaved African Americans. Ownership ranged from one and 85 slaves. Simply dividing the total number of slaves by the number of slave owning family heads produces a mean of 8.9 slaves per household. This figure is misleading given the skewed nature of slave ownership at this time (and in later census years), in that most family heads had

relatively few slaves (see Figure 2 below). Consequently, the median of five slaves per household represents a more reliable indicator of a more common pattern of slave ownership.

Table 1. 1810 General Census Data for Stafford County, 1810	
Total # Property Owners	944
Total # Slave Owners	469
% Slave owners to Property owners	49.68%
Total # Slaves	4195
Range of the # of Slaves Owned	1-85
Mean # Slaves	8.94
Median # Slaves	5

Table 1. Summary data for slavery in Stafford County, 1810.

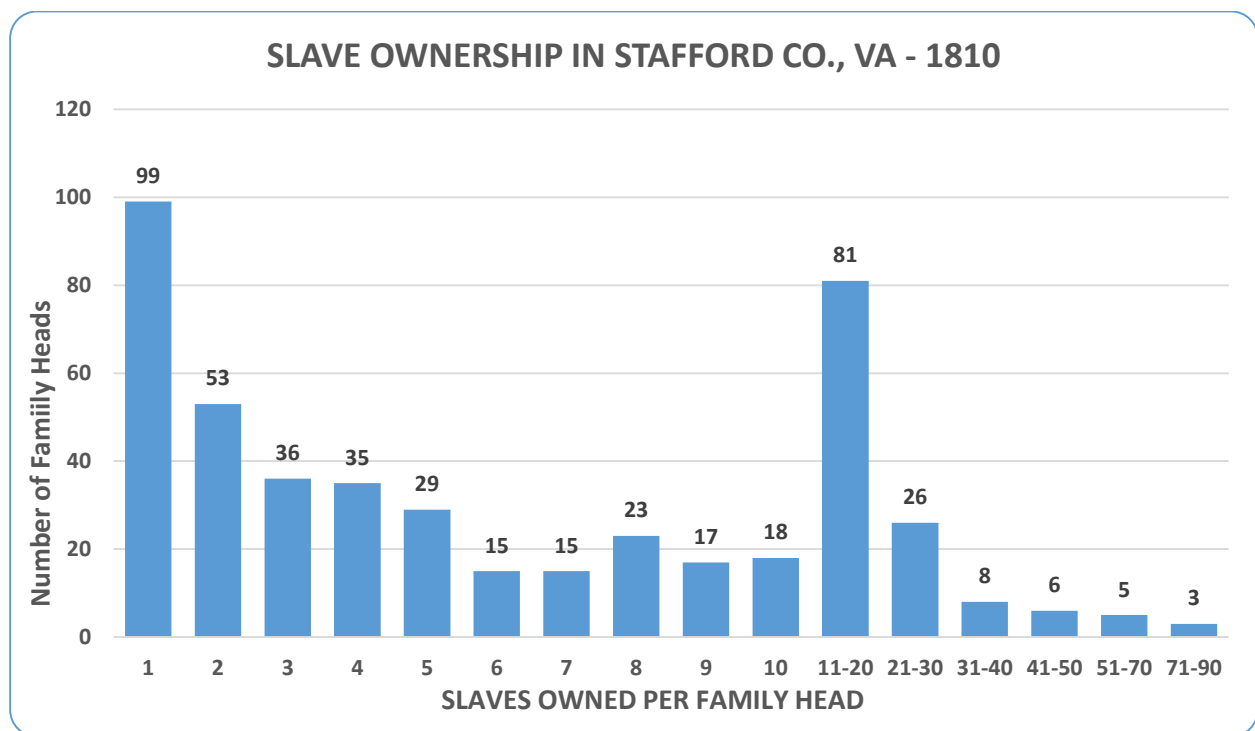


Figure 2: Trends in slave ownership for Stafford Co., VA 1810.

As discussed for later census years, while considerable variation existed for slave ownership in 1810, definite patterns occurred as well. This condition also meant that enslaved African Americans had to adapt to varying circumstances as to the number and composition of fellow, co-resident slaves. The vast majority of slave owners in Stafford County had few slaves (Figure 2 and Table 2). Masters with only one slave were the highest individual category (99 family heads), corresponding to 21.1% of all slave owners. Masters with one to five slaves comprised

the majority (53.7%) of all owners. Given Stafford County's overwhelmingly rural nature at this date, most of these household heads represented farmers, individuals who could afford a limited number of slaves. In turn, this ownership pattern meant that many enslaved African Americans had to live in dispersed fashion, with few other slaves.

Similarly, the vast majority of slave owners, 72.3%, had 10 or fewer slaves, with this broader pattern incorporating both small and large farms. These farm-based contexts contrast with more stereotypical images of the American South, that of enslaved African Americans toiling on the "great" plantations of wealthier and more politically powerful European American owners. And to that point, Stafford County did encompass a high number of plantations, locations that formed the enforced residences of many slaves. These plantations ranged in scale as to acreage and slave ownership.

For example, heads of families with 11 to 20 slaves, defining small to mid-sized plantations, amounted to 81 individuals, 17.3% of all owners. In Figure 2 these owners look to comprise a significantly larger grouping, but the elevated graph bar in this case results from the higher interval (10 counts) involved. Historians of slavery suggest that owners with 20 or more slaves constituted the basis for defining "large" plantations. In 1810 the 48 household heads in this category indicate that many large plantations in Stafford County, with these individuals amounting to a mere 10% of all slaveholding property owners and an even lower, 5.1% of all property owners. The 14 masters with over 40 slaves, those whose properties can be ascribed to the "great" plantation setting, comprised the top 3% of all slaveholders.

These larger plantations, given their higher number of slaves, constituted African American community centers and neighborhood "nodes," places where slaves could engage more readily in a broader range of social and cultural practices. As in other slave owning regions, many enslaved African Americans within Stafford County had experience with large plantation settings, particular given the "aggrandizement" pattern of slave ownership for these properties. For example, masters with more than 20 slaves, while only 10% of all slave owners, held 42% of all the County's slaves (see Table 2). In contrast, the slaves held by the numerical majority of owners (54%), those with one to five slaves, only amounted to 14.3% of the County's entire slave population.

Similarly, the 14 heads of families with over 40 slaves (top 3% of all slave owners) had amassed 20% of the County's slaves on their great plantations. Table 3 lists these individuals, many who represent better-known and -documented families and estates in Stafford County, including properties that may contain surviving slave-related buildings and/or archaeological sites. For example the Fitzhugh, Selden (Seddon), and Morson family names carried over to later census years and remain ranked in the top percentage of owners. In 1810 Thomas and Henry Fitzhugh held second and seventh highest number of slaves (78 and 63 slaves, respectively). The top owner was Daniel C. Bunt, with 85 slaves, whose name does not appear on any of the following census year sheets.

Data Analysis 1810 Census Stafford County, Virginia									
Number of Slaves	Number of owners	%	Cum. %		Number of Slaves	Number of owners	Slave Count	%	Cum. %
1	99	21.11%	21.11%		1	99	99	2.36%	2.36%
2	53	11.30%	32.41%		2	53	106	2.53%	4.89%
3	36	7.68%	40.09%		3	36	108	2.57%	7.46%
4	35	7.46%	47.55%		4	35	140	3.34%	10.80%
5	29	6.18%	53.73%		5	29	145	3.46%	14.26%
6	15	3.20%	56.93%		6	15	90	2.15%	16.40%
7	15	3.20%	60.13%		7	15	105	2.50%	18.90%
8	23	4.90%	65.03%		8	23	184	4.39%	23.29%
9	17	3.62%	68.66%		9	17	153	3.65%	26.94%
10	18	3.84%	72.49%		10	18	180	4.29%	31.23%
11-20	81	17.27%	89.77%		11-20	81	1129	26.91%	58.14%
21-30	26	5.54%	95.31%		21-30	26	638	15.21%	73.35%
31-40	8	1.71%	97.01%		31-40	8	283	6.75%	80.10%
41-50	6	1.28%	98.29%		41-50	6	276	6.58%	86.67%
51-70	5	1.07%	99.36%		51-70	5	320	7.63%	94.30%
71-90	3	0.64%	100.00%		71-90	3	239	5.70%	100.00%
Total:	469	100.00%			Total:	469	4195	100.00%	

Table 2: Analysis of slave ownership in Stafford Co., VA 1810.

Top 3% slave owners in 1810	Slaves owned
Daniel C. Bunt	85
Thomas Fitzhugh	78
John Cooke	76
Churchill Jones	67
John B. Cutting	66
Cary Selden (Seddon)	66
Henry Fitzhugh	63
Hannah Hardy	58
Traverse Daniel	49
Robert H. Hooe	47
Alexander Morson	47
Bayley Washington	45
Benjamin Wethers	44
George Hornton	44

Table 3: Top 3% of slave owners in Stafford Co., VA 1810.

Noteworthy is the listing of a female household head and slave owner within the top 3%, namely Hannah Hardy with 58 slaves. As discussed for later census years, female slave owners did constitute a regular, but low-level pattern.

B. Report for the 1820 Census

Analysis of 1820 U.S. Census for Stafford County, VA Kayleigh Barbee

This analysis was completed by a student aide at the University of Mary Washington from the Department of Historic Preservation under the supervision of Professor Douglas Sanford during the spring semester of 2015. The primary information for this analysis originally came from the 1820 United States census records for Stafford County, Virginia that had been scanned into the Ancestry website (www.ancestry.com) database. This database contains 24 images census sheets that list the names of heads of families and the numbers of other household members, including free whites, “free colored persons,” and slaves.

Information Gathered in the 1820 Federal Census

The data categories used in the 1820 census were similar those used in 1810 (see previous report), although greater specificity was provided for the gender and age status of enslaved African Americans. Census marshals also collected information regarding “foreigners not naturalized” and the number of people engaged in agriculture, commerce, and manufacture in each household, but those data were not collected or analyzed here (Figure 1). Each row consists of named “heads of families”, with columns provided for the gender and age categories of free white males (six age divisions) and females (five age divisions). These age categories were noted as “including heads of families”. For the listed slaves, the census marshals applied the same four age divisions: under 14 years, 14 to 25 years old, 26 to 44 years old, and 45 and upwards.

ancestry.com 1820 United States Federal Census

For more family history charts and forms, visit www.ancestry.com/save/charts/ancchart.htm

Page: _____ State: _____ County: _____ Call Number/URL: _____ Enumeration Date: _____

Name of the county, parish, township, town, or city where the family resides.	Names of heads of families	Free White Males						Free White Females					Foreigners not naturalized	Number of persons engaged in Agriculture	Number of persons engaged in Commerce	Number of persons engaged in Manufactures	Slaves				Free Colored Persons				All other persons found in household																																																																																																																																																																														
																	Males		Females		Males		Females																																																																																																																																																																																
		Free white males under 10 years	Free white males 10 to 15 years	Free white males 15 to 20 years	Free white males 20 to 25 years	Free white males 25 to 30 years	Free white males 30 years and over	Free white females under 10 years	Free white females 10 to 15 years	Free white females 15 to 20 years	Free white females 20 to 25 years	Free white females 25 years and over					Slaves under 14 years	Slaves 14 to 25 years	Slaves 26 to 44 years	Slaves 45 years and over	Free colored males under 14 years	Free colored males 14 to 25 years	Free colored females under 14 years	Free colored females 14 to 25 years																																																																																																																																																																															
		10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	30-35	35-40	40-45	45-50	50-55	55-60	60-65	65-70	70-75	75-80	80-85	85-90	90-95	95-100	100-105	105-110	110-115	115-120	120-125	125-130	130-135	135-140	140-145	145-150	150-155	155-160	160-165	165-170	170-175	175-180	180-185	185-190	190-195	195-200	200-205	205-210	210-215	215-220	220-225	225-230	230-235	235-240	240-245	245-250	250-255	255-260	260-265	265-270	270-275	275-280	280-285	285-290	290-295	295-300	300-305	305-310	310-315	315-320	320-325	325-330	330-335	335-340	340-345	345-350	350-355	355-360	360-365	365-370	370-375	375-380	380-385	385-390	390-395	395-400	400-405	405-410	410-415	415-420	420-425	425-430	430-435	435-440	440-445	445-450	450-455	455-460	460-465	465-470	470-475	475-480	480-485	485-490	490-495	495-500	500-505	505-510	510-515	515-520	520-525	525-530	530-535	535-540	540-545	545-550	550-555	555-560	560-565	565-570	570-575	575-580	580-585	585-590	590-595	595-600	600-605	605-610	610-615	615-620	620-625	625-630	630-635	635-640	640-645	645-650	650-655	655-660	660-665	665-670	670-675	675-680	680-685	685-690	690-695	695-700	700-705	705-710	710-715	715-720	720-725	725-730	730-735	735-740	740-745	745-750	750-755	755-760	760-765	765-770	770-775	775-780	780-785	785-790	790-795	795-800	800-805	805-810	810-815	815-820	820-825	825-830	830-835	835-840	840-845	845-850	850-855	855-860	860-865	865-870	870-875	875-880	880-885	885-890	890-895	895-900	900-905	905-910	910-915	915-920	920-925	925-930	930-935	935-940	940-945	945-950	950-955	955-960	960-965	965-970	970-975	975-980	980-985	985-990	990-995	995-1000

Figure 1. 1820 blank census sheet.

For the 24 pages of the 1820 Stafford census the marshal only recorded the individual names for heads of families (households) as lead property owners. The marshal generated totals for each household at the right end of the census sheet and for each column at the bottom of each page. They also brought forward the previous page's totals to the top of the next page.

Data Collection Methods for this Report

Given the time restrictions of the census data project, for this analysis we focused on broad patterns of slave ownership in 1820 Stafford County. We recorded individual heads of families by their initials, the total number of slaves and free persons per household owners, and the gender of the slaves per slave owner. We did not analyze the age and gender composition of the slave-owning households, but future research could capitalize on this information to produce a more nuanced interpretation of slave demography.

In the interpretation that follows, it is important to emphasize that our use of such terms as slave owner, master, and property owner corresponds to the named family heads (seen in the census forms' individual rows). We recognize that there may have been more than one head of a family within a given household and similarly, more than one slave owner within that household. But since the census data do not allow for such distinctions, our generated interpretations should be understood with these limitations in mind. In sum, the observed patterns of slave ownership reference households on identified properties, not individual owners of enslaved African Americans.

Analysis

The 1820 census marshal recorded 843 heads of families and property owners residing in Stafford County (Table 1). Of these individuals, 446 or nearly 53% constituted slave owners, a figure slightly higher than that for 1810 (50%). These family heads collectively held 4,413 enslaved African Americans, including 2,327 male slaves and 2,068 female slaves, accounting for 52.7% and 47.3% of the total slave population. While nearly representing a balanced sex ratio, these figures could demonstrate a slightly greater preference for the labor of male slaves. Slave ownership ranged from one to 111; with the latter count exceeding the previous high of 85 slaves in 1810 for a single property owner.

The average number of slaves per head of family approaches 10, but as in 1810 this result is misleading due to the skewed nature of slave ownership in Stafford County (see Figure 2 below), in that most owners had relatively few slaves, while smaller numbers of household heads held noticeably larger numbers of enslaved African Americans. Consequently, the median of six slaves per owner affords a more reliable statistic for a typical ownership in 1820 Stafford, a figure close to the median of five slaves per household in 1810.

As in 1810, considerable variation existed for slave ownership in 1820, but within which we can observe clear patterns that also corresponded to the varying circumstances under which enslaved African Americans lived and labored. The vast majority of slave owners in Stafford County had few slaves (Figure 2 and Table 2). Masters with only one slave were the highest individual category (81 family heads), corresponding to 18.2% of all slave owners. Masters with one to five slaves comprised a near majority (48.9%) of all owners, whereas owners with one to six slaves constituted a simple majority of 54.7%. Given Stafford County's overwhelmingly rural nature at this date, most of these household heads represented farmers, individuals who could

afford a limited number of slaves. In turn, this ownership pattern meant that many enslaved African Americans had to live in dispersed fashion, with few other slaves.

Table 1. General Census Data	
Total # Property Owners	843
Total # Slave Owners	446
% Slaves Owners of Prop. Owners	52.91%
Total # Slaves	4413
Total # Male Slaves	2327
% Male Slaves	52.73%
Total # Female Slaves	2086
% Female Slaves	47.27%
Range of the # of Slaves Owned	1-111
Mean # Slaves	9.89
Median # Slaves	6

Table 1. General data for Stafford County slavery in 1810.

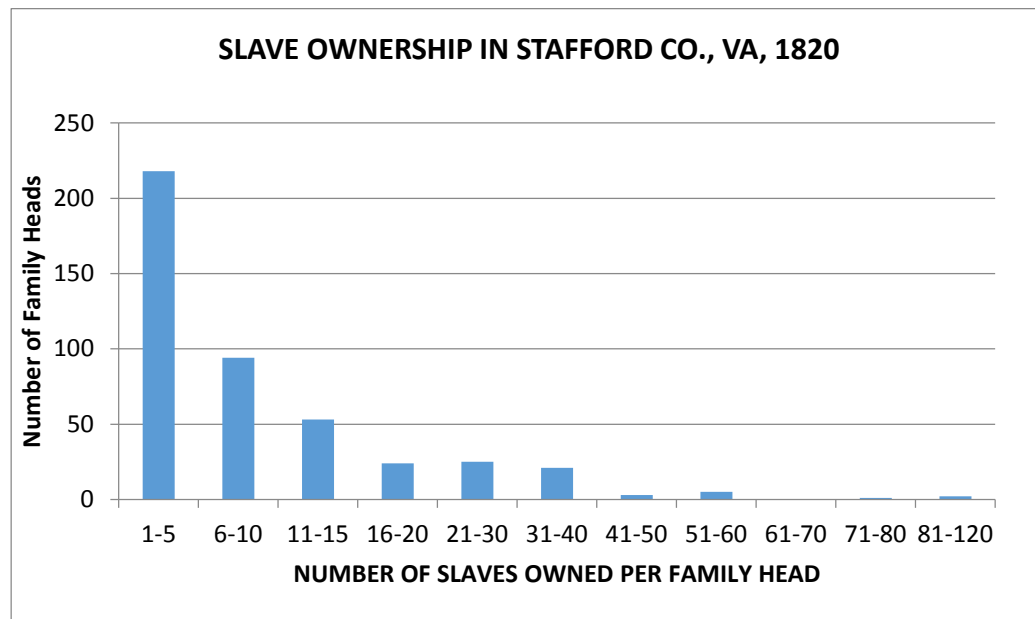


Figure 2. Slave Ownership in 1830 Stafford County.

Similarly, the vast majority of slave owners, 70%, had 10 or fewer slaves, with this broader pattern incorporating both small and large farms. These farm-based contexts contrast with more stereotypical images of the American South, that of enslaved African Americans toiling on the “great” plantations of wealthier and more politically powerful European American owners. And to that point, Stafford County did encompass a high number of plantations, locations that formed the enforced residences of many slaves. These plantations ranged in scale as to acreage and slave ownership.

For example, heads of families with 11 to 20 slaves, defining small to mid-sized plantations, amounted to 77 individuals, 17.3% of all owners. Owners with more than 20 slaves, whose properties represented “large” plantations, amounted to 57 household heads in this category, with these individuals amounting to 12.7% of all slaveholding property owners and 6.8% of all property owners. The 11 masters with over 40 slaves, those whose properties can be ascribed to the “great” plantation setting, comprised the top 2.5% of all slaveholders.

Data Analysis for Stafford County, 1820 Census								
Number of Slaves	Number of Owners	%	Cum. %		Number of Slaves	Number of Owners	Slave Count	Cum. %
1	81	18.16%	18.16%		1	81	81	1.84%
2	50	11.21%	29.37%		2	50	100	4.11%
3	33	7.40%	36.77%		3	33	99	6.35%
4	40	8.97%	45.74%		4	40	160	9.98%
5	14	3.14%	48.88%		5	14	70	11.56%
6	26	5.83%	54.71%		6	26	156	15.10%
7	18	4.04%	58.75%		7	18	126	17.95%
8	18	4.04%	62.79%		8	18	144	21.21%
9	20	4.48%	67.27%		9	20	180	25.29%
10	12	2.69%	69.96%		10	12	120	28.01%
11	11	2.47%	72.43%		11	11	121	30.75%
12	14	3.14%	75.57%		12	14	168	34.56%
13	11	2.47%	78.04%		13	11	143	37.80%
14	10	2.24%	80.28%		14	10	140	40.97%
15	7	1.57%	81.85%		15	7	105	43.35%
16-20	24	5.38%	87.23%		16-20	24	433	53.17%
21-25	12	2.69%	89.92%		21-25	12	283	59.58%
26-30	13	2.91%	92.83%		26-30	13	357	67.67%
31-35	14	3.14%	95.97%		31-35	14	464	78.18%
36-40	7	1.57%	97.54%		36-40	7	267	84.23%
41-50	3	0.67%	98.21%		41-50	3	145	87.52%
51-60	5	1.12%	99.33%		51-60	5	277	93.80%
61-70	0	0.00%	99.33%		61-70	0	0	93.80%
71-80	1	0.22%	99.55%		71-80	1	77	95.54%
81-120	2	0.45%	100.00%		81-120	2	197	100.00%
Total:	446	100.00%			Total:	446	4413	

Table 2. Numeric and Percentage data for slave ownership in Stafford County, 1820.

From an African American point of view, these larger plantations formed community centers and neighborhood nodes where slaves could engage more readily in a broader range of social and

cultural practices. As in other slave owning regions, many enslaved African Americans within Stafford County had experience with large plantation settings, particularly given the aggrandizement pattern of slave ownership for these properties. For example, masters with more than 20 slaves, while only 13% of all slave owners, held 47% of all the County's slaves (see Table 2). In contrast, the slaves held by the numerical majority of owners (55%), those with one to six slaves, only amounted to 15.1% of the County's entire slave population.

Similarly, the 11 heads of families with over 40 slaves (top 2.5% of all slave owners) had amassed 15.8% of the County's slaves on their great plantations. Table 3 lists the 18 individuals who comprised the County's top 4% of slave owners, many who represent better-known and -documented families and estates in Stafford County, including properties that may contain surviving slave-related buildings and/or archaeological sites. The 963 slaves held by these family heads corresponded to 21.8% of all the County's slaves.

Top 4% of Slave Owners	# of Slaves
John B S Fitzhugh	111
Churchwell Jones	86
Cary Seldon	77
Mossie Kendall	59
Alexander Morson	58
Thomas Fitzhugh Esq.	55
William Brent Jr.	53
Robert H Hooe	52
William H Fitzhugh	49
Alexander Fitzhugh	48
Mildred Daniel	48
George M Cook	40
Thomas Alcock	39
John Cook	39
James F Manay	39
Cossom Horton	37
Alex F Rose	37
Hancock Eustace	36
Total	963

Table 3. Top 4% of all Slave Owners in Stafford County, 1820.

For example the Fitzhugh, Seldon (Seddon), and Morson family names, observed in 1810, occur again, with the Fitzhugh name extended to four individuals, including John Fitzhugh who held of the highest number of slaves at 111. On average, these elite masters held 53.5 enslaved African Americans. By 1820 Cary Seldon, also noted in the 1810 census, had increased his slaveholdings from 66 to 77 slaves. Finally, besides estates held in trust, a single, presumably commercial enterprise, the John H. Settle Company, was listed in the 1820 census for Stafford County.

C. Report for the 1830 Census

Analysis of the 1830 U.S. Census for Stafford County, Virginia Alexis Ankersen

A student aide at the University of Mary Washington assembled this analysis in the Spring 2015 semester. Professor Douglas Sanford in the Department of Historic Preservation supervised the report's data collection and analysis stages. The primary data comes from the 1830 U.S. census records for Stafford County, Virginia archived in an image database at the Ancestry website (www.ancestry.com). That database contains 66 images that correspond to 33 original pages of census information. Each page listed 28 names of individual heads of households and a tally of the men, women and slaves in each household.

Information Gathered in the 1830 Federal Census

William Bell, appointed assistant by the census marshal for Stafford County, gathered the data for the 1830 census. The census record form is organized in a spreadsheet format, with the rows corresponding to individual names for the heads of families, as in earlier censuses. Columns document the demographic information as to race, gender, and age; with these categories spread across two facing pages (Figure 1). The left facing page details "free white" household inhabitants as to male and female, divided into 13 age categories representing intervals of five or ten years. As compared to the 1810 and 1820 censuses, the 1830 census reflects a greater concern for detailed age information, both for free whites, "free colored persons" (free African Americans or blacks), and slaves.

The right facing page records "slaves" and "free colored persons" by gender and then six age categories of varying intervals, including: under 10; 10 to under 24; 24 to under 36; 36 to under 55; 55 to under 100; and, over 100 years. A final and new section (as compared to previous censuses) assessed people's condition as to being "deaf and dumb" or blind, according to three age categories, with slaves and free colored persons lumped together. A separate column existed for white, not naturalized citizens. Census marshals tallied the number of inhabitants for each household and totaled the numbers in each column per census sheet. At the far, bottom left of each page was a tally for all inhabitants per page.

Data Collection Methods for this Report

The original records for the 1830 census provided at the Ancestry website exhibit some damage. Several pages look over-exposed, with some sections completely faded or illegible. In most cases the row and column totals helped to determine missing data. However, in other cases the total counts for pages were illegible as well and we had to use the available evidence as best possible to deduce the raw values for individual households. Consequently, it is likely that some errors exist and in that respect, unfortunately, we could not match our data totals with the results found at the Virginia Places website (www.virginiaplaces.org), although it should be recognized that this source only provides total counts for whites, free blacks, and slaves without a breakdown of the population by other categorical information.

Information from the Virginia Places website claims a total population of 9,362 for Stafford in 1830 and a slave population of 4,164. According to our research, the population of Stafford was 9,346 in total, which included 4,145 slaves. These results leave our counts short by 16 in the total population and by 19 slaves. We re-checked our data and found at least three cases of a definite miscount by the census marshal, which would not have been observed in the data collection at the Virginia Places website. Because of this inconsistency and our use of reviewed raw census data, the analysis that follows relies on the data we collected.

For this report we focused on broad patterns of slave ownership in order to draw general conclusions about slavery in the County as of 1830. We collected the initials of the individual

heads of families and for each household, the number of slaves owned, the number of free whites and free colored persons, and the number of each gender for enslaved African Americans. Given the study's time constrictions, we did not gather or analyze the age information for slaves, but as noted for previous census reports, the gender and age information for slaves within households could be studied in the future to better characterize the demography of slavery in Stafford County.

In the interpretation that follows, it is important to emphasize that our use of such terms as slave owner, master, and property owner corresponds to the named family and household heads listed in the census forms' individual rows. We recognize that there may have been more than one family head within a given household and similarly, more than one slave owner in that household on that property. Our generated interpretations should be understood with these limitations in mind. The observed patterns of slave ownership reference households on identified properties, not every individual owner of enslaved African Americans.

Analysis

The 1830 census recorded 916 property owners and family heads in Stafford County, with 468 or 51% of these individuals owning at least one slave. This percentage parallels those of previous census years. Collectively the family heads held 4,145 slaves, encompassing 2,181 (53%) male and 1,964 (47%) female slaves (Table 1). Ownership ranged from one to 118 slaves per household, with the latter number slightly larger than the previous high of 111 slaves in 1820. The statistical mean indicates an average of 8.6 slaves per household, but given the skewed nature of slave ownership in Stafford County, the median of five slaves offers a more reliable indicator of a common level of household ownership (see Figure 2 below). The mean and median figures for 1830 follow those for the 1810 and 1820 censuses. In sum, the more common pattern of ownership entailed having relatively few slaves per household. As the number of slaves owned increased, the number of masters decreased.

1830 General Census Data	
Total # Property Owners	916
Total # Slave Owners	468
% Slave owners to Property owners	51.09%
Total # Slaves	4145
Total # Male Slaves	2181
% Male Slaves	52.62%
Total # Female Slaves	1964
% Female Slaves	47.38%
Range of the # of Slaves Owned	1-118
Mean # Slaves	8.57
Median # Slaves	5

Table 1: Summary data for slavery in Stafford County, 1830.

The ratio of male to female slave in this census is slightly skewed toward male slaves, with nearly the same result observed in the 1820 census study. Again, our interpretation centers on the enslaved African American population in 1830 Stafford County as a self-sustaining one reproduction-wise, with a generally balanced sex ratio. The slightly elevated percentage for male slaves likely reflects owners' partial preference for male slave labor for agricultural and industrial purposes.

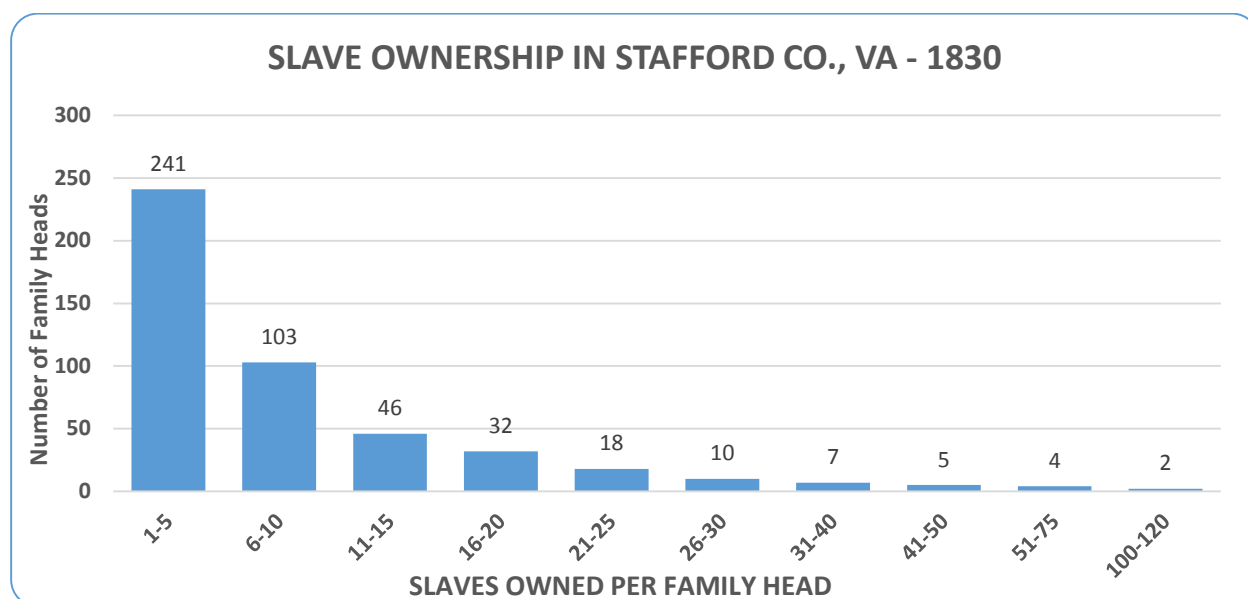


Figure 2: Trends in slave ownership Stafford Co., VA 1830.

The trends for slave ownership in 1830 mirror the patterns observed in both previous and later decades. A simple majority of 241 slave owners, 51.5% of all slaveholders, had five or less slaves in their household, while 344 masters, representing an overwhelming majority of 74%, had 10 or fewer slaves in their household (Figure 2 and Table 2). Heads of families with one slave comprised the highest individual category, with the 94 family heads corresponding to 20% of all owners. Given Stafford County's predominantly and continuing rural nature, most of these household heads represented farmers who could afford a limited number of slaves. In turn, this ownership trend meant that many enslaved African Americans lived in dispersed, small groupings. Family heads with six to 10 slaves likely had larger farming operations.

In contrast were Stafford County's plantation contexts, those more closely matching popular images of the American South. Heads of families with more than 20 slaves had properties that constituted large plantations and approximately 46 of the operations existed in Stafford in 1830. These owners represented the top 10% of all slaveholders, a slightly lower figure than the 12.7% of owners noted in 1820. A total of 11 masters had over 40 slaves and their properties probably represented "great" plantation contexts. These elite owners formed the top 2.3% of all slaveholders in the County, a result corresponding to that for 1820, and they represented families and properties that tend to be better known and documented in the modern era.

From an African American perspective these larger plantations formed important centers of community and culture, places where slaves could more readily engage in a broader range of

social and cultural practices. As in other slave owning regions, many enslaved African Americans had long-term experience with large plantation settings, particularly given the degree to which slave ownership concentrated in the hands of relatively few white family heads. The 48 masters with more than 20 slaves (10% of all slaveholders) owned nearly 40% of all the County's slaves, a result consistent with those from previous and later decades. Owners in the top 2.3% (with more than 40 slaves) possessed close to 17% of all slaves. In contrast, the majority of slave owners, those with five or fewer slaves, had only 14.1% of the County's total slave population. Similarly, the holdings for the 73.5% of owners with one to 10 slaves amounted to 33% of this total.

Data Analysis 1830 Census Stafford County, Virginia									
Number of Slaves	Number of owners	%	Cum. %		Number of Slaves	Number of owners	Slave Count	%	Cum. %
1	94	20.09%	20.09%		1	94	94	2.27%	2.27%
2	49	10.47%	30.56%		2	49	98	2.36%	4.63%
3	30	6.41%	36.97%		3	30	90	2.17%	6.80%
4	38	8.12%	45.09%		4	38	152	3.67%	10.47%
5	30	6.41%	51.50%		5	30	150	3.62%	14.09%
6	33	7.05%	58.55%		6	33	198	4.78%	18.87%
7	19	4.06%	62.61%		7	19	133	3.21%	22.07%
8	18	3.85%	66.45%		8	18	144	3.47%	25.55%
9	20	4.27%	70.73%		9	20	180	4.34%	29.89%
10	13	2.78%	73.50%		10	13	130	3.14%	33.03%
11-20	78	16.67%	90.17%		11-20	78	1152	27.79%	60.82%
21-30	28	5.98%	96.15%		21-30	28	684	16.50%	77.32%
31-40	7	1.50%	97.65%		31-40	7	251	6.06%	83.38%
41-50	5	1.07%	98.72%		41-50	5	229	5.52%	88.90%
51-60	2	0.43%	99.15%		51-60	2	109	2.63%	91.53%
60-75	2	0.43%	99.57%		60-75	2	141	3.40%	94.93%
76-118	2	0.43%	100.00%		76-118	2	210	5.07%	100.00%
Total:	468	100.00%			Total:	468	4145	100.00%	

Table 2: Analysis of slave ownership in Stafford Co., VA in 1830.

Table 3 lists the family heads that had more than 40 slaves as of 1830. Once again, members of the Fitzhugh, Morson, and Seldon (Seddon) families populate this elite grouping. The estate of William H. Fitzhugh ranked highest with 118 slaves, while John Coulter had 92 slaves. The Fitzhugh and Coulter surnames appear on future census records and in fact, the Fitzhugh name is found among the top owners in all of the censuses from 1810 to 1860. William H. Fitzhugh's total of 51 slaves ranked him sixth highest. On average the elite class held nearly 63 slaves per owner and it is more likely that today, their former properties contain slave-related buildings and/or archaeological sites.

Two females were amongst these elite slave owners. Ann Morson, who held 50 enslaved African Americans, may be the widow of Alexander Morson, a high-ranking individual who owned 58 slaves in the 1820 census. The other female likely was Hannah Seldon, whose name was difficult to decipher due to the census marshal's handwriting, whereas the Ancestry website transcribed the name as Hena Seddon. The Seddon family name appears in later census years as well. By way of comparison, female slave owners show up more consistently in later census years, including in the listings of elite property owners.

Top 2.3% slave owners in 1830	Slaves owned
Estate of William H. Fitzhugh	118
John Coulter	92
Thomas Towson	75
Samuel Dawood	66
Robert O. Grayson	58
William M. Fitzhugh	51
Ann C Morson	50
George Banks	48
John Gray	47
John C. Edington	43
H. Seddon	41

Table 3: Top 2.3% of all slave masters in 1830.

D. Report for the 1840 Census

Analysis of the 1840 U.S. Census for Stafford County, Virginia Alexis Ankersen

A student aide at the University of Mary Washington assembled this analysis in the Fall 2014 semester under the supervision of Professor Douglas Sanford in the Department of Historic Preservation. The primary data comes from the 1840 U.S. census for Stafford County, Virginia scanned into the online database at the Ancestry website (www.ancestry.com). That database contains 65 images that correspond to 32 original pages of census information. Each page lists 30 names of individual property owners and heads of families and a tally of the men, women, free colored (free African American), and slaves in each household. The 1840 database also includes on page of population totals generated by the assistant marshal for Stafford County.

Information gathered in the 1840 Census

William Bell, as the assistant marshal assigned to the Eastern District, gathered the data for the Stafford County census. He served the same role for the 1830 census. The census record for 1840 nearly matches the 1830 form, except for minor differences. The form is organized in a spreadsheet format, with the rows corresponding to individual names for the heads of families or households based on a given property. Columns of information documented the household inhabitants' race, gender, and age; with these categories spread across two facing pages (Figure 1). Persons in this census were classified under three broad headings: Free White Persons, Free Colored Persons, and Slaves. These categories were further divided into subcategories of males and females and then again divided by number of persons in an age groupings. As in 1830, 13 age divisions per gender were applied to white residents, while six age divisions per gender were used for free colored and slave household members.

In addition to these categories, the census agents had columns for information regarding occupation including, but not limited to agricultural, mining, commerce and manufacture, and trade professions. The census tallied the total workers in the household within these occupations, but did not distinguish those workers as either enslaved or free persons. The census sheet also had a section for "pensioners for Revolutionary or military service," and for household members' level of education, such as universities, academies, or private schools; and, whether white individuals older than 20 years of age were illiterate. The final section served to identify whether whites or free colored persons were "deaf and dumb" or "blind and insane", according to three age categories for whites. Census marshals tallied the number of inhabitants per household and totaled the numbers in each column per census sheet.

Data Collection Methods for this Report

For this report we focused on broad patterns of slave ownership in order to draw general conclusions about slavery in the County as of 1840. We collected the initials of the individual property owners and heads of families and for each household, the total number of inhabitants, the number of free persons, and the number of slaves and their genders. Given the study's time constraints, we did not gather or analyze the age information for slaves, but that data, together

these limitations in mind. The observed patterns of slave ownership reference family-based households on identified properties, not every individual owner of enslaved African Americans.

Analysis

The 1840 census recorded 946 property owners and family heads in Stafford County, with 406 or 43% of these individuals owning at least one slave (Table 1). This percentage marks a noticeable decline from the approximately 50% level of property owners who also possessed slaves, found in the three previous census years. Collectively these family heads held 3,575 slaves, including 1,930 (54%) male and 1,645 (46%) female slaves. Slave ownership ranged from one to 149 slaves, with the latter number establishing a new high, as compared to the 118 slaves for a single owner noted in the 1830 census. The statistical mean indicates an average of 8.8 slaves per household, but given the skewed nature of slave ownership in Stafford County, the median of five slaves per owner offers a more reliable indicator of a common level of household ownership (see Figure 2 below). The mean and median figures closely parallel those developed for the three previous censuses. In sum, most household heads in the County had relatively few slaves. As the level of slave ownership increased, the number of masters declined.

1840 General Census Data	
Total # Property Owners	946
Total # Slave Owners	406
% Slave owners to Property owners	42.92%
Total # Slaves	3575
Total # Male Slaves	1930
% Male Slaves	53.99%
Total # Female Slaves	1645
% Female Slaves	46.01%
Range of the # of Slaves Owned	1-149
Mean # Slaves	8.81
Median # Slaves	5

Table 1. Summary data for slavery in Stafford County, 1840.

As in past decades the gender ratio of male to female enslaved African Americans in 1840 remains slightly skewed in favor of males, 54% to 46%. As discussed in previous census reports, these figures indicate a population capable of sustaining its members by natural reproduction, while contributing to the out-migration of slaves to the Deep South that occurred in the antebellum era. We also assume the higher proportion of males reflects white owners' preference for young and adult male slave labor for various tasks.

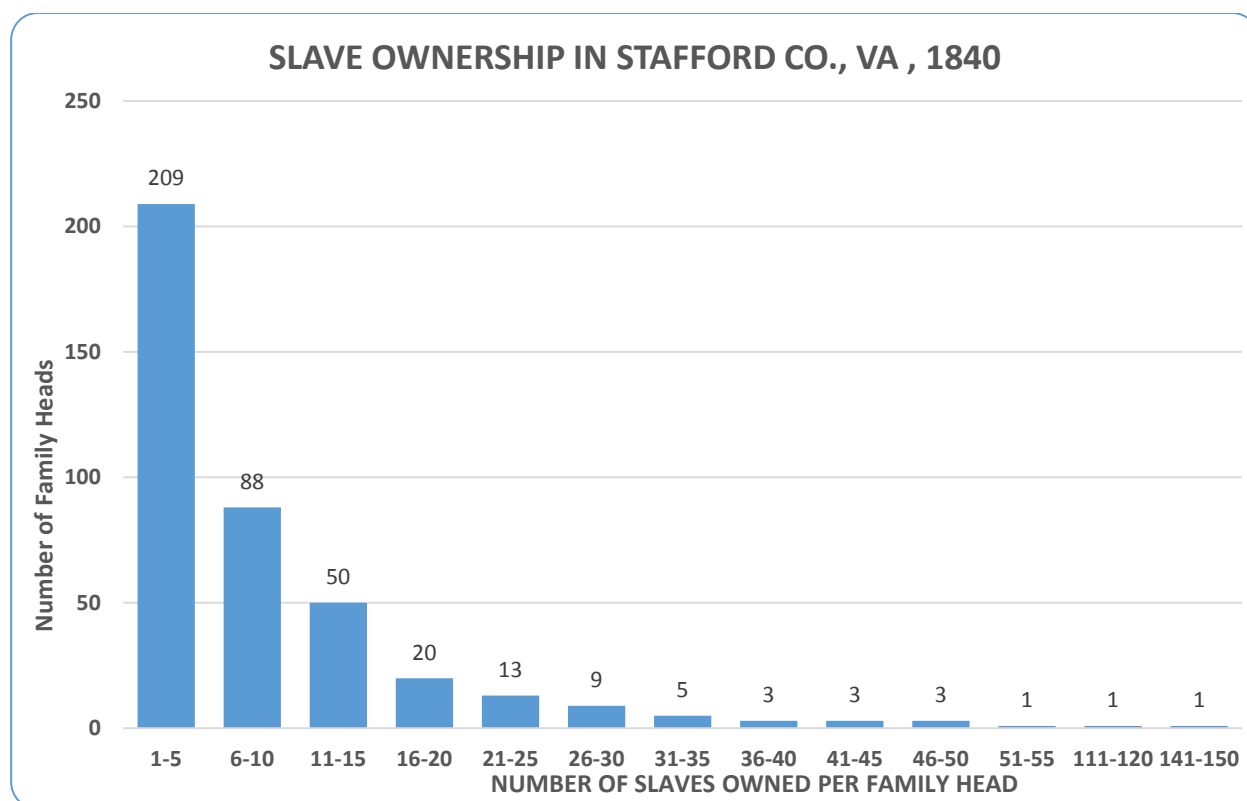


Figure 2. Slave ownership in 1840 Stafford County by intervals of family heads.

The 1840 patterns of slave ownership remain impressively consistent with those for the previous three decades. A simple majority of slave owners, 51.5% or 209 family heads, had between one and five slaves (Figure 2 and Table 2). A more substantial majority of 73% of masters (297 family heads) held 10 or fewer slaves. Once again, heads of families with only one slave formed the largest single ownership category, 79 individuals representing 19.5% of all owners. In sum, the most obvious slave ownership pattern centered on having relatively few slaves. The vast majority of these owners would have been the heads of families with small to large farms, particularly considering Stafford County's enduring rural orientation. The limited ownership of bonded laborers conversely meant that many African American slaves lived and worked in small, dispersed groups. Despite the County's agricultural predominance, it did contain two small towns, Stafford Courthouse and at its southern border, Falmouth. Unfortunately, the assistant marshal did not distinguish these areas within the census records.

A range of small to large plantations constituted another slave ownership pattern and the residential centers for the majority of enslaved African Americans within the County. For example, heads of families with more than 20 slaves had properties that would fit the definition of a large plantation. A total of 39 owners, amounting to the top 10% of all slaveholders, comprised this category, most of which would have operated substantial plantations. This 10% figure matches that for the previous census of 1830. Nine property owners, the top 2.2% of all slave owners, had over 40 slaves and their holdings likely represented the County's "great" plantations. Again, this grouping's size parallels the percentages for such elite owners in the 1820 and 1830 censuses.

Data Analysis 1840 Census Stafford County, Virginia									
Number of Slaves	Number of owners	%	Cum. %		Number of Slaves	Number of owners	Slave Count	%	Cum. %
1	79	19.46%	19.46%		1	79	79	2.21%	2.21%
2	38	9.36%	28.82%		2	38	76	2.13%	4.34%
3	38	9.36%	38.18%		3	38	114	3.19%	7.52%
4	27	6.65%	44.83%		4	27	108	3.02%	10.55%
5	27	6.65%	51.48%		5	27	135	3.78%	14.32%
6	20	4.93%	56.40%		6	20	120	3.36%	17.68%
7	24	5.91%	62.32%		7	24	168	4.70%	22.38%
8	18	4.43%	66.75%		8	18	144	4.03%	26.41%
9	15	3.69%	70.44%		9	15	135	3.78%	30.18%
10	11	2.71%	73.15%		10	11	110	3.08%	33.26%
11-20	70	17.24%	90.39%		11-20	70	984	27.52%	60.78%
21-30	22	5.42%	95.81%		21-30	22	545	15.24%	76.03%
31-40	8	1.97%	97.78%		31-40	8	276	7.72%	83.75%
41-50	6	1.48%	99.26%		41-50	6	268	7.50%	91.24%
51-60	1	0.25%	99.51%		51-60	1	52	1.45%	92.70%
111-120	1	0.25%	99.75%		111-120	1	112	3.13%	95.83%
141-150	1	0.25%	100.00%		141-150	1	149	4.17%	100.00%
Total:	406	100.00%			Total:	406	3575	100.00%	

Table 2: Numeric and percentage data for slave ownership in Stafford County, 1840.

Stafford County's large and great plantations, from an African American perspective, formed important cultural, family, and community centers. A plantation with 20, 30, or 50 or more slaves, as compared to five or 10 white household members, formed a predominantly black and slave community, despite the legal and power inequalities at work. And most slaves in the County had long-term experience with plantation settings since the owners of these large-scale enterprises had concentrated much of the slave population within a limited number of families. For example, 39 masters noted above with more than 20 slaves owned nearly 40% of the County's total slave population (the same proportion as in 1830). Elite owners (those with more than 40 slaves) in the top 2.2% of all slaveholders possessed nearly 16% of all slaves, an amount nearly matching that for 1830.

In contrast, the majority of whites (51.5%) who owned slaves, those with five or fewer slaves, had properties within which a mere 14% of the County's enslaved population resided. Similarly, the 73% of masters with 10 or fewer slaves held 33% of all slaves, with both of these figures corresponding to those for the 1830 census.

A minor, but noteworthy change in the distribution of slave ownership in 1840 as compared to earlier decades is the gap between the two largest owners in the County and the next grouping of large owners, those with more than 30 slaves and up to 52 slaves. In past decades, a few owners had 60, 70, or 80 slaves. But in 1840, beyond Frances Fitzhugh with 52 slaves there are only two owners, those with 112 and 149 slaves (see Table 3), forming statistical outliers. The long-standing and extended Fitzhugh family once again dominated the elite owner category in 1840, with Anna Fitzhugh's 149 slaves marking a new high as compared to previous decades (118 in 1830).

Importantly though, the second highest owner was the “Rail Road Company” with 112 slaves. This is the one commercial or industrial owner noted in the 1840 census and reflects the large-scale construction of railways in the County at this time, in this case by the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac railroad company. This example serves as a reminder that not all slave ownerships centered on farms and plantations. Within the 1840 census the railroad company’s slave holdings were listed sequentially on four different properties (see census page 178). These properties had 13, 53, 4, and 42 slaves, respectively, and these locations may have corresponding to the company’s main staging areas and/or stations. We can only speculate about the living arrangements for the slaves on these properties. Presumably these workers were housed in quarters on the properties at night and transported to track locations during the day.

Top 4.2% of slave owners in 1840	No. of Slaves
Anna M Fitzhugh	149
Rail Road Company	112
Frances J Fitzhugh	52
John Moncure	47
William Morson	46
Thomas Jonson	46
Willam Pollock	44
John B Gray	43
Hannah H Coulter	42
Alexander Morson	38
Alexander Fitzhugh	38
Thomas Seddon's Estate	38
J Ann Banks	33
Thomas C Scott	33
William H Fitzhugh	33
John G Edington (Edrington)	32
Catharine Tolson	31

Table 4. Top 4.2% of slave owners in 1840.

Table 3 lists the 17 family heads or owners who comprised the top 4.2% of all slave owners, with these individuals holding nearly 24% of all the slaves in Stafford. Beyond the Fitzhugh family noted above, familiar elite owners include the Coulter, Morson, Gray, and Banks families. It should be noted though that other Fitzhugh family members held slaves in Stafford County at this time, but did not make the top 4% ranking. Female slave owners had a notable presence in the top 4% of owners. Four women are listed, comprising 23.5% of the elite slaveholders, with the aforementioned Anna Fitzhugh as by far, the largest slave owner in Stafford County.

E. Report for the 1850 Census

Analysis of the 1850 U.S. Census for Stafford County, Virginia Kayleigh Barbee

This analysis was completed by a student aide at the University of Mary Washington from the Department of Historic Preservation under the supervision of Professor Douglas Sanford during the spring semester of 2015. The primary information for this analysis originally came from the 1850 United States Federal Census “slave schedule” records for Stafford County, Virginia that had been scanned into the online database of the Ancestry website (www.ancestry.com). That database contains 40 images of slave schedule pages that list the individual names of slave owners, the number of owned slaves, as well as the ages, sex, and skin color (black or mulatto) of these enslaved African Americans. In contrast to the censuses for previous decades, the 1850 U.S. Census employed a separate form (schedule) for listing slaves, rather than having them incorporated within the household-based schedule for whites and free African Americans.

Information gathered in the 1850 Census

James E. Towson functioned as the assistant marshal for census data in Stafford County, which was referred to as part of the Eastern District. Towson completed the census sheets for the slave schedule (Schedule 2) between August and November of 1850. He also filled out the census sheets for the schedule of property owners (Schedule 1), eventually listing 923 primary dwellings and family households. The 1850 census differed from previous ones in a number of ways. For the first time ever, individual names of the members within the free households were provided, along with specific ages rather than by multi-year intervals. Beyond the male household members’ occupations (for those over 15 years of age), the census sheet included the property’s real estate value and each member’s place of birth and skin color.

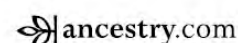
For each of the slave schedule pages, the assistant marshal used a double set of columns, each with 42 numbered rows, potentially allowing 84 enslaved African Americans to be documented per page. Column headings included: Name of Slave Owner; the age, sex, and color of each slave; whether the slave was a “Fugitive from the State”; the number of manumitted slaves per owner; and, whether the slave was deaf and dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic. Again, the marshal recorded slaves’ specific ages rather than using age intervals (Figure 1).

The 1850 census reflected the degree to which slavery had become a greater public and political issue in the United States by this time. The visual determination of someone being African American and probably a slave, by their skin color offers one indication of this interpretation and how racist categories remained imbedded in the country’s governmental affairs. The “mulatto” category acknowledged sexual relations between white and black persons, despite the public approbations against “race mixing” or miscegenation. The color category also reflected the official and legal determination that the children of these unions still were considered African American and enslaved.

Similarly, the explicit concern over whether slaves has fled from their owners, becoming “fugitives from the State,” demonstrated the conflict between African Americans seeking both their freedom and an escape from an oppressive regime, and a legal status rendering them private

and public property. Even slaves that had obtained their freedom legally, having been “manumitted,” had to be accounted for by the local, state, and federal levels of government.

1850 Slave Schedule



Schedule 2.-Slave Inhabitants in _____ in the County of _____ State
of _____, enumerated by me, on the _____ day of _____, 1850 _____ Ass't Marshal.

NAMES OF SLAVE OWNERS	Number of Slaves	DESCRIPTION			Fugitives from the State	Number manumitted	Deaf & Dumb, blind, insane or idiotic
		Age	Sex	Color			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1							1 1
2							2 2

Figure 1. Blank 1850 slave schedule census sheet.

As in other slaveholding states and counties, the assistant marshal for Stafford tended to record owners' slaves in decreasing age order, from oldest to youngest, by gender. James Towson relied upon a couple of other conventions to assist his documentation process. For owners with multiple slaves he usually wrote the total number of slaves within a blank row below the owners' names. In addition, at the bottom of each column set he wrote the total number of male and female slaves.

Data Collection Methods for this Report

For this report we focused on broad patterns of slave ownership to draw general conclusions about African American slavery in Stafford County in 1850. Within an Excel spreadsheet we collected slave owners' individual names by recording their initials and in some cases, their full names. For each owner we listed the total number of slaves and the gender breakdown for those totals. Given the study's time constraints, we did not gather or analyze the age and gender for each slave. In the future such information could be studied effectively to better characterize the demography of slavery in general for Stafford County and at the household level.

In the interpretation that follows, it is important to remember that our use of such terms as slave owner, master, and property owner corresponds to the named individuals listed in the slave schedule census form. As best as we can determine, these people do conform to family and/or household heads as seen with previous censuses. We recognize that there may have been more than one family head and/or slave owner within a given household and property. With respect to future research, the individual names recorded in the slave schedule could be compared with those in the free household schedule to see if multiple owners per household and property occur. Consequently, our interpretations should be understood with these limitations in mind. The observed patterns of slave ownership best reference family-based households on identified properties.

Analysis

The 1850 U.S. Census for Stafford County recorded 923 property owners and households, with 418 or 45.3% of these property owners having slaves. This proportion is in keeping with the percentage found in 1840. These masters held a total of 3,318 slaves, including 1,689 (50.9%) male slaves and 1,629 (49.1%) female slaves (Table 1). Ownership ranged from one to 66 slaves, with the latter total marking a noticeable decline, as highs for owners in previous decades had reached 80, 100, and even 149 (in 1840) slaves. This result likely indicates the decline of “great” plantations in Stafford County at this time and/or the division of such estates amongst multiple heirs. The decline in overall slave population by over 250 slaves also could point to the out-migration of masters and slaves from Stafford and Virginia, as well as the sale of slaves to then developing portions of the Deep South.

The statistical mean of nearly eight (7.9) slaves per family household follows the pattern seen in previous decades, but once again, is a misleading result given the skewed nature of slave ownership in Stafford County (see Figure 2 below). Hence, the median figure of five slaves per owner offers a more reliable indicator of household ownership. This median value again matches that for previous census years, reinforcing the primary pattern in which most household heads in the County had relatively few slaves. As the level of slave ownership increased, the number of masters declined.

1850 General Census Data	
Total # Property Owners	923
Total # Slave Owners	418
% Slave Owners of Prop. Owners	45.29%
Total # Slaves	3318
Total # Male Slaves	1689
% Male Slaves	50.90%
Total # Female Slaves	1629
% Female Slaves	49.10%
Total "Black" Slaves	2859
Total "Mulatto" Slaves	459
Ratio Black slaves to Mulatto	56 : 9
Range of the # of Slaves Owned	1-66
Mean # Slaves	7.94
Median # Slaves	5

Table 1. Summary data for slavery in 1850 Stafford County.

Another demographic change from earlier census years can be found within the gender ratio of Stafford County’s enslaved African Americans. In 1850 the proportions of male and females slaves are nearly even, whereas before, males outranked female slaves by five to eight percent. This decline could reference the selling off of excess male slaves to other regions. Still, the gender ratio’s even nature conforms to a population capable of sustaining itself by natural

reproduction. As compared to previous census years, the 1850 data allows us to discuss African American slaves as being considered black or mulatto, at least according to James Towson's perception of these people's skin color. A total of 459 enslaved African Americans were described as mulatto, representing 13.8% of all slaves in the County.

Overall, the 1850 patterns of slave ownership remain consistent with those for the previous four decades. A simple majority of 228 slave owners, 54.6%, held between 1 and 5 slaves (Figure 2 and Table 2). A more substantial majority of 74.9% (313 owners) were the masters for 10 or fewer slaves, a result close to that in 1840 (73%). As in other decades, the single largest ownership category entailed masters with one slave, with these 99 individuals comprising 23.7% of all owners. An increase in this grouping from the 1840 figure of 19.5% further establishes the increased proportion of small slave owners in 1850.

In sum, the most obvious slave ownership pattern centered on having relatively few slaves, with the vast majority of these masters as the heads of small to large family farms. Many property owners' occupations were listed as farmers, reinforcing the continued rural orientation of Stafford County. This trend of the limited ownership of bonded laborers also meant that many African American slaves had to live and work in small, dispersed groupings. Despite the County's agricultural predominance, two small towns, Stafford Courthouse and Falmouth, existed within its confines. Unfortunately, the assistant marshal did not distinguish these population centers within the census sheets.

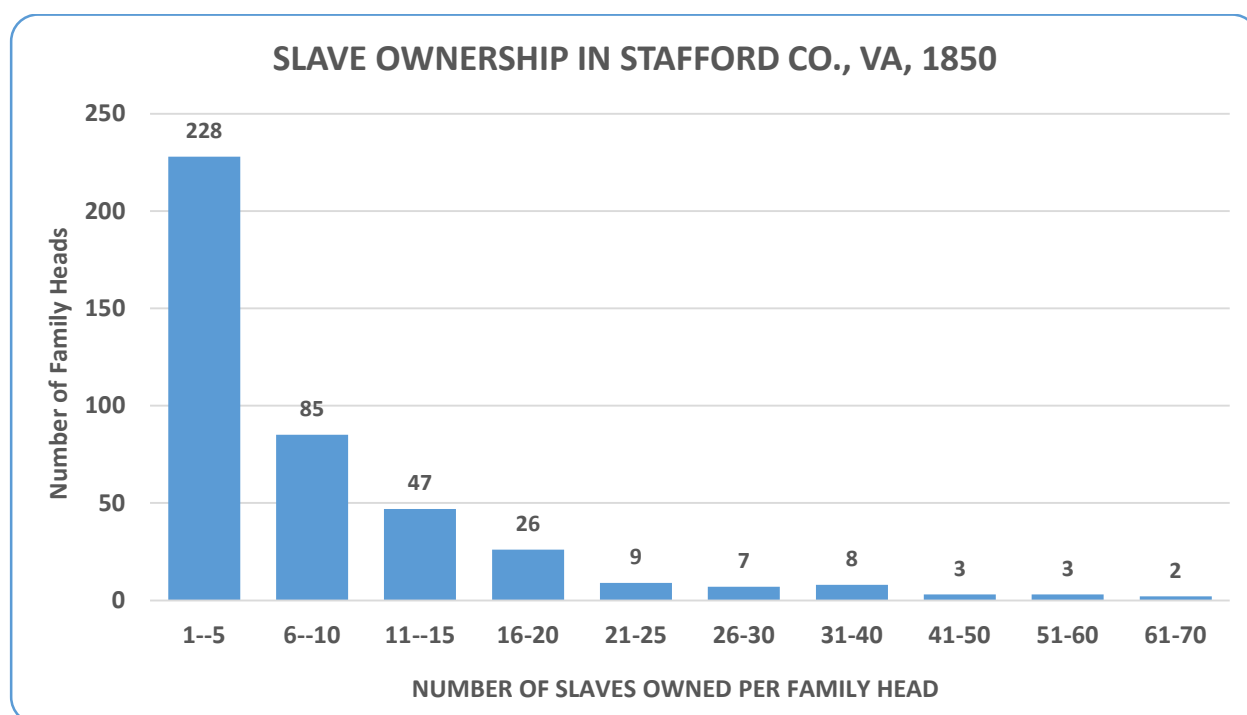


Figure 2. Slave ownership in Stafford County, 1850, by intervals of the number of slaves per family head.

A range of small to large plantations constituted another slave ownership pattern as well as the residential centers for the majority of enslaved African Americans within the County. For

example, family or household heads with more than 20 slaves had properties fitting the definition of a large plantation. A total of 32 owners or the top 7.3% of all slaveholders comprised this category, with most of these people likely operating substantial plantations. The 7.3% figure denotes a decline in the proportion of this ownership category (from 10% in 1840), yet another sign of the decrease in large plantations and slaveholdings as compared to previous decades. Eight property owners, the top 1.9% of all slave owners, had over 40 slaves and their holdings likely formed the County's "great" plantations. This grouping's size, while a slight decrease, follows the percentage for such elite owners in earlier decades.

Data Analysis 1850 Census, Stafford County, Virginia									
# of Slaves	# of Owners	%	Cum. %		# of Slaves	# of Owners	Slave Count	%	Cum %
1	99	23.68%	23.68%		1	99	99	2.98%	2.98%
2	39	9.33%	33.01%		2	39	78	2.35%	5.33%
3	44	10.53%	43.54%		3	44	132	3.98%	9.31%
4	24	5.74%	49.28%		4	24	96	2.89%	12.20%
5	22	5.26%	54.55%		5	22	110	3.32%	15.52%
6	18	4.31%	58.85%		6	18	108	3.25%	18.77%
7	18	4.31%	63.16%		7	18	126	3.80%	22.57%
8	24	5.74%	68.90%		8	24	192	5.79%	28.36%
9	14	3.35%	72.25%		9	14	126	3.80%	32.16%
10	11	2.63%	74.88%		10	11	110	3.32%	35.48%
11	12	2.87%	77.75%		11	12	132	3.98%	39.46%
12	13	3.11%	80.86%		12	13	156	4.70%	44.16%
13	8	1.91%	82.78%		13	8	104	3.13%	47.29%
14	8	1.91%	84.69%		14	8	112	3.38%	50.67%
15	6	1.44%	86.12%		15	6	90	2.71%	53.38%
16-20	26	6.22%	92.34%		16-20	26	448	13.50%	66.88%
21-25	9	2.15%	94.50%		21-25	9	211	6.36%	73.24%
26-30	7	1.67%	96.17%		26-30	7	194	5.85%	79.09%
31-40	8	1.91%	98.09%		31-40	8	271	8.17%	87.26%
41-50	3	0.72%	98.80%		41-50	3	136	4.09%	91.35%
51-60	3	0.72%	99.52%		51-60	3	158	4.76%	96.11%
61-70	2	0.48%	100.00%		61-70	2	129	3.89%	100.00%
Total:	418	100.00%			Total:	418	3318	100.00%	

Table 2. Counts and percentages of slave owners and slaves within Stafford County, 1850.

From an African American perspective the County's large and great plantations represented important cultural, family, and community centers. Plantations with 20, 40, or more slaves, as compared to under five or 10 white household members, fundamentally corresponded to predominantly black and slave communities, despite the legal and power inequalities at work. Furthermore, most slaves in Stafford County had long-term experience with plantation settings since the owners of these large-scale enterprises had managed to concentrate a significant proportion of the slave population within a limited number of families and households. The 32 masters with more than 20 slaves owned 33% of the County's total slave population. The decrease in this percentage from 40% in 1840 reinforces earlier remarks about the relative

decline in larger slaveholdings and plantations. Elite owners, those with more than 40 slaves, possessed 12.7% of all slaves, a notable decline from the figure of about 16% for the previous two censuses

In contrast, the majority of whites (54.6%) who owned five or fewer slaves had properties within which a mere 15.5% of the County's enslaved population resided. Similarly, the 73% of masters who had 10 or fewer enslaved African Americans held 35.5% of all slaves, a figure close to that for the 1840 census.

Table 3 lists the top 18 (4.3%) slave owners in 1850 Stafford County; those with 30 or more enslaved African Americans on their properties (an average of 41.9 slaves per owner). Their 754 slaves represented 22.7% of all bonds people in the County, a proportion similar to that in 1840 (24%). As in previous decades, the most common (three instances) occurring surname among these elite owners was Fitzhugh. Previously listed top slave owning families or names include Hannah Coulter (42 slaves in 1840, 63 in 1850); Morson, Seddon, John Gray (43 slaves in 1840, 55 in 1850), and William Pollack (44 slaves in 1840, 48 in 1850).

Top 4.3% Slave Owners 1850	# of Slaves
Ann Fitzhugh	66
Hannah Coulter	63
John B Gray	55
Henry Fitzhugh	52
Alexander Morson	51
William Pollock	48
Duff Green	45
William H Fitzhugh	43
Gustavas B Wallace	39
John Moncure	37
Hugh Morson	34
William Benson	33
Samuel Brooke	33
John Seddon	33
William H Brown	31
James Peyton	31
Ann Seddon	30
Edward Waller	30

Table 3. The Top 4.3% of Slave Owners in 1850.

Ann Fitzhugh was the highest-ranking owner in 1850 with 66 slaves, with this holding apparently a substantial decrease since Anna M. Fitzhugh owned 149 slaves in 1840. Three females (16.7%) are found within these elite masters and property owners, with Ann Fitzhugh and Hannah Coulter holding the top two positions. It should be noted that female slave owners occur on a fairly regular basis within the 1850 census' slave schedule as a whole. Finally, in

contrast to the 1840 census, no commercial companies were listed in the slave schedule of the 1850 census for Stafford County.

F. Report for the 1860 Census

Analysis of the 1860 U.S. Census for Stafford County, Virginia Alexis Ankersen

A student aide at the University of Mary Washington assembled this analysis in the Fall 2014 and Spring 2015 semesters under the supervision of Professor Douglas Sanford in the Department of Historic Preservation. The primary, original data come from the 1860 United States Federal census records for Stafford County, Virginia, in particular, the slave schedule (Schedule 2) scanned into the online database of the Ancestry website (www.ancestry.com). That database contains 42 images of slave schedule pages for recording up to 80 enslaved African Americans per page. As in 1850, the 1860 census slave schedule was a listing separate from the regular census schedule (Schedule 1) for free Stafford County household heads and property owners. The slave schedule sheet had columns for the individual names of slave owners, the number of owned slaves, as well as the ages, sex, and skin color (black or mulatto) of these people. For the first time in the U.S. census' history, the slave schedule sheet had a column for the number of "slave houses" for each owner. This information allowed us to analyze the patterns for slave house ownership and to a limited degree, for slave household composition.

Information gathered in the 1860 Census

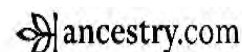
The information collected by the 1860 census marshal for free white and African American households remained essentially the same as in 1850 (see previous report). Visited properties were distinguished by primary dwelling houses and the families based in those structures. The census agent recorded the individual family members' names and information regarding their age, color, occupation or profession (for males over 15 years of age), place of birth, education, and physical and mental condition. The one noticeable change from the 1850 to the 1860 census sheet for Schedule 1 was the addition of a column for the "Value of Personal Estate" next to the previously existing one for "Value of Real Estate."

The original slave schedule (Schedule 2) census data were collected by assistant marshal H. B. Barnes from June 11th to August 29th, 1860. The recorded information followed the same protocols as in 1850, except for the addition of requesting the "no. of slave houses" per owner. The other column-based categories included: "names of slave owners"; "number of slaves" per owner; and, the number of slave houses per owner. Other "description" categories allowed for information per individual slave, including: "age"; "sex"; and, "color" (black or mulatto). Additional columns sought information as to whether the enslaved African Americans had become "fugitives from the state"; the "number [of] manumitted" slaves per owner; and for the physical and mental condition of each slave, namely as to whether she or he was "deaf & dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic". The census sheet utilized a double-column set format, with these categories repeated in the two sets, followed by 40 rows per column, allowing for a total of 80 slaves per page (see Figure 1 below).

As to assistant marshal's recording conventions, an owner's full name appeared in the first column, while each slave of an owner received the number "1" under the second column for

“number of slaves.” Slaves were listed in descending age order, from oldest to youngest. For infants under one year of age, the marshal indicated the age by a given number of months. An “F” for female and an “M” for male served to ascribe biological sex, while the marshal indicated skin color with a “B” for black or an “M” for mulatto (see Figure 2 below). When Mr. Barnes continued to list an owner’s slaves on the right-hand column of the same page, he did not always repeat the owner’s name at the top of that column. However, when he carried the slave listing over to the next census page, he typically repeated the owner’s name within the first row of the left-hand column.

1860 Slave Schedule



Page No. _____

Schedule 2.-Slave Inhabitants in _____ in the County of _____ State
of _____, enumerated by me, on the _____ day of _____, 1860 _____ Ass’t Marshal.

NAMES OF SLAVE OWNERS	Number of Slaves	DESCRIPTION			Fugitives from the State	Number manumitted	Deaf & Dumb, blind, insane or idiotic	No. of Slave Houses	NAMES OF SLAVE OWNERS	Number of Slaves	DESCRIPTION			Fugitives from the State	Number manumitted	Deaf & Dumb, blind, insane or idiotic	No. of Slave Houses
		Age	Sex	Color							Age	Sex	Color				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1																	
2																	
3																	
4																	
5																	

Figure 1. Blank 1860 slave schedule census form.

Stafford County’s marshal varied his recording of slave house numbers to a limited degree. In most cases Barnes tallied houses sequentially in the rows, starting on the same row as the owner’s name. For example, he would indicate an owner with two slave houses by putting a “1” in the first two rows in the column for number of slave houses, under that owner’s name. In a few cases Barnes noted houses non-sequentially; perhaps indicating that one group of slaves lived in one house while another group of slaves lived in the next house (Figure 2). This change seemingly corresponded to instances wherein an owner held a medium to large-sized group of slaves on a property with multiple houses. Yet at other times, including for properties with larger numbers of slaves, the marshal reverted to tallying the houses sequentially at the top of the slave listing.

Data Collection Methods for this Report

For this report we focused on broad patterns of slave ownership and slave house ownership to draw general conclusions about African American slavery in 1860. Placed within an Excel spreadsheet, we selected certain information from the slave schedules to facilitate our analysis, given the project's time restrictions. We recorded the owner's names (using initials), the number of slaves per owner, the slaves' gender and color, and the number of slave houses per owner. We did not gather or analyze the age and gender for each slave. In the future such information could be studied effectively to better characterize the demography of Stafford County slavery in general and at the household level.

For the interpretations below it is important to remember that our use of such terms as slave owner, master, and property owner corresponds to the named individuals in the slave schedule census form. As best we can determine, these people largely conform to family and/or household heads as seen with previous censuses. We recognize that at times there were more than one family head and/or slave owner within a given household and residential property. In terms of future research, the individual names recorded on the slave schedule could be compared with those in the free household schedule to assess to what extent multiple owners per household and property occurs. Consequently, our interpretations should be understood with these limitations in mind. The observed patterns of slave and slave house ownership in 1860 best reference family-based households on identified properties, rather than all potential, individual slave owners.

Page No. 2

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SCHEDULE 2.—Slave Inhabitants in _____ in the County of Stafford State
of Virginia, enumerated by me, on the 13 day of June, 1860. H. B. Barnes Ass't Marshal.

1	NAMES OF SLAVE OWNERS.	2	3				4	5	6	7	8	9	10	NAMES OF SLAVE OWNERS.	11	12				13	14	15	16
			Number of Slaves.	Age.	Sex.	Color.										Number of Slaves.	Age.	Sex.	Color.				
1	<u>Catherine Waller</u>	1	50	F	M							1	<u>Joe M. Wannon</u>	1	22	F	M						1
2		1	10	F	B									1	21	F	B						2
3		1	26	F	B									1	7	F	B						3
4		1	30	M	B							1		1	14	F	B						4
5		1	6	F	B									1	14	F	B						5
6		1	4	F	B									1	1	F	B						6
7		1	2	F	M									1	50	M	B						7
8	<u>Virginia Fitzhugh</u>	1	50	F	B							1		1	25	M	M						8
9		1	7	M	M									1	22	M	B						9
10	<u>J. M. Monroe</u>	1	31	F	M							1		1	21	M	B						10
11		1	24	F	M									1	12	M	B						11
12		1	16	M	M									1	9	M	B						12
13		1	14	F	B									1	2	M	B						13
14		1	6	F	M									1	2	M	B						14
15		1	1	M	B									<u>Sarah Brooke</u>	1	70	M	B					15
16		1	1	M	M									<u>Edward Waller</u>	1	20	F	B					16

Figure 2. Examples of the census marshal counting slave houses non-sequentially.

Analysis of Slave Ownership

The 1860 U.S. census documented 617 slave owners in Stafford County, which marked a substantial increase over the 400-plus owners observed in earlier decades, although the overall number of property owners increased as well. As discussed below and in the 1850 census report, this rise in slave ownership primarily occurred at the lower end of the scale, that is, amongst the white citizens who could afford only one or two slaves. Hence, of the 1,022 property owners in the County, owners of enslaved African Americans comprised 60%, demonstrating the considerable social and geographic extent of slavery at this time. In earlier decades masters typically represented 45% to 50% of all household heads. These 617 owners collectively held 3,314 slaves (nearly the same total as in 1850 – 3,318 slaves), including 1,650 (49.8%) male slaves and 1,664 (50.2%) female slaves. According to the Virginia Places website (virginiaplaces.org) the total population of Stafford in 1860 was 8,555 with a slave population of 3,314, with the latter number conforming to our generated results. In this regard, enslaved African Americans formed 39% of Stafford County's populace.

1860 General Census Data	
Total # Property Owners	1022
Total # Slave Owners	617
% Slave Owners of Prop. Owners	60.37%
Total # Slaves	3314
Total # Male Slaves	1650
% Male Slaves	49.79%
Total # Female Slaves	1664
% Female Slaves	50.21%
Total "Black" Slaves	2714
Total "Mulatto" Slaves	600
Ratio Black slaves to Mulatto	9 : 2
Range of the # of Slaves Owned	1-59
Median # Slaves	2
Mean # Slaves	5.37
Mean # Slaves per house	4.71
Total Slave Houses	499

Table 3. General data for slavery in 1860 Stafford County.

Ownership ranged from one to 59 slaves, with the latter total close to, but slightly below the 1850 high of 66 slaves. The statistical mean of 5.4 slaves per family household signaled a noteworthy decrease from the average of about eight slaves per owner in previous census years. This result reinforces the comment above regarding the transition in slave ownership patterns to whites with fewer slaves. Despite the decreased mean value, it still represents a skewed result, in that most slave owners in Stafford County had few slaves, on the order of one to three (see Figure 3 below). Thus the median value of two slaves per owner (a decline from earlier decades'

median of 5 slaves per owner) offers the more accurate image of a common level of slave ownership. As seen in Figure 3, as the rank of slave ownership increased, the number of masters declined.

As in 1850, the gender ratio of male to female African American slaves in 1860 remained almost exactly balanced, reflecting a self-sustaining population. The relative skew in favor of males seen in 1840 and earlier decades did not occur. In 1860 a total of 600 slaves received the “mulatto” designation according to assistant marshal Barnes’ perception of skin color. These mixed race individuals together comprised 18.1% of the County’s enslaved African Americans; an increase from 13.8% for mulattos noted in the 1850 census.

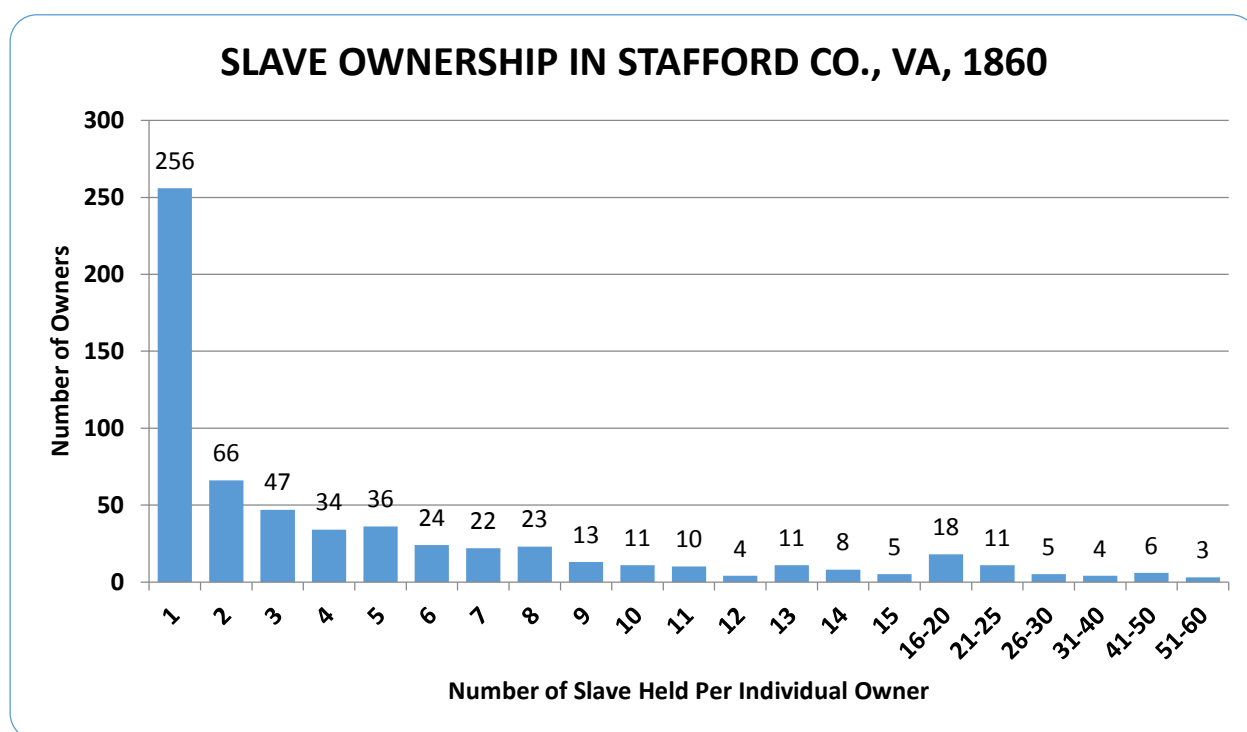


Figure 3. Frequency of the number of slaves owned in Stafford, 1860.

Most patterns of slave ownership in 1860 align with those observed in earlier decades, but reflect the earlier discussed trend of a higher proportion of small slaveholders. For example, between 1810 and 1840 a simple majority of around 50% corresponded to masters with one to five slaves. In 1860, that majority level, 52.2%, was reached with the 322 owners having either one or two slaves (Figure 3 and Table 2). The range of one to five slaves now represents an overwhelming majority of 71% of all owners. In past decades, ownership of one to 10 slaves usually matched the 70 to 75% level of owners, whereas in 1860 that range conformed to an impressive 86%. As in previous census years, the single largest ownership category in 1860 involved masters with one slave, with these 256 individuals comprising a significant minority of 41.5% of all owners, a dramatic increase from the 15% to 25% level of earlier decades. Consequently, by this date an important shift to more, small slaveholders, initially seen in 1850, had become a prevailing pattern as the Civil War loomed. Possible reasons for this change include the sale of excess

slaves by plantation owners, the division of larger estates through inheritance, and decreasing prices for bonds people.

These results in turn meant that more and more enslaved African Americans lived on small to large farms, but increasingly in groups of one to three slaves. Such conditions exacerbated slaves' ability to have companions, form marriages and families, and maintain cultural traditions. That they still accomplished these activities and desires is testimony to their determination. Overall and as seen in previous census years, most slave owners in Stafford County had few slaves, with the vast majority of these masters as the heads of family farms. Many property owners' occupations were listed as farmers, reinforcing the County's continued rural orientation. While two small towns existed within its confines, namely Falmouth and Stafford Courthouse, the assistant marshal did not distinguish these population centers within the County's census sheets.

Data Analysis 1860 Census Stafford County, Virginia									
Number of Slaves	Number of owners	%	Cum. %		Number of Slaves	Number of owners	Slave Count	%	Cum. %
1	256	41.49%	41.49%		1	256	256	7.73%	7.73%
2	66	10.70%	52.19%		2	66	132	3.98%	11.71%
3	47	7.62%	59.81%		3	47	141	4.26%	15.97%
4	34	5.51%	65.32%		4	34	136	4.11%	20.07%
5	36	5.83%	71.15%		5	36	180	5.43%	25.51%
6	24	3.89%	75.04%		6	24	144	4.35%	29.85%
7	22	3.57%	78.61%		7	22	154	4.65%	34.50%
8	23	3.73%	82.33%		8	23	184	5.55%	40.05%
9	13	2.11%	84.44%		9	13	117	3.53%	43.59%
10	11	1.78%	86.22%		10	11	110	3.32%	46.91%
11	10	1.62%	87.84%		11	10	110	3.32%	50.23%
12	4	0.65%	88.49%		12	4	48	1.45%	51.68%
13	11	1.78%	90.28%		13	11	143	4.32%	55.99%
14	8	1.30%	91.57%		14	8	112	3.38%	59.37%
15	5	0.81%	92.38%		15	5	75	2.26%	61.64%
16-20	18	2.92%	95.30%		16-20	18	316	9.54%	71.17%
21-25	11	1.78%	97.08%		21-25	11	249	7.52%	78.69%
26-30	5	0.81%	97.89%		26-30	5	135	4.07%	82.76%
31-40	4	0.65%	98.54%		31-40	4	132	3.98%	86.75%
41-50	6	0.97%	99.51%		41-50	6	278	8.39%	95.14%
51-60	3	0.49%	100.00%		51-60	3	161	4.86%	100.00%
	617	100.00%				617	3313	100.00%	

Table 2. Numeric and percentage data for slave ownership in Stafford County, 1860.

Although decreasing in number and influence, the small to large plantations in Stafford County constituted another important slave ownership pattern as well as the residential centers for a simple majority of bonded African Americans. Families and household properties with more than 20 slaves, for instance, fit the definition of a large plantation. A total of 29 owners

conformed to this category and likely represented about that many large plantations. Yet in 1860 these individuals formed a mere 4.7% of all owners, whereas in past decades masters at this ownership level comprised from 7.3% (1850) to 10% (in 1840) of all owners. Nine property holders, only 1.5% of all slave owners, had over 40 slaves and their holdings likely represented the County's "great" plantations.

From the standpoint of Stafford County's enslaved African Americans these large and great plantations, while places of enforced labor and confinement, allowed for the establishment of important cultural, family, and community centers. Plantations with 20, 40, or more slaves, in contrast to five or 10 white household members, stood as predominantly slave and black communities. Furthermore, many slaves in the County had long-term experience with plantation settings as the owners of these large-scale enterprises had concentrated a significant proportion of the total slave population within a limited number of families and properties. The 29 masters with more than 20 slaves owned 28.8% of the County's total slave population. But in 1840, such masters held 40% of all slaves, a fact that further reinforces the earlier point as to the decreasing influence of plantation owners. Elite owners, those with more than 40 slaves, possessed 13.2% of all slaves, nearly matching the 12.7% of 1850.

Table 3 lists the top 13 (3.8%) slaves owners in 1860, those with more than 30 enslaved African Americans on their properties. On average these masters had 44 slaves, similar to the level of 42 slaves per elite owner observed in 1850. These individuals managed the largest plantations in Stafford at the time and exerted broad social, economic, and political influence in the larger community. Their 572 slaves represented 20.9% of all the County's slaves.

Top 3.8% of slave owners, 1860	No. of Slaves	No. of Slave Houses
William Pollock	59	10
G. B. Wallace	51	6
Hugh Morson	51	6
Henry Fitzhugh	50	7
G. B. Wallace Senior	48	7
Jane M. Gray	47	7
John Seddon	47	8
George W. Strother	45	6
Edward Waller	41	4
J. C. Shelton [[ex r]] off WW LL Benson	38	4
J Horace Lacy	32	6
James M. Scott	32	4
Samuel S. Brooke	31	6

Table 3. Names of major slave owners in Stafford County, 1860.

For the first time, only one member of the Fitzhugh family occurs in the elite ownership category. Family names observed in earlier decades include Pollock, Morson, Seddon, and Waller. William Pollock ranked as the County's top slave owner in 1860 with 59 slaves. In contrast, the top owner in the 1840 census held almost 150 slaves. Only a single female, Jane Gray, is found among the elite owners, a noticeable decrease from previous decades (such as five females in 1840). Two new, but obviously prominent names within the elite owners were G. B. Wallace and G. B. Wallace, Sr., a father-son duo ranked in the top five owners. As discussed below, their ownership of six and seven slave houses, respectively, marked an exceptionally high level.

Some final comments are in order for slave ownership in 1860 Stafford County. In contrast to extensive evidence of the practice for hiring out slaves found within the 1860 census for urban Fredericksburg and nearby Spotsylvania County, there are no specific instances for this prominent institution in the Stafford census. Hiring out involved slave owners renting out one or more slaves for a term of service, usually one year, to an employer. In examining the census records for other counties and cities in 1860 Virginia, we found that some census marshals regularly documented hired out slaves and/or employers. Oppositely, other marshals chose not to, likely because the official census directions did not call for such information. We did find multiple instances of owners' names appearing more than once in the census, presumably cases wherein these persons owned more than one property, with different groups of slaves associated with those landholdings. In a few cases an owner had a larger group of slaves at one location, while a later entry for a different property listed only one slave.

Analysis of Slave House Ownership

The 1860 census slave schedule stands out as the only U.S. census to account for the presence of slave housing on an owner's property. While highly useful and insightful information, as discussed below, its confinement to a singular instance prevents a chronological assessment of the numbers of slave-related buildings in Stafford County. In 1860 the census marshal recorded a total of 499 slave houses. These buildings clearly were not evenly distributed amongst the County's slaveholders, although as expected, since most masters had few slaves, these owners largely had only one or two slave houses, or none at all (Tables 4 and 5).

It is first critical to note that the majority of slave owners, 390 or 63% (nearly two-thirds), had no slave houses, despite these masters having 865 slaves living on their properties (Table 4 and Table 9 below). This result differs significantly from the numbers and percentages for nearby, rural Virginia counties in 1860. For example, in Orange County to the west, only 5% of its slave owners did not own a slave house. In Westmoreland County on the Northern Neck to the east, that percentage dropped to 3.6%. These drastic differences could be the result of how the Stafford County marshal, as compared to the marshals for Orange and Westmoreland County, determined a building to be a "slave house." In other words, Barnes may have confined that term to a building purposely and separately constructed as a residence for slaves, what would be termed a quarter or a cabin. He may have excluded other residences for slaves, especially outbuildings that served other purposes as well, such as kitchens, offices, stables, or carriage houses. In this respect, it is likely that the 1860 census for Stafford County underestimated the number of buildings in which slaves resided.

Slave Housing Analysis 1860									
Number of Slave Houses	Number of Owners	%	Cum. %		Number of Houses	Number of owners	House Count	%	Cum. %
0	390	63.21%	63.21%		0	390	0	0.00%	0.00%
1	101	16.37%	79.58%		1	101	101	20.24%	20.24%
2	62	10.05%	89.63%		2	62	124	24.85%	45.09%
3	30	4.86%	94.49%		3	30	90	18.04%	63.13%
4	15	2.43%	96.92%		4	15	60	12.02%	75.15%
5	3	0.49%	97.41%		5	3	15	3.01%	78.16%
6	8	1.30%	98.70%		6	8	48	9.62%	87.78%
7	5	0.81%	99.51%		7	5	35	7.01%	94.79%
8	2	0.32%	99.84%		8	2	16	3.21%	98.00%
9	0	0.00%	99.84%		9	0	0	0.00%	98.00%
10	1	0.16%	100.00%		10	1	10	2.00%	100.00%
	617	100.00%				617	499	100.00%	

Table 4. Slave housing analysis including slave owners without houses.

Slave Housing Analysis 1860									
Number of Slave Houses	Number of Owners	%	Cum. %		Number of Houses	Number of owners	House Count	%	Cum. %
1	101	44.49%	44.49%		1	101	101	20.24%	20.24%
2	62	27.31%	71.80%		2	62	124	24.85%	45.09%
3	30	13.22%	85.02%		3	30	90	18.04%	63.13%
4	15	6.61%	91.63%		4	15	60	12.02%	75.15%
5	3	1.32%	92.95%		5	3	15	3.01%	78.16%
6	8	3.52%	96.47%		6	8	48	9.62%	87.78%
7	5	2.20%	98.68%		7	5	35	7.01%	94.79%
8	2	0.88%	99.56%		8	2	16	3.21%	98.00%
9	0	0.00%	99.56%		9	0	0	0.00%	98.00%
10	1	0.44%	100.00%		10	1	10	2.00%	100.00%
	227	100.00%				227	499	100.00%	

Table 5. Slave housing analysis, excluding slave owners without slave houses.

Masters owned between one and 10 slave houses. Of the 227 masters who did have slave houses, both the average and median ownership was two houses, with these figures indicating a typical outcome despite the skewed distribution of slave house ownership (Figure 4). Property

owners with slaves living in one house comprised a near majority of 44.5%. Owners with one to three houses amounted to a substantial majority of nearly 72%. In sum, in 1860 Stafford County it was unusual for family heads that were slave owners to have to more than three slaves houses on their properties. Again, since most slave owners were small to large farmers, those who had fewer slaves, having a limited number of quarters made sense. Yet, this result also includes some plantation owners, those with more than 10 slaves. Only 15% of all owners with slave houses fit this category. Even less frequent were owners with more than five slave houses. Only 16 property owners (7%) stood in this elite grouping (see Table 3 above), all of whom likely had plantation-scaled operations.

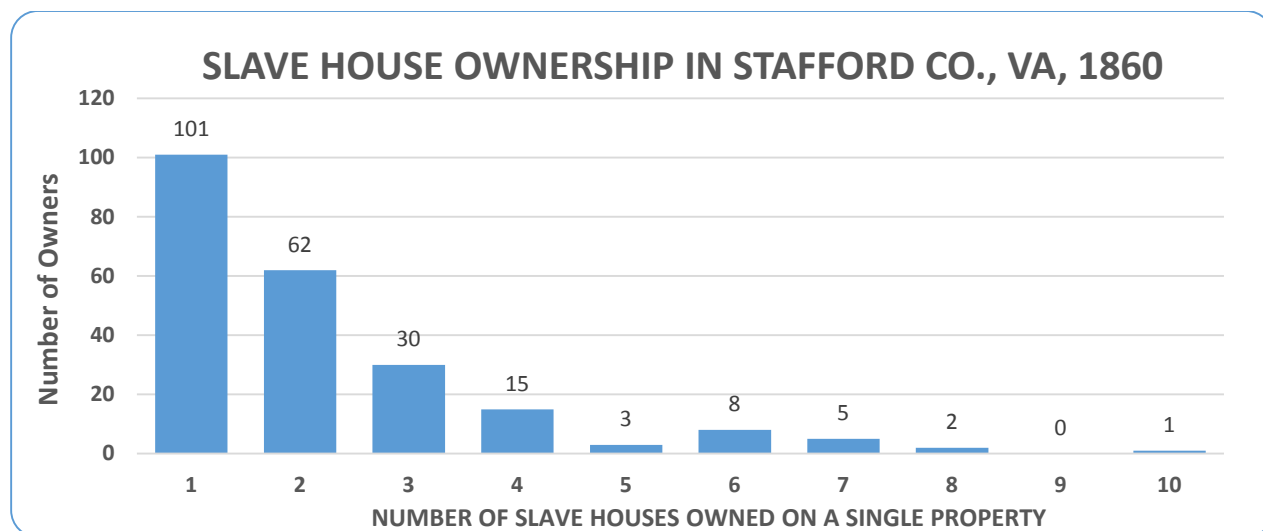


Figure 4. Frequency of slave house ownership in Stafford, 1860.

Analysis of Slaves per House

This report section interprets slave household composition with the admittedly partial information provided by the 1860 census. In the analysis below and for the 227 owners who did have slave houses, we simply divided the number of slaves per owner by the number of slave houses on the property to estimate how many slaves may have occupied a given building. To be clear, this type of calculation allows for only limited inferences as to the actual number of slaves per building, but the discussion below relies upon such statistical trends. “Raw” census data provides no indication as to how and why slave owners and/or employers grouped particular slaves into particular buildings or, the sizes of these buildings, which could vary from substantial double-quarters (or “duplexes”) to single-room log cabins. Similarly, yearly fluctuations in slave household composition, seasonal hiring practices, or farmers’ and planters’ shifting labor management strategies that would have affected slave groupings and housing arrangements cannot be taken into account with this type of information.

As noted above, some slaves likely resided within outbuildings intended for uses other than just slave housing. In addition, other slaves lived within their owners’ homes. Finally, while Stafford County remained an overwhelmingly rural area in the mid-19th century, there were small towns, such as the county seat of Stafford Courthouse and Falmouth. In town/urban areas, typically lower numbers prevailed as to slave and slave house ownership. Unfortunately, the

1860 census information for Stafford County did not distinguish between rural and “urban” (town) locations and ownerships. Consequently, the estimates of the number of slaves per building must be viewed with caution, but also as useful trends.

Figure 5 displays the results of the above calculations, while Table 6 summarizes the same information in terms of relative and cumulative percentages. In order to group the information into similarly scaled intervals, the number 1 corresponds to the range from any value less than one to 1.00 slave per house; the number 2 corresponds to values from 1.01 to 2.00 slaves per house; the number 3 corresponds to values from 2.01 to 3.00; and so on. The overall range for the number of slaves per house was between 0.50 and 14 slaves per house, with a mean of 4.7 and a median of 4.5 slaves per house. Thus, many slave owners typically housed 4 to 5 slaves in a given building, but as seen in Figure 5, considerable variation existed.

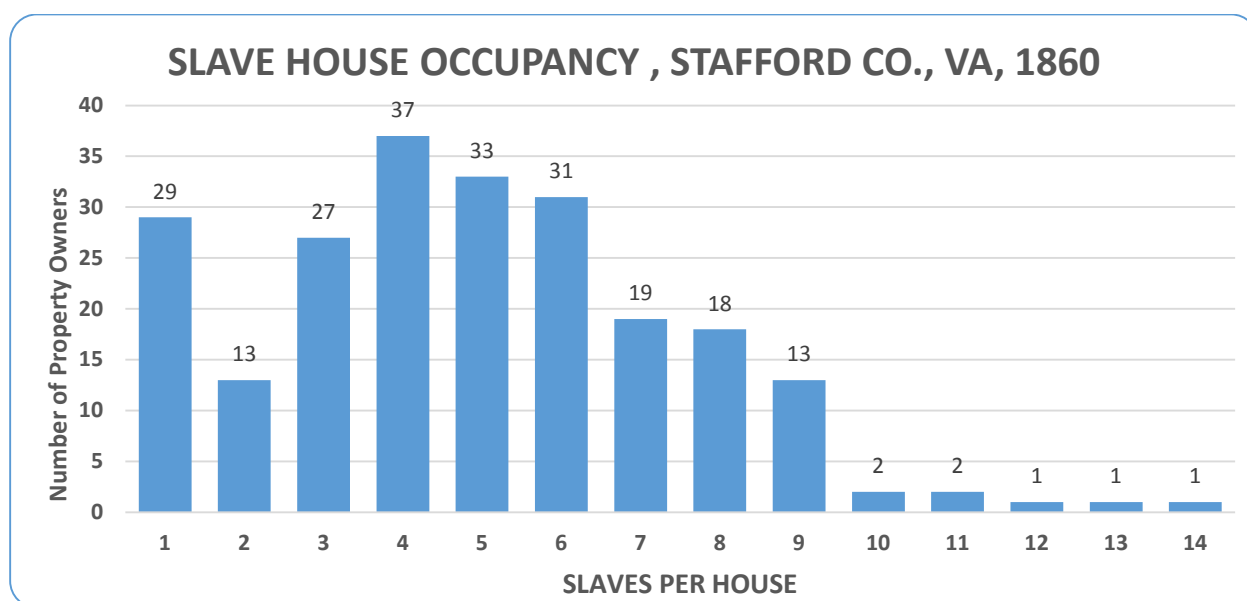


Figure 5. Frequency of slave occupancy per slave house.

In examining the range of slave occupancy per building, different trends or groupings occurred. Some masters (42 or 18.5%) had one or two slaves per house. More common were the owners who placed between three and six enslaved African Americans per house. These 128 owners formed a majority of 56.4% and represented the prevailing trend, one that centers around the median and mean values of slaves per house noted above. In other words, most family heads had three to six slaves within a given building. Many one-room cabins, often of log construction with dirt floors and wood and mud chimneys, would have accommodated such numbers of occupants and offer an image of a typical condition that slaves experienced. Unfortunately, few such buildings survive today in Stafford County, with the log cabin on the Sanford-Burgess property as the one known example.

Slaves per house	Frequency	%	Cum. %
1	29	12.78%	12.78%
2	13	5.73%	18.50%
3	27	11.89%	30.40%
4	37	16.30%	46.70%
5	33	14.54%	61.23%
6	31	13.66%	74.89%
7	19	8.37%	83.26%
8	18	7.93%	91.19%
9	13	5.73%	96.92%
10	2	0.88%	97.80%
11	2	0.88%	98.68%
12	1	0.44%	99.12%
13	1	0.44%	99.56%
14	1	0.44%	100.00%
	227	100.00%	

Table 6. Frequency of slaves per house.

Still, a noticeable minority of owners with slave houses, 57 or 25.1%, placed from seven to nine and up to 14 slaves in a given building. In many instances, such accommodations likely corresponded to masters with larger plantation operations who had duplex-style quarters. These larger buildings typically had two rooms on the ground floor, separate doorways for each room, and a shared chimney in the center. Lofts and garret spaces above provided further space for sleeping and storage. Often of frame construction, but sometimes of brick, duplexes or double quarters were meant to house two slave households, possibly family-based groups, and hence, a larger number of slaves. If a one-room cabin had up to three to six slaves, then a two-room duplex could have held six to 12 slaves, based on the observed trends. As better-built structures, duplexes tend to survive into the modern era and the frame duplex on the Sherwood Forest property in southern Stafford County offers an example of such slave housing.

Large plantations owners often relied upon a combination of slave housing. For example, an owner with multiple slave houses often had one or more duplexes within the main plantation complex, close to his or her house, and then log cabins on outlying quarters. Table 7 lists the top 13 slave owners for Stafford County in 1860 (see Table 3 above). As expected, all of these individuals had an above-average number of slave houses, that is, four to 10 slave houses. Examining the number of slaves per house, we see a higher range from 5.2 to 10.3 slaves per house, fitting the trends discussed above, with these averages likely reflecting the mixture of duplexes and cabins. We should keep in mind that some of enslaved African Americans on these estates probably had to live within confined spaces of the property owners' houses. Other slaves would have had small rooms within kitchens, such as the upstairs spaces of the brick kitchen-quarter at Sherwood Forest plantation; or within stables or other outbuildings.

Returning to the point of considerable variation in the number of slaves per house, Table 8 provides the range of the number of slaves associated with a given number of houses on a

property. For example, 101 slave owners (44.5% of owners with slave houses) had one slave house on their properties, accommodating anywhere from one to 14 enslaved African Americans. Again, a variety of factors could explain this wide range. Many of these masters operated small to large farms and having one to six or seven slaves in a single cabin would fit a common pattern of slave housing. Other owners could have used a double quarter, placing anywhere from six to 12 slaves in such a building. Still other masters, with higher numbers of slaves within this range, forced slaves to live in their houses or in outbuildings. And probably some property owners chose to have an above-average number of slaves in a single building as a cost-savings measure.

Owners in the top 2% 1860	Slaves	Slave Houses	Average Slaves per house
William Pollock	59	10	5.9
G. B. Wallace	51	6	8.5
Hugh Morson	51	6	8.5
Henry Fitzhugh	50	7	7.1
G. B. Wallace Senior	48	7	6.9
Jane M. Gray	47	7	6.7
John Seddon	47	8	5.9
George W. Strother	45	6	7.5
Edward Waller	41	4	10.3
J. C. Shelton [[ex r]] off WW LL Benson	38	4	9.5
J Horace Lacy	32	6	5.3
James M. Scott	32	4	8.0
Samuel S. Brooke	31	6	5.2
Average Overall			7.3

Table 7. Number of slave houses and slaves per house for elite owners.

No. of Slave Houses on a Property	No. of Slaves Living on the Property
0	1-17
1	1-14
2	1-18
3	2-26
4	11-41
5	24-26
6	14-51
7	21-50
8	19-47
10	59

Table 8. Number of slave houses and the range in the number of slaves per property.

Once past of the level of three slave houses on a property we can see that the lower end of the range of the number of slaves on those properties becomes significantly higher, from two to 11,

19, 21, and higher (see Table 8). This increase makes sense, since owners with four or more slave houses were those with plantation-scaled holdings.

Property and Slave Owners without Slave Housing

Returning to the issue of property owners who held African Americans in bondage, but had no slave houses, a couple of introductory remarks are in order. As noted earlier, it is highly probable that census marshal Barnes did not record other types of living accommodations for slaves, namely outbuildings that incorporated other functions. Also, a closer examination of the evidence from Schedules 1 and 2 of the 1860 census allows some inferences to be drawn concerning owners with slaves, but no slave quarters (Table 9 and Figure 6). We see a general trend in which the owners with few slaves most likely were the ones to lack housing, a logical development since these slaves could easily be housed in main houses or ancillary buildings. Of the 390 slave owners with no slave housing, 230 or 59% held only one slave. Similarly, owners with four or fewer slaves comprised nearly 87% of the family heads lacking distinct slave quarters.

Data Analysis of Slave Owners Without Slave Houses in Stafford County, Virginia			
Number of Slaves	Number of owners	%	Cum. %
1	230	58.97%	58.97%
2	58	14.87%	73.85%
3	30	7.69%	81.54%
4	20	5.13%	86.67%
5	23	5.90%	92.56%
6	11	2.82%	95.38%
7	5	1.28%	96.67%
8	5	1.28%	97.95%
9	3	0.77%	98.72%
10	1	0.26%	98.97%
11	1	0.26%	99.23%
14	2	0.51%	99.74%
17	1	0.26%	100.00%
	390	100.00%	

Table 9. Slave Ownership on properties with no slave housing.

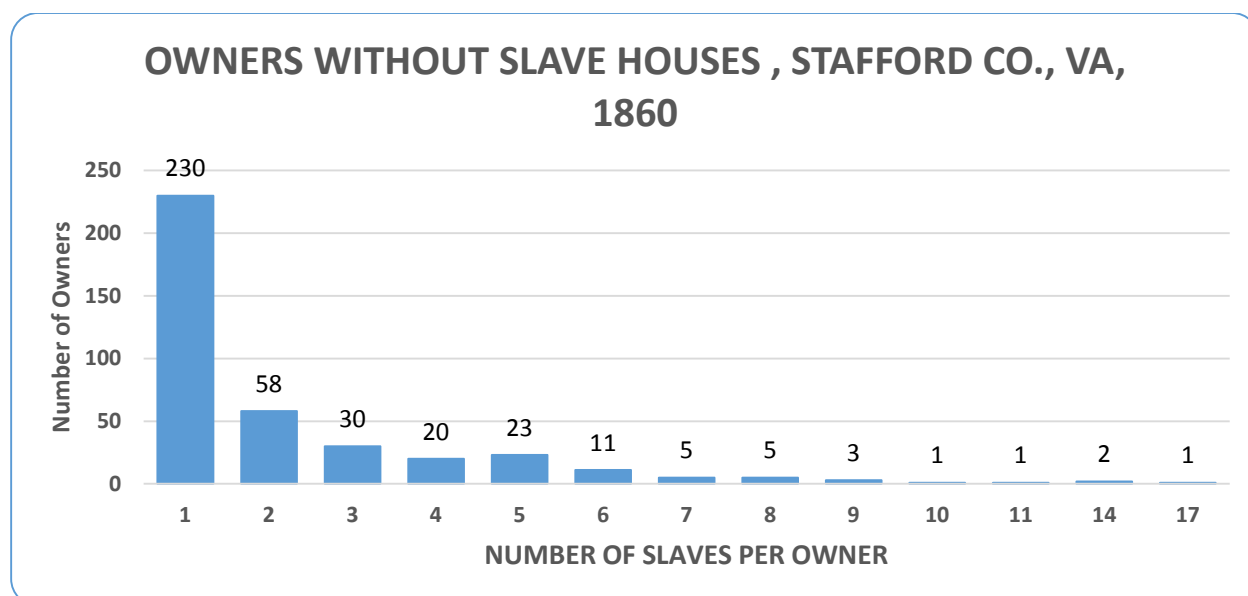


Figure 6. Stafford County slave owners without slave houses.

Nonetheless, over 50 instances (52 or 13.3%) remain of slave owners with five to 17 slaves who did not have listed quarters. Again, these masters may have placed many slaves in some combination of their farm or plantation houses or in outbuildings, while also renting out other slaves. Looking at a particular case, that of Seth Combs, who had 17 slaves and no slave houses, may prove enlightening, including as to how and where these slaves resided on or around Mr. Combs' property. In the 1860 slave schedule, the entry following Seth Combs is Sarah Combs, who owned three slaves and three slave houses. In Schedule 1, Seth Combs is listed on page 116 as a 32 year-old male farmer and as the principle property owner with \$3,500 in real estate and \$16,650 of personal estate value (Figure 7 below). Within his household is Sarah Combs, recorded as 65 years old who has \$500 in real estate and \$12,000 in personal property. She likely was Seth Combs' mother.

This example demonstrates that more than one slave owner existed within a given household (see discussion above). It is worthwhile to note that Seth Combs' household also included William L. Duffey, a 31-year old overseer. Sarah is the only other family member in his household of six to have valuable property. In summation, it is probable that Seth Combs had at least some of his slaves residing in the three slave houses owned by his mother, who had available space given that she had only three slaves at the time.

Oppositely, two owners with 14 slaves and no slave houses did not prove as easy to track in terms of where these slaves may have resided, other than in the masters' homes and other outbuildings. John Hickerson, listed as a farmer on page 43 of Schedule 1, had neighbors with significantly lower property and real estate values. One neighbor was a blacksmith and others were laborers. John Hore was a close-by neighbor with a property value higher than Hickerson's, but Hore only owned five slaves and had no slave houses recorded.

Analysis of Slave Household Composition

Given its incorporation of data on the number of slave houses masters owned, the 1860 census offers a unique look into domestic arrangements for enslaved African Americans that previous censuses did not. In this last stage of research we take a closer look at slave “household” composition through these data. Again, it should be understood that the census data do not specify which or how many slaves lived within in particular building. Instead, as a proxy, we confined the following analysis to properties with only one slave house and a “typical” number of slaves, that is, from one to eight slaves (over 80% of all ownerships).

Then we examined the gender and age information within the census to determine the diversity and patterns of enslaved households for a sample of 50 properties. We selected the first 50 households within the 1860 slave schedule that had one slave house and eight or fewer slaves. These properties occurred within pages one to 22 of the 42-page census document. In this analysis we tended to assume the presence of parentage, marriage, or kinship between individuals of appropriate ages and biological sex. Obviously we cannot prove those relationships existed and masters did compose slave households based on labor needs rather than family, but we did not want to deny such possible connections. Also, finding multiple examples of similar age and gender combinations served to define household patterns. Increasing the sample size in the future could further test the validity of our results.

For cases of single house slave ownership we sought to answer a range of questions. Were there significant differences as to gender composition? Did nuclear or extended family groupings exist regularly? Would larger slave groupings, such as six to eight slaves, conform to two households within duplex buildings; or, extended families or other kin-based groups? In this way the raw numbers of slave demography can be translated into social and cultural information critical to understanding Stafford County’s African American history prior to the Civil War.

Table 10 summarizes the sample’s results. The 50 property owners with one slave house had a total of 154 slaves, with both the mean and median holding consisting of three slaves per house. The now well-known pattern of many owners having few slaves and slave houses receives more reinforcement in this study, in that owners with only one slave in a single house comprised 21 instances or 42% of the sample. No cases involved six slaves and only seven cases (14%) had seven or eight slaves in a single quarter. In brief, the vast majority of cases, 86%, consisted of five or fewer enslaved African Americans within a cabin or quarter.

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in the County of Stafford State

SCHEDULE 1—Free Inhabitants in
of 12 enumerated by me, on the 10th day of August 1890. H.B. Blawie Ass't Marshal.

Post Office Stafford

Serial number of person	Name	Sex	Age	Color	Profession, Occupation, or Trade of such person, male and female, over 15 years of age.	Value of Real Estate.		Place of Birth, Naming the State, Territory, or Country.	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict.
						Value of Real Estate.	Value of Personal Estate.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
581 582	Ely Marshall	40	F					Virginia	
	Wallace E.	3	M		Labourer	100	100	"	
582 582	Thomas	44	M					"	
	John	22	F					"	
	Wm. H.	28	M		Labourer			"	
	Richard	18	M					"	
	Bergmann	12	M					"	
	Valley	8	F					"	
	Walter	5	M					"	
583 583	Joe Jones	50	M		Shoe maker	100	100	"	
	Patry	50	F					"	
	Edgar	18	F					"	
	Robert	16	F					"	
	Robert	14	M					"	
584 584	Thos. Thompson	38	M		Labourer		50	"	
	Alice	30	F					"	
	Helen	1	F					"	
585 585	Oliver Williams	28	M		Labourer		50	"	
586	Valley	40	F					"	
586 586	Victoria	5	F					"	
	George Brown	60	M		Labourer		100	"	
	Mary	40	F					"	
	Robbie	10	M					"	
	Theresa	8	M					"	
587 587	Bergmann	4	M					"	
	Edith Brown	32	M		Farmer	3,500	1,600	"	
	William	10	M					"	
	Ellas	4	F					"	
	James	2	M					"	
	Anna	65	F					"	
	Wm. S. Duffey	31	M		Proctor			"	
588 588	Edith	24	M					"	
	Mary	24	F					"	
	Richard	5	M					"	
	Miss M.	3	F					"	
	Valley	3	F					"	
	William Phillips	17	M					"	
589 589	Wm. Golden	37	M		Farmer	2,000	6,000	"	
	Charles	24	F					"	
	Valley	2	F					"	

No. white males, 26. No. colored males, 4. No. foreign born, 0. No. blind, 0. No. deaf and dumb, 0. No. insane, 0.

No. white females, 23. No. colored females, 4. No. foreign born, 0. No. blind, 0. No. deaf and dumb, 0. No. insane, 0.

7,200 3,050

19	220	400	Salley "	25	2	m				
20			Victoria "	8	2	m				
21	586	886	Benj: Combs	60	m		Labrec	1		100
22			Margaret "	40	2					
23			Lebbie "	10	m					
24			Hendrick "	8	m					
25			Benjamin "	4	m					
26	887	887	Lebbe Combs	32	m		Harmer	1	3.500	16.650
27			William L "	10	m					
28			Ellas E. "	4	2					
29			Lawrence B. "	2	m					
30			Sarah "	65	2				500	12.100
31			Wm L Duffey	31	m		Overseer	1		

Figure 7. Seth Combs and Sarah Combs listed in Schedule 1, 1860 census.

As to household composition, a clear trend entailed female-based groupings that ultimately amounted to 58% (29 cases) of the 50 households. More than half of these cases involved a single adult female (15 cases, 30% of all households), defining a common preference for owners who could afford a single slave. Such female African Americans often carried out multiple duties: as cook, gardener, house servant, child nurse, and laundress. Single adult females with one or more children provided another 14% of the 50 households and a one-fourth of the female-based groupings. Other households centered on female slaves and their children being associated with an older adult, possibly a grandmother or grandfather, potentially representing a type of extended family. Overall, African American women regularly led slave households across Stafford County. In contrast, only nine (18%) households had a clear male basis, with over half (5 or 55.5%) of these instances comprised of a single adult male.

Table 10. Slave Household Composition in 1860 Stafford County, VA		
Sample size: 50 households, Owners w/1 slave house, 1 to 8 slaves		
<i>Estimated Household Composition</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Single adult female	15	30%
Single adult female & 1 or more children	7	14%
Single adult female & child & female adult	1	2%
Adult females & children	2	4%
Adult females & children & grandparent	4	8%
Nuclear family	1	2%
Extended families (multiple formats)	9	18%
Couple & 1 or more adult workers	1	2%
Single adult male	5	10%
Two males	1	2%
Adult males & children	3	6%
Single child	1	2%
Total	50	100%

In contrast, only one instance of a probable nuclear family (2 parents and 2 children) occurred within the sample. This result underscores the difficulty for enslaved African American families to remain together on a given property. Combined with the evidence for female-based households above, apparently many adult African American males with wives and children had to work on other properties and/or were hired out to employers. The properties in Stafford County with larger slaveholdings, namely the plantations, could be analyzed in the future to see if excess numbers of adult male slaves resided on these properties. Nine cases (18%) within the

50-household sample look to be extended families and/or dual households, possibly living in a duplex arrangement. These larger groups apparently incorporated one or more couples, with or without children, along with grandparents and then other adult or young adult workers.

Finally, unusual cases point to the greater overall variation in slave households, at least within this sample. Some masters with one slave in a single house chose to own or employ what today would be considered a child or teenager. One owner had an 11-year old female while another had a 16-year old male. It should be kept in mind that both before and during the antebellum period, owners and local and state governments considered 12-year old slaves as taxable property and in that sense, capable of regular work. While young, the 16-year old male slave would have been judged an adult worker. In two other instances, slave households consisted of an older male or female, possibly a grandparent, with one or more children. Some masters had elderly slaves, those no longer able to undertake harder physical labor, tend to young slave children. Oppositely, slave parents may have negotiated such arrangements, placing their children with older relatives while they lived in other quarters or on nearby properties.