Initial Statewide Selective Survey of Underground Railroad Resources in Virginia

Prepared for:
Virginia Department of Historic Resources

Prepared by:
William & Mary Center for Archaeological Research

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W&MCAR Project No. 23-01

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Contents

Figures

Tables

1: Introduction

In January 2023, the Department of Historic Resources (DHR) selected the William & Mary Center for Archaeological Research (W&MCAR) to perform a statewide survey of selected resources related to the Underground Railroad in Virginia. A general aim of the study is to increase awareness of the locations and significance of properties associated with the attempts of enslaved people to escape to areas where they could lead a life of freedom. The work addresses the continuing need to broaden the known universe of historic resources to reflect Virginia's cultural diversity and more generally to fulfill the mission of identifying historic properties and recording them in DHR's Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (V-CRIS).

A logical starting point for this endeavor was the group of resources previously identified through the Network to Freedom program of the National Park Service (NPS). An act of Congress in 1998 created the program, which "honors, preserves and promotes the history of resistance to enslavement through escape and flight…[and] helps to advance the idea that all human beings embrace the right to self-determination and freedom from oppression" (NPS 2023). The program currently includes 700 locations across 39 states, Washington, D.C., and the U.S. Virgin Islands. Advantages for sites in the program include the nationwide coordination of preservation and education efforts by the NPS in order to "integrate local historical places, museums, and interpretive programs associated with the Underground Railroad into a mosaic of community, regional, and national stories." In Virginia, the network currently includes 30 historic resources (termed "sites" by the NPS), mostly in the eastern half of the state (Figure 1 and Table 1). In addition, the network lists seven facilities (research repositories) and one educational program (Table 2). Of the 30 historic resources, 28 exist as resources recorded in V-CRIS, but their association with the Underground Railroad was not always stated or at least highlighted as an important part of their significance. In 2021, DHR staff included brief summaries in the Property Notes section of V-CRIS records for the previously recorded resources in the Network. In order to enhance the visibility of these sites' connections to the Underground Railroad and inclusion in the Network to Freedom, the W&MCAR modified the V-CRIS records to include and expand Underground Railroad associations by placing such content in an updated entry in the Surveyor Statement section of the record. In addition, the survey team created records for the two resources not previously entered in V-CRIS: the Great Dismal Swamp National Wildlife Refuge and the Norfolk waterfront.

In order to maximize the effort and expense of research for identification of new potential Underground Railroad–related resources, the scope of work included field survey for 10 of the Network to Freedom resources previously recorded in V-CRIS. Staff from DHR planned to prioritize survey updates of additional resources in Central Virginia and the Tidewaterthe region. Due to the proximity of some resources to each other, the W&MCAR conducted reconnaissance-level field survey and recorded current field data

Figure 1. Locations of Network to Freedom sites in Virginia (numbers keyed to entries in Table 1 on facing page).

MAP NO.	NETWORK TO FREEDOM NAME (OTHER NAMES)	ADDRESS	COUNTY OR INDEP. CITY
1	African Methodist Society/Emanuel AME Church	637 North St., Portsmouth	Portsmouth
2	Alexandria Freedmen's Cemetery	1001 S. Washington St., Alexandria	Alexandria
3	Appomattox Manor	City Point Unit of Petersburg National Battlefield, Hopewell	Hopewell
4	Aquia Landing	2846 Brooke Rd., Stafford	Stafford Co.
5	Arlington House, Robert E. Lee Memorial	321 Sherman Dr., Fort Myer	Arlington
6	Belle Grove Plantation Escape Site	336 Belle Grove Rd., Middletown	Frederick Co.
7	Birch Slave Pen (Franklin and Armfield Office [NRHP listing name], Freedom House [current])	1315 Duke St., Alexandria	Alexandria
8	Brentsville Courthouse and Jail	12229 Bristow Rd., Bristow	Prince William Co.
9	Bruin's Slave Jail	1707 Duke St., Alexandria	Alexandria
10	Buckland Farm	8230 Buckland Mill Rd., Gainesville	Prince William Co.
11	Conn's Ferry	Riverbend Park, Great Falls	Fairfax Co.
12	Downtown Norfolk Waterfront	c/o Room 1006, Norfolk City Hall, Norfolk	Norfolk
13	Evergreen	15900 Berkeley Dr., Haymarket	Prince William Co.
14	Fort Monroe: Freedom's Fortress	Fort Monroe	Hampton
15	Gadsby's Tavern Museum	134 North Royal St., Alexandria	Alexandria
16	Great Dismal Swamp National Wildlife Refuge	U.S Fish & Wildlife Service, P.O. Box 349, Suffolk	Suffolk
17	James A. Fields House	617 27th St., Newport News	Newport News
18	Kitty Payne Site, Rappahannock County Jail	383 Porter St., Washington	Rappahannock Co.
19	Leesylvania (Leesylvania Archaeological Site)	2001 Daniel K. Ludwig Dr., Woodbridge	Prince William Co.
20	Leonard Black, Rev., Burial Site	People's Memorial Cemetery, 334 S. Crater Rd. (Route 301), Petersburg	Petersburg
21	Loudoun County Courthouse	18 E. Market St., Leesburg	Loudoun Co.
22	Melrose Farm	14428 Loyalty Rd., Waterford	Loudoun Co.
23	Moncure Conway House	305 King St., Falmouth	Stafford Co.
24	Oatlands Plantation	20850 Oatlands Plantation Lane, Leesburg	Loudoun Co.
25	Petersburg Court House	1 Courthouse Ave., Petersburg	Petersburg
26	Rippon Lodge	15520 Blackburn Rd., Woodbridge	Prince William Co.
27	Spotsylvania County Courthouse Jail	9012 Courthouse Rd., Spotsylvania	Spotsylvania Co.
28	Sully Historic Site	3601 Sully Rd., Chantilly	Fairfax Co.
29	Tangier Island	Southernmost mile of Tangier Island	Accomack Co.
30	The Old Jail (Fauquier History Museum)	10 Ashby Street, Warrenton	Warrenton

Table 1. Network to Freedom Sites in Virginia (shaded entries indicate reconnaissance field survey during current study).

Name	Year Added	Type	Address	County/ Ind. City
African Americans: From Slavery to Emancipation	2009	Program	428 North Boulevard	Richmond
Afro-American Historical Association of Fauquier County	2003	Facility	4243 Loudoun Ave., The Plains	Fauquier
Alexandria Archaeology Museum	2002	Facility	105 North Union Street	Alexandria
Alexandria Library Special Collections Branch	2009	Facility	4110 Chain Bridge Rd., Suite 315	Alexandria
Fairfax Circuit Court - Historical Records Room	2009	Facility	15520 Blackburn Road	Fairfax
Library of Virginia	2002	Facility	800 East Broad Street	Richmond
Thomas Balch Library	2002	Facility	208 W. Market St., Leesburg	Loudoun
Virginia Historical Society	2009	Facility	Highway 76 West	Richmond

Table 2. Network to Freedom educational program and facilities (research repositories) in Virginia.

in V-CRIS for 16 of the Network to Freedom properties. These survey updates also included photographic documentation and site plans.

Two other important tasks included the development of a historic context and identification of 20 additional potential sites—to the extent that good examples survive and were possible to identify within the limited scope of the research effort for this study. The historic context and universe of sites to explore operated within specific definitions of the term "Underground Railroad," a term that only came into usage in the 1840s, when a network of railroads had been widespread enough for the analogy with a freedom seekers' network to make sense in the popular imagination (Blight 2004:3). The term sometimes has only referred to the escapes of enslaved people during the antebellum period with the assistance of abolitionists and other anti-slavery activists. In this study, the term applies to the entire history of escapes and attempted escapes by enslaved people from the very beginning of slavery in Virginia during the second decade of the seventeenth century to the close of the Civil War.

Given the somewhat narrow geographic spread of Network to Freedom sites in Virginia (largely Central, Southeast, and Northern Virginia), the research involved contacting research repositories and historical societies across the Commonwealth for suggestions of potential sites (Table 3). This enhanced the possibility of expanding the universe of sites in Western and Southwestern Virginia beyond the single Network to Freedom site located in the Shenandoah Valley. In addition, the study included reviewing some excellent recently published secondary sources detailing various escapes from bondage in the Commonwealth and more general works on the complex social history of slavery, antislavery, and freedom seeking (Austin 2019; Blight 2004; Carbado et al. 2012; Franklin and Schweninger 1999; Pargas 2020). Of particular interest were Cassandra Newby-Alexander's book and internet resources highlighting the importance of commercial shipping as a means for escape—in fact, this was the most common and successful way for enslaved people to flee to free territories from Virginia (Newby-Alexander 2017, 2023). Jeffrey Ruggles' (2003) book on the escape of Henry Brown from Richmond to Philadelphia in a small freight box is a fascinating account supported by extensive primary records research. The work

Organizations Contacted
Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society, Central Virginia
Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society, Greater Richmond, VA Chapter
Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society, Hampton Roads
Afro-American Historical Association of Fauquier County
Alexandria Historical Society, Inc.
Alleghany Highlands Genealogical Society
Amelia County Historical Society
Amherst County Museum and Historical Society
Appomattox County Historical Society, Inc.
Arlington Historical Society
Augusta County Historical Society
Barrier Islands Center
Bassett Historical Center
Bath County Historical Society, Inc.
Bedford Historical Society, Inc.
Bedford Museum and Genealogy Library
Bland County Historical Society
Bon Air Historical Society
Botetourt County Historical Society, Inc.
Brunswick Museum and Historical Society, Inc.
Buckroe Historical Society
Carroll County Historical Society
Charlotte County Historical and Genealogical Society
Chesterfield Historical Society of Virginia
Clarke County Historical Association
Dickenson County Historical Society, Inc.
Dinwiddie County Historical Society
Eastern Shore of Virginia Historical Society
Essex County Museum and Historical Society
Fairfax County Cultural Resources and Protection
Fairfax Genealogical Society
Fauquier Heritage and Preservation Foundation, Inc.
Floyd County Historical Society
Fluvanna County Historical Society
Fox Hill Historical Society Inc.
Franconia Museum, Inc.

Organizations Contacted
Franklin County Historical Society
Giles County Historical Society
Goochland County Historical Society
Grayson County Historical Society
Great Falls Historical Society
Greene County Historical Society
Gum Springs Historical Society, Inc.
Halifax County Historical Society
Hanover County Historical Society, Inc.
Henrico County Historical Society
Herndon Historical Society
Highland Historical Society
Historic Dumfries, Virginia, Inc.
Historic Fairfax City, Inc.
Historic Fincastle, Inc.
Historic Gordonsville, Inc.
Historic Hopewell Foundation, Inc.
Historic Petersburg Foundation, Inc.
Historic Vienna, Inc.
Historical Society of Washington County, Virginia, Inc.
Historical Society of Western Virginia
King and Queen County Historical Society
King George County Historical Society
King William County Historical Society
Lee County Historical and Genealogical Society
Lynchburg Historical Foundation, Inc.
Madison County Historical Society
Martinsville-Henry County Historical Society
Mary Ball Washington Museum & Library
Menno Simons Historical Library, Eastern Mennonite University
McLean Historical Society
Mount Vernon Genealogical Society (MVGS)
Nelson County Historical Society
New Kent Historical Society
New Market Historical Society Inc.
Norfolk County Historical Society of Chesapeake, Virginia
Norfolk Historical Society
Northampton Historic Preservation Society
Northumberland County Historical Society

Table 3 (pt 1 of 2). List of organizations contacted during research for current study.

Organizations Contacted
Orange County Historical Society, Inc.
Page County Heritage Association
Page Library of Local History and Genealogy
Patrick County Historical Society
Powhatan Historical Society
Prince Edward County
Prince Edward County Historical Society
Princess Anne County Virginia Beach Historical Society
Radford Public Library Local History and Special Collections
Rappahannock Historical Society, Inc.
Richard M Bowman Center for Local History
Rockbridge Historical Society
Salem Historical Society
Shenandoah County Historical Society
Smyth County Historical and Museum Society, Inc.
Southwest Virginia Historical and Preservation Society
Spotsylvania Historical Association
Suffolk-Nansemond Historical Society
Surry County, Virginia, Historical Society and Museums, Inc.
Tazewell County Historical Society, Inc.
The Occoquan Historical Society
The Prince George County Historical Society
Vinton Historical Society and Museum
Virginia-North Carolina Piedmont Genealogical Society
Warren Heritage Society
Waynesboro Heritage Foundation, Inc.
Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society
Wythe County Genealogical and Historical Association
Wythe County Historical Society

Table 3 (pt 2 of 2). List of organizations contacted during research for current study.

reveals much about the nature of urban industrial slavery as well as the complex relationships and motivations of free and enslaved people involved in escapes. A ground-breaking micro-study of antislavery activity in Rockbridge County documents a rise in manumissions and emigration to Liberia during the antebellum period, while also discussing examples of escapes involving the support of free Blacks and antislavery whites (Young 2011). Finally, given the broad scope of escapes covered under the term Underground Railroad for this study, candidate sites also fall under the umbrella of maroons, or those who fled to wilderness area with slave territory. Archaeologist Dan Sayers' (2008, 2016) work covers not only maroon settlements within Great Dismal Swamp but also offers a broader discussion of maroon societies.

Searches of graduate theses and dissertations also yielded useful information, including a wide array of primary sources to document particular escapes and illuminate various aspects of slavery and the Underground Railroad. Our research team reviewed several of these academic research papers with the goal of identifying escapes or attempted escapes and associated historic resources for future survey efforts. Nancy Rives' (1998) thesis on Underground Railroad activity in Richmond from 1848 to 1860 provided detailed, well-referenced accounts, identifying specific locations of key events. Unfortunately, the city-wide conflagration in 1865 destroyed many of the historic locations mentioned, and much of what survived gave way to waves of twentieth-century urban renewal. Leni Sorenson's (2005) study of the Richmond Police Guard daybook for the period 1830s and 1840s provides a more complete picture of freedom seeking in the capital, especially when contrasted with historic newspapers as a source. Whereas police records identify 933 escapes during the 1830s, slave owners advertised less than 15 percent of those individuals in newspaper runaway advertisements (Sorensen 2005:17). Besides her discussion of urban slavery and freedom seeking, Sorensen's dissertation also

provides her complete transcription of the Police Guard daybook. Paul Singleton's (1983) thesis on the affair involving the capture of five freedom seekers aboard the schooner *Keziah* in 1858 offers insights into Underground Railroad activities and attendant dangers for freedom seekers and their helpers. Attendance and press coverage of the court trial of the *Keziah*'s captain and an associated city council meeting demonstrated the intense public interest regarding Underground Railroad activities and the general fears of the extent to which they would disrupt the system of slavery.

The most prolific resource for accounts of escapes in the late antebellum period is the monumental work of nearly 800 pages by William Still (1872). Born of enslaved parents who fled from a plantation in Maryland and settled in New Jersey, Still began work in 1847 as a clerk at the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery. Still provided support for the Society's political activism but also played an even more important role as an Underground Railroad agent and the chair of the Vigilance Committee, which assisted escaping individuals as they passed through Philadelphia (D. Turner n.d.). As he organized escapes and helped freedom seekers on their way to Canada, he took meticulous notes on their stories and eventually published a compilation titled *The Underground Railroad* in 1872. Among the stories of 649 individuals, numerous accounts of Virginia freedom seekers appear in the book, although specific location details and individuals who helped in Virginia are often lacking due to the secrecy needed to protect those involved in the dangerous enterprise of aiding in what pro-slavery Virginians saw as theft of (human) property. Although publication of the first edition dates to 1872, seven years after the end of slavery, at the time when the freedom seekers told their stories to Still, the need limit identification of individuals and certain places was still a concern. An internet-based indexing project for Still's work by Cassandra Newby-Alexander and Jeffrey Littlejohn (n.d.) facilitated searches and provided interesting insights into geographic and other trends during the eventful five-year (1852-1857) period covered in the book.

As a first study of Underground Railroad resources across the Commonwealth, the focus of the current work was on reviewing the status of known resources and gaining a broad understanding of Underground Railroad activities while attempting to identify a limited number of new sites. Therefore, the project limited research travel to reviewing a sample of primary records at the Library of Virginia. Nevertheless, searches in the Library of Virginia catalog and a review of the Runaway Slave Records brought to light personal letters and court papers involving various escapes in Rockbridge County, Norfolk, and Richmond. The research team reviewed additional records in the library's online databases such as some Auditor of Public Accounts records (1796, 1806-1863) involving auctions of captured freedom seekers.

2: Historic Context

To review the history of freedom seeking by enslaved people in Virginia, it is important to outline the origins of slavery and its development from the early seventeenth century through Emancipation at the conclusion of the Civil War in 1865.

Only 12 years after the first English colonists settled at Jamestown, the first people of African descent arrived in the Virginia colony. In August 1619, the captains of two English privateer ships, the *White Lion* and the *Treasurer,* landed approximately 30 Africans at Old Point Comfort (the location of Fort Monroe in Hampton). These men and women were among 350 Africans captured by Portuguese and African slave traders in West Africa and were headed to New Spain (Mexico) aboard the *São João Bautista*. When the English privateers attacked and boarded the Portuguese vessel, they transferred some of the Africans to their own ships. Arriving in Virginia, the captains exchanged the Africans for supplies—effectively treating them as chattel property and enslaved individuals (Wolfe 2022).

Over the first hundred years of Virginia's history, the colony developed into an agricultural society heavily dependent on the cultivation and export of tobacco. Documentary sources indicate that Virginia's labor in the first three quarters of the seventeenth century consisted mostly of landowners, their families, and white indentured servants who worked for seven years in exchange for the price of their transportation from England by their employer. Working without wages, they would have room and board provided but could venture forth in freedom after the term of their indenture. Indentured servants also included people of African descent, forcibly transported to Virginia. Wording of the accounts of the arrival of the first Africans in 1619, however, indicates that slavery also existed. Moreover, court cases involving disputes over indenture terms disproportionately favored the claims of white servants, indicating inferior treatment and the existence of bondage for life among many African workers (Austin 2019).

Throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, colonial settlement had slowly expanded from its initial focus on the lower Tidewater region. Tobacco cultivation, the basis of the Virginia Colony's economy, spurred expansion because it required vast amounts of arable land. Given the crop's strain on soil productivity, only three consecutive crops would grow on a plot before a marked decline became apparent. This created a great demand for new land and led to settlement west of the heads of navigation of the major rivers (Puglisi 1989:4492). As settlement expanded, so too did the institution of slavery.

An early offer of freedom for enslaved men in return for military service occurred in 1676, when Nathaniel Bacon led a violent uprising against the authority of the colonial governor, William Berkeley. Bacon demanded a more aggressive policy against Indians in order to open up more land for settlement. Hoping to expand his military force and take control of the colony's government, Bacon offered immediate freedom to enslaved Blacks, as well as indentured whites, who joined his cause. After less than a year, Bacon died of disease and the rebellion fell apart (Tyler-

McGraw 2005:12). As a result, his promise of freedom had little effect on the lives of enslaved people in Virginia.

Resistance in the form of full-scale slave rebellion was uncommon before 1700. For Virginia, there are only two instances of such organized resistance—both discovered and suppressed before they gained any momentum (Tyler-McGraw 2005:14). In 1663, indentured servants and enslaved Blacks in Gloucester County plotted to overthrow "their masters and afterwards to set up for themselves." Reportedly, some of the ringleaders were veteran followers of Oliver Cromwell banished to Virginia as servants following the Restoration of Charles II. The rebellion failed because one of the indentured servants put out word of the plans in return for his freedom and a reward of 5,000 lb. of tobacco. Although slavery was rapidly increasing by the 1670s, in 1681 the 3,000 enslaved people in Virginia represented only 4 percent of the population; indentured servants still outnumbered them by far at 15,000. In 1687, a rebellion by enslaved Blacks on the Northern Neck also was short-lived. To dissuade further attempts, colonial authorities executed the leaders and prohibited large gatherings such as slave funerals where the organization of this rebellion originated (Theobald 2005).

During the eighteenth century, as the enslaved population grew, rebellions became more common. One uprising in 1709 involved both enslaved Blacks and enslaved Indians. By 1730, enslaved people comprised more than 25 percent of Virginia's population and Indian slavery was nonexistent. Large but short-lived rebellions occurred in 1730-1731, focused in Norfolk and Princess Anne County. Further attempts occurred throughout the rest of the century, but the authorities always managed to quash them before they became widespread (Theobald 2005). An incident in 1769 began following a new overseer's harsh treatment of enslaved workers on the New Wales plantation in Hanover County. A small battle pitted a group of enslaved men against the plantation owner and some neighbors. Forty or fifty enslaved men fought with clubs and knives against twelve whites, armed with guns. The whites killed two or three of the enslaved and wounded five others (*Virginia Gazette* [Rind] January 25, 1770, p. 2, col. 3).

The final attempted revolt of the century, led by Gabriel Prosser in 1800, ended before it gained momentum. Prosser, a literate enslaved blacksmith and carpenter, planned to capture and hold the governor hostage in the hope of coercing a legislative end to slavery in Virginia. Disastrous weather on the day the plot was to occur and betrayal to authorities from within the rebellion led to its quick suppression and execution of 25 leaders. The exceptionally harsh retribution came in an atmosphere of panic following the 1791 slave uprising in Saint-Domingue (Haiti) that expelled French colonial authority and eventually established rule by the formerly enslaved on the island (Nicholls 2020).

Until the late eighteenth century, when Pennsylvania and the New England states became free or at least made resolutions to abolish slavery gradually, destinations of freedom in North America were limited. Instead, those escaping bondage sought refuge in areas internal to the territory where they lived. Urban areas often provided some degree of protection from recapture (Tyler-McGraw 2005:14). Enslaved people of color could hope to go unnoticed within large populations of free Blacks, especially in large port towns such as Norfolk and Portsmouth where many enslaved and free Blacks worked in the maritime trades (Figure 2). Even without much hope to reach a safe place of permanent freedom, desire to escape a life of slavery was high. Newspapers published hundreds of "runaway slave" advertisements by planters seeking to recover their bondspeople. The entries were so frequent that the printers kept a formulaic illustrations to call the readers' attention (Figure 3).

Other alternatives for escape within slave territory included areas too remote or inhospitable to

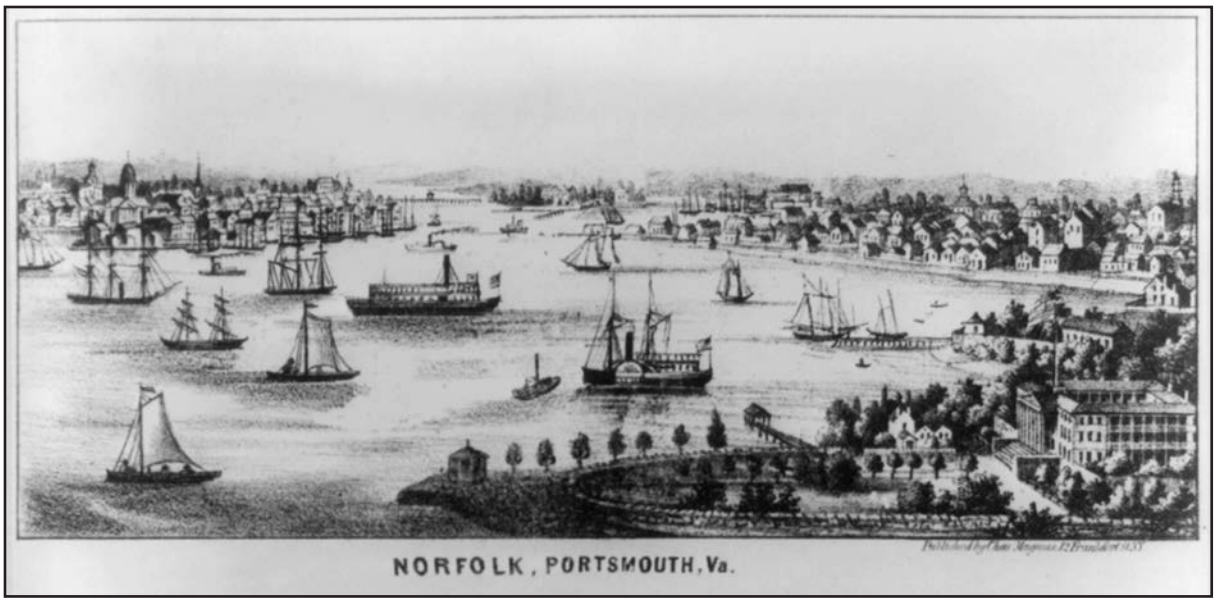
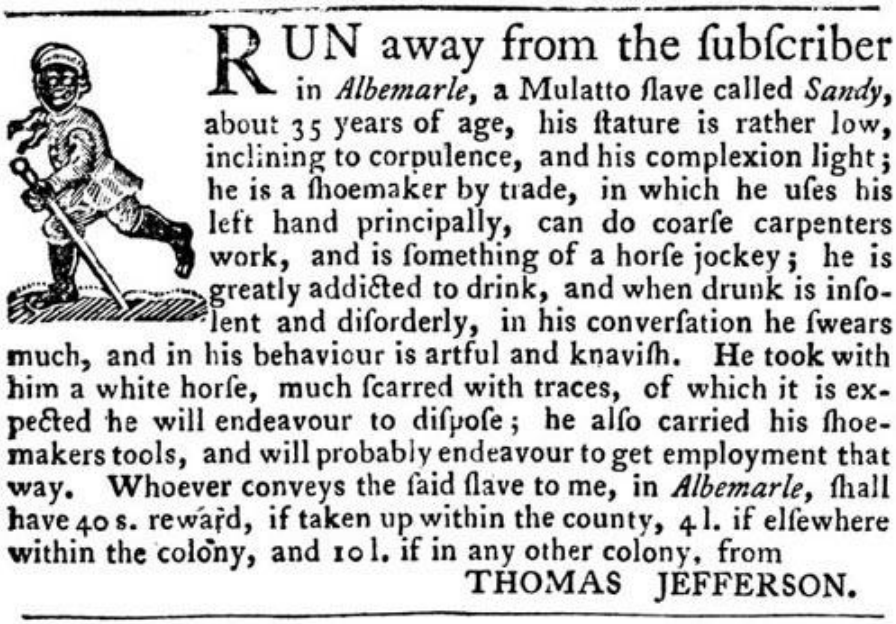


Figure 2. View of the bustling urban waterfront areas of Norfolk and Portsmouth in the mid-nineteenth century (Magnus 1850–1860).



RUN away from the ſubſcriber in *Albemarle*, a Mulatto ſlave called *Sandy*, about 35 years of age, his ſtature is rather low, inclining to corpulence, and his complexion light; he is a ſhoemaker by trade, in which he uſes his left hand principally, can do coarſe carpenters work, and is ſomething of a horſe jockey; he is greatly addicted to drink, and when drunk is inſolent and diſorderly, in his converſation he ſwears much, and in his behaviour is artful and knaviſh. He took with him a white horſe, much ſcarred with traces, of which it is expected he will endeavour to diſpoſe; he alſo carried his ſhoemakers tools, and will probably endeavour to get employment that way. Whoever conveys the ſaid ſlave to me, in *Albemarle*, ſhall have 40 s. reward, if taken up within the county, 4 l. if elſewhere within the colony, and 10 l. if in any other colony, from

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Figure 3. Newspaper advertisement placed by Thomas Jefferson offering a reward for the return of Sandy, an enslaved man who had escaped from one of his Albemarle County properties (Virginia Gazette [Purdie and Dixon] Sept. 7, 1769, p. 3, col. 3)

Figure 4. View of the challenging terrain in the interior of the Great Dismal Swamp, including waterlogged forest, dense vegetation, and standing water, with occasional patches of dry, slightly elevated ground.

attract European settlement. In the Great Dismal Swamp, for example, the dense forested areas harbored independent "maroon" communities from the late seventeenth century through the Civil War. From the Spanish *cimarrón* meaning "wild" or "untamed", maroons were enslaved people who established isolated communities in difficult to access areas of the Americas such as the rugged, mountainous Cockpit Country of Jamaica, for example, and especially in dense jungle areas of Brazil and other parts of South America. Sometimes, the enslaving society would subdue maroons with determined military force (Price 2010). In other cases, however, the strongholds were too formidable to penetrate and the enslavers would enter a treaty to mitigate maroon raids on their settlements and plantations. During the early colonial period, the maroon communities of the Great Dismal Swamp included not only enslaved people of African origin but also native people who had escaped slavery, as well as some Euro-American outlaws. From the 1680s to the Civil War, these swamp communities had a consistent population estimated at 2,000 (Sayers 2008:88) (Figure 4).

A significant event for freedom seeking occurred early in the American Revolution was an emancipation proclamation for the people enslaved by individuals who supported the rebels against Royal authority. Lord Dunmore, the embattled Royal lieutenant governor of Virginia fled the capital at Williamsburg in June 1775 for the safety of a British warship off Yorktown. He soon began organizing forces of Loyalists joined with British regulars. After defeating the American militia at Kemp's Landing in early November, Dunmore raised the King's standard and declared,

> And I do hereby further declare all...Negroes... (appertaining to rebels) free, that are able and willing to bear arms, they joining His Majesty's troops, as soon as may be, for the more speedily reducing this colony to a proper sense of their duty to His Majesty's crown and dignity (quoted in Carey 1995:29).

He followed the speech with distribution of printed copies of the declaration, printed aboard the warship *William* on November 7. Hundreds of enslaved people flocked to his flotilla anchored in the Elizabeth River from surrounding areas and eventually some 30,000 enslaved people across Virginia joined British forces over the course of

the war (Kolchin 1993:63-93). Due to the spread of disease there and later in Gwynn's Island in Mathews County, there was a high rate of mortality among the enslaved who joined Dunmore, though many eventually settled in Canada or the British colony of Sierra Leone in Africa.

By the time of the American Revolution, Virginia's slavery economy had been changing for several decades. With fluctuations in tobacco prices and the demand for grain to supply domestic and foreign markets, the demand for enslaved labor diminished. Grain production required less intensive, more intermittent labor than tobacco. With less demand for enslaved labor in Virginia, planters were amenable to selling their bondspeople into areas where demand was high. One such area was the territories west of the Appalachian Mountains, ceded to the United States of America at the Treaty of Paris in 1783. Wealthier settlers claiming these frontier lands favored young enslaved men for the arduous labor of clearing and establishing farms in wilderness areas. Another area with a high demand for enslaved labor was the Deep South, an ideal area for growing cotton—like tobacco, cotton cultivation required many labor-intensive tasks. Production of this crop increased dramatically at the turn of the nineteenth century after Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1794. This device allowed more efficient processing of cotton before sale to textile producers, and thus planters sought to cultivate larger crops, in turn driving up the demand for enslaved labor (Newby-Alexander 2017:36-37). Slave trading firms in major transportation hubs like Alexandria and Richmond specialized in supplying the cotton states with enslaved people from Virginia (Figure 5).

Contemporaneously with these major economic shifts, a religious revival known as the Second Great Awakening and the growing popularity of non-conformist denominations such as Baptists and Methodists led to anti-slavery sentiment among many white slave owners. At the same time, more established groups such as the

Figure 5. The offices and adjacent "slave pens" (holding areas) of dealers in Alexandria that specialized in the slave trade from Virginia to Natchez, Mississippi, and New Orleans, Louisiana.

Quakers successfully sought changes in Virginia's laws that allowed manumission of enslaved people (Newby-Alexander 2017:38-39). Legislation, passed by the Virginia Assembly in 1782, led to the emancipation of nearly 10,000 people in Virginia over the following decade (Hening 1969 11:39). An additional 5,000 individuals received their freedom through 1810. Among these, approximately 35 percent gained freedom through purchase by Black friends and family (Newby-Alexander 2017:39)

At the Constitutional Convention of 1787, many delegates argued for ending slavery nationally. In fact, the Constitution did not even put an immediate end to the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Instead Article 1, Section 9 stated that no legislation could "prohibit the importation of slaves in any port or place within the United States" before January 1808. In 1800, however, Congress passed legislation that prohibited Americans from engaging in the international slave trade. In addition, as soon as the Constitution allowed in 1808, Congress passed the "Act Prohibiting the Importation of Slaves" (National Archives n.d.). Henceforth, the perpetuation and growth of slavery in the United States relied on natural increase and the sale of bondspeople from areas with less demand for enslaved labor such as Virginia and other areas of the Upper South and the heavily slave-dependent states producing cotton in the Deep South.

With diminishing demand for enslaved labor in the region, Virginia slave owners filled a supply void from the prohibition of the trans-Atlantic slave trade by selling to planters in the Deep South through the medium of slave brokering firms. Based on records kept by George Washington and other plantation owners, it is evident that white enslavers often encouraged family formation on their own estates to encourage the procreation of enslaved children whom they could eventually sell rather than benefitting from their labor for agricultural productivity on their own farms. Planters were willing to accept some freedom of movement so that the enslaved could form conjugal relationships between separate plantations (Sweig 1983:15–19).

Slave brokering firms flourished during the first half of the nineteenth century in major ports and commercial centers such as Alexandria, Richmond, and Norfolk. In addition to auction houses, the firms kept holding jails or "pens" where enslaved people languished in harsh conditions as they awaited sale and transport to the Deep South (Library of Congress ca. 1861-1865) (Figure 6).

With the fear of family separation through unpredictable sales of enslaved family members to Deep South states, the risks involved in escape to free territory became increasingly worthwhile. As interstate slave sales and escape attempts increased, local governments imposed systematic controls on the movements of African Americans. From 1793 (in cities) and from 1803 (in counties), the clerk of court kept a Registry of Free Blacks that identified each free African American within the jurisdiction. In turn, the court would issue a certificate of freedom that an official could demand in order to verify the free status of an African American (National Museum

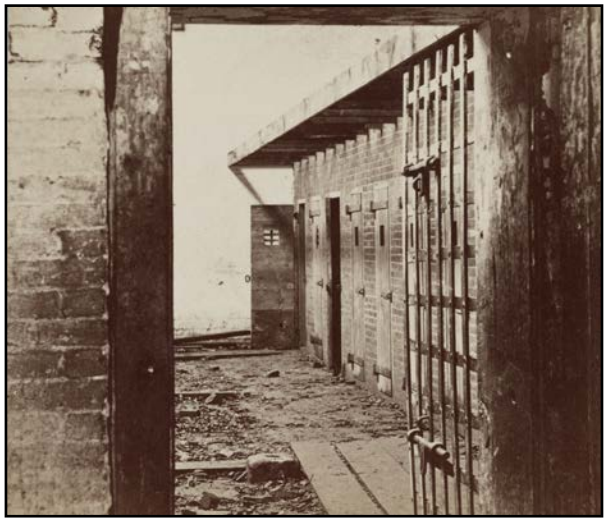


Figure 6. Individual cells inside the "slave pen" of Price, Birch & Co. slave dealing firm in Alexandria.

of African American History and Culture n.d.). In a society where only small minority of the African American population was free and moved about independently, any unfamiliar people of color would have seemed suspicious and likely to attract attention, questioning, and demand for freedom papers, thereby adding hurdles to the challenge of escaping slavery.

An example of freedom papers reveals the descriptive detail provided in order to identify an individual in an age predating the use of photographic portraits in identification documents. This example from Loudoun County is on display at the National Museum of African American History and Culture:

> I Charles G. Eskridge Clerk of the County Court of Loudoun do certify that Joseph Trammell is a free man of dark complexion twenty one years of age 5 feet 7 inches high, said man has a small scar in the forehead and one on his left arm 6 or 7 inches above the wrist whose freedom was proved by the oath of Thomas S. Dorrell was this day registered in my office pursuant to an order of Court made the 10th day of May 1852 (quoted in Pollard 2019:33).

Joseph Trammell took special care to safeguard his freedom papers by hand-crafting a tin box to hold them (Figure 7).

Escapes required planning and awareness of geography and suitable routes. James Curry, narrating the story of his enslavement and eventual escape from a plantation in eastern North Carolina, highlights the difficulty of navigating the local area while traveling at night to avoid detection on his way north to Pennsylvania:

> We travelled by night, and slept in the woods during the day. After travelling two or three nights, we got alarmed and turned out of the road, and before we turned into it again, it had separated, and took the wrong road. It was cloudy for two or three days, and after travelling three nights, we found ourselves just where we were three days before, and almost home again (Carbado and Weise 2012:35).

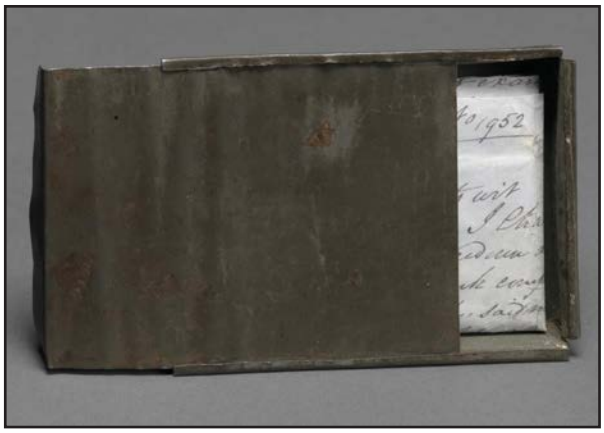


Figure 7. Freedom papers of Joseph Trammell, a free Black resident of Loudoun County, who custom crafted a tin box for the papers' safekeeping (Smithsonian 2024).

During the War of 1812, British forces offered another opportunity to escape slavery in exchange for assisting their war effort, nearly four decades after Lord Dunmore's proclamation at the beginning of the Revolutionary War. The first British incursions into the Chesapeake Bay of the war occurred in the spring of 1813 as a distraction to draw American military resources away from the Canadian border. A small fleet under the command of Admiral John Borlas Warren began to conduct raids along the bay's shoreline and tributaries in May. Although his superiors would not allow him to incite a slave rebellion, the commander eagerly accepted enslaved people onto his vessels to serve as pilots, guides, and laborers. In return, these individuals could escape with the fleet to a life of freedom in Canada or Britain. A Washington newspaper reported the escape of at least one large group of enslaved people from farms in Princess Anne County who boarded British vessels anchored in Lynnhaven Bay (Cassell 1972:145-146).

The willingness of enslaved people in Virginia to join a foreign enemy during the War of 1812 is particularly illustrative of the persistent desire for the enslaved to escape bondage throughout the history of the institution, refuting the myth

of slavery as a paternalistic, stable institution. As historian Frank Cassell observed,

> Ironically, slavery in Maryland and Virginia does not appear to have been as brutal a system as existed in the rice growing areas of South Carolina or the developing cotton and sugar plantations of the deep south. Contemporary accounts seem to indicate that Chesapeake slaves were subjected to less debilitating types of labor, were better fed, better clothed, and generally better treated than those of the lower South. These relatively better conditions did not, however, breed docility or acceptance of the system; for as the response to the British invasion showed, many slaves concealed a desperate desire for freedom beneath a mask of geniality and outward satisfaction (Cassell 1972:144-145).

As will appear below, the much larger conflict that ended slavery in 1865 demonstrated the universal desire for freedom even more dramatically as thousands of self-emancipated refugees fled to crowded camps behind Union lines rather than remain enslaved until determination of the war's outcome.

The watershed event of the first half of the nineteenth century affecting both free and enslaved Blacks in Virginia was the Nat Turner Rebellion, which began on August 21, 1831. The uprising of enslaved people in Southampton County, Virginia, resulted in the murders of more than 50 white residents and instilled panic in Virginia's white population. Turner was an enslaved man who preached fiery outdoor sermons under a grape arbor to African American members of the local Methodist congregation—separately from the regular church services directed by the white minister. With a group of about sixty enslaved individuals, Turner roamed through the countryside near the county seat of Jerusalem (now Courtland) killing members of isolated plantation households at night, attacking when many of the victims were asleep. Swift action by local and Richmond militia suppressed the rebellion within a few days, and 13 participants went to the gallows, as well as the rebellion's leader, Nat Turner, after he eluded his pursuers for two months. Widespread reporting of the events in newspapers and hastily published accounts (e.g., Turner 1831; Warner 1831) further stoked fear and suspicion of the free and enslaved Black population (Figure 8). Retribution over the following months in Southampton and elsewhere resulted in the killing of about 300 Blacks, many of whom had played no part in the rebellion (Breen 2020; St. John Erickson 2018; Whichard 1959:II:290).

White Virginians reacted to the events by proposing two very different ways to prevent future uprisings. Perhaps surprisingly, the first was an effort by a minority to effect gradual emancipation, usually with the added stipulation of eventually removing all freed Blacks from the Commonwealth. Part of this approach was the recognition that slavery was no longer economically viable as a system of labor since Virginia had been making the shift from tobacco to wheat and other crops since the mid-eighteenth century. Since the new system of agriculture required much less intensive manual labor for its cultivation, harvest, and processing, it made no sense economically to force the unpaid labor of large numbers of individuals whom the planter had to support both before and beyond their prime productive years. Even more detrimental was the cruelty and inhumanity of the institution of race-based slavery, with its deprivation of basic human rights, arbitrary and harsh punishment, and the separation of the families of enslaved people based on the whims and financial needs of the enslavers. Moreover, many recognized the pernicious effects on the white population who participated in a culture of persistent violence and cruelty. In January 1832, 2,000 anti-slavery voters petitioned the General Assembly to reduce "the mass of evil" represented by slavery, but the effort failed to garner the support needed among the delegates and state senators (Breen 2020; "Petition to the Virginia Legislature," *Enquirer* [Richmond] January 7,

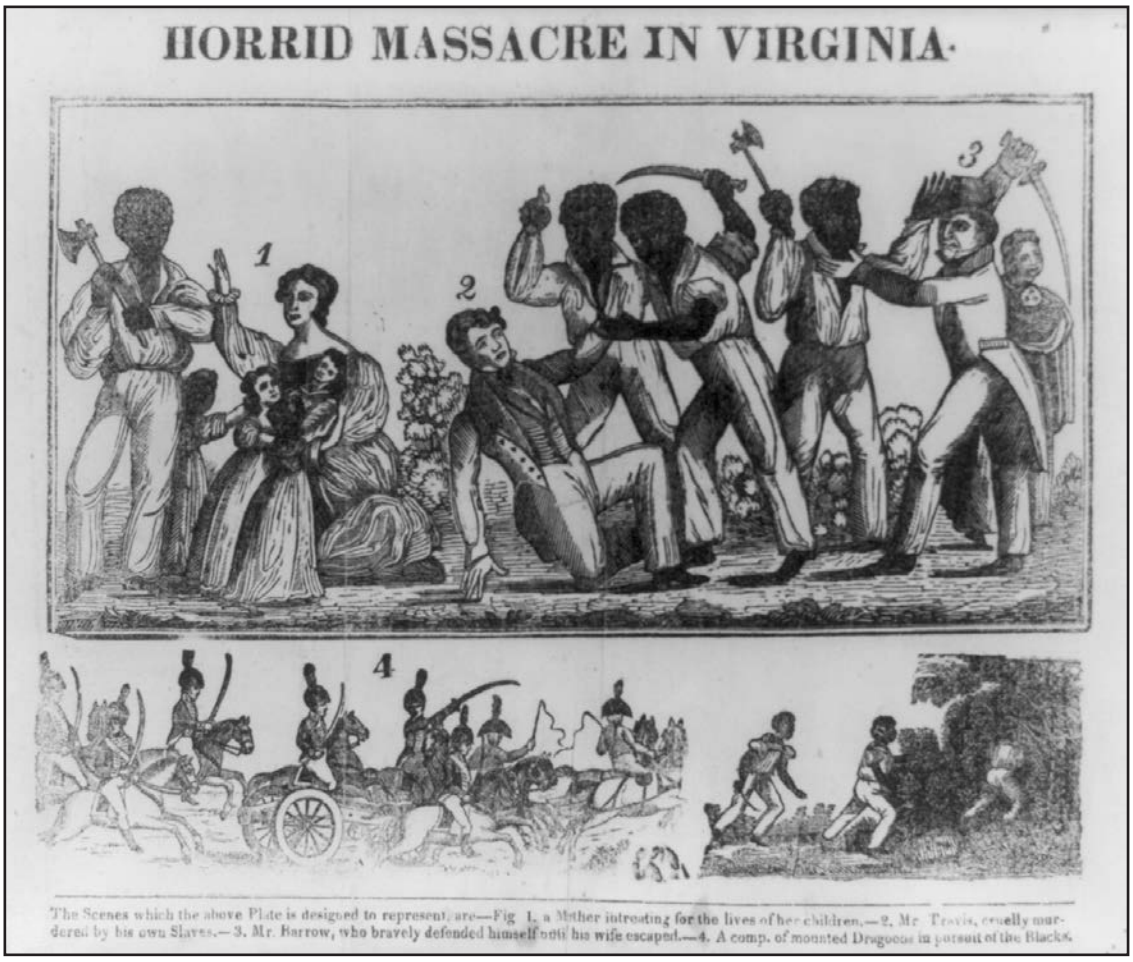


Figure 8. Composite illustration of events in the Nat Turner Rebellion of 1831 in Southampton County (Warner 1831:frontispiece).

1832). Private letters reveal that Governor John Floyd also had favored gradual emancipation and expulsion of all free Blacks as a way to address the fears of violent slave rebellion (Roth 2015). In his diary, Floyd went further, confiding that, "before I leave this government, I will have contrived to have a law passed gradually abolishing slavery in this State, or at all events to begin the work by prohibiting slavery on the West side of the Blue Ridge Mountains" (Root 2023).

In public, however, the governor gave no hint of this radical ambition and merely encouraged the second, majority solution to slave rebellion: revision of slave laws with harsher, more restrictive measures against the enslaved and the general expulsion of free African Americans. Given the roots of the Turner revolt in his preaching at Blacks-only worship services, religious assembly was a major focus. Preaching by African Americans was prohibited as was the attendance of the enslaved at night-time religious assemblies (Roth 2015). Moreover, any independent Black churches henceforth would have a white clergyman as the lead minister (Bogger 2006:15-17) (Figure 9). Other limitations included changes in the judicial system. Free Blacks lost the right to a jury trial. Instead, they would undergo trial in the court of oyer and terminer, previously reserved for the enslaved. Perhaps most influential on the motivations for freedom seekers was that free

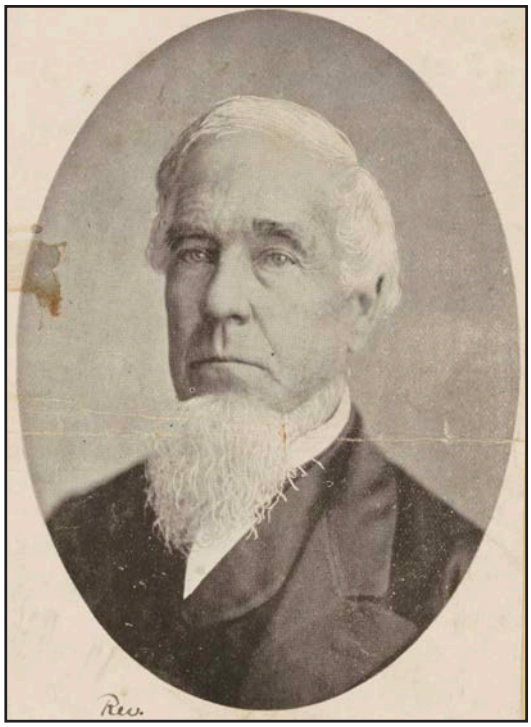


Figure 9. Reverend Robert Ryland, white minister of Richmond's First African Baptist Church from 1841 to 1866; following the 1831 Nat Turner Revolt, legislation required each Black church to be under the leadership or supervision of a white minister (Virginia Baptist Historical Society). Henry Brown, an enslaved tobacco factory worker who attended the church before his escape to Philadelphia in a freight box in 1849, complained of Ryland's repetitive preaching that encouraged enslaved people to "obey your earthly masters with respect and fear" (Ephesians 6:5–9).

African Americans were prohibited from "acquiring permanent ownership, except by descent, to any slave, other than his or her husband, wife or children." Free African Americans also lost their right to bear any kind of firearm, military weapon, "or any powder or lead" (Roth 2015). In a society where hunting was common as a way to supplement the supply of meat, this was a major hardship.

The idea of recolonization of free African Americans to Africa became more popular as white residents feared their influence among the enslaved population as a source of further uprisings. Since 1822, a relatively small number of free blacks had been emigrating to the Liberia settlement in West Africa under the sponsorship of the American Colonization Society, with a membership that included prominent Virginian antislavery advocates such as James Monroe and John Marshall (Bearinger 2007) (Figure 10).

In terms of sheer numbers of successful escapes, the Underground Railroad would appear to have had only a negligible effect on overturning the system of slavery in the mid-nineteenth century. During the peak of activity in the 1850s, only about 800 enslaved people per year achieved permanent freedom by reaching a state or country where slavery was illegal, representing a mere fifteenth of one percent of the enslaved population according to one estimate. To emphasize this small number, Bruce Levine quoted Frederick Douglass in his essay on freedom seeking. As an antidote to the institution in isolation, Douglass had likened the Underground Railroad to "an attempt to bail out the ocean with a teaspoon" (Levine 2004:211). Nevertheless, in terms of the effects on the fears of slaveholders, the Underground Railroad was significant.

News of Underground Railroad escapes and their challenge to the concept of humans as chattel property provided impetus to pro-slavery politicians to pass the federal Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which increased federal involvement in enforcement over the 1793 Fugitive Slave Act (Park History Program 2000:11). The legislation heightened the dangers for those attempting to escape slavery. Even once they reached free states, the law favored the claims of slaveholders to recapture their bondspeople. In essence, the federal law that protected the rights of slaveholders superseded state laws guaranteeing individual liberty to people of all races. This intrusiveness of Southern power contributed to resentment among the Northern population. This new law added to a perception of federal law giving disproportionate favor to the Southern states, already

Figure 10. American Colonization Society membership certificate signed by society president Henry Clay (Library of Virginia).

reflected in the Three-Fifths Compromise in the Constitution. Even though enslaved people lacked basic Civil Rights, including the vote, every five of them added the equivalent of three persons toward the tallies used to determine each state's number of representatives in Congress (Gara et al. 1997:7). Of course, the Fugitive Slave Act also added to the dangers for freedom seekers and their helpers, with the threats of capture, return to slavery, and punishment lurking even after a safe passage to a Northern state.

Among the pool of escapes, one of the most common and successful during this period was by ship from busy ports like Richmond, Petersburg, Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Alexandria. In fact, these areas feature the densest collections of recorded sites in the Freedom to Network program and potential sites identified during the current study. Escape by ship greatly lowered the number of possible capture points compared to the hazards of overland travel. A person of color traveling by foot or by horse would have to avoid numerous encounters with citizens or law enforcement officials suspicious of unfamiliar persons of color passing through their area. Freedom seekers traveled by night, through wilderness areas, or had to produce forged papers attesting to free status. In a port town, the sheer size of the population and the large proportion of free Blacks and enslaved people working in maritime craft trades, as watermen, as ferry operators, and as seamen made blending into the crowd much easier. For instance, the river port town and railway hub of Petersburg had a population of approximately

20,000 in 1858. There were 10,480 white residents, 6,300 enslaved African Americans, and 3,782 free Blacks (Singleton 1983:4). The free Black population was the largest of any Southern city (Abugel 2013:6).

Once aboard a vessel, the freedom seeker could expect cooperation from the captain and crew—unlike the weeks of harrowing risks faced by those fleeing overland. Either the captain cooperated in return for a substantial payment for the secret passage or because he opposed slavery and made it a mission to support escapes to free territory. In Norfolk, the *Southern Argus* underscored the success of this mode of escape for freedom seekers with an alarmed editorial, describing the "frequent escapes of fugitives from our port" as "an intolerable evil" (quoted by Historic Petersburg Foundation n.d.). The article followed a two-week period in June 1855 when 17 enslaved people escaped successfully and 11 individuals attempted escape before eventual recapture. One ship had carried away 15 individuals despite a pursuit by armed Norfolk residents in a chartered steamboat (Kneebone 1999).

Due to the timing of shipping schedules, a freedom seeker could not always go directly from their place of residence or work and get aboard a vessel immediately. Instead, it was sometimes necessary to find a hiding place near the docks to wait until right moment to flee, often under cover of darkness. Enslaved woman Clarissa Davis had escaped with her two brothers from their employers in Portsmouth. While the brothers were able to board a northbound vessel immediately, Clarissa had missed its departure. With a large bounty offered for her capture, she hid for two months in a crawl space of a house at 316 North Street (134-0034-0304) until an acquaintance who worked aboard the steamship *City of Richmond* told her of the time of its departure and that he could take her aboard. Later that night, she escaped to the docks disguised in male clothing during a heavy storm when there were few police on watch. She was then able to join her brothers in Massachusetts (New Bedford Historical Society n.d.; Portsmouth, Virginia 2022).

In light of these escapes aboard northbound vessels, on March 17, 1856, the General Assembly passed an act "providing additional protection for the slave property of citizens of this commonwealth." The legislation called for the inspection of vessels in order to thwart escapes of enslaved individuals (Figure 11). These measures addressed a common occurrence of Northern captains taking aboard freedom seekers, either for payment or as a matter of ideological anti-slavery principles. The inspections specifically targeted the vessels of out-of-state owners "about to sail or steam from any port or place in this state for any port or place north of and beyond the capes of Virginia" (General Assembly 1856; Historic Petersburg Foundation, Inc. n.d.). Captains or owners of vessels that departed without a valid inspection certificate were liable for a $500 fine (Crew 2018).

Even though total numbers of escapes relative to the enslaved population were small, high-profile incidents received immense interest in the press and in public attendance at meetings and court hearings. Two cases of attempted escapes within a day of each other are noteworthy. The first occurred on May 28, 1858, when an inspection of the outbound New Jersey schooner *Francis French* revealed the presence of an enslaved man from Isle of Wight County named Anthony. He had only intended to visit his wife in Portsmouth. Anthony had come aboard with the help of his friend, William H. Thompson, a free Black who served on the crew. With Thompson's confession, he received a 10-year prison sentence, but the captain and rest of the crew avoided a trial. Nevertheless, the Commonwealth seized the vessel and the sheriff of Isle of Wight County sold it at auction (Crew 2018). Following the incident, citizens of Norfolk and Portsmouth held a public meeting that reportedly was the largest in the cities' history until then (Historic Petersburg Foundation, Inc. n.d.)

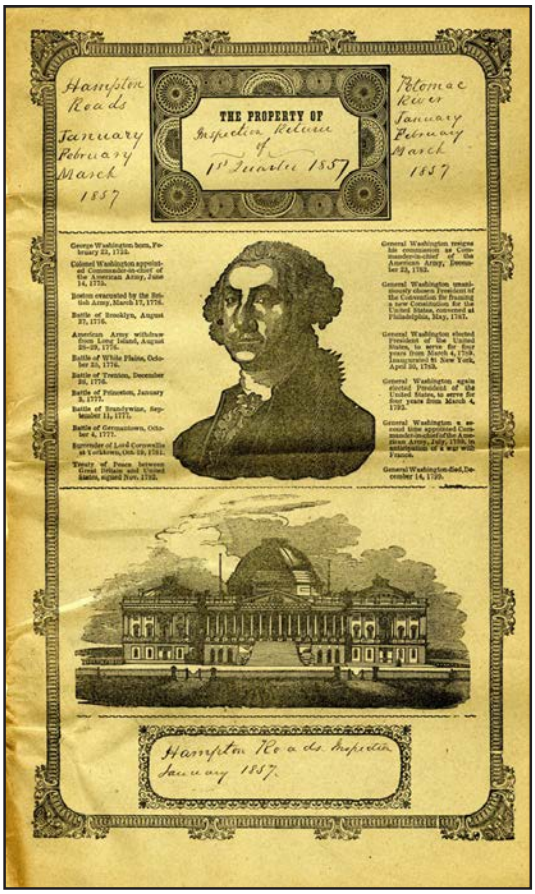


Figure 11. Cover sheet of a report of inspections of northbound vessels in Hampton Roads for hidden freedom seekers, first quarter of 1857 (Library of Virginia).

Only a day after the inspection of the *Francis French*, the schooner *Keziah* departed Petersburg with five enslaved people as secret passengers. In this case, however, the *Keziah*'s captain, William Baylis, was fully aware of the freedom seekers aboard, as he was part of a network that routinely transported enslaved Virginians north for a fee. He may have intended to elude the inspectors, but ran aground five miles downstream on the Appomattox. After resuming the journey toward the ocean, authorities halted the vessel downstream on the James River. After a brief trial, Baylis received a sentence of 40 years in the state penitentiary, while the first mate served five months. News of the trial and the long appeals by Baylis's wife for a reduced sentence received attention in newspapers in cities as distant as Baltimore, New York, and Providence, Rhode Island. The court finally freed Baylis in March 1865, only a month before Robert E. Lee's army evacuated from the siege of Petersburg and abandoned the city to federal control (Historic Petersburg Foundation n.d.; Newby-Alexander 2017:74-75; Singleton 1983).

One unusual alternative to the dangers of overland travel or aboard a ship was the remarkable exploit of Henry "Box" Brown, who escaped from his life of slavery in a Richmond tobacco factory by confining himself in a three-foot-long freight box sent express to Philadelphia (Figure 12). Besides the discomfort and physical danger of the escape story, Brown's story offers insights into the practices of urban slavery and opportunities for enslaved factory workers to accumulate cash from "overwork" (payment for exceeding a very demanding factory quota) that was helpful for the expenses involved in freedom seeking. Brown's story also reveals a degree of autonomy in terms of residential arrangements for enslaved factory workers, who received a stipend to pay for very modest accommodations. An urban environment also offered the possibility of connecting to various networks of whites and Blacks that could be helpful to freedom seekers (Ruggles 2003).

Despite the increased vigilance of ships and other transportation modes of freedom seekers, there were continued efforts to escape and people willing to help, whether for a fee or as a matter of conscience. Census records for 1860 reveal that the state penitentiary in Richmond housed 26 inmates convicted of assisting freedom seekers (Figure 13). Those 17 white and nine African American prisoners had begun their sentences as early as 1847 and as late as 1859 (Newby-Alexander 2017:118-119).

After centuries of freedom seeking having been thwarted or avoided due to the high risks of capture, the disruption of the Civil War finally swayed the odds in favor the enslaved. Although

Figure 12. Widely published 1850 lithograph of Henry Brown, who had himself shipped to the Anti-Slavery Society of Philadelphia in 1849 in a wooden freight box measuring 3 × 2.5 × 2 feet (Library of Congress).

Figure 13. Virginia State Penitentiary (built 1798, demolished 1991), where men and women convicted of assisting freedom seekers served long prison terms (Library of Virginia).

Union forces only held full control of relatively small portions of Virginia for most of the four years of war (James-York Peninsula below Williamsburg, Alexandria, and nearby portions of Northern Virginia), thousands of self-emancipated people surged behind the protection of Union lines. Only a month after the war began, Confederate Colonel Charles Mallory sought the return of enslaved workers who had fled a fortification construction project to take refuge at Fort Monroe, held by a Union garrison under the command of Maj. Gen. Benjamin Butler. Instead of returning the workers according to the stipulations of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, Butler refused. He justified his decision by declaring the workers to be "Contraband of War", in essence assets that were beneficial to the enemy and thus in the best interests of the federal government to hold rather than return. News of this precedent spread quickly and the pace of escapes accelerated. The flow of refugees was so enormous that the Army took measures to house the self-emancipated people in camps and divided farms confiscated from Confederate loyalists for distribution of small plots to Freedmen refugees. Eventually, on March 3, 1865, Congress passed legislation that created a Freedman's Bureau to supply the basic needs of "Freedmen and Refugees" (Newby-Alexander 2017:148-152) (Figure 14).

In December 1865, state legislatures ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which prohibited slavery. Despite the prohibition of slavery, during the ensuing century and a half, formerly enslaved Black people and their descendants experienced painfully gradual progress toward the civil rights enjoyed by other U.S. citizens. Initial advances that included adult male participation in politics and political representation in state and national legislatures suffered major setbacks in Southern states in the 1890s

Figure 14. Adults and children learning to read in front of barracks at the Freedmen's Village (demolished in 1890s) in Alexandria during the Civil War (Library of Congress). Hundreds of thousands of refugees from slavery fled behind Union lines during the war, and 185,000 men fought in segregated units in the Union Army.

with the passage of Jim Crow laws. These state and local ordinances virtually excluded Blacks from politics and placed humiliating restrictions in the areas of housing, recreation and travel, restaurant dining, shopping, and even segregated access to basic public facilities like restrooms and water fountains. Racial discrimination to different degrees across the nation persisted until progress restarted following World War II. Integration of the armed forces was a major first step, followed by the 1954 Supreme Court decision of Brown vs. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas. The court ruled segregation in public schools to be unconstitutional. After a decade of resistance by opponents in several Southern states, including especially in Virginia, most school systems integrated by the late 1960s or early 1970s. With the passage of the Civil Rights Act by Congress in 1964, discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin became illegal. The legislation was especially important in helping progress toward equal rights for Blacks, especially in areas such as political participation and representation, housing, commerce, and recreation, where stifling restrictions had previously existed.

3: Summary of Historic Resources Currently Included in the Network to Freedom

Prior to this study, the Network to Freedom included 30 sites in Virginia that have an association with attempts of enslaved people to escape to areas where they could lead a life of freedom. These consist of historic properties with period architectural resources, archaeological sites, and/or extensive landscapes. Twenty-eight of these resources had existing records in V-CRIS. Initial survey records for most of these properties, however, lacked any association with the history of freedom seeking. In 2021, DHR staff updated most of the records to indicate the rationale for an association with the Network to Freedom. Unfortunately, they entered this information in the "Property Notes" section of the record, which is easy to overlook, especially in the exported V-CRIS reports since it appears near the end of the report. To display this information more prominently, the W&MCAR team entered this information in the Surveyor Statement, where the association also more clearly adds to the significance of the property. The following overview provides location and ownership information, a summary description, current National Register eligibility/listing status (in some cases National Historic Landmark listing status), and an explanation of the association of the property with the Network to Freedom of each of the 30 properties. For 16 of the properties, which the W&MCAR team surveyed at the reconnaissance level, the overviews also provide a report of present condition and integrity.

Accomack County

Tangier Island (309-0001)

Location: Island in Chesapeake Bay, 11 miles northwest of the Eastern Shore of Virginia, 14 miles east of the shore of the Northern Neck

Evaluation Status: NRHP/VLR-listed historic district since 2013. Local level of significance under Criteria A (Commerce, Ethnic Heritage: Ethnic Heritage: African American, Industry, Maritime, Military, Religion), C (Architecture), D (Archaeology-Prehistoric, Archaeology-Historic); Period of Significance: 8000 B.C. – A.D. 1932.

Summary: This low-lying island in the Chesapeake Bay located 11 miles northwest of the Eastern Shore of Virginia is part of Accomack County (Figure 15). It has been the site of human occupation for at least 12,000 years. Taking advantage of abundant marine subsistence resources, Native American groups lived on the island at various times from the Paleoindian through Contact period; Paleoindian presence may have predated the sea level rise that made Tangier an island in the Holocene. Although European settlers used the island as grazing for livestock, the first evidence of their permanent settlement dates to 1778. During the War of 1812, the island was a strategic location for British forces operating in the Chesapeake Bay and the site of Fort Albion. The small community of islanders relied on harvesting of marine resources, and by the 1840s, fishing and oystering became commercially important.

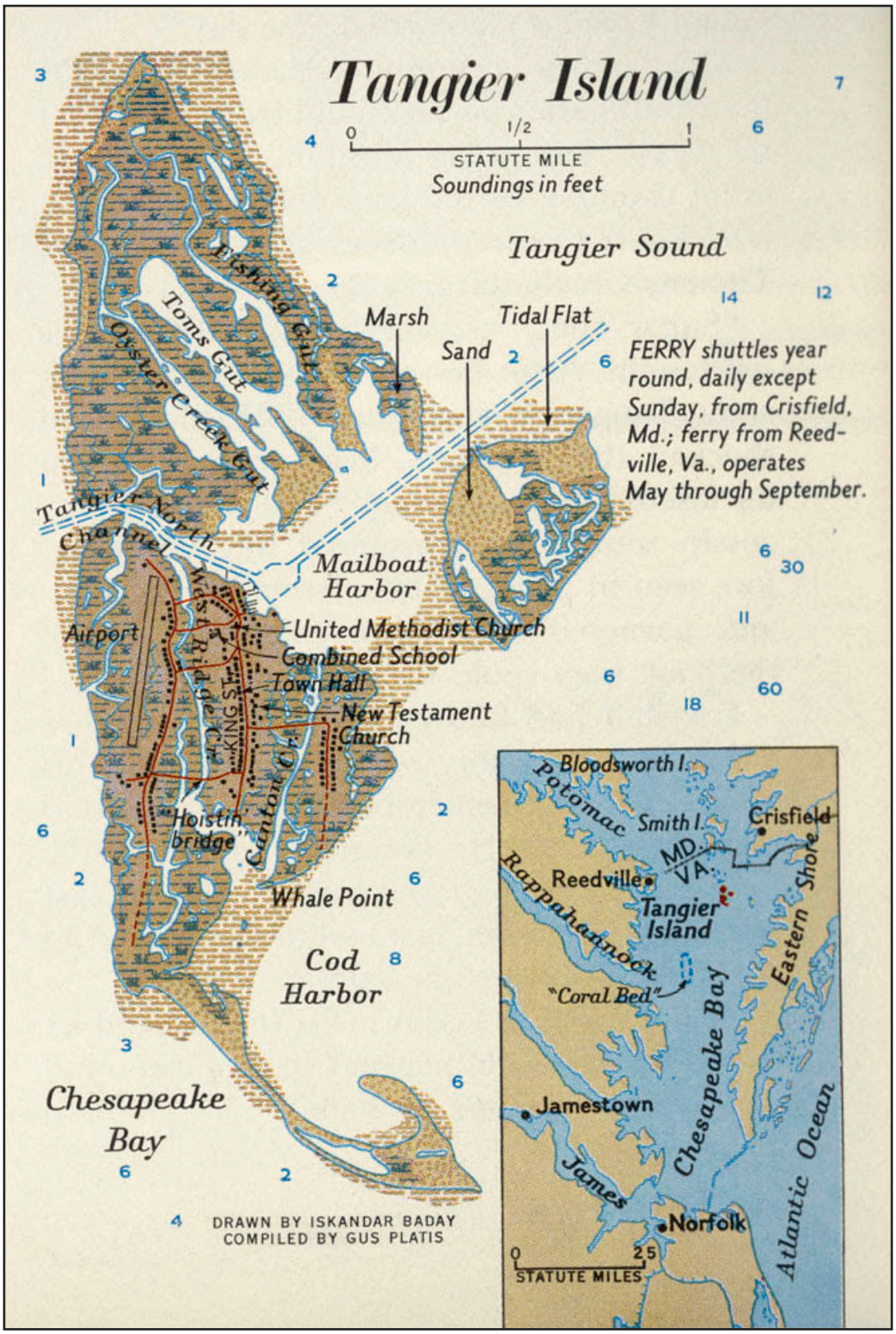
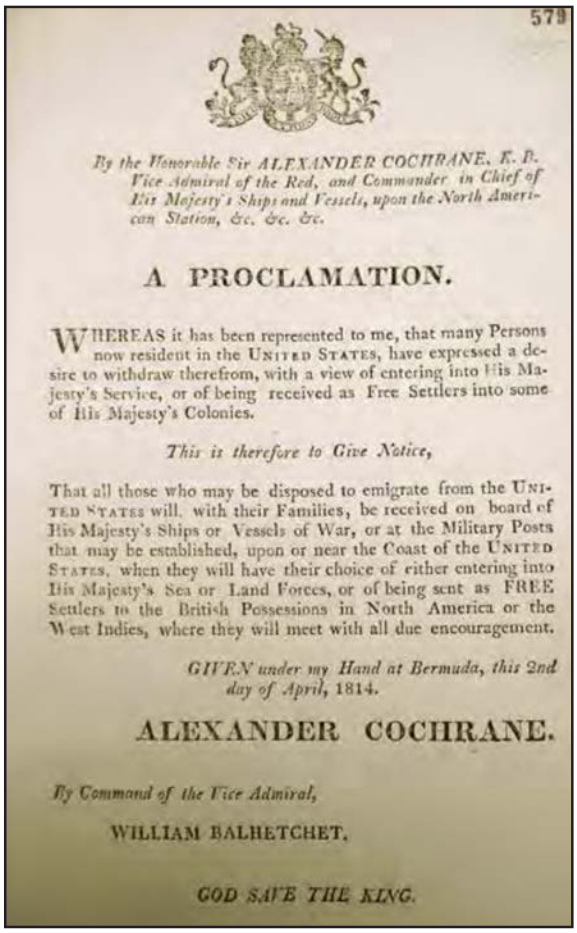


Figure 15. Map of Tangier Island (Baday and Platis 2022). Remains of Fort Albion lie submerged in shallow water just east of the southern tip of the island.



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By the Honorable Sir ALEXANDER COCHRANE, K. B. Vice Admiral of the Red, and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels, upon the North American Station, &c. &c. &c.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS it has been represented to me, that many Persons now resident in the UNITED STATES, have expressed a desire to withdraw therefrom, with a view of entering into His Majesty's Service, or of being received as Free Settlers into some of His Majesty's Colonies.

This is therefore to Give Notice,

That all those who may be disposed to emigrate from the UNITED STATES will, with their Families, be received on board of His Majesty's Ships or Vessels of War, or at the Military Posts that may be established, upon or near the Coast of the UNITED STATES, when they will have their choice of either entering into His Majesty's Sea or Land Forces, or of being sent as FREE Settlers to the British Possessions in North America or the West Indies, where they will meet with all due encouragement.

GIVEN under my Hand at Bermuda, this 2nd day of April, 1814.

ALEXANDER COCHRANE.

By Command of the Vice Admiral,

WILLIAM BALHETCHET.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Figure 16. Emancipation proclamation inviting enslaved people to join British forces in the Chesapeake Bay during the War of 1812.

Export of oysters and blue crab to urban markets in Baltimore and New York peaked in the late nineteenth century and the island's population reached 1,000 in 1900. The community remains one of the most dependent on seafood commerce in Virginia.

As part of the British campaign to disrupt the economy of the Chesapeake Bay area during the War of 1812, British commanders offered freedom to enslaved people who would serve as pilots, guides, and laborers (Figure 16). After Admiral Sir George Cockburn established Fort Albion on the southern end of Tangier Island in April 1813, more than a thousand freedom seekers made their way to the outpost (Figures 17 and 18). From there, the British carried some of the refugees to settle in Nova Scotia, while others joined the Colonial Marines, a special unit of freedmen that took part in the Chesapeake campaign, including the assault on Washington, D.C.

The area of the fort and the landing where freedom seekers arrived is now underwater due to erosion and sea level rise, and thus the significance of the Network to Freedom association is as an archaeological site and cultural landscape (Wall and McDonald 2015). The NPS defines a cultural landscape as "a geographic area, including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with a historic event, activity, or person, or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values." Tangier island, while changed from the early nineteenth century, continues to retain geographical features and associations and can be considered a cultural landscape.

Although the current study did not include field survey of this site, the research team updated the Surveyor Statement of the V-CRIS entry to highlight its Underground Railroad association.

City of Alexandria

Freedmen's Cemetery (100-0121-1085/44AX0107)

Location: 1001 Washington Street South, Alexandria

Evaluation Status: NRHP/VLR-listed since 2012: National level of significance under Criteria A and D (Ethnic Heritage: African American, Social History, Historic Archaeology), Period of Significance: 1864 to 1869; Local level of significance under Criterion D (Prehistoric Archaeology); Period of Significance: 11,000 B.C. to A.D. 900.

Summary: The 1.27-acre rectangular cemetery plot is in an area of Alexandria that developed into an urban setting in the first half of the twentieth century. Interstate 95/495 runs

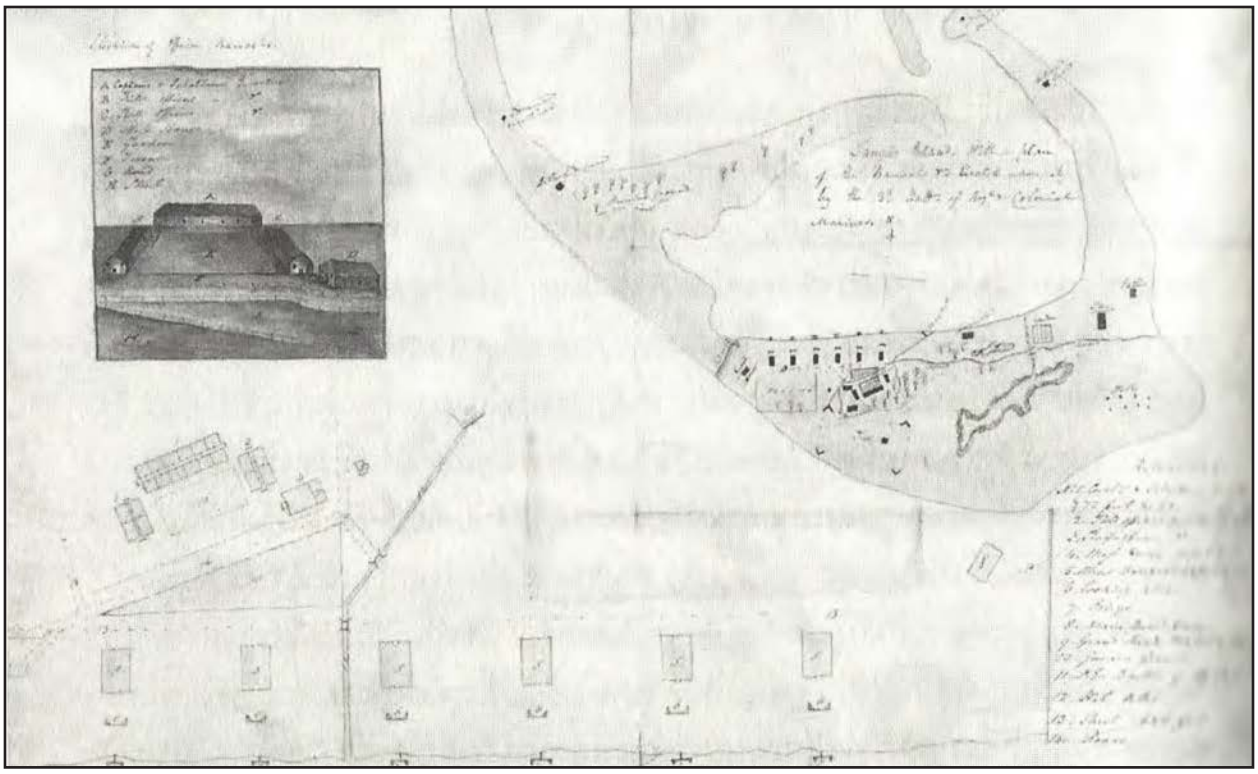


Figure 17. Map, layout, and sketch of Fort Albion, destination of freedom seekers responding to the offer of freedom in exchange for aiding British forces in the War of 1812 (Taylor 2013:278),

Figure 18. Crude representation of Tangier Island in 1820 showing Fort Albion (Wood 1820).

along southern edge of the parcel (Figure 19), Church Street on the north, George Washington Highway/Washington Street South on the east, and a wooded slope on the west, with a curving interstate exit ramp about 280 feet farther west. During the twentieth century, a gas station and an office building stood on the property. Only the slab bases of these buildings remain since their demolition in 2007. Between 1996 and 2007, various archaeological investigations of the areas outside the building footprints have revealed the locations of 541 graves. Research of the property history indicates that graves from the cemetery are also present underneath the rights-of-way of adjacent roads. The layout of the cemetery was in orderly rows with the heads of the graves to the west. Running east to west from the eastern end halfway through the cemetery was a broad carriage path, about 11 to 13 feet wide. Archaeological investigations also revealed a large prehistoric lithic scatter (some 4,210 artifacts) with dates of use ranging from 11,000 B.C. to A.D. 800, pits and post features of a structure from the Middle Woodland period, and remnants of an early nineteenth-century ropewalk. Following the archaeological investigations, the entire site, including the twentieth-century building footprints, received a 2-foot-thick layer of fill soil, which protects the graves and the other archaeological components.

Rehabilitation and beautification of the property as a memorial park, completed in 2014, added several new elements. The City of Alexandria and the Friends of the Freedmen's shepherded the Contraband and Freedmen Cemetery Memorial from research, design, and construction. Funding for the park came from the City of Alexandria, the Federal Highway Administration, the Virginia Department of Transportation, and a Save America's Treasures grant from the NPS. Alexandria architect C. J. Howard submitted the winning concept design to a competition held by the city in 2008. The firms AECOM (formerly EDAW) and Howard + Revis Design adapted and implemented Howard's work into the final park design (City of Alexandria 2023a). A steel fence now extends around the perimeter of the parcel (Figure 20). Access into the cemetery from a brick sidewalk on the east side of the parcel is through a double-leaf steel gate hung on stone gate posts, topped by an open black steel arch with lettering that reads, "FREEDMEN'S CEMETERY". The southern gatepost has an embedded metal interpretive plaque and chiseled lettering above, "CEMETERY ESTABLISHED 1864", while chiseled lettering on the north gatepost reads "MEMORIAL DEDICATED 2014". A flagstone path leads from the gate to a memorial plaza (Figure 21). On the south side of the plaza is an allegorical bronze sculpture entitled "The Path of Thorns and Roses" (Figure 22). The sculpture by Mario Chiodo depicts several figures rising toward a central standing figure within a botanical arch. On the plaza north of the sculpture are high walls made of massive stone blocks arranged in a rectangular layout. Strands of bronze roses and thorns extend along the exterior of the walls and connect them to each other. The interior of each wall contains bronze interpretive plaques with bas-relief artwork by local sculptor Joanna Blake interpreting the Freedmen's community in Alexandria (City of Alexandria 2023a). Based on the historical and archaeological investigations, the Friends of the Freedmen's Cemetery have installed flush stones with inscriptions such as "grave of a child" throughout the cemetery (see Figure 21).

Alexandria came under Union control at the beginning of the Civil War and quickly became a haven for Blacks fleeing slavery. Safe behind Union lines, many of the formerly enslaved found employment in the Union war infrastructure of supply depots, hospitals, and military encampments that clustered in Alexandria and Washington. Living in crowded refugee housing and with limited health care, the mortality among the Freedmen population was high, and soon there was a need for a new burying ground. The Rev. Albert Gladwin, Alexandria's Superintendent

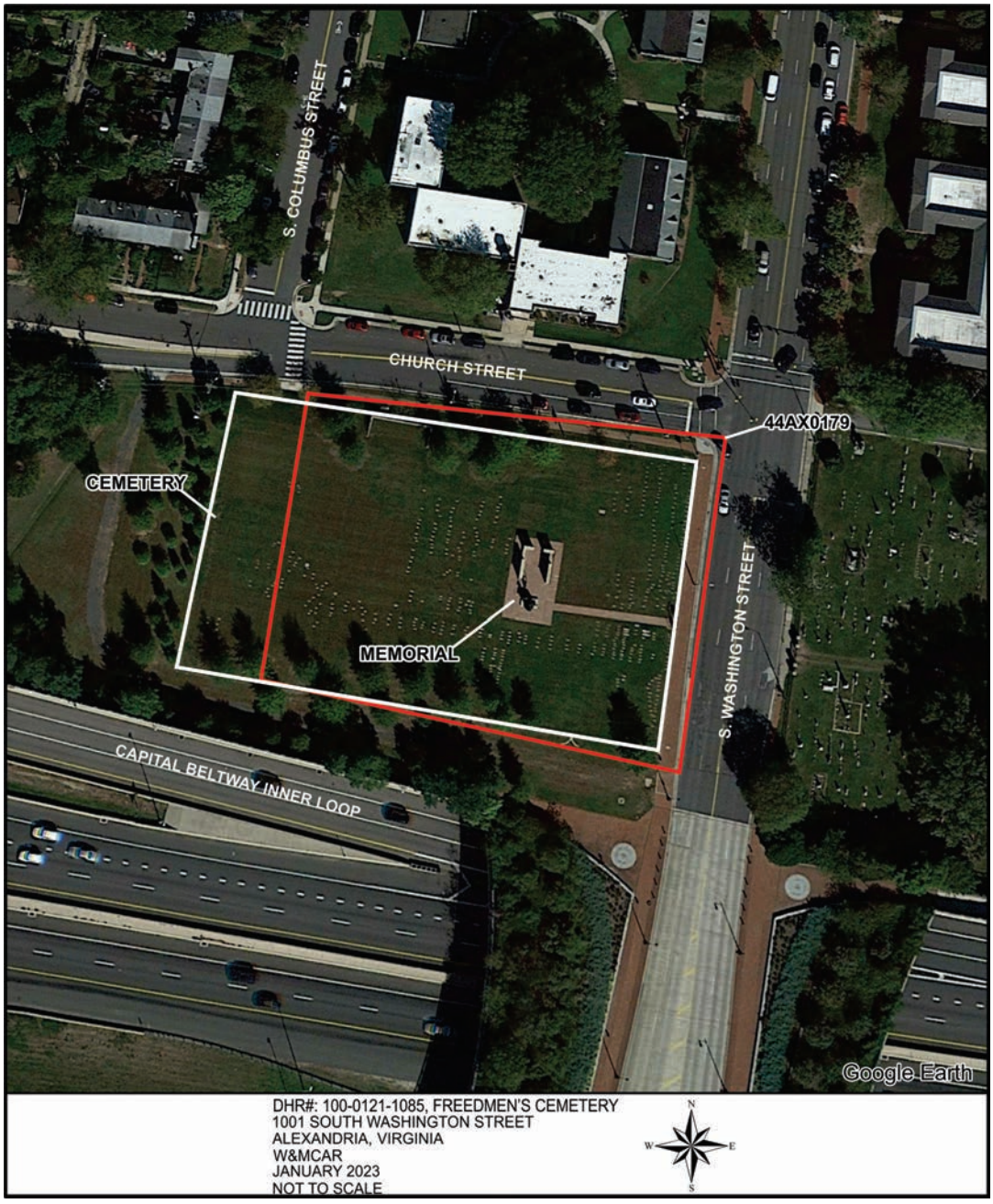


Figure 19. Freedmen's Cemetery (100-0121-1085/44AX0107), site plan.

Figure 20. Freedmen's Cemetery (100-0121-1085/44AX0107), front gate, looking northwest.

Figure 21. Freedmen's Cemetery (100-0121-1085/44AX0107), memorial plaza with grave markers in foreground.

Figure 22. Freedmen's Cemetery (100-0121-1085/44AX0107), "The Path of Thorns and Roses" sculpture, looking south.

of Contrabands (a term for enslaved people taking refuge behind Union lines), emphasized the need for a cemetery to Military Governor John P. Slough. The Quartermaster General appropriated the property of Confederate loyalist Francis Lee Smith (cousin of Robert E. Lee) and established the cemetery in March 1864. The Freedmen's Bureau took over the administration of the cemetery from the Quartermaster Department on January 1, 1865 and was responsible for it through January 12, 1869. Records kept by Reverend Gladwin indicate that the cemetery was the burial place for 1,711 Freedmen. Among the burials were the remains of 118 U.S. Colored Troops. Given their service in the Union Army, their comrades argued that they had earned the privilege of burial in a military cemetery. Following the petition of 453 USCT housed at the L'Ouverture Hospital, the federal government moved the USCT burials from the Freedmen's Cemetery to the Alexandria National Cemetery.

Field survey of this site recorded the improvements and modifications of the property since its dedication as a memorial park. The updated survey record also included entry of the property's Underground Railroad association in the Surveyor Assessment section.

Birch Slave Pen/Franklin and Armfield Office (100-0105)

Location: 1315 Duke Street, Alexandria

Evaluation Status: NRHP listed since 1978, VLR since 1979, NHL since 1978.

Summary: This property currently houses the City of Alexandria's Freedom House museum and offices of the Northern Virginia Urban League. The building occupies the entire narrow lot (less than 3,000 square feet) along the north side of Duke Street, a tree-lined divided, four-lane roadway (Figures 23–25). Alleys run along the east and west sides of the lot, and an alley/parking area to the north. The urban setting features a mix of residential and commercial real estate.

Constructed in 1812 for Brig. Gen. Robert Young of the District of Columbia militia, this building began as a three-story, three-bay Federal style townhouse with a side-gabled roof and full basement (Figure 26). From 1828 to 1836, however, it served as the headquarters for the firm of Franklin and Armfield, possibly the largest interstate slave-trading firm in the nation. Beginning in 1837, slave trader George Kephart used the property for his business, followed in 1859 by slave brokers Price, Birch and Company. During the property's operation by slave-trading firms until May 24, 1861, the original dwelling served as offices, while a two-story wing attached to the rear and structures on either side of the of-

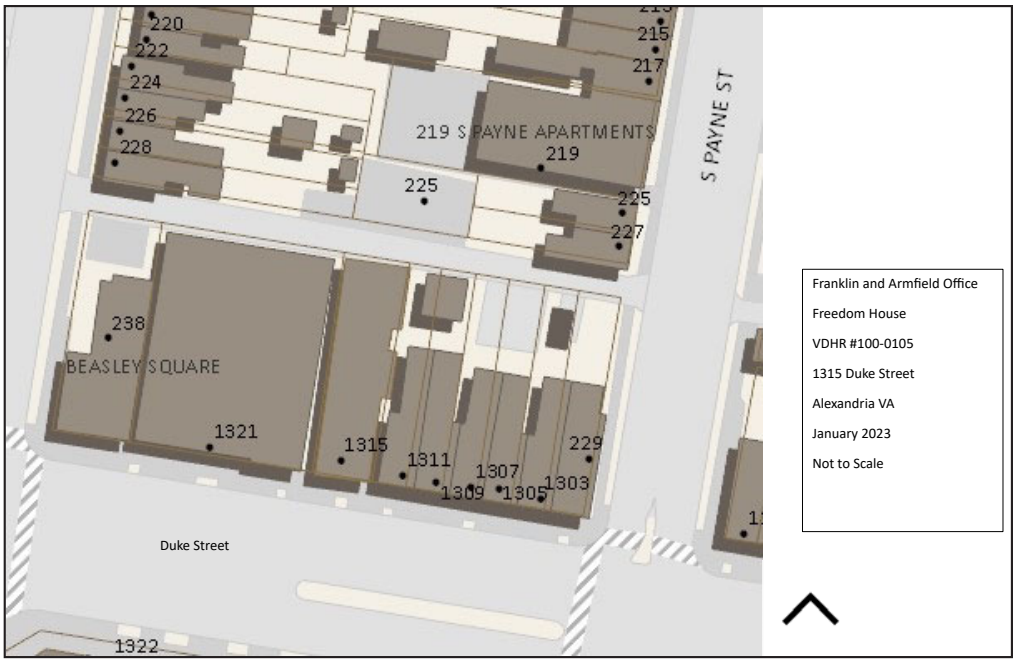


Figure 23. Birch Slave Pen (100-0105), site plan.

Figure 24. Birch Slave Pen (100-0105), facade.

Figure 25. Birch Slave Pen (100-0105), north elevation.

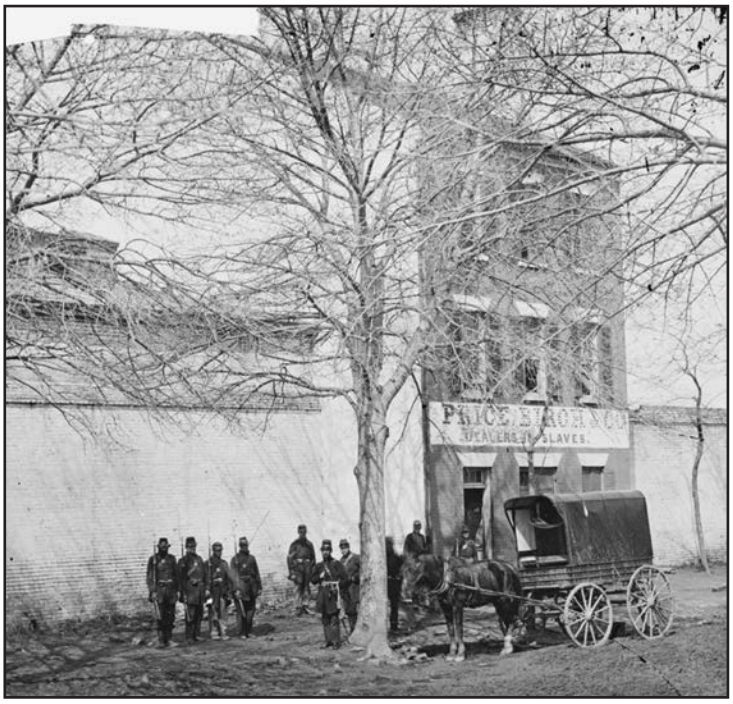


Figure 26. Birch Slave Pen (100-0105), view showing pre-1870s three-story, side-gabled configuration of office building during the Civil War and flanking jails for holding enslaved people prior to sale and transportation (Library of Congress).

fices housed enslaved people awaiting sale and transportation (Figures 27 and 28). Configuration of this portion of the property was no different from a jail, with grated windows and doors, a surrounding brick security wall, and partially roofed courts called "pens" where the enslaved would spend time during the day. The pens extended into what are now separate properties to the east and west. In the 1870s, the property took on its present appearance. Politician/businessman Thomas Swann added a slate mansard roof to the main portion of the building, converted a second first-floor entrance into a window, leaving the door on the left side as the only entrance. He demolished the pens, reusing the material to build adjacent townhouses to the east of the building, and raised the height of the rear wing with a third story of frame construction (Skolnik 2021).

The scale of the Franklin & Armfield slave trading business from 1828 to 1836 underscores the significance of this property. John Armfield operated the headquarters in Alexandria, while Isaac Franklin ran offices in Natchez, Mississippi, and New Orleans. To move the auctioned slaves from Virginia to the Deep South, the firm also had its own fleet of sailing vessels that moved approximately 3,750 enslaved people from Alexandria over the course of the firm's history. George Kephart and then Price, Birch & Company owned and operated the property as major internal slave trading firms until 1861. The property's importance to African American history continued during the Civil War due to its association with the adjacent L'Ouverture hospital for wounded Black soldiers and the barracks for "contrabands", enslaved people who had fled behind Union lines. The main portion of the house also housed Union officers, and the slave jail served to incarcerate deserters from the Union Army.

Field survey of this site documented its current state. In addition, the survey team added the property's Underground Railroad association to the Surveyor Assessment section of the V-CRIS record.

Bruin's Slave Jail (100-0047)

Location: 1707 Duke Street, Alexandria

Evaluation Status: VLR-listed 1999, NRHP-listed 2000; Significance under Criteria A (Commerce, Politics/Government, Ethnic Heritage: African American) and C (Architecture); Period of Significance: 1819 to 1865.

Summary: The Federal-style house that once had an attached holding jail for enslaved people awaiting sale and transportation stands as an isolated historic building amid large, modern commercial buildings (Figures 29–31). The historic building fronts the north side of Duke Street on a 100-foot-wide lot that extends north for

Figure 27. Birch Slave Pen (100-0105), Civil War–era photograph showing broader view of the jail area on the west side of the offices (Library of Congress).

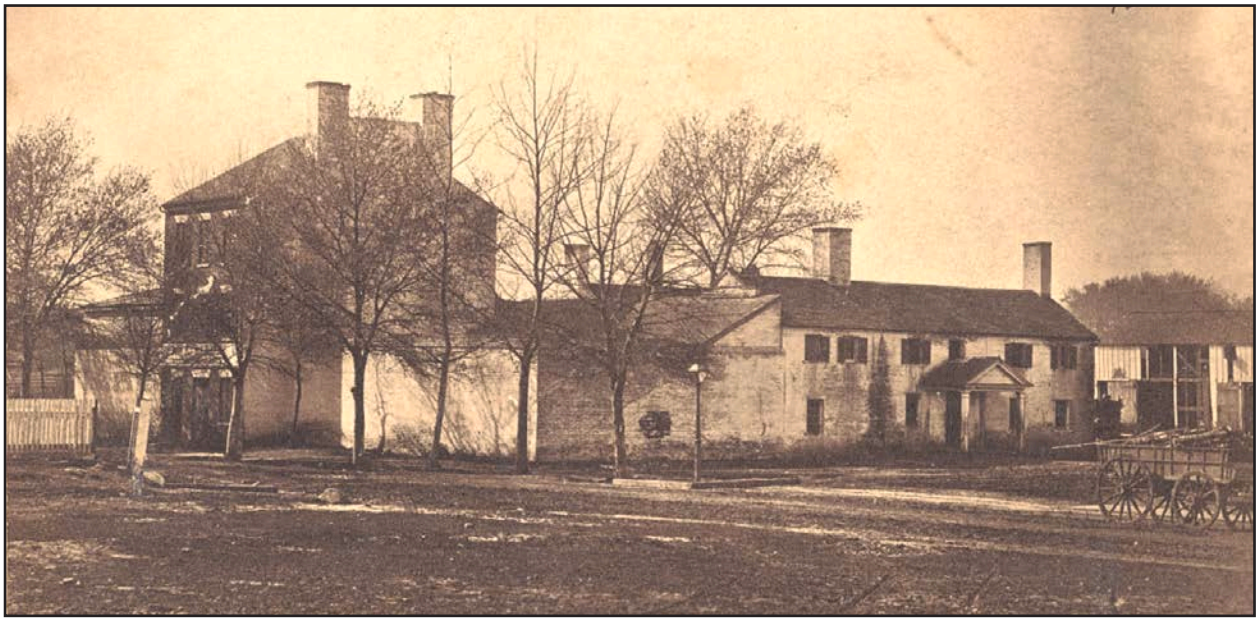


Figure 28. Birch Slave Pen (100-0105), Civil War–era view showing extensive infrastructure on the east side of the offices (Library of Congress).

Figure 29. Bruin's Slave Jail (100-0047), site plan.

Figure 30. Bruin's Slave Jail (100-0047), facade and southeast corner.

Figure 31. Bruin's Slave Jail (100-0047), north elevation.

364 feet as far as Prince Street. Two mixed-use buildings (built between 2003 and 2011) with a separate address and small green spaces occupy the remainder of the parcel beginning about 60 feet to the rear of the house. Reinekers Lane runs along the west side of the lot, while a small grassy area and brick plaza north and east of the house provide some separation from the modern buildings in the rear and a mid-twentieth-century restaurant building on the east. The area east of the house includes a sculpture and an interpretive marker. The bronze sculpture entitled "The Edmondson Sisters" by artists Erik Blome and C. Blome shows the oversized figures of Mary and Emily Edmondson emerging from a large rocky outcrop (Figure 32). The Bruin jail held the sisters after their failed attempt to escape slavery in Washington aboard the schooner Pearl in 1848. An etching of the vessel appears on the back of the sculpture.

Prominent city official and Revolutionary War veteran John Longden built the two-and-a-half-story, five-bay Federal style building in a western suburb of Alexandria, platted in the late eighteenth century. Slave broker Joseph Bruin purchased the property from Longden's heir in 1844 but may have leased it from an earlier date. Bruin lived in the large house and held enslaved people awaiting sale and transportation. As the business grew, Bruin used the old Longden house exclusively as a slave jail and in 1853 moved himself and his family into a dwelling (since demolished) on the same property to the east of the jail (Kaye and Bierce 2000) (Figure 33).

The property's most famous association is with teenage sisters Mary and Emily Edmondson, who attempted to escape from slavery to free territory aboard the schooner *Pearl* in April 1848 (Figure 34). They were among 77 freedom seekers taken aboard by Captain Daniel Drayton from the docks in Washington. Thousands of dollars in fees paid by the enslaved people and their helpers provided motivation to Drayton for the dangerous enterprise. The voyage ended with the capture

Figure 32. Bruin's Slave Jail (100-0047), bronze statue of Mary and Emily Edmondson.

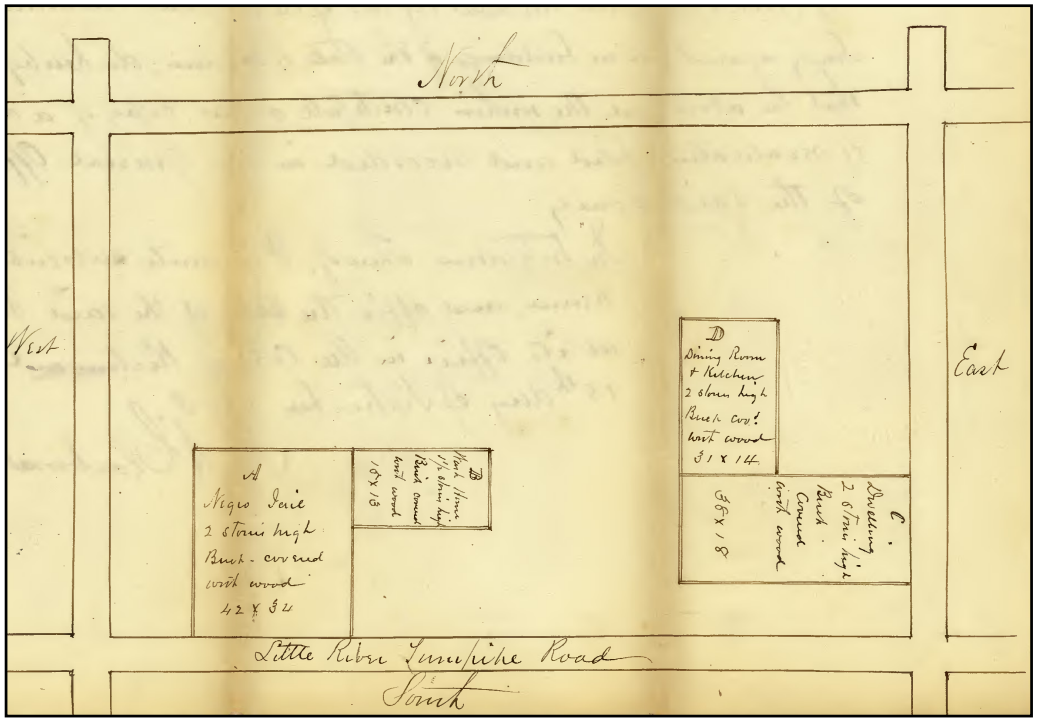


Figure 33. Detail from an insurance revaluation for Jospeph Bruin's property with a sketch plan showing the surviving brick building, used as a holding jail for enslaved people and a no longer extant dwelling to the east for Bruin and his family (Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia 1853).

Figure 34. Sisters Mary (left) and Emily (right) Edmondson, who attempted to escape to freedom aboard the schooner Pearl in 1848 (Paynter 1930:64). When captured, they were held by slave broker Joseph Bruin before their eventual emancipation through the purchase with funds raised by the Edmondson family and Reverend Lyman Beecher.

of the schooner by authorities near the mouth of the Potomac River. Several of the slave owners opted to sell their escaped bondspeople through Bruin's business, including the Edmondson sisters. Free relatives raised money to purchase their freedom, but Bruin refused because he would receive a higher price for the sisters in the Deep South. Bruin at first sent the sisters south to New Orleans, but brought them back North before their sale to protect them from a yellow fever outbreak (Figure 35). The family eventually purchased their freedom in November 1848 with the help of additional funds raised by the church of Rev. Lyman Beecher in New York. He was the father of Harriet Beecher Stowe, author *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). Some of these details and others about Bruin's business emerge from Stowe's *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin,* published in 1854 as documentation to support the veracity of her novel. The sisters appear in an 1850 photograph taken at a convention in Cazenovia, New York that was organizing against the Fugitive Slave Act. Several famous abolitionists, including Frederick Douglass, appear in the same image (Figure 36). Both sisters enrolled at New York Central College and later at the Young Ladies' Preparatory School at Oberlin College in Ohio, where Mary died of tuberculosis. Emily taught at Myrtilla Miner's Normal School for Colored Girls in Washington after graduation (Ricks 2007). She later married and eventually moved to the early African American community of Barry Farm-Hillsdale in Anacostia, where she maintained close ties to Frederick Douglass, another Anacostia resident (Schoenfield 2019).

During the Civil War, Joseph Bruin abandoned his property and then underwent incarceration in Washington as a Confederate sympathizer. From 1862 to 1865, the abandoned property served as the Fairfax County Courthouse since this portion of Alexandria was within the county through 1915. Confederate and Union military occupation of the court building had caused extensive damage and the location remained vulnerable to Confederate raids. During the period, the county was officially part of the Restored Government of Virginia (which included present West Virginia) governed by unionist Francis H. Pierpont (Kaye and Bierce 2000).

Field survey of this site documented its current state. In addition, the survey team added the property's Underground Railroad association to the Surveyor Assessment section of the V-CRIS record.

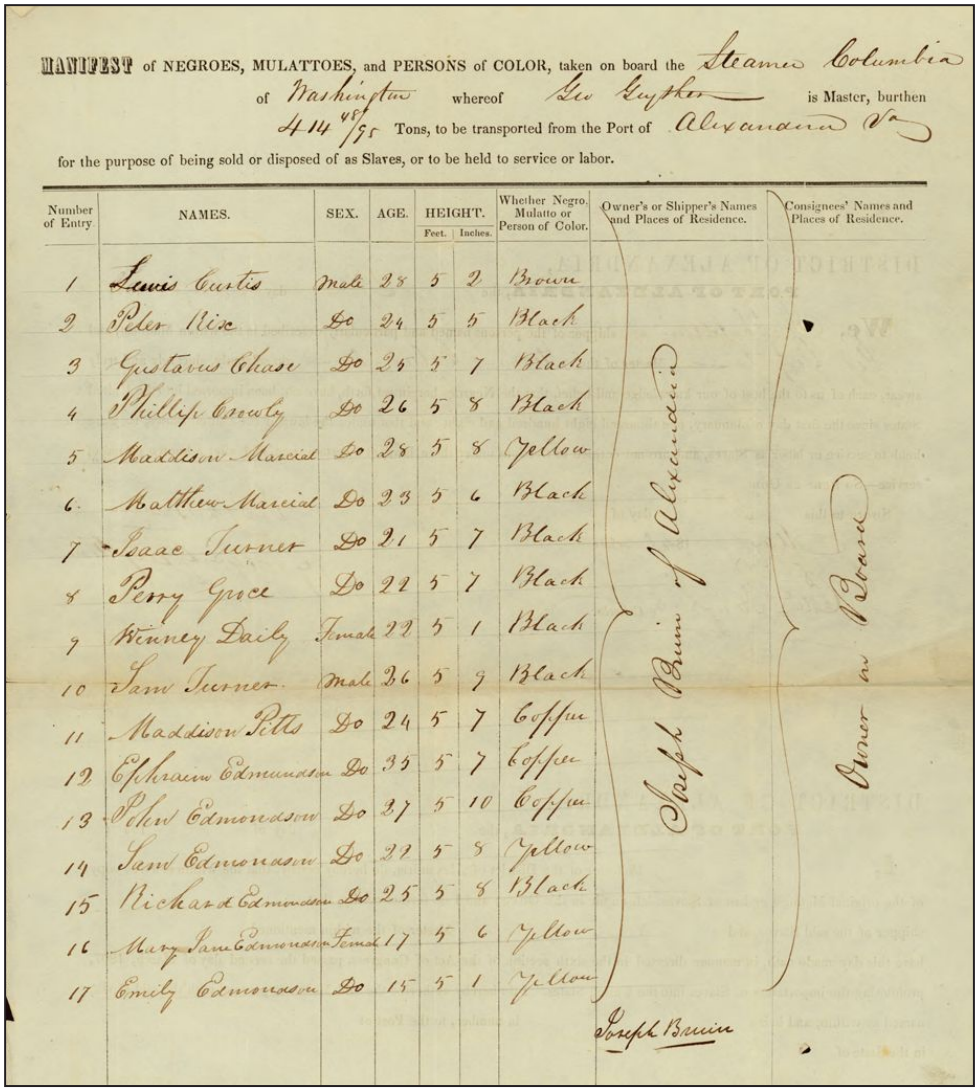
Gadsby's Tavern Museum (100-0029, 100-0121)

Location: 134 North Royal Street, Alexandria

Evaluation Status: NHL-listed 1963, NRHP 1966, VLR 1969.

Summary: The property consists of an 80-foot-wide corner lot fronting the west side of North Royal Street at the southwest corner of North Royal and Cameron Street (extending west 130 feet). Two adjoining eighteenth-century taverns take up the entire street frontage on North Royal. There are three outbuildings and a courtyard for outdoor dining (Figures 37–39).

On the south is an ordinary that dates to ca. 1785 (though surveyors have differed on the dates with alternatives at 1752 and ca. 1770). This Georgian two-and-a-half-story, side-gabled, five-bay Flemish bond brick building features a modillioned cornice with fretwork along the lowest molding and an interior end chimney. Flanking the central entrance are fluted pilasters that support a broken pediment. The pediment rises through a stone stringcourse and is above a round-arched transom with a tall keystone. Winged flat stone arches with large key blocks top the double-hung, six-over-six wood sash windows. The three pedimented dormers feature similar fenestration with wooden molding and key blocks. The City of Alexandria operates this building as the tavern museum (City of Alexandria 2023b).



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

Number of Entry	NAMES.	SEX.	AGE.	HEIGHT. Feet.	HEIGHT. Inches.	Whether Negro, Mulatto or Person of Color.	Owner's or Shipper's Names and Places of Residence.	Consignees' Names and Places of Residence.
1	Lewis Curtis	male	28	5	2	Brown	Joseph Bruin of Alexandria	Owner in Boarc
2	Peter Rice	Do	24	5	5	Black		
3	Gustavus Chase	Do	24	5	7	Black		
4	Phillip Crawley	Do	26	5	8	Black		
5	Maddison Marcial	Do	28	5	8	Yellow		
6	Matthew Marcial	Do	23	5	6	Black		
7	Isaac Turner	Do	21	5	7	Black		
8	Perry Grice	Do	22	5	7	Black		
9	Winney Daily	Fmale	22	5	1	Black		
10	Sam Turner	male	36	5	9	Black		
11	Maddison Potts	Do	24	5	7	Copper		
12	Ephraim Edmondson	Do	35	5	7	Copper		
13	Peter Edmondson	Do	37	5	10	Copper		
14	Sam Edmondson	Do	27	5	8	Yellow		
15	Richard Edmondson	Do	25	5	8	Black		
16	Mary Jane Edmondson	Fmale	17	5	6	Yellow		
17	Emily Edmondson	Do	15	5	1	Yellow		

Joseph Bruin

Figure 35. Manifest for enslaved people, including Mary and Emily Edmondson (last two lines), transported south by Joseph Bruin aboard the steamship Columbia on June 2, 1848 (New York Historical Society 1848).

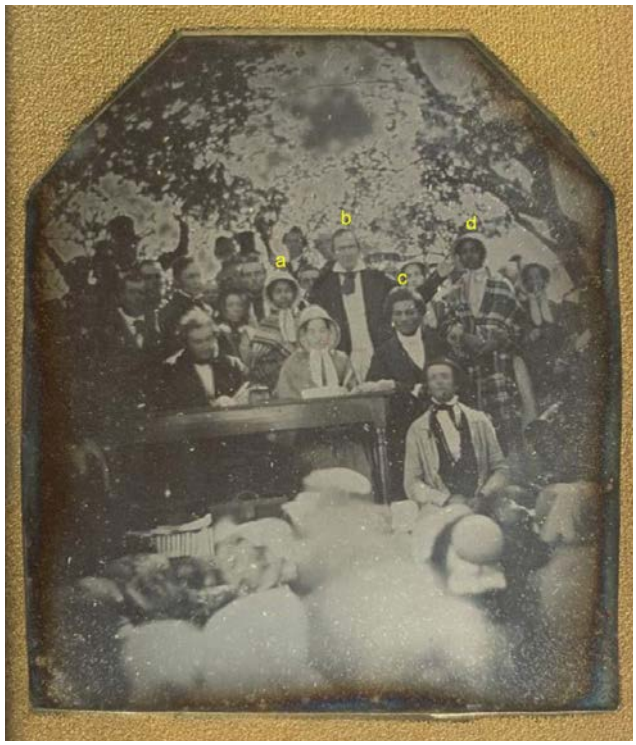


Figure 36. Photograph taken at the August 1850 Fugitive Slave Law convention in Cazenovia, New York, showing Mary (a) and Emily (d) Edmondson, Frederick Douglass (c), and abolitionist politician Gerrit Smith (b) (Weld 1850).

Figure 37. Gadsby's Tavern (100-0029), site plan.

Figure 39. Gadsby's Tavern (100-0029), facade with ca. 1785 building on left and ca. 1792 building on right.

Figure 39. Gadsby's Tavern (100-0029), entrance to larger ca. 1792 tavern building.

Adjacent to the north is a ca. 1792 brick tavern built in the Federal style with a modillioned cornice but overall simpler treatment, including brick jack arches, twelve-over-twelve wood sash windows, and exterior end chimneys. The central entrance is similar to that of the adjacent building, but the surround is entirely of wood. The three tall, narrow dormers with broken pediments have wood sash windows, arched at the top. A long brick addition extends nearly to the west end of the lot. Off the northeast corner is a rare surviving below-ground ice well. The building continues to operate as a tavern with full restaurant service (City of Alexandria 2023b).

The earlier building was the City Tavern or City Coffee House. Although the owner/builder of this building does not appear in previous entries, John Wise is the owner who had the second building constructed in 1792. A ca. 1792–1794 drawing of the property by Wise shows a stable, a kitchen, a washhouse, a coach house, and a privy in the rear.

In additional to the architectural significance, the NHL and NRHP listings highlighted several events and associations with important events and historic personages of the Colonial through Early Republic periods. At the earlier building, George Washington recruited troops for the Great Meadows campaign in 1754 and received his commission as a member of General Braddock's staff. Twenty years later, Washington met here with George Mason to draft the Fairfax Resolves, precursor to Virginia's Bill of Rights.

More recently, the addition of the complex to the Network to Freedom has focused on the history of the property's hospitality business and the integral involvement of enslaved staff under John Gadsby. From 1796 through 1808, Gadsby leased the buildings from John Wise and operated a fashionable tavern and inn. An 1808 inventory of Gadsby's personal property shows that 11 enslaved workers made up $3,555 of the value of his $22,441 estate. An enslaved hostler (responsible for taking care of guests' horses) ran away from Gadsby in 1808, as shown by an advertisement he placed in the *Alexandria Daily Observer*. Three years earlier, Gadsby refused to believe a man named Moses who claimed he was free and delivered him to the county jail so that he would have to prove his status in court. The outcome of this incident is not known. After ending his lease in 1808, Gadsby operated hotels in Baltimore and Washington, including the National Hotel. The tavern in Alexandria continued to operate with enslaved staff until the end of the Civil War and the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment (National Park Service 2023).

Field survey of this site documented its current state. In addition, the survey team added the property's Underground Railroad association to the Surveyor Assessment section of the V-CRIS record.

Arlington County

Arlington House (000-0001/ 000-0042/ 44AR0017/44AR0034)

Location: 321 Sherman Drive, Arlington

Evaluation Status: NRHP-listed 1966, VLR 1971; Boundary adjustment 2014
National level of significance under Criteria A (Military, Event; Military, Commemoration; Conservation), C (Architecture, Landscape Architecture); Statewide level under Criterion A (Ethnic Heritage-Black); Local level under Criterion D (Prehistoric, Historic: Non-aboriginal); Period of Significance: 3000-1200 B.C.; 1802-1935

Summary: Currently, the Arlington House Historic District encompasses 31 acres under the stewardship of the National Park Service and the Department of the Army (Figure 40). The property consists of the domestic core of the 1,100-acre Custis family estate. Part of a 6,000-acre tract patented by Robert Howsing in 1669, the 1,100-acre portion came into the possession of the Custis family in 1778. George Washington Parke

Figure 40. Arlington House (000-0001/0042), on high ground overlooking Arlington National Cemetery (NPS and Hendrix 2018).

Custis, the son of John Custis and adopted son of George Washington (with his sister Eleanor), moved to the estate in 1802 and eventually named it Arlington. After residing in a 1746 cottage on the property, Custis moved into a wing of the partially completed Greek Revival mansion in 1803. Work on the mansion proceeded over the course of 16 years. The architect probably was George Hadfield, the second architect of the Capitol and designer of Washington City Hall. The east elevation of the building, overlooking the Potomac River from an elevated position, features a monumental, "pseudodipteral hexastyle" 16 by 52 foot pedimented portico supported by eight stuccoed and marbleized Doric columns (Figure 41). Two flanking one-story wings extend the building to the north and south (Figures 42 and 43). The property also features two 20-x-40-foot outbuildings constructed perpendicular and slightly to the rear (west) of the main axis of the mansion. These multipurpose buildings housed domestic functions for the main house (summer kitchen, smokeroom, storeroom) and housed enslaved domestic servants. Both of these outbuildings feature decorative finishes, including pilasters and arches on the east-facing gable ends.

Following the death of George Washington Parke Custis in 1857, his will assigned a life interest in the property to his daughter, Mary, who had married Robert E. Lee, a long-serving army officer. On April 20, 1861, Lee resigned his U.S. Army commission and moved to Richmond. There he accepted a commission in Virginia's army and soon after as one of five full generals in the Confederate Army. A month later, Union troops crossed the Potomac and occupied Arlington County, including the Custis estate, which served as a military headquarters. Ultimately, when the Lees were unable to appear in person to pay a tax and penalty levied on the

Figure 41. Arlington House (000-0001/0042), facade portico and north flanking wing (Anonymous 1864).

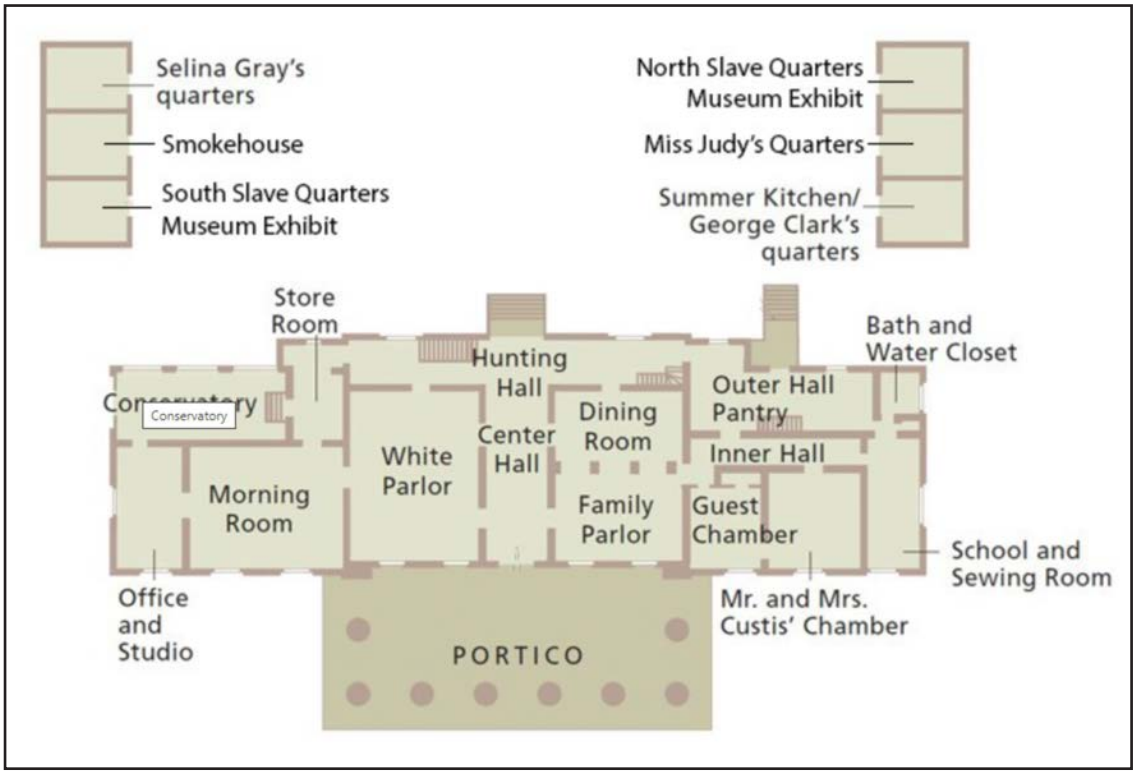


Figure 42. Arlington House (000-0001/0042), interpretive first floor plan of mansion and rear outbuildings/quarters for enslaved servants (NPS 2021).

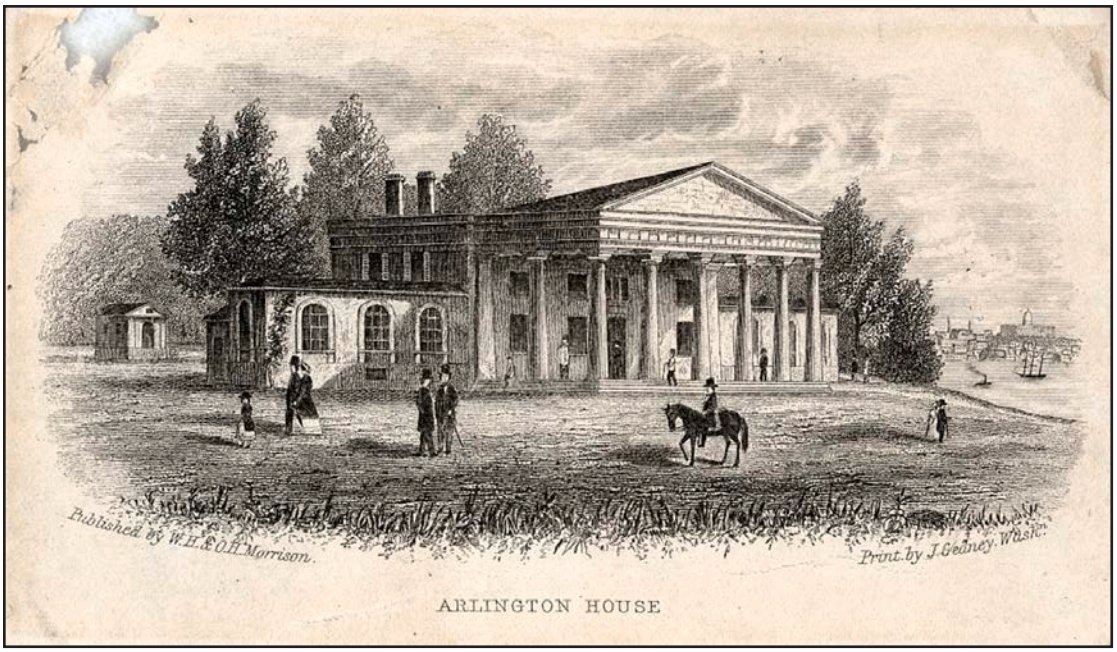


Figure 43. Engraving of Arlington House with one outbuilding visible to the rear (Gedney ca. 1847)

property, the federal government acquired the house and precinct at auction (Figure 44). On June 15, 1864, the Quartermaster General laid out a national cemetery that covered 200 acres of the estate. The cemetery contained 5,000 military burials by the end of the war, and 15,000 by 1868. Following a suit by Robert and Mary's son, Custis Lee, to regain ownership of Arlington House, the Supreme Court ultimately ruled in favor of the government, which acquired title to the entire estate beyond the house precinct. The entire property was under the stewardship of the War Department until 1933, when the National Park Service took charge of the 27.91 acres encompassing the house and related buildings. An act of Congress made this property a permanent memorial to Robert E. Lee, and since 1972 its official name has been "Arlington House, The Robert E. Lee Memorial" (Snell 1982).

There are numerous associations of the property with freedom seeking. Fifty-seven enslaved people moved with George Washington Parke Custis from Mount Vernon to Arlington in 1802 (Figures 45–47). Under the Custis' ownership, several people had escaped from the estate in 1831. In 1836, a "spinster" named Jane Reiner assisted an enslaved woman from the Arlington estate to escape by rail from Washington to Baltimore by posing as the woman's enslaver (Russell 2001:38).

Despite keeping dozens of people enslaved during his life, Custis was an advocate of gradual emancipation and colonization of Blacks in Africa. Both Custis and some of his enslaved workers contributed to the American Colonization Society. In addition to passing his estate to his daughter, Custis' will called for emancipation of all of the people enslaved at Arlington and his other properties within five years. While Robert E. Lee retained them for the full five-year term as he attempted to restore Arlington's financial viability, three of the enslaved men refused to wait and escaped from the estate in 1859. He took a two-year leave of absence from the Army to manage the estate personally and intensified resentment by treating the workers more harshly than his father-

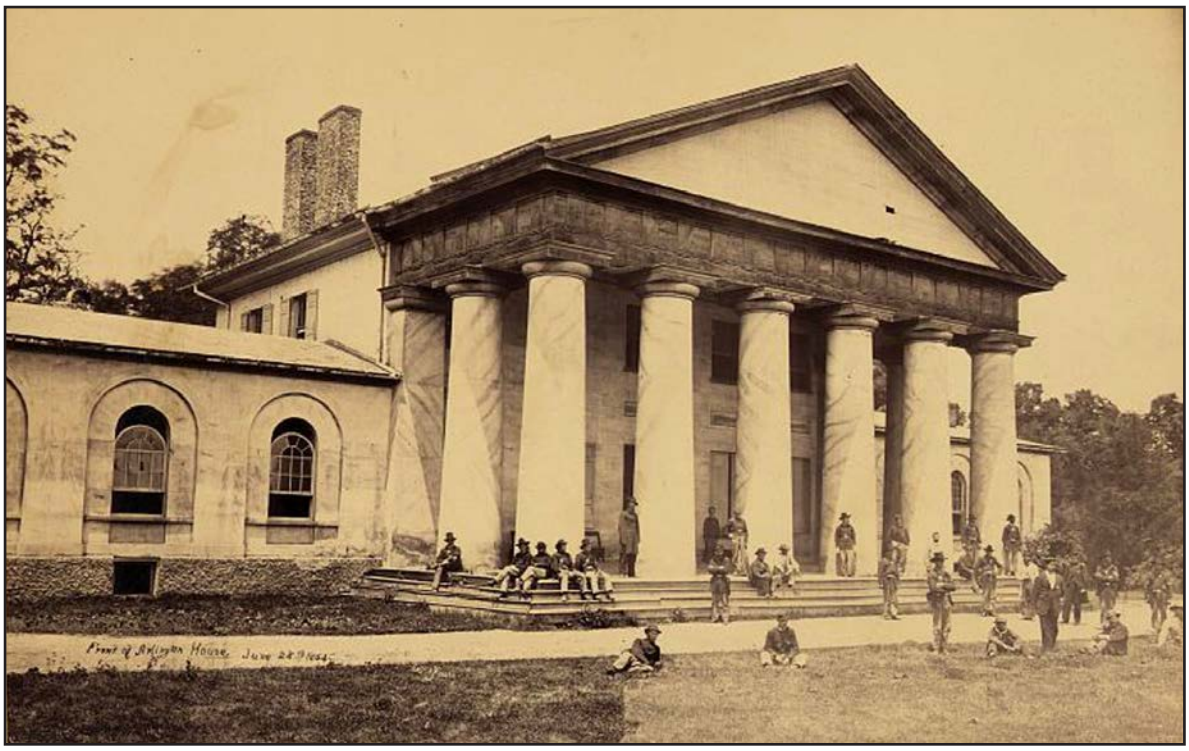


Figure 44. Union soldiers in front of Arlington Mansion in 1864, after the property's acquisition by the federal government (Russell 1864)

Figure 45. Leonard and Sally Norris, who were enslaved by George Washington Parke Custis at Arlington House (Arlington House Foundation). Leonard Norris recalled that Robert E. Lee had him whipped in 1857 when he claimed his freedom through the provisions of the George Washington Parke Custis will, which called for freeing of the enslaved within five years. In order to maximize income from enslaved labor to offset estate debts, Lee waited until 1862 to release all of enslaved his wife, Mary, had inherited from Custis.

Figure 46. Portrait of Charles Syphax with grandson William B. Syphax, ca. 1865. Charles was among 57 enslaved workers who moved from Mount Vernon to Arlington with George Washington Parke Custis in 1802 (National Park Service).

Figure 47. Selina Norris Gray (right) and two of her daughters (Arlington House Foundation). She was the personal maid of Mary Custis Lee. Remaining at Arlington after the Lees evacuated in 1861, Gray saved Lee, Custis, and Washington heirlooms from theft while Union soldiers occupied the house.

in-law had done, nearly leading to a revolt. Lee sent three men and three women who refused to obey his authority to an Alexandria jail and then to a Richmond slave dealer, who hired them out until their emancipation after the five-year term. By 1862, all of those who had been enslaved at Arlington were free, and many of them settled in a Freedman's village established on the estate (Fellman 2000).

Cities of Chesapeake and Suffolk

Great Dismal Swamp National Wildlife Refuge (131-6322)

Location: Virginia portion in western part of City of Chesapeake and eastern part of City of Suffolk

Evaluation Status: Not evaluated; first recorded as part of this study, potentially NRHP-eligible and recommended for further study.

Summary: The Great Dismal Swamp National Wildlife Refuge (NWR) consists of 112,684 acres of densely forested freshwater swamp that is under the management of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. Approximately the northern two-thirds (80,186 acres) of the refuge are in the Virginia cities of Suffolk and Chesapeake, while the southern third extends across portions of Gates, Pasquotank, and Camden counties in North Carolina (Figure 48). Currently, the swamp extends beyond the NWR to encompass a total of approximately 480,000 acres. Historically, however, before widespread drainage improvements for canal transportation and agriculture, the swamp probably spread across a million acres of southeastern Virginia and northeastern North Carolina. Even though the swamp appears to be uniformly

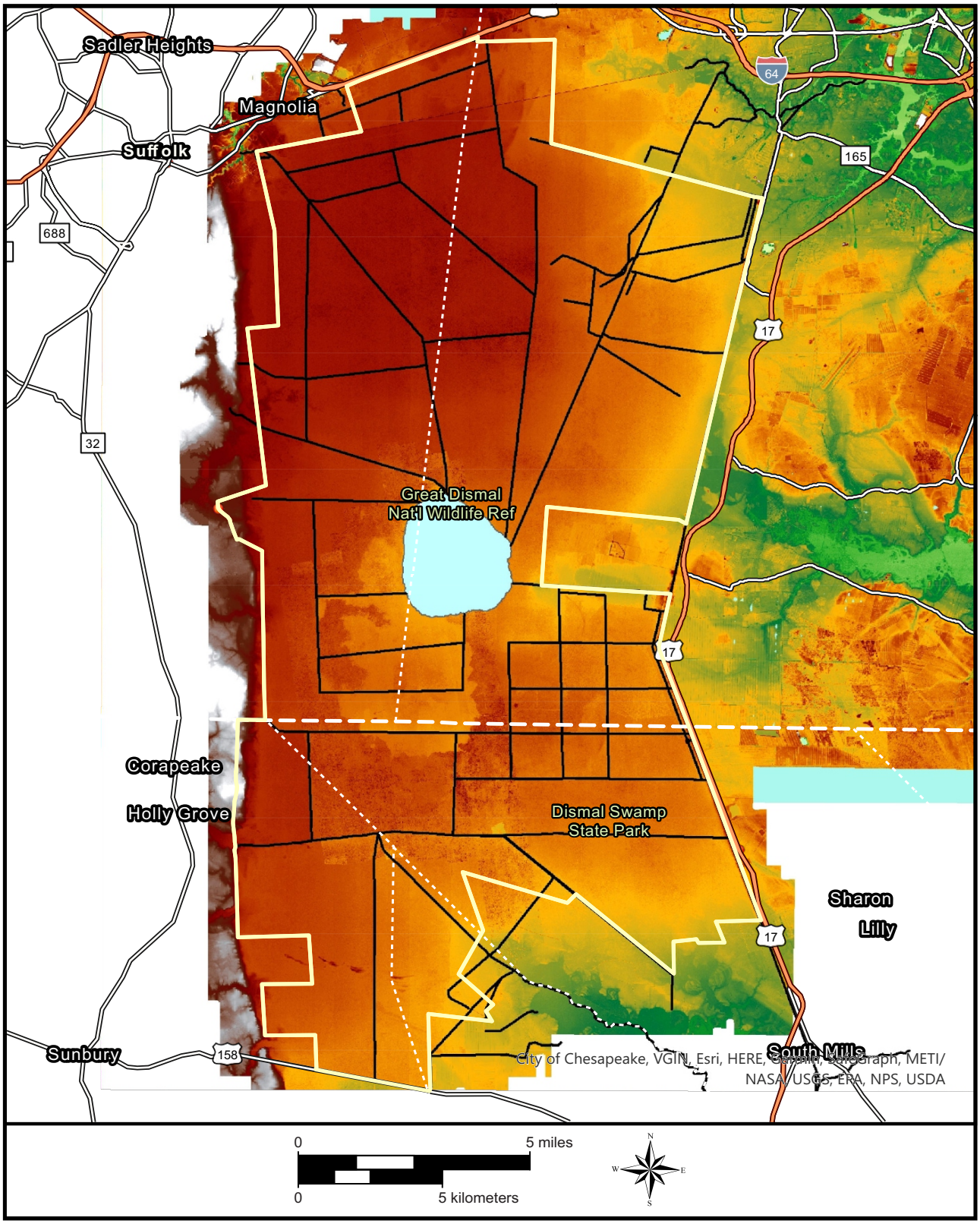


Figure 48. LiDAR imagery of the Great Dismal Swamp National Wildlife Refuge, with red shading indicating the highest elevations and green the lowest (U.S. Fisheries and Wildlife Service n.d.).

flat and waterlogged, subtly elevated "mesic islands" (sandbars) of a few acres up to twenty acres supported human habitation and activities from the Late Archaic period (ca. 5000 BP) through the mid-twentieth century (see Figure 48). The forests boast a wide diversity of wildlife, including "over 200 species of birds, nearly 100 species of butterflies and skippers, many turtles, numerous white-tailed deer, bobcats, otters, and one of the largest black bear populations on the east coast" (U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service n.d.). Within the dense expanse of forests, the salient natural feature is Lake Drummond, a shallow body of acid-stained water extending across 3,142 acres, stocked with game fish and home to bowfin and gar. The lake is roughly at the center of the NWR, wholly contained within the Virginia portion. At the eastern edge of the NWR is the Great Dismal Swamp Canal, with U.S. Route 17 running adjacent to the east bank. A large feeder canal runs from the Great Dismal Swamp Canal to Lake Drummond.

The refuge is a large protected remnant of a vast wilderness that provided refuge to "maroon" communities of people who lived independently and in relative safety from capture after escaping slavery in surrounding areas. The harsh, nearly trackless environment provided a viable refuge for freedom seekers from the seventeenth century through 1865. In the early 2000s, archaeologist Daniel Sayers conducted the first wide-ranging survey of the Great Dismal Swamp in search of the traces of maroon communities; one earlier investigation of a possible maroon site occurred in the late 1980s on land that had formerly been part of the Great Dismal Swamp (Nichols 1988; Sayers 2008:10). Sayers employed innovative techniques to identify high-probability areas such as tiny "islands" of relatively high ground that were viable for human habitation. Differences in elevation were too subtle to allow identification of these high areas from topographic maps. Instead, Sayers utilized U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service Forestry maps showing clusters of species of trees that required dryer ground on the slight rises above the typical low, waterlogged soils. One such area of about 20 acres in the North Carolina portion of the refuge contained artifacts and traces of habitations of a maroon community (Figure 49). Since then, Sayers has published findings of archaeological investigations of maroon sites

Figure 49. Structural features associated with a late seventeenth/early eighteenth-century maroon community site excavated in the North Carolina portion of the Great Dismal Swamp (Grant 2016).

across the swamp, providing physical evidence of maroon communities previously known only from documentary sources (Sayers 2016).

Although the current study did not include a field visit or documentation, the research team created a record for this resource based on documentary sources and archaeological reporting by Sayers.

Fairfax County

Conn's Ferry (029-6993)

Location: Riverbend Park, Great Falls

Evaluation Status: Not evaluated, recommended for further study.

Summary: The site of Conn's Ferry is at the boat landing in Riverbend Park, part of the county park system administered by the Fairfax County Park Authority. The park consists of multiple contiguous parcels along the west bank of the Potomac where the river turns from flowing southeast to southwest between Bealls and Conn Islands (Figures 50–52). There is a poured concrete boat ramp with concrete retaining walls and a poured concrete path on either side at grade. Segmented metal railings divide the walkways from the boat ramp and river.

Association of this resource with freedom seeking dates to the 1817 escape of Ellick, an enslaved man from the Conn family. The Conn House stood on this property on a hill above the ferry landing. The road to the ferry Ellick traveled on before his escape remains, as does the ferry landing. While it is unclear whether he used the ferry to escape, he made the most of an opportunity, caused by the confusion of being returned from jail to his owner, only to run away again. Previously, Ellick had run away after being arrested and punished for theft. When caught two months after that escape, he was imprisoned in the Leesburg, Virginia, jail overnight until his captors could take him back to his owner at the ferry (Robison 2010).

Field survey of this site documented its current state. In addition, the survey team added the property's Underground Railroad association to the Surveyor Assessment section of the V-CRIS record.

Sully Historic Site (029-0037)

Location: 3650 Historic Sully Way, Chantilly

Evaluation Status: NRHP and VLR listed 1970; Statewide levle of significance under unspecified criteria; Period of Significance: 18th century.

Summary: Fairfax County Park Authority operates the Sully Historic Site as a historic attraction and park. The property of approximately 133 acres of woodland and open landscape includes the domestic core of an estate that originally encompassed a 3,111-acre patent of Henry Lee I extending between Cub Run and Flatlick Run in 1725. The property was in Loudoun County from 1757 until a county boundary shift in 1798. The collection of buildings includes the two-story, three-bay frame plantation house built by Richard Bland Lee in 1794 and extended in 1799 (Figures 53 and 54). Construction consists of timber frame with brick nogging, covered with weatherboard. Additional buildings include a ca. 1795 log kitchen, an 1801 stone dairy (used as a dwelling from the Civil War until the 1940s), a ca. 1800 frame smokehouse (moved slightly from its original location), a nineteenth-century log schoolhouse moved to the property from Prince William County in 1963, and a modern (1990) well house (Figure 55). These building functions reflect the most up-to-date analysis from a 2004 cultural landscape report and a 2016 update of a historic structures report, rather than the original interpretations offered in the NRHP nomination. There is also a small family cemetery with three unmarked graves and a memorial plaque erected in 1973. In addition, the cemetery includes the graves of Richard Bland Lee and Elizabeth Collins, both marked with headstones. The remains of Lee and Collins were moved here from the Congressional

Figure 50. Conn's Ferry (029-6993), site plan.

Figure 51. Conn's Ferry (029-6993), boat ramp, looking east.

Figure 52. Conn's Ferry (029-6993), view across Potomac River, looking east.

Figure 53. Sully plantation house, facade as photographed in 2011 (V-CRIS).

Figure 54. Sully plantation house, photographed ca. 1890 (HABS 1960).

Figure 55. Sully Historic Site (029-0037), outbuildings (left to right: log schoolhouse [moved from Prince William County], dairy, smokehouse, kitchen).

Cemetery in Washington in 1980 (Gamble 2016; Rhodeside & Harwell, Inc and John Milner Associates, Inc. [R&H and JMA] 2004.).

From 1794 to 1811, Sully was the home of Richard Bland Lee and his family. Lee served in various political offices but most famously as the first person from Northern Virginia elected to the House of Representatives in 1789. During his tenure, as many as 40 enslaved African Americans lived on the property, which mainly focused on tobacco cultivation with some subsistence farming for the family and workers. Archaeological investigations in 1985 revealed the remains of three buildings that may have been quarters for the enslaved along a drive approaching the house from the main road to the south (Rust 1985). Richard Bland Lee had inherited 1,500 acres and 29 enslaved people from his father, but after selling some of the land, he kept the remaining portion of Sully as a 777-acre farm. During the residence of Richard Bland Lee at Sully, he wrote of four escapes of enslaved people, also documented in newspaper advertisements. One of the freedom seekers, Beaver Ludwell, eventually returned to Sully with his wife Nancy. Upon the Lees' move to Alexandria in 1811, they sold several of the enslaved workers with the property, while others moved with the Lees. Through the Civil War, enslaved people worked on the property, including some who had been hired from other plantations (Gamble 2016).

Although the current study did not include a field visit or documentation of the Sully Historic Site, the research team updated the Surveyor Statement of the V-CRIS entry to highlight its Underground Railroad association. Any update to the 1970 nomination could discuss the property's association with documented attempts by enslaved people to escape bondage.

Fauquier County

Fauquier County Jail (156-0004)

Location: 6 Court Street, Warrenton

Evaluation Status: VLR-listed 1977, NRHP 1978; contributing to the Warrenton Historic District (listed in VLR and NRHP in 1983).

Summary: The Fauquier County Jail stands on a busy street corner in downtown Warrenton. The property includes the original brick jail, built ca. 1808, and a second stone jail and high-walled jail yard built to rear of the original ca. 1823 (Figures 56–58). After construction of the stone jail, the brick jail served as the jailer's residence. The complex continued in its function as the county jail until 1966. Currently, the building houses a county history museum.

The following description of the original ca. 1808 brick jail/jailer's residence is from a 2019 reconnaissance survey:

> This two-story, rectangular, stripped down Georgian-style Jailor's Dwelling is three bays with a one-bay, two-story stone addition. The main section has a stone foundation, three-course common-bond brick walls, and a steeply-pitched side-gable roof with slate shingles and brick parapets at the gable ends. There are two interior end chimneys. The stone addition has a side gable roof with slate shingles and a stone parapet at the southeast end. There are three single-leaf entrances with wood-paneled doors and brick jack arches on the façade, as well as another single-leaf entrance on the southwest elevation. Windows are six-over-six and nine-over-nine double-hung, wood-sash windows.

The 2019 description continues for the ca. 1823 stone jail:

> The jail building is a two-story, three-bay, masonry building with a stone foundation and stone walls. It has a steeply-pitched side gable roof with slate shingles. A central single-leaf entrance with a stone jack arch is located on the northeast elevation, and it is likely that another single-leaf entrance is located on the southwest elevation in order to provide access to the jail yard. The exact window configuration is not visible, but it is clear that they have stone sills and lintels.

Figure 56. Fauquier County Jail (156-0004), site plan.

Figure 56. Fauquier County Jail (156-0004), north corner.

Figure 58. Fauquier County Jail (156-0004), northwest elevation.

The Fauquier County Jail is a particularly well preserved example of a jail that was in use during a peak period of Underground Railroad activity. Among the prisoners held were any freedom-seeking enslaved people who were captured and awaiting return to their enslavers. In addition, the county authorities could hold free Blacks arrested because they did not have their freedom papers to prove their status. In such cases, they could be sold as enslaved people. Research among the county records could be fruitful in documenting the history of freedom seeking in Fauquier County and the jail's association with that history, especially since court records are exceptionally well preserved beginning with the formation of the county in 1759. Advertisements by enslavers seeking people who had escaped from their estates provide additional primary sources to document the history of freedom seeking in the county.

Frederick County

Cedar Creek Battlefield and Belle Grove (034 0002/034-0303) ("Belle Grove Plantation Escape Site" in Network to Freedom listing)

Location: 336 Belle Grove Road, Middletown

Evaluation Status: VLR-listed 1968, NRHP and NHL 1969.

Summary: Belle Grove plantation features an Adamesque Federal-style stone plantation house constructed by Maj. Isaac Hite, Jr. from 1794 to 1797 (Figure 59). The sprawling Belle Grove mansion (100 by 40 ft. with a later wing built in 1820) has dressed limestone walls, decorative quoins, windows with keyed flat arches, four porticoes, and four chimneys widely spaced across a hipped roof—a fine melding of the fashionable Neoclassical and Federal styles that

recalls the Madisons' Montpelier. Hite's close connection to the Madison family was through his wife, Nelly Madison. Surrounding the plantation house are several outbuildings with masonry similar to the house, and to the rear is a large cemetery for the burial of the plantation's enslaved workers. The listed property is within the Cedar Creek Battlefield, where Union Maj. Gen. Philip Sheridan successfully counterattacked following a morning assault on his positions by Confederate forces on October 19, 1864 (Figure 60).

Belle Grove Plantation holds important associations with the quest of enslaved people for freedom. During the ownership of Belle Grove by the Hite family from 1783 to 1852, some 276 enslaved individuals lived and worked on the estate (Figure 61). Refusing to acquiesce to their plight, several individuals attempted to flee. Documentation of four freedom seekers occurs in Isaac Hite's commonplace book. A receipt from the *Baltimore American* newspaper in 1800 may have been for an advertisement requesting the return of an enslaved man named Primus. Another newspaper advertisement refers to a freedom seeker named Daniel who escaped at Easter in 1804 with the help of a white man who provided him with a forged certificate. A man named Henry escaped in late 1805. Another man named Jacob escaped sometime after 1824. Suckey, an enslaved woman, fled from another Hite family property in 1789 and came to work at Belle Grove after her capture. In 1819, Ambrose, a man formerly enslaved at Belle Grove, escaped from a different plantation to whose owner Hite had sold him. He returned to Belle Grove, however, probably in search of friends or family. In addition to the few who successfully escaped to freedom, several achieved free status when Emmanuel Jackson, a free African American, purchased several his children out of slavery from the Hites. In addition, one 60-year-old woman named Molly achieved freedom through emancipation by the Hite family in 1796 (NPS 2022a).

Although the current study did not include a field visit or additional documentation of Belle Grove, the research team updated the Surveyor Statement of the V-CRIS entry to highlight its Underground Railroad association. Any updates

Figure 59. Belle Grove (034-0002), mansion house facade in 2007 (V-CRIS).

Figure 60. Confederate assault on Union encampment at Belle Grove plantation on the morning of October 19, 1864 (Taylor 1864).

Figure 61. Cemetery for enslaved workers at Belle Grove Plantation, with fieldstone markers and mansion in background (author photograph 2011).

to the 1969 NRHP/NHL nomination should discuss the property's important association with freedom seekers, as documented through recent research by NPS staff (NPS 2022a).

City of Hampton

Fort Monroe: Freedom's Fortress (114-0002)

Location: Mercury Boulevard, Hampton or 20 Ingalls Road, Fort Monroe (Hampton vicinity)

Evaluation Status: NHL-listed 1960, NRHP 1966, VLR 1969.

Summary: Fort Monroe, constructed 1819-1834, is the largest moated stone fortress ever built on American soil. Located less than three miles from downtown Hampton, the fortress and its surrounding 565-acre historic district straddles Old Point Comfort overlooking Hampton Roads at the southeastern tip of the peninsula formed by the James and York Rivers (Figure 62). The district encompasses a narrow spit of land with the embayment of Mill Creek on the west flowing between the district and the mainland of the James-York Peninsula.

Fort Monroe was part of the Third System of seacoast fortifications, designed to protect against foreign incursions following the War of 1812 and the devastation wrought be the British military throughout the poorly defended Chesapeake Bay, culminating in the burning of Washington, D.C. in 1814. The Secretary of War appointed Gen. Simon Bernard, a military engineer famed for his work under Napoleon Bonaparte, as the head of a Fortifications Board to address the coastal defense needs of the United States. Fort Monroe was one of the fortifications designed personally by General Bernard. Since the colonial period, the location of Fort Monroe at Old Point Comfort had been a strategic point for controlling access to Hampton Roads, the James River, and vital naval assets in Portsmouth and Norfolk (Shackelford 1952:460) (Figure 63). Bernard designed Fort Monroe to be part of a system of artillery crossfire, in concert with Fort Calhoun (renamed Fort Wool in 1862). This fortified battery a mile to the south across Hampton Roads never reached completion because of the instability of the artificial island (known as The Rip Raps). Nevertheless, Fort Monroe's seven-sided configuration with six bastions and a water battery in front of the fortress presented a formidable threat to the approach of enemy shipping. Firepower from the sides directly facing Hampton Roads amounted to 68 guns firing from casemates and *en barbette* from two different levels. During the Civil War, Union forces took care to retain this strategic installation. With the support of a naval blockading squadron, they maintained control of Hampton Roads throughout the conflict.

Interestingly, the location of the fort, Old Point Comfort, which marked the end of slavery for so many individuals during the Civil War, was where the first enslaved people landed in the Virginia colony. In 1619, English privateers from the *White Lion* and the *Treasurer*, brought ashore approximately 30 Africans they had captured from a Portuguese slave-trading vessel. Local colonists accepted the Africans in exchange for supplies to the privateer vessels (Wolfe 2022). From these beginnings, slavery increased gradually over several decades and became integral to the tobacco economy in the 1670s. Codified into a race-based system, slavery endured for nearly 200 years. Before the final demise of slavery with ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865, Fort Monroe and its immediate vicinity served as a refuge for freedom seekers during the Civil War.

At Fort Monroe in May 1861, Maj. Gen. Benjamin Butler made the decision to treat freedom seekers as "contraband of war," thereby ensuring the security of enslaved people who reached Union lines throughout the war (Figure 64). President Lincoln's military objectives early in the war did not include prohibitions against slavery. When enslaved workers building fortifications for Confederate Colonel Charles Mallory fled to Fort Monroe, however,

Figure 62. Fort Monroe Historic District, aerial view, 2007 (V-CRIS).

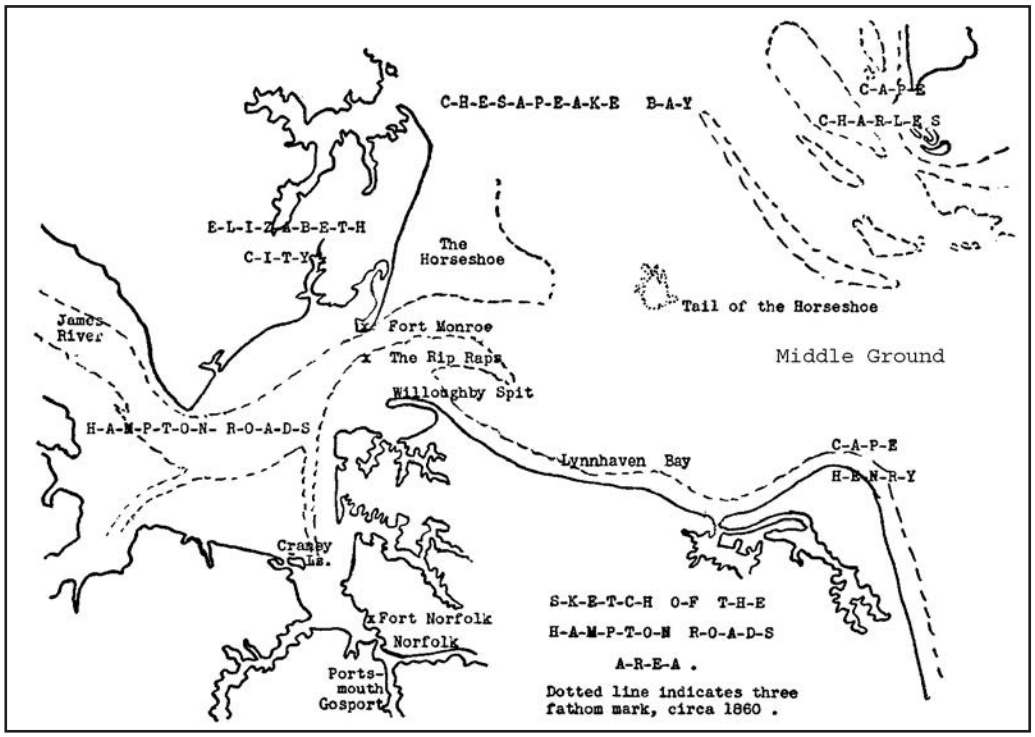


Figure 63. Map showing strategic location of Fort Monroe at Hampton Roads near the entrance to the Chesapeake Bay (Shackelford 1952:460).

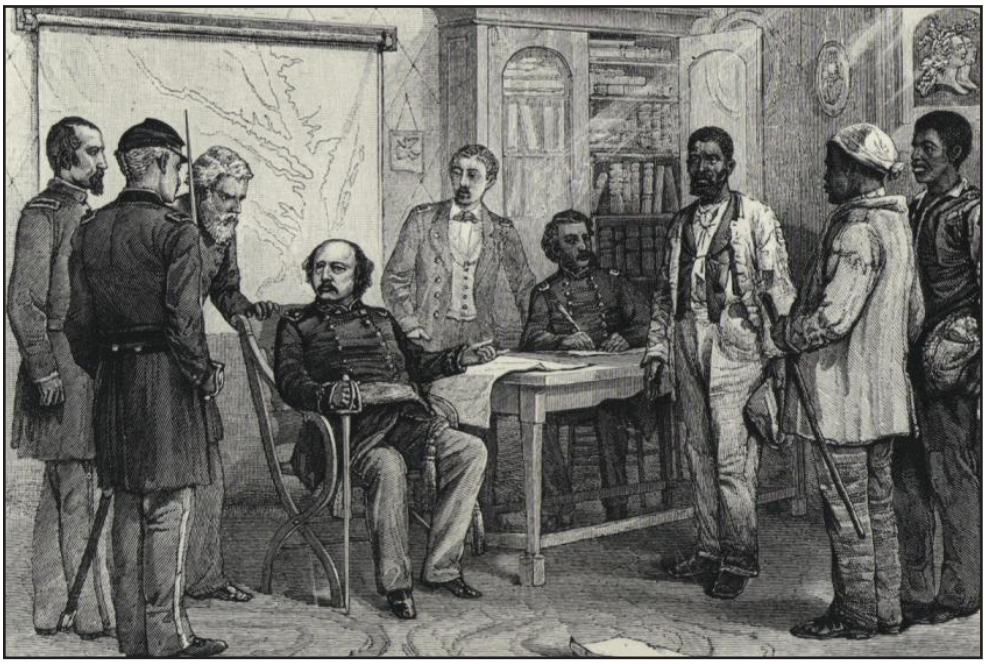


Figure 64. Brigadier General Benjamin Butler (later a major general) refusing to return enslaved workers to Confederate officers and declaring them "contraband of war" (Library of Congress).

General Butler ignored the stipulations of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act. Instead, he reasoned that enslaved people could potentially provide material support to the enemy through their labor. Thereby, he set the precedent that any freedom seekers entering Union-held territory from the Confederate states would be safe from return. As the influx of self-emancipated refugees arrived at the fortress, Union forces established the Grand Contraband Camp outside its bastions. Henceforth, as the Union Army gained control of Confederate territory, additional camps followed. While this required the government to provide housing and subsistence, the army also gained a valuable source of paid labor that contributed to the war effort. Old Quarters #1, where Butler announced his "contraband" decision remains inside the impeccably preserved installation (Caloncino 2012) (Figure 65).

Following the Civil War, the fort continued as a federal military installation. From 1865 to 1867, it was the site of imprisonment for Confederate President Jefferson Davis. Following World War II, the fortress made the transition from its role as a coastal defense asset to high-level officer training. In 1951, three casemates of the fort opened for visitors as a museum interpreting Davis' confinement. The Casemate became part of the Army museum system in 1968. Fort Monroe remained under the control of the U.S. Army until 2011, when the Base Realignment and Closure (BRAC) recommendations led to its conveyance to the Commonwealth of Virginia (administered by the Fort Monroe Authority) and the National Park Service. In 2011, President Barack Obama designated 325.21 acres as a national monument (Lee and Hollister 2016).

Although the current study did not include a field visit or documentation of Fort Monroe, the research team updated the Surveyor Statement of the V-CRIS entry to highlight its Underground Railroad association. The 2012 Update and Boundary Increase to the NRHP nomination (approved in 2013) already include discussion of the property's important association with the "Contraband" decision and freedom seeking.

Figure 65. Fort Monroe (114-0002), Old Quarters No. 1, where General Butler made his "contraband of war" decision in 1861.

City of Hopewell

Appomattox Manor (116-0001)

Location: 1001 Pecan Ave, Hopewell

Evaluation Status: VLR-listed 1968, NRHP 1979; contributing to the City Point Historic District (116-0006; VLR-listed 1978, NRHP 1979) and the Petersburg National Battlefield (123-0071; NRHP-listed 1966, VLR 1983).

Summary: The 14-acre Appomattox Manor property commands the bluffs at the northern end of the City Point peninsula, overlooking the confluence of the Appomattox River with the James River (Figure 66). English colonists established a settlement called Bermuda Cittie (later called Charles City) here in 1613. After its abandonment due to the Powhatan Uprising of 1622 and loss of autonomy of the city corporations in 1634, Francis Eppes claimed a 1,700-acre land grant encompassing the entire peninsula, based on the 50 acres awarded to him for each family member and servant for whose travel to Virginia he had paid. The core of the property, which includes the 1763 manor house, remained in the Eppes family for 344 years until its acquisition by the NPS in 1979. Currently, the property is part of the Petersburg National Battlefield. Architectural resources on the property include the frame dwelling with its one-and-a-half story, side-gabled main block (built 1763) and nineteenth-century wings forming a U-shaped footprint (Figure 67). Domestic outbuildings date to the eighteenth century (kitchen/laundry), nineteenth century (dairy, two smokehouses), and twentieth century (garage). There are also several notable landscape features, including a mid-nineteenth-century formal garden, nineteenth- and twentieth-century driveways, and an early twentieth-century arbor and pair of gateposts. A log cabin where Gen.

Figure 66. Appomattox Manor (116-0001), aerial view of house, outbuildings, grounds, and Grant's Cabin (far right), overlooking Appomattox River (far left) and James River (Blanchard 2019).

Figure 67. Appomattox Manor (116-0001), main house and outbuildings, looking west, 2018 (V-CRIS).

Figure 68. Appomattox Manor (116-0001), Grant's Cabin, south and east elevations, 2018 (V-CRIS).

Ulysses S. Grant lived during the nine-month siege of Petersburg stands a hundred feet east of the dwelling, the lone representative of 42 officers' cabins erected on the property during the siege (Figure 68). Remains of a Union redan earthwork that housed three guns is 50 yards east of the cabin (Brown et al. 2005).

During the eighteenth century, the Eppes family sold lots along the James River waterfront, and the area developed into the port of City Point, with its own tobacco warehouses and inspection station. In 1781, a British expedition led by Benedict Arnold passed through Appomattox Manor on its way to Richmond. Incorporated as a town in 1826, City Point soon acquired additional importance as a transshipment point for Petersburg freight as silting of the Appomattox River hindered the navigation of large vessels. A railroad connection further enhanced the port in 1838. The role of City Point as a port had a significant effect on Appomattox Manor. An 1862 Union naval raid concurrent with the Peninsula Campaign resulted in the destruction of many of the port's wharves and warehouses, while the Eppes dwelling also suffered damage from naval shelling. Following the Overland Campaign during the spring of 1864, Grant focused his attention on cutting off supplies to Lee's Army of Northern Virginia and the Confederate capital through a protracted siege around the railroad hub of Petersburg. City Point and the Appomattox Manor property were transformed into the staging area and supply port for the siege. During this period, Grant's quartermaster occupied the Eppes dwelling, and President Abraham Lincoln met with Grant in its drawing room. In 1923, Appomattox Manor became part of the City of Hopewell, established after rapid industrial growth that followed the brief operation of a DuPont de Nemours guncotton plant on the outskirts of City Point during World War I.

From the Eppes family's settlement of the property in 1635 through 1865, Appomattox Manor has had important associations with slavery and freedom seeking. Of the 34 headrights Francis Eppes claimed in his 1,700-acre land grant, five were Black servants. The Eppes family relied on enslaved people as house servants and farm laborers at Appomattox Manor and at associated properties across the James River. By the 1850s, Dr. Richard Eppes had 112 enslaved people working the fields of his 937-acre home tract, along with 1,464 acres nearby in Chesterfield and Charles City Counties (Figure 69). Eppes was an avid experimenter in agricultural innovation, keeping careful notes on weather, soil amendments, and crop rotation in his plantation diary and corresponding with other planters interested in scientific farming. Eppes also put thought into managing his labor force for maximum profit, especially by avoiding the permanent escape of freedom seekers. The solution, he reasoned shrewdly, was to limit what he perceived to be the main motivations of freedom seekers: harsh, random punishment and family separation. To

Figure 69. Servants at Appomattox Manor in the late nineteenth century; Liddy Jones, cook (right) and Patty George (second from right) and two unidentified women to the left (Anonymous late nineteenth century). Some or all of the women may have been enslaved at Appomattox Manor or nearby properties before 1864.

make punishment predictable, he devised his own "code of laws" with specific rewards and penalties. In addition, he encouraged intermarriage of the enslaved population within the enslaved community on his own properties because he could ensure that a married couple would remain in the same location throughout their lives. He thereby avoided the possibility that a spouse from a plantation owned by a different planter could be sold off to some distant location (Tyler-McGraw 2005:31).

Ultimately, the possibility of refuge behind Union lines (even before the federal occupation of City Point) disproved Eppes's theory that family stability and predictable discipline would suppress the desire for freedom among his bondspeople. Once afforded the opportunity to escape in 1862, 106 individuals fled from the Eppes estates. During the Union presence at City Point, many formerly enslaved people lived within the staging area and worked on the military railroad, infrastructure at the wharves, as stevedores, and in the employ of Union officers living on the grounds of Appomattox Manor (Figure 70).

Although the current study did not include a field visit or documentation of Appomattox Manor, the research team updated the Surveyor Statement of the V-CRIS entry to highlight its Underground Railroad association. Any updates to the 1979 nomination should discuss the property's important association with freedom seeking.

Loudoun County

Loudoun County Courthouse (253-0006)

Location: 18 Market Street East, Leesburg

Evaluation Status: VLR and NRHP-eligible; contributing to the Leesburg Historic District (253-0035; VLR-listed 1969, NRHP 1970, NRHP boundary increase and update 2001).

Summary: Built in 1894, the Classical Revival, temple form brick courthouse stands on the site of two earlier courthouses that were venues for important trials related to Underground Railroad activities (Figures 71–74). Since the late 1990s, court functions have moved to a massive court complex to the northeast that occupies nearly a quarter of the area of the courthouse square block.

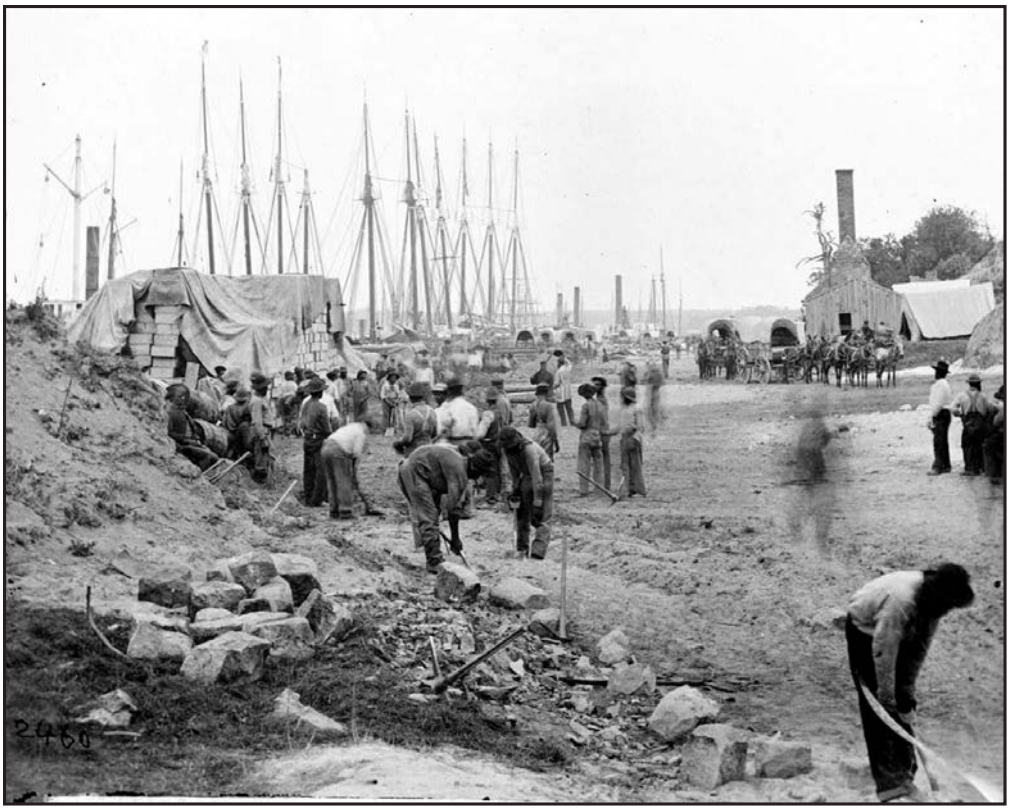


Figure 70. Formerly enslaved refugees working at City Point docks for Union military (Anonymous 1864–1865)

Figure 71. Loudoun County Courthouse (253-0006), built in 1894, northwest corner.

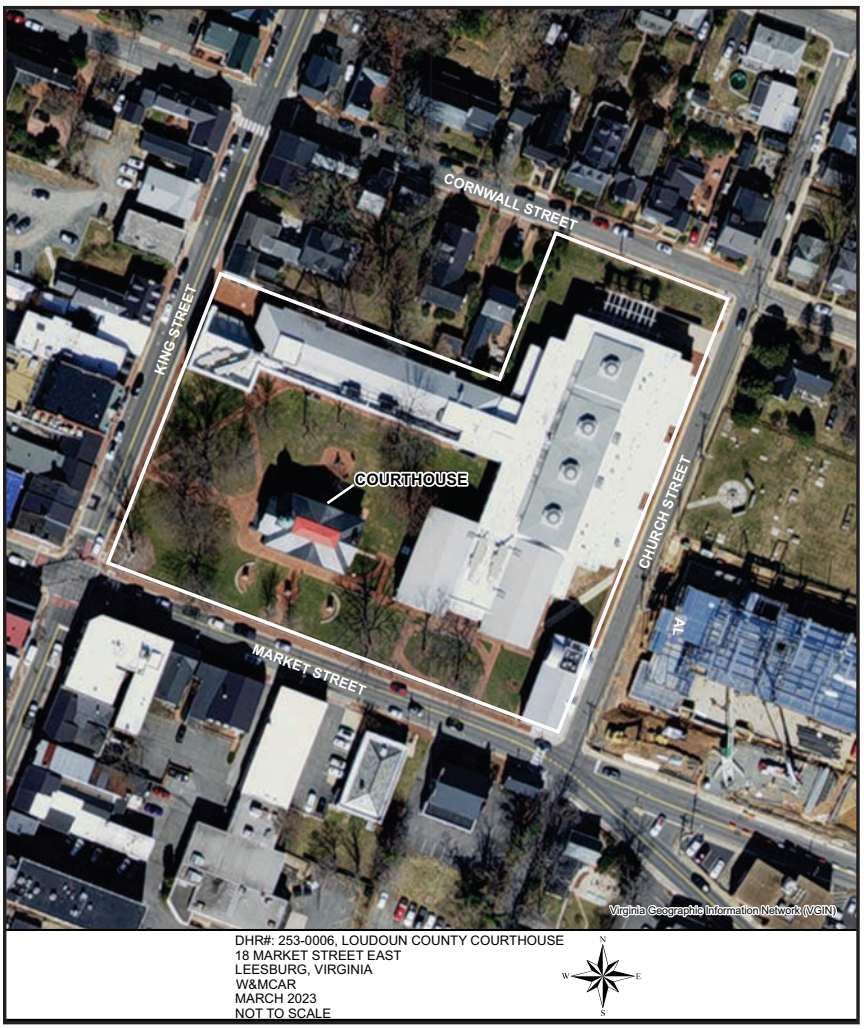


Figure 72. Loudoun County Courthouse (253-0006), site plan.

Figure 73. Sketch of the Loudoun County courthouse, built in 1811 (Latrobe 1815).

Figure 74. Loudoun County Courthouse (right third of engraving) and the courthouse square in downtown Leesburg in 1845 (Howe 1845:353).

Survey and testing of Site 44LD0459, in the lawn surrounding that 1895 courthouse, have revealed eighteenth- and nineteenth-century deposits contemporary with the original courthouse where historic events associated with Underground Railroad history occurred (Bienenfeld et al. 1997; Higgins and Tucker 2023). Since the current building postdates the Underground Railroad era, it will be important to highlight the archaeological site in future Network to Freedom materials. Leesburg has served as the county seat since its formation in 1757. The first courthouse, built in 1758, was replaced by a second courthouse built on the site in 1811. The 1894 courthouse is part of the Leesburg Historic District (253-0035).

The Network to Freedom summary for the Loudoun County Courthouse highlights two trials of free Blacks for whom Quaker John Janney served on the side of the defense (Figure 75). Recent research by county history staff has revealed additional important details about the cases. In 1840, Leonard Grimes, a carriage driver, was tried for "stealing" an enslaved woman named Patty and her six children to deliver them to Patty's free husband (Figure 76). Although Grimes had to serve two years in the state penitentiary and pay a $100 fine, this was the lightest sentence possible thanks to the efforts of Janney and other members of the legal team (Pollard 2019:37-38). After serving a two-year sentence in the state penitentiary, Grimes moved to Boston and became the minister for Twelfth Baptist Church. As a leader in the American Baptist Missionary Society, he was instrumental in developing its antislavery stance in 1858. His church also raised funds to purchase the freedom of Anthony Burns, an enslaved member of his church who otherwise would have been returned to slavery in Virginia according to the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 (Lee n.d.).

In 1846, Janney obtained an acquittal for Nelson Talbott Gant who attempted to carry his wife Maria away from slavery with the help of Underground Railroad agents in Pennsylvania and Ohio. Janney argued that the court could not force Maria to testify against her husband, which meant that there was insufficient testimony for a conviction. The court's consent to Janney's proposition marked the first instance of recognizing the legal validity of a slave marriage. The court allowed Gant to purchase his wife's freedom and both then moved to Ohio (Pollard 2019:39). Despite John Janney's stances in these cases and the abolition of slavery among the Quakers' multistate association in 1776, he remained one of the denomination's members who continued to own and hire enslaved laborers on his farm.

Two other figures tried at the courthouse are important in the history of the Underground Railroad and abolitionist views in Loudoun County. Another member of the Quaker community, Yardley Taylor, held strong antislavery views

and expressed them freely in public speeches (Figure 77). In 1828, Taylor briefly spent time in the county jail for his role in the attempted escape of an enslaved man, Harry, to Pennsylvania while using freedom papers borrowed from Alex McPherson. Harry also had with him a letter of introduction to Underground Railroad agents written by Taylor. Although a neighbor quickly posted bail that set Taylor free from jail, he contested his case for two years before pleading guilty and paying a $20 fine (Pollard 2019:17, 29-31). The fates of Alex McPherson and Harry are unknown.

In 1850, another Quaker, Samuel Janney, stood trial for "inciting slaves to revolt" on the grounds of two essays published in the Leesburg *Washingtonian* (Figure 78). Janney, a school master in the Goose Creek community (now Lincoln), was an articulate antislavery advocate. Despite supporting the Colonization Society, he did not insist on emigration as a condition for emancipation. Even more controversially, he argued for immediate rather than gradual emancipation. Janney successfully mounted his own written defense and then published it under the title, "The Freedom of the Press Vindicated." The acquittal of Janney, and other similar proceedings, indicated that courts "actually *upheld* (albeit with reluctance) the rights of Virginians to circulate most kinds of antislavery literature" (Hickin 1971:183-186).

Field survey of this site documented its current state. In addition, the survey team added the

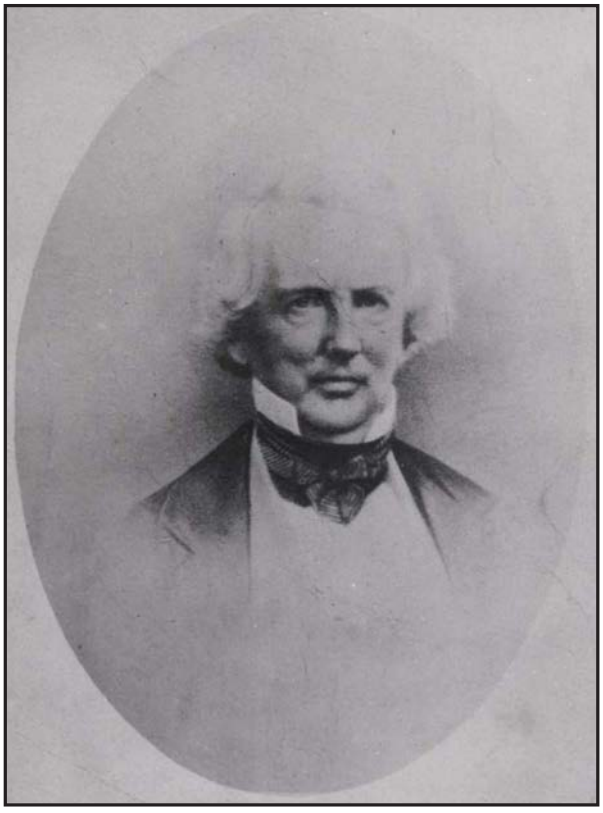


Figure 75. Attorney John Janney, who defended Leonard Grimes and Nelson Talbott Gant, both free Black men accused of assisting enslaved people to freedom (Anonymous n.d.). Janney also helped to draft an unsuccessful petition to end slavery in Virginia in 1831 and was elected to the House of Delegates in 1833.

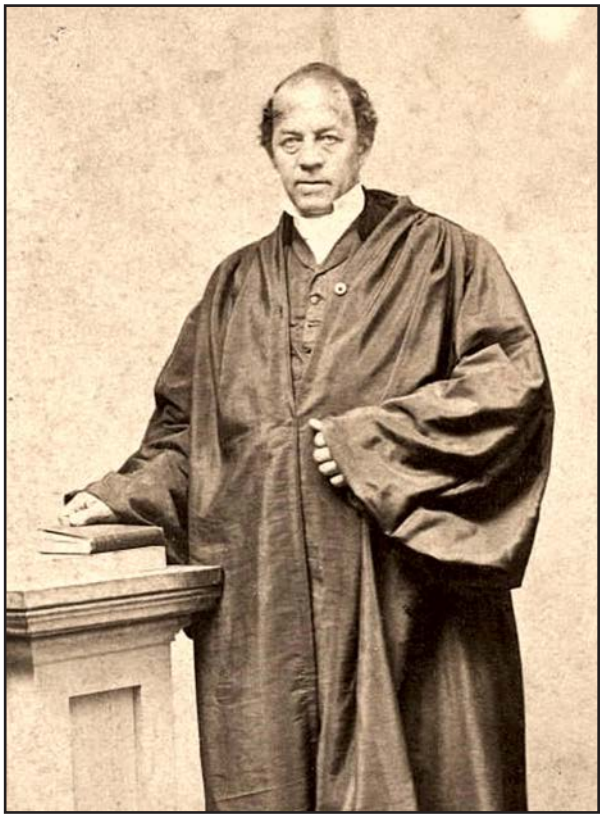


Figure 76. Reverend Leonard Grimes, minister of Twelfth Baptist Church in Boston (1848–1873), earlier convicted in Loudoun County Court as a carriage driver who assisted an enslaved woman, Patty, and her six children to escape from slavery (Loomis 1860).

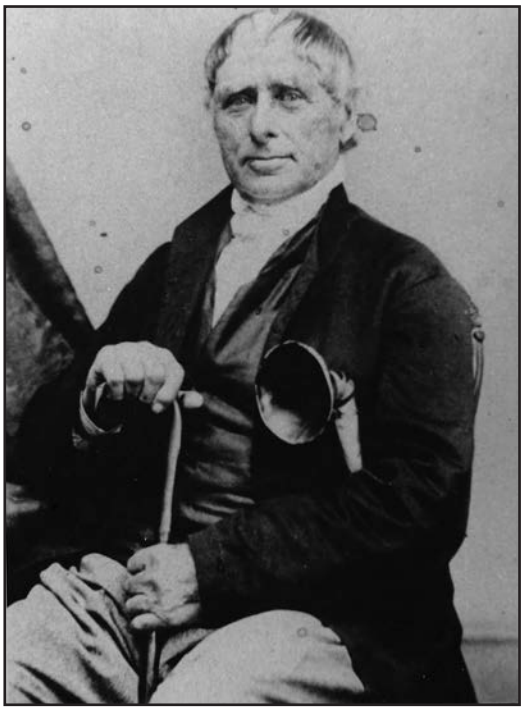


Figure 77. Yardley Taylor, Quaker nurseryman, surveyor, and antislavery speaker, convicted and fined in 1828 for assisting in an unsuccessful attempt by enslaved man, Harry, to Pennsylvania (Loudoun Museum n.d.).

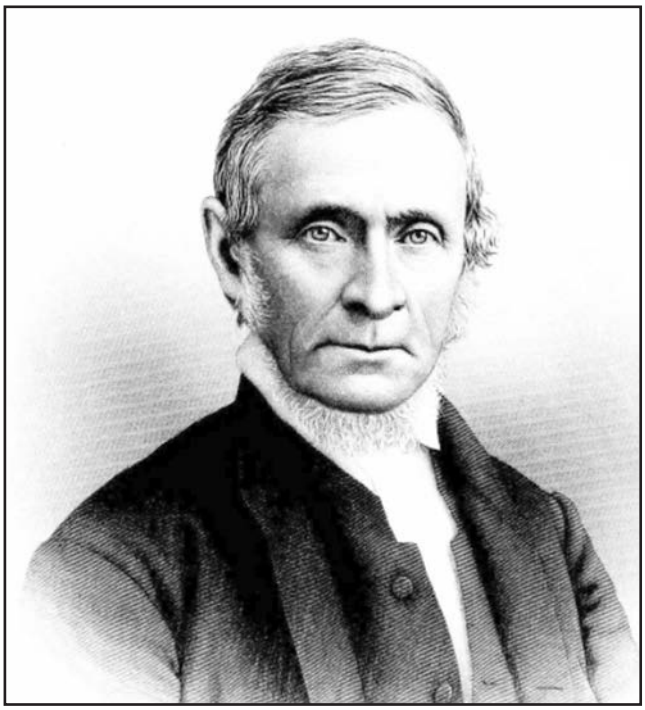


Figure 78. Samuel Janney, school master from Lincoln in Loudoun County and antislavery essayist, acquitted in 1850 from charge of "inciting slaves to revolt (Janney 1881:frontispiece).

property's Underground Railroad association to the Surveyor Assessment section of the V-CRIS record. Additional associations with freedom seeking noted in this report could be added to future survey documentation or updates to the Leesburg Historic District NRHP nomination.

Melrose (053-0454)

Location: 14428 Loyalty Road, Waterford

Evaluation Status: Recommended for further survey.

Summary: The property is north of the village of Waterford in a rural area of Loudoun County. The 48-acre parcel is mostly wooded but is clear at around the house and barn (Figure 79). The farm is at the end of a long drive that extends east from Loyalty Road serving other parcels en route. Once part of the 500-acre Melrose property patented in the eighteenth century, the property included a log dwelling, not observed during the present survey. The ca. 1850 Greek Revival, two-and-a-half-story, side-gabled brick dwelling rests on a stone foundation and has a narrow rear brick wing and a one-and-a-half-story, side-gabled stone wing on the south end (Figure 80). The main block features twin interior end chimneys that flank the ridgeline of the roof. Dormers have been added since the 1970s. The property also includes a ca. 1850 bank barn and a ca. 1870 brick shed.

Association with the Underground Railroad is through the story of Noble Robinson, one of 20 individuals enslaved by the estate's owner, William Giddings. As lieutenant colonel of the 56th Virginia State Militia, Giddings was in charge of constructing fortifications around Leesburg. When Robinson learned that he would be required to join other enslaved Blacks and poor whites on the construction project, he escaped from Melrose on January 12, crossing the Potomac River to

Figure 79. Melrose (053-0454), site plan.

Figure 80. Melrose (053-0454), southwest corner of house.

Point of Rocks, Maryland. There he came into the employ of a Pennsylvania regiment. With permission from Union officers, he crossed the river again in late January in order to free his wife, Martha, and their three young children from Sydnor Williams' farm, located about a mile from Melrose. After crossing back into Maryland, the family eventually settled in Pennsylvania on a farm of their own (Chamberlin and Souders 2011:83).

The current study documents the continued integrity of this mid-nineteenth-century Greek Revival farmhouse and contemporary outbuildings since the previous survey completed in 1975. The updated V-CRIS record also reflects the association of the property with a dramatic story of freedom seeking.

Oatlands (053-0093)

Location: 20850 Oatlands Plantation Lane, Leesburg

Evaluation Status: VLR-listed 1969, NRHP 1969, NHL 1971; contributing as the "centerpiece" of the Oatlands Historic District (053-0446; VLR and NRHP 1974).

Summary: The current 250-acre Oatlands, located about 8 miles south of downtown Leesburg, was part of a 5,000-acre tract that Robert "King" Carter conveyed to his son, George, when he reached the age of 21 in 1798. George Carter built the multi-section Adamesque Federal-style painted brick mansion in 1804) (Figure 81 and 82). The main three-story, three-bay block has two-story, two-bay wings on either side, all topped by parapets on the facade. Attached to the wings are octagonal-ended, two-story, one bay projections, each containing an interior staircase. The only modifications to the original footprint are the 1827 two-story, tetrastyle, Roman Corinthian portico and a one-story porch attached to the octagonal drawing room (see Figure 81). The mansion stands at the southern end of the largely open tract with wooded areas mostly along the east margins. Complementing the mansion is a large terraced formal garden begun ca. 1803 (Figures 83 and 84). A large collection of outbuildings are contemporary or closely postdate the mansion, including a quarter for the enslaved, a barn, a greenhouse (possibly the oldest freestanding example in Virginia), and a smokehouse. There are several later secondary resources on the property as well.

In its application for inclusion in the Network to Freedom, the National Trust highlighted several events associated with freedom seeking, documented in the letters of George Carter and in newspaper advertisements. During the first half of the nineteenth century, Oatlands had the largest number of enslaved people of an estate in Loudoun County. In 1850, George's widow, Elizabeth, had 85 bondspeople on the property. In 1809, a house servant named Billy escaped to Pennsylvania. Despite capture and jailing in Baltimore brought about by Carter in 1817, Billy escaped soon afterward and pursued a life of freedom in Pennsylvania. Two enslaved people escaped from the property in 1814. Carter determined to sell both of these men to avoid the trouble of pursuing them once recaptured. In 1817, a newspaper advertisement indicated that a man named Ephraim, who had escaped from a plantation in Prince William County, might be hiding at Oatlands where his father lived.

There was no field survey of this property during the current study. The V-CRIS record for Oatlands would benefit from a complete reconnaissance survey of the entire property given the incomplete entries and lack of dates for many of the secondary resources. The National Trust for Historic Preservation owns, maintains, and interprets the property to the public as one of the most popular attractions in Loudoun County. Any updates to the Oatlands or Oatlands Historic District nominations should highlight association of the property with freedom seeking activities.

Figure 81. Oatlands (053-0093), facade (south elevation) (HABS 1973).

Figure 82. Oatlands (053-0093), north elevation) in 2009 (V-CRIS).

Figure 83. Oatlands (053-0093), aerial imagery of main house and formal gardens (Loudoun County 2023).

Figure 82. Oatlands (053-0093), house and formal gardens in 2001 (V-CRIS).

Figure 85. James A. Fields House (121-5004), facade in 2008 (Historical Marker Database 2023a) .

City of Newport News

James A. Fields House (121-5004)

Location: 617 27th Street, Newport News

Evaluation Status: VLR and NRHP-listed 2002

Summary: This two-story brick Italianate house, built in 1897, stands on a 50-by-100 foot lot in Madison Heights, a urban residential area of the South East corridor of Newport News. The building features a raised basement and a three-story tower (Figure 85). Although currently in good condition, it decayed during a long period of poor maintenance and abandonment before its restoration in 2000.

The property is not NRHP-eligible because of its architectural significance but instead for its use as the Whittaker Community Hospital (the first hospital for Blacks in Newport News) from 1908 to 1917 and for its association with James A. Fields, a former enslaved man who rose to prominence in Newport News in the late nineteenth century (Figure 86). Born in 1844 in Hanover County, Fields twice escaped slavery. In 1861, he fled to the nearby countryside and then to Richmond. After his recapture, he fled again in 1862 and, with his brother George, made his way to Fort Monroe. There he served as a guide for Union troops until 1864, when his entire family joined him in freedom behind Union lines.

Although the house on 27th Street postdates the time of Fields' freedom seeking, it serves as a testament to the resiliency and achievements of a self-emancipated person who obtained access to education. Fields attended a school for Blacks run by missionaries in Hampton. Working as a storekeeper for the Freedman's Bureau, he befriended the Superintendent, Samuel Chapman Armstrong. After Armstrong established the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute as an institution of higher education for Blacks and Native Americans in 1868, Fields was part of the

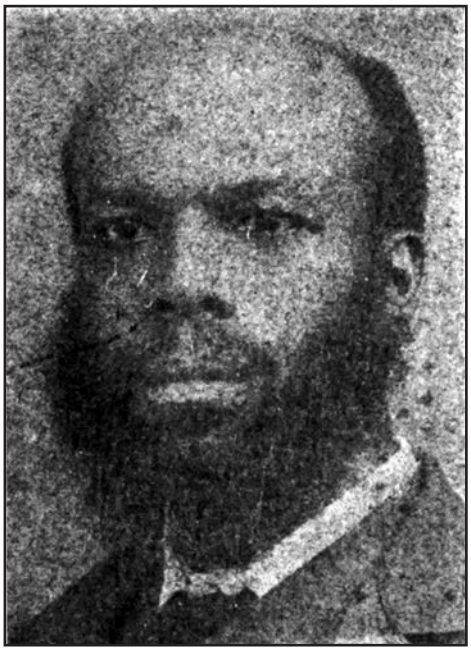


Figure 86. Portrait of James A. Fields as a member of the House of Delegates (1889—1890) (Jackson 1945).

first graduating class three years later. Equipped with this education, he taught school to Black children in Elizabeth City County (now part of Hampton) and Williamsburg for 14 years. From 1887 to 1889, he served as the Commonwealth Attorney for Warwick County (now Newport News), followed immediately by election to a term in Virginia's General Assembly (Cherry 2002).

In 1908, five years after the death of James Fields, four doctors converted part of the house into the first hospital for Blacks in Hampton. After intensive fundraising, a new hospital named Whittaker Memorial Hospital for one of the first four doctors, opened in 1917 nearby on 29th Street (Cherry 2002).

Although the current study did not include a field visit, the Surveyor Statement of the V-CRIS entry was updated to highlight its Underground Railroad association. The 2002 NRHP nomination makes note of Fields' origins in Hanover County and the story of his freedom seeking, which led to his career of educational, legal, and political contributions.

City of Norfolk

Downtown Norfolk Waterfront (122-6427/44NR0062)

Location: Water Street, Norfolk

Evaluation Status: Recommended for further survey

Summary: The Network to Freedom program designated the Downtown Waterfront as a "site" associated with the Underground Railroad in Virginia. The summary provided by the program does not define the geographic area precisely. Discussion of events and people in the summary relates to an L-shaped area shown in an Underground Railroad tour map with additional historic locations provided from the current study (Newby-Alexander 2023) (Figure 87). After fires set by British and American forces in 1776 destroyed almost the entire city, the downtown Norfolk cultural landscape was slow to develop in the economic stagnation of the early nineteenth century. Economic development and the migration of free Blacks to Africa coincided in the 1830s, along with the present street grid. The tour area extends south-southwest from the former location of Hall's Slave Pen (near the intersection of Freemason and Granby Street) for a half mile to the Elizabeth River Waterfront (Town Point Park). Some of the vessels that carried freedom seekers north departed from docks in this area. The High Street Ferry from Portsmouth, which arrived at these docks in the nineteenth century, continues to run today. It served an important role in carrying freedom seekers from Portsmouth to north-bound vessels departing from Norfolk docks. The tour area continues west-southwest along the waterfront for approximately one mile until it reaches the western edge of the Harbor Park baseball stadium property. In the nineteenth century, this was the area of Higgins' wharf and Wright's wharf, a more remote part of the waterfront close to a footbridge connecting with the Black Berkeley neighborhood. It was from these wharves too that numerous enslaved individuals boarded vessels to free territories.

The grid of streets extending south-southwest along Granby Street and Monticello Avenue from Freemason Street to the waterfront at present Town Point Park comprises the vertical stroke of the L-shaped area. The lower horizontal part of the L consists of the waterfront along the Elizabeth River, including some remnant historic wharves (Site 44NR0062) of particular significance to the Underground Railroad, east-southeastward to the east side of the Harbor Park baseball stadium property. This part of the district extends back from the waterfront just north of Waterside Drive and Water Street.

Extensive redevelopment of downtown Norfolk and the creation of a commercial/tourist waterfront area in the 1980s has obliterated most of the historic wharf areas and locations of historic commercial establishments and residences

Figure 87. Sites associated with Underground Railroad activities overlaid on a late nineteenth-century map of Norfolk (Sykes and Gwathmey 1887) when the street plan and waterfront more closely resembled the city's antebellum layout:

1 - Higgins' Wharf; **2** - Wright's Wharf; **3** - Norfolk & Western Railway;
4 - John DeBree House, 117 E. Main St., from which Shadrach Minkins escaped in 1851;
5 - Andrew Sigourney House, 70 W. Main St., from which Eliza and Robert McCoy escaped in 1854;
6 - Dr. C. F. Martin dental practice, from which enslaved assistant Sam Nixon escaped;
7 - Hall's Slave Pen, 10 Brewer Street;
8 - Rebecca Gray sawmill, from which George Latimer and his wife escaped in 1842;
9 - B. T. Bockover, wholesale and grocery store, 25 Roanoke Square, from which Thomas and Frederick Nixon escaped in 1855;
10 - Mark Seth grocery, iron, and tools business, 13 W. Widewater Street, from which Henry Washington (alias Anthony Hanly) escaped in 1855;
11 - Point of 1855 departure of Captain Alfred Fountain's *City of Richmond* steampship, with 21 enslaved people hidden aboard;
12 - Docks for Portsmouth ferries, used by enslaved people to reach northbound vessels leaving Norfolk

associated with the stories of freedom seekers who departed from Norfolk. An exception is a section of waterfront south and southwest of Harbor Park, designated Site 44NR0062 during a 2021 cultural resources assessment of a 14-acre portion of the Harbor Park property (Laird and Connor 2021). The 1.4-acre site includes the archaeological remains of historic warehouses, wharves, and facilities associated with the 1850s Norfolk and Petersburg/Norfolk and Western Railroad terminal, another important site where some freedom seekers escaped by rail.

The Downtown Norfolk Waterfront is one of the most significant locations in Virginia associated with the Underground Railroad. As a port town, it was a destination of freedom seekers as early as the eighteenth century. Due to an urban population with a large percentage of African American enslaved and free people working in the maritime trades, some freedom seekers concealed themselves long-term. Besides fleeing to remote, inhospitable areas such as the Great Dismal Swamp, disappearing into a populous urban environment was one of the only options - before the Northern legislatures began abolishing slavery in their own states around the time of the American Revolution, providing another destination for freedom seekers.

Much of the historic fabric of downtown Norfolk and its waterfront has been obscured by redevelopment. Nevertheless, the remnant of historic docks below Harbor Park, a continuously operated historic ferry route, and a street grid that has largely survived from the period of peak freedom-seeking activity during the first half of the nineteenth century indicate the potential for an NRHP-eligible cultural landscape. The Norfolk waterfront, while changed from the pre–Civil War era, continues to retain geographical features and associations and can be considered a historic vernacular landscape.

City of Petersburg

Petersburg Court House (123-0045)

Location: 100 Courthouse Hill, Petersburg

Evaluation Status: VLR and NRHP listing 1973; contributing to Petersburg Courthouse Historic District (123-0103; VLR and NRHP listing 1990).

Summary: The Petersburg hustings courthouse, built 1838–1840, stands on high ground in the the city's downtown area. Given the lack of high-rise construction in the city, the courthouse remains a prominent feature in city views (Figures 88 and 89). Some hallmarks of the property aside from the courthouse building include original landscape features such as granite gateposts and steps, a stone retaining wall, cast iron fences and gates, cast iron lampposts, and a nineteenth-century herringbone-pattern brick walk.

New York architect Calvin Pollard, who also designed the National Theatre (1833) in New York, incorporated unique combinations of classical motifs in this Classical Revival courthouse. The two-story, one-bay, stuccoed building has a front-gabled roof. A two-story projecting portico with denticulated pediment and cornice is supported by four fluted columns with composite capitals and two squared outer columns. The two-story, octagonal clock/bell tower, added in the early 1840s, resembles the Tower of the Winds in the Roman Agora in Athens. The first story of the tower contains a bell within a round-arched arcade, surrounded by Corinthian columns supporting an entablature. Columns with Ionic capitals surround the octagonal lantern of the second story of the tower. The large four-face clock above has a classical figure on its top, representing justice. During the 1864–1865 siege of the city, Union artillery spared the building because of the sighting aid it offered. The building is home to one of five remaining hustings courts in Virginia.

The courthouse has an important association with the Underground Railroad. The Network to Freedom highlights the building as the setting for

Figure 88. Petersburg Court House (123-0045) in 1865 (Milhollen and Mugridge 1977:No. 0436).

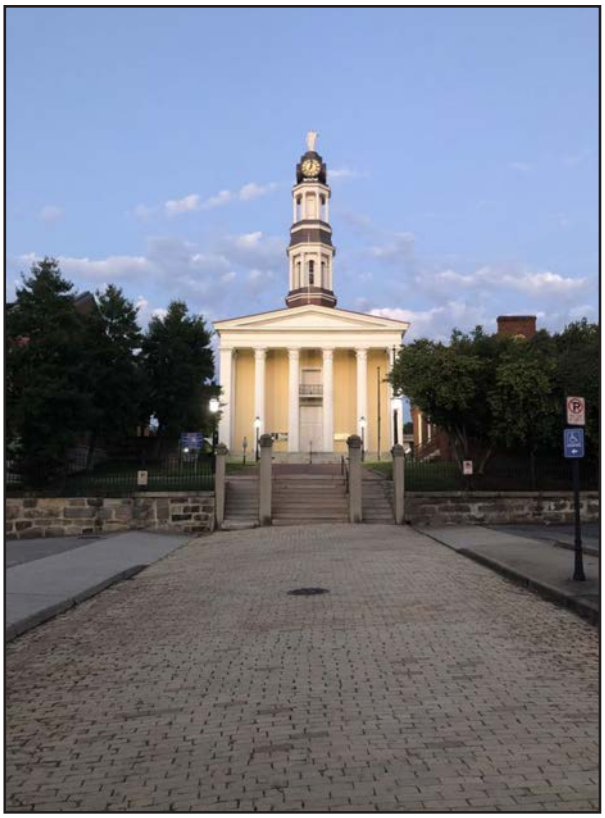


Figure 89. Petersburg Court House (123-0045) in 2021 (V-CRIS).

the dramatic 1858 trial of William Baylis, captain of the schooner *Keziah,* who attempted to sail north from the port of Petersburg with five fugitive enslaved persons aboard. Despite an 1856 law requiring inspection of north-bound vessels whose owners were not Virginian, Baylis made the attempt on his Delaware-based schooner. He could have succeeded in slipping through to the open ocean, but a grounding of his schooner delayed his progress. On the James River, inspectors boarded the vessel and discovered the fugitives on May 31, 1858. During the tense few years preceding the Civil War and following on some high-profile escapes of enslaved people from Virginia aboard northbound vessels, the trial received heightened attention locally and nationally. The size of crowds wanting to view the proceedings at the courthouse was so large that there were two postponements. As noted in the *Petersburg Daily Express* at the time, the courthouse provided "the theater of the most intensely exciting event that has ever transpired within [the city's] limits" (quoted in Historic Petersburg Foundation 2023). Despite a 40-year sentence, through the efforts of appeals by his wife, Baylis was released from prison a month before Confederate forces evacuated the city in April 1865.

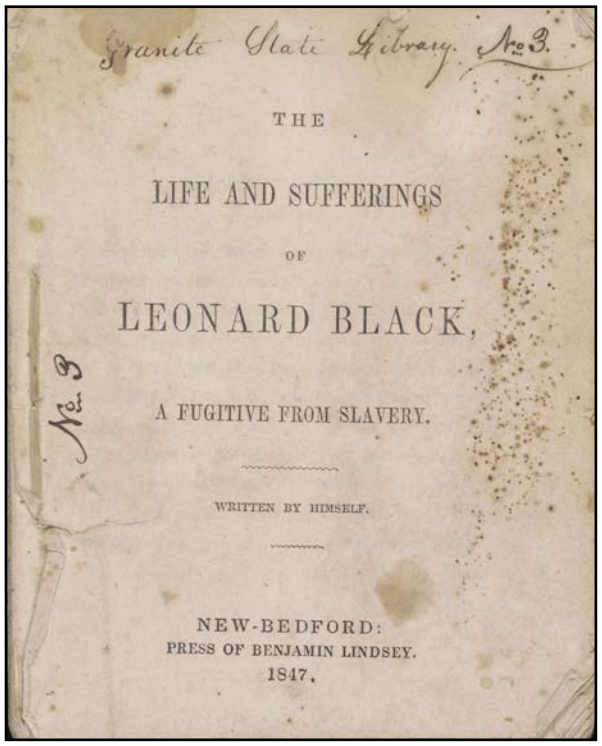
Although the current study did not include a field visit, the Surveyor Statement of the V-CRIS entry was updated to highlight its Underground Railroad association. Any updates to the 1973 Petersburg Court House NRHP nomination and/or the 1990 Court House Historic District NRHP nomination should makes note of the important Underground Railroad connection through the trial of Captain Baylis for his attempt to carry fugitive enslaved people to freedom.

Rev. Leonard Black Burial Site/ People's Memorial Cemetery (123-5031-0001)

Location: 334 South Crater Road (Route 301), Petersburg

Evaluation Status: People's Memorial Cemetery VLR-listed 2007, NRHP 2008, as part of the African-American Cemeteries in Petersburg, Virginia, 1818-1942 MPD (Criteria A [Ethnic History: African-American and Social History], C [Art], Criteria Consideration D).

Summary: People's Memorial Cemetery, established in 1840 by the free Black Eelbeck and Stewart families, includes the grave of Leonard Black. Born in 1820 in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, Black escaped from slavery to New England in 1837. His narrative, "The Life and Sufferings of Leonard Black, a Fugitive from Slavery," is an important text in the history of slavery (Figure 90). The publication proceeds (along with help from Francis Wayland, the president of Brown University) enabled Black to afford theological school. A Baptist minister of Boston's oldest African American Baptist congregation, George H. Black, also mentored Leonard Black. After his theological training, Black pastored churches in Connecticut and Brooklyn, New York. He moved to Virginia in 1871 and pastored First Baptist Church in Norfolk for two years. His association with Petersburg did not begin until he became the pastor of First Baptist Church (also known as Harrison Street Church) in 1873. This site is an unusual inclusion in the Network to Freedom in Virginia, since the site and even the general location of Petersburg, long postdate Black's association with freedom seeking in Maryland. Nevertheless, this formerly enslaved and self-emancipated man achieved prominence during his career as a pastor in Petersburg. During his tenure as pastor, he was instrumental in doubling the membership of Harrison Street Church. His funeral, possibly the largest in the city's history with 5,000 in attendance, and the stone monument with bas-relief portrait erected on his grave are testament to his impact in Petersburg (Kneebone 2020).


Granite State Library. No. 3.

THE

LIFE AND SUFFERINGS

OF

LEONARD BLACK,

A FUGITIVE FROM SLAVERY.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

NEW-BEDFORD:
PRESS OF BENJAMIN LINDSEY.
1847.

Figure 90. Title page of Leonard Black's account of his escape from slavery.

People's Memorial Cemetery comprises 8.17 acres along the southwest side of South Crater Road (U.S. Route 301), a four-lane divided highway (Figure 91). The property is directly opposite colonial-period Blandford Church and its vast cemetery, the largest in Petersburg. People's Memorial contains 692 gravestones with burial dates ranging from 1840 to 1998. The property consists of two sections, with the oldest located adjacent to Little Church Cemetery and a one-acre portion to the west added in 1942. A group of 28 free Blacks purchased the initial parcel. The current iron fence, erected in 1906, replaced an early nineteenth-century fence removed by 1864. Circulation includes a gravel road and two paths. (Klemm 2007). Marking the grave of Leonard Black is an obelisk with a pedestal containing a bas relief portrait of the minister (Figure 92). Simple engraving below the portrait reads: "Rev. L. A.

Figure 91. People's Memorial Cemetery (123-5031-0001), general view.

Figure 92. Reverend Leonard Black headstone (Talbott 2018).

BLACK / Born / March 8, 1820 / Died / April 28, 1883". Below, the plinth displays "BLACK" in simple raised block lettering within a cartouche.

Although the current study did not include a field visit, the Surveyor Statement of the V-CRIS entry was updated to highlight its Underground Railroad association. Any updates to the 2007 People's Memorial Cemetery NRHP nomination should makes note of the Rev. Leonard Black grave and memorial and the Underground Railroad connection.

City of Portsmouth

African Methodist Society (Emanuel AME Church) (124-0050/124-0034-0052)

Location: 637 North Street, Portsmouth

Evaluation Status: Determined NRHP-eligible by DHR Board; contributing to Portsmouth Olde Towne Historic District (124-0034) district, listed in VLR and NRHP in 1970

Summary: Built in 1857, the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church stands in the historic downtown area of Portsmouth within the Portsmouth Olde Towne Historic District. The property is five blocks west of the Elizabeth River waterfront. The facade of the two-and-a-half-story brick building fronts the sidewalk on the south side of North Street (Figures 93 and 94). The 0.83-acre lot contains a paved parking area immediately east of the church building and open lawn to the west and south. The church has a gabled facade with a bracketed cornice line. An elliptical arch covers the slightly recessed primary central double-leaf entrance. A pair of narrow, elongated arched stained glass windows rise above the entrance. There are similar, slightly shorter pairs above bricked-in square openings with jack arches on either side of the entrance. Centered on each of the bricked in openings is a plaque. There are buttresses along the nave on the east and west sides of the building. The most recent survey (1982) indicated that the building was "in deteriorated condition and under threat of structural failure." Since the church remains active, the assumption is that a 2010 rehabilitation tax credit application was for work that stabilized the building.

The congregation of the church originated in 1772 as the African Methodist Society. The Black congregation worshiped together with white Methodists from 1775 to 1786 and from 1831 to 1833. Following the Nat Turner Rebellion, changes in state laws prevented Blacks from worshiping separately or without the supervision of a white minister. The congregation split racially again sometime prior to 1856. At that date, the Black congregation was worshiping on its own in an old church building on Glasgow Street that the white congregation had vacated for a new church. When the Glasgow Street church burned in 1856, the enslaved and free Black congregants raised the money needed for the present church building constructed on North Street in 1857.

From the 1830s through 1850s, the Emanuel AME Church served as a hub of Underground Railroad activity during a peak period of freedom seeking. Portsmouth and other port cities provided the best chances for freedom seekers to flee successfully to free territory. The dense population of free Blacks and enslaved people working in the maritime trades allowed more anonymity than the thousands of tiny farming communities across Virginia where an unfamiliar face might arouse suspicion. Emmanuel AME Church connected freedom seekers, their informants, and helpers. For instance, congregant Eliza Bains, who worked at the Crawford Hotel (built 1835, demolished 1970) across from High Street Landing, collected information about shipping schedules and sympathetic crew members by listening to guests' conversations. She then passed the information to freedom seekers at church gatherings. There are reports that the church itself contained alcoves and other hiding places where freedom seekers could wait until boarding a northbound vessel (Portsmouth, Virginia 2022).

Figure 93. Emanuel AME Church) (124-0050/124-0034-0052), north and east elevations (Emanuel AME Church 2022).

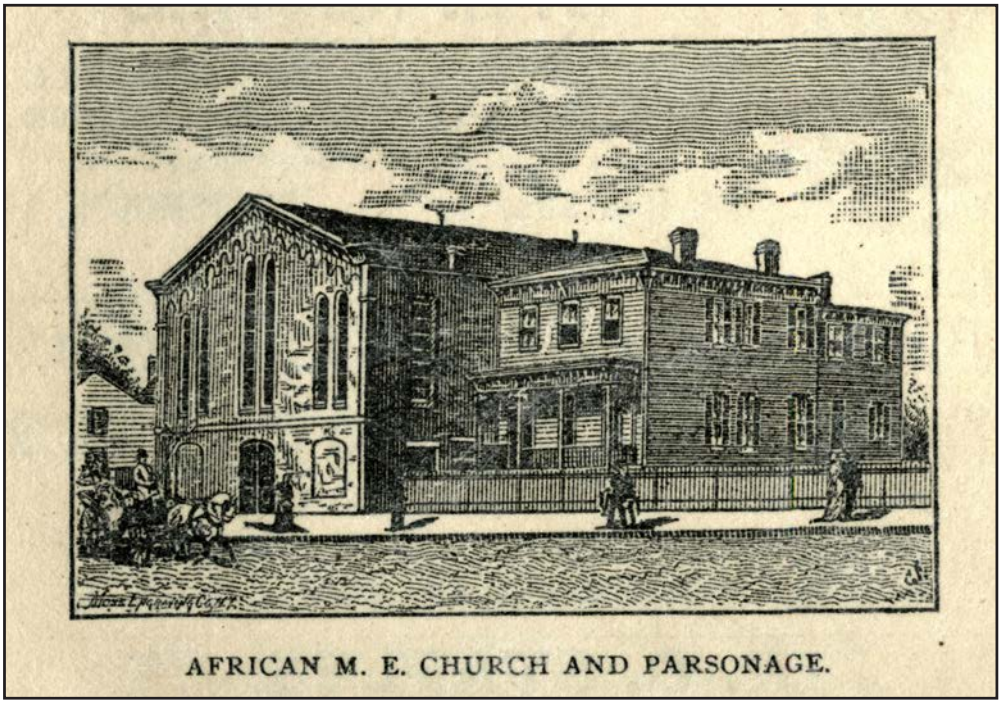


Figure 94. Late nineteenth-century view of Emanuel AME Church and adjacent large Italianate parsonage (the latter no longer standing) (Pollock 1886).

Although the current study did not include a field visit, there is a need for a survey to update the survey information collected in 1982 (the most recent survey event in the V-CRIS record). Any update to the Portsmouth Olde Towne Historic District NRHP nomination should mention the association of Emanuel AME Church

Prince William County

Brentsville Courthouse and Jail (076-0021)

Location: 12229 Bristow Rd., Bristow

Evaluation Status: VLR-listed 1988, NRHP 1989; contributing to the Brentsville Historic District (076-0338; VLR and NRHP listing 1990)

Summary: Built in 1820-1822, the Brentsville Courthouse and Jail replaced the court functions at Prince William County's former county seat of Dumfries and provided a more convenient, central location to improve access for residents across the county. Both buildings stand in the open park-like setting of Brentsville Courthouse Historic Centre, an open-air museum operated by the Prince William County Historic Preservation Commission (Figure 95). The Centre also includes an 1822 house that was the court clerk's residence, an 1850 farmhouse, an 1880 church, and a 1929 one-room schoolhouse. These are within the village of Brentsville and within the boundaries of the Brentsville Historic District. The remarkably intact historic landscape reflects the lack of growth in the village since the county seat moved again in 1893, to Manassas (Figure 96). The two-story, front-gabled Federal-style courthouse is of brick construction laid in Flemish bond (Figure 97). The central double-leaf entrance with fanlight transom is within a keyed semicircular arch. The symmetrical fenestration includes tall six-over-six wood sash windows on either side of the entrance with smaller six-over-six windows above them. A central three-part window is above the doorway, and an elliptical window in the gable above the three-part window. A louvered frame cupola rises from the roof ridge. Restoration has included replacement of window glazing and shutters with historically accurate equivalents (Figure 98). The building remains in good condition. The two-story, side-gabled jail, located 50 yards southeast of the courthouse, is of similar style and fabric. Like the courthouse, it has undergone restoration with historically accurate replacements. Windows, however, appear to be single-light with bars and some six-over-six wood sash.

The Network to Freedom listing points out several associations of the courthouse and jail with the Underground Railroad:

> The Prince William County Courthouse and Jail in Brentsville, VA… served as sites of arrest and lodging of runaway bondsmen and abolitionists from 1820 until 1862. Bondsmen were tried, lodged, punished (including execution) and sold all on the courthouse lot. Relevant cases are: runaway named Billy documented because of treatment at the jail on 3 succeeding days by a local physician; free black William Hyden unjustly imprisoned in the Brentsville Jail and almost sold into slavery in 1833; Landon a runaway held in the jail, charged with arson, tried, and found guilty, and sentenced to be hung in 1839. Period newspapers provide evidence of antislavery sentiment in the county. Vocal abolitionist John Underwood was brought to trial and found guilty of "uttering and maintaining that owners have no rights of property in their slaves." This and other cases show how the county courts tried to repress opposition to slavery within the county.

Although the current study did not include a field visit, the Surveyor Statement of the V-CRIS entry was updated to highlight its Underground Railroad association.

Figure 95. Brentsville Courthouse complex (076-0021), site plan.

Figure 96. Brentsville Courthouse complex (076 0021), with the courthouse on left and the jail on right, looking northeast.

Figure 97. Brentsville Courthouse complex (076 0021), courthouse, west corner.

Figure 98. View of Brentsville Courthouse in 1910, showing very little difference from present other than a no longer extant rear addition (Prince William County 2024a).

Buckland Farm (076-0032)

Location: 8230 Buckland Mill Road, Gainesville

Evaluation Status: Determined VLR/NRHP-eligible in 2003; contributing to the Buckland Historic District (076-0338; VLR-listed 1987, NRHP 1989).

Summary: This 500-acre horse farm includes a 70.2-acre historic preservation easement. Buckland Farm is within the Buckland Historic District, which encompasses Prince William County's earliest inland community (settled in the mid-eighteenth century and chartered in 1798) (Figure 99). The village was a local market center with its mill and a wagon stop on the route from Alexandria to the Shenandoah Valley. Standing at the end of a long tree-lined drive is the ca. 1774 Buckland farmhouse. The two-story, side-gabled coursed rubble stone Georgian building with center hall, single-pile plan stands on a raised basement and has two interior end chimneys (Figure 100). A late nineteenth-century two-story, pedimented frame portico dominates the facade. The farm also includes numerous twentieth-century agricultural outbuildings. Part of the farm property extends into Fauquier County.

According to the Network to Freedom summary, the farm is the site of several freedom seeking events:

> The first farm owner for whom there are documented escapes was John Love (1750-1834). John Love inherited slaves from his father Samuel. He owned 12-21 slaves during the 1790s through 1820. Love is paradoxical, since he helped and defended free African Americans but also enslaved other African Americans like Jane and Robin who felt compelled to resist by escape. As Love, an attorney in Alexandria and Fauquier County, became successively State Delegate, US Congressman, and State Senator, he used overseers at Buckland Farm. One, his nephew Richard Hendley Love, in 1817 advertised for freedom seeker Robin. The nephew later advertised for Jane Williams a "runaway" who sued for her freedom, but was jailed and escaped in the District of Columbia in 1818. Another overseer who lived on the estate was Griffin Stith who advertised in 1821 for Toby who escaped while being held during a lawsuit. The next owner of Buckland Farm was Love's cousin Temple Mason Washington. From him Washington Hayes and Ariadne Taylor escaped in 1842 and Thornton escaped in 1853.

The current study included field survey of the house and curtilage, but not the entire property. The survey confirms the excellent condition of the primary resource and the continued integrity of the historic landscape. Although the most recent update to the Buckland Historic District dates to 2019, it does not make mention of the farm's association with freedom seeking, but does provide context discussion of the role of slavery in the Buckland community.

Evergreen (076-0007)

Location: 15900 Berkeley Drive, Haymarket

Evaluation Status: VLR-listed 2007, NRHP 2008 under Criteria B (association with Edmund Berkeley V [1845-1915]) and C (Architecture); Period of Significance ca. 1827 - ca. 1940.

Summary: The 1827 Evergreen manor house is the focal point of Evergreen Country Club, which occupies a 175-acre parcel that was part of the 600-acre Evergreen farm in northwestern Prince William County (Figures 101 and 102). The setting is largely rural with large residential lots around the country club, the Bull Run Mountains to the west, and the town of Haymarket 5 miles to the southeast. The Greek Revival house is at the north edge of a circular drive within open lawn. The core of the manor house consists of a two–and-a-half-story, five-bay, side-gabled, stuccoed frame building that rests on an English basement of uncoursed stone (Figure 103). A one-and-a-half story, side-gabled stone wing on the east and a two-story, side-gabled stone wing on the west date to ca. 1940.

Figure 99. Buckland Farm (076-0032), site plan.

Figure 100. Buckland Farm (076-0032), site plan.

Figure 101. Evergreen (076-0077), aerial imagery showing the manor house and surrounding country club (Prince William County 2023)..

Figure 102. Evergreen (076-0007), facade (south elevation) (photograph by David Edwards, DHR, 2023).

Figure 102. Evergreen (076-0007), west elevation.

Evergreen was part of a 2,000-acre parcel that Carter Burwell (of Carter's Grove in James City County) inherited from the Bull Run tract of his grandfather, Robert "King" Carter, in 1734 (Gentry 2020). Part of the Burwell parcel came into the Berkeley family when Edmund Berkeley IV married Carter's Burwell's daughter, Mary, in 1768. Edmund and Mary's son, Lewis, owned the property at the time of construction of the manor house ca. 1827. Lewis's son, Edmund Berkeley V, who owned the property from 1845 to 1915, was prominent for his military career as a Confederate Army captain and for his role in its memorialization. He organized the Evergreen Guards, which the 8th Virginia Infantry of Col. Eppa Hunton integrated, along with companies from adjacent counties. Berkeley's three brothers also served as officers in the regiment, which took part in most major battles of the Eastern Theater, including Gettysburg as part of the division of Maj. Gen. George Pickett. Prior to the Civil War, Evergreen included a mill that manufactured wagon spokes employing white Northern laborers who occupied 12 houses on the property (Tolson 2007). According to a Network to Freedom application, Edmund Berkeley's labor force for farming included 33 enslaved people. The Evergreen Farm Day Book records the escape of men named Bob and Nelson in 1852. The Prince William County Court Minute and Order Book summarizes the story of another enslaved man, White Bishop, who escaped from Evergreen in October 1859.

Field survey for the current study confirms the integrity of the mansion building, with the observation that a shed dormer may have been added to the north elevation since the previous documentation for the NRHP nomination in 2007. It should be noted that the thorough historical background in the nomination discusses the spoke mill operations and workers but makes no mention of the significant enslaved labor force and escapes of three enslaved men.

Leesylvania Archaeological Site (076-0045/44PW0007)

Location: Leesylvania State Park, 2001 Daniel K. Ludwig Drive, Woodbridge

Evaluation Status: VLR and NRHP listing in 1984.

Summary: The site of Leesylvania Plantation is now within Leesylvania State Park, which overlooks the Potomac River in southeastern Prince William County (Figure 104). The park occupies 542 acres at the end of a peninsula defined by Powell's Creek on the south and Neabsco Creek and Occoquan Bay on the north. Limited infrastructure within the largely wooded park includes a fishing pier, playground, boat launch, playground, boat storage center, visitor center, and three paved parking areas, all well to the south and southeast of the Leesylvania Archaeological Site, which is heavily wooded. The archaeological site includes the ruins of the plantation house (built ca. 1750 and destroyed by fire in 1790). The site of the plantation house complex, measuring approximately 200 x 400 feet, has undergone archaeological investigation (Figure 105). Prior to the 1984 nomination, staff from the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission (now VDHR) conducted surface examination and excavated two small trenches, identifying at least two structures and a backfilled well. The artifact assemblage indicates a domestic occupation of the site during the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1995, Thunderbird Archeological Associates excavated seven shovel tests, one of which was expanded into a 3-x-3-ft. test unit. Artifacts recovered in 1995 are consistent with the previous date and site function interpretation from the 1980s investigation. Other than recreation-related resources associated with the park, a 1981 architectural survey of the park indicated the presence of a stone obelisk dedicated to Henry Lee II and erected in 1976, late nineteenth-century

Figure 104. Leesylvania Archaeological Site (076 0045/44PW0007), looking southwest.

Figure 105. Leesylvania Archaeological Site (076-0045/44PW0007), looking southwest.

hunting cabins, a Lee/Fairfax family cemetery, but descriptions and dates are lacking in the V-CRIS record (Figure 106). Other archaeological resources have been identified across the park, including the remains of the ca. 1825 site of the house (burned 1910) of the Fairfax family (076-0074/44PW0006) who owned the property in the nineteenth century (Figure 107).

Leesylvania Plantation was part of a 2,000-acre tract patented by Gervase Dodson in 1658 and assigned to Henry Corbin. By the late seventeenth century, the property was under tobacco cultivation, most likely using enslaved labor. Through marriage into the Corbin family, Henry Lee acquired the property; in 1746, he bequeathed it to his son, Henry. In his career as an attorney, Henry Lee II also held local judicial and administrative offices and served in the House of Burgesses and the Virginia Convention. Circa 1750, Henry and his wife, Lucy Grymes Lee, settled into the plantation house on the "forward 500 acres" of Leesylvania Plantation (the present park area). They raised eight children at Leesylvania (meaning, "Lee's Forest"). Four prominent sons included Henry "Lighthorse Harry" (father of Robert E. Lee), Charles Lee, Richard Bland Lee, and Edmund Jennings Lee. Soon after Charles Lee inherited the property (post 1787), the house burned, ca. 1790. In 1825, Charles' son sold the property to Henry Fairfax, who built a house closer to the shore of Occoquan Bay. Confederate batteries on the property at Freestone Point were the northernmost artillery positions blockading the Potomac River in 1861–1862. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the property served as a hunting retreat. In the late 1950s, the S.S. *Freestone* docked alongside the point and operated as a gambling parlor in Maryland territorial waters (VHLC 1984).

Figure 106. Leesylvania Archaeological Site (076-0045/44PW0007), obelisk dedicated to Henry Lee II in 1976.

Figure 107. Leesylvania Archaeological Site (076-0045/44PW0007), chimney ruin and site of Fairfax house (built ca. 1825, burned 1910).

There were several instances of enslaved people escaping from the property in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. An October 21, 1784 advertisement in the *Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser* offered a reward for the return of Cate and Sinah to Leesylvania. In 1807 enslaved men named Andrew and James ran away, according to the *Alexandria Gazette*. After subdivision of the farm under the Fairfax family ownership, there were advertisements for Daniel, escaped from Freestone Farm in February 1848, Henry and Betsy from Ohio Farm in June 1856, and Henry, Betsy, Tom, Armstead, Littleton, Abram, and Moses from Ohio Farm in August 1856. During the Confederate blockade, four male and one female enslaved African Americans escaped from the Freestone Battery to the U.S. Steam Sloop *Seminole* on Sept. 23, 1861. They provided reports of Confederate troop numbers and the location of the Freestone Point battery.

Field survey for this study only documented easily accessible areas of the park. The V-CRIS record could benefit from additional survey to more thoroughly identify all historic and non-historic above-ground resources within the property. Any update to the 1984 NRHP nomination should discuss the enslaved work force at Leesylvania and accounts of freedom seeking within the enslaved community. As it stands, the nomination focuses only early ownership history of the property and biographical information about members of the Lee family who lived here.

Rippon Lodge (076-0023)

Location: 15520 Blackburn Road, Woodbridge

Evaluation Status: VLR and NRHP listing in 1971.

Summary: Rippon Lodge stands on a prominent ridge overlooking Neabsco Creek. The 40-acre Rippon Lodge Historic Site property is within the 300-acre Neabsco Regional Park, located about halfway between Dumfries and Woodbridge. The 40-acre curtilage is part of a 201-acre tract purchased in 1733 by Richard Blackburn, a carpenter from Rippon, England. Only half a mile east is

U.S. Route 1, which follows a long-established Planter's Path, a major road through Virginia during the colonial period and earlier. In 1747, Richard Blackburn built the plantation house with the assistance of enslaved carpenters (Figure 108). The one-and-a-half-story, seven-bay frame dwelling has clipped gables and exterior end brick chimneys. An early twentieth-century owner expanded the house with a one-story wing on either end and a shed-roofed porch. It may be Prince William County's earliest extant structure. Two early outbuildings (ca. 1800 and 1866) survive, along with several twentieth-century outbuildings, a Colonial Revival garden, and a cemetery with 35 unmarked graves. Archaeological deposits in the yard area have research potential for the eighteenth- through twentieth-century use of the property (Jones 2002).

Rippon Lodge was the eighteenth-century plantation seat of Richard Blackburn, and later his son and heir, Thomas Blackburn. Both Richard and Thomas served in public office and were well-known members of the upper class in colonial Prince William County. Thomas Blackburn was active in efforts related to and culminating in the Revolutionary War and entertained George Washington at Rippon Lodge on "several occasions." In 1796, Benjamin Latrobe visited and painted the Rippon Lodge house and nearby associated structures (which are no longer extant) as well as the view from the house toward the Potomac River (Loth 1987:351) (Figures 109 and 110). Through marriage to Thomas Blackburn's daughter, Bushrod Washington came into possession of the property in 1785 and owned it until he sold it to the Atkinson family in 1811. Washington served as associate justice of the Supreme Court from 1798 to 1829.

Rippon Lodge has connections to the Underground Railroad through the use of enslaved labor on the property from the first quarter of the eighteenth century through Emancipation. By the late eighteenth century, the plantation had expanded to a thousand acres and there were

Figure 108. Rippon Lodge (076-0023), facade (Prince William County 2024b).

Figure 109. Painting by Benjamin Latrobe, entitled "'Rippon Lodge,' home of Thomas Blackburn, 13 July 1796." According to Latrobe the house on the left hand must have been built near 100 Years ago, as the oldest people now living do not remember to have heard when and by whom it was built. The family make use of both the houses, neither of them being sufficiently commodious of itself." (Carter 1977:162). Note the small original porch on the main house compared to current one.

Figure 110. Painting by Benjamin Latrobe entitled, "View from the porch of Rippon Lodge, 11 July 1796," view to the south toward Neabsco Creek and the Potomac River (Carter 1977:Plate 17).

probably 50 enslaved people at six different quarters with overseers. Documentation of escapes exists, including an 1804 newspaper advertisement placed by Thomas Blackburn for a woman named Rachel.

The current study did not include field survey of the property. Any updates to the 1971 NRHP nomination should include further research and historical context on the property's history of enslavement and freedom seeking.

Rappahannock County

Kitty Payne Site/Rappahannock County Jail (322-0011-0110)

Location: 383 Porter Street Route 626, Washington

Evaluation Status: Recommended not individually NRHP-eligible; contributing to the Washington Historic District (322-0011; VLR and NRHP listing in 1975)

Summary: The Rappahannock County Jail stands on a large open parcel of lawn and mature trees at the corner of Porter Street and Gay Street in Washington, the tiny county seat village and within the boundary of the Washington Historic District (Figure 111). The façade and original core of the building faces south onto Porter Street. A drive with access to other government buildings and narrow paved parking areas are to the east. The core of the jail dates to 1833-1835. It consists of a two-and-a-half-story, four-bay, side-gabled building constructed of brick laid in five-course American bond with paired parapeted twin end chimneys on the east and west (Figure 112). The brickwork consists of a mix of glazed and unglazed bricks. Additions include a ca. 1980 two-story brick wing on the east gable, a ca. 1992 two-story, three-bay brick wing with parapeted chimneys on the west gable, a ca. 2013 one-story, cross-gabled brick hyphen on the north connecting to a one-story, side-gabled addition, and a ca. 2013 narrow one-story, shed-roofed addition on the east side of the north elevation of the building core (Figure 113; see Figure 111). The north addition has a central, cross-gabled portico access by a concrete ramp.

In 1845-1846, the jail housed Catherine "Kitty" Payne during her trial to regain her freedom from Samuel Maddox, Jr., who claimed her as property in his uncle's will. Born in 1816 as the daughter of white planter Samuel Maddox, Sr. and an enslaved woman on the plantation, Payne became the part of the lifetime inheritance of Mary Maddox, the widow of Samuel, Sr., when he died in 1837. Determined to set free the enslaved people on her estate, in 1843, Mary traveled north to Adams County with Kitty, her three young children (by her first husband, a free African American man named Robert Payne), and two enslaved adult men. The measure was necessary because Virginia law required freed people to leave the Commonwealth within a year of their manumission. As Kitty established her family in Menallen Township, near Gettysburg, Samuel Maddox, Jr. filed a case in Rappahannock County claiming his ownership of the people his aunt had manumitted. In 1845, Maddox and notorious Hagerstown "slave catcher" Thomas Finnegan kidnapped Payne and her family, brought them to Rappahannock County, and jailed them pending the trial claiming Maddox's inheritance. After the jailing, Payne filed complaints for illegal detainment against Maddox, which the court confirmed by issuing process against him. With money raised by Quaker abolitionists in Menallen, Loudoun County Quaker and vocal abolitionist Yardley Taylor hired a capable local attorney, Zepheniah Turner, to represent Payne. Ultimately, the court allowed the legality of Mary Maddox's manumissions by recognizing her claim to an absolute rather than just a life estate in her late husband's property, once she posted a $500 bond as executrix of the estate. In Pennsylvania, Finnegan received a five-year imprisonment sentence (one and a half years served) for the kidnapping. Once freed at the conclusion of the Rappahannock

Figure 111. Kitty Payne Site/Rappahannock County Jail (322-0011-0110), site plan.

Figure 112. Kitty Payne Site/Rappahannock County Jail (322-0011-0110), south elevation.

Figure 113. Kitty Payne Site/Rappahannock County Jail (322-0011-0110), west elevation showing additions to the left.

County court case, Payne returned to settle in Pennsylvania and married Abraham Brian (Robert Payne had died ca. 1844). Payne died in 1850 or 1851 (NPS 2022b). The story is important not only as the landmark case of a favorable ruling in an antebellum Virginia suit by a Black woman against a white man. It also is an example of the frequent kidnapping of free African Americans from free territories that occurred as demand for enslaved people increased with the expansion of labor-intensive cotton cultivation in the Deep South and the end of the transatlantic slave trade in 1808 (Bishop 2007).

Based on the field survey for the current study, the jail remains a contributing element of the Washington Historic District; the building is not individually eligible due to the 1980s, 1990s, and ca. 2013 additions. Any update to the 1975 district NRHP nomination should highlight the jail as the site of incarceration of Kitty Payne, whose story of manumission, illegal abduction and imprisonment, and ultimate freeing through the court proceedings in 1846.

Spotsylvania County

Spotsylvania County Courthouse (088-0020/088-0142-0001)

Location: 9012 Courthouse Road Route 208, Spotsylvania

Evaluation Status: Recommended individually NRHP-eligible; contributing to Spotsylvania Court House Historic District (0880142; VLR and NRHP listing 1983).

Summary: Located in the county seat village of Spotsylvania (county established in 1721) is the Classical Revival courthouse building, designed by Malcolm F. Crawford, who also contributed to buildings on the campus of the University of Virginia. The setting is a large lawn with scattered mature trees at the corner of Courthouse Road and Brock Road (Figure 114). The two-story, front-gabled, three-bay brick building has a pedimented tetrastyle portico with a louvered lunette (Figure 115). The central single-leaf door has a gently arched transom above and very tall flank-

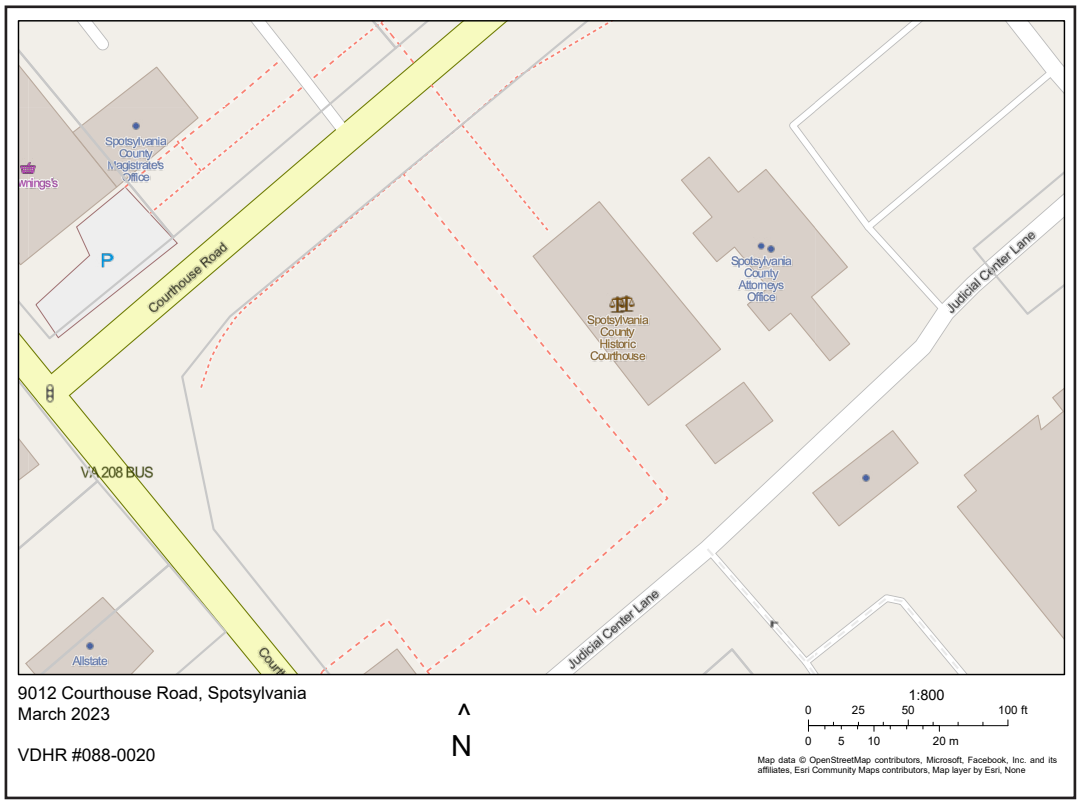


Figure 114. Spotsylvania County Courthouse (088-0020/088-0142-0001), site plan.

Figure 115. Spotsylvania County Courthouse (088-0020/088-0142-0001), facade.

ing four-over-four sash windows with similarly proportioned arched tops. The current facing of buff-colored brick dates to a renovation in 1901, which also included the application of Victorian trim and construction of a rear addition. A second rear addition dates to the 1920s.

In May 1864, the courthouse was a military objective of Grant's Union forces during the Overland Campaign. With Confederate lines located just east of the village, the courthouse sustained artillery damage during the extended and intense combat (May 8–21), which necessitated the 1901 renovations.

Another important historical association of the courthouse site involves the imprisonment of George Boxley while awaiting trial for organizing an attempted slave rebellion in 1815, prior to construction of the current courthouse building. As summarized in Network to Freedom materials,

> One of the many events from the Spotsylvania County Courthouse and Jail is the story of George Boxley and his involvement in the struggle to end slavery in the early 1800s. George Boxley was a white storekeeper and mill owner. While living in Berkeley Parrish, Spotsylvania County, Virginia, he allegedly tried to coordinate a local slave rebellion in 1815, based on "heaven-sent" orders to free the enslaved. His plan was for slaves from Spotsylvania and surrounding counties to meet at his home with horses, guns, swords and cubs. His plan involved capturing Richmond's magazine or arsenal, and from there he planned to help the participating enslaved reach freedom. An enslaved girl, Lucy, informed her owner, Ptolemy Powell, who then informed the magistrate. The plot was foiled. At least six enslaved people were executed and many others were arrested. Boxley was able to escape from the Spotsylvania County Jail when his wife, brought him a file, which he used to cut his chains and escape to freedom. A thousand dollars reward was offered for Boxley, but he was never caught. Boxley fled to Indiana, where he continued to help runaways and teach the principles of abolitionism on the railway to freedom.

Field survey of this property confirmed the continued good condition of the courthouse building. Given the escape of George Boxley from the jail before his trial and the fact that the current courthouse postdates the aborted trial due to his escape in 1815, the extant eighteenth-century jail building would be a more suitable entry on the Network to Freedom. Any update to the 1983 Spotsylvania Courthouse Historic District NRHP nomination should include context for this little-known but important event in the history of antislavery in Virginia.

Stafford County

Aquia Landing (089-5748)

Location: 2846 Brooke Road, Stafford

Evaluation Status: Potentially eligible, recommended for further survey/study; contained within the Aquia Creek Battlefield (089-5015; NRHP-eligible under Criteria A and D); the battlefield contributes to the NRHP Multiple Properties form, "Properties Associated with Campaigns for Control of Navigation on the Lower Potomac River, 1861-1862; Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia."

Summary: Aquia Landing Park encompasses 32 acres along the east and north sides of a peninsula that extends northward into Aquia Creek as it empties into the Potomac River. A road runs alongside the beach on the Potomac side of the peninsula to a parking area and cleared space with picnic shelters, a comfort station, parking, and sheds (Figures 116 and 117). There are historic makers along the north shore (Figure 118). The north shore has riprap, but the east shore along the road is sandy beach reinforced with jetties (Figure 119). South of the park and west of the road, the land appears marshy and is undeveloped. Underwater archaeological survey

Figure 116. Aquia Landing (089-5748), site plan.

Figure 117. Aquia Landing (089-5748), picnic shelters.

Figure 118. Aquia Landing (089-5748), historical interpretive markers and shoreline, looking west.

Figure 119. Aquia Landing (089-5748), sandy beach, looking east.

suggested that submerged pilings survive from an 1860s steamboat wharf. The original landing and a Confederate battery erected for its defense in 1861 are also submerged (Balicki et al. 2012).

From 1842 until 1872, the landing was the northern terminus of the Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac Railroad (Figure 120). At the landing, passengers and freight transferred to steamboats headed for Washington, D.C. or Baltimore. The railroad/steamboat combined voyage of nine hours from Virginia capital to national capital was a major improvement over travel by stagecoach (38 hours) or stagecoach and steamboat (24 hours) (Balicki 2012:13; Mordecai 1940:6)).

Aquia Landing figures as a key setting in two famous stories of escape from slavery. In 1848, Ellen and William Craft, a couple held in bondage in Macon, Georgia set out by train from that city for Boston (Figure 121). As the daughter of a mixed-race enslaved woman and a white planter, Ellen had very fair skin. Dressed as a man, she posed as a white planter traveling with William as the planter's enslaved servant. Traveling in first class carriages and staying at fine hotels, they reached Aquia Landing on December 21 and eventually arrived in Philadelphia on Christmas Day. After settling in Boston, the Crafts found themselves in danger from bounty hunters sent in their pursuit by their enslaver, Dr. Robert Collins, following passage of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. They fled to safety in England and lived there until their return to the United States in 1868. Returning to Georgia, they purchased a plantation in Bryan County where they operated the Woodville Co-operative Farm School for the education and employment of freedmen from 1873 to 1876. Racial hostility led them to settle in Charleston, South Carolina in 1890.

In March 1849, Aquia Landing was on the itinerary of a similarly ingenious escape by Henry "Box" Brown, who had himself shipped in a small wooden freight box from Richmond to the offices of the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery in Philadelphia. As an enslaved worker in a tobacco factory, Brown saved enough money from "overwork" (modest sums earned for producing more than a required quota) to pay the expense of the shipment and assistance from a white shopkeeper willing to take the risk of helping him to get the box on the train in Richmond.

Confederate forces seized the landing on April 19, 1861, barely a few days into the Civil War and mounted batteries to counter Union gunboats on the Potomac River. Bombardment on May 31-June 1, 1861 did not result in any Confederate casualties. When withdrawing from the area in 1862, the Confederates burned and abandoned the landing. Union forces then built infrastructure at the landing. Following the Confederate victory at Second Manassas, the Confederate forces destroyed the Union facilities. After rebuilding, Union forces transformed Aquia Landing into the major supply depot for the Battles of Fredericksburg (December 1862) and Chancellorsville (April 1863). Abandoned again by Union forces and burned by Confederates in June 1863, finally, following the Battle of Gettysburg in early July 1863, the rebuilt landing served as a Union supply depot for the remainder of the war (Balicki 2012:52) (Figures 122 and 123).

Based on reconnaissance survey conducted during the current study, the property is potentially NRHP-eligible and recommended for further survey. As a property associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history, more intensive study could confirm its designation as a cultural landscape or archaeological site. More research could include documentation the extent of landform modification that occurred to create a viable landing and staging area.

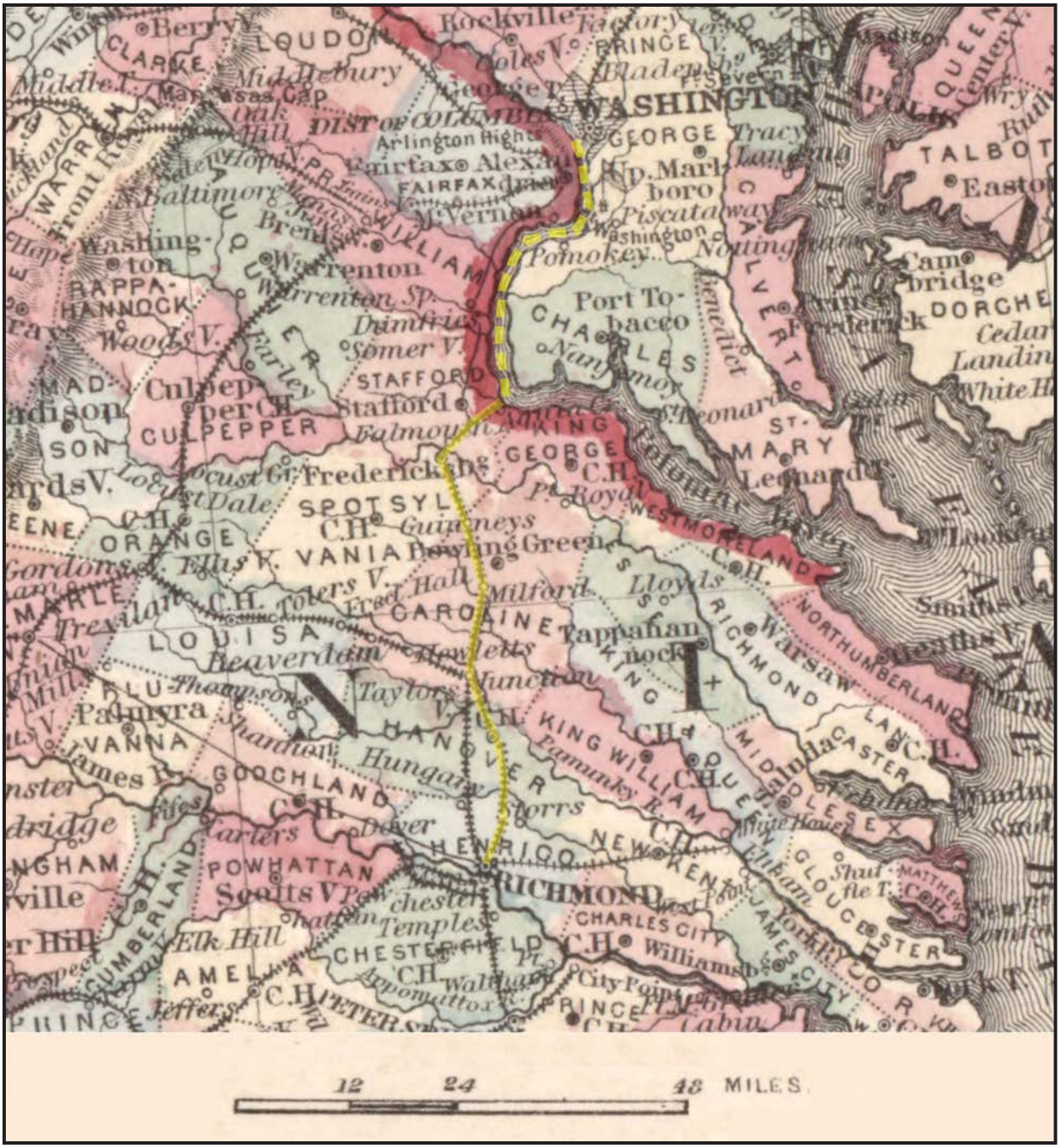


Figure 120. Civil War–era map showing the route of the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad (highlighted in yellow) and connecting steamship line (yellow highlighted dashed line) from Aquia Landing to Washington, D.C. (Colton 1863).

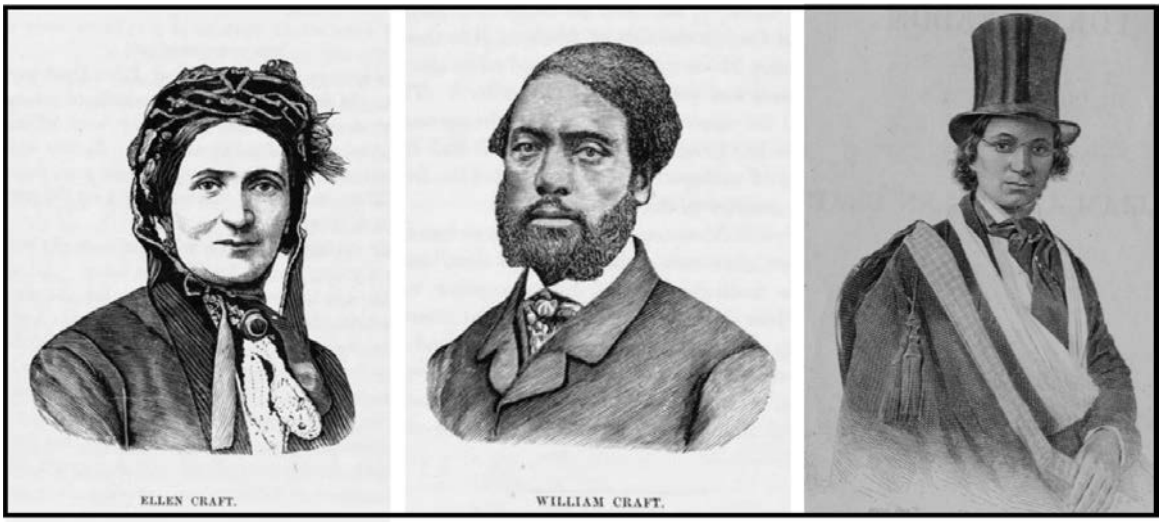


Figure 121. Portraits of Ellen and William Craft (Still 1872:between 368–369) and an artist's impression of Ellen Craft in disguise (Craft and Schoff 1860:frontispiece); their escape from Georgia to Boston passed along the Richmond, Frederick and Potomac Railroad and a steamboat from Aquia Landing.

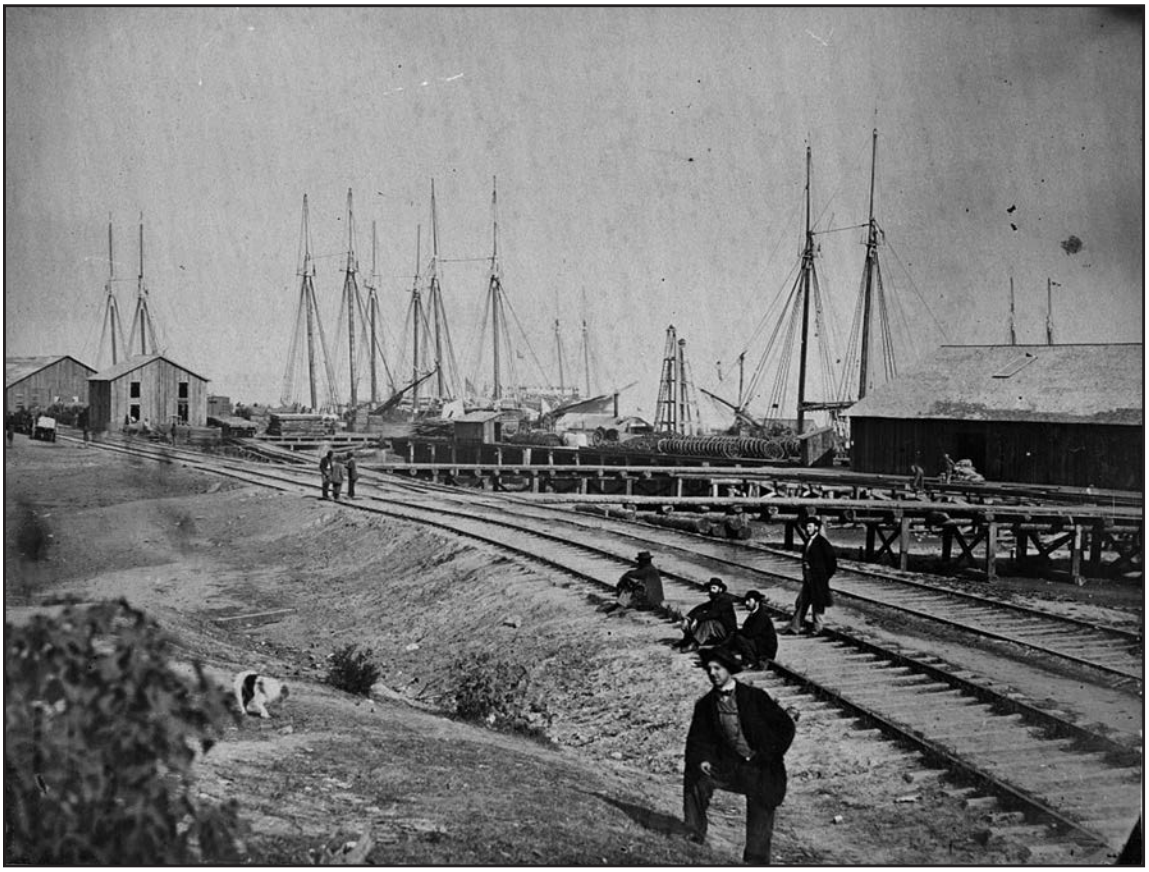


Figure 122. Aquia Landing as a Union Army supply installation during the Civil War (Anonymous 1861–1865).

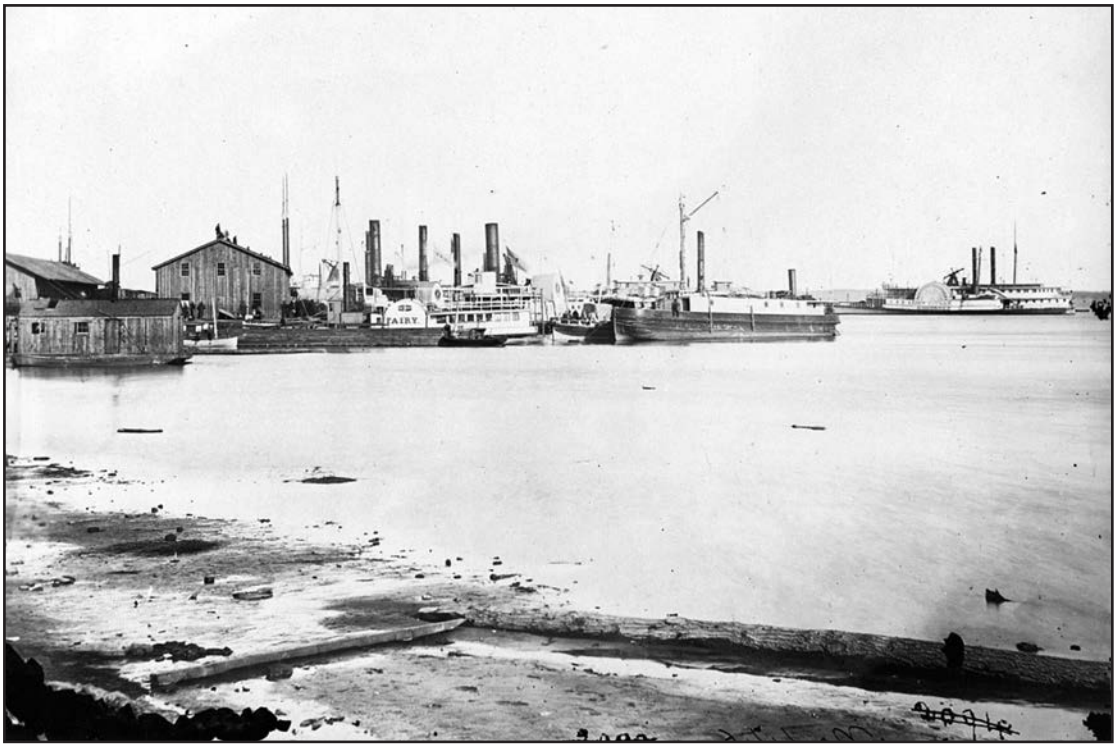


Figure 123. Aquia Landing as a Union Army infrastructure during the Civil War (Gardner ca. 1863–1865).

Moncure Daniel Conway House (089-0067-0031)

Location: 305 King Street, Falmouth

Evaluation Status: VLR listing 2003, NRHP 2004; contributing to the Falmouth Historic District (089-0067; VLR listing 1969, NRHP 1970).

Summary: This house has a short setback from the north side of King Street, east of its intersection with Gordon Street in Falmouth (Figure 124). The south elevation is the facade, overlooking King Street and, 300 feet to the south, the Rappahannock River. The house occupies the western corner of a sparsely landscaped 2.56-acre lot. Platted in 1727, this port town on the Rappahannock River across from Fredericksburg thrived until the railroad led to the decline of river freight in 1850. Wealthy merchant and miller James Vass built the two-and-a-half-story, five-bay, Federal-style Flemish bond brick dwelling in 1807. It has a full basement, a side-gabled slate roof, and three brick interior-end chimneys (Figure 125). The arched entrance has a double-leaf door with a fanlight transom above. Jack arches above the symmetrically placed windows (nine-over-nine sash on the first floor and six-over-six on the second) and the rounded arch above the door consist of rubbed brick. On its east elevation, the house features a "flounder," such that the roof has a truncated rear slope on the eastern third of the building (Figure 126). The building does not extend as far back in this portion, creating an L-shaped footprint.

In 1838, Walker Peyton Conway purchased the house from its second owner, William C. Beale, another wealthy owner. Conway served as presiding justice of the Stafford County court (Schools and Schools 2003). Although Walker Conway was an enslaver and supported the Confederate cause in the Civil War, his son Moncure Daniel Conway eventually became a radical abolitionist.

Figure 124. Moncure Daniel Conway House (089-0067-0031), site plan.

Figure 125. Moncure Daniel Conway House (089-0067-0031), west corner with facade.

Figure 126. Moncure Daniel Conway House (089-0067-0031), south corner displaying the "flounder" feature.

After obtaining his undergraduate degree from Dickenson College in Pennsylvania in 1849, Moncure became a Methodist minister. By 1852, his antislavery views created friction with his father as well as his uncle, Judge Eustace Conway, a states rights advocate in the Virginia General Assembly. A great uncle, Peter Vivian Daniel, also enthusiastically supported slavery in his decisions as an associate justice of the Supreme Court, by upholding the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 in 1847 and the 1857 Dred Scott decision, which denied African Americans the status of U.S. citizens. Moncure Conway left Falmouth permanently in 1858 for a long career as a prolific author and radical abolitionist clergy (Figure 127). In 1854, while Conway was a student at Harvard Divinity School, abolitionists stormed the jail and rescued Adam Burns, a freedom seeker from Stafford County held under the Fugitive Slave Act (Figure 128). During a rally that followed, Conway gave a fiery speech, stating that, "in Virginia, they not only had slaves, but every man with a conscience, or even the first throbbings of a conscience, is a slave (quoted in Schools 2020). Moncure Conway had a long career as an author of history, biography, and religious studies. He became a Unitarian and formed friendships with New England Transcendentalists. After his unsolicited negotiation with a Confederate envoy to England, offering that the North would accept secession if the Confederacy emancipated all enslaved people, he lived a long exile in England and Europe, eventually returning to the United States in 1897 (Schools 2020).

In addition to the connection to an important Southern abolitionist, the Conway house has a connection to freedom seeking. By 1862, all thirty of the people enslaved by Walker Conway had made their way to Washington, D.C. Moncure Conway met them and boarded them on a train to Yellow Springs, Ohio, where some of them became prominent members of the community, including Dunmore and Eliza Gwinn, who founded First Anti-Slavery Baptist Church, now First Baptist (Schools 2020).

Figure 127. Portrait of Moncure Daniel Conway for an article in the Secular Chronicle, May 5, 1878.

Field survey confirmed the good condition of this listed property, which is also under a Department of Historic Resources easement. The NRHP nomination includes thorough documentation of the property's association with Moncure Daniel Conway, written by the homeowners and Stafford Historical Society members Norman and Lenetta Schools.

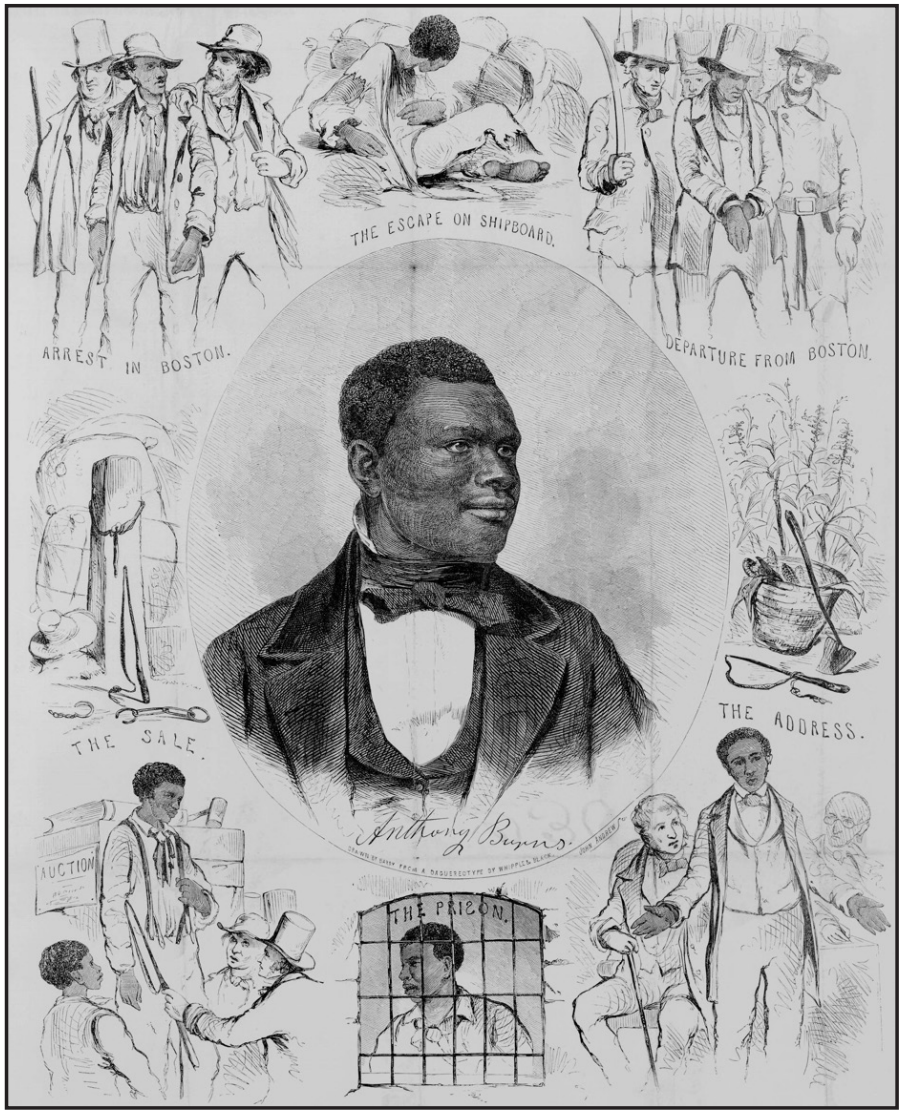


Figure 128. Portrait and picture story of Anthony Burns, a freedom seeker whose trial in Boston under the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 inspired protests among abolitionists, including Moncure Daniel Conway (Andrews 1855).

4: Discussion of Potential Additional Underground Railroad Resources

Charles City County

Correspondence with Judith F. Ledbetter, of the Richard M. Bowman Center for Local History in Charles City, was the source for the following sites associated with freedom seeking in Charles City County. The sites are part of the Center's interpretive bicycle tour entitled, "Freedom's Jubilee: An African American Journey."

Numerous advertisements for freedom seekers in colonial-era/Revolutionary War–period issues of the *Virginia Gazette* document escapes from **Shirley (018-0022)**, **Berkeley(018-0010)**, **Greenway (018-0010)**, and **Westover (018-0027)** plantations (Figure 128). During the Revolutionary War, some enslaved people, such as Thomas York from **Westover Plantation**, joined the Loyalists and eventually made their way to freedom in Nova Scotia.

Slave schedules for the census of 1850 and 1860 include entries for "runaways" purchased at the courthouse. This ca. 1750 brick **courthouse (018-0005)** still stands and serves a judicial function. Although county officials held captured freedom seekers at the Charles City Jail, the pre-Emancipation building was destroyed during the Civil War and replaced in 1867. However, **Westover Plantation** includes the sites of an earlier courthouse and jail that served the county prior to the selection of the centrally located county seat in the mid-eighteenth century.

The landmark legislation in 1782 that allowed the manumission of enslaved people has its origins in Charles City County. Its instigation came from a petition by Quakers who authored the document at the Weyanoke Meeting House. Many of this congregation later moved to Ohio, and some were active in the Underground Railroad near Steubenville, Ohio. A historical marker in the crossroads community of Adkins Store interprets the site of the meeting house.

Sherwood Forest (018-0021), the home of President John Tyler, also has several Underground Railroad associations. John Hambleton Christian, an enslaved servant who came with Tyler to the White House during his presidential term, later worked for the family of Tyler's late wife in Richmond. Rosetta Armistead had been enslaved as a young woman at Sherwood Forest. Upon the marriage of John Tyler's daughter, Alice, to the Rev. Henry Denison, Rosetta served in the Denison household in Kentucky. After Alice Denison died, Henry had a friend take his young daughter and Rosetta from Kentucky to Virginia. During an overnight stay in Ohio, anti-slavery activists discovered Rosetta and obtained her freedom in court according to the state's laws against slavery. John Tyler's second wife, Julia, had a maid and seamstress, Eliza Black, who escaped with her five children and two other men from Sherwood Forest during the Civil War. One of the men may have been Roscius Short, a son of Tyler's butler, who had run away previously and had been recaptured in Richmond. Roscius joined the 1st U.S. Colored Cavalry and worked at the Old Soldiers Home in Hampton after the war.

During the Civil War, 18 enslaved men (mostly from **Shirley Plantation**) joined the Union Navy at Harrison's Landing (part of **Berkeley**). Later 497 enslaved people fled with the Union Army upon its retreat from the landing.

Figure 129. Shirley Plantation (018-0022), one of several large estates in Charles City County that relied on large enslaved labor forces (V-CRIS). Numerous advertisements for enslaved people who escaped from these properties appear in the Virginia Gazette.

Hanover County

Though not directly associated with stories of flight from slavery, significant abolitionist activities also took place in Hanover County. **Shrubbery Hill (042-0052)** near Montpelier (in the western part of the county) was the home of Nathaniel Crenshaw, a Quaker abolitionist who taught free Black children at his school on the property. After Crenshaw had served in the military during the War of 1812, he underwent a dramatic conversion. As a Quaker, he renounced violence and became convinced that slavery was sinful. After freeing the enslaved people who worked for him, he was then instrumental in the freeing of 300 enslaved people through the legal means available in antebellum Virginia (Fawcett 2012).

Loudoun County

Edward's Ferry (053-0613) is associated with Bazil Newman, probably the most successful free Black entrepreneur in antebellum Loudoun County. As the operator of a boat crossing from the mouth of Goose Creek to Montgomery County, Maryland, there was suspicion that he secretly aided freedom seekers in their flight northward (Figure 130). As yet, there is no conclusive evidence that he served as an Underground Railroad "conductor" other than the fact that his occupation would have situated him well to assist freedom seekers. A 1910 memoir noted that the succeeding ferryman (after Newman's death in 1852) "was the underground agent of these organized thieves, at the ferry, and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was a part of the route which received, on certain boats, fugitives brought over the river by the ferryman" (Souders 2019). Further research might identify this ferryman. In addition to the ferry boat and operation, Newman owned a 67-acre farm along the left bank of Goose Creek, a warehouse, and a gristmill. In 1850, his

Figure 130. Edward's Ferry (053-0613) crossing of the Potomac River viewed from the mouth of Goose Creek (Historical Marker Database 2023).

Figure 131. Historical interpretive marker erected at the Newman family graveyard located in the River Creek gated community near Edwards Ferry in Loudoun County (Mackler 2021).

real estate was worth $1,000. Notably, in an age when interracial marriage was illegal, census records indicate that Newman was married (at least through common law) to a white woman named Cornelia Harris. According to Bazil's will, she had lived with him "in quality of a wife" and likely bore their daughter Sophy (Mackler 2021). By 1852, Cornelia had "lived with [him] for the past sixteen years...a faithful bosom companion and obedient housekeeper" (quoted in Souders 2019). The Black History Committee of the Thomas Balch Library discovered the location of the Newman family graveyard at the edge of a golf course in the River Creek gated community, at the northwest corner of the intersection of Lanier Island Square and Olympic Boulevard. Though not recorded in V-CRIS, the family graveyard is well maintained and includes a reproduction grave marker for Basil Newman's grave and an interpretive plaque (Mackler 2021) (Figure 131).

Besides the historic resources in the Network to Freedom discussed in Chapter 3, above, Loudoun County has numerous associations with the Underground Railroad due to a large presence of antislavery Quakers, concentrated in and around the village of Lincoln—known as the Goose Creek community in the nineteenth century. Along with the local Methodists, who were antislavery notwithstanding the neutral position of the national denomination, the Quakers organized meetings in the early nineteenth century to discuss the evils of slavery. In 1817, the Goose Creek Friends' Schoolhouse hosted a meeting that resulted in the founding of the Loudoun Manumission and Emigration Society, devoted to "exposing the evils of African Slavery." This 1815 brick school building in Lincoln, now known as **Oak Dale School (053-0305)**, served Black students living on Quaker farms as well as white students, according to antislavery essayist John Jay Janney (Figure 132). The same was true of the Quakers' log schoolhouse in Purcelville (Scheel n.d.).

Figure 132. Oak Dale Schoolhouse (053-0305) where white Quaker students and local Black students attended school together during the antebellum period, located in the Goose Creek community (now Lincoln) in Loudoun County (Historical Marker Database 2023c).

The Quakers' antislavery reputation was widespread across the South, both among whites and Blacks. For example, James Curry, an enslaved man who escaped from a plantation in eastern North Carolina, recalled passing by a Quaker's farmhouse on the way to Petersburg. A freedom seeking companion told him, "That belongs to a Friend. They never hold slaves" (Carbado and Weise 2012:35). This was true to the extent that most Quakers renounced slavery and relied on free labor, though some ignored the consensus against enslaving reached by the association of Quakers across the region.

In Loudoun County, the best-documented instance of Underground Railroad activity occurs in the person of Yardley Taylor, a fervent antislavery activist who briefly went to jail for assistance he provided in a freedom seeker's attempted flight from the county to Pennsylvania. A record exists in V-CRIS for the **Yardley Taylor House (053 0076)**, which is also part of the Goose Creek Rural Historic District (Figure 133). Not only did Taylor create the 1853 County map, run a commercial nursery, and serve as a postal carrier, he also was an anti-slavery activist who gave speeches on the subject. In 1828 an enslaved man named Harry came to his house and got Taylor to write a letter of introduction to a Quaker in Pennsylvania who helped people fleeing north. Harry also borrowed a free Black man's freedom papers. When Harry was stopped and searched, both documents were found and so punishment followed for all three men. Taylor went to jail in Leesburg until he paid a fine. More info about the story is in the report on the history of the Leesburg courthouse.

Figure 133. Yardley Taylor House (053-0076) on Evergreen farm in the Goose Creek community in Loudoun County (V-CRIS).

The Quakers formed a distinctive culture region in Loudoun County, separate from areas settled by Germans from Pennsylvania and Anglo-Virginians. In Yardley Taylor's "Memoir of Loudoun County," a companion text for his 1853 county map, the Quaker abolitionist suggested correlations between free and enslaved labor systems and the relative prosperity of the various parts of the county:

> The eastern parts of the county were originally settled by Virginians, who held large tracts of land, and pursued to some extent, that exhausting system of cultivation [i.e., tobacco] so common in eastern Virginia, by which the lands became impoverished, and were then thrown out of cultivation. Large tracts are still in that condition, though many of the present proprietors are turning their attention to the improvement of the soil, and are being amply rewarded. The value of land here is much lower than in other parts of the county.
>
> The north-western parts of the county were originally settled by Germans, principally from Pennsylvania, and many of their descendants still remain. Here the farms are generally small, and well cultivated, and land rates high.…
>
> The central portion of the county was originally settled by emigrants from Pennsylvania, and the neighbouring colonies, among whom were many members of the Society of Friends. Here the farms are of moderate size, and chiefly cultivated by free labour. Good buildings are more common than in any other part of the county, and land rates higher than elsewhere.
>
> In the southern parts of the county, the farms are larger and generally cultivated by slave labour. The style of building here is not so uniform as in the central parts of the county, neither does the price of land rate so high. These differences, so conspicuous in this county, are the result of different principles carried out into practice. And well would it be if mankind would but trace effects to their causes, and profit by the experience of the past.

Louisa County

The Hermitage (054-0037) plantation is the birthplace of Henry "Box" Brown, located near the village of Cuckoo (Figure 134). He lived there, enslaved to John Barrett, along with his parents and seven siblings until he was about 15 years old in 1830. A year earlier, the elderly Barrett had hired an overseer, whose particularly cruel treatment of the enslaved workers spurred Brown's desire to escape from slavery eventually. Following Barrett's death, his son William inherited the estate but separated Brown from his family to work in his tobacco factory in Richmond. As discussed below in the overview of potential sites in Richmond, the new situation provided Brown with both the opportunities and the strong incentives to flee through shipment by rail and steamer in an express freight box. The property retains its evolved vernacular frame plantation house (with portions possibly dating to ca. 1810), the Barrett family cemetery (054-5330), and the potential for archaeological remains of a cabin where Henry Brown and his family lived (Louisa County Historical Society 2023).

Figure 134. The Hermitage (054-0037) on the estate where Henry Brown, his parents, and siblings were enslaved before he was taken to work in the owner's tobacco factory in Richmond (Louisa County Historical Society 2023).

City of Norfolk

On April 14, 1776, following Lord Dunmore's Emancipation Proclamation that he issued in early November 1775 at Kemp's Landing, 87 people enslaved on the estate of John Willoughby in Norfolk County left *en masse* to reach the British encampment at Tucker's Mill Point/Windmill Point in Portsmouth. Willoughby himself was an ambiguous figure. Even though he served on the local Revolutionary Committee of Safety, some suspected him of being a loyalist. The emancipated group appears to have consisted of families. There were only 16 adult males who could have fought for Dunmore, accompanied by 21 women, 23 girls, and 27 boys (Carey 1995:61–64). Research in circuit court land records could reveal the location of Willoughby's property in Norfolk. Even though the enslaved people escaped from a property in Norfolk County, John Willoughby was a resident Eastwood, a property in Princess Anne County (Virginia Beach) with a brick plantation house (HABS VA-242) along Great Neck Road that stood at least until its recording in a dilapidated state in 1937.

City of Petersburg

As discussed in the previous chapter with reference to the Petersburg courthouse, the *Keziah* Affair is an important episode of Underground Railroad history that occurred within the city. Recent research by DHR staff and others has revealed associations of the *Keziah* and more generally the Underground Railroad with Pocahontas Island, a historic African American community now within the city. Previously, the area consisted of a peninsula on the Chesterfield County (north) side of the Appomattox River; since rechanneling of the river in 1915, Pocahontas island now lies on the south bank within Petersburg. Settled by white residents in 1752, by the early nineteenth century Pocahontas Island had the largest free Black population of any Virginia community. Accordingly, the area would have been a relatively safe place for enslaved people to hide while in transit to freedom, and the wharves along the waterfront gave freedom seekers ready access to northbound vessels. It is possible that the freedom seekers captured on the *Keziah* had boarded the vessel from Pocahontas Island.

One house built prior to 1838 at 213–215 Witten Street (123-0114-0016) and demolished in 2020, may have served as a safe house. The building included a 6-foot-tall crawl space/basement with its own fireplace where freedom seekers could have been easily concealed (Schneider 2016). When the James River Institute for Archaeology conducted intensive testing of the yard as an archaeological site (**44PG0471**) in 2006, the archaeologists found concentrations of "artifacts dating from the early nineteenth century through the twentieth century, evidence of intact cultural layers, and a number of intact features, including a former bulkhead entrance on the east elevation" (Laird 2006; V-CRIS). Oral history research by community historian Richard Stewart indicated an association of Pocahontas Island and the house at 213–215 Witten Street with Underground Railroad activities (Williams 2020). In fact, the building was commonly known as the "Underground Railroad House" by local residents. Further documentary research could help to clarify the connection between the site of the house and freedom seeking.

City of Portsmouth

During the winter and spring of 1776, Lord Dunmore established an encampment at Tucker's Mill, or Windmill Point across from the port of Norfolk. His forces and refugee enslaved people had been aboard the British ships moored in the Elizabeth River as winter set in. Due to an epidemic of fever, Dunmore decided to move onto land. Documentary research for archaeological data recovery at **Site 44PM0046** on Hospital Point indicates that the Dunmore encampment extended across what is now Hospital Point Park (Higgins and Downing 1991). The property owner had windmills for grinding grain on the property as well as bakehouses for making bread. The site investigations uncovered deposits associated with a fortification built by American forces and 1790s Fort Nelson. It is possible that archaeological evidence of the Dunmore encampment could be closer to the waterfront than Site 44PM0046.

Like other busy port towns in Virginia, Portsmouth was a favored transit point for freedom seekers, where they could conceal themselves among the community of other enslaved people and the many free Blacks who worked in the maritime trades. It also served as a starting point for the most common and most successful mode of flight to free soil—being concealed aboard an outgoing vessel. Fleeing to free territory by sea emerged as an avenue of escape after northern states began passing emancipation laws in the late eighteenth century and made the transition to becoming free states. Research by the African American Historical Society and Professor Cassandra Newby-Alexander has revealed several historic resources in the city's historic downtown and within the Portsmouth Olde Town Historic District (124-0034) associated with Underground Railroad activities, often linked to accounts in William Still's (1872) narratives. Summary interpretive material appears in an Underground Railroad–themed walking tour of downtown Portsmouth. Although the properties have 11-digit V-CRIS numbers as part of the district, often these numbers only appear in an inventory prepared in 1999 but not as separate records in V-CRIS.

Among the properties on the tour, the most prominent is the **African Methodist Society (Emanuel AME Church) (124-0050/124-0034-0052)**. A discussion of this property appears in Chapter 3, above.

The **Macon House (124-0034-0298)** at 303–307 North Street provided a good vantage point for freedom seekers in hiding while they awaited a northbound passage. Local historians point out that, when built in 1851, this Greek Revival hotel had a clear view across the street to the waterfront, as the opposite side of the street developed later in the nineteenth century.

Reportedly, the **Leigh-Whitehead House (124-0034-0302)** at 300 North Street often

Figure 135. Leigh-Whitehead House (124-0034-0302) at 300 North Street in Portsmouth where freedom seekers hid before secretly boarding northbound vessels.

served as a hiding place for freedom seekers as they waited for the departure of a vessel that would take them to a free state in the North (Figure 135). The interpretation for this house in the local Underground Railroad tour mentions that freedom seekers would often hide in an armoire with air holes and have that furniture shipped on a north-bound vessel (Portsmouth, Virginia 2022). It is not clear, however, whether this happened at this particular house or whether it was a common practice. Further research would be helpful to provide primary sources to document the association of freedom seeking with the Leigh-Whitehead House.

The house at **316 North Street (124-0034-0308)** is the location where the enslaved woman Clarissa Davis hid for ten weeks before her flight aboard a vessel bound for Massachusetts (Portsmouth, Virginia 2022). Earlier in the spring, her two brothers had escaped through the busy Portsmouth harbor on a ship bound for New Bedford. Clarissa hoped to join them but had to remain undetected until the right opportunity arose. Mrs. Brown and Mrs. Burkley, the siblings' enslavers, had announced a reward of $1,000 for their capture. Since Clarissa would have been recognizable and vulnerable to arrest by local law enforcement, she waited until a rainy evening in May to board a vessel and eventually joined her brothers in New England (New Bedford Historical Society n.d.). The ca. 1820 house is part of the 1983 expansion of the Old Town Historic District. Even though a rudimentary inventory prepared in 1999 lists only the V-CRIS number and address, the building's exterior is in good condition, and it appears to retain the integrity required to be a contributing element of the district. The side-gabled frame house on an English basement has a portico with fluted Doric columns sheltering a single-leaf entrance door with sidelights and a transom.

The landing for the High Street Ferry to Norfolk, which operated in the nineteenth century, continues to run today. It served an important

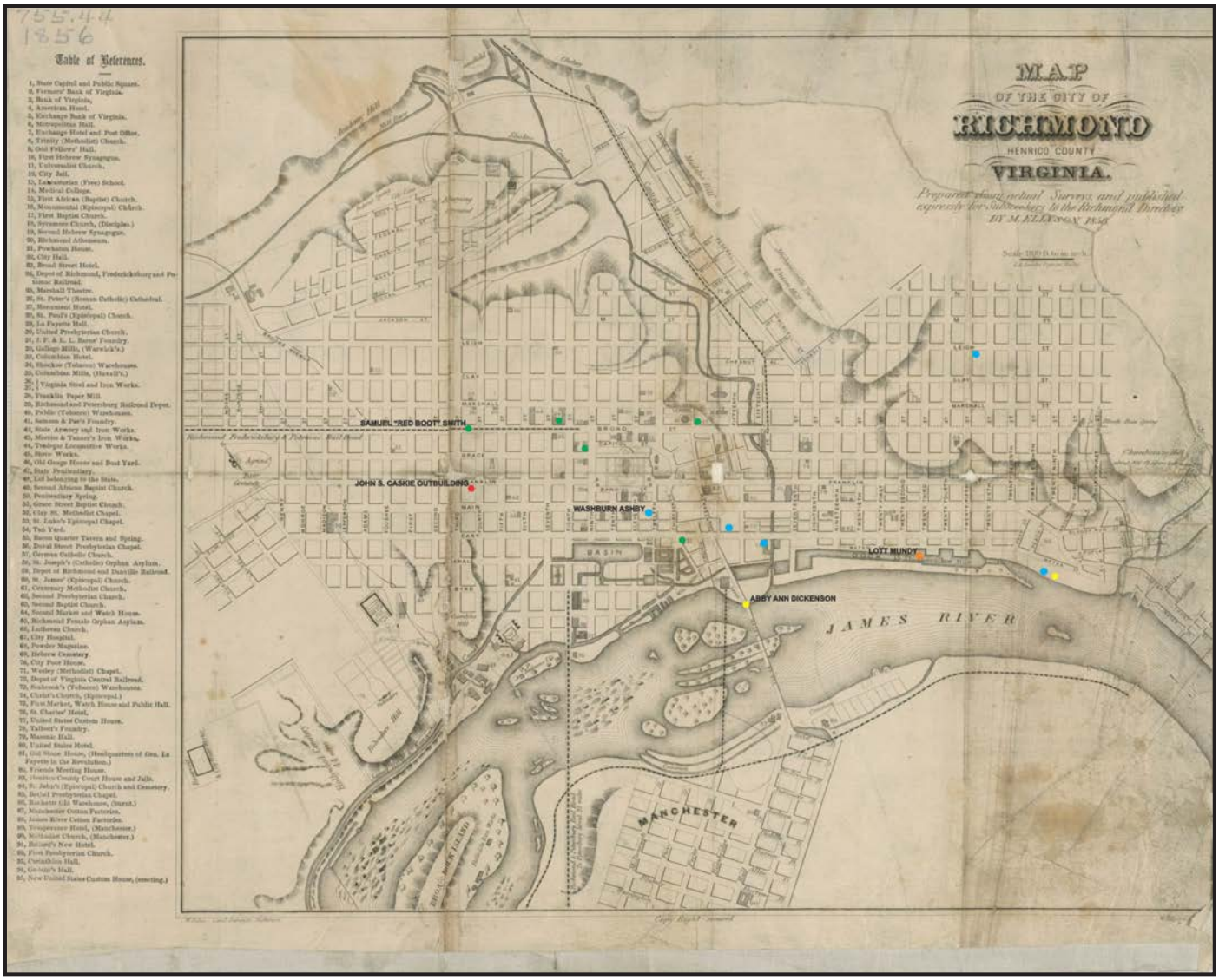


Figure 136. Antebellum map of Richmond showing locations associated with various Underground Railroad events (Sides 1856).

role in carrying freedom seekers from Portsmouth to north-bound vessels departing from Norfolk docks. Moreover, it was operated by free Blacks who may have assisted freedom seekers heading to the Norfolk waterfront.

City of Richmond

Like Norfolk, Richmond is a city rich in the history of the Underground Railroad, but also sadly a history punctuated by devastating fire and multiple episodes of urban renewal. As a result, many resources associated with freedom seeking events are no longer extant (Figure 136). Nevertheless, some historic resources built on the same locations as earlier ones with Underground Railroad associations are of interest. Key sources for the following events are the thesis by Nancy Rives (1998) and Jeffrey Ruggles' (2003) biography of Henry Brown.

The story of the 1849 escape of Henry Brown in a small wooden freight box highlights

aspects of urban slavery in Richmond as well as the incentives and opportunities it afforded for freedom-seeking. In 1830, William Barrett moved 15-year-old Henry Brown from plantation slavery at The Hermitage (054-0037), the Barrett estate in Louisa County, to Barrett's tobacco factory on Cary Street near 14th Street (Ruggles 2003:6). This traumatic separation of Brown from his parents occurred when William Barrett inherited his father's estate. Barrett prioritized his tobacco factory over the inherited plantation in making use of enslaved workers such as Henry Brown. Processing raw tobacco into plug or chewing tobacco was a major industry in the capital and other industrial towns in Virginia, such as Petersburg, that were conveniently located for nationwide and international distribution by ship.

While working at the factory, Brown earned and saved money from "overwork," or payment for producing more than a substantial minimum quota. Unlike planters, industrial enslavers avoided the burden of directly housing their work force. Instead they provided a stipend that the enslaved person could use for very modest housing. Nevertheless, this must have heightened a feeling of independence, certainly in the case of Henry Brown, who married an enslaved house servant and set up a household. He even paid a portion of the price of purchase for his wife's enslaver with the understanding that she would not be sold to a distant location. The enslaver's bad faith in selling the woman out of state and the impossibility of bringing her back spurred Brown to escape slavery himself.

Henry Brown also was an accomplished choir member at the Black Baptist church on Broad Street (Figure 137). The current **Old First African Baptist Church (127-0167/127-0252)** was built 1876 on the site of ca. 1802 First African Baptist Church that Brown attended (Figure 138). By the time Brown attended the church, only Blacks attended. The white congregation had split off in 1841 and worshiped at the church at 12th and Broad built by Thomas U. Walter. In accordance with the restrictions imposed on Black worship following the 1831 Nat Turner Revolt, the church had a white pastor, Robert Ryland, who also was the president of Richmond College (now University of Richmond). As pastor, he unwittingly helped a network of church members involved in the Underground Railroad. As a favor, he often would post and receive sealed mail for them as they communicated with contacts in the north about plans for the journeys of local people escaping slavery.

Brown received help from a free Black man, James C. A. Smith, and an unrelated white shoe shop owner, Samuel Alexander Smith. The latter also operated a small stakes lottery from the shop (conspicuous for the red boot hung above the door), which was popular among enslaved and free Blacks. Later in 1849, after helping two other freedom seekers, Samuel Smith was convicted of "stealing" slaves and sent to the state penitentiary (demolished in 1991).

Another Underground Railroad conductor incarcerated at the state penitentiary was Lott Munday, a free Black man from New York. After hiding freedom seekers Tom and Martin in the chain box of the schooner *Danville,* which was docked below Water Street, he received a 15-year sentence in the penitentiary.

In June 1849, Abby Ann Dixon (spelled Dickinson in some newspaper accounts), a free Black seamstress who lived in the Rocketts neighborhood, assisted in the attempted escape of Martha Ann, an 18-year-old enslaved by John Enders, Sr. (*Enquirer* 6/8/1849). According to a newspaper report, Dixon was well acquainted with "sea-faring and coastal gentry" and approached Captain John Barker of the schooner *William Maury* with the proposition of stowing Martha Ann aboard. Although many captains were willing to transport freedom seekers, either for a fee or because of anti-slavery sentiment, Barker proved to be duplicitous. He agreed to meet both women on the night of June 2, 1849 to take Martha Ann aboard his schooner. Instead of

Figure 137. First African Baptist Church (built 1802) on Broad Street in Richmond shown in 1865 (Anonymous 1865). Henry Brown attended the church and sang in the choir; it was the hub of an Underground Railroad network.

Figure 138. Old First African Baptist Church (127-0167/127-0252), built in 1876 on the site of the 1802 church (V-CRIS).

following through with the plan, he alerted Larkin P. Ford (*Public Ledger* 6/6/1849; U.S. Bureau of the Census [USBC] 1850). Although the 1850 census lists "no occupation" for Ford, he probably served as a member of the police guard, the law enforcement arm that patrolled the city and investigated crimes.

According to the arrangement, Dixon and Martha Ann arrived at the foot of Mayo's Bridge after dark to meet Captain Barker. The bridge appeared to be a logical rendezvous point since it led to Manchester, where the *William Maury* lay at anchor. Martha Ann, dressed in disguise as a boy in clothes provided by a possibly enslaved man named Robert. Evidently, Martha Ann had left Enders' place for some time and had been hiding out at the home of a Mrs. Wingfield, located along an alley. Upon reaching the bridge, the police guard arrested the women (City of Richmond Hustings Court 1849, cited by Rives 1998:88). Census records and a newspaper account indicate that Dixon received a five-year prison sentence. One of the "two or three slaves…punished with stripes" may have been Robert. There was no mention of the consequences for Martha Ann (*The Baltimore Sun* 1849).

The easily identifiable key location in the story is the **Mayo Bridge**, but the current crossing (**127-5809/127-0457-0048** [northern segment]) dates to 1910. The bridge where the meeting and arrest took place was the previous structure, built in the same location in 1788 and destroyed by retreating Confederate soldiers in 1865. The bridge is also a contributing resource of the **Manchester Industrial Warehouse Historic District (127-0457)**. It is possible but not very likely that additional specific locations such as the house of Mrs. Wingfield, are identifiable through additional research in census and local records, although Nancy Rives (1998:88) researched the case very thoroughly by examining Hustings Court records.

City of Virginia Beach

In 1776, four male and three female enslaved people from a property owned by members of the Thoroughgood family escaped to join Dunmore's forces in Portsmouth. It is possible that they came from the property encompassing the early eighteenth-century **Adam Thoroughgood House (134-0033)** owned by his descendants during the Revolution (Cummings 2018; *Virginia Gazette* 1776 [Dixon and Hunter], August 31, p. 3, col. 1.) (Figure 139). Of the five members of Dunmore's Ethiopian Regiment who escaped from the estate(s) of the Keeling family, one or more may have been associated with the Adam Keeling House (134-0018, Site 44VB0065) (Carey 1995:62).

William Johnson Hodges is an important figure from Princess Anne County associated with freedom seeking. There are suspicions that Hodges forged freedom papers for enslaved people, but this may have been based only on the fact that he was literate and capable of writing. In 1829, county officials arrested him for altering an invoice. After escaping from the Norfolk County jail (destroyed in the great fire that destroyed much of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Norfolk in 1859), he fled to Canada and then to New York. During the Civil War, he returned to Virginia and held several positions of local responsibility, including as justice of the peace, member of the board of supervisors, and superintendent of the poor. As the founding president of the Colored Monitor Union Club, he encouraged Blacks to participate in elections in Norfolk County. He and his son, John Q. Hodges, were both agents of the Southern Claims Commission (Tarter 2021).

Further research into the location of the Hodges farm through research in the circuit court land records could identify historic resources and/or archaeological sites associated with the Hodges and his family.

Figure 139. Adam Thoroughgood House (134-0033), one of several extant eighteenth-century plantation houses in Virginia Beach that stood on plantations from which enslaved people escaped to join British forces led by Lieutenant Governor Lord Dunmore during the Revolutionary War (V-CRIS).

City of Williamsburg

The **Public Gaol (137-0030)**, the colonial jail in Williamsburg, served as a holding area for captured freedom seekers throughout the eighteenth century (Figure 140). In 1722, the jail held a large number of enslaved prisoners who had attempted an ambitious rebellion intending to "cutt off their masters and possess themselves of the country" according to Governor Hugh Drysdale. To avoid further trouble, the colonial government sold the rebellion's leaders out of the colony (Theobald 2005).

The jail also served as a holding area for a group of freedom seekers during the War of 1812. On April 6, 1813, the *National Intelligencer* newspaper reported that a party of enslaved people approached a ship near Hampton, Virginia with the intention of arming themselves to foment rebellion. The crew of the American privateer vessel reportedly identified itself as British to lure them aboard, where they laid out the details of their plan. Immediately after hearing the plan, the ship's crew seized the group and transported them to Williamsburg for trial. Although the verdict is unknown, the Public Gaol housed the freedom seekers as they awaited trial (Cassell 1972:148).

Built ca. 1702, the jail stands in excellent condition in Colonial Williamsburg. As part of the Williamsburg Restoration project funded by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the one-and-a-half story brick building (20 x 30 feet) has been carefully maintained by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation since its rehabilitation in 1936. The building included areas for inmates awaiting trial or transfer to other jurisdictions as well as quarters for the jailer and his family (Southeastern Virginia Historical Marker 2012). Laid in Flemish bond, the building has a hipped roof, double-hung windows, and exterior and interior chimneys (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation n.d.).

Figure 140. The Public Gaol (137-0030) in Williamsburg (V-CRIS).

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