

**ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW AND ASSESSMENT
CEDAR CREEK AND BELLE GROVE
NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK**

by

Kathleen J. Bragdon

with contributions from
Donna Dodenhoff
Betty Duggan
Julie Ernstein
Audrey Horning
Martha McCartney
Danielle Moretti-Langholtz
Edward Ragan

*Prepared under cooperative agreement with
The College of William and Mary*

**Northeast Region Ethnography Program
National Park Service
Boston, MA
2009**

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The purpose of the Ethnographic Overview and Assessment for Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park (CEBE) is to identify culturally significant resources in the park and its environs (the study area), describe their importance to park-associated people, and discuss how park-associated peoples have in the past, and presently, perceive the park. To better identify and assess these resources and perceptions, an extensive review of existing documentary sources was undertaken, the intent of which was to place the social ties and land use practices of park neighbors (including former owners of park lands) in historical context. An analysis and summary of the extensive secondary literature concerning the study area was undertaken, as well as significant original research based on a wide variety of primary sources and oral history interviews. Interviews were carried out with representatives of many long-standing farm families in the region, including the Hites, Brumbucks, and Stickleys. Another important part of the study is its focus on the practices of the Church of the United Brethren, one of several denominations of the German “dissenting” tradition in the region, with roots extending back to the eighteenth century.

In order to evaluate the park’s strong association with the tradition of Civil War Commemoration, several members of the staff of Belle Grove Inc. and the director of the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation were interviewed, as were a large number of Civil War reenactors who attended the reenactments of the Battle of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove during the research phase of this project. African American and Native American leaders were also consulted.

Significant findings of this study include those that permit a clearer picture of Native American life on and near park properties from the Archaic period (10,000-3,000 B.P. [before present]) to the eighteenth century A.D. Contemporary Monacan tribal members, whose ancestors were associated with the study area, shared stories concerning their history, traditional practices, and ties with other groups, especially with Native American communities whose ancestors were caught up in the prolonged period of frontier warfare in the late seventeenth through the early nineteenth centuries. Similarly, reported encounters between Native Americans and early settlers in the study area are described, which provide new details about the rapid dispossession of the

Natives living there, and suggest that some of the members of the Hite family were actively involved in that enterprise.

The study provides brief histories of the Hite/Brumback, Vance, and Stickley families who have lived and farmed in the study area and on lands now occupied by the park for nearly 250 years, and whose successive generations exemplify many aspects of the Shenandoah Valley's history and ethnic diversity. The study also increases our understanding of the use of enslaved and free labor by the Hites, Stickleys, and other farm families in the study area in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In contrast to the enslavement patterns in the Tidewater region, this study found that in the study area, many enslaved African Americans were hired out as day laborers and/or as skilled workers in mines, mills and manufacturing. Many Free Blacks lived in the study area in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, creating their own hamlets or neighborhoods, and several became significant property owners.

Town development and the rise of other industries such as clock-making and pottery manufacture in the region prior to the Civil War are examined, as are changes in farm practices as the result of the adoption of mechanized threshing and harvesting machines. All of these developments are considered in light of their relevance to the park's properties, residents, and neighbors.

The destruction and upheaval of the Civil War are central to the story of the Lower Shenandoah Valley, especially in the area in and around the park. The Battle of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove was fought on the grounds of the Belle Grove Mansion and elsewhere on lands occupied by or adjacent to the park. This report adds important detail to the Civil War story, through original primary research and through a synthesis of the battlefield archeology that now includes information on the soldiers and their followers on both sides of the conflict, the noncombatants (often members of the dissenting churches), and the African Americans, enslaved and free, who were conscripted into the Confederate Army, volunteered in the Union Army, or who remained at home as vital laborers on farms and plantations.

Analysis of little-studied post-Civil War period in the Lower Shenandoah Valley and the fate of its African American residents is another highlight of this study, which was made possible through detailed analysis of public records and an extensive series of interviews, many with elderly African American residents of the region. It was also during this period that many Civil War commemorative organizations were established, and the myth of the Lost Cause was constructed, a myth that obscured the real costs and causes of the Civil War and undermined Reconstruction efforts to improve the lot of

African American freedmen and women, many of whom were forced to emigrate from the Lower Valley.

Another, related development is the growth of the Reenactor Movement, beginning in the 1960s, but with much earlier roots associated with Civil War commemoration. Reenactors make up a large group, which some scholars liken to a traditionally-associated group, although their networks extend to encompass many local, state, and federal parks. At Cedar Creek and Belle Grove, the only national park where black-powder gun use is permitted, and one of the few where participants can make use of actual battlefield settings, reenactors seek an especially strong sense of “experiential history,” a multi-stranded pursuit with a growing following in the United States and Europe.

The background research presented in the report provides the context for Chapters Six to Eight, which report on research designed to assess how park-associated groups perceive the park, and especially, what meanings and values they attribute to the park and its resources. Members of the Hite and Brumback families, in particular, strongly identify with the land on which their ancestors have farmed for centuries, and with the park that they have helped to establish, and whose staff with whom they continue to cooperate. Similarly, the Park is very significant to Civil War commemorators and reenactors, who view it as “sacred ground.” Finally, the park and its environs are very important to members of the Church of the United Brethren, as the locus of religious practices that have a deep history in the Valley.

The narrative concludes with recommendations for further research, most of which arise from significant findings of the study. In addition to further research on prominent families with whom the Hites and Brumbacks interacted, and the social history of the Civil War and the post-war era, the study suggests a larger investigation of the continuing significance of the Brethren to modern members of German and Dutch Reformed Churches, both within the study area and further afield. It also includes suggestions for outreach programs to African American and Native American communities in the region, whose ancestors occupied, traversed, or labored on park lands.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

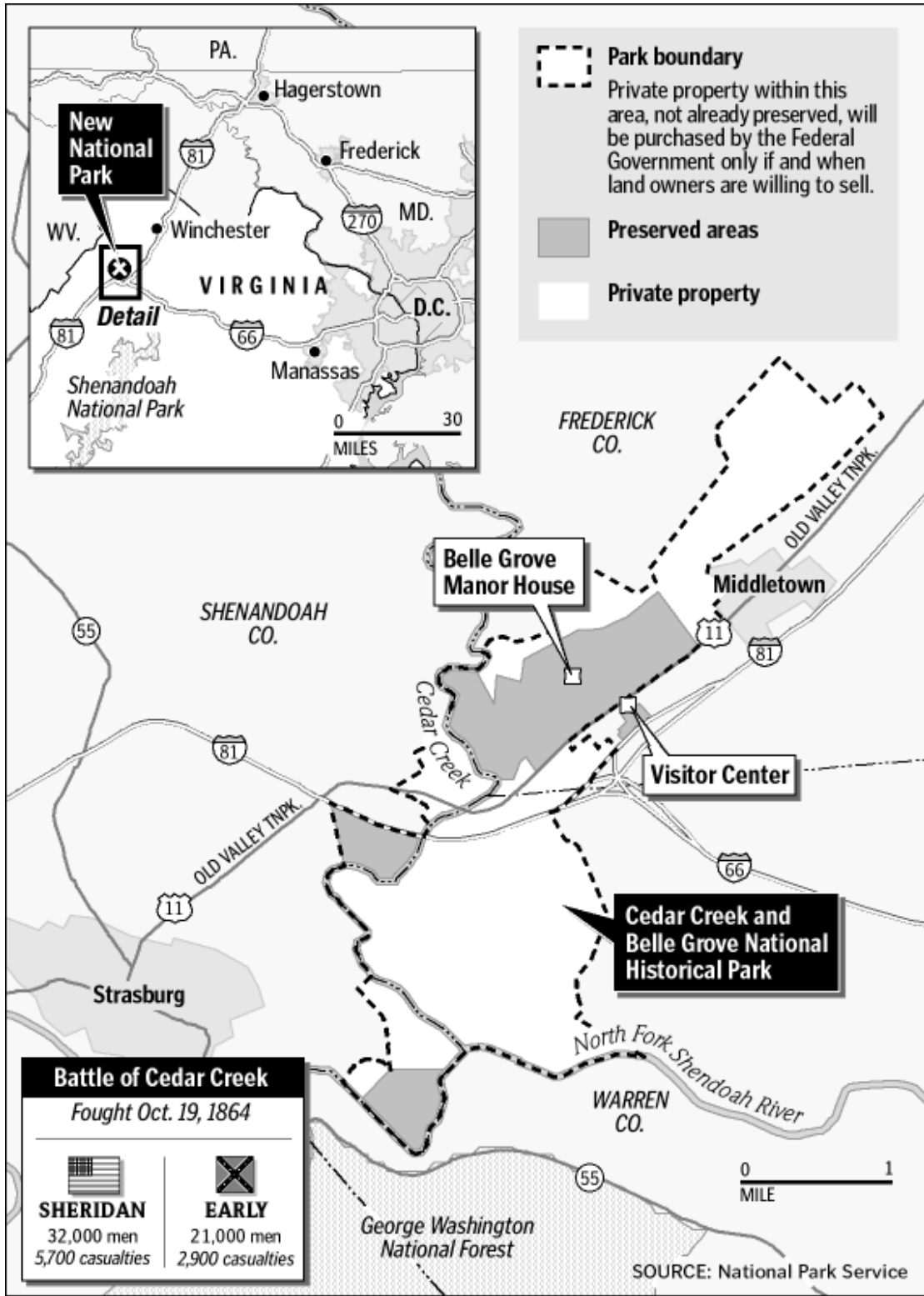
A project of this complexity must rely on many experts. Among these are Rebecca Ebert, Archivist at the Handley Regional Library and herself an historian of African American life in the Valley. Ms. Ebert provided a great deal of expertise to the study, and was always ready to search out references. Byron Smith, Director of the Stone House Museum in Stephens City, was also very helpful. Suzanne Chilson, Executive Director of the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation, and Elizabeth McClung, Director of Belle Grove National Monument, provided helpful information about their organizations and answered many questions. Elizabeth Umstadd of the Hite Family Association fielded questions about the family, and generously allowed me to attend the Hite Family Reunion, held at Belle Grove in July 2006. Ms. Susan Riggs, Special Collections specialist at the College of William and Mary, very generously provided teaching and research space for students working on manuscript collections from the Shenandoah Valley region. Clarence Geier and Michael Clark, who are working on other aspects of this project, shared helpful information. Diann Jacox, Superintendent of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, and Christopher Stubbs provided reports, maps, and good advice. Dr. Chuck Smythe, Ethnography Program Manager, Northeast Region and COTR on this project, worked hard to make sure the team had all it needed, and that the project stayed on track. We thank them all for their invaluable help.

CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

CEDAR CREEK AND BELLE GROVE NATIONAL HISTORIC PARK AND ITS PLACE IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Established by Congress on December 19, 2002, to commemorate a nationally-significant Civil War landscape and antebellum plantation, the Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park is located on approximately 3,500 acres at the northern end of the Shenandoah Valley (known as the Lower Shenandoah) between the towns of Strasburg and Middletown, Virginia (Map 1). Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park is a partnership park. Much of the property within the park is privately held farmland, while the remainder (close to 964 acres) is held by the National Park Service (NPS) and its non-profit partners (Shenandoah County, the Shenandoah Valley Battlefield Foundation, the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and Belle Grove, Inc.). The Whitham tract, now part of the park, is a large parcel of farmland, typical of the properties that are historically common in the region (Warren County Deed Book Q:271, 197:738). The Park acquired the property in 2003 (Warren County Instrument # 030003079).

The Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation preserves the battlefield, and interprets the Battle of Cedar Creek and the 1864 Valley campaign. The Foundation also hosts two yearly reenactments and living history events on the battlefield. The Belle Grove Plantation is a Historic Site of the National Trust for Historic Preservation and is operated by Belle Grove, Inc., in association with the Trust. Notable as the first large plantation dwelling in the region, the Belle Grove Manor House was built by Isaac Hite Jr., a Revolutionary War patriot married to the sister of President James Madison. President Thomas Jefferson assisted with the design of the house. The house has remained virtually unchanged since it was built in 1797. On April 17, 1986, the National Trust for Historic Preservation conveyed 0.45 acres of the Belle Grove property to the Virginia Department of Highways and Transportation. Then, on September 20, 2002, the



Map 1: Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park in its regional context. Courtesy of the National Park Service.

National Trust also granted a perpetual open-space easement for the Pasquet tract, part of the original eighteenth-century Hite plantation (Belle Grove) to the Virginia Outdoors Foundation, an agency of the Commonwealth of Virginia. The stated purpose of this transaction was the preservation of a portion of the historic Cedar Creek Battlefield. The Pasquet tract was described as 183.1296 acres of land that the National Trust acquired from Virginia F. and George A. Pasquet on August 3, 2000 (Frederick County Deed Book 617:446, 972:1132; Instrument # 020018626). Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park is also part of the Shenandoah Valley Battlefields Historic District, a National Heritage Area established by Congress in 1996 to “preserve, interpret and promote” the Shenandoah Valley’s Civil War heritage and the historic landscape of the Valley as seen by historians as significant in the 1864 campaign.

The Civil War Battle of Cedar Creek (also known as the Battle of Belle Grove) was one of the most important engagements of the Civil War, and a major victory for Union forces. The dramatic story of the clash between the forces of renowned Confederate General Jubal Early and those of Union General Philip A. Sheridan, on October 19, 1864, has been the subject of countless histories (e.g., Wert 1987), and Sheridan’s victory is credited with ensuring the re-election of President Lincoln and hastening the end of the war. The Lower Shenandoah Valley, known as the “Breadbasket of the Confederacy” for its abundant harvests and livestock, had supported the Confederate Army of Virginia throughout the war, creating hardship for local residents, but explaining its strategic centrality. The Battle of Cedar Creek surged around Belle Grove Mansion itself, and the manor house served as headquarters for both Union and Confederate forces. Many features, including standing structures, monuments, and archeological remains associated with this occupation, and with the battle, are interpreted at the Manor House, and are discussed in Chapter Five.

However, the story of the Lower Shenandoah region, of which the Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park is a part, is much deeper and more complex even than its part in the Civil War. The lands occupied by the park have been traversed, exploited, and occupied by Native Americans since the Paleoindian period (ca. 12,000-10,000 B.P. [before present]). One of the most significant indigenous transportation routes on the continent, known as the Great Warrior Path, runs along one of the park’s boundaries, and was the conduit for numerous movements of people prior to and following the arrival of Europeans in the fifteenth century A.D. (see also Chapter Two).



Map 2: Sketch map of the Battle of Belle Grove and Cedar Creek.
 Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Significant contact between early explorers and the Native peoples of the region, although only hinted at in the surviving records, undoubtedly took place in the centuries prior to the settlement of the region by European Americans and African Americans in the 1730s. The celebrated first European settler of this region was Jost Hite, who, after acquiring a grant from Virginia Governor Sir William Gooch in 1731, led a group of

sixteen families to the Valley. Hite built a cabin and fort at Opequon Creek, near Springdale on modern Route 11, about twelve miles north of the park. Hite's son Isaac settled eventually at Long Meadow, within park boundaries, on a 900-acre tract 100 yards from the north fork of the Shenandoah River, one mile downstream from the mouth of Cedar Creek. Contemporary records suggest that the site Isaac Hite chose was a Native American campsite and burial ground (Kercheval 1925:43).

Josh Hite, of German descent, was among the first of many German immigrants from the Rhineland-Palatinate to migrate south from Pennsylvania. He and his son-in-law George Bowman had large families, the members of which acquired a great deal of land in the region, and remained important in the social and political life of the settlement. During the French and Indian War, "Bowman's Fort" (also known as Harmony Hall) was a refuge for local settlers from Native raids (see Chapter Three).

Jost Hite's grandson Isaac Jr. married a member of the Madison family, and was firmly associated with the Tidewater elite. These ties were significant in the construction of the Belle Grove Mansion in 1794-97. Through James and Dolly Madison, Isaac Hite Jr. was linked to the foremost politicians of his day, including Thomas Jefferson. Other settlers of German descent, however, maintained a more "traditional" German identity and were linked to their Old World heritage through language, building styles, farming techniques, foodways, dress, and religion. Among the first important religious denominations in the valley were the Quakers, and associated communities that came to be known as Pennsylvania Dutch, Dunkards or Tunkards, and later, (for some) the Church of the United Brethren. This group, although complex and internally divided, was generally known to outsiders by the term that referred to the practice of adult baptism, known as "dunking." Today, these latter denominations are also linked to the Lutheran and the Mennonite faiths, and together form the "Peace" congregations, whose members maintain a tradition of conscientious objection and religious non-conformity, and for whom the Lower Shenandoah remains a stronghold (see Chapters Four and Seven).

Another important immigrant group was the Scots Irish. Many of these people were followers of the Reverend Robert Strawbridge, of Sligo, Ireland, who settled in the western part of Maryland in 1760. Strawbridge, and his followers Richard Owings and Sator Stephenson, were Methodists, and their ministry, characterized by energetic circuit preaching, soon drew a large following. Methodists also came to the Valley of

Virginia with the Reverend John Hagerty. Arriving shortly before the Revolution, the early Methodists often cooperated with the United Brethren, although members of Methodist congregations participated actively in the various military conflicts that wracked the region, especially during the Civil War (see Chapter Five).

While there were reported to be communities of escaped slaves hiding out west of the Blue Ridge in the seventeenth century (Hofstra 2004:66-67), none have been explicitly tied to the study area, and it is assumed that the majority of the first Africans to settle in the region were enslaved. The Hite family of Belle Grove owned the largest number of slaves in the region; many middling farmers, on the other hand, owned far fewer. By the early nineteenth century, in addition, there were many Free Black residents of the region, most probably connected to the large number of emancipated slaves from Montpelier Plantation, manumitted by Robert Carter between 1800 and 1804 (Berlin 1976:59). Free Blacks and numerous slaves were employed as day laborers in the Lower Valley, but many worked as skilled artisans as well. Following the Civil War, and the failed policies of Reconstruction, many African Americans left the region, and modern African American population figures for the study area are far smaller than prior to the war.

In contrast, peoples of Scots Irish and German descent have remained in the Valley, and some of the Park properties have been continuously occupied by descendants of several of the original settler families, who are connected to one another by numerous marriage ties. In particular, descendants of the Hite/Brumback family are both park neighbors and park partners, while historic Belle Grove Plantation and associated Hite-family properties and burial grounds are the foci of Hite family reunions.

Civil War commemorative activities have a long history at the park as well. Monuments erected to mark the site of the Battle of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove and to honor specific combatants are still significant landmarks, and earthworks and other features associated with the battle and its aftermath still survive. In the past several decades, the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation has hosted and supported yearly reenactments of the Battle of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove, attended by increasing numbers of reenactors and spectators. The Historic Reenactment movement is a significant social phenomenon, of importance at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove and at a number of other national parks as well. As noted above, principal among the reasons for

CEBE's importance to Civil War reenactors is that CEBE remains the only National Park where black-powder shooting is permitted.

Three groups appear have the most significant associations with Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park: Hite/Brumback family descendants/park neighbors, members of the Church of the United Brethren, and Civil War reenactors (see Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight). These groups have contributed to the unique character of the park and will be discussed in significant detail. Other communities and peoples, including Native Americans and African Americans, also contributed significantly to the park's history and their ties to the park area deserve further research.

PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP ON THE LOWER SHENANDOAH

Until recently, scholarship concerning the "backcountry" of Virginia has lagged behind that of other regions. For example, most of the scholarship on the colonial period in the South has focused on either rural or urban society, with a strong emphasis on the Tidewater region. Scholarship on Native American and African American communities in the region has likewise been less extensive than that devoted to the powerful coastal chiefdoms, especially the paramount Powhatan chiefdom, and to the enslaved peoples of the tobacco-growing regions of Virginia and Maryland. Since the 1980s, however, a number of historians, especially Warren Hofstra and his colleagues, have worked to redress this balance. Hofstra, in particular, has been at pains not only to document the distinctive aspects of backcountry settlement, but to place the history of this region in the wider context of the contest of empires that shaped all New World colonial settlements.

Hofstra sees the evolution in the region of what he calls a "town and country landscape." He argues that "town life in the eighteenth century was never alienated from its country context as the modern antithesis of urban and rural ways of life might suggest" (2004:12), and proposes that town and country were rather a "continuum." Furthermore, he argues that imperial policy and Indian diplomacy shaped settlement and the material conditions of the Virginia frontier. For Hofstra:

[these policies] . . . produced the first centralizing tendencies in the otherwise dispersed settlement. . . . Conflict among European and Indian nations would ultimately stimulate trade in both town and country, linking town to country and merging a rapidly developing town-country

settlement system on the frontier with the eighteenth century's Atlantic economy (Hofstra 2004:49).

Scholars studying “New Virginia,” as the backcountry is sometimes known, have frequently adopted a strongly economic perspective for understanding its unique character. Most have written about the growing prosperity of the region, its agricultural productivity, and its importance in trade. Others, like Hofstra, also emphasize its role as a key territory in the contest for control of the New World, and in the expansion of the American population after the Revolutionary War. While the economic parameters of the slave-based economy of the Valley, tied to a thriving network of industry and trade, are clearly central to the distinctive social relationships that emerged in the region in the nineteenth century, they can sometimes cause scholars to overlook other aspects of the region's character, particularly the ideological perspectives that characterized the distinct groups of the region and the “republicanism” that characterized town building and settlement pattern. Travelers to the region in the early nineteenth century place particular emphasis on this aspect of backcountry character (e.g., Weld 1807). These differing ideological perspectives sometimes led people to make different economic decisions, for example sharing farm machinery or draft animals, as was common among members of the reformed German church communities in the region, as opposed to maintaining entirely self-sufficient farms. Especially in a region where several distinct ethnic communities lived side by side, an interpretation of the ideological and cultural differences among them also seems imperative.

Although Tidewater historians have referred to the Lower Shenandoah as a “backcountry,” it was in fact an important center of trade and commerce in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with wheat-centered, prosperous farms linked to towns and the sprawling hub that was Winchester (Mitchell 1977; Puglisi 1997). The backcountry was also distinct in its diversity. For example, many communities adopted the generic outward appearance of Southern settlements, represented by the nearly ubiquitous I-house style of architecture that became common in the early nineteenth century (Hofstra 2004:330), yet each distinctive ethnic group continued to practice traditional arts, to worship at the churches or in the fellowships of their ancestors, and in many cases, to speak the German language, to the exclusion of (or in addition to) English (e.g., Kniffen 1965; see Chapter Four).

The Civil War brought an abrupt end to the prosperity of the region, and its aftermath diminished its ethnic diversity. The Lower Shenandoah, with its productive farms, was an important source of supplies for the Confederate Army, and regular conscriptions of food and livestock impoverished local landowners. Its strategic importance meant that it became the locale of many skirmishes and battles, including the pivotal Battle of Cedar Creek, and it suffered from depredations by both armies, with the resulting disruption of the economy, the destruction of white farms and industries, and the sudden and unprepared-for homelessness of newly-freed African Americans. After the war, many emancipated slaves moved north and west, creating a labor shortage, and bankrupting many whose fortunes had been tied up in the slave-based economy (Koons 2000a). A Freedman's Bureau was established in Winchester, however, and some emancipated African Americans remained, working small farms or employing their skills locally. It is likely that those who remained married into the pre-existing freed African American communities as well. Nevertheless, several factors, including continuing racism, lack of access to land, and better opportunities in newly-opened western territories, lead to the outmigration of many African Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The surviving African American community protected themselves by "looking within" to emphasize educational opportunities and to maintain links to other, more progressive cities, especially Baltimore and Philadelphia (see Chapter Five).

The early twentieth century brought further changes, as economic and educational opportunities took many from the Valley, while the two World Wars led to conflicts at home between those who expected widespread enlistment, and the Peace Fellowship, who chose other paths. Many conscientious objectors from the Valley served as clerks and medics, or worked in factories in the region or elsewhere (interview with Floyd Wine, Chapters Five and Seven).

At the same time, a growing tourist industry was developing, sparked by the establishment of "Sky Lodge" and the movement to make accessible the natural beauty of the area. Belle Grove itself became part of this movement, and served as a country hotel for the tourists who visited the region. Today, development threatens this scenic heritage, and many who are devoted to the history and culture of the region are taking steps to preserve it (Chapter Five).

CEDAR CREEK AND BELLE GROVE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK IN ITS REGIONAL CONTEXT: DEFINITION OF THE STUDY AREA

The Lower Shenandoah region, the setting for the study area for the Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, is defined as the locality surrounding the park, extending from Stephens City, 4.5 miles to the north of the park, through Middletown, where the park is located, and then to Strasburg, 5.7 miles south of Middletown (Map 3). All these communities are linked by modern Route 11, once part of the Great Warrior Path, and later the Valley Turnpike. The hamlet known as Meadow Mills, just southwest of Belle Grove's grounds, contains the Meadow Mills Church, but most of its original nineteenth-century structures are no longer standing (see Chapters Seven and Eight). Other important communities in the area immediately surrounding the park include Front Royal, 9.3 miles to the east of the Park, and Winchester, Virginia, the county seat of Frederick County, 12.3 miles to the north. Stephens City was the center of nineteenth-century Free Black settlement. Also closely tied to the study area are the historic African American communities of Berryville and Josephine City to the northeast of Stephens City (see Chapters Four and Five). The study area was delineated through concentrated documentary and oral history research, and encompasses those features, settlements, and transportation conduits most clearly relevant to the park's history.

Prominent natural features of the region include the Shenandoah River itself, and the Massanutten Range to the south. The Shenandoah and its tributaries form significant park boundaries, while Mount Massanutten is prominently visible from park grounds. The beautiful Shenandoah Mountains are also visible from many prospects within the park, especially from the Belle Grove Mansion and the Cedar Creek battlefield.

Sections of the Appalachian Trail and the Skyline Drive run just east of the park, as does Interstate Route 81. Presently, Middletown, Virginia has a permanent population of 1,200, largely of European descent. African Americans presently make up less than 4% of the population. Although agriculture was the most significant occupation in the region until the early decades of the twentieth century, currently Middletown's population is largely engaged in non-farm activities, with jobs in the tourism, service, mining, and construction fields predominating. Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park is a significant local landmark, and attracts numerous visitors to the region,



Map 3: The Shenandoah Valley, including the Lower Shenandoah Study Area.
Location of CEBE marked with star.

especially during the annual reenactment of the Battle of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove, sponsored by the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation. In 2008, for example, nearly 4,000 people attended this event, while previous years brought even larger numbers of visitors (*Winchester Star*, Thursday, October 23, 2008).

The region in which the park is located is connected by a series of historic roadways and paths, the most famous of which was once known as the “Great Warrior Path,” and later the “Great Wagon Road,” along which present-day Virginia Route 11 extends. (For further discussion of this significant route, see Chapter Two.) Native peoples of the Eastern Woodlands region ranged extensively north and south along this path, and from it could access east-west routes along the upper drainages of the Potomac and the Susquehannock Rivers.

According to historian Helen Tanner, the Great Warrior Path was part of a larger indigenous transportation network, a path that extended southward from the Kanawha River of West Virginia, then south toward Kingsport, Tennessee. The branch which tied this great network to the study area diverted east toward Roanoke and along the valley of the Shenandoah River. This great natural travel route tied Native communities to one another and provided trade access through vast portions of Eastern North America from the Archaic period (ca. 8000 B.P.) to the arrival of European settlers in the seventeenth century (Tanner 1989:8; see Chapter Two). Subsequently, Native trade, diplomacy and warfare continued to mark social interactions along the backcountry frontier, marked in part by this route, in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries. Tanner writes:

The documents of colonial times show that warriors, messengers, and tribal delegations traveled this path regularly in the eighteenth century. This trail system was used by the Wyandots from Detroit in warfare against the Catawbas, and by Cherokees coming to the mouth of the Scioto River for conferences with the Shawnees in 1751 and 1752 (Tanner 1989:9, 10).

Numerous Native American tribal groups inhabited or passed through this portion of the Shenandoah Valley in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One of the best documented was a branch of the Algonquian-speaking Shawnee, members of whom established a camp in Winchester, Virginia in the mid-eighteenth century. Local traditions suggest that among the most well-known Native leaders to reside there was the father of Shawnee chief Cornstalk, an important participant in Dunmore's War (Morton 1925:43). Relationships between local Native American groups and other tribes involved with French and English colonies complicated the composition and political interrelationships of groups who used and occupied the area during this period. A violent conflict in 1742 between white Virginians and a group of 28 Onondagas and Oneidas from New York illustrates the intensity of Iroquoian economic and political interest in the region that probably developed in the previous century. Although Europeans began moving into the area in the 1730s, colonial and imperial officials started to encourage non-Native settlement in the area after the confrontation of 1742 (Hofstra 2004:237-238).

The Europeans who settled the Lower Shenandoah in the mid-eighteenth century were the beneficiaries of the clearing of large tracts of land there in the aftermath

of border hostilities with a variety of Native American groups. Much of this land was granted to Lord Fairfax, who had proprietorship of 5,282,000 acres in what is now Northumberland, Lancaster, Westmoreland, Richmond, Stafford, Rappahannock, Culpeper, Madison, Clarke, Warren, Page, Shenandoah, and Frederick counties. In 1738, Frederick and Augusta Counties were established, although a local government at Winchester (then called Fredericktown) was not established until 1743. The study area is home to a number of prominent families whose ancestors first settled the region, including the Hite, Bowman, Brumback, Cooley and Stickley families (Cartmell 1909; Kercheval 1925). A complex network of intermarriages links these families to one another and to other early settler families. Interviews with some members of these families highlight their specialized knowledge of the land, farming techniques, and social and cultural history of the area spanning more than two hundred years. Some of these families, especially the Brumback family, are park residents today.

Many of these early settler families were also members of a variety of Protestant Reformed Sects, including the “Brethren” or the Dunkards, as well as Quakers and Mennonites, who played a prominent role as conscientious objectors in both the Revolutionary War and the Civil War. The region remains a stronghold of the Church of the United Brethren in the United States, whose practitioners eschew many modern amenities, and continue to practice full-immersion baptism in streams and rivers in the area (interviews with Floyd Wine, 2006, and Virginia (Gee Gee) Pasquet, 2006). Although each church functions independently, they are organized into districts, still called “circuits.” The Shenandoah circuit or district includes the Meadow Mills Church of the Brethren, located on the park boundary in Middletown, Virginia (see Chapter Seven).

As noted above, African Americans were probably first brought to the Lower Shenandoah as enslaved laborers. Belle Grove Plantation was home to a significant number of enslaved African Americans. The Belle Grove Plantation, Inc. has identified the names (and, in some cases, the origins) of the Hite family slaves and has developed family genealogies of the slaves that were in residence during its first years. Some of these individuals may have been buried in the slave cemetery located on the park property. However, little is known about the fate of previously enslaved Africans of the Lower Shenandoah following the Civil War, when many migrated north and west (interviews with Virginia (Gee Gee) Pasquet, 2006, and Elizabeth McClung, 2006). On the other hand, the Lower Shenandoah was home to a remarkable number of Free Blacks in the

late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. These people, emancipated slaves and those who had purchased their own or family members' freedom, lived in small communities scattered throughout the study area, and some were able to purchase their own farms or town lots. A number of Free Blacks were skilled artisans, and worked alongside small white farmers, or enslaved Africans on some of the larger farms. After the Civil War, some descendants of these Free Blacks remained in the region, particularly in Stephens City, where one African American family known to have settled there in the early nineteenth century still lives. Life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was difficult for African Americans in the region, however, and today they make up only a small percentage of the population (see Chapters Five through Seven).

Aside from park neighbors and descendants of the original settler families, who still live in the area, the most significant social group associated with Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park is made up of Civil War reenactors. This growing group of enthusiasts gathers at the park twice a year for reenactments of significant Civil War engagements. One, in October, commemorates the Battle of Cedar Creek; the other, in July, dramatizes the Battle of First Manassas. These reenactments and living history events are sponsored by the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation and Belle Grove Plantation. Fees paid by reenactors to participate in the event support the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation and have been the major funding source for acquiring and preserving the lands now owned by the organization. Scholarly research on reenactors in the United States has highlighted many of the themes expressed by reenactors at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove, including their interest in honoring the hundreds of thousands of Civil War dead, historical accuracy, education, and a "personal" connection to the past (Stanton 1999). The reenactments are also great sources of local pride and make an important contribution to the region's economy (see Chapter Eight).

The region's unique history, ethnicity, economy and religious diversity are well represented by the park itself, which has partners in Warren, Shenandoah, and Frederick Counties. These counties include descendants of original European settlers and a number of long-resident African American families. No communities of Native Americans live within the area immediately surrounding the park, but the Monacan Nation, living near Lexington, Virginia, appears to have historic ties to the region. Physically, the study area is part of an agricultural landscape dotted with small towns, set in the spectacular scenery of the Lower Shenandoah Valley (see Chapter Two), criss-

crossed by creeks and streams and bounded by Cedar Creek itself, a tributary of the north fork of the Shenandoah River, to the west of the Massanutten Mountain range, and bounded by the Opequon Creek area to the north (see Map 3). Presently, the area is threatened by domestic and commercial development, and the viewshed, especially near the Battlefield, is marred by the very visible mine works to the west. The thunderous traffic on nearby Interstate 81 is a serious threat to the once peaceful “soundscape” of the region as well.

STUDY OBJECTIVES

The Statement of Work for the Ethnographic Overview and Assessment for Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park (2005) called for the documentation of ongoing traditional associations between peoples and park resources. Specifically, the study was meant to identify and describe park resources that are linked to cultural practices, beliefs, values, history, and the ethnic or cultural identity of park neighbors and park-associated groups (Statement of Work, pages 7, 8). In addition, the Statement of Work called for the development of an ethnohistorical and ethnographic baseline description of the park area (Statement of Work, page 8). The Statement of Work identified groups with potentially significant associations with the park, including park neighbors and park partners; members of historic Reformed Churches, particularly the Church of the United Brethren; Native Americans; the descendants of enslaved African Americans associated with Belle Grove Plantation or other farms now within park boundaries; and Civil War reenactors.

The study is meant to identify traditional cultural practices, values, and beliefs that help to identify groups with significant associations with the park, and through the results of ethnographic field work, explain the nature and depth of those associations so that they can be recognized and taken into consideration by park managers.

Previous studies, initial consultations and observations by team members and other consultants, considerable documentary research, and ethnographic fieldwork confirmed that of the groups identified in the Statement of Work as potential associated groups—park landowners and neighbors, some members of the Church of the United Brethren and related sects, and Civil War reenactors—constitute the most significant groups associated with Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park. Other

groups identified in the Statement of Work, including Native Americans and African Americans, had few if any contemporary or recent associations with the park.

METHODOLOGY AND FIELDWORK

The research presented in this report was undertaken in five stages:

1. Meetings with park staff and the Northeast Region Ethnography program manager and a review of comparable studies provided by the program manager;
2. Identification of a research team;
3. Documentary research;
4. Ethnographic research;
5. Analysis, interpretation and write-up.

1. Meeting with Park Staff, Program Managers and Participation in the Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park Research Review Conference

The principal investigator was briefed by the Agreement Technical Representative, Dr. Charles Smythe, Northeast Region Ethnography Program Manager, in September 2005, and by Heather Huyck, NPS historian and coordinator of the Cooperative Agreement between the National Park Service and the College of William and Mary, during several meetings in September and October 2005. Dr. Smythe also met with research team members at William and Mary in January 2006. These meetings helped to clarify project goals. Dr. Smythe explained the importance of the Ethnographic Overview and Assessment to the park and to resource management issues, as well as to the General Management process, and provided several examples of similar projects undertaken elsewhere in the park system. Members of the research team identified by the principal investigator (PI) were able to attend the October 2005 Battle of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove reenactment held at the park, and preliminary assessments of the documentary sources and park resources were undertaken at that time. Three members of the research team were also able to attend the May 2006 Cedar Creek and Belle Grove research conference, where the PI made a preliminary presentation on the research project then underway. In May 2006, the PI met with the Park Superintendent and other park staff, who provided useful information about knowledgeable community members.

2. Identification of the Research Team

The scale of this project required ethnohistorical and ethnographic research by a broad range of experts, including those with specialties in history and anthropology, folklore, religion, archeology, and American studies. These needs and the availability of local scholars dictated the choice of team members. We were fortunate to be able to contract with the following individuals, whose credentials and backgrounds are summarized below.

1. **Dr. Danielle Moretti-Langholtz.** Dr. Moretti-Langholtz has conducted ethnographic and ethnohistorical fieldwork among Native Americans in Oklahoma and Alaska, and previously served on the staff of the Museum of Natural History in New York. Since 1992, her research has focused on the history and ethnography of the native people of Virginia, with an emphasis on their contemporary political history. Dr. Moretti-Langholtz agreed to conduct fieldwork among the Monacan Indians, and to supervise ethnohistorical research focusing on the Native people identified as having ties to the study area.
2. **Martha McCartney.** Ms. McCartney is widely regarded as the most knowledgeable historian working with county and state records in Virginia and adjacent states. Most recently, Ms. McCartney has written a history of James City County (McCartney 1997) and another summarizing what is known about the earliest Virginia colonists (McCartney 2007). Ms. McCartney has worked on several projects for the National Park Service and other state and federal agencies. She agreed to undertake the property history of the park properties, with an emphasis on the Hite family properties and Hite family slaves.
3. **Dr. Julie Earnstein.** Dr. Earnstein has conducted significant research on the archeology and ethnography of memorialization. She has also studied historical reenactors, and has a strong interest in historic preservation. Dr. Earnstein agreed to investigate the significance and participation of Civil War reenactors in the interpretations and visitation at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park.
4. **Dr. Betty Duggan.** Dr. Duggan has a significant record of research in the folk history and ethnography of Appalachia, and has conducted numerous

projects for the National Park Service. Dr. Duggan agreed to conduct historical and ethnographic fieldwork on the significant religious movements and communities of the region, with an emphasis on the Church of the Brethren.

5. **Dr. Audrey Horning.** Dr. Horning is an internationally recognized scholar, with specialties in historical archeology and Appalachian material culture. Her recent book, *In the Shadow of Ragged Mountain*, was published under the auspices of the National Park Service.
6. **Donna Dodenhoff.** Ms. Dodenhoff is a Ph.D. candidate in American Studies at the College of William and Mary, with a focus on African American history in Virginia. She has extensive oral-history research experience, and agreed to undertake an extensive survey of the African American community living on or near the park using both historical and ethnographic data.
7. **Research assistants.** Two research assistants were contracted to work on this project. One, Dr. Edward Ragan, worked under Dr. Moretti-Langholtz's supervision, collecting information regarding Native American history in the study area; the other, Carl Carlson-Drexler, is a graduate student in Anthropology at the College of William and Mary. Mr. Carlson-Drexler has been responsible for map production, document formatting, and bibliographic references.

3. Documentary Research

The following repositories and collections were searched:

Library of Congress. Indices to collections of Virginia maps were examined and potentially relevant facsimiles identified. In addition, a review of material from the National Folklore and Folklife Center was undertaken, which identified materials of potential use to the Park, including collections focusing on Appalachian folk culture, African American history and folklore, and early American religious history.

National Archives. Indices to collections of Virginia maps were examined and potentially relevant facsimiles were identified.

Library of Virginia. Indices to collections of Virginia maps were examined and potentially relevant facsimiles were identified. Virginia Land Office records were examined via the Library of Virginia's website, after they had been identified via

abstracts. Microfilmed copies of Shenandoah and Warren Counties were used extensively. Specifically, deeds, wills, inventories, court orders, and minute books, plats and other legal records were examined. Efforts also were made to extend the park properties' chains of title. Methodological research was done utilizing land and personal property tax lists, demographic records (including slave schedules), agricultural censuses, social statistics, and other relevant groups of documents. Colonial records of the Library of Virginia were also searched extensively for references to Native Americans in the study area, and laws regulating Native Americans and African Americans in the colonial period and in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Virginia Department of Historic Resources. Indices to collections of Virginia maps were examined and potentially relevant facsimiles identified. Use was made of the HABS/HAER and National Register files.

Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Indices to collection of Virginia maps were examined and potentially relevant facsimiles were identified. Maps reproduced in secondary sources including *The Cartography of Northern Virginia*, *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army*, and *The Official Atlas of the Civil War* were examined. The *Virginia Gazette* and other historic newspapers were also consulted.

Handley Regional Library. The archives and special collections at the Handley Regional Library in Winchester, Virginia contain extensive research materials, both published and in manuscript form, relevant to the park and to the study area generally. Materials consulted included privately published local and family histories, newspaper clippings, local census material, church records, transcribed oral histories, and a number of unpublished research papers including cemetery guides, guides to historic sites, and other research notes. These materials were extensively reviewed, and are cited in the report.

The Stone House Museum. The Stone House Museum in Stephens City, Virginia, and its research library (the Newtown History Center), house a small but significant research repository whose materials and publications were reviewed by project staff. Selected research papers produced by museum staff and other scholars are posted on their website. The museum itself also includes furnishing and artifacts produced in the region, of interest to historians of the nineteenth century in the study area.

Belle Grove Plantation. A National Historic Trust property, Belle Grove Plantation is now part of the Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park. Belle Grove's research library includes materials concerning the Hite family and the histories of enslaved African Americans who once lived at Belle Grove as well as research reports commissioned by the museum, all of which were reviewed by project staff.

Consultant's Private Sources. Indices to collections of plats in private papers at the Virginia Historical Society and to Virginia maps housed in the Huntington Library (in San Marino, California) were checked. Copies of reports compiled by Martha McCartney during her tenure at the Virginia Department of Historic Resources were also employed.

On-Line Sources. Records of the Freedmen's Bureau were examined on-line, as were demographic records made accessible through subscription to www.ancestry.com. Other valuable websites include those maintained by the National Register for Historic Places, which includes property histories for several historic buildings in Stephens City, Virginia.

Secondary Sources. A wide variety of secondary sources were consulted, the most useful of which are cited in the bibliography. In addition, interviews with local experts provided additional material included in the report.

Although, as noted above, the "backcountry" of Virginia is less well studied than is the Tidewater region, the extensive writings of historian Warren Hofstra do much to right the balance. Hofstra's research is cited extensively in this report, and his research website, which posts information about ongoing research projects in the region, as well as synopses of local research conferences, is an invaluable research tool.

Archeological research reports of sites on or near Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park have also been of significant value, including several important studies by Dr. Clarence Geier and his students, all of which are cited in this report.

Historical research included a comprehensive and systematic review of a wide range of published and unpublished documentary sources, including academic papers (master's theses, doctoral dissertations, journal articles, and conference papers), government documents (such as records of surveys, censuses, vital statistics, birth and death records, and land transfers), archival collections housed in state and local repositories, genealogical data sources (including collections at Belle Grove Plantation), and non-NPS sponsored oral history collections. Ethnohistorical research also

emphasized a methodology designed to “read between the lines” of traditional documentary sources, taking special care to determine the ethnocentric biases of those records written by one (usually dominant) group concerning other (usually subordinate) groups. Ethnohistory as an approach is also informed by linguistics, archeology and comparative anthropological theory and insights, and attempts to tell history from the point of view of those peoples not traditionally represented in historical narratives, or whose histories have been misrepresented in those narratives.

4. Ethnographic Fieldwork

The ethnographic portion of this study was guided by the following research questions:

- a. Which, if any, groups identified in this study have “traditional associations” as groups with Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park?
- b. What role does Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park play in the activities of these groups, and in the maintenance of their sense of identity?
- c. What contributions do these groups make to the unique character of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park?

4a. Individual Interviews

Potential interviewees were identified with the advice of Park Service staff and of local historians and community leaders. Representatives of several Native American communities were consulted about the appropriate protocol for conducting research. Informal interviews were designed to elicit information regarding the knowledge that individuals or representatives of groups had about the park and its environs, and about what the park meant to them. This information was meant to help determine how the park’s resources were important to a sense of group identity. Finally, the Statement of Work required that interviews be directed towards the creation of an inventory of culturally significant resources, including medicinal plants as well as the sites of commemorative activities or subsistence practices.

Individual interviews included conversations with numerous museum professionals, historians, genealogists, and long-time residents, representatives of local churches, and Native American communities. Some of these interviews were later

supplemented with telephone interviews. In addition, interviews were undertaken with representatives of the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation, the staff at Belle Grove, and with members of the Hite Family Association. Finally, interviews with a wide range of Civil War reenactors, their families, and other participants in the annual reenactments of the Battle of Cedar Creek in October 2005 and the Battle of First Manassas in July 2006 were undertaken.

4b. Participant Observation and Group Interviews

Three kinds of participant observation took place: attendance at historical conferences, group interviews with members of the Monacan Nation, and participation in two reenactments at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove (one in October 2005 and one in July 2006) and in the Hite Family Reunion at Belle Grove in July 2006. Follow-up telephone interviews and e-mail correspondence also resulted from this research. A complete list of all interviewees appears in Appendix A.

Summary of Interviews, Individual and Group

	Taped Interview	Untaped Interview		
		Indiv	Telephone	Group
Monacan community	—	—	4	2
African American community	25	—	—	—
Park neighbors	6	4	—	—
Religious leaders	2	—	—	—
Hite family members	3	2	—	—
Museum staff	—	3	—	—
Civil War reenactors	—	15	—	—
Total	36	24	4	2

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

Chapters One through Five present the environmental and ethnohistorical background of the study area in general, and the park properties in particular, as well as the general historical background to the modern era, as developed through historical research and oral history interviews. Chapters Six through Eight present the results of the ethnographic fieldwork, with separate chapters devoted to each of the identified

traditionally-associated groups. The final chapter includes recommendations for future research and interpretation at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park.

CHAPTER TWO: THE LOWER SHENANDOAH THROUGH NATIVE EYES

The passage of the Patowmac through the Blue ridge is perhaps one of the most stupendous scenes in nature. You stand on a very high point of land. On your right comes up the Shenandoah, having ranged along the foot of the mountain an hundred miles to seek a vent. On your left approaches the Patowmac, in quest of a passage also. In the moment of their junction they rush together against the mountain, rend it asunder, and pass off to the sea.

--- Thomas Jefferson (1955:19)

INTRODUCTION

As noted in the previous chapter, Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park is located on 3,500 acres in the Lower Shenandoah Valley, spanning parts of Warren, Shenandoah, and Frederick Counties, between Middletown and Strasburg, Virginia. The term Shenandoah Valley technically refers to the area drained by the Shenandoah River and its tributaries. The river itself has two branches, the north and south forks, with a watershed encompassing approximately 1.5 million acres of northwestern Virginia. Part of the north fork of the Shenandoah runs along the southern border of the park. One of the more notable natural features of the valley is the south-to-north course of the Shenandoah River; flowing from its origins in Augusta and Rockingham Counties to its drainage into the Potomac River at Harper's Ferry on the boundary between Virginia, West Virginia, and Maryland. This unusual drainage feature explains the sometimes confusing designation of the northern portion of the valley as the Lower Valley, and the southern portion as the Upper Valley.

The Shenandoah Valley incorporates nine counties within the boundaries of Virginia and West Virginia. In the Lower (or Northern) Valley are the West Virginia counties of Berkeley and Jefferson, and the Virginia counties of Frederick and Clarke. The Upper (Southern) Valley incorporates Shenandoah, Warren, Page, Rockingham, and Augusta Counties. The Valley itself is approximately 140 miles long, with an average width of 25 miles. It is bounded on the east and the west by mountain ranges. The Blue Ridge Mountains form the eastern boundary, while the western boundary is composed

of separate elements of the Appalachian plateau, including the Great North Mountains in the Lower Valley and the Shenandoah Mountains in the Upper Valley. The sandstone Massanutten mountain range separates the valley and splits the Shenandoah into north and south forks in the counties of Shenandoah, Page, and Warren, creating the Strasburg Valley to west and the Page Valley to the east (Hofstra 2004; Mitchell 1977; Wayland 1957).

The Shenandoah Valley is generally considered to extend as far south as Lexington, Virginia as a smaller division within the Great Valley of Virginia that encompasses the territory from the Potomac south into east Tennessee. The geology of the valley, as part of the “Ridge and Valley” province, is characterized by a series of parallel ridges, the intervening valleys threaded by linear water courses and underlain by folded and faulted clastic and carbonate sedimentary rocks. The carbonate bedrock and its associated soils, common throughout the valley region, make it very suitable for agriculture. In addition, in the vicinity of Belle Grove Plantation and the Cedar Creek Battlefield area, the geology is characterized by high calcium Newmarket limestone, which is still actively quarried. The calcium carbonate recovered from the limestone is used in the production of glass, steel, aluminum, and agricultural lime fertilizer (Orndorff et al. 1999). Other common minerals in the Shenandoah Valley include sandstone, shale, quartzite, metabasalt, and greywacke (Gardner 1986:5-6), as well as slate, schist jasper, and copper (Jefferson 1955).

The valley has been exploited by human populations for minerals, plants and animals for thousands of years prior to the arrival of European settlers. The limestone belts that exist throughout the Valley and the adjacent Blue Ridge Valley are often associated with deep water springs and sinkholes, attractive to a wide variety of game (Morton 1925:24). Combining as they did fertile soils and access to fresh water, these sites were also likely locations for Native American campsites for millennia (Gardner 1986). Copper, also relatively accessible in the region, was an important prestige item highly prized by Native elites from the fourteenth century A.D. onward. Another characteristic of the region was the quantity and variety of nut-bearing trees, including hickory, walnut, and oak. These nut trees were another important food resource for indigenous peoples for many millennia (Geier and Tinkham 2006).

The natural characteristics of the region made inevitable the inclusion of the Lower Shenandoah in the great transportation “highway” connecting the Eastern



Map 4: Detail of the Fry-Jefferson map (1751), showing the "Indian Road" through Cedar Creek. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Woodlands with the interior, and allowed travel north to New England and the Great Lakes, and south to the Gulf of Mexico. The region's dramatic history is linked to this important transportation route, which played a central role in indigenous political relations, the nature of European settlement, and the subsequent strategic importance of the region (Hofstra 2004:330).

NATIVE AMERICANS IN THE LOWER SHENANDOAH: AN ANCIENT TRADITION

The Lower Shenandoah region is appropriately linked to the diverse identities of the indigenous inhabitants of the region by the ambiguities surrounding the origin of its name, variously identified as deriving from the Algonquian Shawnee term *Senados* or “flowing river,” and the Iroquoian term meaning “big meadow.” Historian Warren Hofstra notes that the term *Jonotore* was applied to the region in eighteenth-century documents (see below), and early maps also refer to the region as *Shenandoo* (Hofstra 2004:17-18). Among the Native American peoples who are known or suspected to have settled in or passed through this region beginning in the sixteenth century A.D. are the Shawnee, the Susquehannocks, numerous eastern Siouan groups including the Monacans and Manahoacs, Catawbans, Cherokees, the various members of the Six Nations, the Delawares, and the Creeks. Perhaps among the most socially dynamic regions of eastern North America in the early colonial period, the Lower Shenandoah represents a challenge to scholars, historians, archeologists, and ethnohistorians alike, who must draw on information from a wide variety of sources. The following section reviews the archeological evidence for the occupation of the Lower Shenandoah during the past 10,000 years. The history of this occupation helps to explain the complexity of the proto-historic and early historic period there, when Europeans and Africans took their place alongside long-standing Native populations.

The Paleoindian Stage in the Study Area¹

Palynological studies suggest that the cold climate at the end of the Pleistocene Era supported a vegetational landscape where conifers dominated over hardwoods, characterized by a rich biota, attractive to early indigenous hunters known as Paleoindians. Although Paleoindians elsewhere in North America relied upon the hunting of big game such as mastodon and bison, these animals had apparently

¹ The early history of the region, known to us largely through archeology, is traditionally divided into three major periods or stages: the Paleoindian (ca. 12,000-10,000 B.P.), the Archaic (ca. 10,000-3000 B.P.) and the Woodland Period (3000 to 400 B.P.). The Archaic and Woodland periods or stages are further subdivided into Early, Middle and Late sub-stages. Finally, the Late Woodland period is divided into Late Woodland I-V, the latter two stages also known as the Terminal Late Woodland.

disappeared from the Shenandoah Valley region by 12,000 B.P. Instead, moose, elk, caribou, and deer served as the focus for hunting activities, supplemented by exploitation of sub-floral resources and small mammals and fish (Gardner 1986, 1989; Johnson 1996). In the Valley, as throughout North America, Paleoindian occupation is evidenced by the presence of two relatively uniform and distinctive fluted point types, known as Clovis and Folsom, both named after type sites in New Mexico. Paleoindian toolmakers expressed a clear preference for high-quality, dramatically-colored lithic materials, such as crypto-crystalline jaspers and cherts (Gardner 1986, 1989; Turner 1989). Toward the end of the Paleoindian period, unfluted spearpoints (for example, Dalton, Plano, and Hardaway) replaced the fluted varieties (Hranicky and Painter 1988, 1989). In recent years, archeologists have come to recognize several kinds of Paleoindian sites, including long-term camp sites, hunting stations, and quarries (Gardner 1989).

Although fewer than fifty Paleoindian sites have been identified in Virginia, a significant number of these have been located in or near the study area (Turner 1989). Among these is the Thunderbird site (44WR11), located in Limeton, Virginia, eighteen miles south and east of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park. The Thunderbird site, part of the Flint Run complex, was located and excavated under the direction of William Gardner, and produced evidence of Paleoindian activity dating back to 10,000 B.P. Centered around a jasper quarry and lithic reduction area, the site also contained the ephemeral traces of a post-built structure (Gardner 1972, 1974).

Another site in the Flint Run complex, known as the Fifty Site (44WR50), has been identified as a camp site, probably home to 15-20 people. Artifacts recovered from this site suggest that a wide range of activities took place there, including tool manufacture, wood working, butchering, and hide scraping. Increasingly detailed information about the earliest stages of human occupation in the Americas suggests that, wherever they ranged, the Paleoindians created semi-permanent settlements, bases from which they ranged widely in pursuit of game, or to which they returned seasonally or yearly. The Flint Run complex appears to include such settlements. The allure of the quarries in the region, where the minerals Paleoindians prized were located, was likely to have encouraged frequent return to or reuse of these sites. Thus, although there is no direct evidence for Paleoindian activity within the boundaries of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, it is highly likely that Paleoindian people hunted and gathered throughout the region, and certainly in their travels traversed the high ground

between the Shenandoah and the Blue Ridge (later the Great Warrior Path) along part of which the park is located.

The Archaic Stage at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park

While the forest cover of the Blue Ridge and Appalachian plateau remained heavy at the beginning of the Archaic period (10,000-3000 B.P.), by its end a mixed deciduous/conifer cover began to appear, supporting an increasing variety of flora and fauna. The Archaic period marks the beginning of intensive use of shellfish and estuarine resources in many areas in the Eastern Woodlands as well, and it is likely that riverine and wetlands resources were commonly exploited. If, as is suggested by the multilayered sites at the Flint Run Complex (see above), Early Archaic settlement represented a continuation and expansion of the earlier Paleoindian stage, freshwater locations on well-drained ridges remained desirable settlement locations. Characteristic artifacts associated with the early Archaic period for the Valley and Blue Ridge area include corner-notched points (e.g., Palmer and Kirk) and points exhibiting a bifurcated base (e.g., LeCroy and St. Albans) (Carbone 1976; Inashima 1986; Moeller 1999). Chipped stone celts and manos and metates (pestles and flat stones for grinding grains and nuts) were also introduced during the Early Archaic period, suggesting the increased use of nuts and grains. As the variety and year-round availability of such resources increased, it is likely that settlements became more permanent. That this may have been the case is suggested by the appearance of cremation burials on sites of the period (Gardner 1988, 1989). There have been no Early Archaic period sites identified on Park properties, but this period is well-represented at the Thunderbird and Fifty sites nearby, and increasing evidence suggests that a “band” of Archaic settlements stretched north to south along the Blue Ridge, associated with quarries where minerals such as jasper were available (Inashima 1986).

The Middle Archaic Period (8500–5000 B.P.)

A much greater change can be seen in the archeological record for the period or stage known as the Middle Archaic, which extended roughly from 8500 to 5000 B.P. During this period, the climate warmed and local human populations clearly increased. This stage is characterized (in terms of lithic artifacts) by the introduction of stemmed points such as Kanawha, Stanley, and Morrow Mountain I, followed by Guilford and

Morrow Mountain II. Egloff and McAvoy (1990) suggest that the appearance of late bifurcate LeCroy points corresponds with the beginning of the Middle Archaic period, while Gardner argues that all bifurcate points should be associated with the Middle Archaic. Gardner dates the onset of the Middle Archaic to 8800 B.P. rather than 8500 B.P. (Gardner 1989). The introduction of notching is presumed to correlate with the introduction of the spearthrower or atlatl, which doubled the distance a spear could be thrown while also increasing its force (Gardner 1986).

A significant change in the material record between the Middle Archaic and the preceding period involves the type of lithic materials exploited by Virginia inhabitants. While previously high-grade materials such as Flint Run jasper were selected, during the Middle Archaic individuals began using more locally-available materials such as quartz and quartzite, which are less easily workable. Such a transformation may be due to the increase in population corresponding to an intensification of settlement and catchment areas, and greater competition for mineral resources. Archeological data indicates a much greater reliance upon fish and shellfish during this phase, as net sinkers were introduced into the local material culture. An increase in the exploitation of hickory nuts has also been noted for the Middle Archaic period (Egloff and McAvoy 1990; Inashima 1986; Moeller 1999).

Middle Archaic people used a larger range of sites and a greater variety of animals and plants. William Gardner speculates that settlement pattern was in part dictated by the availability of lithic resources, but argues that by the Middle Archaic stage access to wetland resources was also significant (Gardner 1986:51). The Rudacil Site along the Flint Run and the Fifty Site also include Middle Archaic components. The projectile points from these sites represent a clear evolutionary sequence from the Early Archaic and suggest a continuity that was responsive to local climate change as well as to changes in the flora and fauna in the valley. As temperatures slowly increased and rainfall decreased, deciduous forests replaced coniferous and smaller game that thrived in the changed environment replaced the larger species of elk, moose, and bison. Deer remained an important part of the diet. At the same time, the deciduous forests supported nut-bearing trees, like the chestnut, which attracted humans and animals alike to the terraces and mountains on both sides of the Valley. Foraged foodstuffs became a more significant part of the diet. As evidence, grinding stones begin to appear in Valley sites of this period. At Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, one site,

known as Panther Cave (located along Cedar Creek southwest of Meadow Mills near the Hotchkiss farmstead) appears to have a Middle Archaic component. This site is a multi-component site occupied until the seventeenth century A.D. Of the twenty-two Native American sites identified within park grounds, nearly all sites, including Panther Cave, were located on river or stream terraces, indicating that throughout its history, people settled there with access to water as a primary concern (Geier and Tinkham 2004:69-71).

Late Archaic Stage (5000–3000 B.P.)

The Late Archaic period (5000-3000 B.P.) was a time of intensified human activity within the Lower Valley and Blue Ridge region. A characteristic series of five site types dating to this period have been identified by archeologist Paul Inashima (1986). These include small base camps, ephemeral encampments, crossover camps, bench stations, and landmark stations. As defined by Inashima, base camps are characterized “by a wide variety of tool forms and by a moderately dense assemblage of discarded artifacts.” Base camp sites contain evidence for temporary structures and activities including the processing of animal and floral resources. Ephemeral encampments represent brief overnight stops. Crossover sites, as named and defined by Inashima, tend to occur near or within the Blue Ridge gaps, and represent some level of activity intermediary to base camps and ephemeral stopping places. Located within transportation corridors, these types of sites are likely to have been continuously reused. Bench sites are found on benches or flat zones along ridges, most often along the western side of a ridge. Inashima suggests that these sites, which contain few artifacts, served both as temporary encampments and observation posts for game hunting. The final Late Archaic site type noted by Inashima is the landmark station, characterized by light scatters of lithic debitage in association with a possible “landmark,” generally geologic in nature. Inashima posits that such sites served as “rendezvous” points. Projectile point types that are associated with the Late Archaic include Halifax, Otter Creek, Piscataway, and Savannah River (Inashima 1986; Moeller 1999).

Throughout Virginia, the Late Archaic period has been associated with the presence of broad-bladed stone tools, the beginning of plant domestication, the occurrence of extensive shell middens and large rock hearths, the employment of storage pits, an increase in the type and variety of ground stone tools, a concomitant emphasis upon elaborate atlatl weights, and an apparent increase in the complexity of

social structure (Egloff and McAvoy 1990). In general, the period saw a stabilizing of the Holocene environment and an intensification and regularization of the exploitation of seasonal resources.

Traditionally, archeologists have also identified the introduction of steatite (soapstone) bowls during the Late Archaic Period as a significant innovation. In the Lower Shenandoah steatite was available to Valley dwellers at locations along the fall line running between Charlottesville, Virginia and Baltimore, Maryland. Steatite bowls were large and fragile, and they were often buried when the people left a site and dug up when they returned. According to archeologist William Gardner, the placement of these bowls is “the first hint of people ‘belonging’ to a specific geographic locale.” Late Archaic peoples returned to the places where these bowls were buried as part of an annual subsistence round that included movement into the mountains in the late summer and early fall where the hot, dry climate resulted in better harvests from nut-bearing trees, such as hickory and chestnut. Hunting concentrated on smaller game, as the deer population appears to have declined, perhaps in response to climate change. The survey of the 152-acre Keister farm, located in the southernmost portion of the park, identified a series of Native American encampments there, one of which (CEBE0068) may also date to the Late Archaic period (Geier and Tinkham 2006:55).

Woodland Period (3000-400 B.P.)

It is generally thought that the cultural, economic, and social patterns characteristic of indigenous North American societies in the Eastern Woodlands at the time of contact with Europeans were established by the beginning of the Woodland period or stage (3000-400 B.P.). Ethnohistorians and archeologists begin to speak of linguistic and cultural boundaries, to identify “tribal” entities, and to measure the effects of long-distance trade. Religious practices of remarkable complexity become visible in the archeological record, reflecting the even more nuanced cosmologies that motivated them. Growing sedentism related to increased reliance upon maize-based horticulture serves as the hallmark of Woodland occupation. Ceramic technologies are introduced, with variations in temper and design marking distinctive regional and tribal identities. In the Shenandoah region, Woodland-period sites contain materials which reflect influences from both east and west of the Blue Ridge. In particular, it is likely that Adena cultural influences were significant. Adena culture, which flourished in the Early

Woodland period (ca. 3000-2300 B.P.) and was named for the region in south-central Ohio where its most dramatic manifestations have been identified, seems to have centered around a richly developed burial cult and the construction of large mounds (Tuck 1978:41-43). The subsequent Hopewellian and Fort Ancient traditions (also centered in south-central Ohio) of the Middle to Late Woodland period also had influence in the region, linked as it was to major riverine and overland routes that tied all of the Eastern Woodlands region together.

At the local level, typical Middle Woodland point types found in the Valley region include Rossville, Jack's Reef, Randolph, and Fox Creek, with Randolph types predominating (Gardner 1986; Reinhart and Hodges 1992; Inashima 1986; Moeller 1999). Although steatite pots still were manufactured, they began to be replaced by local Shenandoah ceramics shaped like the older stone bowls, and tempered with crushed steatite. This ceramic type, known as Marcey Creek Plain, has been found at the Cabin Run site near Front Royal (approximately nine miles southeast of the Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park). Within a few hundred years, however, coiled pottery replaced the earlier slab-formed type, and was more frequently tempered with sand. This later pottery, known as Keyser, is named for the Keyser Farm site, located near the boundaries of the park (see below).

Evidence suggests that residents of the Piedmont also practiced seasonal transhumance, moving toward the fall line (the rocky outcropping that extended in a line north and east toward modern Washington, DC) in the late winter and early spring. This zone was also utilized by groups occupying Virginia's Coastal Plain in the late fall and early winter. Such a zone of shared interaction suggests that communities had developed political solutions to the problems of joint resource use (Mouer 1991:65-70; Gallivan 2003:53-54; Dent 1995:230-231).

By the Middle Woodland period, native people of the Lower Shenandoah began to adopt distinctive local burial practices, in particular the use of stone burial mounds. According to William Gardner, the mounds were built in clusters, and while they were constructed along other drainages such as the lower Potomac, they also were concentrated around the south fork of the Shenandoah, within range of settlements which may have been established on park properties (Gardner 1986:71-72). The stone burial mounds included non-local grave furniture, such as Great Lakes copper, Ohio cherts, and Carolina slates (Hantman and Gold 2002; Klein 1994; see also Potter 1994).

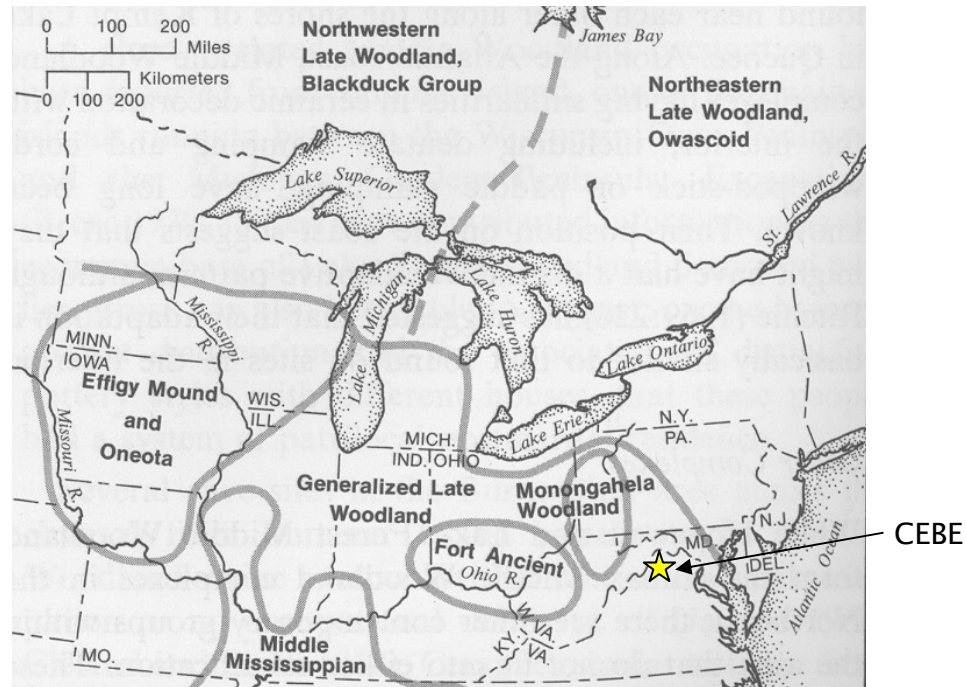
One such mound (CEBE0060), located on a lower terrace of Cedar Creek below the Whitham farm, may exist within the park boundaries, although it has not been tested (Gardner et al. 2002 cited in Geier and Tinkham 2006:55). The historian Samuel Kercheval, whose *A History of the Valley of Virginia* (1925, originally published 1833) is an invaluable source of local lore, much of which was collected from elderly settlers who had arrived in the Lower Valley in the eighteenth century, describes what may be such a burial mound, located on the Oliver farm, four miles south of the fork of the Shenandoah River:

some hands, in removing the stone covering an Indian grave, discovered a skeleton, whose great size attracted their attention. The stones were carefully taken off without disturbing the frame, when it was discovered that the body had been laid at full length on the ground, and broad, flat stones set round the corpse in the shape of a coffin (Kercheval 1925:44).

One of the puzzles of Woodland stage scholarship is the seeming ebb and flow of Adena-Hopewell influence in the east. As of A.D. 200, in the region surrounding the park, there is no evidence for further construction of stone mounds, and it may be that local settlements became smaller and more isolated for a period, perhaps due to changing climatic conditions, or to political and social developments in more complex societies to the west (Gardner 1986:75).

By the Late Woodland period, however, the expansion of what archeologist James Griffin labeled “Fort Ancient” societies was evident again in the east. Fort Ancient cultural traditions emerged about A.D. 1000, and survived as late as A.D. 1700 in some interior regions (Griffin 1978:551). The area influenced by Fort Ancient culture included the region extending from western West Virginia to southeastern Indiana, and from south-central Ohio to north-central and northeastern Kentucky. The less influential Monongahela Woodland complex (A.D. 1000-1700) was associated with sites in northern West Virginia, southwestern Pennsylvania, and eastern Ohio, and its impact in the study area is unknown (Griffin 1978:557).

Fort Ancient sites often are organized around central plazas, and some are fortified. The Fort Ancient people were dedicated farmers, but also exploited a wide range of wild foods. Hunting, fishing, and shellfishing were all important subsistence practices. The Fort Ancient people manufactured smooth groundstone pestles, chipped bifaces, and numerous stone tools. In addition, they were skilled workers in bone, and



Map 5: Late Woodland period polities including Fort Ancient and Monongahela Woodland complexes. CEBE's approximate location is indicated with a star. After Fitting 1978:47.

numerous tools, ornaments, and musical instruments were manufactured of that substance. Among the most dramatic expressions of Fort Ancient belief systems and social organization were their burials. These, which occurred clusters or in mounds, included elaborate grave goods, and are thought to reflect the high status of the deceased and their families. A number of sites in West Virginia have such burials (Fitting 1978:55).

Among the other technological changes that occurred during the Late Woodland period was the introduction of the bow and arrow, which replaced the (atlatl-enhanced) spear or throwing stick. Some scholars argue that the dual role that this innovation had in hunting and warfare was significant in the development of the complex chiefdoms of the region at the end of this period. For example, archeologists point to changes in settlement patterns, possibly linked to increased intertribal competition for territories.

Archeologists Joan Walker and Glenda Miller (1992:166) argue that a cooling trend between 1350 and 1400 A.D. reduced the length of the growing season, possibly leading to economic choices meant to enhance agricultural productivity, including consolidation of settlement in the regions with the most fertile soil. It is possible that, in spite of the cooling climate, this increased focus on agriculture was responsible for

population growth in the century preceding the arrival of Europeans (Walker and Miller 1992:166). At the same time, the challenging climate likely made competition for the most productive soils more intense, possibly exacerbating inter-regional competition.

Anthropologists also identify some elements of the widespread historic Native smoking/diplomatic complex at Fort Ancient. This deeply-embedded facet of Native American spirituality is best described by archeologist Robert L. Hall. Hall refers to Joseph Caldwell's original formulation of the Hopewellian Interaction Sphere, as a religious "great tradition" which provided the mechanism for keeping distinctive, regional, "little traditions" in friendly contact and communication with one another. According to Caldwell, innovation emerged from the recombination of forms and ideas (cited in Hall 1977:502). The religious and symbolic aspects of this system are represented in many ways by the Hopewellians, including the persistent use of the so-called "weeping-eye" motif, representing the sky-dwellers, falcons, and thunderers, as well as other aspects of Native cosmological beliefs.

Even more significantly, smoking pipes and the entire tobacco "complex" associated with them are deeply intertwined with religious concepts. Hall (1977:502) suggests further that the calumet, linked in historic times with diplomatic relations and peacemaking, was modeled on the atlatl. He argues that atlatls survived in native North America as ceremonial staffs, fetishes, pipes, society emblems, and symbols of command; as the atlatl was replaced by the bow and arrow ca. A.D. 500, these functions became central. For Hall, the survival of the atlatl form in clan pipes and tribal pipes "suggests that their origin lies in some ritual related to membership or leadership of a society, band, clan, or other corporate group" (Hall 1977:514; see Figure 1).

Fort Ancient sites include numerous examples of ceremonial tobacco pipes, ranging from animal and human effigy pipes, to cord marked and decorated elbow pipes. Similar forms are also linked to the Monongahela complex to the north and east (Griffin 1978:558). Archeologists share a consensus that the closest tribal affiliates to the Fort Ancient peoples were the historic Shawnee, and Griffin notes that it is likely that some Shawnee groups reoccupied older Fort Ancient sites during the historic period (1978:557). The Shawnee are among the native groups with known ties to the study area in which Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park is located (see below).

Archeological evidence drawn directly from the study area makes this general Woodland outline only slightly clearer. Groundstone tools found on sites of the period



Figure 1: An Illinois “Capitaine” smoking a calumet pipe, and carrying a spear ca. 1673.
Courtesy of Gilcrease Institute of History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

suggest that agriculture was adopted by peoples living in the region of the Lower Shenandoah sometime around 900 A.D., with the introduction of new species of maize, beans, and squash. Walker and Miller argue that these new crops were “a catalyst which resulted in fundamental alterations to aboriginal lifeways” (1992:165).

A number of archeological sites have been excavated in the region that represent the terminal Late Woodland period, including several dating to Late Woodland IV (A.D. 1350-1450), and Late Woodland V (A.D. 1450-1700). As in previous eras, terminal Late Woodland settlements in the region were located on the broad floodplain levees, where the best and most workable soils were to be found. Scholars believe that, like most swidden (slash and burn) horticulturalists, the indigenous inhabitants of the region needed to move their planting fields every 10-15 years, creating a zone of cleared fields, under cultivation and fallow, around a permanent or semi-permanent village. These Late Woodland period villages were clusters of circular houses, sited for maximum access to

water, lithic sources, wild plant foods, and areas for hunting (Walker and Miller 1992:166).

In the Late Woodland V era, archeologists identify an abrupt shift in community pattern, and the introduction of new shell-tempered pottery, known as the Keyser Cord Marked type, in the Lower Shenandoah Valley, a pottery tradition that may signal the introduction of a new settlement type. Some of the villages or hamlets of this period were palisaded, which suggests either that local communities were attempting to defend themselves against newcomers, or that new peoples were settling in the region. Some scholars suggest that the terminal Late Woodland site distribution in the region represents a new social and political volatility, with the “focal facilities” of the later period representing an “offensive and defensive” adaptation (Walker and Miller 1992:180).

Changes in pottery assemblages seem to support the latter interpretation, as archeologists detect a distinct difference in the type of temper potters were using, with shell-tempered ceramics associated with Fort Ancient influences appearing in the northern reaches of the Great Valley and limestone temper predominating in the south. If these impressions are correct, the Lower Valley, within which the park is located, may have been a “contested” landscape in the sixteenth century, as sites of both types appear there, and some, like the Keyser Farm site, located one-half mile from the south fork of the Shenandoah River between Luray and Front Royal, Virginia, appear to combine elements of both types. The Miley and Bowman sites, on or near Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, appear to reflect the new intrusive cultural elements, while the Quicksburg site in Quicksburg, Virginia, and the Perkins Point site on the Jackson River near Warm Springs, 150 miles southwest of the park, contain ceramics of the limestone-tempered type (Walker and Miller 1992:180-181).

Sites associated with Keyser Cord Marked ceramics are characterized by an arrangement of circular houses around a central, open area, and were often surrounded by a wall or palisade. There is also evidence of larger, rectangular structures of unknown function within these palisades. These hamlets or towns appear to have been true central places, with outlying camps serving only as resource use bases, as settlement of the upland becomes much attenuated at the time. These new settlement types may also be associated with a distinctive burial complex, known as the Lewis Creek Culture, represented by accretional burial mounds found throughout the southern part of the

Valley region. According to Walker and Miller “the burial mounds may be an indicator of the political or social integration of a number of dispersed settlements—perhaps the hubs of confederacies or ranked societies, held together symbolically in death by these immutably stationary markers” (Walker and Miller 1992:172).

The circular structures within the palisades were large, with diameters of 14-25 feet. If these were dwellings, they may have housed large, extended or lineage-based families, as opposed to nuclear or single-couple families. The Cabin Run, Miley, and Keyser Farm sites also apparently included large rectangular structures, which may have served as ceremonial structures such as the historically-recorded “big houses” among the Delaware (e.g., Goddard 1978: 232), Shawnee “council houses” (e.g., Callender 1978:22), or storage facilities or “king’s houses” as described for other Virginia Algonquian groups (e.g., Smith 1614). These sites also show evidence of numerous temporary structures, as well as a variety of storage pits. Tobacco pipes were common, most of the elbow-shaped variety. There was evidently a varied use made of perishable materials as tools, particularly wood. Bone and shell items were very common, and most often used as the materials for objects of adornment as well.

Of particular interest is the Bowman site, located on the properties of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park near Fort Bowman (Harmony Hall), studied by Howard MacCord and the Northern Shenandoah Chapter of the Archeological Society of Virginia (Geier and Tinkham 2006:40) and radiocarbon-dated from 1650-1700 A.D. This site was only partially tested (938 square feet were uncovered, and no palisade remains were identified), but circular patterns of postmolds and twelve shallow pits were identified in the two-day field study. Human remains associated with the site exhibited signs of some disease, possibly syphilis, and the appearance of dental caries suggests a high carbohydrate diet. Faunal remains included a high percentage of passenger pigeons. Further investigation of this site might help to resolve questions regarding its representativeness. Was it a temporary camp of some size, as was the eighteenth-century Shawnee Springs site in Winchester, 12 miles to the north, or was it a permanent agricultural settlement with links to a “central place” located elsewhere? The limited evidence from human remains from the site suggests a population experiencing some stress. Perhaps because of the disappearance of game, the individuals appeared to have had a maize-based diet. In 1709, the explorer John Lawson noted that peoples living

in the Piedmont region to the south of the study area had become dependent on seasonally-abundant flocks of carrier pigeons to supplement their cultivated foods:

In some parts, where the Pigeons are plentiful, they get of their Fat enough to supply their Winter Stores. Thus they abide in these Quarters, all the Winter long, till the Time approach for planting their Maiz and other Fruits
(Lawson 1967:217).

The Bowman site, like the Miley site on the bank of the north fork of the Shenandoah, the Cabin Run site in Warren County, and the Quicksburg site in Shenandoah County, share the same pottery technology as the better known Keyser Farm site, and the latter three are palisaded settlements. The Keyser Farm site is distinguished by a large number of pit features, including twenty-six burials. Grave goods most often accompanied infants or young children (often a signal of social stratification and the dominance of privileged lineages). The Keyser farm site also had evidence for an extensive bone technology (Walker and Miller 1992:175-179).

These sites also suggest a new pattern of inter-regional relationships. The large number of storage pits at these sites may represent a pattern of temporary dispersal or abandonment of these “focal facilities.” Some such sites even have what archeologists call “super pits,” which may have served whole segments of villages as a storage area (Walker and Miller 1992). In addition, coastal shells, copper, and Potomac Creek ceramics indicate long-distance trade and relationships with the Potomac River societies. The Keyser Site also seems to have been a “hide processing” station, and may have served the coastal societies as they ran out of deer (Walker and Miller 1992: 181).

Lawson’s description of the Catawba reflects a similar pattern:

In these quarters, at Spare hours, the Women make Baskets and Mats to lie upon, and those that are not extraordinary Hunters, make Bowls, Dishes, and Spoons of Gumwood, and the tulip tree, others where they find a vein of white clay, fit for their purpose, make Tobacco-pipes, all which are often transported to other Indians, that perhaps have greater plenty of deer and other game, so they buy with these manufactures, their raw skins, with the hair on, which our neighboring Indians bring to their towns and in the summertime, make the slaves and sorry hunters dress them, the winter sun being not strong enough to dry them and those that were dried in the cabins are black and nasty with the light-wood smoke which they commonly burn
(Lawson 1967:220-221).

While archeological evidence for the activities of Native Americans in the Lower Valley during the seventeenth century is scant, research conducted by Michael Barber and Eugene Barfield (1997) on U.S. Forest Service lands to the south and east of the park has uncovered evidence for Native continuity and limited interaction with Europeans. Sites in the upper Roanoke River Valley yielded small quantities of trade items, including glass beads, copper, and iron tools. Their conclusions may be valid for the inhabitants of the Lower Valley as well:

the effects of European interaction. . . during most of the seventeenth century were negligible. . . with the exception of a meager number of beads, copper bangles, and rare functional iron goods, no alterations to settlement patterns, artifact assemblages, burial traditions, or demographics are apparent (Barber and Barfield 1997:150).

Alternatively, the scarcity of sites of this period, and the lack of European goods on them, may reflect not lack of contact, but rather the indirect effects of forces unleashed by the arrival of Europeans in the Southeast. Factors leading to a virtual abandonment of the region by Native Americans probably include the effects of epidemic disease, the new dominance of the Iroquois in the Susquehanna and Shenandoah Valleys, and the devastation caused by slave raiding, as Native communities to the south of the Shenandoah Valley supplied the Colonial demand for cheap labor.

The effects of disease are difficult to determine. Scholars suggest that the earliest Spanish *entradas* in the late sixteenth century may have affected Native populations in the Appalachian mountains, many of which remained uncontacted by Europeans themselves (Wood 1989:92). By the beginning of the eighteenth century, European populations outnumbered Native in most parts of the southeast, and the lingering effects of the great biological exchange triggered by European exploration and settlement of the Americas among Native Americans were still reported. Peter Wood (1989:41) estimates that surviving Native populations were reduced by one third every fifteen years during the eighteenth century.

The role of the Five (later, adding the Tuscarora, Six) Nations Iroquois in the depopulation of the Shenandoah Valley deserves more research. Elisabeth Tooker (1978:433) reports that at the beginning of the eighteenth century, European traders from the colony of Pennsylvania extended their networks across the Appalachians into Ohio, protected by the Iroquoians, who, since the defeat of the Susquehannocks in the

seventeenth century, had extended their influence well to the south of their homeland. It is likely that attempts by local Siouan- and Algonquian-speaking communities to resist the expanding Iroquoian hegemony were met with an aggressive response, perhaps encouraging any Native communities remaining in or near the Valley to seek safer territories.

Finally, the extension of Native slaving raids northward into Virginia in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is only now beginning to receive attention from scholars. Beginning in the mid-seventeenth century, Native groups armed by English traders and operating along the frontiers, including in the Shenandoah Valley, secured captives, mostly women and children in the thousands, and sold them into enslavement in the Caribbean, and to coastal plantations in Virginia, South Carolina, and French Louisiana. Although documentation for the study area is very limited, it is likely that endangered groups fled the region, or joined with other communities for mutual protection. Some smaller communities may well have been destroyed by slaving raids as well (Etheridge 2002:1).

ARCHEOLOGY INTO ETHNOHISTORY: THE COMPLEX SHENANDOAH VALLEY

The earliest documented meetings between the Native Americans of the Lower Shenandoah and English explorers may have been described by Captain Christopher Newport, who took a group of 23 colonists up the James River on May 24, 1607 (Barbour 1964). Near the fall line, they encountered a *werowance* with whom they were able to communicate. According to Newport:

He began to tell us of the tedious travel we should have if wee proceeded any further, a Daye and a halfe Iorney to Monanacah, and if we went to Quirank, we should get lost and be tyred, and sought by all means to dissuade our Captayne from going any further. He told us yt the Monanacah was his Enimye, and that he came Downe at the fall line and invaded his Countrye
(Barbour 1969:89, 132).

In this passage “Quirank” refers to the Blue Ridge (Hantman 1990:677). A second encounter with residents of the Virginia Piedmont was recorded by John Smith. On the Rappahannock River near modern Fredericksburg, Virginia, Smith’s party was attacked by 100 Indians, who, repulsed, left behind an injured warrior, Amoroleck, whom the

English took captive. Another captive and interpreter, a “Patawomeck” known as Mosco, was able to converse with Amoroleck, who was likely a Siouan-speaker. Amoroleck was from a Manahoac town known as Hassinunga, on the upper Rappahannock. The Manahoacs, including those from Hassinunga and other towns, returned and attacked Smith’s barge the following evening, but were later persuaded that the English were not enemies, and some swam out to the barge and presented Smith with a gift of bows and arrows.

Of his indirect conversation with Amorleck, Smith reported:

We asked him how many worlds did he know, he replied, he knew no more but that under the skie that covered him, which were the Powhatans, with the Monacans and the Massowomecks, that were higher up in the mountains. Then we asked him what was beyond the mountains, he answered the Sunne: But of anything else he knew nothing, because the trees were not burnt. These and many such questions wee demanded, concerning the Massawomecks and the Monacans and their owne Country.... The Monacans he said were their neighbors and did dwell as they did in the hilly Countries by small rivers, living upon rootes and nuts and chiefly by hunting. The Massawomecks did dwell upon a great water, and had many men, so many men that they made warre with all the world (Barbour 1986, II:175-176).

Another mention of the Monacans and their neighbors by the Jamestown settlers appears in the report of Christopher Newport’s second voyage up the James:

Captain Newport with 120 chosen men. . . set forward for the discovery of Monacan; arriving at the Falles we marched by land some fortie myles in two days and a halfe, turned downe the same path we went. Two towns we discovered of the Monacans, called Sanacak and Monhemenchouch, the people neither used us well nor ill, yet for our security we tooke one of their pettie werowances and led him bound to conduct us the way (Barbour 1986, I:238).

This second exploration convinced Newport and his men that the region was a “faire, fertill, well-watred countrie” (Barbour 1986, I:238).

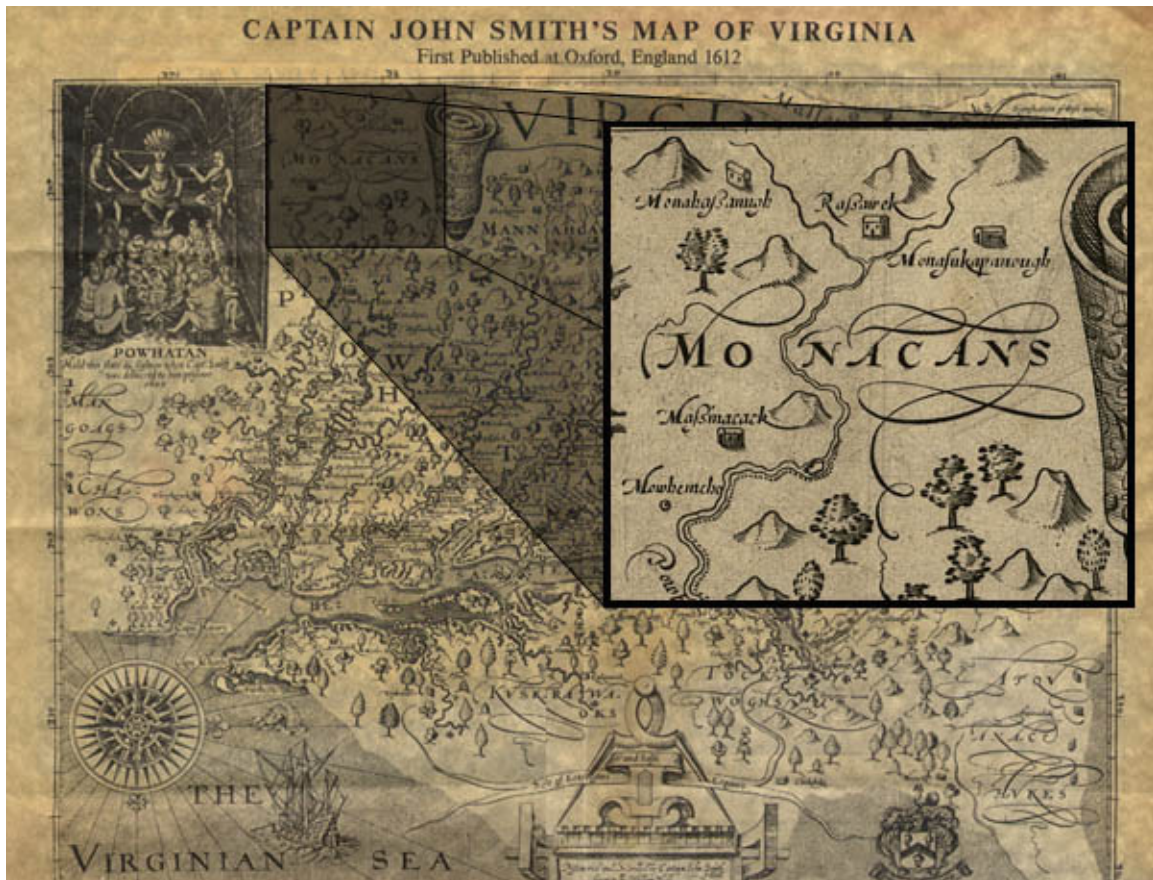
John Smith also wrote generally about the Native people of the Piedmont, based on reports from his Native consultants, who spoke of both Monacan and Manahoac peoples who lived west:

Upon the head of the Powhatans are the Monacans, whose chief habitation is at Rusawmeake, unto whome the Mouhemenchughes, the Massinnacks, the Monahassanuggs, and the Monasickapanoughs and other nations pay tributes. Upon the head of the river Toppahannock is a people called Manahoac. To these are contributors the Tauxsnitanias, the

Shackaconias, the Outponcas, the Whonkentyaes, the Stegarakes, the Hassinnungas, and diverse others, all confederates of the Monacans though many different in language, and be very barbarous living for the most part of wild beasts and fruits (Barbour 1986, I:165).

Smith's map (Map 6) lists twelve Monacan and Manahoac villages in the central Piedmont, and his descriptions suggest a hierarchical arrangement of "kings howses" and "ordinary houses" among them. Martin Gallivan (2008:11) suggests that from the English perspective, "Monacan" was a category, lumping together possibly diverse peoples in contrast to the "Powhatan" confederacy with whom they were more familiar. However, several pieces of evidence suggest that a central polity to the west of the Powhatan did exist, with tributary villages looking to the "king's howse" at Rassawek.

Rassawek, also known as Rahowacah, was probably located on the upper James above the falls at Richmond. Mooney estimated that the Monacans associated with

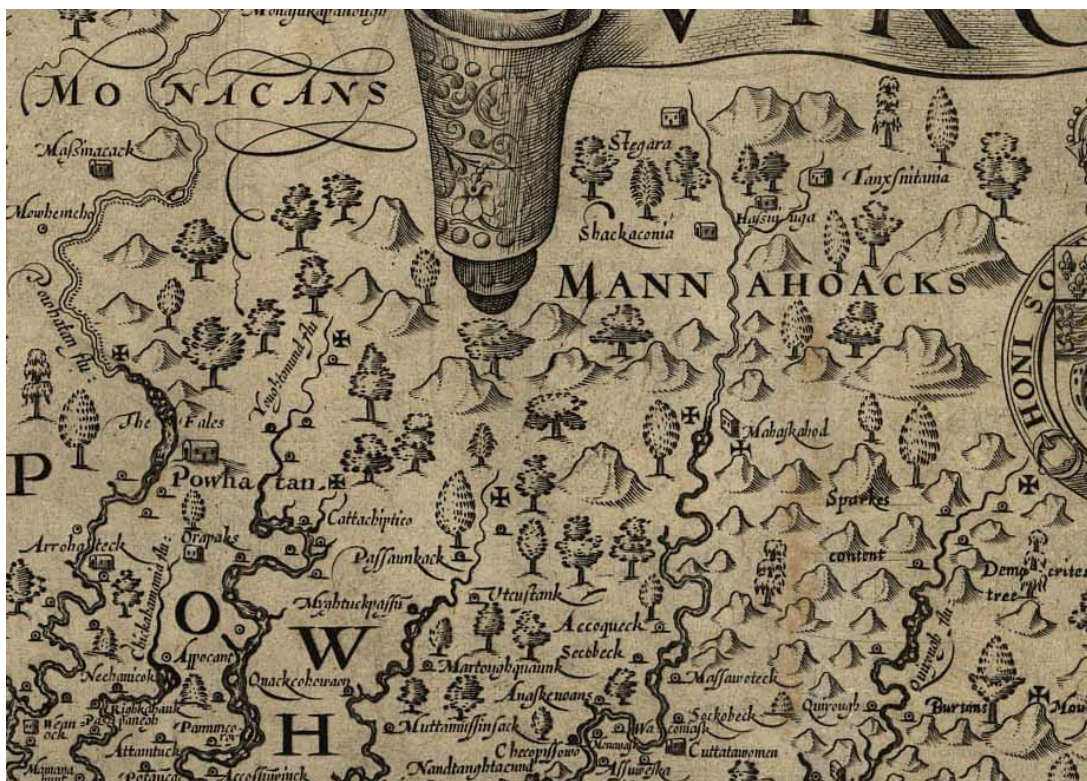


Map 6: Detail from Smith's Map (1612), showing Monacan territory. Courtesy of Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Special Collections.

Rassawek numbered 1,200 in 1600 (although he included the Siouan-speaking Saponi and Tutelos to the south). By 1669, however, the Monacans claimed only 30 bowmen.

Closer to the study area are the Manahoacs (Map 7), also thought to be Siouan speakers and who numbered somewhere under one thousand people in the early seventeenth century. Their territories are only vaguely defined as ranging between the falls of the Potomac and North Anna Rivers. Subdivisions include the Hassinunga, on the headwaters of the Rappahannock River; the Manahoac in Stafford and Spotsylvania Counties; Ontponea in Orange County; Shackaconia on the south bank of the Rappahannock River in Spotsylvania County; Stegaraki on the Rapidan River; Tanxnitania on the upper Rappahannock River in Fauquier County; Tegminateo, in Culpeper County; and Whonkentia near the head of the Rappahannock (Swanton 1946).

Swanton suggests that the Manahoacs had their original home in Ohio, a possibility also implied by the archeological record (see above). Although, as he notes, the Manahoac disappear as a named group by the mid-seventeenth century, they may have resettled above the falls of the James River, after being forced out of their territories



Map 7: Section of Smith's Map (1612), highlighting the Monacan and Manahoac regions. Courtesy of Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Special Collections.

by the Susquehannock. Further, Swanton argues that they may have been the group called Mahock, encountered by the explorer John Lederer in 1670 at the town Smith called Massinacack (at the intersection of the James and the Mohawk). In 1700, the Stegaraki were located by Governor Spotswood at Fort Christanna, along with the Mepontsky (Ontponea?). The Mepontsky appear in historical documents as late as 1723, when they may have united with the Tutelo and Saponi (Swanton 1946).

Looking back, Thomas Jefferson noted that there had been approximately 40 different tribes in the colony of Virginia at the time of settlement, with the Powhatans, Manahoacs, and Monacans the “most powerful.” Jefferson describes the political organization of these groups as “confederacies” with the Manahoacs located at the headwaters of the Patowmac (Potomac) and Rappahannoc (Rappahannock) while the Monacans were located on the upper reaches of the James River. Jefferson also notes that “interpreters” were necessary for discussion to take place among the Powhatan, Manahoac, and Monacan people (Jefferson 1955).

The first Europeans who conducted careful explorations of the region made reference to its former inhabitants. According to Durand de Dauphiné, writing in 1686, “these are the fine meadows where. . . the savages had their plantations.” Nineteenth-century Shenandoah Valley historian Samuel Kercheval also noted the former presence of Native people:

The Shenandoah Valley, then, as the first white men found it, had evidence of earlier occupation— Indian fields, Indian burial mounds and village sites, and Indian trails
(Kercheval 1925:13).

These recollections, although clearly reflecting the perspectives of the “winners” of the contest between native people and the Europeans who displaced them, suggest that the area was heavily settled just prior to the arrival of Europeans, and evidence presented below also hints that a Native presence continued there throughout the colonial period.

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC SKETCH OF NATIVE AMERICANS IN THE VALLEY REGION IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The population displacement of the seventeenth century poses an ongoing challenge for understanding the Native culture history of the Shenandoah Valley, and in identifying descendant communities who may have ties to Cedar Creek and Belle Grove

National Historical Park in the present. The following section provides outlines of two likely cultural groups in the area: the Monacan-Manahoacs, Siouan-speakers related to the better known Catawba, and the Algonquian-speaking Shawnee.

Siouan-Speakers in the Valley

Nineteenth-century ethnographers suggest that, during the early historic period, the Lower Shenandoah was occupied by peoples whose cultures were lumped together as “Piedmont,” a culture area extending north to the Susquehanna and Potomac drainages, and south as far as the northern border of Georgia (Kroeber 1939; Swanton 1946). This region was rarely discussed in ethnohistorical and ethnographic literature until the discovery by Horatio Hale that Tutelo, spoken in the region, was a Siouan language, like its neighbor to the south, the Catawba language. James Mooney (1894) suggested that a number of other Siouan-speaking communities occupied the region. John R. Swanton (1946) also proposed that a group he called the “Eastern Siouans” included a northern division including the Manahoac, Monacan, Hahyssan, Saponi, Tutelo, Occaneechi, and Mohetan. Swanton contrasted this group with the southern Siouans, including the Catawba. He suggested that the Virginia Siouans entered their historic territories from the Kanawha River.

As noted above, the basis of much of this theoretical discussion is a report from William Byrd, who had heard that the people who visited Fort Christanna in 1717, who were probably Catawbans, spoke languages similar to Tutelo and Saponi. Ives Goddard believes that these judgments are based on materials too inexact to be relied upon (Goddard 1978:74).

Another approach to classification was that proposed by Alfred Kroeber, who argued that the Piedmont was part of a region he called the “South Atlantic Slope,” an area including most of South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (Kroeber 1939:94). The traveler John Lederer, who ventured into the region three times during the period 1669-70, was told that the native inhabitants called the region *Akontshuck*, and were speakers of variants of the same language (Lederer 1912). Although earlier scholars were under the impression that native societies of the region were recent immigrants, archeology suggests that at least some of the societies who lived in the area in the Late Woodland period were the product of many centuries of *in situ* development (see discussion above).

According to Charles Hudson, the piedmont Siouans were likely the product of two major groups, the hill tribes and the southern chiefdoms (1976:11-13). The hill tribes were thought to have emerged out of a complex that first appeared some two thousand years ago. The complex is characterized by a “conservative” technology, with little influence from the Hopewellian peoples to the west. Agriculture was adopted among the hill tribes about 1200 A.D. The southeastern chiefdoms, on the other hand, had close ties to the Mississippian and Ohioan peoples, and their occupations included many of the same features, such as mounds, plazas, and evidence for a centralized leadership. The archeological evidence from Late Woodland IV and V sites on or near the park discussed above shows limited evidence for the construction of plaza areas, and the rectangular structures on some of these sites might be ceremonial in nature.

Jeffrey Hantman argues strongly in favor of a Siouan background for the historic native peoples of the Shenandoah Valley, and suggests that the historic Monacan (and Manahoac) Indians were the most significant of a number of such groups living in the region at the time of European exploration and settlement (Hantman 1990). Hantman’s argument is supported by recent oral histories conducted by Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, summarized below.

Monacan Oral History

When asked to describe Native American history in the Lower Shenandoah, one contemporary Monacan woman replied:

Our ancestors were Siouan-speaking peoples who absolutely lived off the land and used the resources of the Shenandoah Valley. We probably spoke an eastern dialect of a Siouan language. The NPS [Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park] is located in the territory of the Manahoacs. . . it would have been part of their land and they were allies of the Monacans. Their territory extended up to the Potomac River and east to Charlottesville. Originally the Susquehanna people lived north of us and guarded our group. When the Susquehanna were there the Iroquois couldn’t get past them. When the Europeans went and settled into Pennsylvania it pushed the Indian tribes to the west and this opened up the Warrior’s Path and brought the Iroquois down into the Shenandoah Valley. The Iroquois wanted to claim the valley as their hunting land. They needed to expand their resource base. With the settlers came war, alcohol, and disease. Once the Iroquois came down here they encountered the Monacans. . . the allies of the Manahoacs. The Monacans [eastern Siouans] called the Powhatans “Yesang.” By 1705 the Siouan-speaking people for the most part left Virginia for North Carolina due to war, alcohol and disease. First the whites brought flux or dysentery and

then with the fighting with the Iroquois there was a mass exodus until 1714 when Governor Spotswood brought them [the Indians] back to the region to Fort Christanna. There is no mention of Monacans again until 1757 when Fontaine mentions Monacans living near Lynchburg, near the ferry. Between 1714-18 the Indians stayed around Ft. Christanna, for a few years and then they went west to Shamokin, Pennsylvania. In the 1740s the Treaty of Lancaster gave the Indians the right to return to the state. The Saponis came back. In the 1750s Indians were back in Amherst County, Virginia. Some Indians went on to Ohio. There were Shawnee raids into English settlements in Allegheny County. The Shawnee crossed the James River at Iron Gate in the efforts to get further inland. Later, Cornstalk returned captives. . . . The impact of the Europeans on us was great. Originally all the Virginia tribes had totems and they wore tattoos with these images. The Tutelos used a design of three arrows.

Another man stated:

There is a dispute about who they were. I believe the Monacans were a confederacy of different tribes not a single tribe of people. There were different tribes in the area such as the Manahoacs. Our name for ourselves means “people of the forest.” Different people became known over time as Monacans. They were Siouan-speaking people and we were with the Catawba and Saponi people. John Smith said the Powhatans called us “Mahneecans.” That may have been an Algonquian word for “they dig in the dirt.” The name became “Monacan.” I kept telling the tribe that we were Tutelo. Tutelo is an Iroquoian word that means “my enemy.” This is a discussion that we are having in the contemporary community. . . . Basically, the Siouan-speakers controlled part of the Shenandoah Valley and the Iroquoian-speakers controlled the other part.

Impact of Interaction and Conflict with Europeans

The stories told by Monacan elders also include references to historic interactions with other groups:

We had a lot of neighbors in the Shenandoah Valley. Sir William Johnson encouraged the Mohawks to push their way through the valley and raid us. There were four major conflicts. We won two of them but lost the war. The last and final time the Mohawks came down there they came with guns and horses. . . before the French and Indian War. Our confederation got broken. I can't prove it but it is what I think and what I know. Then it was the Tutelos, Monacans, Saponi and Manahoacs. There was no longer an umbrella of the Monacan Confederacy. There was some continued warring and the Iroquois returned down here and took some of our people back with them to Canada. Some of the same names are up there in Canada: Buck, Johns, others. The Occaneechi had the snake. When the European settlers started issuing badges to Indians they did so with tribal symbols.

Historic Cultural Resources

One Monacan woman identified the resources used by her people historically, including white-tailed deer, wild turkey, turtles (including box turtles), elk, and small game. Hunting was made easier by firing the brush periodically. Another tribal member recalled:

The Indian people kept the Shenandoah Valley burned. This made for large areas of grasslands that were good for grazing. This was the Indian way of herding animals by keeping the area a grass land. We had elk in there are also buffalo. At lot of people do not know that buffalo were in the Shenandoah Valley in the past.

A Monacan man, when asked about past subsistence practices, replied:

All, roots, herbs, everything. We used a lot of plants. We used what we needed but did so in harmony. We had copper mines but never dug pits to mine copper. It was the whites who started open pit mining. We traded copper to the Powhatans. . . for fish, baskets of vegetables and food. We did grow food crops but we were more of a hunting and gathering people. Stone was all through the Shenandoah Valley. It was a good place to hunt and to get rocks.

A Monacan woman concurred:

Stone was very important to us of course. We liked to use “green stone” for axes and adzes. People knew easier ways to make tools such as find a



Figure 2: Monacan house building, August 2006.
Photo by Danielle Moretti-Langholtz.

sapling growing with a fork. You could put a stone axe in the fork and let the tree grow around the stone to make a really strong tool. In the past people knew ways of making better tools. Flint was traded to us from the Ohio Valley and was preferred over local flint. We had long-distance trade patterns.

Historic Ties to Other Groups

Many of those interviewed stressed that the present-day Native communities in the region were the precipitate of complex interactions among a number of tribes. For example, one Monacan man stated that:

The Susquehannocks [Susquehannas] were at peace with the Monacans. They married in with our people. They became us. Then non-Indians used other Indians to fight battles for them. The British encouraged this. I know [first-hand] that the Iroquois have some Monacan ways [that they maintain to the present day]. Over two hundred years ago the Cayuga took some of our people up to New York with them. To this day they [Cayuga] use parts of five of our ceremonies and many of our songs in our language. About ten years ago I was up there and met with clan mothers and faith-keepers from the Iroquois [they are not a tribe but are a confederacy]. Those people never heard of Monacans. When they asked me who I was and I said, “a Monacan” they said they never heard of Monacan. But another man said he is “Tutelo” and they said to me, “Where have you been for two hundred years? We know the Tutelo and we have five of your ceremonies and hundreds of songs in your language. We have kept a seat for you in the longhouse [in Canada] as you are the ‘little brothers of the Cayuga.’” This is why I say that there needs to be a discussion about who we are.

Contemporary Monacan peoples also know of historic links between their tribe and the Shawnee (Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, pers. comm., 2007). Although no eyewitness accounts of the lives of purported Siouan-speaking people living in the Lower Shenandoah Valley and Piedmont regions dating to the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have been located, it is possible that they were organized similarly to groups further to the south, including the Catawbias, whose ethnography provides clues to the lives of other Piedmont peoples.

General Piedmont Cultural Adaptations: A Catawba Analogy

A great deal that is known about the historic Catawbias (of modern South Carolina) comes from the eighteenth-century writings of the explorer John Lawson, who found these Piedmont peoples to be neither as populous as their southern and eastern neighbors, nor as centrally organized. As Lawson noted,

Their Tongue allows them not to say, Sir, I am your Servant; because they have no different Titles for Man, only King, War-Captain, Old Man, or Young, which respect the Stations and Circumstances Men are employed in, and arrived to, and not Ceremony (Lawson 1967:170-171).

However, as Hudson (1970:23) argues, this does not suggest that these hill tribes were simply roving bands of hunters and gatherers. On the contrary, there is evidence that many Piedmont groups combined hunting and gathering with riverine agriculture, what Hudson calls “the ecological pattern for most of the Southeast.” Descriptions by Lawson and other early travelers help to determine the nature of settlement and subsistence of the Piedmont people. The villages and fields were situated on the banks of rivers and creeks, their cleared fields later referred to in early colonial patents. Unlike the Iroquois, agriculture among the Piedmont peoples may have been done by men. The people grew two or three crops of corn, and several varieties of corn, beans, and squash. Lawson notes that the people he visited relied heavily on nuts gathered in the fall, and in the winter, pursuit of deer. The main hunting technique was the surround, driving deer into “necks of land” where they could be killed in great numbers. Scholars disagree about the historic depth of these deer drive tactics, which did lead to the rapid depletion of the deer population by the late eighteenth century. The abandonment of the Lower Shenandoah by most indigenous groups by 1700 may have been influenced by the decline in the deer population brought on by these techniques.

Non-Powhatan Algonquians: The Shawnee

In 1694, a series of Shawnee villages were located near Winchester, Virginia. It is not clear how long these villages had been established, but scholars are in agreement that the main body of Shawnees were driven from the Ohio Valley by the Iroquois sometime between 1662 and 1673 (Callender 1978:630). Other Shawnee groups were located at the head of the Potomac River in 1701, according to the accounts of Huguenot Franz Louis Michel (Vest 2007). There was at least one later Shawnee village near the study area, situated near what is now “Abram’s Delight” on Shawnee Springs near Winchester (Kercheval 1925:43). The Shawnee are Algonquian-speaking peoples who, as far as can be determined by ethnohistorical research, were never a united group. Rather, they were split and recombined numerous times and over great areas throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thought to have occupied the same region of southern Ohio

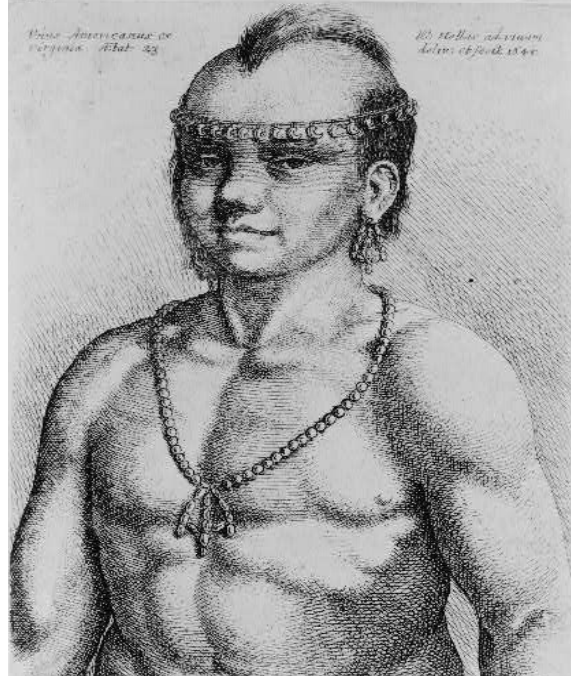


Figure 3: An Indian of Virginia (1645, Wenceslas Hollar).
Courtesy of Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Special Collections.

associated with the Fort Ancient peoples described above in the eighteenth century, their seventeenth-century movements were far more complex and difficult to track with accuracy. For example, Shawnee communities were reported in Illinois, on the Ohio River, in Maryland, and as far south as the Savannah River (Witthoft and Hunter 1955:52).

Linguistic data and ethnographic study of the Shawnee reveal a complex of old traits typical of the historic Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo. These include the use of sacred packs and ritual associations. Sauk people were organized into eponymous clans that were exogamous and patrilineal. Clans and other kin groups were responsible for arranging marriages and selecting leaders. Clans had specific responsibilities at yearly and semi-annual rituals, associated with the sacred packs (Callender 1978:650). Like other central-Algonquians, the Sauk were divided into war and peace groups, connected with clan organizations.

On the other hand, the Shawnee shared other traits with Southeastern cultures, perhaps because of their shared descent from Upper Mississippian societies. These traits included a town organization with various political and ritual functions, including a council house (Callender 1978:622).

The seeming adaptability of Shawnee culture, possibly a characteristic of their multi-regional history and identity, was evident in their relations with a number of other powerful Native groups, some of sharply distinct linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Scholars believe that as Shawnee began their complex resettlement, they were at times associated with the Delaware, Iroquois, and Creek. The Delaware ties were probably forged during the late seventeenth century, when some Shawnee groups settled in eastern Pennsylvania. These ties remained strong, and some Shawnee joined the Delawares in their westward migration to the Ohio Valley (Witthoft and Hunter 1955:49-50; Calloway 2007).

Their alliances with the Iroquois were more problematic. Ethnohistorians believe that the Iroquois were probably responsible for driving the Shawnee from their homes in southern Ohio during the seventeenth century, before the arrival of European settlers in the region. The Iroquois typically granted subordinate status to groups such as the Shawnee, much as they did with the Delaware. When the Shawnee groups lived in western Pennsylvania and Ohio, they had ties with the Iroquoians known then as Mingos, and later the Seneca of Sandusky. These so-called Eastern Shawnee joined the Senecas in their move to Oklahoma (Witthoft and Hunter 1955:49).

According to John Swanton and other anthropologists, the Shawnee also had ties with the Creeks, and in the eighteenth century, the Creek Confederacy always included at least one Shawnee town. On the other hand, the Shawnee were often at war with other Southeastern groups, notably the Catawba and the Chickasaw. In the nineteenth century, many Shawnee people were allied with the Cherokee, and some ultimately joined the Cherokee nation (Callender 1978:623).

The Shawnee had a long-standing tradition of opposition to white expansion, although they allied themselves at various times with both the English and the French. They remained influential during the French and Indian Wars by playing both sides against one another. Consistently, many later joined Pontiac's uprising, and fought in Lord Dunmore's War. Callender suggests that they were the main force of Indians to resist American expansion during and after the Revolution (1978:623). It was within this tradition of resistance that the famous Shawnee leaders Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa (The Prophet) came to power (Edmunds 1983).

The town organization of the Shawnee remained consistent over their centuries of displacement. Each town had a central structure known as a council house,

surrounded by bark-covered lodges or (later) single-room log dwellings. Planting fields were clustered together south of the town, where female work groups tended crops. Shawnee men were hunters, and their economy was later tied to the English deerskin trade, as opposed to the beaverskin trade to the north and west. Shawnee women played a political role in these towns, possibly as mothers and sisters of male leaders. Female peace and war chiefs have been documented among the Shawnee.

Shawnee religious beliefs centered around the figure of a supreme being or creator known as Our Grandmother (or Cloud). Her grandson, Rounded Side or Cloudy Boy, was often her companion, along with a small dog. She created “witnesses” to intermediate with the Shawnee, including tobacco, fire, water, and eagle. Her laws, numbering twelve, were those by which the Shawnee lived. Two important ceremonies, the Spring and the Fall Bread Dances, included hunts where 12 deer were killed by 12 men, and their meat prepared by 12 women. A ball game, men against women, was played during these feasts, which lasted several days. Other ethnographic information speaks of a male creator, known as Great Spirit, or Finisher. Accounts disagree as to which was more important, as the Shawnee were undoubtedly influenced by the views of those groups with whom they lived. Callender notes, however, that even after their separation and removal to Oklahoma, all three Shawnee groups shared a belief in Our Grandmother (Callender 1978:629).

The Shawnee peoples most likely to have had ties to the study area are those who settled in Pennsylvania and Maryland in the late seventeenth century. In 1692, one band settled at the mouth of the Susquehanna River, accompanied by the French trader Martin Chartier, a deserter from Starved Rock. Another Shawnee group was brought to Pennsylvania in 1694 by Aernout Viele. Chartier’s band moved up the Susquehanna into Pennsylvania in the early eighteenth century, where large numbers of Shawnee settled with the Susquehannock and the Delaware. In 1715, another group joined them there, having moved northward from the Savannah River in South Carolina. William Hunter identifies two groups of Shawnee who may have settled in or near the study area; one, moving north from North Carolina, was documented in the area in 1697, and the other, moving west from Maryland, arrived in the area about 1711. Other groups, moving northeast from West Virginia, may have passed through in 1692 (Hunter 1978:589).

Hostilities between some Shawnee groups and the powerful Iroquois plagued Shawnee settlements, and many dispersed during the first decades of the eighteenth

century. The Shawnee were deeply affected by unscrupulous fur traders, who inveigled many into debt, and introduced large quantities of rum into their communities. They rose in protest over this, and many groups moved in different directions, some to Lower Shawnee Town on the Scioto River. Others settled among the Creek after clashes with the Chickasaw. Still others moved through the Cumberland Gap, to settle near modern Nashville. This group, later driven out by the Chickasaw, then settled on the Lower Ohio.

Although some attempts were made by the English to enlist the Shawnee, by the mid-eighteenth century many had allied themselves with the French and, after Braddock's defeat in 1755, began raiding along the frontier in Pennsylvania and Virginia. Three years later, after the fall of Fort Duquesne, the Shawnee then rejoined the largest body of their nation, at Lower Shawnee Town. Many Shawnee joined Pontiac's Rebellion, but were forced to accede to the terms of the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, depriving them of their Kentucky hunting territories. English settlers killed a group of Mingos and Shawnees in 1774, who retaliated by killing the same number of English. This precipitated Lord Dunmore's War. After a Virginian army sacked a Shawnee town in the Muskingum Valley, the Shawnee sued for peace, and accepted the Ohio River as their southern boundary.

Troubles were not over. Forced out of their policy of neutrality, some Shawnee were allied with the Mingo attacking American settlements, while others joined them after the murder of chief Cornstalk at Fort Randolph. The Shawnee continued to raid Kentucky frontier settlements, but were eventually defeated by a series of destructive attacks by American forces. In 1795 they made peace with the United States at the Treaty of Greenville (Calloway 2007).

Other Groups: Delaware and Iroquois

At least one Delaware scouting party has been documented in the study area, and these Algonquian-speaking peoples were an important force in the region, as they allied themselves at times with the Northern Iroquoians and the Shawnee. Delaware people in the early seventeenth century appear to have lived principally in the valley of the Delaware River. They spoke languages now known as Munsee and Unami. The limited ethnohistorical data for the Delaware suggest that these people never formed large, cohesive groups, but were organized rather into a series of villages, which split and

coalesced according to linguistic and political divisions now difficult to reconstruct. The Southern Delawares, speakers of Unami, were divided into three dialect areas, although their boundaries are unclear, as they were harried by Susquehannock raiding, particularly near modern Philadelphia, and were constantly shifting their village locations in the early seventeenth century (Goddard 1978:215).

Culturally, the Delaware shared many features with their Algonquian-speaking neighbors to the north and south, but were also, and famously, influenced by the Iroquois. The Delaware were governed by hereditary leaders, who had both diplomatic and ceremonial functions. Shamans were the principal healers, and employed both trance and divination.

The Delaware were enmeshed in the fur trade, motivated in the early seventeenth century by Dutch traders, and at the end of the Dutch settlement period had been largely displaced from their coastal settlements. Scattered Delaware villages were later established on the Susquehanna. Some Shawnee groups (see above), also displaced and in flux, joined forces with displaced Delaware on the upper Delaware River in 1694, and their histories were subsequently conjoined. Delaware leaders also made frequent trips westward to deliver tribute wampum belts to the Onondaga, signaling the control over the Susquehanna Valley by the Iroquois beginning in the mid-seventeenth century. After 1742, the Delaware were forced into a tributary status structurally likened to that of “women” to the Iroquois, but continued to be active as warriors, and to participate in raiding parties, such as that recorded in the Winchester area (McKee 1999, also cited in Hofstra 2004:54). The organization and activities of the Iroquois Six Nations in the eighteenth century were thus central to Delaware history, and Iroquois cultural patterns are discussed in the next section.

The Northern Iroquois: Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas (Later, Tuscarora)

As noted above, the members of the great Iroquois League were the most significant indigenous players in the struggles for sovereignty in North America. The threat of their presence dominated the Shenandoah Valley in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and a number of visits from Iroquois delegations can be documented in the study area. The significance of their beliefs and practices to the

history of the Valley should not be underestimated, although they were never permanent residents there.

William Fenton has described Iroquoian time as “ecological” in that it was geared to a series of cycles—diurnal, yearly, and duodecennial. The yearly subsistence round was a synchronization of a hunting/gathering/fishing cycle with the agricultural cycle. Their lunar calendar was divided into four seasons, and each was marked by ceremonies, especially at midwinter and in late summer (Fenton 1978:300-301).

The celebrated matrilineal kinship system of the Iroquois was also inextricably linked to their political structure. The lineage was a “core” of mothers, sisters, and daughters, referred to as “the longhouse family.” This group is in turn associated with *ohwatsiraye-to?*, or the “ongoing family.” The villages were also divided into moieties, comprised of two or more clans, each of which had complementary ritual obligations. This duality or reciprocity was a fundamental feature of political organization, and central to Iroquois diplomacy. Like the Shawnee, the Iroquois also had peace and war chiefs, although most Iroquoian men sought status as warriors. The central role of war in Iroquois culture was to play a crucial part in the history of the study area.

A number of eighteenth-century observers visited the “castles” or fortified villages that characterized the settlements of the Five Nations peoples, some of which were quite extensive. When John Bartram visited Onondaga in 1743, for example, he found that it was:

2 or 3 miles long, yet the scattered cabins on both sides of the water, are not above 40 in number, many of them hold 2 families, but all stand single, and rarely above 4 or 5 near one another
(Bartram et al. 1973).

Historian Warren Hofstra suggests that as the Five Nations became more dispersed, colonial authorities became alarmed, citing George Clarke, the lieutenant governor of New York who wrote to the Oneidas and Onondagas:

It is with much concern I hear that most of the six Nations have of late years lived dispersed forgetting their Ancient Custom of dwelling together in Castles. I cannot let slip this opportunity of exhorting you to return to your Primitive way of living together as your Ancestors did. . . whereas a scattered people will soon become contemptible in the eyes of the world and the common interest and safety of the Community will give place to private views
(cited in Hofstra 2004:20).

Historical Iroquoian actors in the Shenandoah take prominent roles in the contests of empire in the mid-eighteenth century. In the fall of 1742, a party of Native people, numbering at least 30, traveled south along the Susquehanna for the Carolinas. This was a war party, pursuing the Catawba, and records suggest that most of its members were Oneidas and Onondagas. Their leader, Jonnhaty, was allowed safe passage with his men through Pennsylvania, although they were cautioned by judge John Hoge that “The back inhabitants of Virginia might perhaps Use them ill if they traveled that way, as there was no good understanding among them.”

Hoge’s father had lived at “Opickin Settlement,” known by the Native people as *Jonotore* (Hofstra 2004:17).² Hofstra estimates that Jonnhaty’s party reached the Opequon in late October or early November (Hofstra 2004:18). At this time, there were fewer than 5,000 European settlers in the Shenandoah Valley, living in dispersed settlements along the Opequon and the bottomlands of the Shenandoah’s tributary creeks.

Contemporary Iroquoians retain knowledge about Route 11 (which they call the Warrior’s Path), paralleling Interstate 81. One informant recalled:

Today, Route 81 follows the path our people used to take when they went on raids down into the Shenandoah Valley. It would be good to put a historic marker along the highway to talk about this history (Mitchell Bush, Onondaga Tribe, pers. comm., June 21, 2006).

The Susquehannocks

An Iroquoian-speaking people, the Susquehannocks are first described by Europeans in the mid-sixteenth century, when they were living along the north fork of the Susquehanna River. For unknown reasons, the Susquehannocks abandoned these locations by 1570, and settled in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. In 1615, this group sent 500 warriors to aid Samuel de Champlain against the Five Nations. The Susquehannocks, known by the Iroquois as *Gandastoqué*, were also called Minquas by the Algonquian-speaking peoples of the Hudson and Delaware rivers. The

² Hofstra cites a number of sources, including Thomas McKee, deposition, Jan. 24, 1743, in *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* (Hazard 1838-53, 4:631). According to Hofstra, the term *opikin* appears in *Bringhurst v. Blackburn*, May 1744, *Ended Causes, 1743-1909*, Frederick County Court Papers, Library of Virginia, Richmond. For the term *Jonontore*, see Conrad Weiser, Report of his Journey to Shamokin, Jan. 30-Feb. 9, 1743 (Hazard 1838-53, 4:640-646).

Susquehannocks may thus have been that same people known as “White Minquas.” Other sources contradict this, suggesting that the Susquehannocks were enemies of the Minquas (Jennings 1978:362). It was John Smith who first used the term Susquesahanough to name these people, who made contact with him in 1608. This name derived from the term “falls” or “roily water” and appears to refer to their villages at Conewago Falls.

The Susquehannocks resembled their Northern Iroquois neighbors and sometime allies in many aspects of their political and social organization.³ They were principally farmers, and women’s and men’s labor was sharply separated. In Iroquoian society generally, women were responsible for farming and gathering, food preparation and other domestic activities, while men were the traders, hunters, diplomats and warriors. They were divided into clans, including Turtle, Wolf, and Fox, and each presumably had ritual obligations that structured the devotional year. Like most Iroquoians, the Susquehannocks were matrilineal, and male leaders were determined in part by their membership within particular female-led sub-clans. Iroquoian settlements were typically large, with dozens of longhouses surrounded by a palisade, and usually near a navigable river (Jennings 1978:364).

The Susquehanna River was an enormously important travel route in the Late Woodland period, when it was possible to travel by canoe from the Chesapeake Bay to the Finger Lakes and the Mohawk River, as well as east and west from the Delaware Valley to the Great Lakes and the tributaries of the Ohio River. The Susquehannocks commanded a central place along this great thoroughfare, allowing them to control both movement and trade. As a result, they assumed a central role in the struggles of the newly nascent colonies, pitting the Dutch against the English and French. The Northern Iroquois, having also an early access to firearms that they acquired from their many European allies, caused the Susquehannocks to ally themselves with the settlers of Maryland in 1661, in return for large swathes of the area around the Chesapeake Bay, over which they claimed dominion. The Susquehannocks also allied themselves on occasion with the Delaware against Northern Iroquoian incursions, and occasionally carried that war to their enemies further north.

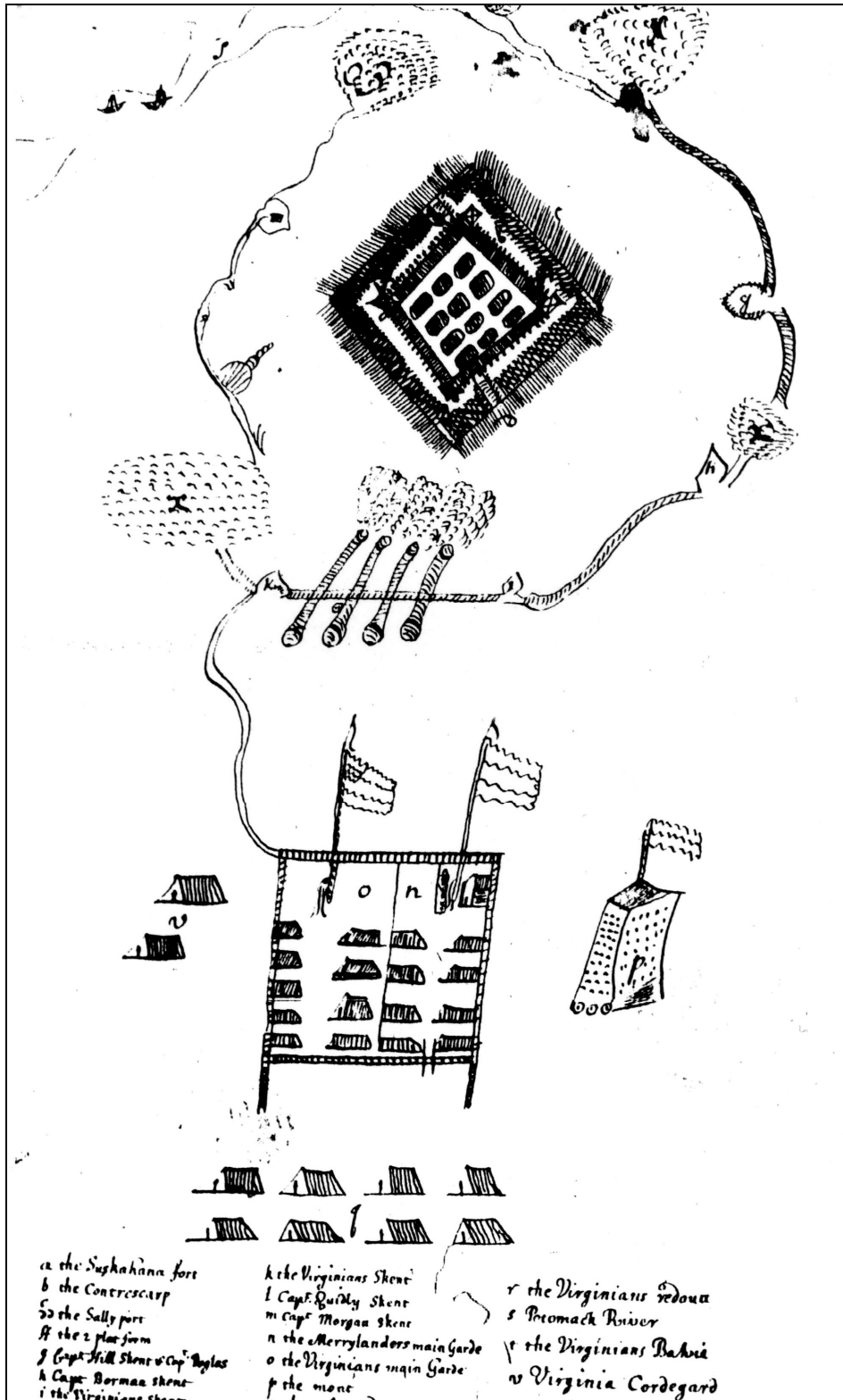
³ The phrase “Northern Iroquois” refers the old Five Nations of New York, including the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca. After 1722, the Tuscarora of the Carolinas joined them, creating the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy (Fenton 1978:296).

The feud between the Susquehannocks and the Northern Iroquois made Maryland vulnerable to Dutch-instigated raids, and Governor Calvert urged his Susquehannock allies to occupy the Piscataway Fort at the junction of the Piscataway and the Potomac River, near modern Washington, DC. This relocation aroused the suspicions of Virginia's frontier settlers, who repeatedly sent raiding parties into Maryland to retaliate for the Indian raids they were suffering. Maryland and Virginia forces together attacked the Susquehannock fort (Map 8), and executed five of their chiefs. The subsequent raids by the Susquehannocks against the frontier communities in both colonies sent panic throughout the region. In the late seventeenth century, the Susquehannocks settled on Ocaneechi Island in the Roanoke River, which was then attacked by Nathaniel Bacon and his backwoods militia. The Ocaneechi chief Persicles was ordered to raid the smaller Susquehannock forts and torture any captives, although a quarrel between Persicles and Bacon allowed most of the Susquehannocks to escape.

Governor Andros of New York convinced the Susquehannocks to settle in Iroquoia in the late 1670s, although some remained among the Delaware. Those who joined the Northern Iroquoians became part of what is known as the Covenant Chain, an alliance that tied several English colonies to a number of Indian tribes, under the leadership of the Iroquois. The Susquehannocks who resisted incorporation into the larger Iroquois confederacy ranged through Maryland and the backcountry of Virginia in the late decades of the seventeenth century. Those Susquehannocks who did join the Iroquois incited them to raid the Indians who had aided Virginia and Maryland against them, until they too joined the Covenant Chain (to be discussed further in the next chapter).

According to Francis Jennings (1978), by the early eighteenth century, "the Susquehanna Valley was resettled by an ethnic mixture. Iroquois, Shawnees, Conoys, Nanticokes, Delawares, Tuscaroras, and Tutelos apparently intermingled and intermarried with the Susquehannock-Conestoga (Shawnee)." As time went on, the Iroquois, in alliance with Pennsylvania's leadership, asserted control over the Susquehanna Valley and its native occupants, causing many to migrate west to the Ohio Valley.

Such a complex and ever-changing pattern of Native settlement, conflict, and interaction was in part the result of social, economic, and political changes among the



Map 8: Susquehannock Fort, ca. 1673.
 Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

various Native groups, but also due to the larger conflict with competing European colonists enacted along the Shenandoah frontier, to be described in the following chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: EXPLORATION, CONFLICT, AND EARLY SETTLEMENT

NATIVE AMERICANS AND NEWCOMERS: LOWER SHENANDOAH VALLEY

The Native people of the Shenandoah Valley were likely well-informed concerning the arrival of Europeans in North America beginning in the fifteenth century A.D., located as they were along a principal path connecting the Eastern Woodlands to the southeast and the Mississippian and Ohioan cultures to the west. In 1535, Hernando de Soto saw and named the Appalachian mountain chain, and the effects of his *entrada* included a wave of disease and conflict among the Native peoples he encountered (Galloway 2006; Ramonofsky and Galloway 2006:265-268). Explorations of the Chesapeake Bay began in the early sixteenth century with Giovanni di Verazzano's expedition (Wroth 1970). Samuel de Champlain's map of New France, based on his expeditions in 1609 and 1615, shows the confluence of Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers. Champlain likely learned of the Valley from his Iroquois informants.

John Smith's second voyage of exploration to the Rappahannock River, in 1608, provided hints of the cultural and political complexity of the Virginia hinterland. For example, in addition to his contacts with the Powhatans, he encountered the Tockwoghs, an Algonquian-speaking group who had engaged in hostilities with the Iroquoian Massawomecks. The Toghwohgs had iron and brass tools, which they had received from the Susquehannocks, their allies, living a two-day journey north along the Susquehanna River. With the help of Native interpreters, Smith made contact with the Susquehannocks, who arrived at "Smith's Falls" with "venison, tobacco pipes... baskets, targets, bows, and arrows." The Susquehannocks, impressed with an English religious service they witnessed, responded with an oration, and gifts including white beads (wampum?). Smith suspected that the Susquehannocks were seeking his alliance against their enemies, the Massawomecks (Smith 1612:231-232).

Smith's expedition to the Upper Potomac was also the occasion of a meeting with the Dogues, who were later victimized during Bacon's Rebellion, as well as the Pamacocack, Moyaone (Piscataway), and Nacotchtank. At the Little Falls of the

Potomac, near modern Washington, DC, Smith met men in canoes “well loaden with the flesh of bears, deer, and other beasts.” Although Smith never ventured as far as the Shenandoah River, contacts he made during his two voyages of exploration were surely with peoples who claimed the Valley as their territory (Bushnell 1935).

EARLY EUROPEAN EXPLORATION OF THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY

Despite the relative proximity of the Shenandoah Valley to the centers of seventeenth-century colonial Virginia settlement, the region remained little known to Anglo-Virginians until close to the end of the century. April Hatfield has successfully argued that this state of ignorance can be explained in relation to colonial-Native relations in the Tidewater. Anglo-Virginian settlement was constrained by and limited to areas once under the control of the Algonquian speaking-tribes within the Powhatan paramount chiefdom, as part of a deliberate strategy to limit English contact with Powhatan enemies. She argues:

Powhatan consciously labored to make the Powhatan boundary meaningful for the English as well as for the Powhatans, recognizing the potential threat that English contact with his enemies could pose (Hatfield 2004:19).

The normative nature of early seventeenth-century Powhatan geography continued to influence English settlement into the third quarter of the seventeenth century.

Initial European exploration of the Blue Ridge and Shenandoah Valley region is traditionally attributed to the explorer John Lederer, who undertook three expeditions into the western “wilderness” of Virginia in the years 1669 and 1670 (Cumming 1958). A German physician who recorded his travels in Latin, Lederer seems only to have viewed the Valley from the top of the Blue Ridge. On his first expedition, he is believed to have entered but not passed over Swift Run Gap. His second journey, accompanied by 21 Henrico County militiamen, took him only as far as present-day Buckingham County. His third expedition took him further north along the Rappahannock River to the vicinity of Chester Gap (Wayland 1957:14-15; Salmon and Campbell 1994:21). Although Lederer never entered the Shenandoah Valley, references in his journal to areas of open “savae” helped to support the traditional view of the Shenandoah Valley as one open meadow or prairie, as described by the historian Samuel Kercheval in 1833:

Much the greater part of the country between what is called the Little North Mountain and the Shenandoah River, at the first settling of the Valley was one vast prairie, and like the rich prairies of the west, afforded the finest possible pasturage for wild animals (Kercheval 1925:52).

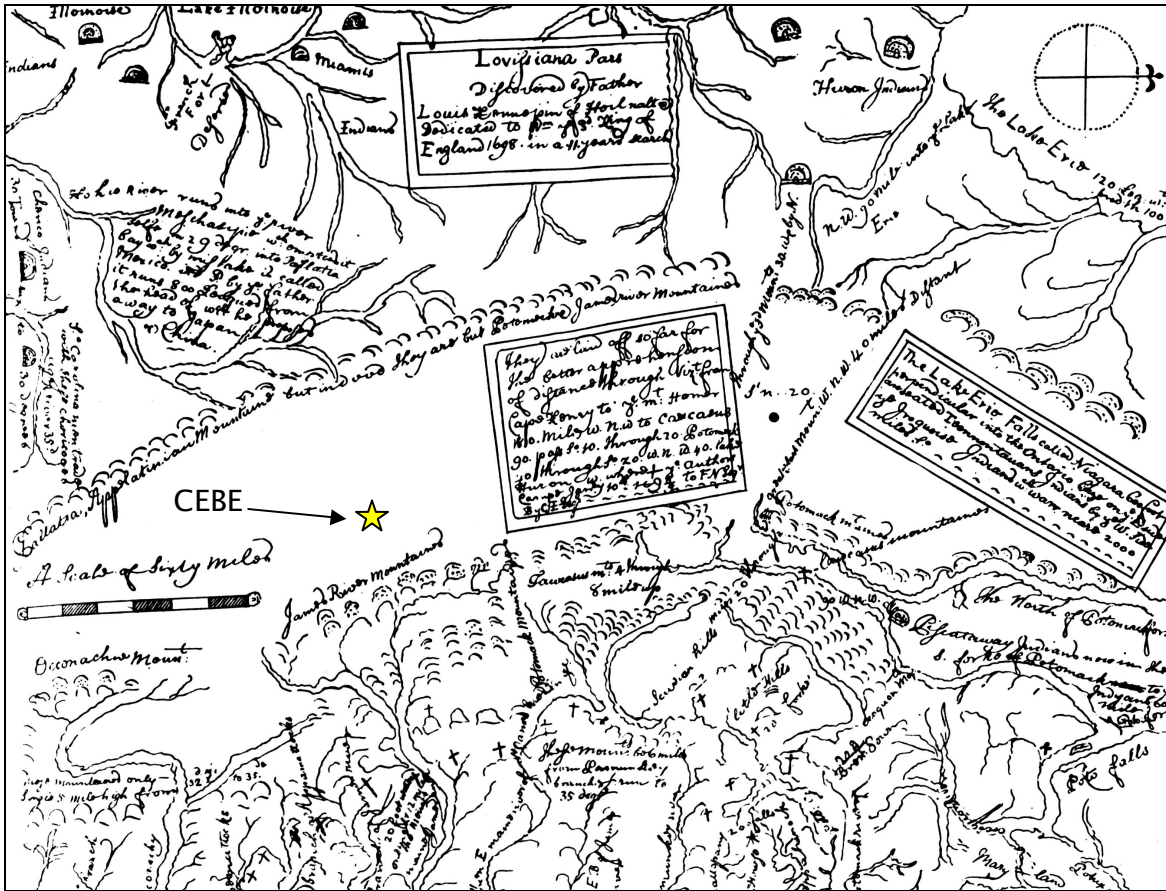
However, recent research by Warren Hofstra and Robert Mitchell that has focused upon reconstructing the vegetation present in the Valley during the period of initial European settlement casts doubt on Kercheval's claim. Examining witness markers used in 999 land grants, Hofstra and Mitchell conclude that far from being a vast prairie, the Valley landscape was dominated by hardwood forest:

if the frequency with which tree species were designated as witness markers reflected the forest composition, then European settlers encountered a forest of 71 percent oak, 14 percent hickory, 6 percent pine, and 3 percent walnut (Hofstra 2004:125).

Other Englishmen, although undocumented, undoubtedly followed John Lederer westward, setting up small-scale fur-trading ventures. The 1670 expedition of Thomas Batts and Robert Fallom traversed the Blue Ridge in southwestern Virginia, possibly at Adney Gap, in present-day Franklin County just south of the city of Roanoke. Cadwallader Jones visited Chester Gap in 1673 (Dohme 1976:2-3; Peyton 1953:4; Waddell 1986:25; Wayland 1964:32-42; see Map 9).

In 1702, a Swiss merchant named Franz Louis Michel spent five months traveling around the Virginia colony. Michel ultimately entered the Shenandoah Valley from the north, and returned to Switzerland with enthusiastic reports of the salubrious qualities of the countryside, including the "great forest trees of oak" (Wust 1969). Although Michel's explorations inspired a plan for a Swiss backcountry settlement, the scheme was ultimately implemented in North Carolina, rather than in the Valley of Virginia. Established in 1710, Michel's New Bern settlement became the catalyst for an uprising by the Tuscarora, upon whose lands the Swiss and Germans had settled.

The first well-documented official exploratory venture through the Blue Ridge and into the Shenandoah Valley was that led by Governor Alexander Spotswood in August 1716. Spotswood's "Knights of the Golden Horseshoe" drank, caroused, and slowly rode their way from the Germanna settlement near present-day Fredericksburg up to the Blue Ridge Mountains and on into the Shenandoah Valley. On September 6, 1716, Spotswood and a retinue of 63 (including gentlemen, their servants, rangers, and



Map 9: Detail of Cadwallader Jones' 1699 map showing part of the Virginia frontier. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Indians) stood on a peak of the Blue Ridge and toasted the royal family, then made their way down the west slopes of the Blue Ridge into the Shenandoah Valley near the banks of the South Fork of the Shenandoah River, dubbed by Spotswood the “Euphrates.” Swift Run Gap has long been assumed to have been the crossing point for the expedition, although Darwin Lambert (1989) argued for a crossing through Milam Gap in the Big Meadows vicinity. Regardless of where they crossed, and how much they celebrated the journey, the event was significant and serious in terms of colonial policy as defense.

Warren Hofstra has recently addressed the “deeper meaning” of the venture:

Toasting the royal family’s health on a distant river was a way of proclaiming the power, scope, and magnitude of the British Empire as well as invoking its longevity. Naming that river Euphrates cast that empire as an agent of civilization in what the English called the wilderness (Hofstra 2004:61).

In the broader scope of colonial politics, the expedition was clearly designed to be noticed, and in particular, to be noticed by the French. Competition with the French was part of the background for the establishment of one of the most important diplomatic agreements between the Five (later Six) Nations and the British Colonies, known as the Covenant Chain.

THE COVENANT CHAIN

As noted in the previous chapters, the Valley had long served as a significant corridor linking groups of Native people, just as it would later serve to facilitate the movement of European settlers into the colonial backcountry. The Valley trails facilitated contacts between the Iroquois from the northern portions of what is now New York State, and groups such as the Creeks, Catawbas and Cherokees in the Piedmont and mountain areas of the South. In the first half of the seventeenth century, the Susquehannocks entered the Lower Valley from the north, and actively participated in the fur trade until the mid-seventeenth century, when the Iroquois expanded their involvement and power (Gardner 1986). In the latter part of the seventeenth century, the valley increasingly became a zone of contestation, as the French extended their influence through negotiated treaties and trade relations with a number of Native societies.

The Covenant Chain (ca. 1677-1755) is the name given to the alliance between the League of the Iroquois, also known as the *Haudenosaunee*, and the English. In practice, the Covenant Chain was a series of councils and treaties governing trade and European settlement, with provisions for the resolution of conflict between the League and the newcomers. The exchange of wampum belts marked these councils and treaties, many of which still survive. There was also a great deal of protocol, determined by the Iroquois, to which the English had to conform. This included a complex set of preliminary overtures, and a strict rule concerning the location of any meetings (Foster 1974, 1984). The Iroquois insisted that they be treated as equals in any negotiations. For example, at a council which took place in 1692, the Iroquois claimed

You say that you are like our father and I am your son. . . We will not be like Father and Son, but like brothers
(Foster 1974:185).

The Colony of New York took a primary role in negotiations, and many of the most important councils took place in the Mohawk Valley. Problems arose when the

English colonies disagreed among themselves about policies with respect to the Iroquois (Jennings 1984; Taylor 2001).

By the early eighteenth century, Virginia frontier settlements were moving further westward from the Tidewater, and these communities were caught up in the wider conflicts associated with Iroquois expansion. By 1714, the Monacans had agreed to occupy the region near Fort Christanna, near modern Lawrenceville, Virginia. In April 1715, a party of one hundred Catawbas and other Indians of the Piedmont traveled to Fort Christanna to reopen the trade routes that had been closed during the Tuscarora wars. The Indians brought with them eleven children they proposed to have educated at the school at Fort Christanna. While the delegation was camped nearby, an Iroquois party attacked them, killing several and taking hostages. Governor Spotswood sent his agent Christopher Smith to New York to negotiate the return of the captives, and to seek an agreement with the Iroquois that they would no longer raid in the region, according to the terms of the Covenant Chain. Later that year Spotswood sought an agreement with the governors of Pennsylvania, New York and Maryland, and left a proposal with the governor of New York, Robert Hunter, requesting that the Iroquois remain to the west of the Blue Ridge on their raiding expeditions, and cross into the region only with aid of a special pass, to be granted by the governor of New York.

In 1720, Spotswood secured an agreement with the Indians then living in the Piedmont that

they will not at any time thereafter... Cross the great Mountains nor pass to the Northward of Potomack River... [if the northern Indians] observe the same Regulation
(cited in Hofstra 2004:64).

This unenforceable agreement was tested by the findings of the Virginia Council, that

diverse Negro's... on the Frontiers of Rappahannock County, have lately run away & suspected to be gone towards ye Great Mountains, where it may be hard to apprehd 'em, & if they shou'd encrease there, it might prove of ill consequence to ye Peace of this Colony, and of great detriment to the Frontier Inhabitants
(cited in Hofstra 2004:66).

The governors of New York and Pennsylvania were asked to “give orders to their Indians to hunt for the said Runaways among the Mountains and had proposed a reward for bring them in dead or alive” (Hofstra 2004: 66). In 1722, the Treaty of Albany, signed by the *Haudenosaunee*, designated the Shenandoah Valley Indian territory, limiting

Native access to the region beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains. The treaty attempted to establish a buffer zone between expanding European settlements and hostile tribes, an agreement they expected the Iroquois to enforce.

In the late 1730s, the conflict between the Iroquois and other “Northern” Indians, and the Cherokee and Catawba to the south, meant that the Lower Shenandoah witnessed the constant passage of warring parties, some of whom paused to harass the newly-arrived settlers and their local Native allies. Petitioners specifically mentioned Allegany Indians, Catawbans, and Cherokees (Hofstra 2004:163). This extended and bitter conflict, in which various colonial powers also engaged, and which they appear to have deliberately exacerbated, had a number of drastic effects on Native communities and polities, contributing to the scattering of communities, the loss of territories, and severe population loss.

From the Treaty of Albany to the Treaty of Lancaster

In October 1736, James Logan and Conrad Weiser visited the Onondaga on behalf of Virginia governor Gooch to negotiate a peace treaty. Instead, the Iroquoian Grand Council insisted that the colony of Virginia purchase the Shenandoah Valley from the Six Nations. The Seneca sachem Kanickhungo demanded that the governors of Virginia and Maryland (Gooch and Samuel Ogle):

make them Satisfaction for the lands belonging to them (the Indians), which the People of those Governments were possessed of, that had never been purchased of them. . . . [A]ll the Lands on Sasquehannah and Chanandowa [Shenandoah] were theirs, & they must be satisfied for them (Hazard 1838-53, 4:92-99).

James Logan responded on October 14.

Governor Gooch requested that the Onondaga and other representatives of Six Nations travel to Williamsburg to sign a treaty of peace (McIlwaine 1978, 4:370-379).⁴ In response, the Onondaga sachem Tekanontie replied:

Brethren we let you know that we have considered all that was said to us in the morning in behalf of our Brother Asaryquoh [Assarigoa] (so they call the Governors of Virginia) and in behalf of our Brethren Onas [Pennsylvania governor] James Logan. . . we must let you know that we cannot come to Williamsburg to a Treaty of Peace there is no Road to that

⁴ For the Indian perspective that includes Grand Council decorum and wampum, see Wallace 1945:90; Foster 1974, 1984.

place, we never travel through Bushes to Treatys of Peace it is too dangerous and we have no ffire at Williamsburg and if we should take a Stump of ffire to go there we cannot get there without running the Risque of our Lives for our Brother Asaryquoh has made a ffence or Wall about his Country and told us not to go over it he would hang us, and that ffence or Wall stands to this Day. And our Brother Asrayquoh's People are very Cross every where in his Country. We therefore give to our Brother Asaryquoh an Invitation or a call to come to Albany together with the Chiefs of the Southern Indians the Cherikees and Cataquees [Catawba] his Friends, where we have a fire Burning under the Shadow of some Green Bushes, and we will treat with him and the Southern Indians in the presence of our Brethren the Governor of New York and the Commissioners of Indian Officers in Albany upon reasonable Terms, Such a thing cant be done in a corner it must be done by Publick ffire (Wallace 1945:91).

Although the Iroquois agreed to a cease-fire in the southern wars (Hofstra 2004:162), in the late 1730s conflict between the Iroquois and the Catawba continued (Hazard 1838-53, 4:414), although in the summer of 1742, the Six Nations and the Cherokee made peace (C.O. 1739a, 1739b). Unfortunately, the Virginians ambushed an Onondaga war party at Balcony Falls, on the upper James River, in November of that year, raising fears of retaliation. In 1744, however, as part of the Treaty of Lancaster, the Onondaga agreed to move the warrior path further west (Bartram et al. 1973:115ff).

Convinced that alliance with the Indians was a shaky foundation for the security of the colony, Spotswood also began an alternative policy, that of establishing frontier settlements and forts which would act as a buffer against the Indian incursions to the west and north, and some protection against the designs of the French (Map 10). This policy did not end negotiations with the Indians, however. For example, in 1742, the lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania, George Thomas, and the Pennsylvania Council sought agreement with the Six Nations along with the Delaware and Shawnee, to confirm the release of Indian lands beyond the Susquehanna River. In exchange, the Native delegates were offered large numbers of blankets, coats, kettles, and other goods as well as lead, powder, and guns in exchange. From the colonial perspective, the creation of a buffer zone between their settlements and Native polities further west was well worth the price.

It is in the context of the creation of a frontier "buffer zone," and the uneasy truce with the Six Nations in the 1730s through the 1750s, that the earliest European settlements in the Shenandoah must be understood. Two of the first ventures into the



Map 10: William Alexander's Map of frontier forts in New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia, 1755. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

region by settlers from Protestant Ireland and Palatinate Germany were associated with Native villages, Jost Hite's at Long Meadow and Abraham Hollingworth's trading post at Winchester. One of Hite's descendants recalled that:

numerous parties of Indians, in passing and repassing, frequently called at his grandfather's house, on Opequon, and that but one instance of theft was ever committed. On the occasion a pretty considerable party had called, and on their leaving the house some article of inconsiderable value was missing. A messenger was sent after them, and information of the theft given to the chiefs. Search was immediately made, the article found in the possession of one of them and restored to its owner (Kercheval 1925:56).

The history of the region written by Samuel Kercheval describes a long-standing relationship between some of the Valley's early residents and the Indians. Kercheval wrote that "the Indians and white people resided in the same neighborhood for several years after the first settlements commenced, and that the Indians were entirely peaceable and friendly." Kercheval also noted that

their traveling parties would, if they needed provisions and could not otherwise procure them, kill fat hogs or fat cattle in the woods in order to supply themselves with food. This they did not consider stealing. Every animal running at large they considered lawful game (Kercheval 1925:57).

These nostalgic recollections masked the bitter struggle for the Lower Shenandoah that ended in the dispersal of its Native inhabitants by the end of the Revolutionary War. Although conflicts with Native people and the new American government continued in the Old Northwest, the Ohio and Great Lakes regions, there is little evidence for Native presence in the study area in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries. That does not suggest, however, that the region did not continue to have significance to Indian people. The very visible Massanutten mountain, for example, was still a central feature of folk stories, and the State-recognized Monacan tribe have many recollections about the mountain and valley and the peoples who inhabited it, that inform their own sense of identity today (see Chapter Nine).

Initial European Settlement

Settlement of the Upper Valley followed relatively close on the heels of the Spotswood journey, and imitated the strategy implemented by the governor at Germanna. That policy relied upon foreigners and "marginal" peoples settled in enclaves in order to protect the colonial boundaries. At Germanna, located at the forks of the Rappahannock River in present-day Spotsylvania County, a community of German miners was installed in 1714. Their role was dual: to produce bar iron from local deposits

and to protect the frontier (Hofstra 2004:59). Spotswood acquired the lands upon which the miners were settled, a tract of more than 3,000 acres. As described by John Fontaine in 1715, the Germanna settlement struggled in its early years:

This town or settlement lies upon Rappahannoc river 30 miles above the Falls and 30 miles from any Inhabitants. The Germans live very miserably. We would tarry here some time but for want of provisions we are obliged to go. We got from the minister a bit of smoked beef and cabbage, which was very ordinary and dirtily drest (Fontaine 1972:88).

A decade later, a group of Germans left the confines of Spotswood's settlement at Germanna and settled at the confluence of White Oak Run and the Robinson River at a place known as the Island, in present-day Madison County on the eastern side of the Blue Ridge (Yowell 1925). A Lutheran church built by the Hebron community in 1740 still stands, and is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. In order to pay for their new church, the Hebron settlers established and operated a 685-acre plantation, run by enslaved labor, on the east side of and immediately adjacent to Old Rag Mountain, also in Madison County (Yowell 1925:95; Lambert 1989:51-52). References to this "Dutch Glebe Land" can be found on eighteenth-century deeds in the Old Rag and Hughes River vicinity (Horning 2004).

As the Germanna settlers pushed their way westward, the Shenandoah Valley witnessed an increasing flood of settlers traveling south down the Great Valley from the Pennsylvania colony. A report issued by the Board of Trade in 1721 articulated the need for western settlements to protect British colonial territories, representing "a consensus of broadly shared opinions and ideas" (Hofstra 2004:81). These backcountry settlements were to be peopled in part by Protestant emigrants from the north of Ireland and from the Palatinate. According to one estimate, settlers who entered the Valley from Pennsylvania (and particularly from the eastern Pennsylvania counties of Bucks, Chester, Philadelphia, and Lancaster) had spent on average between seven and ten years in Pennsylvania (Mitchell 1972:469). Their experience within a British colony, and their knowledge of local agricultural and architectural adaptations, made them even more attractive to the British government.

European Context

The history of settlement in the Shenandoah Valley cannot be understood without reference to the broader background of European emigration. Graeme Kirkham (1997) has estimated that in the 1710s, migration from the north of Ireland to North America numbered between 4,500 and 7,000 individuals per year, which ballooned to total between 155,000 to 205,000 by 1775, according to another estimate (Bailyn 1986:26). Of those, at least three-quarters were Protestants, and of the Protestants, 70 percent were Presbyterian (Miller 1985:137, 149-150). These emigrants were chiefly the descendants of seventeenth-century Protestants who had settled in Ireland as part of the Ulster Plantation scheme, designed initially by James I of England as a means of subduing the territory by replacing the rebellious Gaelic population with loyal settlers.

These settlers themselves came from varying backgrounds, but were predominantly of English and lowland Scots ancestry. A range of economic and religious factors, including a downturn in the linen industry, high rents, bad harvests, and the perceived persecution of Presbyterians, prompted the eighteenth-century emigration (Dickson 1966). Those fleeing Ulster joined emigrants from elsewhere in the British-dominated world, and were channeled towards the middle Atlantic region and the promise of religious toleration in William Penn's Quaker colony, Pennsylvania (Horning 2002).

Accompanying the migration from the north of Ireland was a massive increase in the numbers of German-speaking immigrants settling in British colonial regions. The initial flow of individuals and families was inspired by a desire for religious toleration, particularly among dissenting groups such as the Schwenkfelders, Mennonites, Amish, and Rosicrucians. By the mid-eighteenth century, however, the majority of German-speaking immigrants were seeking economic advancement and were dominated by adherents of the more mainstream Lutheran and Reformed faiths. Between 1683 and 1783, an estimated 125,000 German-speaking individuals found their way to the North American colonies. By 1775, 33 percent of the Pennsylvania population was German-speaking, while the German-speaking population of Virginia and Maryland combined was 17 percent (Roeber 1991:244). In all,

German-speaking people from the Rhinelands comprised the largest continental contingent of migrants to North America in the eighteenth century (Games 2002:39).

Where there were significant concentrations of German-speaking settlers, as in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, communities were established that were able to, according to Thomas Jefferson, “preserve for a long time their own languages, habits, and principles of government.”

The Protestant immigrants from the Rhineland served a broader political purpose for the British Crown than merely populating backcountry settlements. Many of the German-speaking immigrants had experienced extreme hardship during the Thirty Year’s War (1618-1648), and were viewed by the British as staunch allies against Catholic France and, by extension, opposed to France’s New World projects and aspirations. The backcountry settlements of the Shenandoah region were viewed as a buffer

to check French expansion across the interior of North America, extend English dominion, secure a western periphery destabilized by Indian conflict, and occupy mountain fastnesses otherwise a refuge to runaway slaves (Hofstra 1998:1284).

Many of the Rhinelanders who made their way to the Shenandoah Valley were already settled in other parts of British Colonial America. As argued by Kenneth Keller, in relation to the known genealogies of prominent Valley families:

the ancestors of some of the most well-known families of Rhineland descent who settled on the Virginia frontier, while remaining German in their folkways, had ample time to establish contact with English speakers and to deal with them in trade before coming to the Virginia frontier (Keller 1997:105).

Furthermore, the German-speaking settlers, along with their counterparts from the north of Ireland, tended to emigrate in family groups and sought to become landholders, rather than engaging in absentee land speculation (Hofstra 2004). Such aspirations contributed to the distinctive “town and country” settlement pattern of the Valley. By the end of the eighteenth century, the settlement and local economy west of the Blue Ridge presented a clear contrast to that of the plantation-dominated East:

a region rich in towns from one poor in towns, grain and livestock production from tobacco culture, and a free labor society from a slave labor society (Hofstra 2004:5).

The Northern Neck Proprietary

Cultural geographer Robert Mitchell (1997) has estimated that between 1730 and 1780, 140,000 settlers made their way to the Shenandoah Valley, down the natural

corridor from Pennsylvania or westward from the Tidewater. While settlement in the mountains on either side of the Valley was uncommon before the end of the eighteenth century, most mountain land was already in the hands of absentee speculators who had received land grants from either the colonial governor or from the proprietor of the Northern Neck, which had been granted to seven court favorites by Charles II in September 1649. The Northern Neck Proprietary encompassed over five million acres, extending from the Potomac River in the north, to the Chesapeake Bay in the east, to the Rappahannock River in the south, and as far west as the present West Virginia counties of Berkeley, Hampshire, Hardy, Jefferson, and Morgan. In 1681, all rights to the grant were held by Thomas, Lord Culpeper, and inherited by his daughter Catherine when he died in 1689. Control of the proprietary passed from Catherine to her son Thomas, the sixth Lord Fairfax, born in England in 1693 (Weisiger 2002). Until 1735, the lands were administered by agent and powerful Tidewater planter Robert “King” Carter, who profited immensely by his control over the survey and allocation of the grants, allocating close to 60,000 acres of the Northern Neck to his relatives (Hofstra and Mitchell 1993). When Fairfax moved to Virginia in 1735, he took over control of the proprietary, administering it from his home at Greenway, near present-day White Rock, Virginia, where his masonry office still stands (Harrison 1924).

Tension between the Proprietary and the Virginia government, ever present, heightened as settlers began to focus upon the fertile lands of the great Shenandoah Valley. Governor Gooch, who claimed the valley lands for the colony, eventually issued grants for over 300,000 acres similarly claimed by Fairfax as part of the Northern Neck (Harrison 1924). Title conflicts still in evidence during the formation of Shenandoah National Park in the 1930s can be traced back to this time. Fueled in part by disagreement over the southern boundary of the Proprietary—whether it was bounded by the present-day Rappahannock River or by its southern tributary, the Rapidan River—conflicting land grants were assigned both by the proprietor of the Northern Neck, Thomas, Lord Fairfax and by the Virginia government, particularly Governors Spotswood and Gooch (Hofstra 1990). Following an investigation into the boundaries of the land, the declaration was made that the so-called South Branch of the Rappahannock River, dubbed the Rapidan by Spotswood, marked the true southernmost boundary. Spotswood’s claims were negated. A survey completed in 1746 recorded the extent of the Fairfax land as 5,282,000 acres.

Although the Northern Neck boundary dispute was eventually settled in favor of Thomas, Lord Fairfax, the Virginia government again began granting patents to leaseholders on Fairfax land following his death in 1781. At that time, the Proprietary had been inherited by Thomas's brother Robert, the seventh Lord Fairfax, and Thomas' nephew, Rev. Denny Martin. According to state legislation, as non-Virginia citizens, Fairfax and Martin were not permitted to own land in the Commonwealth. The fact that Fairfax remained a Loyalist through the American Revolution was viewed as further justification for the confiscation of the Proprietary. The new state swiftly began selling off the Fairfax land, both to the leaseholders and to large land speculators. However, the terms of a British-American peace treaty allowed for British subjects to own land in the new nation. Martin, who inherited the remainder of the proprietary following the seventh Lord Fairfax's death in 1792, was soon embroiled in a legal battle that wound up in the Supreme Court in 1816, as Virginia staunchly opposed the position of the Federal Government. Although Martin would theoretically win his case, the lands sold by Virginia following Fairfax's death were never returned (Hofstra 1990, 1998, 2004; Lambert 1989).

Early Grants in the Lower Shenandoah

One of the earliest lands grants in the Shenandoah Valley was within this disputed territory, and illustrates the ambiguity of title caused by the dual claims of the Virginia colony and the Proprietors of the Northern Neck. This was the grant made to Pennsylvania German Jost Hite and his Scots Irish partner, Robert McKay. Following a petition to the Virginia Council in 1731, Governor Gooch allocated Hite 100,000 acres in the Lower Shenandoah Valley. In order to encourage frontier settlement, Gooch and his administration canceled the traditional 1,000 acre limit per grantee, but added a stipulation that grantees must settle one family per every 1,000 acres granted. Jost Hite was thus charged with settling 100 families on the land within two years (Hofstra 2004). Shortly before receiving his Virginia land grant, Hite had also purchased 40,000 acres in the Shenandoah Valley from his Pennsylvania neighbors John and Isaac Van Meter. By tradition, Hite arrived in Virginia (in late 1731) with sixteen families. In 1732 Robert McKay became embroiled in a lawsuit with Lord Fairfax, who asserted his proprietary rights. Fairfax already had had a dispute with Hite, whom he claimed had encroached upon his land (Dohme 1976:4; Waddill 1986:23). Nevertheless, the Hite family remained

in the Shenandoah Valley, and it was Jost Hite's grandson, Major Isaac Hite (with his wife Nelly Conway Madison Hite) who was responsible for the construction of Belle Grove Plantation, part of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, on 483 acres given to him by his father, Isaac Hite Sr.

Jost Hite invited other German settlers to Opequon Creek. In 1736 Stephen Hotsinpillar purchased 450 acres from Hite, and he and his wife Melchoir Brumback moved to Opequon, occupying a tract about a mile upstream from Hite. Another early settler was Ulrich Poker. Later, Hite's friend Peter Stephens traveled to Lancaster in Pennsylvania to advertise the Opequon settlement. He offered land at three pounds for an hundred acres. Stephens also circulated this advertisement in German. Hite later returned to Pennsylvania to recruit new settlers, including John Bowman (Baughman), whose son George became Hite's son-in-law. Other scouts worked for Hite and other large patentees. Among these was Jacob Funk. Funk operated a mill in the settlement later known as Strasburg. Members of the Funk family were still living in the area of Cedar Creek in the nineteenth century.

In four years, nearly one hundred families were settled on the Hite and McKay lands, with a significant concentration in vicinity of the Opequon Creek, near modern Winchester, Virginia (Wust 1969). In 1734, Hite added 5,018 acres along the upper Opequon Creek to his property portfolio. According to Robert Mitchell,

Hite's choice of . . . location was environmentally sound. He chose the best-watered limestone lands in the upper reaches of a stream that had few surface tributaries (1997:34).

Early grants and settlements in the Valley were administered as part of Orange County. In recognition of the difficulties faced by Valley settlers in journeying over the Blue Ridge to the courthouse in Orange, lands in the Shenandoah Valley were subdivided into two new counties in 1738. Frederick County was created to encompass the Lower Valley region, while Augusta County encompassed the Upper Valley. The counties were divided along the lines of the Northern Neck Proprietary (Mitchell 1972). By 1745, the approximate population of the Upper and Lower Valley combined numbered 10,000 persons, accounting for eight percent of Virginia's overall population. By the end of the eighteenth century, this number had risen to roughly 75,000 people,

with two-thirds located in the Lower Valley (Mitchell 1972: 470). Yet the process was not without difficulties.

While the Opequon Creek region was a locus for early settlement, no central place initially emerged, as “speculators such as Hite made no attempt to impose a spatial order on settlement” (Hofstra 1998:1306). Instead, farms were scattered along the productive, well-watered lands, with services such as shops, mills, and ordinaries similarly dispersed. Jost Hite, for example, operated an inn and a mill on his property (Hofstra 2004; Wust 1969). As noted by Robert Mitchell, the diffuse neighborhoods of the early settlers:

were kin-oriented, economically subsistent, loosely governed, and dependent upon itinerant peddlers and preachers for contact with the outside world. Settlers operated for fifteen years before the siting of a county seat induced the first movement towards village and eventually town life (1998:23).

These dispersed and kin-oriented settlements would soon become dependent upon an evolving network of small towns and villages.

Town Building

The first town to emerge in Frederick County was Winchester, established as a fledgling settlement in 1746 and granted a charter in 1752. Winchester was soon followed by other market towns along the transportation corridor (Great Wagon Road) through the Valley. In 1758, just as Fort Loudoun was completed, lots were laid out in the new town of Stephensburg (Stephens City), eight miles south of Winchester. Three years later, Strasburg was established ten miles south of Stephensburg at a bend in the Shenandoah River, and the town of Woodstock was laid out twelve miles south of Strasburg (Hofstra 2004). The events of the Seven Years’ War (also called the French and Indian War) had a considerable impact upon the development of Winchester as a central place, and by extension, on the development of other new towns. Even before it had established itself as a commercial center, Winchester served as a meeting place and as a British colonial garrison as hostilities with the French over claims to Ohio Country intensified (Hofstra 2004). Under the command of George Washington, formerly surveyor for Fairfax, construction of Fort Loudoun at Winchester commenced in 1756. The earthen and timber fort, completed in 1758, dominated the small town, while its

subsistence and craft requirements provided well-paid employment for local farmers and artisans: “meeting soldiers needs, both official and unofficial, generated considerable economic activity” (Hofstra 2004: 251). Winchester, and some extent other new towns, also provided a degree of protection to local residents from the raids and skirmishes which characterized the local experience of the broader conflict between the French, the British, and Native peoples.

The dispersed farming settlements, linked by the Great Wagon Road (formerly the Great Warrior Path, see Chapter Two), and tied economically to the expanding network of towns, were the physical setting for the social world in which eighteenth-century Valley residents lived. The varied ethnic makeup of this population will be described below.

ETHNICITY IN THE LOWER SHENANDOAH VALLEY

Modern studies of the history of the Lower Shenandoah have moved beyond the traditional focus on folklore and genealogy to an understanding of the complex whole that was Valley society. Historian Michael Puglisi argues:

The actors of history recognized that cultural diversity existed; although they may not always have appreciated the value of that diversity, they had to accommodate it in their actions. Therefore, it is essential that modern scholars of frontier areas recognize the cultural influences that contributed to the course of events in the past; and any study on culture, whether European relations with Indians or the transfer of European traditions to America, must employ interdisciplinary methodologies to gain a full picture (1998:38).

These interdisciplinary methodologies include archeology, linguistics and ethnography. If an ethnographer had visited this region in the late eighteenth century, for example, she would have encountered the conditions of cultural negotiation and enactment that modern ethnographers often observe. The study area was the geographic setting for an extremely diverse group of settlers, often with very different perspectives, and speaking at least three different languages (Scots Irish, German, and English), as well as, perhaps, Native American languages such as Virginia Algonquin, Iroquois, and eastern Siouan, in the form of several different dialects. In addition, it is also likely that some African Americans, who escaped to or were involuntarily brought to the Valley, were native speakers of various West African languages.

The roles that each of these groups played were determined by a number of factors, economic, ideological, and political. But in this remote region, power and hegemony were always being negotiated, and social encounters ritualized this negotiation in a number of ways. The wealthy Hite family, for example, expressed their status and power through massive building projects, situated on high ground. Various religious sects refused to support the official Anglican religion, building their own chapels and shunning the practices of others. In certain circumstances, however, people of these different backgrounds could find common ground, particularly when the community as a whole was threatened. A classic expression of what E. E. Evans-Pritchard called “segmentary opposition,” such groups were able to fend off outsiders who threatened their control of the region. This cooperation was limited, however, and “fault lines” began to appear; the principal ones were the presence of a large group of determined conscientious objectors tied to the so-called “Peace” churches, and the issues of slavery and secession, which ultimately divided the Valley.

The bulk of historical scholarship on the Lower Shenandoah Valley has focused upon the Scots Irish and the Germans, and particularly concentrates upon perceived differences between the two identities. As noted by Robert Mitchell in 1972, “a traditional contention of Virginia historians is that the entire valley could be regionalized on a cultural basis” (Mitchell 1972: 472). Such an assumption is based upon the belief that the two groups intentionally avoided one another and strove to maintain their own cultural habits and unique identities. Employing demographic and surname data, however, Mitchell (1972) dismissed the claim of segregated settlement, while at the same time noting that the Upper Valley (to the south of the study area, including the counties of Augusta and Rockingham) had a majority Scots Irish population in the eighteenth century.

To date, most scholarship has concentrated upon the European groups who came together in the Valley, and specifically upon the Ulster Scots and German-speaking settlers. More recently, attention has turned to addressing and understanding the experiences and contributions of African and African American peoples throughout the historic settlement of the region.

Native Americans in the Valley in the Eighteenth Century

Despite the apparent decline of Native settlement in the region, the Albany Treaty of 1722 had guaranteed to the Six Nations, who claimed rights to it by virtue of their conquest of the Susquehannocks in the 1670s, the right to travel through the valley (Gardner 1986:89-90). Increasing encroachment by European settlers impeded these passage rights, and ensured increasing hostility:

ensuing conflicts between settlers and Native Americans drove the colony to complete the settlement process and impose its own order on the backcountry by progressively erecting the institutions of county government (Hofstra 1998: 1306).

For example, hostilities broke out between a party of Iroquois and Onandaga people led by Jonnhaty and the settlers of Rockbridge County on the James River in 1742 (McIlwaine 1925, 5:95; C.O. 1742). As noted earlier, this party of Iroquois led by Jonnhaty passed through Opequon (Hofstra 2004:17-19). These conflicts spurred the establishment of frontier forts, including Fort Loudoun at Winchester, in the 1750s (see above, and Map 10).

Yet, as discussed above, the cultural tapestry of the eighteenth-century Valley also included a wide range of Native peoples, including tribal groups from at least as far north as New York, at least as far south as South Carolina, and at least as far west as Ohio. The valley served as a transportation corridor, a meeting place, a zone of trade, a zone of hunting, and at times a zone of conflict. As described in Chapter Two, Native occupation of the Lower Shenandoah Valley seems to have shifted immediately prior to European settlement. However, the archeological work carried out further south on U.S. Forest Service lands (Barber and Barfield 1997) unearthed evidence for continued Native occupation through the seventeenth century. It is highly likely that similar evidence may yet be unearthed in the region of Belle Grove Plantation and the Lower Shenandoah Valley more generally.

In a welcome effort to reconsider the history of settlement in the Shenandoah Valley from a Native American perspective, Warren Hofstra (2004) bookends his study of the planting of the Valley with a consideration of their influence on European settlement. He argues that both the physical appearance and the activities taking place in the scattered settlements around Opequon and other grant lands in the Lower Valley would have seemed familiar to the Indians: “as the Oneidas and Onondagas proceeded

south, there was as much familiar in what they experienced as foreign or threatening” (Hofstra 2004:26). He cites the prevalence of hunting, the wearing of leather clothing, the isolation of the farmsteads, and the use of log construction: “by 1740 many Iroquois lived in cabins, with only a central, open hearth and smoke hole to distinguish them from the dwellings of Europeans” (Hofstra 2004:21). In fact, given the continued use of smoke holes rather than chimneys in parts of Ireland and the continent, the early Opequon homes may well have been far more similar to Native structures than they would be to the more substantial dwellings that came to characterize vernacular architecture in the valley by the end of the eighteenth century. While such a seemingly shared European and Native backcountry material world masks complex if not dichotomous understandings of that world, Hofstra is correct in acknowledging influence of Native lifestyles on newcomers as well as contemplating how Jonnhaty and his men viewed the settlers they encountered on their journey.

The aforementioned Shawnee encampment at Shawnee Springs is likewise an example of continued Native presence in the region, where Shawnee leaders had positions of influence in diplomatic relationships involving the English, the French, and the emerging American powers.

A far different world was encountered by four Shawnee leaders—Imcatewhaywa, Wissesspoway, Genusa, and Neawah—when they were held in the bustling town of Winchester as hostages following the defeat of Native forces at Point Pleasant in October 1774 (Hofstra 2004:328). While Hofstra views the “abject state of the four bound men” as symbolic of the destruction of Native power and influence in the Valley and beyond into the interior, any further research into cultural identities in the Lower Valley region must take into account the potential for a continuing if historically-muted Native American presence. The recent efforts of the Monacan people, concentrated just east of the Blue Ridge, to reassert their Native identity and reassess their place in the history of Virginia may be instructive. While there are no known groups that claim a connection to occupation in the Lower Valley region, it is clear that the Valley was well known to a significant number of Native societies on the eastern seaboard. Their experiences and perspectives on the Valley are an integral part of regional history.

Interviews with members of the Monacan tribe, in particular, suggest that further research into Native American presence in the lower Shenandoah Valley in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would yield additional information about

continuing ties of various native groups to the region. Chapter Nine includes recommendations for further research in this area.

African Americans in the Valley

An often-overlooked element of the eighteenth-century cultural composition of the Shenandoah Valley are those settlers of African descent, some of whom found their way to the Valley as free people, although most were enslaved laborers performing both agricultural and industrial tasks. Agricultural practices imported from the Tidewater brought many African Americans to the Valley, people whose labor was crucial to the growing economy of the region. However, the lower Shenandoah was also home to Free Black communities, some of which may have been established by escaped slaves.

J. Reuben Sheeler notes that African Americans participated in some of the earliest expeditions to the Valley region, including that of Spotswood and his Knights, although “none of the negroes received a golden horseshoe nor were any of them honored with any such knighthood” (Sheeler 1958:280). One of the earliest documentary references to the presence of African Americans in the Valley notes that fifteen enslaved people escaped from a James River plantation and made their way into the Valley near to present-day Lexington in 1729 (Hofstra 2004: 86-87; Suter 1999:10). Even before this, the Blue Ridge and Allegheny mountains were recognized as refuges for escaped slaves. In 1721, Governor Spotswood announced to his Council that unknown numbers of Africans:

have lately run away & suspected to be gone towards ye great Mountains, where it may be hard to apprehend 'em, & if they shou'd encrease there, it might prove of ill consequence to ye peace of this Colony, and of great detriment to the Frontier inhabitants
(Spotswood 1621, cited in Hofstra 2004:66).

Fear that Maroon settlements might form in the mountains, as they had in Jamaica, was another factor that spurred Governor Gooch toward encouraging settlement in the Valley (Hofstra 1998:130). Other Africans were legitimately part of the early settlement of the Beverly tract (Suter 1999:10). Research is ongoing to explore the ways in which African and African American cultures and beliefs contributed to the ethnic variety of life in the Shenandoah Valley region. Historian Ellen Eslinger (1997) has argued that the transference and maintenance of African cultural beliefs in the Valley was minimal, because many of the enslaved people brought to the valley in the

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were children or adolescents. However, it seems more likely that while the documentary record may underplay the contributions of African Americans to Shenandoah folklife, the material and ethnographic records may well indicate otherwise.

By the 1750s, there were at least 80 African Americans resident in Augusta County (Simmons 1997:160), a population which included both free and enslaved individuals. Among those individuals was an unnamed blacksmith mentioned in the 1753 correspondence of Moravian missionary Brother Gottlob. As described by Gottlob, the Free Black artisan was married to a woman from Scotland, spoke German in addition to English, and had recently moved to the Valley from Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Historian Susanne Simmons has identified this man as Edward Tarr, and traced his experience in frontier Augusta County. Tarr and his wife Ann Moore arrived sometime prior to 1753, purchasing land, setting up the smithing business, and becoming members of the Timber Ridge Presbyterian Church. The social tolerance demonstrated by Tarr's success in the 1750s evaporated by the 1770s. As slaveholding took hold in the Valley, and the fears of eastern Virginia whites seeped across the mountains, Free Black individuals found themselves under threat. In 1772, Tarr had sold his land at a loss and he and his wife moved to Staunton. According to Simmons, "forsaking the rural life for the anonymity of a city was a pattern consistent with the Free Black experience in Virginia at the time" (Simmons 1997:163).

Scots Irish in the Valley

One of the first Scots Irish settlers at Opequon Creek area was Robert Allen. Allen was born in County Armagh, and immigrated to the colonies with his wife and young son. Allen purchased 650 acres from Jost Hite. He was joined by several other English or northern Irish families there, including the Cartmells, the Becketts, the Glasses, and the Vances. Scots Irish immigrants built houses on an Old World pattern, "a square building of poles, notched at the ends to keep them fast together. The chimney a pile of stones" (Leyburn 1962:259).

Despite the fact that writer John C. Campbell (1921) was already well aware that the Southern backcountry was a "land about which, perhaps, more things are known that are not true than any other part of our country," and despite at least twenty years of scholarly evaluation of the stories first codified by the local colorists and strengthened by

politicians and sociologists, some of the same assumptions still hold sway, as efforts to assign a particular ethnic identities to backcountry culture continue into the present. One of the more well-known (and widely critiqued) recent efforts is that by David Hackett Fischer (1989), who attempted to explain a presumably uniform Southern upland ethnicity, chiefly characterized by violence, independence, and laziness, in terms of a so-called Scots Irish “border culture.”

Others have gone even further to promote the hegemony of a particular cultural group, as Grady McWhiney and Forrest MacDonald have done (MacDonald and McWhiney 1985; McWhiney and MacDonald 1989). These scholars controversially assert that Southern culture, or what McWhiney labels “cracker culture,” is entirely “Celtic” in origin. Ignoring almost two thousand years of British, Irish, and European history, McWhiney and MacDonald lump all migrants from Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and portions of England into the “Celtic” category, presenting their modern-day Celts as unchanged from those continental Celts who proved to be Rome’s downfall: “The opulently easy society of the Southern plain folk on the eve of the Civil War represented the culmination of many centuries of Celtic tradition” (1989:111).

McWhiney and his colleagues view the eighteenth-century migration of the Scots Irish as the genesis for their “celtic cracker culture” (notwithstanding the fact that contemporary Ulster Scots people in the North of Ireland are far less likely to view themselves as “Celtic” as opposed to those who self-identify as Gaelic Irish). According to McWhiney, these Ulster migrants “despised hard work, anything English, most government, fences, and any other restraint upon them and their free-ranging livestock” (1988:8). The perception that the Shenandoah region was overrun by wild Scots Irish echoes that of William Byrd II, who lamented in the 1730s that

They flock over thither in such numbers, that there is not elbow room for them. They swarm like the Goths and Vandals of old and will over-spread our Continent soon
(Robinson 1979:146).

The demographic realities of the Valley should have assuaged Byrd’s fears. An estimate from Berkeley and Frederick Counties (Robinson 1979:146) found the population of 1775 to have been 38% English, 29.5% German, and 28% Scots Irish. The entire Valley at that time, according to Robinson, was 37.8% Scots Irish, although his estimates do not take into account the presence of African Americans or of Native Americans.

One assumption underlying much of the work of the MacDonalds, Grady McWhiney, and David Hackett Fischer is that settlers of Ulster descent used the land differently from their English and German counterparts. Although James Lemon (1972) easily demonstrated that in the Pennsylvania colony there is no empirical basis for the claim that Scots Irish settlers disdained fertile land for supposedly familiar rocky hillsides, later Virginia geographers such as Eugene Wilhelm continued to insist that:

habits dictated that they seek hill country, rather than the more fertile lowlands of the adjoining Shenandoah Valley and Piedmont. The settlers invented little if anything new (1982:15-17).

Echoing Wilhelm's interpretation is the characterization of another geographer, Karl Raitz,

The Scotch-Irish brought the Celtic dispersed farm with cattle-grazing and kitchen garden common in Ireland and Scotland. Members of each group moved in single family units onto the uplands. The Scotch-Irish often squatted on land in forested coves and mountainsides (1984:115).

While American (mis)understandings of the agricultural habits of the Scots Irish highlight the influence of a herding lifestyle, examinations of the migrating Ulster Scots from the other side of the Atlantic instead emphasize the fact that most migrants were drawn from the middle tier of society, and chiefly from cereal-producing regions and the manufacturing sector. According to a 1773 article in the *Londonderry Journal*:

The greatest part of these Emigrants paid their passage. . . most of them people employed in the Linen Manufacture, or Farmers, and of some property. . . Their removal is terribly felt in this country. . . the North of Ireland has in this last five or six years been drained of one fourth of its trading cash, and the like proportion of the manufacturing people— Where the evil will end, remains only in the womb of time to determine (Schlegel 2001:28).

Far from a wild, uncultivated landscape, Ulster was experiencing extensive commercial expansion in the early eighteenth century; “by the early 1700s even the most marginal of Ulster counties displayed considerable signs of growth” (Pollock 1997: 65). The Ulster migrants who made their way to the Shenandoah Valley, then, had experience in a range of commercial agricultural ventures, carried out in a cultural landscape dominated by a network of villages, small towns, and expanding cities. Furthermore, this immigrant group was not drawn solely from the ranks of Ulster Scots



Figure 4: Farm, Frederick County Virginia.
Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Presbyterians, as is often assumed. While the vast majority of eighteenth-century migrants from the north of Ireland were Protestant, the group included Anglicans as well as Presbyterians, and likely adherents of smaller sects as well. Viewed from the European side of the Atlantic Ocean, the Scots Irish culture described by Fischer and McWhiney appears to be wholly an American construction.

Germans in the Valley

While the cultural habits of the Scots Irish in the Shenandoah Valley have received scholarly attention, somewhat less analysis has occurred in relation to German-speaking migrants. As noted by the historian A.G. Roeber,

historians of British North America have recently rediscovered an interest in immigration history and the social-cultural world created by the mingling of peoples in the eighteenth-century colonies. The observant among them will have marked, amid fine studies of the English, Scots, and Dutch, along with renewed scrutiny of involuntary Afro-American immigration, the absence of equivalent work on the German-speaking colonists. [Furthermore,] the conceptual net cast by scholars intent on catching the German presence in the colonies must be sufficiently fine

webbed to snare local cultural history. It must also be thrown broadly enough to encompass differences among “Germans” who came from very different political and agricultural regions, even within the southwestern principalities as a whole (Roeber 1987: 750, 770).

Although Jost Hite’s original settlement at Opequon Creek is north of the present boundaries of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, Hite’s daughter Mary and her husband George Bowman settled further south on Cedar Creek, occupying a 1000-acre tract, and building the house that came to be known as Fort Bowman (Harmony Hall, CEBE0047). Another daughter, Magdalena, and her husband Jacob Chrisman purchased land from Jost Hite in 1740. In 1732, Jost Hite’s son Isaac and his son-in-law George Bowman took up more land along the North Fork of the Shenandoah River. Although Isaac Hite’s original log home was destroyed by fire, the standing house, known as Long Meadow (CEBE0097), was built on its original foundations. Long Meadow is located on the properties of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park and is currently occupied by Colonel George Pasquet and his wife, who is a Hite, Brumback and Bowman family descendant. Other features of Isaac Sr.’s tenure at Long Meadow and the house and dependencies at Harmony Hall (also on park property) represent the early settlement period in the Lower Valley, as well as a number of other sites and features identified in recently conducted archeological surveys on park properties (Geier and Tinkham 2006).

Donald Linebaugh’s archeological investigation of German settlers in the Valley suggests that in the early nineteenth century, there remained distinct differences between these settlers and their Scots Irish and Anglo neighbors (1998:16). For German settlers, decorative arts, furniture, and diet were recognizably German, while other aspects of material culture were “creolized,” representing an integration of mainstream practices into their existing system (Linebaugh 1998). Particularly in architecture, German settlers hid a traditional interior behind an I-house façade (Glassie 1968; Chappell 1986:34).

Just as it is impossible to assess the impact of the Ulster migration on the landscape and habits of the backcountry without an accurate understanding of the motivations for emigrants and the agricultural background from which they came, until we can understand the background of the German-speaking settlers to the Shenandoah Valley, we can never hope to understand and delineate any evidence of their “German”

identity in their Valley experiences. Interestingly, just as Ulster scholars have emphasized the complexity in the background of Ulster migrants, and particularly their involvement in commercial enterprise, German scholars are finding a similar pattern in researching the background experiences of German-speaking migrants:

Research by students of German history show that the Rhineland, from which came the overwhelming proportion of the German speakers, was a region whose peasant inhabitants were not strangers to large-scale, international trade, production for markets beyond local villages, saving of income, and experimentation with crops to provide a cushion in hard times
(Keller 1997:100).

Other scholars have focused upon regional differentiation within the colonies, with many particularly vexed by the assumption that the Shenandoah Valley represents a continuum of Pennsylvania society (and by extension cannot be considered “Southern”). Kenneth Keller argues for a differentiation between Pennsylvania German society and that of the German-speaking settlers in the Shenandoah Valley:

In many ways, the less densely populated and more remote and marginal Rhinelanders’ settlements on the Virginia frontier were different from those [of] Pennsylvania and Maryland. The outlook of Rhinelanders on the Virginia frontier was less focused on communal life and more open to bicultural mingling with the dominant culture of Anglo-American inhabitants
(1997: 99).

Their story represents one of the major issues in present-day Shenandoah Valley scholarship, as understanding of the African American experience in the Valley from the eighteenth century through the twentieth century has been overshadowed by emphasis upon the European cultural groups who settled in the region, and has also been obscured by widespread misperceptions about the presence of slavery in the Valley, and the attitudes of white Valley settlers towards enslavement and the use of enslaved labor. Scholarship on the African American population of the Valley, and on the institution of slavery in the Valley, is discussed in Chapter Four.

Ethnicity and Slavery

Traditional assumptions about the practices and beliefs of German, Scots Irish, and English settlers in the Valley often revolve around attitudes towards slavery, with the Scots Irish and Germans generally interpreted as averse to the practice. Historian John

Wayland, writing in 1957, sought to avoid any discussion about slavery or the contributions of African Americans to Valley life:

In speaking of the various race elements, we must not overlook the Negroes. They have never been numerous in the Shenandoah Valley. . . . The Germans, as a rule, were opposed to slavery—very few of them had slaves. The Quakers, too, opposed it. The majority of slaves in the Valley were held by the English from east of the ridge and by the Scotch-Irish, but even among them slaves were by no means numerous. . . . From the days of the first settlement the majority of the families lived on rather small farms and did their own work (Wayland 1957:83).

Wayland clearly wished to promote what has become the prevailing image of the Shenandoah Valley—that of a prototypical American landscape, replete with farmers engaged in small-scale agricultural production, entwined in a close knit economic and social relationship with their neighbors and kin, and sharing in a rich ethnic heritage. However, just as the Valley in reality exhibited a social hierarchy and clear economic stratification, there is no compelling evidence to support the idea that any one ethnic group wholly eschewed the practice of slavery. As stated by Klaus Wust,

Much has been written by German-American authors and repeated by others about the deep aversion Germans in Virginia had for the institution of slavery. There is no contemporary evidence in the extant letters, diaries, and church records to support such a sweeping claim (Wust 1969:121).

In the 1760s, ten percent of the Shenandoah Valley farming families owned enslaved workers, with a higher concentration of slave owning in the Lower Valley. By 1783, 38% of households in Frederick County included enslaved people, compared to 22 percent in the Upper Valley in 1782 (which dropped to 17 percent in 1800) (Mitchell 1972:484). In contrast to the majority of slaveholders, who owned fewer than five individuals, Isaac Hite called 38 enslaved people his property in 1782. There is some evidence to support the argument that religious affiliation amongst whites in the Valley impacted upon attitudes towards slavery. As described by Stephen Longenecker, there existed no majority religious identity in the Valley, “making the Shenandoah a community of minorities” (Longenecker 2000:185). Amongst these minority groups were Anglicans, Baptists, Lutherans, Methodists, Mennonites, Presbyterians, Quakers, Reformed, United Brethren, and Brethren (or Dunkers). Of those groups, the Mennonites, Dunkers, and Methodists shared an opposition to slavery (Brunk 1959-72;

Longenecker 2000, 2002). However, by the 1830s the Methodists in the Valley had muted their earlier opposition to slavery, and the church included slaveholders within its ranks and even among the clergy (Longenecker 2000). By contrast, the Mennonites and the Dunkers maintained their opposition to the institution of slavery, forcing some to flee the Valley during the course of the Civil War. That the Dunkers and Mennonites originated from the German Anabaptist tradition may explain the persistence of the idea that Germans in the Valley were not slaveholders. However, the Anabaptists in the Valley represented a minority of the German settler population, and a small minority of the overall white population (see also Chapters Four and Seven).

The ethnic complexity of the Valley provides the background for the developing “town and country” landscape that represented a distinctive Shenandoah characteristic. This unique landscape and its people will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE LOWER SHENANDOAH VALLEY IN THE ANTEBELLUM PERIOD

Inspired by the inclusive histories of the *Annales* school, which suggest that past societies are best understood by building up a layered narrative that describes material surroundings and ways of thought, as reflected in settlement and surviving artifacts and buildings and in the writings or recorded speech of the common people themselves (e.g., Braudel 1980), the following discussion will attempt to identify cultural and economic patterns that were representative of Lower Shenandoah Valley society, sometimes referred to as the “backcountry” pattern, prior to the Civil War. A number of these are significant to an understanding of the development of Belle Grove plantation and the farms that surrounded it, properties that now make up the area encompassed by Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park.

Warren Hofstra argues that from its beginnings in the mid-eighteenth century, the principal organizing model of the backcountry society was “competence”: an adherence to a modest, family-oriented subsistence, which acted as a brake on conspicuous consumption and the unequal distribution of wealth. According to Hofstra,

The settlement of Opequon occurred at a time and in a place in which values and necessity combined to constrain acquisitiveness and ambition. There the primacy of competency over competition in the mentality of settlers would have had a significant impact on the landscape they created (2004:118).

Another distinctive aspect of the backcountry was its ethnicity. Unlike the Tidewater region of Virginia, settled primarily by emigrants from England and soon enslaved Africans, new backcountry settlers were of German and Scots Irish descent, as well as African and African American (Hofstra 2004:84). It was members of these groups, particularly Jost Hite, Peter Stephens, and Robert Allen, of Scots Irish descent, who settled at Opequon and founded families that played an important role in the development of Valley society (Kercheval 1925; Cartmell 1909:1; O’Dell 1995:488-491).

As noted in the previous chapter, further distinctiveness was religious. Nearly all the settlers in the study area were members of Protestant sects, most deriving from the reformed tradition of the German and Scottish churches. The rejection of an established

clergy, church hierarchy, and the sacraments made them non-conformists, as did their disdain for such features of the Established Church as the Book of Common Prayer. These sects relied on their own reading of the scripture, and on those from their own congregations to guide them in worship and in life. Another significant new group in the region was the Quakers, led by Alexander Ross. Ross too had received a patent from the Virginia Council, and obtained a patent for 2,373 acres in 1735. Ross and his partner Morgan Bryan had brought seventy families to the colonies, and approximately 30 of these settled in the area. The Quaker meeting was established there, later the important community known as Hopewell. The establishment of Frederick County in 1738 also created Frederick Parish, which was governed by an elected vestry. Theoretically, the vestry was responsible for creating a place of worship for the established Anglican church of the colony, but no such structure was undertaken in the subsequent twenty years. This was due in part to the decentralized nature of settlement in the region, and to the disinclination of many of the region's German and Scots Irish residents to comply with such rules. Instead, they built a number of chapels and meeting houses in their own communities. Scots Irish immigrants built the Presbyterian Church at Opequon on the land of William Hoge, and the Friends built a stone meeting house on the property of Alexander Ross.

The first Great Awakening, the Protestant revival that sent evangelical ministers into mission fields as far flung as the Virginia backcountry in the mid-eighteenth century, wrought an ideological transformation in Virginia as it entered the revolutionary period. Rhys Isaac's seminal study, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790* (1982), reveals the ways in which the equalitarian tenets of dissenting Baptists and Methodists were subverting the social authority of elite Anglo-Virginian planters, stewards of Virginia's established state religion. Evangelical Protestant beliefs in the equality of all souls before God, the legitimacy of immediate conversion, and Methodists' and Baptists' official denunciation of slavery as late as the early nineteenth century brought large number of African Americans into the folds of these evangelical denominations. (For further information on religious groups in the Valley, see Chapter Seven.)

The entrepreneurial spirit which drove settlement in the Lower Shenandoah Valley in the mid-eighteenth century led to the development of a mixed agricultural and industrial economy. From the initial establishment of dispersed subsistence farms, the Lower Valley exchange economy began to shift more heavily toward commercial

production (Hofstra 2004:307). Newspaper advertisements placed by merchants such as John Conrad of Winchester demonstrate increasing links to the Atlantic commodities trade (e.g. *Virginia Centennial Gazette*, October 1792), while, in the study area, the accounts of the Stickle family (see below) detail a mixed farming/manufacturing subsistence typical of middling farmers. Herds of cattle were driven to Philadelphia, while wheat production expanded and commercial milling operations were established. Tobacco gained a slight foothold in eastern Frederick County, while hemp was also produced, allowing farmers to take advantage of government subsidies (Mitchell 1998). The expansion of Winchester as a central place brought a new range of goods and social practices to the Valley. Items such as tea and coffee pots begin to appear in rural inventories, alongside manufactured furniture and up-to-date English ceramics such as Wedgwood's creamware, or "Queensware" (Hofstra and Mitchell 1993). Twenty-one stores operated in Winchester by 1787, providing all manner of commodities to the local and regional population. While the communities of the Valley at mid-century had become well-established, with an increasing network of towns and expansion in commercial activities, not all settlers remained. The valley continued to serve as a corridor for westward movement, channeling settlers to the new territories of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee (Hofstra 2004:334).

The Revolutionary War

Just as the Seven Years' War encouraged economic development in Frederick County and the Shenandoah Valley more broadly, so too did the American Revolution (Hart 1942; Hoffman et al. 1985). Although the Valley was not the scene of any military clashes, Valley farms and towns were drawn into the conflict, providing soldiers from the local militias, expanding wheat and livestock production to feed the armies, and ratcheting up production of hemp destined for cordage (Hofstra 2004:282). Frederick County sent a company of riflemen, under the direction of Daniel Morgan, to Boston in 1775 to join the forces under the command of George Washington, while Major Isaac Hite of Belle Grove served as an aide to General Muhlenberg (Wayland 1957). Throughout the conflict, Winchester was employed as a depot for prisoners of war (Bell 1990; Hart 1942; Lambert 1989; Wayland 1957).

Its relative distance from open hostility during the War gave the Lower Valley an advantage in the increasingly competitive economy of the late eighteenth century:

Because the Shenandoah Valley did not suffer post-Revolutionary War economic shocks as intensely as coastal areas, economic growth and the consolidation of earlier developments would define the final period of eighteenth-century development (Hofstra and Geier 1996:214).

Population Growth

Overall, growth continued throughout the Valley and the southern backcountry region as a whole throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. The population of the Southern Appalachians in 1790 hovered around 200,000, but by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the population had risen to 318,000. The population grew rapidly, and by 1850, over 1,000,000 persons were reported in the Census as residing in the general Southern Upland region (McNeill 1989:2). The Valley itself continued to expand in terms of both population and production, with an increase in urban growth. Closer to the Cedar Creek region, the overall population of Frederick County in 1800 stood at 21,375. Despite the importance of Winchester as a central place, the county's population was overwhelmingly rural in its residency patterns. Fully 85.3 percent of the population lived on farms, with only 12.4 percent living in towns, and a scant 2.3 percent classed as village residents (Mitchell 2000:44). Of the small urban population:

Winchester supported a merchant community of perhaps fifty to sixty storekeepers and wholesalers, who maintained extensive trading connections with Philadelphia, Alexandria, and Baltimore (Mitchell 2000:38).

While these numbers suggest that the population was stable, and growing through natural increase, in reality in-migration played a far more important role in population growth because of the impact of westward migration (Briceland 1987). Fewer than half of the names that appear on the Frederick County census returns for 1790 appear on the 1800 census, suggesting a considerable degree of movement from the county, as well as into it (Mitchell 2000:38). The construction of the Valley Turnpike along the Old Warrior Path, begun in 1796, facilitated the movement of settlers south and westward just as it facilitated the movement of goods from the backcountry to the centers of the East and the Northeast. Understanding the position of the Valley as both a corridor and supplier to the South and the West is central to gauging its political significance to the rest of Virginia, as well as for assessing the allegiances and concerns of its populace. As Robert Mitchell argues, "the ultimate issue in backcountry studies is to

define the changing relationship between the interior and the larger settled East” (1998:27).

In the first half of the nineteenth century, there was a considerable amount of interest in the improvement of transportation systems. Turnpikes, canals, and railroads were constructed. In 1798, the Shenandoah Company received a charter from the General Assembly, which authorized it to operate a fleet of flatboats on the Shenandoah River. Bishop James Madison noted in 1807 that the Great Wagon Road had become a major public thoroughfare, and that Winchester had become a significant trade center. Madison also noted a number of mills operating near Middletown and Cedar Creek, including one owned by the Hites. When John Wood made a map of Frederick County, he showed the network of roads that traversed the countryside and identified a number of small towns, mill seats, taverns, and churches (Map 11).

By the end of the eighteenth century, Frederick County was characterized by numerous farmsteads and small settlements, some of which appear on the 1778 map of Winchester drawn by Thomas Fisher. Rural churches were important nuclei of community life, as were the water-powered mills that ground the wheat and corn families used to supply their own needs and increasingly sent on to more distant markets in such port towns as Alexandria, Virginia. By 1820 Frederick County’s population had grown to 24,706 from 19,681 in 1790, while Shenandoah County similarly flourished, growing from 10,510 to 18,926 (Table 1; see also Appendix B).

The mean size of farms in Frederick County declined from 358.4 acres in 1782 to 289.2 acres in 1820. Yet, the surplus wealth generated by a commercial farm economy fueled farm families’ participation in the rising consumerism of the Atlantic world at the same time that wealth was becoming more concentrated. Hofstra and Mitchell’s examination of household inventories in the Lower Valley during the transitional period from the 1740s to 1800 shows that more families were buying luxury items like chinaware. During this period, the enslaved population grew from 4,250 to 7,179 in Frederick County and from 512 to 1,901 in Shenandoah County. Their examination links the families’ growing consumerism to the wealth generated by an enslaved labor force: “by 1800, county inventories clearly indicated that an increased reliance on slaves—



Map 11: John Wood map.
Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

appearing in 3 per cent of the inventories in the 1740s and rising regularly to 30 percent by 1800—was associated with market agriculture” (Hofstra and Mitchell 1993).

In the Lower Shenandoah Valley, as commercial agriculture became dominant, the region developed an interdependent farm-hamlet-town landscape, with towns serving as consumer emporiums. Winchester became the regional hub for dispersal of consumer goods coming from Philadelphia and Baltimore, supplying the vital link between large urban markets and small towns like Middletown or Stephens City. As Hofstra and Mitchell (1993) point out, “in organizing the retail import trade in dry goods Winchester took on its most important urban function.” This settlement landscape presented significant contrasts with the open-country landscapes of Tidewater Virginia, where plantations served as hubs of commerce and artisan services in a scattered rural environment. Settlement patterns in the Lower Shenandoah Valley, then, brought African Americans and whites into daily contact, as they worked and lived on the land.

**Table 1:
Demographic Overview of the
Lower Shenandoah Valley, 1790-1910**

	1790	1820	1850	1860	1870	1880	1910
Clarke County							
White	—	—	3,614	3,707	4,511	5,145	5,568
Free Black	—	—	124	64	2,159	2,537	1,900
Slave	—	—	3,614	3,375	—	—	—
Total	—	—	7,352	7,146	6,670	7,682	7,468
Frederick County							
White	15,315	16,557	12,769	13,079	13,863	14,997	12,093
Free Black	116	970	912	1,208	2,733	2,556	694
Slave	4,250	7,179	2,294	2,259	—	—	—
Total	19,681	24,706	15,975	16,546	16,596	17,553	12,787
Shenandoah County							
White	9,979	16,708	12,565	12,827	14,260	17,198	20,448
Free Black	19	317	292	316	676	1,006	493
Slave	512	1,901	911	753	—	—	—
Total	10,510	18,926	13,769	13,896	14,936	18,207	20,942
Warren County							
White	—	—	4,564	4,583	4,611	5,958	7,457
Free Black	—	—	366	284	1,105	1,441	1,131
Slave	—	—	1,748	1,575	—	—	—
Total	—	—	6,607	6,442	5,716	7,399	8,589

Both African Americans and whites enjoyed considerable mobility as they transported wheat and corn to creek-side mills or other farm products and goods to commercial entrepôts.

The Rise of Wheat Agriculture and Industry in the Valley

From an economic point of view, the most important development for the Valley in the antebellum period was the expansion of the commercial wheat economy. By 1840, Valley farms were providing one fifth the entire wheat crop for Virginia, increasing to 22 percent at mid-century (Koons 2000b:6). The production of wheat was not limited to the Valley's largest farms. Instead, nearly every farmer produced the grain, which was subsequently ground in local mills and transported to major market towns within the region, to be shipped as far away as Richmond and Baltimore. Grain was moved along the roads (including the Great Wagon Road, which was macadamized in the 1840s) as well on the rivers. Agricultural census data for 1850 indicates that 96 percent of Valley farms were growing wheat, much of it destined for market.

The Lower Valley also saw the establishment of a variety of industrial enterprises, including mills, potteries, and foundries. Engagement of African American labor in

industrial work in the study area had its roots in the pre-Revolutionary period with Isaac Zane employing “many slaves” in his Marlboro Iron Works, located north of Meadow Mills on Cedar Creek (Fithian in Bardzell n.d.). The remains of this mill have been identified (Geier and Tinkham 2006).

The development of the Valley iron industry continued in the antebellum years. Capitalizing upon the forest resources of the Blue Ridge, the widespread presence of iron ore along the edges of the mountains, and the wide availability of limestone in the Valley, to be used as flux, ensured that iron was a major product for the region. By the 1840s, over 75 furnaces were in operation in the Shenandoah Valley, illustrating the strong economic interdependency between the Blue Ridge and the Valley. The pig iron produced in the Redwell blast furnace originated from mountain ores and was smelted with charcoal made from mountain timber. The Shenandoah Iron Works, established in the 1830s, operated a series of furnaces likewise dependent upon mountain ore and timber. The remains of one substantial iron furnace survive just inside the boundaries of Shenandoah National Park. Situated along the now-closed Brown’s Gap Road, the Mount Vernon Furnace was established in 1830 and operated through the 1870s, requiring an estimated total of 28,000 acres of timber to produce the charcoal necessary to fire the furnace (Foss 1976; Lambert 1989:76-85). The massive masonry ruins of the furnace, looming twenty-five feet above Madison Run at the base of Furnace Mountain, serves as a clear reminder of the role of manufacturing in the economic history of the Valley, although the reforested nature of the terrain and the lack of any interpretation of industrialization within the boundaries of Shenandoah National Park renders this history, and thus the labor of countless African American laborers, nearly forgotten.

The agricultural operation at Belle Grove Plantation (discussed in detail, below) must have fulfilled many of the functions of a village, not unlike a Tidewater plantation. Isaac Hite, Jr. operated a sawmill, gristmill, distillery, and general store at his plantation, serving the local community as well as adding to family profits. By the 1830s, Hite owned 7,500 acres and controlled an enslaved labor force of over one hundred people. The experiences of enslaved people at Belle Grove were thus more similar to those of enslaved individuals east of the Blue Ridge. As noted in the previous chapter, the majority of enslaved people in the Valley worked on small farms or businesses, often being hired out locally for seasonal jobs. By contrast, the Hite slaves were tied to the

landholdings of the Hite family plantation, but may have been able to maintain a more cohesive community through sheer numbers and daily contact with one another.

Town Development: Middletown, Virginia in the Antebellum Period

A representative history of town development in the Lower Valley can be found in that of Middletown, Virginia, the town contiguous to the boundaries of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park.⁵ The land that became Middletown was part of 2,186-acre specific grant to Jost Hite in 1734. The next several decades saw the conveyance of these properties to George Harris (or Harrison) and Robert Warth (or Dfwarfe). Warth's sons conveyed the land to Peter Senseney (Cartmell 1909:486). Senseney had previously owned a grist mill on Meadow Brook near modern Route 11. Senseney hired Jacob Danner, a mechanic and clockmaker, to lay out the lots in 1794. Not on a major crossroads but a "middle place" between Strasburg and Stephens City, and on the Valley Road, Middletown was primarily residential, but the famous Wayside Inn, built in the 1790s, was a well-known stop along the way. Danner continued to serve an important leadership role in the community until his death in 1850.

Most of the occupants of the town were tradesmen, who served the large estates in the area, and those passing through. Slave ownership in the town itself was limited. Middletown was early associated with the Wesleyan Methodist Church and the German-speaking United Brethren in Christ. Early in the nineteenth century there were two schools, one for each language group. Only the elite planters were associated with the Anglican or Episcopal Church, and the location of the first Anglican Vestry chapel is unknown. St. Thomas Chapel, a National Register property, was not erected until 1836. In Middletown itself, peoples of German descent, African Americans, and Scots Irish residents co-existed. The log cabin at 7805 Church Street was built by German-American Ezer Eliss in 1804. The Hoffman House, located at 7827 Main Street, was built as a single-story log house in 1797 by Isaac Klotz. It has been in the Hoffman family since 1852, and is still unplumbed. On the 1810 Rhodes Tavern site is a house (built between 1830 and 1850) and a number of outbuildings that may date to the eighteenth century.

The town retains many buildings from its early settlement period. More than a dozen log buildings, now clad with wood siding, were built before 1800. The so-called

⁵ The bulk of this section is derived from the U.S. Dept. of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, Middletown Historic District, Form 10-900.

Caroline Jenkins Cabin was built between 1790 and 1810. Researchers suggest that it may originally have served as a slave quarter for the Wright House. Sarah Willey sold this property to African American Abraham Jenkins, a Methodist minister, and his wife Caroline Jenkins, a freed slave. She lived there until 1907. Her nephew still owns the property today. A number of properties are directly related to the town's early African American history, including the Wayside Inn, Middletown's oldest continuously operated commercial establishment; St. Thomas' Chapel, which had a slave gallery; and the log church conveyed to the Methodist African American congregation in 1872. Senseney Avenue, parallel to Main Street, has three structures important to the Middletown African American community. These include the Methodist church, constructed in 1818. In 1878, this structure was conveyed to the African American congregation there, and was then known as the Middletown Missionary Church. The African American Methodists built a new church in the late nineteenth century, known as the Mt. Zion Methodist Church. The one-story building at 7883 Senseney Avenue later served as an African American school from 1939 and 1960.

In 1809 geographer Charles Varle described Middletown as:

situated on the road to Staunton, and in a fine and fertile county, partly limestone land; it contains about 50 houses and 150 souls. Here several taverns and stores are kept. A number of mechanics reside there (Kalbian 1999:14).

Middletown, sometimes known as "Clock Town," had garnered a reputation as a center of sophisticated watch making. The home of one of its highly skilled clockmakers, Jacob Danner, still stands in Middletown, as does the home of inventor James Ridings. In his history of Frederick County, T. K. Cartmell notes of Middletown that "The old town is entitled to recognition as a manufacturing point. Clocks made at Middletown as far back as 1786 were noted timekeepers, and were in demand far and near. What a lucrative business resulted from this single trade" (Cartmell 1909:235). James Ridings, whose house and shop stand today on First Street, is celebrated by Cartmell as the inventor of a threshing machine ca. 1817. Cartmell claims that Ridings' invention was "the first successful effort to produce a machine to supplant the flail and threshing floor, to thresh wheat from the straw in this county, had its start in the same town" (Cartmell 1909:235). Daniel Stickley, whose property bounded the Hite property in the nineteenth century

(see below), operated one of these machines, and they were still in communal use among some Valley neighbors in the early twentieth century (interview with Floyd Wine, 2006).

Middletown had its amusements in the early eighteenth century as well, aside from church going and camp meetings that marked the lives of the Valley's enterprising farm folk. In his *History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley*, J. E. Norris notes that:

Racing horses was indulged in by almost all gentlemen of the days of 1812-1814. Race courses were kept up in the vicinity of every town that made any claims to be anything at all. There were courses at Charlestown, Berryville, Middletown, Shepherdstown, Hardscrabble, Winchester, Martinsburg and other points, and considerable sums were offered as prizes
(Norris 1890).

Traveling Through the Lower Valley

The 1825 travel account of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, recording his journey from Harper's Ferry to the Natural Bridge, suggests that many were struck by the great natural beauty of the Lower Shenandoah Valley as well as by the tidy, carefully tended rural landscape of its prospering farm families in the early nineteenth century. Passing through unpopulated wooded areas, he noted that "We forded many creeks, the most considerable of them is called Cedar Creek. We observed also some grist-mills." As he traveled between Winchester and Strasburg on the Great Wagon Road, later known as the Valley Turnpike, the Duke noted that:

the places between Winchester and Woodstock were not considerable, except Strasburg, which is more ancient than the others, and appears to have a larger population. The houses are generally of wood and covered with shingles, although a great number of stone are found here
(cited in Wayland 1957:241).

Saxe-Weimar also described the scenic mountain views and commented on the rural landscape around Strasburg:

The country was pretty well cultivated, and by the exterior appearance of many country-houses, we were induced to believe their inhabitants enjoyed plenty. The enclosures of fields were here, for the most part, the above-mentioned old fences, yet next to the houses they are of masonry carefully formed. As it appeared, they travel here much on horseback. *On account of great distances between the plantations, almost all the ladies can ride on horseback; we met several of them elegantly dressed, and also black women.* The race of horses in this country appears to be a very strong one. They use also oxen for drawing; to many carts were put two oxen, and before them two horses
(cited in Wayland 1957:241, emphasis added).

Most notable in this description is the depiction of a people of a variety of backgrounds and ethnicities in motion up and down the Valley Pike. Mrs. Pat Long, a Middletown African American interviewed for this study, suggests the long tradition within which this independent mobility is rooted. Walking linked rural African American families and neighborhoods. As she noted, her “mother’s cousins from back in the country, they would walk to town”(interview with Pat Long, 2006).

Middletown is a physical expression of the many social, economic, political, and religious influences that affected the study area. Its present-day appearance is a lucky accident, as it has so far avoided the changes that are destroying the “town and country” character of the Lower Shenandoah.

A SOCIAL PORTRAIT OF THE LOWER SHENANDOAH VALLEY IN THE LATE ANTEBELLUM PERIOD

Ethnic Identity in the Valley

Religious historian Stephen Longenecker suggests that forces were at work in the Valley in the nineteenth century that could be viewed as part of a wider process by which the disparate ethnic communities of eighteenth-century Valley society took on a sense of national identity. That there was a growing homogenization of identity for white Valley residents was explored in an architectural study by Edward Chappell. Chappell argued that the replacement of the distinctive German *flurküchenhausen*, as exemplified by eighteenth-century structures such as Fort Paul Long, Fort Rhodes, and Fort Egypt, all located in Page County, with the ubiquitous brick or stone, central passage I-house of the nineteenth century underscored the acculturation of the Virginia Germans:

Only after 1800, at the point when the Massanutten Germans were willing to plunge wholeheartedly into the Anglo culture of Virginia and universally adopted the I-house as their favored dwelling, did German architecture pass from the landscape (Chappell 1986:27).

Since the publication of Chappell’s study, understanding of Valley German identity and its material expressions has become more nuanced. Ann McCleary (2000) has examined the I-houses in Augusta County and found that while the outward appearance of the dwellings suggested a shared identity and understanding, interior use of space and decorative treatment differed. McCleary offers several examples from

Augusta County to underline her point. The Plecker-Wise House, an early nineteenth-century I-house, was lavishly decorated on the interior with marbleizing and spongework, attributed by McCleary to Germanic tradition with local variation. Perhaps of greater interest than the Blaecker family's (builders of the aforementioned house and of German heritage) choice to incorporate such decorative elements is the fact that several of their neighbors did as well, including some of Ulster Scots and English extraction. Throughout Augusta County, and by extension the remainder of the Valley, farm families incorporated the new I-house form but, McCleary suggests, made it their own through the addition of an ell and the incorporation of distinctive local decorative elements. Rather than abandoning unique local vernacular architecture in favor of a homogenous national form,

prospering valley farmers... chose to perpetuate plans and styles accepted locally, especially those deriving from the region's German heritage, [suggesting] that they prized their creations, preserving them in the face of a growing pressure to succumb to more popular national styles promoted in magazines and books (McCleary 2000:109).

Three properties on the periphery of the park—Long Meadow (1845), the Heater House (ca. 1840), and the Stickley House (ca. 1864), all gabled houses in the Greek Revival mode—might be investigated with McCleary's argument in mind. The Stickley family will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

TWO MIDDLE FARMING FAMILIES IN THE LOWER SHENANDOAH THROUGH HISTORY AND ARCHEOLOGY

The Stickleys, a Mennonite Family of Cedar Creek

Records regarding the Stickley family are problematic, as there were two settlers of that name among the pioneer families of the Lower Shenandoah: Hans (Johannes) Stöckli, whose family settled on Cedar Creek sometime around 1737, and his brother, Christian Stickley, who arrived in the Valley about 1750. Members of another family with a similar name, the Stricklers, are sometimes mistakenly linked to the Stickley family as well. Stöckli is a Swiss name, and the family were linked to the Mennonite or Anabaptist sects who were forced out of Germany, settled for a time in Holland, and ultimately made the journey to Pennsylvania and Virginia. Bly suggests that the family

most likely originated in Guggisberg, Canton Bern, Switzerland, where Hans and Christian Stickley were born (Bly 1996:169-170).

Hans Stickley joined a group of settlers in the Massanutten region, including Henry Souder, Abraham Strickler, Ludwig Stone, John Brubaker and Matthias Setzer, to purchase 5000 acres from Jacob Stover. Stover, operating upon the expectation of a grant, failed to acquire the lands he had promised to the Massanutten settlers, and the group brought suit against him in 1737. Stickley then settled on Cedar Creek, although he kept his ties to the Opequon community, and soon joined with a group of 50 settlers near Opequon to protest a road levy, which required them to work on a road through Chester's Gap. In November 1741, Stickley purchased 280 acres from George Bowman on the west side of Cedar Creek (Orange County Deeds 6:291-5). He received a patent for an additional 160 acres in 1753. As a devout Mennonite, Hans Stickley refused to muster with the Frederick Militia, and was fined for it in 1756 (Frederick County Court Martials; Frederick County Deeds 18). His will listed a "Martyr Book" as well as other books associated with the Mennonite faith.

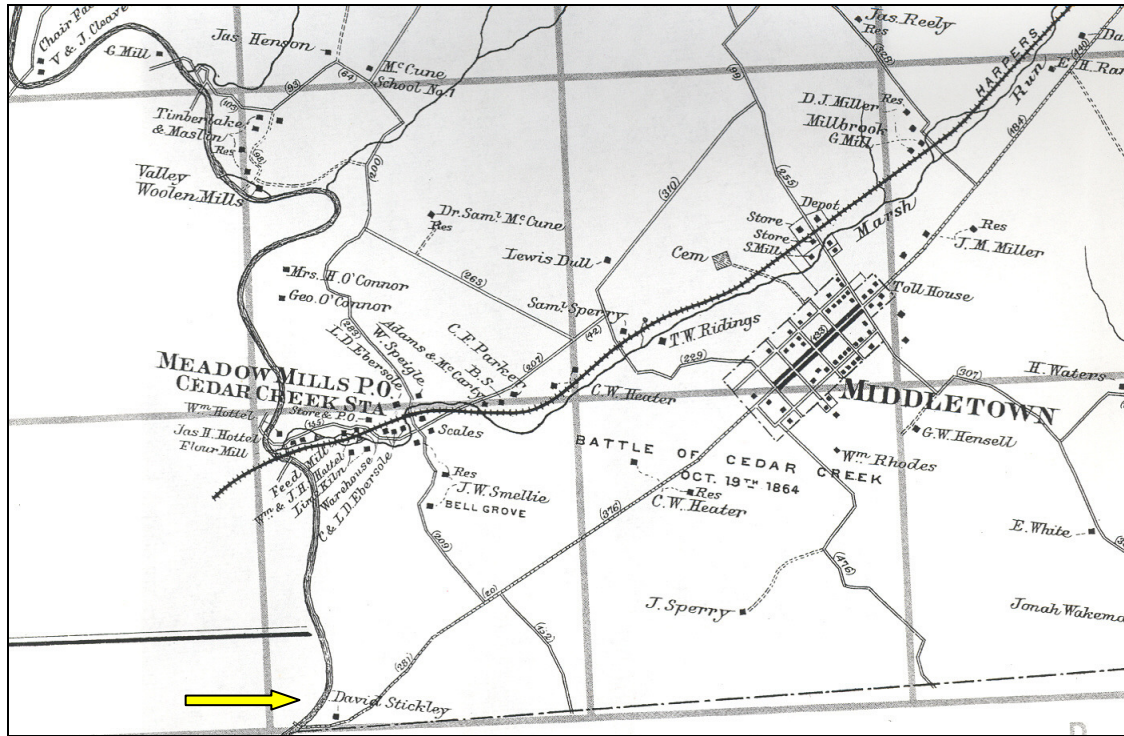
Hans Stickley and his wife Barbara had ten children, among them Benjamin Stickley, who was born about 1743 and died in 1796. Benjamin inherited 220 acres on Cedar Creek from his father. He lived there his entire life, although he also purchased 282 acres at Stony Creek from Daniel Stickley in 1788. Benjamin's son David was born on Cedar Creek in 1780, and married Mary Ann Harmon in 1802. He died at the Stickley homestead on Cedar Creek on October 2, 1856. His son, Daniel Stickley, was born about 1802, married Elizabeth Rinker, and died in 1886. Daniel Stickley had several siblings, including Elizabeth Stickley Stover, who moved to the Massanutten community in Page County, and Catherine Stickley Remsburg, of Frederick County, Maryland. At her death Catherine bequeathed her land at Cedar Creek to her brother David (Shenandoah County Deeds K: 45). Another sister, Regina, married David Stover of Culpeper County, Virginia. Daniel's brother Samuel Stickley married Anna Maphis and lived near Stony Creek. Abraham Stickley, another of this prolific family, married Rachel Murphey of Frederick County in 1821, and died in 1867. He purchased the old Chrisman homestead at Chrisman Springs (Vaucluse) near Stephens City. David Stickley ultimately built a brick house on the Valley Pike at Cedar Creek where the Battle of Cedar Creek was fought (Bly 1996).

The Stickleys were well known “Menonists” who refused to muster with the militia (Brumbaugh 1936:603-607), and both Jacob’s and Benjamin’s names appeared on a 1785 petition to the General Assembly protesting the fines imposed on them for failure to fulfill their military service (Mennonite Petition 1785).

Daniel Stickley

Sometime in the early nineteenth century, Daniel Stickley purchased the sawmill built by early settler and Hite family member George Bowman in 1753. Significantly, the property is attributed to the Stickley family on the Wood map of 1820 (see Map 11). Tax rolls suggest that the Bowman and Stickley families had known each other at least since 1815, when one of the Bowman children (probably Isaac) shared 45 acres with Daniel Stickley (Geier and Garvey 2000:15). This could be the property upon which the Bowman mill stood and at which George was working. By the mid nineteenth century the lands north of the Valley Pike and west of Cedar Creek (within the park and just outside) were clearly in the hands of the Stickleys. According to James E. Taylor (1989:395), Henry Stickley’s acreage met Daniel’s land near the creek, east of the Pike. North of Daniel’s land was his sister Anne’s, and above her acreage was that of their brother, “E. Lewis” (actually Levi Stickley), on which Taylor remarks were “ample dwelling, lean-tos, and many acres” (Taylor 1989:395).

While the mill seat is currently in ruins, many of the domestic structures originally constructed by Daniel Stickley are still standing (Geier and Tinkham 2006). The house is located immediately across the old turnpike trace from the mill ruins. According to Wayland, the brick house was built in 1859 just prior to the war. According to Jenny Stickley, a family member who observed the Battle of Cedar Creek, additional structures in the mid-nineteenth century included a large barn that was torn apart during the war, a corncrib, a hog house, and a springhouse (Wayland 1967:160,382-391). The servant’s quarters and the smokehouse are still standing (Geier and Tinkham 2006). A remarkable collection of Stickley family papers was acquired by Swem Library of the College of William and Mary in the 1930s. These include several farm account books, a mill account book, and a tax assessor’s record book kept by Daniel Stickley for the years 1835-36. Stickley’s account book (1837-75) listed those individuals for whom he served as administrator, including his brothers Daniel and Phillip Stickley, William McCord,



Map 12: Detail from Lathrop's 1885 *Atlas of Frederick County, Virginia*, showing the Stickley properties near Cedar Creek (then owned by David Stickley).

great-niece Salome Miller, great-nephew (?) Isaac Funk, cousins Peter, William and, Eliza Stickley, in-law John Harmon, and John Cooley.

His account book also reveals his varied business interests, particularly the use of the newly-introduced threshing machines, which required preparatory work with the “cradle” scythe. The “cradling” described in the accounts was followed by binding of the sheaves, in preparation for being fed into the thresher. The thresher, invented by the McCormick family of Virginia, was a time-saving but dangerous device, which required some skill to operate, and needed constant maintenance. The Hites owned at least one McCormick machine in the mid-nineteenth century as well. This early mechanization of farm work necessitated sophisticated mechanical knowledge (Wayne Randolph, pers. comm., September 2006). It is also possible that Daniel Stickley acquired his machine from James Ridings, who established a threshing machine company in Middletown in 1830.

Some items from Stickley's account books illustrate the kind of work he performed on his own farm, and the work did for others:



Figure 5: Advertisement for the McCormick Harvesting Machinery Company. Courtesy of State Historical Society of Wisconsin (Wisconsin 1876).

1837 account of Joseph Sonnor

pd for harvesting and threshing

plowing, mowing harvesting and threshing per ac/

gathering husking and measuring the corn 120 barrels at 30 cts/per do

amount of grain and hay sold on a credit of three month: 456.20.5

amount of corn sold on a 3 month 253.70

For the Estate of Phillip Stickley he records:

to Ezra Cadwalander for 3¼ days binding

to Wm Swartz for ¾ days cradling

to Isaac Wattson for cutting oats 2 days

Although most of the laborers paid for this work were white, Stickley and some of his clients list African American laborers as well, some of whom were enslaved. For example, in the account for the estate of William McCord (1840), he lists the following item:

paid C. Stewart's a/c for keeping old Davy

to D Setzer a/d for making coffin for old Davy

In the estate of Isaac Funk (1842), he records: "to negro man (specific Segary, taken by Noah) and Obed Funk as appraised . . . 500." And later, "to N& B Funk for leather for

Negros shoes etc., to David Stickley for hat for negro man Jess,” and in 1855, “medicine for a black child.”

Stickley also had accounts with other prominent farmers in the area, including the Hites, Cooleys, Shambaughs, and Bowmans. In another account book he lists a number of different trades for which he charged his neighbors, including hauling, weaving, clothing manufacture, masonry, milling, processing of lime, “plaistering,” sawing wood and shingles, plowing, and butchering. He also operated a kind of store, selling books, cloth, coffee, tobacco, flour, seed, and fresh and preserved meats. In addition, he operated a “still house” constructed around 1832.

His accounts list numerous crops grown in the Valley in the antebellum period, including corn, short corn, oats, seed wheat, buckwheat, timothy seed, potatoes, and hay. He imported fruit trees and placed an order for Osage orange trees as well. His account books record the seasonality of the agricultural year, with plowing and planting in April and May, harvesting and cradling in July, threshing in August and September, and butchering in November.

The Bowman-Stickley Mill ruins at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park include two principal structures: the remains of the sawmill and gristmill constructed by George Bowman by 1753, and a modernized and expanded complex which included its rebuilt remains, constructed by the Stickley family. While Daniel was operating the mill at the time of the Civil War, it is not clear when the Stickley structure was constructed. It is unknown if the burned shell of the Bowman mill remained standing for some time, or if Stickley renovated and expanded the operations when Isaac moved his enterprise to the new mill just above the mouth of Cedar Creek. The current mill plan suggests that the new mill took advantage of a milldam and pond on Cedar Creek and the headrace that had already been constructed by George Bowman. (For a detailed description of this complex, see Geier and Tinkham 2006.)

The Vances: A Scots Irish Family of Opequon Creek

James Vance was a Scots Irish immigrant, and an early settler at Opequon Creek. He arrived in the Lower Shenandoah with a large, extended family group, including his wife Elizabeth’s family, the Glasses. Her parents, Samuel and Mary Gamble Glass, were already elderly when they left Ireland in 1735. Vance’s brother David accompanied him

as well, settling on property adjacent to James's farm. He also had two sisters in the Opequon settlement.

Vance purchased 108 acres from Jost Hite in 1742, and an additional 108 acres from Lord Fairfax (Frederick County Deeds 7:46). Lord Fairfax reserved to himself one-third of all metal ore found on the property. Upon James's death in 1752, his wife Elizabeth purchased an additional 338 acres. Elizabeth lived another 30 years, until 1785, and never remarried. Her son William was bequeathed the plantation, including two slaves, named Tom and Rose (Frederick County Wills 5:110). In 1800 their son James David Vance manumitted his slave Cloe (Frederick County Deed Book 26:300). The Vances were Presbyterians, and were generous donors to the church. Many members of the Vance family are buried in the family plot at the Opequon Presbyterian Church along with Glass, Gilkeson, and Wilson family members.

The property remained in the Vance family until 1848, although the original house was replaced by the mid-nineteenth century structure known as Carysbrook. One Vance descendant, William Vance, occupied a home just opposite Belle Grove, on the Valley Pike. Archeological investigations at the James Vance homestead (44FK64) located the original 1740s house site on the second terrace above the Creek, the site overlooked by the nineteenth-century Carysbrook house. The Vance house was 20 by 22 feet, with a rectangular plan including a lobby entry and a central hearth, similar to those known in Plantation-period Ulster (Horning 2002:133). The lack of mortar suggests the house was "dry fitted," a construction technique also found in Ulster in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

James Vance's inventory survives, listing several large pieces of furniture and items associated with weaving. His inventory and that of his wife also mention drinking glasses, a looking glass, a peppermill, a candlestick and a grid iron. Their slaves' property was listed separately. The Vances also farmed and kept livestock. The sheep's wool was used in weaving, and horses for transportation and plowing. They grew barley, oats, wheat, rye, flax and hemp (Frederick County Wills 5:110).

PLANTER ELITES: THE HITES OF BELLE GROVE

Belle Grove Plantation is Established

Jost Hite's son, Isaac, was born on May 12, 1723. In 1745 Isaac wed the former Alida Eleanor Eltinge, and lived in a small house at Long Meadow now within the boundaries of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park. Together Isaac and Alida produced five children and purchased additional properties near Long Meadow, including 300 acres purchased from James Hoge and 183 acres from William Vance. In time, this 483-acre aggregate was developed into the Belle Grove Plantation (O'Dell 1995:19-20, 25-26). On January 2, 1783, Isaac Hite Jr. married Nelly Conway Madison of Montpelier. Nelly was the eldest daughter of James Madison, Sr., father of the future president James Madison. The newlyweds made their home at "Old Hall," which preceded the Neoclassical Belle Grove manor house. Together they had three children. Isaac Hite Jr. erected the Belle Grove mansion between 1794 and 1797, and in 1803 and 1805 insured it with the Mutual Assurance Society (Mutual Assurance Society 1803, 1805).

By 1825, Hite's plantation, a model progressive farm, engaged its enslaved work force in such complex tasks as threshing wheat with a machine, operating saw- and gristmills with steam-powered waterwheels, distilling whiskey, and driving wagons filled with whiskey, flour and other Belle Grove products to merchants in Winchester, Alexandria and Fredericksburg (Lanier and Harding 2006:58). Tending livestock and repairing farm buildings, building new structures, and mending and building new fences were among other tasks performed on farms with diversified crop and stock operations (Simmons and Sorrells 2000:174). Other than the rare, specific designations of "blacksmith," "carpenter," and "stonemason," both enslaved and Free Blacks performed a number of such skilled and semi-skilled tasks. At Belle Grove and on smaller farms, these labor requirements are obscured by the Federal census terms "farmhand" and "laborer."

During this period Hite undoubtedly communicated with then-retired President Madison on progressive farm practices. At the time Madison, labeled by Jefferson as "the best farmer in the world," had become president of the Albemarle Agricultural Society. Madison and Jefferson often corresponded on their scientific farming methods.

At Montpelier, from the late 1760s on, President Madison's father, James Madison Sr., began diversifying his plantation's business operations. He established a blacksmith shop and a brandy distillery, but his slaves also included carpenters, turners, and wheelwrights, specialized workers whose expertise would have been invaluable. Madison also planted tobacco.

Isaac Hite Jr. had entrée into this circle of enlightened farmers through marriage. Hite, like Madison and Jefferson, had a large flock of Merino sheep and incorporated new farm machinery and practices as they came to his attention (Lanier and Harding 2006:53-54). Following the example of the Chesapeake and Piedmont gentry, Hite and his family by this time dwelled in an elegantly-appointed Neoclassical mansion befitting their status. They purchased items of conspicuous consumption from Alexandria and Philadelphia, such as coffee mills, desk furniture and japanned sugar boxes (NTBG n.d.:67-68). Like his father-in-law James Madison, Sr., Hite considered his blacksmiths his most valuable slaves and, like Madison, profited from their work (NTBG n.d.:67-68).

Just as James Madison, Sr. oversaw operations of a blacksmith shop on his Montpelier plantation grounds for almost 50 years, Hite is believed to have overseen the operation of a community store, located in what is currently identified as the overseer's house southeast of the mansion. Malcolm Brumback, whose father once owned Belle Grove, and who has life tenancy on the estate, reasons that "at one time... it was a store," with an unheated storage room and a door at a height convenient to load and unload produce. The slaves may have received their provisions at this plantation store. Mr. Brumback noted that Isaac Hite had made "whiskey for the Revolutionary army" and that the distillery was probably at one time near Belle Grove's community well, just south of the Brumback house on the grounds (interview with Malcom Brumback, 2006).

During its peak period in the 1820s, Belle Grove must have impressed the prospering, hardworking freeholders of Frederick County as they traveled down the Valley Pike. The plantation's size, its architecturally imposing mansion, great productivity and the model it provided of progressive farming were most impressive. As other members of Virginia's elite planter class, the Hites' personal accoutrements and house furnishings boasted imported objects and items from Philadelphia and Alexandria. While most Valley slaveholders owned fewer than ten enslaved Africans, the extensive economic activities and large properties of the Hite family at Belle Grove led them to acquire an enslaved work force that numbered over one hundred people. These slaves

included some inherited from his father, and some brought to his marriage by his wife Nellie Conway Madison from Montpelier Plantation (Frederick County Wills 6:55-63; O'Dell 1995:27).

As descriptions of both middling and elite farmers in the region discussed above make clear, the commercial expansion of wheat agriculture which took place throughout the Valley in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and in the early nineteenth century, was predicated upon the availability of a sizable agricultural labor force. At Belle Grove Plantation, the Hite family likely endeavored to replicate the “landscapes of control” employed by large slaveholders in the east. Central to the regularization of landscape attempted by Virginia’s planter elite is a desire to further codify and naturalize the divisions between African American and white. The irony in this effort, as discussed by Dell Upton (1988) in a now-classic article, is that the processional and barrier-riddled landscape of the eighteenth-century Tidewater plantation really only served to impress poorer whites, as those enslaved individuals, who were intended to be unseen in the landscape, in actuality maintained access to even the most intimate of spaces within the planter home. Nowhere is this more obvious than in the elaborate engineering and perspective solutions imagined and implemented by Thomas Jefferson at his Palladian home at Monticello. Guests to the mansion were spared the visual reminder of the contradiction between democracy and slavery by never having to view the presence of Jefferson’s enslaved work force. No matter how rigorously their lives were ordered and their living quarters planned and maintained, enslaved people conceived of and operated within plantation landscapes in their own way and on their own terms.

The nature of enslaved labor, at Belle Grove and elsewhere in the region, and the experiences it entailed for numerous African Americans in the Lower Shenandoah Valley, will be discussed in the next section.

AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THE LOWER SHENANDOAH, ENSLAVED AND FREE

For Frederick County in the post-Revolutionary War period, the labor force was peopled principally by enslaved African Americans. In 1790, Frederick County possessed the highest percentage of African Americans in the Valley, at 21.3 percent of the county population (Suter 1999:10). Some of these arrived with newly-arrived planters, some

were acquired through sale, but principally they were transmitted through inheritance or gift. For example, as daughter Nelly's dowry, James Madison Sr. gave his new son-in-law fifteen slaves: Jemmy, Jerry, Eliza and her five children (Joanna, Diana, Demas, Pendar, and Webster), Truelove and her four children (Peggy, Priscilla, Henry, and Katey), Sally, and Milley. Isaac Hite Jr. was entitled to all of the slaves' increase, including any young slaves who had been born since March 30, 1782.⁶ Later on, when Isaac Hite Jr. and his son, Isaac F. Hite, recorded the names of their slaves, their dates of birth, and their mothers' names, certain slaves were said to have come from "Madison" or "Madison gave me by my wife." Douglas B. Chambers, who did extensive research on the Madison slaves, concluded that Truelove and Henry remained at Montpelier until 1801 when James Madison Sr.'s estate was settled (Hite Family 1776-1859; Chambers 2005: 241-242).

Isaac Hite Sr. also left some of his slaves to his son and namesake. When Isaac Hite Sr.'s estate was appraised, his slaves and their values were listed. These included Charles Jr., worth £60; Bill, worth £60; Rachel, worth £60; Adam, worth £70; Tom, worth £20; Cato, worth £20; Judy, worth £15; Daniel (blacksmith), worth £120; Simon, worth £30; Joe, worth £60; James Sr., worth £60; Jack, worth £80; Harry, worth £65; Lewis, worth £40; and Joe, worth £30.⁷ Some of these became Isaac's inheritance, and presumably, came with him eventually to Belle Grove (Frederick County Wills 6:164-175, 262).

When James Madison Sr. died in February 1801, he was in possession of 108 slaves who were age 16 or older. Some of his slaves (around 50) were distributed among

⁶ Douglas B. Chambers concluded that the "charter" or first group of enslaved Africans at Montpelier came from three sources. Ten, probably from Calabar (specifically Igbo), were purchased around 1720-25. Others came to James Madison Sr.'s father, Ambrose Madison, through inheritance from his own father, John Madison, a planter and slaveholder in King and Queen and Caroline Counties. Additional slaves came to Ambrose through marriage and undoubtedly he acquired more slaves by purchasing them. During summer 1732 Ambrose died after an unexplained period of sickness. His family believed that he had been poisoned by some of his slaves. The three accused slaves were tried and found guilty; one was executed (Chambers 2005:6, 99-100).

⁷ The second group of slave records in the Hite Family's Commonplace Book (1776-1859) includes a notation that Daniel (a blacksmith) was born on January 4, 1773, and died on October 24, 1836.

the five Madison children. James Madison Jr.⁸ purchased some of his siblings' slaves, but approximately half of those people went to Nellie Madison Hite and her husband, Isaac Hite, Jr. It was then that ten more slaves (Shadrack, Robin, Anna, Milly, Black Jonathan, Frank, Israel, Abraham, Sarah, and Richmond) went to Belle Grove. Disputes over the division of the slaves and the decedent's other property dragged on until around 1820 (Chambers 2005:134, 242).

The Hite Family "Commonplace Book, 1776-1859," which contains some notations made by Isaac Hite Jr. (or transcriptions of records he maintained), identifies by name certain slaves that came to Belle Grove through his marriage to Nelly Madison. Even more significantly, those slaves' dates of birth were recorded. For example, Milly, a woman who came from the Madison home, Montpelier, was born on July 8, 1768. Diana, another former Madison slave, was born on August 24, 1775, whereas Pindey was born on May 20, 1779. All of these slaves would have been very young in 1782 when Nelly and Isaac Jr. wed. Mary, who was born on July 24, 1790, came from James Madison Sr. as a gift, as did Peter and Cate. Certain slaves, notably Moses, Molly, and Dinah, ranged in age from 60 to 66 in August 1796, and if they came from Montpelier, would have been offspring of what Douglas B. Chambers terms the "charter generation" or first arrivals. Willis (formerly a Madison slave) was born on June 9, 1797, and was the child of Pindar. Sally, who also had been a Madison slave, was born on April 18, 1800, and was the daughter of Nancy. Likewise, Penny's son, Henry, was born on January 14, 1791. The Commonplace Book contains the dates of birth and the names of the mothers of Shadrack, Robin, Jonathan, Frank, and some of the other slaves that Nelly and Isaac Hite Jr. received when the Madison estate finally was settled. Occasional notations were made about a slave's death due to illness. Runaways seem to have been relatively rare (Hite Family 1776-1859; see Appendix C).

A second set of slave records, added to the Hite Family's Commonplace Book 1776-1859, like the first set of records, includes slaves' names, dates of birth, and their mothers' names (see Appendix C). A "comments" column contains notations about the sale of certain slaves or their being given to various family members or friends. Slaves named Frank and Betsy Ann, who was born to Hannah in 1818 and 1820, were sold to

⁸ President James Madison eventually became a public advocate of the American Colonization Society (founded in 1816), whose mission was "returning" freed slaves to Liberia in West Africa (Chambers 2005:137).

their father, who apparently was a free man (Hite Family 1776-1859). None of the slave records kept by members of the Hite family suggest that they had an interest in freeing their slaves.

Nelly Madison Hite died on December 24, 1802, at age 42, and was buried in the family graveyard at Long Meadow. On December 1, 1803, Isaac Hite Jr. married Ann Tunstall Maury, who was born on September 14, 1782, and therefore was less than half his age. Together, they had ten children. Ann was the daughter of the Rev. Walker Maury and his wife, Mary. Isaac Hite Jr. continued to add to his landholdings at Belle Grove, in time controlling a total of 7,500 acres. In 1820 he had 103 slaves, including skilled craft-workers such as a blacksmith, woodworkers, masons, leather-workers, millers, weavers, and seamstresses. Hite also had a general store, grist- and saw-mills, and a distillery (Bloser 2000:#20, #22; Frederick County Census 1820; Hite Family 1776-1859).

By 1814, Isaac Hite Jr. had accumulated 7,535 acres in a county where the majority of farmers had holdings of less than 500 acres. Records indicate that in 1820, a plantation community of 103 enslaved individuals performed skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled tasks, all essential to the plantation's operation.

The 1820 census also describes Isaac Hite Jr.'s household. In addition to some white servants, Hite's slaves included 25 males who were under age 14, 11 males who were between 14 and 26, 19 males who were between 26 and 45, and three who were age 45 or older. Female slaves included 19 who were under 14, seven who were between 14 and 26, 14 who were between 26 and 45, and three who were age 45 or older. There were no Free Blacks attributed to Isaac Hite Jr.'s household (Frederick County Census 1820).

On January 16 and 17, 1837, when an inventory was made of the late Isaac Hite Jr.'s estate, his wealth was evident, as was his involvement in scientific farming and entrepreneurial activities. His livestock included cattle, oxen, sheep (including Merino sheep), hogs, and horses. His agricultural equipment included a wheat threshing machine, a stationary wheat machine, mowing scythes, plows, a McCormick plow, pitch forks, wheat cradles, mattocks, hoes, spades, ice hooks, axes, and shovels. There also were specialized tools for blacksmiths, carpenters and shoemakers, plus a grindstone. Isaac Hite Jr. had 24 male slaves whose ages ranged from 2 to 60 and his 20 female slaves ranged from 1 to 67. Four of the decedent's slaves were worth \$1,000 apiece; one of those men was a blacksmith. Hite's most valuable female slaves were Margaret (also known as Peggy) and Milly, who were 12 and 17 years old, respectively. His least

valuable slaves were elderly men who ranged from 60 to 69 and elderly women who were age 58 to 67 (Frederick County Wills 19:433-434). Isaac Hite Jr.'s executors settled the debts against his estate and collected what was owed (Frederick County Wills 20:233; 23:184, 190, 206, 375; 24:173, 179). Distribution of Isaac Hite Jr.'s slaves apparently occurred soon after his death, for in 1837 his estate was credited with only 17 slaves who were age 16 or older and three who were between 12 and 16 (Frederick County Personal Property Tax Lists 1836-38).

Ann Tunstall Maury Hite

In 1838 the local tax commissioner credited the widowed Ann Tunstall Maury Hite with 19 slaves who were age 16 or older, five slaves who were between 12 and 16, and considerable livestock. By the 1840s, however, the number of slaves in Mrs. Hite's possession had begun to dwindle, perhaps because she gave them to other family members. In 1840 she had only 10 adult slaves and two who were between 12 and 16 (Frederick County Personal Property Tax Lists 1838-48).

Significant changes had occurred in the Hite household by 1850. At that time, Mrs. Hite had been joined by several members of the Loder family (perhaps a tenant farmer or overseer) and had twenty-six slaves: 18 males and eight females. Five of Mrs. Hite's slaves were black and 21 were mulatto. There were four older women in the group (ages 50, 54, 67, and 71) and four older men (ages 49, 50, 64, and 83). Only four of Ann Maury Hite's female slaves were of child-bearing age. The population included nine little boys but no girls (Frederick County Census 1850; Frederick County Slave Schedules 1850).

Mrs. Ann Hite's son, Isaac Fontaine Hite, who lived nearby, was a 43-year-old household head and farmer. Isaac F. Hite had 16 slaves, almost half of whom were black. Of the 16, ten were male and six were female. Half of the men were age 40 or older (40, 43, 47, 50, and 55) and one woman was 47. There were two female children. More of Isaac F. Hite's slaves were of prime working age (Frederick County Census 1850; Frederick County Slave Schedules 1850).

Although Ann Maury Hite continued to have possession of Belle Grove, which she made her home, her eldest son, Isaac F. Hite, managed the plantation. Agricultural census records indicate that he was highly successful. In 1850s the Hites engaged in commercial livestock management (for meat, dairy, and wool), as well as in farming; they

grew wheat, oats, corn, potatoes, and fruits. Mrs. Hite's sheep yielded 350 pounds of wool and her dairy cattle's milk was used to make 500 pounds of butter. Some of her slaves may have been employed as "cowboys," as was reported elsewhere in the Valley of Virginia (Frederick County Agricultural Census 1850; see Figure 6).

Ann Maury Hite made her will on January 5, 1851, and died the very next day. Mentioned in Mrs. Hite's will were bequests to her sons and daughter. She asked that her male slave, John, be given the right to choose a master, but she made little reference to her slaves. The only slaves mentioned were Jim, a blacksmith whose value was \$450; Elijah, who was worth \$800; Sally, a cook, who was worth \$175; and Martha (Sally's child), who was worth \$250. When the decedent's estate was settled, the executors noted that the slave named John had chosen Dr. Walter M. Hite as his master. Isaac F. Hite purchased the slaves named Martha and Sally, whereas Alexander M. Davison bought the man named Elijah (Frederick County Wills 23:101, 184-218, 384-390; NTHP 1968:37).

The Hite slaves, like many enslaved Africans in the region, were sold or given away. Others were used in the increasingly common practice of "out-hiring." In a region



Figure 6: African American "cowboys" in Virginia.
Courtesy of Valentine Museum.

that was characterized by variable landholding and a mixed agricultural economy, the rhythms of work dictated the need for flexible labor practices. Estimates of the numbers of individuals who were hired out by slaveholders are estimated by Simmons and Sorrells to have been between 6 and 34 percent. They suggest:

slave hiring in fact not only adapted easily to the agricultural economy of small family farms and related grain industries in Augusta County, but was the cornerstone upon which the economy was built (Simmons and Sorrells 2000:182).

The difficulty in tracking this system lies in the lack of formality in the manner of hiring, wherein enslaved people might often be hired out for only a few hours or for a day. Large slaveholders also hired out members of their enslaved work force for periods up to a year, although these contracts only survive as part of personal papers.

The general pattern of slaveholding in the Valley was not that of the Tidewater, or indeed that of the Hite family. Instead of sizable workforces whose movements were limited to the plantations or commercial concerns of the slaveholder, enslaved people in the Valley engaged in a range of tasks throughout the year, and were accustomed to traveling around the Valley communities. The nature of kinship and community ties among the African American population, particularly given the high percentages of free people, as discussed below, presents very different possibilities than those of bound communities in the East. Relations between African American and white Valley residents also contrasted with the situation in the eastern portions of Virginia.

In the Lower Shenandoah, enslaved Africans lived and worked in closer proximity to their owners. The more isolated existence of an enslaved person attached to a small white farm household would have denied the potential for close community support and ties characteristic of the enslaved community on large plantations. In eighteenth-century Augusta County, the vast majority of slaveholders owned only one enslaved person. Conversely, the greater ability of an enslaved person to move about the Valley ensured a degree of autonomy and may have allowed for the maintenance of more widespread kin and community ties. Addressing the experiences of enslaved people in the eighteenth-century Valley is critical to a revised understanding of the social character of the Shenandoah Valley backcountry, which represents a relatively unstudied form of an industrialized slave society (Starobin 1970). While most of the African Americans in the eighteenth-century Shenandoah Valley labored on the farms and plantations of the

area, significant numbers of enslaved and free Africans and African Americans resided in Winchester. In 1800, fully 16 percent of the population of the town consisted of enslaved people, with a smaller but significant number of Free Blacks (Hofstra 2004:318; see also Ebert 1996). Both groups evidently participated within the commercial economy, as evidenced through extant account books:

in the picture that emerges in these accounts, free and enslaved African-Americans worked for goods, credit, or cash in the local economy and traded on their own account in town shops (Hofstra 2004:319).

While historian Clement Eaton suggests that the increasingly common practice of hiring out slaves signaled the end of the institution of slavery (1960:663), more recent work suggests that slave hiring actually represents an evolution in the use of enslaved labor in the industrialized South in the decades prior to the Civil War (e.g., Martin 2004).

Although the vast majority of enslaved African Americans in the eighteenth-century Valley experienced life and work as predominantly rural and agricultural, industrial employment was not unknown. In the 1780s, the Pennsylvania German Dirck Pennybacker established an iron furnace, Redwell, on the banks of Hawksbill Creek. His work force included African American laborers, who not only operated the furnace but also labored in the mountain forests to produce the massive amounts of charcoal required to fuel the foundry (Lambert 1989:75-76; Lewis 1979). Extant account books for the Redwell furnace detail the names of some of the men who were employed at Redwell. The descriptors employed leave little doubt as to the men's ethnicity: "Reuben Negroe," "Black Joseph," "Moses Negroe Little" (Lewis 1979: 27). More furnaces would begin operation in the nineteenth century, similarly reliant upon enslaved labor, as discussed further in Chapter Five. Many of the individuals who labored to produce iron in the Valley furnaces were hired out by their owners to these industrial establishments.

The scholarship of Eugene Genovese, James Blassingame and other notable African Americanists suggests that enslaved African Americans' own distinctive cultural traditions, as well as their negotiation of the master-slave relationship, eventually mitigated the raw exploitation of Virginia's early eighteenth-century plantation system. With most Frederick County farmers holding only a small number of slaves, humane treatment was not a given, but the prevailing religious sensibilities of Methodists, Baptists, and Quakers, as well as simple human kindness, did prevail in some master-

slave relationships. In his 1851 will, for example, Peter Keeding of Stephen City admonishes his heirs, “I charge my heirs not to traffic in my slaves but to use them tenderly & not to sell them unless for bad conduct such as lying or rogerey” (Frederick County Wills 23:291).

Archeology of Enslaved African American Life

Over the last twenty years, considerable advances in archeological study of the lives of enslaved individuals have resulted in many new insights. Much of this work occurred (and continues to occur) in Virginia, with pioneering programs implemented at Colonial Williamsburg, Monticello, Mount Vernon, and Poplar Forest. At Carter’s Grove Plantation, Colonial Williamsburg archeologists excavated several slave quarter buildings, which were subsequently reconstructed and fitted out with the types of materials unearthed in the excavation as part of a living history program (Franklin 1995). Research in African American archeology, influenced by new trends in social history and a focus upon cultural survivals, began with the fairly simplistic search for “Africanisms” in the material record. Research has subsequently developed and employed a sophisticated and dynamic focus addressing broader questions, including the nature of cultural change, the multiple meanings of physical objects, and the differing ways in which landscapes were manipulated and perceived by enslaved individuals as well as by others.

A recognition that the process and experience of enslavement differed through the colonial world has led to vigorous regional scholarship. As noted by Ywone Edwards-Ingram:

Understanding how slavery evolved in different areas can strengthen interpretations of archeological finds. In Virginia, slavery adapted to a more diversified economy, and plantation infrastructure and population changed to support and facilitate this development (1999:160).

Evidence from Virginia sites suggests that the experiences and living conditions of enslaved people differed according to the work that they performed, and that those differences can be “read” in the archeological record.

At Montpelier, the slave quarters were arranged with the domestic quarters near the mansion and the other quarters in more outlying areas of the property. Sir Augustus John Foster, a distinguished guest to the Montpelier plantation in 1807, notes a pattern

of community habitation that archeological footprints and the Brumbucks' descriptions of quarter sites suggest may have prevailed at Belle Grove as well:

The Negro habitations are separate from the dwelling house both there [Montpelier] and all over Virginia, and they form a kind of village as each Negro family would like, if they were allowed it, to live in a house by themselves
(Augustus John Foster, cited in Davies 1954:139-142).

Recent work at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello has focused upon the development of slavery on the plantation from the time of Peter Jefferson through to that of Thomas Jefferson (Neiman et al. 2000). The ability to systematically investigate the homes of enslaved families across the plantation landscape has pinpointed the material correlates of differentiation within the African American community on the plantation, differentiation that appears to have been externally as well as internally imposed. The differentiation was chiefly linked to the occupations of the individuals, and to the nature of their relationship with the Jefferson family. Further examination of the slave quarter at Belle Grove might show similar variations.

The association of sub-floor pits with slave housing arose in the 1970s and 1980s, as the number of excavated slave quarters in Virginia rose dramatically. One of the first places where these pits were recognized was at Kingsmill, during the extensive excavations carried out under the direction of William Kelso (1984). In one structure, a two-room, earthfast dwelling incorporated three backfilled sub-floor pits which had been originally wood-lined and divided on the interior. The pits have variously been interpreted as storage areas for root vegetables, tools, and domestic articles, hiding places for personal items, and also, provocatively, as ritual altars (Samford 1996). An astonishing complex of at least fifteen sub-floor pits dug into the ground below a two-room, thirty-by-twenty-foot, central-chimney slave quarter building on the eighteenth-century Rich Neck plantation of the Ludwell family (Franklin and Agbe-Davies 2003; Franklin 1997) were recently identified and excavated in advance of development. (The significance of their contents, including foodstuffs, beads, buttons, and drilled spoons, is discussed below.) Whatever their original purpose or purposes, the frequency of the discovery of sub-floor pits in association with the homes of enslaved individuals, particularly during the eighteenth century, suggests that they were clearly of significance and may have contributed to reinforcing individual identity within a dehumanizing system. Although the slave quarters at Belle Grove (44FK520), within the park



Figure 7: Slave quarters, Virginia.
Courtesy of Valentine Museum.

boundaries, have not been investigated archeologically, the possibility exists that such features were typical of enslaved life there as well.

The Religious Beliefs of Enslaved Africans

Evolving from the early emphasis on locating evidence of “survivals” in the material record has been an increasing scholarly appreciation of the centrality of spirituality in African American life in the eighteenth century. In the beginning of the eighteenth century in Virginia, a considerable percentage of enslaved individuals had been born in Africa. The varying memories and religious practices they brought to the New World were added to the mix of beliefs and traditions already held by Virginia-born slaves. Through the century, these beliefs were merged with Christian religious traditions. Archeological evidence for such syncretic religious practices among enslaved people is growing. The most notable and oft-cited examples of these include the “ritual bundles” unearthed at the Charles Carroll House in Annapolis, Maryland, and below the cabin once occupied by an enslaved “conjurer” or healer on the antebellum Levi Jordan plantation in Texas (Thompson 1993; Brown and Cooper 1990). Materials found in the Carroll House, deposited in the eighteenth century, included pierced coins, quartz

crystals, polished stones, and a bowl incised with what has been interpreted as a Minkisi symbol (Thompson 1993; Leone and Frye 2001). Artifacts found in sub-floor pits have also been interpreted as ritual or spiritual in nature. At the Rich Neck quarter site near Williamsburg, Virginia, archeologists recovered a number of pewter spoons that had holes drilled in them, possibly for personal ornament, as well as a larger number of beads and buttons (Franklin 1997). Much discussion has occurred throughout the world of historical archeology over the significance of the dominance of the color blue in bead assemblages from African American-associated sites (Edwards-Ingram 1999). Blue beads dominated the assemblage from the sub-floor pits excavated at Kippax Plantation near Hopewell, Virginia, while a chert projectile point and a watch key from the pit fills have been interpreted as charms (Linebaugh 1995). In the absence of archeological work at CEBE which focuses on the lives of enslaved Africans, it is difficult to reconstruct these religious practices, although such evidence is likely available. The recommendations in Chapter Nine include one for further work of this kind.

Environmental analysis has also contributed greatly to our understanding of the experiences of enslaved Africans and African Americans in Virginia. Extensive examination of the botanical remains found in sub-floor pits at the Rich Neck Slave Quarter site demonstrated that enslaved families relied upon a variety of cultivated and wild plants, including the Native American “triad” of corn, beans, and squash, as well as wild and cultivated berries, cultivated melons and cherries, and wild nuts including black walnuts and acorns (Mrozowski and Driscoll 1997). Some of these wild plants may have also played a role in the pharmacopoeia of traditional medical practitioners. Faunal remains from Rich Neck included a variety of fish and shellfish, raccoon, rabbit, opossum, Canadian goose, wild turkey, and domestic chicken (Franklin 1997; Franklin and Agbe-Davies 2003). Examination of the faunal record from other African American households supports the widespread nature of the practice of creatively using domesticated and wild species to augment and vary the sometimes-inadequate diet provided by slave owners. At Mount Vernon, the excavation of a refuse-filled cellar associated with a slave quarter occupied between 1759 and 1793 yielded 24,000 individual animal bone fragments representing 53 different taxa (Pogue 2003).

On the basis of archeological evidence from the Rich Neck slave quarter site, archeologist Maria Franklin has suggested that the foodways of enslaved families were

far more than simply a means of attaining sufficient fuel to accomplish their often grueling workloads:

eighteenth-century enslaved Virginians responded to the conditions and constrictions of their enslavement. . . through active collaboration in forging a system of foodways that demonstrated self-sufficiency, creativity, and careful strategizing in creating this cultural institution (Franklin 2001:89).

In addition to exercising creativity and arguably strengthening their own identities through distinctive foodways, enslaved African Americans also shaped their landscape. Close examination of the yard spaces adjacent to three slave cabins at Poplar Forest revealed archeologically visible patterns of use and maintenance (Heath and Bennett 2000). Plotting the distributions of particular artifact types, as well as testing the chemical make-up of the soils through the yard space, indicated that the areas adjacent to the houses may have served as a leisure space, judging from concentrations of smoking pipe fragments. Midden deposits, indicated by soil chemical content as well as by artifacts and ecofacts, were situated in discrete locations relative to the cabins. The placement of fence lines was readily discernible by the patters of deposition of buttons, suggesting that laundry was hung on fences to dry. Those spaces simultaneously may have also served as gendered space, a location where enslaved women would gather to do laundry work while at the same time socializing together (Heath and Bennett 2000:42).

The landscape of slavery at Belle Grove Plantation represents a key element of its material heritage. Ultimately, all of the space around extant eighteenth-century and antebellum nineteenth-century features served simultaneously as planter space and as the space of enslaved peoples. The ability to locate and investigate the domestic and work spaces of enslaved people, informed by the sophisticated analysis pioneered at other eighteenth-century sites, should be an important future goal in continued archeological investigations.

The literature on African American beliefs as they survived and were expressed in the context of enslavement in the New World and elsewhere is extensive and growing. Scholarly controversies rage over the extent to which Africanisms in material culture and ideology survive, and the nature of African American accommodation or resistance to their brutal circumstances. Many scholars have pointed to the remarkable capacity shown by African Americans, most of West African descent, to assimilate new values and

behaviors and to adapt to changing circumstances (e.g., Sobel 1988; Gomez 1998; Sensbach 1998). They suggest that the cultures that enslaved Africans left behind were influential in the formation of African American culture, as was the influence of the various peoples of European and Native American descent with whom they were forced to live. William Montgomery provides a general overview of some of the cultural categories known to have characterized West African societies, and how they were manifest in the New World:

West African religions integrated the spiritual and the living worlds. The sharp divisions between heavenly and worldly domains, between good and evil, that were common in Western religious thought were unknown for West African people. Furthermore, faith systems were inseparable from the homeland and from ancestors. Holy places and holy objects were used to invoke the power of the deities. Gods, spirits, and ancestors exercised the pervasive force of the sacred cosmos, and through prayer or sacrifice deities were induced to act on behalf of living persons. Deceased but remembered ancestors represented a connection between the spiritual and living worlds. These living dead possessed the attributes of both spirits and living people. They lived in the memories of those who had known them and were part of the present but they were physically dead and buried and inexorably slipped into the past in the African's concept of time. As the living dead passed from the now into the hereafter, they became transformed into spirits infused with supernatural powers and in that form returned periodically to influence the lives of the living. In their metamorphosis, the ancestors not only affirmed each living person's ultimate destiny but symbolized the eternal circle of life. The effect of the African's enslavement and removal from their native lands caused the sacred cosmos to disintegrate by separating them from their ancestors and the spirit world
(Montgomery 1994:13-14).

Historian Eugene Genovese also describes the emerging evangelical religious practices among African Americans as a folk religion. This folk religion, a cultural appropriation of Protestantism adapted to their West African cultural heritage, was both a crucible of African American cultural consciousness and community (Genovese 1974).

The Changing Nature of Slavery

Scholarship on African American enslavement has for many years been dominated by studies of plantation slavery, the economic system that prevailed in the Low Country, the Caribbean, and the Virginia Tidewater. However, as historian Gary Nash reminds us:

Slavery . . . was a social institution, but it was not so uniform or totalitarian in its operation that it could completely control the lives and the cultural forms of slaves. Despite the enactment of harsh slave codes, the plantation was never so efficiently or rationally managed as to leave the slave without considerable “social space” in which to maneuver (Nash 1974:192).

Slaves on plantations were sometimes able to move around the countryside (Upton 1985), to marry, and to participate in “forest meetings” for religious or other celebrations (Figure 8). It is quite likely that the slaves that occupied the largest plantation in the study area, at Belle Grove, had similar perquisites and freedoms, and likely formed ties to Free Blacks in the community as well. Interviews conducted for this study also indicate that some “forest meetings” continued to take place until the early twentieth century (see Chapter Seven).

However, research into the nature of slavery at CEBE and within the study area more generally indicates that the system of slavery that developed in the Virginia backcountry was of a different nature than that of the large Tidewater plantations, which



Figure 8: African American baptism, early twentieth century.
Courtesy of Valentine Museum.

featured separate quarters and overseers. In the Lower Valley, a larger percentage of enslaved Africans worked side by side with the families that owned them, or were rented out to local businessmen, manufacturers, and farmers, and participated in a kind of shadow economy. For example, many enslaved Africans had accounts at the local stores (Ebert 1996; Simmons and Sorrells 2000:166-169). Slavery became increasingly integrated into the newly-emergent industrial economy of the early nineteenth century, as the region's agricultural and industrial composition changed with the introduction of a wheat farm economy and more manufacturing enterprises (Simmons and Sorrells 2000:170)

As the Lower Shenandoah Valley's economy matured in the late antebellum period, the methods by which both free and enslaved African Americans learned occupational skills evolved into a complex web of arrangements. These arrangements give us some insight into slavery's instability as an economic institution by the 1850s. Jesse Helms, a Free Black wagon maker in Stephens City, learned his trade as an enslaved apprentice to his master, John Grove, Sr. Grove provided for Helms' freedom in his 1849 will (Fravel n.d.:215). Vance Bush of Stephens City legally arranged an apprenticeship for his "negro boy slave named 'Simon Peter'" with Free Black carpenter Sydnor Fortunus. Fortunus was to instruct the boy in the "art and trade of a rough house carpenter." Having learned this trade, Simon Peter would be emancipated at 21 (Fravel n.d.:21) Among the enslaved population, fathers appear to have informally apprenticed their sons. The 1870 population censuses for Frederick and Clarke Counties suggests that a number of African Americans, some formerly enslaved, apprenticed their sons as blacksmiths or stonemasons, since these sons are listed in the household with the same trade as their father.

In the late antebellum period, Middletown's small African American population labored in other diverse enterprises. Among the 26 enslaved persons working for white townfolk, almost half performed farm work; the others assisted a stonemason, a carpenter, a merchant, a machinist, and the household of an Episcopal clergyman. Only two owners had between seven and ten slaves, merchant Jacob S. Danner and farmer David J. Miller. Stonemason Thomas Matthews employed one enslaved worker from a Mr. "J. Kinkhouser" of Warren County (Ebert 1996:25).

The papers of Joseph Long, a Stephens City tavern owner, showed that Long, who hired a slave in 1828, hired out a slave in 1831, indicating the way in which the hire

system responded to changing fortunes or labor needs. In January 1828 Long contracted with Leonard Myers:

the sum of forty dollars it being the hire of a Negro man named Ben. Pay his taxes and return him at Christmas with good Cloths such as is Customary in cases of the kind (Fravel n.d.:230).

In January 1831, Long once more rented Ben, this time from the Stephens City preacher “Jno Allemong” who had, in turn, rented Ben from Leonard Myers. These hire transactions could become complex, as slave hires responded to market demands. Allemong may not have needed Ben’s services for the contracted term of labor and so subcontracted his services in order to continue making money on him. At any rate, in the subcontract, Long agreed to return Ben to Allemong one year later with “good winter clothing Blanket &-[etc.]” (Fravel n.d.:232).

On properties associated with CEBE, this practice of hiring out, and the use of slaves for commercial and industrial enterprises, was also visible. Daniel Stickley’s accounts include several references to the hiring out of slaves (see above).

FREE BLACKS IN FREDERICK COUNTY

Rebecca Ebert has found that many Free Blacks in the region were manumitted through wills and deeds of gift, particularly after 1782, when the General Assembly repealed the law barring such acts of manumission. At that time, a number of Quakers and other slave owners in the area freed their slaves, in numbers that increased until 1800. After that time, the number of manumissions by deed and will decreased there, as they did throughout the South (Ebert 1996:9). Between 1785 and 1840, there were 98 deeds of manumission in Frederick County. These deeds often freed more than one person at a time. Of these, thirteen were family groups, including six households headed by women (Ebert 1996:10). Undoubtedly others were freed within the city of Winchester itself, although these records are in poor condition and have not been examined. The most dramatic manumissions were those of Robert Carter, whose properties were in Frederick and Warren Counties. These manumissions were the result of Carter’s conversion to the Baptist faith. As Carter began freeing his Shenandoah Valley slaves, the Free Black population in Frederick County swelled from 116 in 1790 to 610 in 1810 (Ebert 1996:12). Predictably, in Clarke County, its planters saw the manumission of

**Table 2:
Population Growth of Free Blacks in the Lower Shenandoah**

	1790	1860
Clarke County	—	64
Frederick County	116	1,208
Shenandoah County	19	316
Warren County	—	284

Carter’s slaves as a threat to the stability of the county’s slave society. As one of these planters told Carter:

I have not heard a single instance among those you have freed meriting your liberality—they live generally by the plunder of grain and the stocks from their neighborhood and though some of them are hardy young Men, without any expense but their own maintenance, they pay not a penny toward any Tax, this I am told by the Sheriff of the county. . .
(Kalbian and Boyer 2002:10).

In the first decades of manumission many wrote that they freed their slaves out of “Christian charity,” or as a reward for faithful service. However, a number of these manumissions were conditional; many required that the slaves remained in service until the death of the owner or members of his/her family. Other African Americans purchased their own freedom. One Frederick County slave, Moses McGuire, purchased his freedom from his master Sigismund Stribling for the huge sum of \$500.00 in 1817.

To remain in Virginia, Free Blacks had to register with their county government each year and have their free status certified by a white patron. White social control was further reinforced after 1805 by the enactment of a law providing for the re-enslavement of those Free Blacks who did not pay their personal property taxes. In 1851 a list of 39 Free Blacks delinquent in their taxes was posted on the “front door of the [Frederick County] Court.” Since no one bid on the men in November, the court officers were reposting the notice in December. Interestingly, no Free Black women were on the lists (Kalbian and Boyer 2002:19).

White certifications of Free Blacks archived at the Library of Virginia are for the most part straightforward physical descriptions of “blacks,” mulattoes, or “bright mulattoes.” Even if the white-Free Black association were a long one, certifications included physical descriptions of idiosyncratic features, such as scars or distinctive facial

features. Certifying to the free status of Clara Banks, for example, Virginia Maddery writes in 1849 that:

I have known Clara Banks for a long time, from my infancy up to the present day and know that she is free woman. Clara has a scar on the right cheek and a slight scar on the left cheek, and is a black woman. . . (Maddery 1849).

The dilemma of slaveholders convinced of slavery's evil, but unable to envision a place for freed slaves in the white social order, found its solution in the establishment of a Frederick County chapter of the American Colonization Society (ACS) in 1817. Through its auspices, slaveholders like Ann Randolph Meade Page freed 33 slaves, paying both their passage to Africa and one year's expense in Liberia. Overall, the ACS agent's career in the Valley proved a checkered one. ACS agent Rufus W. Bailey attempted to increase Free Black immigration to Liberia by seeking enforcement of codes requiring Free Blacks to leave the state. Moreover, influential Free Blacks in the Northeast increasingly opposed the ACS as a white attempt to eliminate a social element that threatened slavery's stability. The ACS's viability was spent by the 1830s.

Other Valley towns relied on the labor and custom of free people of color. In Lexington, the Free Black population of town rose from 33 in 1830 to 91 in 1860. Even as early as the end of the eighteenth century, Rockbridge County in 1790 included 41 free people of color as well as 682 enslaved people (Eslinger 2000:195). Eslinger's comments about Lexington can be extended to Winchester and possibly Strasburg:

The majority of southern Free Blacks nonetheless lived in small towns like Lexington and its surrounding rural hinterland. These individuals have not been studied in depth, largely because they are exceptionally difficult to trace. The unfortunate result is that a major aspect of the southern free black experience remains obscure (Eslinger 2000:194).

Despite this difficulty, the extant Free Black Registers provide some documentary hint of the nature of life in the Valley for free African Americans. Eslinger's research into Lexington and Rockbridge County indicates that the antebellum Free Black communities were cohesive and stable, with significant numbers of individuals who were born free. Despite their demographic stability, the Free Black community faced a range of restrictions that became even more strict following the 1831 Nat Turner rebellion. Eslinger notes that over time, the ability of members of this free community to attain training in skilled work decreased sharply, with manual labor the only option for

individuals born in the decades leading up to the Civil War. The imposition of a poll tax in the 1850s, to provide funds for ships to Liberia, exemplifies the increasingly harsh attitudes of Valley whites towards both free and enslaved African Americans. In Lexington, curfews were imposed upon both free and unfree African Americans, along with an increase in the number of white patrols. Nevertheless, both communities were entwined:

those Free Blacks who remained in Virginia survived in part by forging a dependent personal alliance with local whites, who largely supported the legislative restrictions but administered them selectively (Eslinger 2000:197).

Their value as a work force was a counterweight to efforts to remove Free Blacks from the region, an effort easily enough accomplished by law. The fact that Frederick County's Free Black population grew principally through natural increase, even with increasing numbers of manumissions, attests to the toleration, if not appreciation, of their presence in the County. Ebert concludes that "there were enough economic opportunities so that whites did not feel threatened by Free Blacks in the work force" (Ebert 1996:60).

In her survey of Free Black labor in the county, based on her analysis of census data, Ebert details the occupational range of Free Blacks' work in Winchester between 1803 and 1851. As might be expected, the variety of work in Winchester exceeded that in rural areas of Frederick County where Free Blacks more often worked as laborers and farmhands. In the 1850 census, for example, of the 142 Free Blacks and mulattoes working in the county, 25 worked as craftsmen and two-thirds as laborers and farmhands, with nine listed as "farmers." The work of Free Black men in the county was more varied than that of Free Black women. In Winchester Free Black women most often worked as washerwomen or spinners. On farms, they were more likely to be domestic help, performing house cleaning, child care, or other tasks assigned by the farmer's wife. Ben Ritter's occupational survey of the county in 1850 enumerates 124 job categories, with Free Blacks appearing in 11 of these. As Ebert explains, "they did not monopolize any trades but apparently worked with, and for, the white men in these occupations" (Ebert 1996:25).

In the rural neighborhood surrounding Middletown, where CEBE is located, Free Blacks listed in the 1850 census typically performed farm laborer tasks, such as

shocking wheat and corn and plowing fields for cultivation. A handful were farmers or artisans, such as coopers. Through the antebellum period, Frederick County sustained a significantly larger Free Black population than its Lower Valley neighbors. In this prosperous county, Free Blacks found a labor niche that complemented the county's mixed labor force. Daniel Stickley also employed Free Blacks on occasion, as evidenced by his accounts.

Free Black Property Ownership and the Formation of Black Communities

In the Lower Valley's freeholder society, land ownership validated citizenship. Transmittable wealth accumulation was directly linked to property ownership. Although they could not vote, Free Blacks could use their property-owning rights to achieve citizenship standing (Ebert 1996:29).

Free Blacks in Frederick County had been property owners as early as 1795, when Henry Hamilton purchased 90 acres. Notably, Free Black women in Middletown were some of the earliest land owners. For example, in 1817, freed woman Milly Lewis sold a half-acre lot given her by Dr. Peter Senseney. By 1851 another Free Black woman had purchased three lots in Middletown (Ebert 1996:28; Fravel n.d.:204-206).

By the 1850s, Free Black families living independently were common in Frederick County. Of 330 Free Blacks living in rural areas, 253 lived in 50 separate households. Forty of these households were male-headed and a number were multi-generational (Ebert 1996:26).

Just prior to the Civil War, out of a total Free Black population of 1,208, 36 owned land in Winchester and 17 in outlying areas of Frederick County. Both urban and rural Free Black property owners lived on properties surrounded by white neighbors. In addition, in the early 1860s, a number of those Free Blacks began to occupy one-acre plots east of Stephens City, forming the community of Freetown (Ebert 1996:26).

Several Free Blacks were living in the same magisterial district as Belle Grove in 1859. Their properties were identified as the "negro farm." George Flicker and Thornton Howard had an acre of land near New Town; Flicker's land was vacant but Howard's contained a building worth \$100. Jefferson Jenkins and Enoch Jenkins had an acre with \$175 worth of buildings, whereas Charles Roberson had 44 acres that were vacant. Baker Howard owned four acres on Cedar Creek, but had no buildings upon his property.

Samuel Tyler, also a Free Black, had two acres and \$30 worth of buildings on the Valley Pike (Frederick County Land Tax Lists 1859).

Even the majority of Free Blacks in the study area who lived within white households may have had a partially independent existence. In her analysis of the 1850 Frederick County census Ebert found that, of the 84 Free Blacks living in white households, approximately a quarter of these were in Quaker households who had freed their slaves in the eighteenth century (Ebert 1996:26). Also, among those living in white households were married partners. Some Winchester domestics probably had enslaved husbands who lived elsewhere. A Free Black, Enoch Jenkins, who worked as a blacksmith for his master George Guard, is enumerated as a member of Guard's Stephens City household in 1850. It is likely, however, that Jenkins also had ties to Leah Jenkins, a Free Black woman of Stephens City, one of whose sons was named Enoch.

Enslaved or free, African Americans in the antebellum Lower Valley exercised considerable freedom of movement in maintaining community networks. According to the account of Betheny Veney, an enslaved woman of Page County, there was strong pressure to remain, because the ties of kin and community were strong. As she weighed whether to run away and go to the slave block with her husband or to stay in Page County, the weight of community tipped the scales: "what would I do in a strange land? No. It was far better for me to stay where, for miles and miles, I knew everyone, and everyone knew me" (Veney 1889).

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES IN THE LOWER VALLEY IN THE ANTEBELLUM PERIOD

As noted above, one of the most significant characteristics of the study area is its long association with a variety of Protestant Reformed churches, including the Methodists, the Lutherans, the Presbyterians, and, in particular, the Church of the United Brethren. The Quakers reached the region by the mid-eighteenth century, and the Germans and Scots Irish settlers brought their own Reformed religious practices with them.

As the histories of these churches have been exhaustively documented in several studies, this study will focus only on those congregations, churches, meetings, and fellowships that were established between Winchester and Strasburg. For each

**Table 3:
Patterns in Religious Diversity by Congregation, 1850 and 1870**

	Frederick		Clarke		Shenandoah		Warren	
	1850	1870	1850	1870	1850	1870	1850	1870
Baptist	3	6	3	3	1	13	5	2
Quaker	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Episcopal	2	2	3	4	—	—	—	—
German Reformed	1	1	—	—	1	15	—	—
Lutheran	4	8	1	1	4	22	—	—
Methodist	10	30	4	6	2	14	6	10
Presbyterian	4	6	—	—	2	4	1	—
Catholic	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
United Brethren in Christ	—	9	—	—	—	6	—	—

denomination, this region constituted a “circuit.” The circuit was an important concept in the religious practice of these communities, as many Reformed fellowships rejected the notion of an established ministry. Thus preachers and ministers drawn from the congregations were preferred, and these remained steadfastly independent throughout the history of each congregation. Preachers were expected to travel a fixed circuit to visit and minister to several different churches or meetings annually. Thus scattered religious communities were linked to one another by these preachers, who brought news along with spiritual enlightenment.

In addition to scheduled meetings, and the frequent weddings, funerals, and other life-course rituals, believers attended large gatherings, known as camp meetings, which also served to maintain social ties over significant distances. A description of one such meeting is contained in a letter from Methodist William Hedges, who described one he attended in 1858 at Chrisman’s Spring, located on the properties acquired by one of Jost Hite’s daughters and her husband Jacob Chrisman:

The camp meeting was held at Chrisman’s Spring, Commencing Friday, August 20th, and continuing a week. It was the largest I ever attended, there being about one hundred and fifty tents, making three circles around the vast auditorium. Most of them were made of white cotton cloth, the other of boards. Winchester and Front Royal united with the circuit. I remember Rev. James Petty, of Front Royal, came in a large covered wagon and had a tent in connection with it in the third circle.

Brother Roszell’s sermon Sunday morning was a fine strain of oratory; it occupied two hours and ten minutes. There seemed to be no weariness in the vast assembly present—estimated at eight or ten thousand. The last night was memorable for its multitude, its Pentecostal baptism of the Holy

Spirit and for perhaps fifty or more powerful conversions (Stone House Foundation 2006:71-72).

The evangelical churches were united by the centrality of the conversion experience. Historian William Montgomery describes it thus:

The central concept in evangelical doctrine. . . was the idea that a radical, ego-shattering conversion experience was necessary to gain entry into Heaven. Through a process beginning with a humbling awareness of their utter worthlessness and leading to a spiritual rebirth as redeemed Christians, people could be made acceptable to God. In presenting that simple precept to audiences, evangelical ministers appealed to people's deepest feelings of guilt, fear, and joy (Montgomery 1993:19).

The patterns of life engendered by this central concept, and the interconnections of the circuit of fellowships, was an important element in the formation of the "traditional" farming communities that surrounded Cedar Creek and Belle Grove. The Meadow Creek Church, just behind the mansion, was and is central to the system described above, and the creek and its tributaries were important sites in the sacred landscape of conversion and rebirth. The modern patterns of worship associated with this church will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

Census information also elaborates a Lower Shenandoah Valley landscape in which evangelical Protestantism gained considerable ground. In its broad appeal to African Americans and white Protestants of German, Ulster Irish and Anglo-Virginian stock, evangelical Protestantism had become a way of negotiating ethnic as well as racial divides. In Clarke County, three Baptist and four Methodist congregations had joined Anglican ones by 1870. In counties liked Frederick and Shenandoah, where dissenting faiths associated with German and Scots Irish groups predominated, such as the Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Reformed Germans, to name a few, both Methodist and Baptist congregations gained a firmer foothold. In Frederick, for example, Methodist congregations increased from three in 1850 to six in 1870 and Baptists from 10 in 1850 to 30 in 1870. In Shenandoah County, the stronghold of German Protestant sects and Ulster Presbyterianism, Baptist conversions resulted in the proliferation of 13 congregations between 1850 and 1870, while Methodist congregations increased from two in 1850 to 14 in 1870.

In part, changing denominational affiliation may be attributed to the mainline German congregations' difficulty in obtaining the trained clergy they demanded. More

significant, however, were the charismatic influence of evangelical Baptists and Methodists in reaping harvests of conversions at large open meetings. In the Middletown-Stephens City vicinity, the Methodists' decision to make the towns' settlers of German stock a "mission field" profoundly influenced their religious history. In 1781 peripatetic Methodist Bishop Asbury noted that "could we get a Dutch [German] preacher or two to travel with us...we should have a good work among the Dutch [Germans]" (Frantz 2001:80). During the spring of 1784, and again in 1790, Asbury preached in Stephens City with a German assistant. Asbury and other Methodists returned frequently thereafter to the Valley, holding quarterly and annual Methodists' conferences in 1794 and 1806 (Frantz 2001:80) Methodism's charismatic power brought both white and African American converts into the fold in the Opequon district. Methodist churches established in Stephens City and Middletown by the early 1800s had both parented African American Methodist congregations by the late nineteenth century.

Organized Religion's Role in African American Identity

Such notable scholars of African American religion as Mechal Sobel and Albert Raboteau concur that the first Great Awakening (ca. 1730-1750) was the real beginning of African-descended inhabitants' journey in North America as African Americans. At this juncture in the eighteenth century, Sobel argues, the bifurcated cultural identity of peoples of African descent became fused into an integral African American syncretic cultural identity combining aspects of African cultural beliefs with elements of Baptist belief. Raboteau further suggests that, in their emerging journey as Protestant African Americans, African American evangelical Protestants were taking on the mantle of a new citizenship, since they were no longer exclusively seen as a "mission field" but were themselves becoming missionaries and enthusiastic participants at interracial camp meetings. In Frederick County, for example, Methodists invited Free Black Methodist preacher Jefferson Jenkins to address an interracial revival meeting at Chrisman's Spring in 1858. A white Methodist minister visiting Stephens City's independent African American Methodist Church in the same year remarked of Jenkins' preaching that his "sermon was full of fine descriptions and his language elegant" (Noyalas 2006:18).

The independent African American churches forming in the late antebellum period in Frederick County were also powerful sources of community connection. In the

late 1850s, this movement merged with the establishment of a Free Black community, Freetown, due north of Middletown and east of Stephens City. Freetown signaled the maturing of the African American presence in the Lower Valley. At least two of the individuals instrumental in Freetown's establishment, Preacher Jefferson Jenkins and blacksmith Enoch Jenkins (relationship unknown), were also leaders in Stephens City's independent African American Methodist church. Land tax records show that they, along with Free Black Thornton Howard, had each purchased one-acre lots in the Stephens City vicinity and had built houses. Lake's 1886 *Frederick County Atlas* maps this community as two rows of houses lining a road that branched off the Berryville Pike several miles east of Stephens City. By the 1880s Freetown would have eight residences and a brickyard providing employment to the community. Anna Wanzer remembers the community's "houses [were] built with slanting roofs like slave houses" (interview with Anna Wanzer, 2006).

Byron Smith, director of the Stone House Foundation, reasonably conjectures that Freetown may have been a link in the underground railroad: "During the period before the Civil War fugitive slaves would have been hidden out there and would have been protected in their travels north." Byron references a letter from a runaway slave in Erie, Pennsylvania that had mentioned his "friends" in the Stephens City vicinity (interview with Byron Smith, 2006).

African Americans interviewed for this study had no recollection of other African Americans within their network of relations and friends who belonged to denominations associated with such dissenting faiths as the Lutheran Reformed Church, the Quakers or the Presbyterians. Shenandoah Valley religious historian Stephen L. Longenecker reports that the Quakers actively protested against slavery by leaving Frederick County. By the late 1790s almost a quarter of the Hopewell Friends Meeting had migrated westward to opening territories more compatible with their beliefs. By 1800 those remaining had manumitted their slaves (Longenecker 2002:161). In Shenandoah County, where no German Protestant congregation had conducted services in English before 1827, language also proved a formidable barrier to recruitment of African American communities. In contrast, in Clarke County, enslaved African Americans did worship in biracial Anglican (and later Episcopalian) congregations. African American Episcopalian churches survive today in Clarke County as daughter congregations of earlier biracial Anglican Churches such as the historic Wycliffe Chapel, located in Berryville, Virginia.

The emergence of independent African American Baptist and Methodist congregations in the Lower Valley by the antebellum period is one of the region's most distinctive features, given the fears of slave uprisings among white residents exacerbated by Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831 (interview with Mary Thomason-Morris, 2006). By the 1850s church records and city directories provide evidence of independent African American congregations. In 1857, the Market Street Methodist Church, Winchester's oldest Methodist congregation, helped construct an African American church on land donated by a white congregant and named in his honor, the John Mann United Methodist Church (Ebert 1996:37). Reflecting the often complex evolution of African American institutions in the antebellum Upper South, the Old Stone Presbyterian Church deeded its church property to the Old School Baptist Church of Color in 1858. In 1875 this Baptist Church in turn deeded the property to a trustee of the Free Will Baptist Church of Winchester to be used as a African American school (Old School Baptist Records n.d.:55iTHL).

More recent scholarship on African American religion reveals that the so-called biracial churches were varied and flexible in their treatment of African Americans. Both enslaved and free African Americans worshipping in these churches were officially enrolled members with transferable memberships. African American members, free and enslaved, had equal sacramental rights to baptism and marriage at a time when slave marriages were not legally sanctioned nor the humanity of free and enslaved African Americans uniformly confirmed. While there are no records for enslaved African American membership in Middletown's biracial Methodist and Episcopal congregations, records of the biracial Bethel Baptist Church in nearby Clarke County, which welcomed African American congregants as early as 1809, reveal that enslaved African Americans could choose to worship in a church other than their master's, as was the case with Bethel members owned by Anglican Nathaniel Burwell. African Americans assumed responsible roles in the church, such as sexton, and were given the privilege of self-discipline:

The Church permits and gives privilege to the Coloured Members to have the use of Bethel meetinghouse the fourth Sunday in every two Months for the purpose of Examining into the moral deportment of the Colored Members of the Bethel Church
(Bethel Register 1989).

This form of self-regulation could also become a form of social control, as African American members were admonished or excommunicated for such backsliding behavior as “writing a pass for another black man” (Bethel Register 1989:23).

Even enlightened congregations such as these preserved distinctions between black and white members, often expressed architecturally. Bethel Church has a slave gallery and separate entrance. In 1830, they also recruited African American assistance in enforcing these separations: “Servis belonging to William Timberlake and Harry, belonging to Nathaniel Burwell, appointed to assist in keeping order among the coloured Brethren” in the gallery.

Following denominational traditions, Methodist churches in Frederick County empowered African American members by placing some of them in leadership roles. While the denomination did not permit ordained African American ministers, African American men could be licensed preachers and exhorters. Winchester’s oldest Methodist congregation, the Market Street Methodist Church, had African American licensed preachers and exhorters. As preachers and exhorters these African American members could attend Methodist quarterly conferences. One of the Market Street Church’s licensed preachers, Jefferson Jenkins, pastored the African American Methodist church in Stephens City in the late 1850s. Since Middletown’s African American Methodists did not have a separate house of worship until 1877, they may have worshipped with Stephens City African American Methodists, who had a separate church in the 1850s. By the 1880s, the two congregations were part of the African Methodist Church district that also included the Strasburg church.

African American Religious Practice in the Middletown-Stephens City Area

Methodists of German stock erected Middletown’s first church around 1800. This church, a log sanctuary currently standing unoccupied on Senseney Street, became the Middletown Mission Church in 1872, when white Methodists conveyed it to African American congregants. The simple log church is an historically significant resource for both African- and German-descended Middletown residents. By 1880, the town’s African American Methodists had built another church, the Mt. Zion Church, on Senseney Street. The oral history accounts of both Mrs. Alice Welsh, a white Middletown resident, and the Washington sisters, African American Middletown

residents, suggest Mt. Zion was a recognized and admired congregation and the central focus of Senseney Street's African American neighborhood.

African Americans in the Middletown area also share a religious heritage with the area's Episcopalians. In 1834 Isaac Hite, Jr. helped establish St. Thomas Episcopal Chapel, an elegant, early example of the Gothic Revival style in Episcopal churches. Its congregation was biracial, as suggested by the fact that St. Thomas Chapel had an outside entrance leading to a slave gallery. The church is also linked with one of Middletown's most prominent African American residents, Caroline Jenkins. In 1904 "Aunt Caroline" Jenkins testified before the Federal government in Washington concerning Civil War reparations sought for St. Thomas Chapel. The Chapel had served alternately as a hospital for Union and Confederate soldiers during the Civil War (interview with Mildred Brumback, 2006).

ECONOMY IN THE LATE ANTEBELLUM PERIOD IN THE LOWER SHENANDOAH VALLEY

By 1860, the urban population of Frederick County increased to 31 percent of the total, which had dropped to 16,546. At that time, only 58.5 percent of the county's residents still lived on farms, with hamlets and villages accounting for the remaining 10.5 percent (Mitchell 2000:44). Each of these settlement clusters enjoyed well-established connections to other communities, through the increasing network of roads and the establishment of Federal post offices (Rawson 2000).

With the maturing of the lower Shenandoah Valley as a commercial farm region in the late antebellum period, well-to-do families like the Hites of Belle Grove could buy both imported and domestic goods of fine quality in Winchester and its subsidiary towns. Elliott and Nye's *Virginia Directory & Business Register for 1852* reports Winchester "is doing an immense business with the Valley," and lists 146 business enterprises for the thriving town. The *Directory* notes internal improvements in Frederick County facilitating inhabitants' travel as well as the movement of goods and produce. By 1851 its macadamized roadway accommodated the Valley Pike's traffic. Eight turnpikes radiated east and west to nearby destinations like Berryville and Front Royal, but also as far afield as Petersburg. Most importantly, in 1836, the extension of a Baltimore & Ohio Railroad spur line from Harper's Ferry to Winchester solidified the

region's integration into the nation's rapidly developing transportation and industrial network. In the twentieth century, this evolving transportation network provided a lifeline to African Americans and other workers in the Middletown vicinity who, in order to earn a living, had to commute to industrial and domestic jobs in Winchester, Stephens City, or Front Royal (see discussion below).

Seventy-two percent of Frederick County's tax payers owned land in 1840; in 1850 their land was worth almost twice the state average, or \$8.27 per acre. Over more than two centuries of settlement, as it became one of Virginia's most prosperous agricultural regions, the Lower Shenandoah Valley retained its character as a region of predominantly medium-sized farm holdings of 100-499 acres. Even in Clarke County, whose large estates gave this region a Tidewater plantation-like landscape, the majority of farms fell within the 100-499 acre range (see Appendix B).

Historian Henry Howe reported in 1845 that Winchester was the largest town west of the Blue Ridge mountains, with the exception of Wheeling, West Virginia. Winchester was a regional center of commerce and trade that contained numerous private residences, government buildings, commercial establishments, churches, and other public facilities (Howe 1969:272-277). During this period, the Shenandoah River and its forks comprised the region's principal conduit of transportation, just as it had during colonial times. River barges or "gundalows" that measured 12 by 76 feet and traveled in groups of four or five made the journey downstream, crewed by 14 to 18 men. Typically, the boats made a one-way trip, as they were often sold and converted to lumber as soon as they reached their destination. Although the Shenandoah Valley's first railroad was built in 1854, river travel continued to be important and experienced a boom during the 1880s. It was in 1881 that the tracks of the Shenandoah Valley Railroad were laid along the South Fork of the Shenandoah River (W.C.S.C. 1986:41-43).

Real estate tax rolls for the late 1850s indicate that Frederick County had many farms in the 50 to 100 acre range and many that were between 200 and 300 acres in size. A few were as large as 500 acres. In 1859 Isaac F. Hite had 880 acres with \$500 worth of buildings, and Belle Grove, which was identified as Ann Hite's estate, consisted of 670 acres with \$2,000 worth of improvements. Isaac F. Hite also had 592 acres with \$2,000 worth of buildings (Frederick County Land Tax Lists 1855-1860).

Social statistics for 1850-60 shed some light upon what life was like in Warren and Frederick Counties at that time. Frederick County's main agricultural products were

wheat, corn, oats, buckwheat, and potatoes. The county had two newspapers and 50 common schools. In 1850, there were nine men and women (all of whom were African American) who lived in the county poorhouse. All but two of them were elderly (Frederick County Census 1850). In 1860 Frederick County had 6,312 inhabitants who were free and 2,999 who were enslaved. The county had 755 farms, 64 industries, and 1,124 houses (Frederick County Social Statistics 1860; see Appendix B).

There were 415 farms in Warren County in 1860. Warren County's principal agricultural crops were wheat, corn, rye, and oats. Forest products also figured importantly in the agricultural economy. In 1860 there were 877 free white males who were at least 21 years of age and there were 46 Free Black males who were at least age 21 but under 55. There was one Free Black male who was over the age of 55. Thus, free adult African American males who were not considered elderly comprised 20 percent of the adult male population. Warren County reportedly had 804 slaves. County citizens had use of two local newspapers and 11 common schools (Warren County Social Statistics 1860).

In the late antebellum period, significant investment in land, farm buildings and farm equipment made for high agricultural productivity in the Lower Shenandoah Valley (see Appendix B). Elite planters such as Isaac Hite shared the smaller farmers' willingness to invest in farm equipment and machinery. The 1850 census highlights the region's progressive farm methods. Frederick County led the region, with \$148,515 invested in farming equipment, \$49,382 more than the county's nearest competitor, Shenandoah County. Middletown served as a mercantile center for the distribution of farm equipment in this progressive agricultural region. As early as the 1830s Joseph Martin reports that in addition to "4 mercantile stores" supplying farm implements, Middletown could boast "one extensive wheat machine manufactory."

In addition to progressive farming techniques, an enslaved labor force was another essential ingredient in the region's agricultural prosperity. Slaveholding patterns in the region reveal the extent to which modestly-scaled farm enterprises relied on enslaved peoples. This was particularly the case in Frederick and Clarke Counties. Here and elsewhere in the study area, the majority of families owning slaves worked their farms with one to nine slaves (Table 4).

Not only was slavery widely dispersed in the Lower Shenandoah Valley, it complemented a flexible, diverse free labor force that included farm families' own

**Table 4:
Numbers of Slaves Held by Farmers in 1860**

	1-3	4-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-49	50-99	100-199	200+
Clarke	115	108	50	32	26	12	3	1	0
Frederick	214	123	33	21	14	1	0	0	0
Shenandoah	67	39	5	4	20	0	0	0	0
Warren	100	70	33	13	8	5	0	0	0

Note: In 1860 no slaveholders in any Virginia county had more than 1000 slaves. Only eight slaveholders in Virginia had 200 or more slaves, as reported in the 1860 federal census slave schedules.

members, seasonal white workers, and Free Blacks. In a seasonal grain economy, this flexible labor force avoided the rigidities of a permanent, subsidized one and allowed farm families to channel surplus wealth to luxury items or farm improvements. A study of the hire system in Augusta County reveals why it spread so rapidly in the area: “Hired labor could be gathered for an intense period of work and dispersed during slack times” (Simmons and Sorrells 2000:270). In Frederick County, even a cursory review of the 1850 population schedule reveals why the hire system was a good fit with its family farming system. Farm families had a built-in, permanent labor supply in intergenerational households like that of Anthony and Martha Funkhouser whose two grown sons, 23 and 17, are listed along with their father as “farmer” (Simmons and Sorrells 2000:270).

In this type of labor system, Shenandoah Valley farmers often worked side by side with their farmhands, free and enslaved, African American and white. From the Shenandoah Valley documentary evidence “a rigid hierarchy of labor does not appear to have existed on Valley farms,” Suzanne Simmons and Nancy Sorrells observed in their study of the Valley’s slave hire system (Simmons and Sorrells 2000:270).

Slave Hiring in the Late Antebellum Period

The 1860 Federal census slave schedule for the first time distinguished between farmers who owned or hired slaves (Table 5). While this schedule probably provides only a partial profile of hiring patterns, undoubtedly excluding some day and seasonal hires, it does suggest some general trends. In counties like Warren and Frederick, the majority of whose slaveholders owned a small number of slaves, hired slaves supplemented a labor-intensive farm economy. In contrast, Clarke County, with a larger

**Table 5:
Slave Hires in the Late Antebellum Period**

	<hr/> No. of Farmers Hiring Slaves <hr/>
Clarke County	0
Frederick County	25
Shenandoah County	9
Warren County	34

concentration of plantations worked by 20 or more slaves, did not rely on the hire system. Clarke County's larger slaveholders could hire out surplus enslaved laborers. In turn, they did not need to hire slaves since they operated on a large scale year round.

By matching slave employers on the 1860 slave schedule with the Frederick County population census, several patterns of the slave hire system are discernible. First, only four of the employers owned slaves, underlining the importance of hires to the farming and rural industry enterprises of non-slaveholding farmers. Second, while most enslaved laborers were hired to do farm work, others were hired for artisanal and other manufacturing enterprises. In addition to farmers, their employers included a Methodist clergyman in Stephens City, a miller, a blacksmith, a miner, and a "manufacturer." Some of the hiring farmers lived within the households of other farm families; one of these employers, Amos Jolliffe, was likely a farm laborer or tenant, since he is enumerated as living within the household of a merchant farmer. Not all of the employers hired their enslaved laborers from Frederick County slaveholders; a note on the 1860 slave census indicates that farmer Jacob Barley hired his slave from Dr. McCarter of Jefferson County. Finally, as might be expected, since slave hires served the needs of non-slaveholders, the majority of slave employers hired only one or two slaves. Farmer W. S. Jones employed five slaves, the largest number of hired slaves for a single employer recorded in the Frederick County slave schedule.

Manufacturing in the Late Antebellum Period

Through the antebellum period, the Lower Shenandoah Valley's commercial agricultural economy continued requiring a score of complementary manufacturing and artisan enterprises, such as coopering, mills for grinding flour and corn, wagon makers, blacksmiths, stone masons and a host of other artisanal enterprises. Frederick,

Shenandoah and Warren Counties had more capital invested in manufacturing enterprises than did rural Clarke and, as a result, reaped greater monetary benefits from manufacturing establishments (see Appendix B). Frederick County, for example, had \$522,325 invested in manufacturing enterprises and its investors could claim profits of \$593,817 on manufactured products.

Among the modestly-scaled artisanal and manufacturing enterprises in Frederick County in 1850 were saw- and flour mills, tan yards, wagon and saddle makers, cooperage, and producers of agricultural implements and furniture. By 1860 woolen mills also appear on the manufacturing census, and a number of African Americans living in the Middletown-Stephens City vicinity had found employment in these woolen mills by the 1870s.

THE CIVIL WAR LANDSCAPE

On the eve of the Civil War, the Shenandoah Valley was characterized by a diversified agricultural economy which included the commercial production of wheat by both enslaved and wage labor. Augmenting this focus on commercial agriculture was the growth of significant extractive and productive industries. Minerals were mined from Valley and mountain sources, and iron was an important industrial product exported from the Valley. Aiding the distribution of these commodities was an intricate and organized system of roads, including a major north-south toll road or turnpike (the Valley Turnpike) running along the same course as the eighteenth-century Great Wagon Road and the earlier Great Warrior Path from Lexington north to the Potomac River at Williamsport. Connecting with this turnpike were a series of maintained roads leading eastward over the Blue Ridge mountains. With the exception of roads truncated in the twentieth century by the creation of Shenandoah National Park, the bulk of this antebellum transportation system is still in use. The arrival of the railroads further facilitated the movement of commodities. The Lower Valley was served by the Baltimore and Ohio, the Manassas Gap, and the Winchester and Potomac railroads. The latter was opened in 1836 and served to link the Lower Valley to the Potomac River at Harper's Ferry. This connection brought valley wheat to Baltimore via the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad as connected at Harper's Ferry (Phillips 1992). Only the B & O railroad, which linked Baltimore with major towns in West Virginia (including Harper's Ferry, as

mentioned, Martinsburg, and Wheeling) would survive the Civil War. Road and rail connections with the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal along the Potomac River provided ready access to markets in the nation's capital. In 1845, Winchester included numerous private residences, government buildings, commercial establishments, churches, and other public facilities (Howe 1969:272-277).

Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park Properties on the Eve of the Civil War

Isaac F. Hite, as agent or manager, may have had use of Belle Grove after his mother's death. In 1860 when agricultural census records were compiled, he was credited with 450 acres of land that was improved and 150 acres that were unimproved. That year, he harvested significant quantities of wheat, oats, potatoes, and buckwheat. He managed an orchard, and sold several hundred pounds of butter. He also had an apiary and sold honey and beeswax (Frederick County Agricultural Census 1860).

In spite of this seeming prosperity, Isaac F. Hite's heirs sold Belle Grove in 1860 to John W. and Benjamin Cooley who continued to farm in the same manner as had Isaac Hite (Frederick County Deeds 85:267, 269; Frederick County Agricultural Census 1860). The Cooleys employed day laborers, and several mulatto servants or slaves worked on the property. These included 21-year-old Manning Rinker, a farm laborer, who was white, and 57-year-old Lewis Robinson, a mulatto farm laborer. Also present were Samuel Thompson (age 14 and mulatto) and James Roberson (age 11 and African American). The census-taker listed James W. Gordon and his family as part of Benjamin Cooley's household; they may have been tenants (Frederick County Census 1860). The shocking murder of Hettie Shipley Cooley, the new mistress of Belle Grove, occurred in 1860, when she was found beaten and burned in the smokehouse. Her murder was attributed to Harriet Robinson, a slave, who died in a Richmond prison (Umstatted 2004:6-7).

This incident is perhaps emblematic of the disturbing times in which the Cooleys lived. The break-up of the Belle Grove properties and those of surrounding farms marked the end of the era of pre-war affluence in the Valley. However, it also marked the beginning of a new era of freedom for the region's African American residents. The events of the Civil War, and the economy and society of the Valley during Reconstruction and Early Modern era, are the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: SOCIAL UPHEAVAL IN THE LOWER VALLEY: CIVIL WAR, RECONSTRUCTION, AND THE EARLY MODERN ERA

THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY IN THE CIVIL WAR

The Civil War experience of the Shenandoah Valley is a topic that has been well served by historians. From the perspective of regional history, the Civil War arguably marks the transition of the Valley from an extension of Pennsylvania to a Southern region. In the run up to the conflict, the participation of the Valley in the Confederate cause was never assured. As noted by historian Michael Gorman:

the Shenandoah Valley's support for the southern cause proved to be less than wholehearted. . . . Just two months before [February 1861], in the election of delegates to the state secession convention, unionists had won majorities in eleven of the valley's nineteen counties, including a 68 percent margin of victory in Frederick, and won at least a third of the votes in all but two counties (Gorman 2000:274).

Nevertheless, when Virginia opted to join the secessionists in mid-April of 1861, after the battle at Fort Sumter, South Carolina, most of the Valley followed suit.

The Strategic Role of the Valley

The significance of the Shenandoah Valley in the American Civil War, and its later commemoration, is well recognized by contemporaries and modern historians alike. General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson remarked that "if this valley is lost, Virginia is lost" (Cozzens 2008). The story of Jackson's 1862 Valley campaign, and the Battle of Belle Grove or Cedar Creek in 1864, can be read in the hundreds of thousands of pages of historical writings dedicated to these events, to the ongoing significance of Jackson, Lee, Early, and Sheridan's strategies in military education, and perhaps most importantly, in the continued appeal of the associated landscapes to visitors seeking both a connection with and understanding of the war that tore a nation apart.⁹ Memories,

⁹ Sources include Baer 1997; Bittinger 2003; Buck 1902; Colt 1994; Crowninshield 1879; Cullen 1969; Davis and Robertson 2005; Dennis 1889; Eddy 1926-27; Gallagher 1991; Heatwole 1998;

constructed or not, of the disastrous impact of Sheridan's policy of total warfare, which saw the destruction of barns, mills, houses, and agricultural produce and means of production throughout the length and breadth of the Valley, still linger. Following Jackson's successful routing of Union troops in 1862, the Valley served as the most important supply region for the Confederacy. Over three hundred incidents of armed conflict occurred within the Valley counties during the Civil War, a figure which does not account for frequent and painful intra- and inter-family disagreements. Given the diversified nature of the Valley agricultural economy, and the limited reliance upon a slave economy by comparison with other regions in the Confederacy, not to mention the long-standing connections with Pennsylvania markets and society, it was inevitable that the Valley would be riven with internal conflict over allegiances in the war. Author Aaron Sheehan Dean writes of the disgust that many eastern Virginians felt toward Valley and trans-mountain Unionists, whom they had to seek out and capture, arguing "this was not the war that Virginia men had volunteered to fight." Dean cites a letter, written by John Winfield, of the Seventh Virginia Calvary, from Winchester Virginia:

You observe from the caption of this letter that I am again back in this miserable hole Winchester. . . we were called here suddenly on yesterday from Sheppardstown—to prepare for another wild goose chase in the mountains of Hampshire—called away from the face of the foe—to seek one in the jungles and hills of a poverty stricken region (Dean 2006:66).

In addition to its role as a source for supplying the Confederate Army, the Valley served a strategic role in terms of transport, as it always had. The Valley provided a critically important means for Confederate troops to launch an invasion into the North. The topography of the Lower Valley, with the Blue Ridge providing a defensible barrier against the movement of troops westward from Richmond, and the narrowing of the Valley in the vicinity of Massanutten Mountain, meant that a limited number of Confederate forces could defend the Valley and its assets against far more numerous Union troops. The Union forces, conversely, invested a great deal of effort in defending the B & O Railroad and the course of the Potomac River, both to ensure a continued supply route and to defend against any northward incursion by Confederate forces. In

Lepa 2003; Lewis 1987; McDonald 1934; McGuire 1972; Mahon 1999; Phillips 1993; Tanner 1996; Wert 1987; Whitehorne 1987, 2000; Whitehorne et al. 2000; Winchester-Frederick County Civil War Centennial Commission 1960.

addition, the Unionist majority in what was to become West Virginia aided Federal troops in moving south and east into the Shenandoah (Dean 2006:66).

In the *Sketchbook and Diary* James E. Taylor kept as he accompanied General Sheridan's troops on the 1864 Valley campaign, his pictorial and written accounts capture and, to some extent, romanticize the Lower Valley's yeoman farmer culture and the unsettled political climate. In a sketch of Middletown looking south from Main and First Streets, two rows of plain vernacular buildings flank the broad commercial thoroughfare accommodating Valley Pike traffic. The plain, substantial home of George Hinkins, a carpenter with a wife, six children and no slaves or other apprentices, must have epitomized for Taylor hard-working Valley families of moderate means (Taylor 1989:109). Of Hinkins, Taylor writes "we noted him a hardened piece of timber" whose countenance "told full well that he had long wrung tribute from toil" (Taylor 1989:109). Within the Hinkins home, Taylor sketches Mrs. Hinkins busy at her spinning wheel, while her daughters prepare the dinner table. Betsy Young, the wife of one of the town's Free Black laborers, Francis Young, is likely to have spun as well; indeed spinning was one of the most common trade skills performed by Free Black women (Taylor 1989:109). Taylor may have gotten a different perspective on the town's labor force if he had visited Middletown merchant Jacob Danner or stonemason Thomas Matthews, both of whom owned or hired slaves.

Taylor also captures the instability and turmoil of the region:

In the ensuing conversation [with Hinkins], the villager endeavored to sound us as to the duration of the war and what the prospects were for the South to win. As both questions were problematic and beyond the power of not only ourselves, but the most astute statement of the Union to solve, we had not truthful reply at command (Taylor 1989:108).

While probably overemphasizing the number of Valley folk whose values comported with those of other Union sympathizers, Taylor nevertheless underlines the Lower Valley's divided loyalties. During Taylor's visit to the plain log home of Valley historian Samuel Kercheval, Kercheval's granddaughter recounts that her grandfather's detailing of slavery's cruelties in his book "called down on his devoted head the wrath of the slave-holding Valley" (Taylor 1989:108).

Arguably, the role played by the Shenandoah Valley during the Civil War, and in particular its identification as a Confederate stronghold, initiated or at least exacerbated

a process in which the Valley identity became more clearly Southern rather than based upon the previous significant connection with the Middle Atlantic region. As Aaron Dean argues:

The hard work done by white Virginians to bring the state together around a Confederate identity may have helped facilitate a new racial coalition within the state later in the century. A favorite tactic of Confederate veterans seeking either political office or support for a policy was to recreate the sense of shared purpose that prevailed during the war. Without a doubt, these advocates invented and reimagined a substantially more harmonious past than had actually existed. Nevertheless, most white Confederates had in fact abandoned antebellum regional alignments in favor of ones based on a dedication to the Confederate cause. In doing so, they both perpetuated war and created a new Virginia for times of peace (2006:74).

It was this coalescing of anti-Union sentiment and post-Civil War mythologizing that was to resonate so strongly in the Valley and elsewhere in the South, and which laid the groundwork for the events of Reconstruction, the long period of bitter race relations that wracked the region, as well as the rise of battlefield preservation, commemoration, and reenactor movements. These developments will be addressed later in this chapter.

THE BATTLE OF CEDAR CREEK AND BELLE GROVE

The Lower Shenandoah Valley seethed with activity throughout the war years. Military cartographers of the opposing sides made relatively sensitive maps that included portions of Frederick and Warren Counties. Maps by Union and Confederate cartographers identify the right-of-way of Route 11's forerunner and certain maps show some of the buildings that stood in the vicinity of study area. On the Hotchkiss map Belle Grove and Hite's Mill are identified by name (Hotchkiss 1864; Gilmer 1864). The maps prepared by G. L. Gillespie (1865) and the Union Army's Engineer Bureau War Department (1865) identify those portions of western and central Virginia within which Generals Ulysses S. Grant and Philip Sheridan conducted their campaigns in 1864-65 (Meigs 1864; Hotchkiss 1864). All of these maps and many more are reproduced in Geier and Tinkham (2006, Vols. I-III). The area's roads and railroads were important conduits that transported men and supplies, especially agricultural products from the Shenandoah Valley. For example, General Robert E. Lee and his men used the area's roads in 1863 when they marched to Gettysburg. The Valley also served as a base of operations for

Mosby's Rangers, who staged bold raids upon Union supply lines and encampments. In Frederick and Warren Counties, barns were burned and crops and livestock were destroyed and some of Mosby's men were executed at Front Royal. The Valley Campaign brought the destruction of numerous buildings throughout the region, and left an indelible mark upon its history. Belle Grove Manor House, on the grounds of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, served as a headquarters and campground for the opposing armies. Inevitably, the plantation itself became the focus of one of the Civil War's bloodiest and most decisive battles, the Battle of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove, actually two separate engagements, which took place on October 19, 1864 (W.C.S.C. 1986:6-7, 49-50; Dohme 1976:15-16; NTHP 1968:73).

The history and events of the Battle of Cedar Creek itself have been well chronicled by scholars such as Joseph Whitehorne, and the significance and survival of the associated cultural landscape addressed in the National Park Service-sponsored report on Civil War battlefields.¹⁰ As described by Whitehorne:

the last great battle of the Civil War in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia took place on 19 October, 1864 along Cedar Creek between the towns of Strasburg and Middletown. It marked the end of Confederate power in the Valley, and its timing three weeks before the national elections unquestionably influenced the magnitude of President Lincoln's reelection. Despite this significance, the battle has been buried in the legend of Philip H. Sheridan's famous ride from Winchester and the controversy over Jubal Early's lost victory. The land over which the battle raged is still nearly the same as it was in 1864, yet few people visiting it are even aware that a battle took place (1987).

The battle is notable for the remarkable reversal that saw Confederate forces under Jubal Early victorious against Union troops in a morning engagement, only to be defeated at the end of the day by reinvigorated Union troops. Belle Grove Plantation itself served as the headquarters for Sheridan during the course of the battle, and its lands and buildings were strewn with the dead. A total of 964 soldiers representing both armies (320 Confederate and 644 Union) are recorded as having died as a direct result of

¹⁰ Sources include Lowe 1992; see also Buck 1902; Crowninshield 1879; Cullen 1969; Dennis 1889; Eddy 1926-27; Gerald 1888; Goggin 1883; Hannaford 1878; Hatton 1906; Heatwole 1998; Lewis 1988, 1989; Mahr 1992; Morgan 1962; Naroll 1952; Scheel 1996; Sweeney 1989; Tanner 1996; Wert 1987; Whitehorne 1987; Whitehorne et al. 2000; Winchester-Frederick County Civil War Centennial Commission 1960.



Figure 9: J. E. Taylor's depiction of the Battle of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove.
Courtesy of Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress.

the Battle of Cedar Creek (Lowe 1992:46). Based upon this fatality rate, Cedar Creek ranks as the deadliest Civil War battle fought in the Shenandoah Valley.

In numerous publications, Clarence Geier and others have documented the structures, features, and battlefield remains associated with the Battle of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove, and other Civil War engagements, encampments, and fortifications on and near the park (e.g., Geier and Tinkham 2006). However, while the military experience in the Valley during the Civil War is well-studied, scholarship upon the economic, social, and environmental impacts of the War is less well developed (but see Geier and Potter 2003). The following discussion focuses more broadly upon how historical archeologists have and are approaching these topics elsewhere in Virginia, and in some cases in the Valley, to illustrate the potential for future archeological and ethnohistorical work here.

Historical Archeology of the American Civil War

Over the last decade, archeological approaches to the study of the Civil War have evolved from particularistic examinations of movements on a battlefield to also addressing soldiers' lives on and off the battlefield, and examining the evolution, function, and impact of military technology in what must be considered the first modern war. Further concerns and developments in the field include recognizing and attempting to interpret the impact of the war on civilian life, addressing the experience and role of African Americans during the war, and finally, embarking upon a critical re-evaluation of the way in which Civil War sites are presented and interpreted to the public. Productive efforts to address the individual soldier's experience on the battlefield and in the camp are reflected in recent examinations of the archeology of Petersburg and Antietam.

Geier and Tinkham (2006:82-102) present an excellent compilation of eyewitness accounts of skirmishes and battles in the study area, including the Battle of Cedar Creek on the park itself, the Battle of Fisher's Hill (partly on park lands), and the battles of Jackson's 1862 campaign. In particular, Geier's excavation of the Sibley encampment (CEBE0041, CEBE0076, and CEBE0077) may yield significant social data which can be analyzed in terms of these topics as well (see below).

Limited testing at the location of the Battle of the Crater at Petersburg provided a glimpse into the realities of that August day, which served to humanize the experience of the soldiers who huddled in the trenches along the Confederate Picket Line. The presence of hearths and drainage ditches reflected "idiosyncratic solutions to the ennui and discomfort of trench occupation" while the presence of recast bullets somberly underscored the lack of supplies endured by the Confederate forces while Union troops were well stocked by the nearby depot at City Point on the James River (Orr 1994). The recent recovery of human remains from the location held by the New York Irish Brigade at Antietam (Potter and Owsley 2000) ultimately led to the identification of one individual as most likely an Irish immigrant named John Gallagher, who was aged over forty years and suffered from arthritis. Gallagher was probably conscripted straight from the ship on which he sailed into New York harbor. He, along with 60 percent of the Irish Brigade, died at Antietam.

Inadvertently then, the Civil War proved to be another trial for nineteenth-century Irish immigrants, who had poured into the eastern ports of the United States as

they fled the series of famines which struck Ireland in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s. While many of these individuals remained in cities such as Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, others perceived their best chance for advancement in leaving the crowded Northern cities where they competed for jobs alongside other European immigrants as well as African Americans. Ostensibly free in the North, African Americans still faced extremes of prejudice and discrimination. The arrival of hordes of Irish in the antebellum years destabilized any balance that may have existed. While the antipathy between the new Irish American community and the more established African American community has been overemphasized and often sensationalized there is no denying the historical reality that the two peoples fought one another over the lowest position on the social and economic rung in antebellum Northern society. As observed by one English traveler in the 1840s:

it is a curious fact that the democratic party, and particularly the poorer class of Irish immigrants in America, are greater enemies to the Negro population, and greater advocates for the continuance of Negro slavery, than any portion of the population in the free states
(John Finch 1844, cited in Moreno 2006).

Tensions between African Americans and the newly-arrived Irish immigrants were exacerbated by the fact that in the South, the desperate Irish were employed in some situations where slave owners feared to risk their valuable slaves (Ignatiev 1995). In Virginia and Maryland in the antebellum period, this work was often associated with canal and railroad construction. In the 1830s, for example, 1,800 Irish laborers were employed on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal (Ignatiev 1995; Way 1989). That such labor was viewed by slaveholders as a risky use of their investment in people as property is clear from slave hiring evidence. Simmons and Sorrells (2000:173) cite as evidence for the risk involved in canal work the death of an enslaved Augusta County man named Jerry while performing canal labor. Jerry had been leased to work on the James River canal in 1854. Nine months into his contract, he was dead. His owner, Henry Boswell Jones, lost his investment in Jerry as property, along with the income from the unfulfilled remainder of the contract.

Despite, or perhaps because of, their lowly position in antebellum American society, thousands of Irish immigrants enlisted or were conscripted into forces on both sides of the Civil War. While some were signed up on shipboard or immediately upon arrival, others did make conscious choices to participate in the war. For some, joining

the conflict arguably legitimized their position as citizens, providing them an opportunity, however small, to influence the future of their country. For the most impoverished, the prospect of regular rations and clothing was often enough to tip the balance in favor of either side. An important study of nineteenth-century immigrants and their role as soldiers in the Civil War remains to be done, and the arrival of new Irish immigrants in the Valley in the years prior to the Civil War has received little historical attention. Geier and Tinkham describe numerous sites within CEBE that reflect the movement and encampment of troops, both Union and Confederate. Among these are CEBE0042, Bowman or Stickley Ford, west of the mansion on Cedar Creek; CEBE0055, CEBE0080, and others representing the encampment of Crook's VIII Corps; and CEBE0067, another part of Sheridan's encampment. General Crook's troops, drawn from the Army of West Virginia, as well as Sheridan's other forces, were likely to have been populated by soldiers of various backgrounds and ethnicities, which might be reflected in the archeological record.

Battlefield studies remain critically important to understanding the progress and tactical elements of battles, and the individual experience of soldiers. Yet battles are temporally ephemeral events that leave behind a wake of destruction often difficult to read in the commemorative landscapes that are so often imposed upon the locales of decisive battles. As at Belle Grove, Civil War battlefields were most often once the locale of homes and farms, places where families and individuals lived out their lives and dreamed their dreams for the future. Understanding the transformation of those landscapes into theatres of war, and their return to homes and farms or their abandonment and conversion into commemorative landscapes, has become an important element in the historical archeology of the Civil War.

Perhaps the best realized study of the life of a Civil War battlefield landscape is Elise Manning-Sterling's (2000) examination of the impact of the Battle of Antietam on the Sharpsburg, Maryland agrarian landscape. The Poffenberger and Mumma families watched as their homes and farms were confiscated and systematically destroyed by the armies of the North and South. The Poffenberger farm was converted into a Confederate field hospital, while the Mumma house was looted and burned. Carefully erected and maintained fences were ripped apart and burned by soldiers, those crops that were not trampled were pulled out of the ground, livestock were slaughtered indiscriminately, and dead soldiers interred willy-nilly throughout the fields. Following the battle, the stench

of death reportedly clogged the air for miles, while the replenished hog stock of the Mummas would continue to root up human bones for decades.

The Mummas' "commitment to re-establish the way of life that existed before the battle" ultimately resulted in a reclaiming of the landscape which aimed to erase the impact of the battle, found to be very minimal in archeological examination of the Mumma farm (Manning-Sterling 2000). While the Mumma family succeeded in rebuilding and physically erasing the battle scars on their farm, many other landholders in battlegrounds faced economic ruin. Some simply pulled up stakes and moved west, never to recover what they had lost (Manning-Sterling 2000). The insights provided by Manning-Sterling regarding the long-term physical as well as psychological impacts of battle on a farming landscape and its people should inform understanding and interpretation of the wider Cedar Creek Battlefield landscape, and that of Belle Grove more specifically.

Geier and Tinkham argue that at Belle Grove itself, the establishment of the succeeding headquarters of Generals Sigel, Banks, and Sheridan meant that agricultural activity was severely curtailed there (2006:112). The Daniel Stickley House (CEBE0042) was used as a field hospital by both Union and Confederate troops, and its mill complex was burned (Geier and Tinkham 2006:112). The Solomon Heater farm (CEBE0012) was also used as a field hospital, and after the war, the Heater family petitioned for damages including the demolition of a tenant house, damage to the barn, loss of uncut timber, loss of stores of hay, wheat, oats, and corn, and all fencing (cited in Geier and Tinkham 2006:112). A valuable addition to research on the Civil War at CEBE might be further investigation of early efforts at post-war reclaiming of agricultural property there (see Chapter Nine).

The experience of African Americans during the Civil War is another key element of the historical archeology of the period. Whether or not the Civil War was about slavery or states' rights (see Chapter Eight), it deeply impacted the lives of African Americans. What role did they play in the conflict, and where do they figure in representations and remembrance? Critical re-evaluation of presentations at Manassas Battlefield in northern Virginia has sought to first acknowledge, and then reposition the story of the African Americans, free and enslaved, who made their homes in the vicinity of Bull Run where the opening battle of the Civil War was staged (Galke 2000; Martin-Seibert 2001). While lands now held by the National Park Service were acquired from

the descendants of African Americans who experienced the Civil War at Manassas, their past is muted by the emphasis of interpretation upon troop movements and an effort to balance Union and Confederate commemoration on the battlefield.

This fascinating subject might be addressed through further documentary and oral history research on American Free Black settlements such as Freetown, Berryville, and “the Negro farm.” Rebecca Ebert (1996:12) suggests that many Free Black families in Frederick County remained after the war and into the twentieth century, including the Robinson, Harris and Thompson families.

Underscoring the devastating consequences of the Civil War on the civilian population, Paul Shackel (1994) has described the Civil War experience in Harper’s Ferry, location of the Union armory and staging ground for John Brown’s 1859 raid, as “four years of hell.” Residents of the small town at the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers watched their homes alternately looted and burned by Confederate as well as Union troops, and then for the last year of the war, saw their town expand as a supply depot. Archeological investigations at several residences in the town revealed the stress of the experience, from the presence of wild animal bones suggesting a scarcity of regular food supplies, to evidence for rampant disease and poor sanitation in the form of apothecary bottles and parasites (Shackel 1994: 2000). For National Park Service archeologist David Orr, “the anthropological significance of the Civil War rests, finally, in an array of sites located, in most instances, far from the battlefield itself” (Orr 1994). Harper’s Ferry represents such a place, as does the network of towns in the Lower Shenandoah Valley, and particularly its largest settlement, Winchester.

Recent analysis of the largest Civil War field hospital, the Sheridan field hospital constructed at Winchester in September 1864, provides specific insight into the development of modern military medicine. Built in only four days, the Sheridan field hospital utilized a system of rectangular tents to encourage air circulation which were heated by a trench system connected to barrels used as chimneys (Whitehorne et al. 2000). The archeological signature of such a system would be the subsurface traces of those trenches in addition to artifact scatters.

Sophonra Bucklin, a Civil War nurse, recorded the grisly nature of everyday work in another Civil War hospital at City Point, at the confluence of the James and Appomattox Rivers:

beds were to be made, hands and faces stripped of the hideous mask of blood and grime, matted hair combed out over the bronzed brows, and gaping wounds to be sponged with soft water, till cleansed of gore and filth preparatory to dressing. I busied myself with everything save touching the dreadful wound until I could evade it no longer. Then with all my resolution I nerved myself to the task and bound up the aching limbs
(Bucklin 1869:88).

On the plus side, according to Bucklin, “the absorbing nature of hospital labor gradually hardened my nerves to the strength of stench” (Bucklin 1869).

Since several field hospitals are known to have existed on or near the grounds of CEBE, research into treatments and practice there would tie the park to broader regional interpretations of the Shenandoah during the Civil War along these lines (see Chapter Nine).

The Civil War history of the Shenandoah Valley will remain a central focus and concern of regional scholarship, of conservation and preservation, and of public presentation. The physical legacy of the war, evident in the survival of battlefields and resonant in local memory, constitutes an important source for the continuing development of knowledge and understanding. Protection as well as investigation of the archeological record associated with the battles as well as their aftermath, as at Belle Grove, should be a central element in educational programs developed in association with the National Battlefield District. But how should the resulting story be told?

Ultimately, the question again turns on which history, and whose history, do we choose to highlight? Lessons can be drawn from Shackel’s critique of presentations at Harper’s Ferry that prioritize the industrial and “modern” context of the war experience over the often-horrific conditions experienced by the town’s residents during the Civil War. In Shackel’s estimation, the built environment maintained by the National Park Service at Harper’s Ferry originated from a conscious effort on the part of

Northern industrialists [to construct] a memorializing landscape that established and reinforced an industrial ideology through the remainder of the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries
(1994).

As such, it is not true to the experiences of the individuals who contributed their labor to the industrial machine of the armory, and their lives to the Harper’s Ferry community. While Shackel’s version of Harper’s Ferry in the Civil War consciously

prioritizes labor over management in a manner which may not be appropriate for other locales, any interpretation which acknowledges the most “difficult” aspects of past, the existence of multiple perspectives and contradictory experiences, must be one that brings us closer to the complicated lives of past peoples and one that will resonate more deeply in the present.

For the Cedar Creek Battlefield, and particularly the Belle Grove Plantation property, there is exceptional scope for addressing the contradictions inherent in the presentation of Valley farm life as quintessentially American and democratic, an impulse firmly rooted in the Lost Cause approach to Southern history developed in the postbellum years in denial of the existence of slavery. As the home of slaveholders, as the seat of the Union command, and as the graveyard of soldiers from both sides of the conflict, the Civil War history of Belle Grove underscores the complexities of the Valley experience. Examining how the postbellum owners of the property coped with the legacy of the War on their land, after the fashion of Manning-Sterling’s examination of the Antietam landscape, should be incorporated into future studies of the property (see Recommendations in Chapter Nine).

AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THE CIVIL WAR

Intensification of racial tensions and the growing apprehension among Frederick County residents in the months leading up to the Civil War was reflected in most mundane documentary evidence. In August 1860, for example, George L. White, Virginia militia captain in charge of Frederick County slave patrols, filed a sworn statement with the Justice of the Peace stating that he and four other men will:

patrol until the first day of the next county court of said County and visit within the bounds of that said county at least once a week all negro quarters and other places suspected of having therein unlawful assemblies or such slaves as may stroll from one plantation to another, and to take any persons found in an unlawful assembly, or any slaves so found strolling before some Justice near the place of capture, [to] be dealt with according to law
(1860 Slave Patrol Certification, Frederick County Free Negro Papers 12).

As Jonathan Berkey points out in his study of *The Civilians’ War in the Borderland* (2003), African Americans in the Lower Valley understood that slavery’s viability was directly linked to its societal acceptability, in flux during the war years. Enslaved African

Americans took advantage of this ambiguity, as much as was prudent. Berkey notes that “lower Valley slaves carefully chose methods of resistance that minimized their autonomy and preserved their personal safety” (Berkey 2003). Some enslaved people bided their time; others actively aided the Union Army, through spying or retrieval of material goods; while others attempted to escape North or West. A significant number of African Americans also joined or were conscripted into the armies of both sides, where they fought with great bravery (Figure 10).

Some African Americans known to have spied for the Union forces had achieved folkloric stature in the Lower Valley by the early twentieth century. In 1924, the *Winchester Evening Star* printed an obituary for an African American man whose father reportedly carried a message from a Winchester lady to General Sheridan. The newspaper notes, however, that the father had been robbed of his “glamour and notoriety” in carrying the message that helped General Sheridan win the Battle of Winchester. The message had instead been carried by a “Clarke County colored man” (*Winchester Evening Star*, February 2, 1924).

RECONSTRUCTION AND POSTBELLUM LIFE

The harsh Wade-Davis Bill of 1864 proposed to treat the South as a conquered region to be rebuilt and remodeled along the lines of Northern society. The act of secession was viewed as “state suicide,” with all rights and privileges of the United States rejected and henceforth revoked. Thaddeus Stevens’s sentiments, expressed in the bill, were representative:

Dead men cannot raise themselves. Dead States cannot restore their existence “as it was” . . . The future condition of the conquered power depends on the will of the conqueror. They must come in as new states or remain as conquered provinces. Congress . . . is the only power that can act in the matter
(Stevens 1912:531).

This rigid perspective also condemned newly-freed African Americans to the vicissitudes of post-war speculation and “carpet-bagging.” Fortunately, plans for the establishment of a Freedmen’s Bureau to protect the interests of freed people and to help smooth their transition to independent living were in place before Lincoln’s assassination in 1865. The organization was to provide immediate economic relief to freedmen, and mediation if necessary between freed people and their former owners.



Figure 10: African American Union troops with their commanders in the foreground. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Yet the single most important question regarding the rights and privileges of free people was not resolved before Lincoln's death: land. Would lands owned by slaveholders be confiscated and turned over to newly freed people? Would every African American family receive the means to live independently in the rural South? Individuals who had formerly worked Valley lands returned in 1865 and 1866, in the belief that the properties would be divided up among those who had performed the labor that made the land productive. But their dreams for independence were not to be realized. While the Freedmen's Bureau did manage to confiscate some Southern properties for redistribution, it could only do so for lands that were considered abandoned because the taxes had not been paid (Berkey 2003).

At the same time, for many white farmers and laborers, the lingering economic depression that plagued Virginia for decades following the war forced them to compete with newly-freed African Americans for wages. The resentment and uncertainty

experienced by landless white Virginians soon was transformed into the virulent racism of the post-Reconstruction era, lasting well into the twentieth century and resonating down to the present. The economic difficulties faced by most Virginians following the cessation of hostilities drove poor white laborers to seek employment from wealthier landholders. Some of these individuals may have once been small farmers, who returned from the war to find their fields destroyed, their livestock long dead, and their homes beyond repair. Wage labor then provided the only possible hope of attaining enough capital to rebuild.

Emancipation and Reconstruction

Virginia's newly-freed people were cognizant of the efforts of their former masters and their apologists to return life to the pre-Civil War status quo. A remarkable address "to the Loyal Citizens and Congress of the United States of America adopted by a convention of Negroes held in Alexandria, Virginia, from August 2 to 5, 1865" outlined the realistic, prescient concerns of a convention of freed Virginians:

Four fifths of our enemies are paroled or amnestied, and the other fifth are being pardoned, and the President has, in his efforts at the reconstruction of the civil government of the States, late in rebellion, left us entirely at the mercy of these subjugated but unconverted rebels, in everything save the privilege of bringing us, our wives and little ones, to the auction block. . . . We know these men—know them well—and we assure you that, with the majority of them, loyalty is only "lip deep," and that their professions of loyalty are used as a cover to the cherished design of getting restored to their former relations with the Federal Government, and then, by all sorts of "unfriendly legislation," to render the freedom you have given us more intolerable than the slavery they intended for us (From *Revolution to Reconstruction* n.d.).

In spite of their misgivings, and with the help of the Freedman's Bureau, many newly-emancipated African Americans tried to find lost relatives, and to restore their families. In a letter of December 1867, Capt. John A. McDonnell of the Winchester Bureau inquired on behalf of a former African American Winchester resident:

Betsey Brown (col'd) sold from this county some 20 years ago has reached Staunton from Mississippi with three children and her means are exhausted. She is a daughter of Gabriel Brown (col) who is living about four miles from Winchester on the Charlestown road./ Please have enquiry made for Gabriel or he can send money to pay her passage to Winchester or if he is not able I respectfully ask transportation for her and her children as she is penniless (Freedman's Bureau Records 1866-68).

Winchester's Freedmen's Bureau Records provide substantial evidence that African Americans were also taking the initiative in uniting their families and negotiating the terms of their labor. Freed men and women in Frederick, Clarke and Warren Counties also assumed an active role in establishing schools for their children. In July 1866, the Virginia Bureau headquarters at Richmond had issued a circular, requiring local Bureau officials to identify potential school locations (Freedman's Bureau Records 1866-68). In one of the targeted sites, Middletown, officials reported that

The Freedmen of this place have purchased a site and frame for a church, which they propose to use for a schoolroom and are trying to raise money by subscription to finish it. [Freedmen took this initiative in a town where] the state of public sentiment with reference to schools for freedmen is not so good (Freedman's Bureau Records 1866-68).

Captain McDonnell felt some optimism. In June of 1868 he wrote:

Intemperance is not prevalent and industry and economy are improving their homes, families and themselves. Few, if any cases, of litigation occur between them; they are obedient to the law, and with only a few exceptions, are quiet peaceable citizens (Freedman's Bureau Records 1866-68).

However, McDonnell also noted that the newspaper announcement of the Bureau's closing at the end of 1868 was:

a cause of rejoicing among that class [of whites], who are opposed to the education of the Freedman, who generally take advantage of his ignorance, and now greatly look for a return of those times when no bureau officer will stand between defrauded and injured colored men and themselves (Freedman's Bureau Records 1866-68).

Although left without the support of the Freedman's Bureau after 1868, African Americans in the Valley took still took some steps towards economic security and the establishment of stable communities. During Reconstruction and into the late nineteenth century the antebellum African American churches in Winchester and at Stephens City also were joined by other Free Black churches: the Middletown Missionary Church (1872), Lee Town's Mt. Sinai Church (1864), Cedar Hill's Community Christian Church (1884) and, in Winchester, by the Free Will Baptist Church (1863) and the New School Colored Baptist Church (1890). African Americans also established such African American fraternal organizations as the United Odd Fellows Lodges in Winchester and Milltown, and the John Brown Temperance Society in Berryville.

Overall, however, African Americans faced difficult prospects after the Civil War. Kenneth Koons sums up African Americans' agricultural labor profile in the Shenandoah Valley:

Despite the profound transformations produced by the Civil War for all Valley inhabitants, fundamental continuity prevailed in the economic opportunities available to blacks. The great preponderance of African Americans continued to serve whites as farmhands and domestic servants, much as they had before the War. Thus, in the post-bellum period, African Americans living in what had been the breadbasket of the Confederacy were free of bondage but not of servile status (Koons 2000a:252).

The Archeology of Postbellum Life

The literature on the material lives of Southerners in the postbellum period is small but growing, and the study of archeological remains and standing structures at CEBE can be a useful addition. One of the first full-length studies in the discipline was Charles Orser's examination of the Millwood Plantation, located in the South Carolina piedmont, during the postbellum era (Orser 1988). In an arrangement duplicated throughout the plantation South, workers at Millwood were principally formerly enslaved people on the plantation. After the war, they found their lives still controlled and constrained by the plantation owner. While the system changed to wage labor, tenancy and sharecropping, workers were still virtually powerless because even if a landowner broke a signed contract, workers could not sue, as only those with property had recourse to the courts.

According to Orser, "plantation landlords were interested in profits, and plantation tenants were generally interested in getting away from the plantations." Although Orser, applying a materialist theoretical framework to his subject, could not explain why some African Americans opted to stay at Millwood rather than striking out on their own, more considered examinations of the motivation of formerly enslaved peoples are beginning to characterize archeological and historical treatises on the postbellum era. Laurie Wilkie's examination of Oakley Plantation in Louisiana employed the archeology of one house site in the yard of the Big House to address the transformation from slavery to freedom (Wilkie 2000, 2001). Several generations of the African American Freeman family lived in the abode, from which they worked for the white owners. During the postbellum era, Sylvia Freeman served the spinster Matthews sisters, while living within a vibrant African American community. Similarly, Brown and

Cooper's examination of transition from slavery to tenancy on the Levi Jordan plantation in Texas found continuity in the structure and lifeways of an African American community from the antebellum through postbellum eras (Brown and Cooper 1990). At CEBE, a number of sites reflect life in the Lower Valley after the Civil War. These include the Meadow Mill complex (CEBE003 and CEBE0075), established prior to the Civil War, but flourishing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Geier and Tinkham 2006:149; see also Kalbian 1999). (For a further description of Meadow Mills, see Chapters Six and Seven.)

Examination of the historical archeology of tenancy and of small farms in the postbellum through early twentieth century has evolved from efforts to discern material differences between African American versus white tenants, as in Stine (1990), to more considered examinations of the interplay between forces of modernization and forces of traditionalism within Southern society (for example, Cabak et al. 1999), the ways in which individuals maintain and express individual and community identity in the face of social and economic difficulty (e.g., Joseph and Reed 1997), and the increasing impact of industrialism (e.g., Russ, McDaniel and Wood 2000; Peterson et al. 1992). Regarding research into the postbellum archeology of rural Virginia, Barbara Heath (1999) has suggested, "archaeology of postbellum farms. . . will be the archaeology of economic collapse and its material effect on farmers." Postbellum archeology in Virginia is still in its infancy, largely determined by the needs of compliance-based archeology (for example, Peterson et al. 1992). One interesting compliance-based project with a significant research component of value to understanding the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century experiences of African American Virginians is the work of MacDonald, Stuck, and Bragdon (1992) in tracing the oral history of a community of freed people established outside of Yorktown in 1865. Acquiring the lands through gift and deed following the war, the community of former slaves built farms, churches, and an oystering industry, thereby managing to realize some of the promises of emancipation until 1918, when they were given 30 days to vacate their lands to make way for a military installation. The archeological potential of this abandoned postbellum African American community is being explored by Shannon Mahoney, a doctoral student in Anthropology at the College of William and Mary (Mahoney 2007).

Economic Expansion

In spite of its many misfortunes, the Lower Shenandoah Valley's resilience in the post-War period ran counter to other areas of Virginia and the South generally. The region's traditional strengths as the "wheat kingdom of the South" served it well. In particular, its diversified agricultural economy, extensive arable farmlands, scientific-machine farming and market access helped to buffer the worst of the losses sustained during the war. In contrast, the neighboring, tobacco growing Virginia Piedmont counties of Albemarle and Orange rebounded more slowly in the post-Civil War period. From 1860 to 1870 the cash value of all farms in Orange had dropped from \$3,779,229 to \$799,148 and in Albemarle, from \$9,157,646 to \$5,928,975. The dramatic increase in the number of farms in Lower Shenandoah Valley counties like Shenandoah and Frederick during the post-War years also assisted the region's recovery; more farmers were at work harvesting crops in these counties (Table 6).

However, whatever the mix of free and enslaved labor particular counties in the Lower Valley had relied on in the pre-War years, with the exception of Warren County farmers, many landowners had to subdivide their farms in order to keep the remainder. Landowners made also took on tenant farmers and made sharecropping arrangements as a means of maintaining their economic viability. At the same time, African Americans were less commonly property owners at the end of the century.

Table 7 illustrates the decline in African American land ownership through time. The economic hardships experienced by African Americans led many to take on day labor, domestic labor, and to accept discriminatory wages and treatment, in order to keep themselves and their newly-established families from further loss.

The loss of economic opportunities for African Americans in the Valley coincided with increasingly discriminatory treatment throughout the South (Frankel 2005:263; see below). Emblematic of the increasing segregation of African American and white lives in the 1870s were the Lower Valley's segregated camp meetings, the summertime religious gatherings that rekindled religious fervor while providing an expressive reenactment of Valley folkways. It was these mass meetings that had, prior to the Civil War, sympathetically linked African American and white lives in evangelical Protestant worship, and some welcomed African American preachers. The charismatic African American Methodist preacher, Jefferson Jenkins, had addressed a camp meeting at Chrisman's Spring north of Middletown in 1858. In the 1870s, however, African

**Table 6:
The Civil War's Impact on Farming in
Lower Shenandoah Valley Counties**

	1860		1870		Agricultural Wages Paid
	No. of Farms	Cash Value of Farms	No. of Farms	Cash Value of Farms	
Clarke	289	\$3,645,185	381	\$4,014,970	\$158,645
Frederick	751	\$3,987,945	1,013	\$4,494,430	\$144,310
Shenandoah	493	\$4,035,244	1,078	\$4,409,310	\$86,520
Warren	415	\$2,205,979	409	\$2,041,435	\$54,721
Virginia (all)	86,468	\$371,761,661	73,849	\$213,020,845	\$9,753,041

**Table 7:
Land Tenure Trends in the Early Twentieth Century**

	Clarke		Frederick		Shenandoah		Warren	
	1900	1920	1900	1920	1900	1920	1900	1920
Total farms	526	558	1,603	1,725	2,382	2,388	804	722
Tenant farms, white	66	205	55	381	83	—	67	141
Tenant farms, African Americans	2	15	0	1	0	—	5	6
Sharecropper farms, white	138	—	381	—	212	—	102	—
Sharecropper farms, African Americans	0	—	6	—	1	—	3	—
Sharecropper farms, total	—	25	—	53	—	56	—	17
Total agricultural wages paid (in thousands of dollars)	107	—	106	—	113	—	67	—

Americans and whites were meeting separately. In 1874, a Clarke County newspaper reported “the colored people [were] holding a camp meeting in Mr. J. W. Boomer’s wood. . . .” Clarke County historian Mary Thomason-Morris related that county newspapers of the 1880s regularly announced camp meetings “for the colored” at Morgans Wood and Pigeon Hill, an old-growth forest.

In Winchester, newspaper write-ups of camp meetings report that they attracted large crowds who came on the railroad. The *Winchester Times* reported in August 1876 that:

the Green Spring Camp, in this county, and the Locust Grove meeting, in Shenandoah, attracted a great many of our citizens on Sunday. The attendance at the latter camp was very large, the railroad alone conveying some 1200 people to the grounds.

Malcolm Brumback, a life tenant at Belle Grove, recalls that the early twentieth century camp meetings in the woods near the Vaucluse depot (halfway between Middletown and Stephens City near Chrisman's Spring on the old Valley Turnpike) drew "thousands." However, these meetings had ceased to occur by the 1920s (interview with Malcolm Brumback, 2006).

In spite of countervailing forces, African Americans began to form settlements in the Lower Valley clustered around land that had been jointly purchased in the 1870s and 1880s. By 1875 in Clarke County there were eight such communities in various stages of development, as well as two with antebellum roots: Millwood and White Post. Altogether, nineteen African American communities existed in Clarke County by the early twentieth century. In 1870, another post-War community, Josephine City, had been "formally laid out," with Robert Hall representing 33 Clarke County African American families, who together purchased 15 lots from the McCormack estate.

Some of these communities were within town limits, such as Josephine City and Blackburn in Berryville. Others were more rural, like Boyce, located at the intersection of the Norfolk and Southern Railroad and the Millwood-Winchester Turnpike. In Frederick County, African Americans established smaller, rural communities like Cedar Hill and Lee Town (north of Winchester). Remarkably, until historians Maral Kalbian and Leila Boyer conducted documentary research on the Clarke County communities in 2002, most Clarke County residents assumed that white landowners had donated the land to newly-freed slaves (interview with Leila Boyer, 2006).

Historian Leila Boyer also describes these African American communities as "catchment communities." Their locations were designed to attract settlement to them. Freetown, for example, was situated along the Berryville Pike, a major cross-Valley transportation route. In the late nineteenth century, Freetown had a brickyard within walking distance of the community's dwellings. Similarly, Boyce grew up at the junction of major Clarke County transportation links, the Norfolk and Southern railroad and the Middletown-Winchester Pike. Residents of Cedar Hill in northern Frederick County made their living working on nearby farms or in the stone quarry at Bunker Hill, West Virginia. Nineteenth-century dwellings built at Cedar Hill, like those put up at Freetown, were plain vernacular hall-and-parlor log houses with later frame additions.

In Warren County, Happy Creek, a stable Free Black community west of Front Royal with antebellum roots, attracted a Northern investor in the post-Civil War period.

Pennsylvanian J. L. Martin established a molasses factory there, allowing the community to flourish in the post-War years (Haley et al. 1943:36). Warren County historian Patrick Farrish argues that the existence of such viable pre-War Free Black communities meant Warren County saw little out-migration of its Free Black population during and after the tumultuous Civil War years.

The growth of the lime industry in Shenandoah County in the post-Civil War years also spurred a modest African American population increase, with the African American population increasing from 316 in 1860 to 1,006 in 1880. Lake's *Atlas* locates a number of small African American communities within the county, similar in composition to Middletown's Senseney Street. In Shenandoah County the African Americans living in market towns along the Harper's Ferry branch of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad worked in lime factories, artisan workshops, or on the railroad, according to the 1870 Federal census. Their communities, with the twin institutions of school and church, are clustered in these towns. Strasburg, for example, had an A.M.E. church on Queen Street facing a "col'd school" on the street's opposite side, as well as a colored cemetery and a "col'd Methodist Episcopal Church South." A colored cemetery is noted southeast of Woodstock, while Mt. Jackson had a colored school, church and cemetery. New Market had two "col'd" churches, one on Lime Street and one on Water Street.

These African American communities, whether integrated within town settings or in isolated rural settings, were a distinctive feature of Frederick and Shenandoah County life. In the early twentieth century, when substantial African American out-migration occurred, the enduring presence of African American communities like Josephine City remind us of how stable were the lives of those who chose to stay in the Lower Valley. As Kalbian and Boyer note in the report on Clarke County's African American historic resources:

[They] developed a durable and carefully nurtured social system that supported them in the years immediately following Emancipation and into the 21st century (2002).

Frederick County in 1885

J. M. Lathrop's *Atlas*, which was published in 1885, contains a wealth of information about the community in which Belle Grove and associated properties were situated. A series of maps the author and surveyor A. W. Dayton produced depict

settlement and development throughout Frederick County. The atlas also contains detailed information about each of the county's magisterial districts. In 1885 Belle Grove was situated within Opequon Magisterial District, and was home to 3,003 people, including the 372 individuals then living in Middletown.¹¹ Middletown had a public school, an Episcopal church, a Methodist-Episcopal church, and an IOOF Hall. Scattered throughout rural Opequon District were schools, churches (especially those of the Presbyterian and Baptist denominations), and sawmills. Opequon District was the second most populous magisterial district in Frederick County, with a total population of 17,553 people (Lathrop 1885b:31; Frederick County Census 1880).

J. M. Lathrop's county atlas was published by subscription. That is, certain professionals, merchants, affluent farmers, and industrialists underwrote the cost of publication in exchange for the inclusion of information about themselves and their occupations or businesses. For example, in 1885 Middletown (the largest urban community near Belle Grove) had three physicians and surgeons (J. S. Guyer, G. W. Larrick, and William Davison) and a dentist (G. W. Dellinger). J. L. Larrick was deputy county surveyor and W. H. Everly, a "manufacturer of buggies, carriages, and wagons," who purportedly could provide "all kinds of Blacksmithing done to order and with neatness and dispatch." Shoeing horses was described as "a specialty." G. W. Hoenshel and George P. Moore were the editors and publishers of the *Normal Index*, a local newspaper that served the Middletown area. Hoenshel was the principal of the Shenandoah Normal College, whereas Moore was the proprietor of Normal Book Store and a teacher of sciences and mathematics (Lathrop 1885b:31).

At least two mercantile firms served the Middletown community, which was bisected by the Valley Turnpike. The firm Harris and Leary, dealers in general merchandise, claimed to offer a "full line of spring and summer goods at reduced prices—comparable to Winchester." Goods could be purchased for cash or produce. A competitor, the firm Rhodes and Bragg, also sold general merchandise. They advertised dry goods, groceries, clothing, hardware, tin ware, Queens ware, woodenware, and willow-ware "in a first class country store." They, too, offered goods in exchange for cash or produce (Lathrop 1885b:31).

¹¹ No reference was made to the ethnic composition of Frederick County's magisterial districts.

The tracks of the Harper's Ferry and Valley Branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad extended in a southwesterly direction through the Opequon Magisterial District. They passed through the community that had grown up around the Meadow Mills Post Office and the Cedar Creek Station, and then turned more directly northward, paralleling Middletown's long axis and the Valley Turnpike as it headed toward the Vauclose and the Stephens City Stations. In 1885 post offices were located at those rail stops as well as at Marlboro. On the periphery of the Opequon District, there were post offices at Parkins Mills, Fawcetts Gap, and Ninevah (Lathrop 1885b:28).

Two flour mills were located in Opequon District and available to serve the public. W. S. Kline indicated that his firm manufactured "first class flour, which we will guarantee." He said that "custom work [was] a specialty." Competitors M. P. and J. R. Smith, who indicated that they were both farmers and millers," stated that "our mill is located about 2 miles south of Marlboro on Cedar Creek." They too guaranteed "first class flour." Marlboro was home to both Baptist and Presbyterian churches, whereas there was a Presbyterian church at Vauclose Station (Lathrop 1885b:28).

This same map identifies the spot where the Battle of Cedar Creek was fought. The *Atlas* identified the site of Bell[e] Grove and attributed the property on which it was located to J. W. Smellie. To the north of Belle Grove was the "Estate of Isaac F. Hite."

The Meadow Mills Community

Lathrop's map provides further details concerning the Meadow Mills hamlet just below Belle Grove Mansion. At the Meadow Mills Post Office and Cedar Creek Station (a railroad stop) could be found a feed mill, warehouse, scales, and a lime kiln belonging to William and J. H. Hottel. The James W. Hottel Flour Mill also was shown, as were farms belonging to C. and L. D. Ebersole and William Hottel. The Valley Woolen Mills were located on Cedar Creek, a few miles north of Meadow Mills (see also Lathrop's 1885 map of Meadow Mills, Map 12). Further north was the V. and J. Cleaver Chair Factory. To its north was a sawmill. On Cedar Creek, to the south of Marlboro, was a grist-and-sawmill. The McCune School #1 was located north of Dr. Samuel McCune's farm, which was a few miles north of Belle Grove. McCune, who reportedly was from Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, moved to Frederick County in 1875 (Lathrop 1885b:28-29). Many of these properties and industries can still be identified, or have

been located archeologically. They represented many of the Valley's landscape features throughout the first half of the twentieth century.

As the account of white Belle Grove farmer Malcolm Brumback indicates (see Chapter Six), the valley was still very rural in the early years of the twentieth century, and farm work, although increasingly assisted with mechanized machinery and made profitable by the availability through rail transport of larger markets, was nevertheless labor intensive and entailed complex labor arrangements. Local transport of farm products still relied heavily on horse, wagon and buggy. "Old School" Baptists with their closed communion, river and creek baptisms, and strictly "elected" Christian status structured rural assemblies. Camp meetings had evolved into summer revivals, homecomings, and interdenominational church picnics. In the 1930s steam-powered portable saws, threshers, and mills were the first signs of modernity in this rural landscape although full-fledged farm mechanization awaited the post-World War II years. This farm and town landscape was also one shared by African Americans, who lived largely "invisible" lives. Their stories will be discussed in the following section.

BELLE GROVE: THE HISTORICAL AND COMMEMORATIVE ERA

Belle Grove changed hands several times before, during, and after the Civil War. On August 1, 1867, James Davison, an Englishman, acquired Belle Grove from John W. and Benjamin J. Cooley (Frederick County Deeds 87:49). Davison retained the property briefly. On October 24, 1872, John Grant Ross purchased Belle Grove from James Davison's heirs (Frederick County Deeds 90:344). Ross and his heirs owned Belle Grove for only nine years, selling it to Scotsman James Wilson Smellie (Frederick County Deeds 96:148). The map of Opequon District, produced by J. M. Lathrop and A. W. Dayton in 1885, identifies the site of Bell[e] Grove and lists it to J. W. Smellie's name. A list of local citizens, which Lathrop included in the *Atlas*, indicates that in 1885 Smellie owned 310 acres of land.

On September 16, 1907, successful Civil War veteran Samuel Andrew Jackson Brumback (generally known as Andrew Jackson Brumback), who was in his late 50s, acquired Belle Grove from James W. Smellie (Frederick County Deeds 128:307). He was a Confederate veteran who was paroled at Winchester on May 8, 1865. In 1886 he married Henrietta C. Newell, with whom he had four children. After her death in 1900,

he married Virginia Compton, a school teacher who was the daughter of Edward Howard Compton, another Confederate veteran. Andrew Jackson Brumback, who also farmed 600 acres at Long Meadow in Warren County (now on park property), became prosperous and took an active role in the community. He made a substantial contribution to construction of the Middletown Agricultural High School and became director of the First National Bank of Strasburg. He also was a founder of the Primitive Baptist Church near Stephens City. Mr. Brumback appreciated the Belle Grove Mansion's architecture and began having the house repaired. However, he was an absentee owner, for he continued to farm the Brumback home place in Long Meadow and rented out Belle Grove's agricultural acreage. At Andrew Jackson Brumback's death on April 15, 1912, his estate was divided among his widow and four children. Son John Herbert Brumback inherited Belle Grove, with 150 acres. He moved into the mansion in 1914 and continued its restoration. He also farmed the land and made some improvements to the property. During the 1920s Belle Grove was open as an inn, while its acreage functioned as a working farm (NTHP 1968:81, 88; Dillard 2004:2-9).

The last private owner of Belle Grove was Francis Hunnewell. On July 26, 1929, Francis Hunnewell of Wellesley, Massachusetts, an attorney, acquired Belle Grove from John Herbert Brumback and A. J. Brumback's other heirs (Frederick County Deeds 159:50). Hunnewell had a keen interest in botany and spent many weekends exploring the Shenandoah Valley, collecting plant specimens. His travels eventually brought him to Belle Grove and culminated in his purchasing the property. He intended to restore Belle Grove by making improvements that could be integrated into the existing architecture. To achieve his goal, he hired Washington architect Horace W. Peaslee. Hunnewell opened his home to visitors and sometimes allowed the Garden Club of Virginia to include Belle Grove in their springtime Garden Week tour. By 1960 Francis Hunnewell's health had begun to deteriorate. However, he continued to visit Belle Grove until close to the time of his death. In his will, Hunnewell made provisions for the Brumbacks to continue occupying Belle Grove as life tenants, but he bequeathed lifetime ownership to his sister, Louisa, naming the National Trust for Historic Preservation as reversionary heir. Louisa Hunnewell, who realized that she was unable to assume responsibility for the home, waived her right to the property. That allowed the National Trust to take immediate possession. In 1967 Belle Grove was opened to the public (Frederick County Wills 65:530, first codicil; Dillard 2004:13-14, 19-20).

Belle Grove, Inc. is an impressive example of a National Trust property, acquired, as were many other historic properties, as part of the growing movement for historical preservation that came of age in the 1960s. Another such movement, which developed somewhat later, is concerned with historic battlefield preservation. Although the National Park Service has played an important role in battlefield preservation (Stanton 1999), many private citizens became concerned that battlefields were vulnerable to development. Ironically, some of the most threatened were battlefields in Virginia, where many significant Revolutionary and Civil War battles were fought. In their 1993 book *Paving Over the Past: A History and Guide to Civil War Battlefields Preservation*, Georgie and Margie Holder Boge recount the story of battlefield preservation and make the point that as Federal budgets ebb and flow, the fate of these historic sites sometimes hangs in the balance. In response to similar concerns, the Cedar Creek Battlefield Association was formed in 1996 to protect the Cedar Creek and Belle Grove Battlefield, when it learned that the 158-acre parcel next to Belle Grove's property was threatened by the development of an industrial park. The Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation purchased the property by taking out substantial loans, and has since redeemed them with extensive fund-raising, as well as through the use of the revenues from their hugely popular reenactment events, held in October to commemorate the Battle of Belle Grove, and in July, when a reenactment of the Battle of First Manassas takes place. The Foundation also purchased property across the street, where it now maintains a visitor center. Run entirely by a small staff, the Foundation also maintains a website, a log of Cedar Creek Battle descendants, and publishes a newsletter. The Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation also maintains a walking trail that teaches, using interpretive signs, facts about the Civil War generally and the Battle of Cedar Creek in particular.

In 1996, the Shenandoah Valley Battlefield National Park District was created, one of only 23 National Heritage Organizations. Congress created the District to preserve, conserve, and interpret the Valley's Civil War history. Like the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation, members of the commission that advocated the establishment of the SVBNPD were concerned about preservation of the sites of significant Civil War battles, and with the signs of development in the Valley that threatened to overwhelm the area (Shenandoah Valley Battlefields Foundation 2008). Working with landowners and other partners, the Shenandoah Valley Battlefields Foundation seeks to purchase land or create conservation easements that will help to protect sites and preserve

viewscales. The Foundation, like the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation, also focuses on interpretation and education. The Shenandoah Valley Battlefields Foundation and the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation, together with Belle Grove, Inc. and the National Park Service, along with private landholders and the newly created Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, form a unique partnership that seeks to preserve the region's Civil War heritage.

THE VALLEY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The twentieth century in the Shenandoah Valley witnessed the development of the region as a significant tourist destination, alongside the intensification of its use as a transportation corridor (particularly through the construction of Interstate 81 in the 1960s) and the encouragement of light industry. The loss of farmland to suburban and industrial development since the 1950s continues to be a sensitive issue for the region, as increased development impedes the tourist industry through threatening the landscape and historical elements that contribute to its image as a destination. In the immediate vicinity of Belle Grove are a number of new housing subdivisions, an industrial park, and continued quarrying activity along Middle Marsh Brook, readily visible from the mansion. Population in the Valley as a whole has nearly tripled since 1860 (Lowe 1992) and is concentrated along the Route 11 and Interstate 81 corridors and the major urban settlements such as Winchester and Harrisonburg. While the Valley is still a significant contributor to Virginia's annual agricultural output, the amount continues to decline as more agricultural land is developed.

The Valley as a Tourist Destination

The significance of Civil War tourism in the Valley is evident from the continued efforts to preserve and interpret battlefield sites. The Valley also has been successful as a tourist destination through the marketing of the region in terms of its history, local culture, and natural landscape. The distinctive nature of its ethnic makeup, as previously discussed, adds to its appeal for tourists. However, the twentieth-century construction of the Valley as a destination for tourism intentionally focused almost entirely upon the history of Euro-Americans in the Valley, while intentionally ignoring the history of African Americans and Native peoples. As a tourist destination, the Valley is conceived and presented both as a quintessential Southern place in terms of hospitality, rural

character, and role in the Civil War, as well as the “jumping-off” place for Midwestern frontier expansion and settlement.

The battlefield sites themselves enjoyed a focus on commemoration and visitation well before the invention and widespread adoption of the automobile facilitated the family vacation and encouraged pilgrimages to historical venues. Postbellum railroad companies ran special excursions for veterans and others to see the Valley and to commemorate the military events whose effects were still visible on the landscape. Veterans also returned to places like Belle Grove Plantation, in an effort to memorialize and recall the events of 1864. The impetus for revisiting Southern manor houses like Belle Grove is readily linked to the remaining strands of Lost Cause ideology, the romanticized lamentation over the heroic stand of the South in the face of an unjust invading force. The Lost Cause ideology was a means of recasting the pre-Civil War South as a society characterized by gentility and a code of honor (not by avarice, as the North was perceived to be), a land peopled by virtuous ladies, honorable men, and dutiful, devoted slaves. Writers like Thomas Nelson Page wrote wistfully about the diminished situation of the postbellum Southern gentleman:

The greatness of the past, the time when Virginia had been the mighty power of the New World, loomed ever above him... He saw the change that was steadily creeping on
(Page 1897:46).

In Page’s version of Old Virginia, not only were men honorable, chivalric, and serious, but the women were selfless and dutiful:

What she really was, was known only to God. Her life was one long act of devotion, — devotion to God, devotion to her husband, devotion to her children, devotion to her servants, to her friends, to the poor, to humanity
(Page 1897:38).

The Colonial Revival movement consciously built upon this romantic image of the pre-Civil War South by focusing upon the eighteenth-century heyday of the great planters. Tradition-minded white Virginians found many reasons to celebrate and preserve the past of the Commonwealth in such a manner as to prove that “the Old Dominion had founded the nation, established representative government, instituted racial order through slavery, and stood for civility and grace,” attempting to “win through monuments and pamphlets what Lee had lost at Appomattox” (Lindgren 1993). Aesthetics were central to this effort, with a renewed focus upon historic properties

within the Commonwealth, particularly those with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century associations. Such properties and their newly-ordered gardens symbolized timeless virtues, serving as veritable oases in the face of a chaotic modernity.

The Valley region, and particularly the mountains that hem it in, had served as a destination even before the Civil War for wealthy urbanites to flee the unhealthy cities in the summer time. Between 1830 and 1890, Virginia boasted nearly 100 resorts associated with springs. The majority of these were situated on the edges of the Shenandoah Valley, from Winchester down to Blacksburg (Engle 2003). The last remaining of these spring resorts opened in the 1890s as the Virginia Hot Springs, now known as the Homestead Resort. Attractions like Luray Caverns, some of the hot springs, and mountain camp resorts such as the precursor to Shenandoah National Park, the Stony Man Camp or Skyland, targeted the growing middle class. Established by George Freeman Pollock in the 1880s, the Skyland resort attracted clientele from as far away as New York, albeit with a base in the growing middle class of the Washington, DC suburban area. Pollock's resort eventually served as the center for the movement to establish Shenandoah National Park which got underway in the 1920s. Competing against other regional locales, such as the Massanutten range, which now is encompassed within the George Washington National Forest, the Blue Ridge received a boost when President Herbert Hoover decided to situate his fishing camp on the eastern side of the mountains along the Rapidan River in Madison County (Lambert 1971). Hoover dreamt up the idea of the Skyline Drive, ultimately completed during the presidency of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The 104-mile-long Skyline Drive ultimately served as the centerpiece for the new national park, providing easily accessible vistas from which the motoring public could gaze over the fields, forests, and battlefield sites of the Shenandoah Valley. These views of the Valley were a major contributing element to the creation of Shenandoah National Park on 196,000 acres of privately-owned Blue Ridge land.

Like the Valley's battlefield sites, however, physical elements of the Lower Valley's early settlement face serious risks to preservation. Arguably the most endangered portion of the Lower Valley region is that of Opequon. Noted as the locale for the Valley's largest Civil War battle fought in September, 1864, the landscape along the Opequon Creek also witnessed some of the earliest European settlement in the vicinity. As explored by Warren Hofstra (1989, 1990b, 1991, 1997a, 1997b), the multi-ethnic community which evolved at Opequon left a significant and distinctive cultural

landscape marked by dwellings, farm buildings, and intentional alteration of the landscape. Preliminary archeological testing by Hofstra and Geier (1996) suggests that eighteenth-century deposits remain intact. Unfortunately, the Opequon area is slated for residential development to ease population pressure in Winchester. Thorough cultural resource assessment, evaluation, and mitigation efforts, which should take place prior to such development, is likely to be minimal, given that the locale is mostly in the hands of private owners, and development would most likely be undertaken privately, without archeological data recovery or other preservation measures.

By the 1990s, increasing pollution and the practice of administering Shenandoah National Park as a natural park (allowing forest growth) had vastly diminished the Valley views that were deemed so critical to the park's success by the earliest promoters. In a reversal of decades of policy, overviews along the Skyline Drive were then cleared of vegetation in an effort to restore the original panoramic views (McClelland 1998). The drive itself subsequently formed the basis for a successful National Historical Landmark designation (Engle 2006). The issue of pollution is not so easily solved. Air quality monitoring stations throughout the park gauge the presence and nature of air-borne pollutants and quantify the diminishing viewshed across the Valley as well as the Piedmont. The health of rivers throughout the Valley is also the focus of monitoring. Recent fish kills in the Shenandoah River highlight the serious nature of the continuing environmental problems for a region economically reliant, in part, upon marketing natural beauty.

Craft Revival in the Valley

The Shenandoah Valley enjoyed one of the earliest sustained advertising campaigns for tourism in the twentieth century, marked in song by the 1940s release of the film *Daughter of the Stars* by the Shenandoah Valley Travel Association. The development of tourism in the Valley is intimately associated with the commercial marketing of local handicrafts. Material culture research in the Shenandoah Valley region has tended to focus solely upon exploring aspects of locally-produced crafts, just as examinations of the built environment have focused upon exploring the ethnic origin of architectural types and forms (Shenandoah Valley Folklore Society 1993). Other local handicraft traditions survived into the twentieth century. Of particular note is stoneware

and earthenware pottery production and basketmaking traditions, while folklorist Scott Hamilton Suter also singles out metalwork, *fraktur*, and cabinetmaking (Suter 1999).

Pottery production began in earnest in the Shenandoah Valley in the early nineteenth century, capitalizing upon the commercial opportunities presented by settlers moving south and west and also by the needs of the Valley's burgeoning population (Comstock 1994; Wiltshire 1975). The Suter, Heatwole, and Bell pottery industries represent some the best-known producers for the Valley (Comstock 1994; Evans and Suter 2004; Rice and Stoudt 1929). The Bell pottery industry originated in Hagerstown Maryland, but shifted to Winchester in the 1820s. John, Samuel, and Solomon Bell, the sons of pottery founder Peter Bell, Jr., soon set up their own business in Strasburg in the 1830s (Russ 1995). The sons of Solomon Bell continued to operate the pottery until 1908. The Bell potteries are particularly known for the production of earthenwares distinctively decorated with yellow slip and multi-colored glazes. These wares are similar to the range of earthenwares also produced by Pennsylvania potters of German heritage. Following the lead of the Strasburg producers, by mid-century, many of the Valley potteries had shifted production from earthenware (with its lethal lead glazing) to stoneware. In addition to the Shenandoah and Frederick County cluster of pottery producers, Rockingham County in the Upper Valley boasted a further twelve potteries, and Rockbridge and Alleghany Counties also developed their own local industries (McDaniel and Russ 1991). As described by Kurt Russ, "during this earthenware-stoneware transition, the typical European style kilns of the earthenware tradition were replaced by the characteristic nineteenth-century oval and circular up-and-downdraft kilns" (Russ 1995:103).

Kiln sites within Alleghany, Augusta, Botetourt, Rockbridge, and Rockingham Counties have been subjected to archeological investigation, predominantly under the auspices of research based at Washington and Lee University (Russ 1995, 2004). Examination of the George Fulton pottery operations of Alleghany County, in operation from ca. 1867 to 1888, revealed the essentially conservative nature of this particular industry. As summarized by Kurt Russ,

Despite his familiarity with advancing industry technologies and shifting production methods, Fulton insightfully viewed the success of his enterprise in the context of understanding the local community's need. His utilitarian wares, embellished with a decorative aesthetic component, apparently were appreciated by consumers without a need for significant

change or modification
(Russ 2004:176).

Fulton's pottery business was not stagnant, however, as excavation and the analysis of surviving products revealed that Fulton experimented with new forms, and allowed his production to reflect the changing requirements of his customers (Russ 2004). In addition to the work undertaken by Russ and his colleagues on the Upper Valley pottery industry, the Rockingham County pottery operations of Emmanuel Suter were the focus of study by both Paul Mullins (1992) and Scott Suter (1999; see also Evans and Suter 2004). In contrast to the Fulton industry, Emmanuel Suter consciously adopted new industrial techniques for the production of his stoneware and earthenware, including molds, glazing machines, and increasing standardization of his wares. In the estimation of Paul Mullins, "within the region Suter was unusual for his rapid and pervasive adoption of these technologies" (Mullins 1992:183). Mullins attributes Suter's willingness to alter his traditional handcraft production into a more modern industrial business to Suter's encounter with the mass production of pottery at the Cowden and Wilcox Pottery in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Suter, a Mennonite, had fled northward during the last year of the Civil War. By the 1890s, the Suter industry had shifted from the original small-scale farm-based pottery established by Suter in 1855 to a factory-based pottery in the expanding settlement of Harrisonburg. Suter's industrial pottery was not a success, in part because of financial irregularities laid at the door of the company secretary. In Mullins' estimation, the sale at a loss of the pottery in 1897 was also a result of the alienating nature of industrial labor relations in contrast to the kin-based approach that had underpinned Suter's successful farm pottery from 1855 until 1891 (Mullins 1992).

The Frederick County earthenware pottery of Anthony W. Baecher has been recently examined from an archeological perspective (Espenshade 2003). Baecher and his artisans at Winchester are best known for producing figurines decorated with a complex glazing technique of his own invention. Many of his objects can be found in the collections of folk art museums, including the American Folk Art Museum and the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum. As revealed through limited testing, however, Baecher also produced a range of utilitarian wares that have seldom survived but were arguably far more important to his customers during his tenure near Winchester, ca. 1864-89. As concluded by Christopher Espenshade,

Baecher was an extremely skilled folk artist, but the competitive demands of the Valley market forced him to simplify his bulk production. Baecher balanced his occasional tours de force against his day-to-day economic baseline of mundane vessels (Espenshade 2003:258).

Closer to the study area, the Bell and Eberly potteries of Strasburg produced similar redwares in the last half of the nineteenth century, continuing through the World War years. Now highly collectible, these wares are likely to have been used by residents of the properties now encompassed by the park, and recent salvage excavations and architectural surveys at pottery sites in Strasburg indicate that further research there might well yield useful information about the distribution of these wares in the Lower Valley (e.g., Strasburg Museum 2008). Shards of what appear to be nineteenth-century local redware have recently been found on park properties (Clarence Geier, pers. comm., 2009).

The recently-opened Museum of the Shenandoah Valley, at Glen Burnie in Winchester, showcases historic example of Valley decorative arts, as well as featuring the work of contemporary artisans including basketmakers, coppersmiths, silversmiths, furniture makers, clockmakers, potters, painters, printers, gunsmiths, and textile, *fraktur*, and “folk” artists. Each of these contemporary artists consciously situates their own work in relation to historic crafts of the Valley region, thus contributing to a public understanding of the Valley as a region with a unique craft tradition. Some of the exhibitors, such as the Henkel Press and the Bell potters, are clearly associated with historic Valley manufacturing, while the *fraktur* artists represent the revival of a Valley practice common in German communities of the late eighteenth century.

The Arts and Crafts Movement in the South

On a broader scale, the continuing interest in and perception of the Valley as the locale for distinct regional craft traditions must be understood in relation to the Arts and Crafts movement of the early twentieth century. Just as Southern folktales and songs were coming to the attention of folklore scholars in the late nineteenth century, the crafts of the region also came to the attention of a larger audience. A movement was growing in the decorative arts that eschewed mass production and venerated individually-crafted pieces as a “protest against the conditions of modern factory production, with its minute divisions of labor and mechanical processes” (West

1904:1597). Benevolent reformers, particularly in the southern Appalachian region, soon realized that a market existed for Southern crafts from their region, and set out to reintroduce and in some cases, introduce craft production. The Shenandoah Valley, while somewhat off the radar for reformers, was nevertheless a focus for collecting activity because of its eighteenth- and nineteenth-century craft productions, including *fraktur*, pottery, and needlework.

The twentieth-century revival of handicrafts in the Shenandoah Valley can be best understood not only in relation to its history, as in the fruitful studies of nineteenth-century potters, but as part of the broader context of the Arts and Crafts movement and the particular role played by the South in its construction and execution. Recognizing the “invented” character of some local traditions should not undermine or demean the work of contemporary artisans. Rather, acknowledging and understanding the ever-changing character of material culture traditions will help to prevent ahistorical views of the region as having “lost” a folk identity in the face of twentieth-century development. The Arts and Crafts movement helped to underscore the rural quality of life in the Lower Shenandoah and the way of life many people had come to cherish, even as it disappeared.

Rural and Small Town Life in the Lower Valley in the Early Twentieth Century

The Lower Shenandoah Valley’s early twentieth-century cultural landscape retained something of its rural character as it adjusted to revolutions in transportation and industry. While wheat continued to dominate its agricultural economy into the World War II period, apple production and its related industries had restored the Valley’s mid-nineteenth prosperity and pointed the way to its growing industrial base. Julian Pickeral and Gordon Fogg’s *Economic and Social Survey of Frederick County* for the University of Virginia’s School of Rural Social Economics reported that, by 1933, up to one-third of Frederick County’s seventeen types of industry were apple-related, such as vinegar making and apple canning and cold storage. Woolen mills and lime quarrying remained manufacturing staples as well.

Until the 1940s, traditional, labor-intensive farming methods kept a diminishing number of farmers and farm laborers employed. The scattered rural settlement patterns depicted in Lake’s 1886 and 1888 *Atlases* for Frederick, Shenandoah and Page Counties had not disappeared in the early twentieth century. In Frederick County in 1929, 27

unincorporated hamlets and villages dotted the rural landscape, ranging in size from 10 to 345 inhabitants. With the coming of the automobile age by the 1920s and the improvement in the county's road system, general stores and post offices traditionally clustered around railroad depot stops or creeks with community mills, now also stood at crossroad junctions and along county roads. Middletown historian E. M. Funk offers a snapshot of Frederick County's traditionally rural, yet changing, landscape in this write-up for the 1930 Pickeral and Fogg study:

The town [Middletown] is well supplied with stores, carrying every line of needed merchandise. It has garages, mechanics, and shops to meet every need of the community.

Just west of town lies a broad expanse of rich limestone soil, owned and operated by our thrifty farmers, engaged in the production of livestock, grain, hay and fruit. In this section is to be found some of the most important and productive commercial apple orchards of the Valley of Virginia
(Pickeral and Fogg 1930).

While Winchester was the Lower Valley's centralized hub for the distribution of all manner of goods, self-sufficiency in food production remained essential to many farm families' survival. As for transportation through the 1920s, walking or a horse and buggy were common. The residents of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove properties in the twentieth century were participants in this rural life, and have also watched it change. These people, whose ties to the park are the most "traditional" in terms of Park Service criteria, are primarily members of the single family, the Hite/Brumbucks, who have ties to the park that extend back to the earliest settlement era. Interviews with members of the Brumback family, as well as members of the Cooley and Stickley families whose ancestors lived or worked on or near Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park properties, recall the rural life of their childhood and their recollections form the basis for the following section.

The social and cultural context in which these properties emerged, the traditional groups most closely associated with the park today, and the meanings they attach to this unique place, will be the subject of the following chapters.

CHAPTER SIX: PARK NEIGHBORS, OTHER GROUPS WITH HISTORIC CONNECTIONS TO THE PARK, AND COMMEMORATIVE ORGANIZATIONS

Cedar Creek National Historical Park is unique in the following ways:

1. Cedar Creek National Historical Park, a public-private partnership park, occupies properties associated with long-standing farm families in the region, in particular, the Hite/Bowman/Brumback and Stickley families, who settled in the Lower Valley beginning in the mid-eighteenth century. Park resources include standing structures, features, and archaeological remains illustrative of the mixed farming/commercial economy typical of the area, as well as several unique features, including the Belle Grove Mansion, a National Trust property and a remarkable example of an eighteenth-century plantation, whose owners had links to prominent Tidewater families.
2. Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park is also a central place on the “crossroads” of the seventeenth-and eighteenth-century frontier, situated between the north and south forks of the Shenandoah River, and bounded in part by the Great Warrior Path, later part of the Great Wagon Road or Valley Turnpike, now underlying Virginia Route 11. As such, it witnessed significant events in Native American history, as well as the arrival of explorers and settlers from the sixteenth century onward.
3. The Park is also the site of several major engagements of the American Civil War, including the Battle of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove, the battle which led directly to the Union victory over the Confederacy. The Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation, a park partner, preserves the Battlefield itself, and hosts major reenactment events on a yearly basis, the highlight of which is the use of black-powder rifles, a privilege limited to CEBE among all National Parks.
4. Because of its significance in the Shenandoah Valley Campaign of the Civil War, the park is also unique in its long-standing associations with

commemorative activities, including but not limited to re-enactments. Currently the Belle Grove Mansion is also home to an important living history program, devoted to the interpretation of eighteenth-century plantation life, including a focus on the lives of the many enslaved African Americans who lived and worked there in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

5. Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park is also associated with the region's significant "Peace Church" community, especially the Church of the United Brethren, which still maintains a congregation at the Meadow Mills Church, just outside the park boundaries. Many members of local farm families linked to the park were or are members of the Brethren, and maintained (at least until recently) many of the traditional farming practices and social relations their ancestors brought to the region in the eighteenth century. The national Church of the Brethren holds the Lower Valley of the Shenandoah in high regard for its significance in the history and continuity of their faith.

Ethnographic research and a thorough documentary review indicates that three groups have associations to the park, as reflected in their lifeways, traditions, values, beliefs, and identities. The three groups include (1) park neighbors and park partners, some of whom are Hite and Brumback family descendants, and many of whom still derive part of their income from farming; (2) members of the Church of the United Brethren, whose ancestors first settled in the region in the eighteenth century; and (3) Civil War reenactors. Although they have no current ties to the parks as communities, African Americans and Native Americans of the region view the park properties as significant in their history, and would welcome opportunities to participate in its programs. All these groups have historical or present connections to the park, and, especially in the case of Hite family descendants, park neighbors, and Civil War reenactors, view the park and its resources as central to their activities as groups. These groups will be discussed in turn in this and succeeding chapters.

PARK NEIGHBORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE CHARACTER OF THE PARK

As noted previously, much of the land within the bounds of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park remains in private hands; some is owned by corporations such as Belle Grove, Inc., other land is in the hands of individual families, and some of it is still under cultivation. Indeed, one of the most striking aspects of the park is the continuity of the working farms now encompassed within park boundaries. Many of these farm families trace their ancestry back to the founders of European American settlements in the region, especially the Hite, Bowman, Brumback, Cooley, and Stickley families. Members of the research team interviewed six individuals, couples, or family groups who currently live on, or once lived at, the park. Other park residents and neighbors were interviewed by former researchers, and these older recollections are included here as well. These families are also linked to another group, the Hite Family Association, whose reunions take place at Belle Grove every third year. Thus they form two overlapping groups, associated by virtue of their family history, residence, or frequent participation in events located at the park. Among the most significant of these is Virginia Pasquet, who, along with her husband, is a park neighbor, and whose property, known as Long Meadow Farm, has been in Hite family hands for more than two hundred years, and is designated by the Virginia Department of Agriculture as a “Century Farm.”

Virginia Pasquet

Virginia (or Gee Gee) Pasquet, who now owns Long Meadow Farm with her husband, Colonel George Pasquet, is descended from the Hite and Brumback families of Cedar Creek. Her great-grandfather, Andrew Jackson Brumback, owned Belle Grove, and built Long Meadow on the foundation of Isaac Hite Sr.’s house, known as “Travelers Hall.” Mrs. Pasquet’s mother was Bertha Brumback, who married John Homer Fisher. Mrs. Pasquet and her husband donated some of their property to Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, and currently farm the rest of the original Long Meadow tract (interviews with Virginia (Gee Gee) Pasquet 2006; Umstatted 2004). Mrs. Pasquet spent much of her adult life away from Long Meadow, as her husband pursued his military career. During her absence, her parents leased some of the properties to local

farmers. Since her return to Long Meadow, she and her children are actively researching their family history. Mrs. Pasquet keeps in touch with other members of the Brumback and Hite families who live nearby, and graciously hosts the Hite Family Reunion's visits to the Hite family cemetery, located on the property.

When asked about her memories of the farm in her youth, Mrs. Pasquet recalled swimming in Bowman's Creek, and that she and others often discovered Native American artifacts in the plowed fields surrounding Long Meadow. She noted that Bowman's Creek was known to be the location of an old mill, and she thought there may have been an Indian campsite there as well (see Chapter Nine). Members of her family hunted and fished on the properties as well.

Mrs. Pasquet is well-acquainted with the Belle Grove Manor House, and knows of her family's ties to the property. Her great-grandfather Andrew Jackson Brumback, a member of Company E, 35th Battalion, Virginia Cavalry, participated in the Battle of Gettysburg and the Battle of the Wilderness. He also was part of the effort to resist Union General Sheridan's destructive passage through the Shenandoah Valley. After the war, Andrew Jackson Brumback married Nettie Newell, with whom he had four children, one of whom was Samuel Edwin Brumback, Mrs. Pasquet's grandfather.

Although her family and neighbors were all farmers, Mrs. Pasquet does not recall any African Americans living on or near the park in her youth. When asked what her goals for the park might be, she suggests that the land be preserved as farmland, a principal reason why she and her husband have donated a substantial parcel of Long Meadow's lands to the park. For Mrs. Pasquet,

the farming way of life is dying in this region, something that seems to have happened only recently. My family believes that it is important to preserve as much farmland as possible, and to encourage farmers to return to the land.

Mrs. Pasquet and her family are proud of their history and their local German heritage. A member of her family preserves an example of *fraktur* art which has descended through that family. She views her involvement with the Hite family association and with Belle Grove, Inc. as an important means for preserving her family's history, and for celebrating the heritage of the Lower Shenandoah Valley.

Malcolm and Mildred Brumback

Andrew Jackson Brumback, Malcolm Brumback's grandfather, became a prosperous farmer, and in 1907, purchased the Belle Grove farm from the Scotsman J. Wilson Smellie. Mr. Brumback never lived at Belle Grove, but attempted a number of improvements to the property, and on his death, his son John Herbert Brumback inherited the mansion and its surrounding farm lands. Although the property was sold to Francis Hunnewell, John Herbert's son Malcom lived in one wing of the Manor house, and later became caretaker and life tenant at Belle Grove. Malcolm, in his eighties at the time of the interview, has lived at Belle Grove all his life. He and his wife Mildred now live in the Tenant House on the park, his home since 1947.

Recalling her own mother's description of the early twentieth-century mansion, Mildred Brumback said it was "in a bad state of repair." Malcolm's father put a slate roof on the house in 1918, the year he married. During this period, Malcolm's father also built the large barn now standing near the mansion. Mildred notes that "most of the lumber [for the barn] came from woods at Long Meadow." A portable sawmill was set up to dress the lumber. Two or three barn builders were needed to complete it. It was "quite an art," Mildred said. Construction labor was so specialized that an "Edinburgh man" came up from Shenandoah County to put the roof on. Inventorying some of the other long-standing farm dependencies, Malcolm noted that the "corn crib goes back to the Hite family."

As a boy growing up at Belle Grove during the Great Depression, Malcolm credits his family's survival to "self-sufficiency." He said, "everybody had a kitchen garden." Among the vegetables grown in the Belle Grove kitchen garden were beans, string beans, turnips, corn, carrots, and peas. This self-sufficiency of rural people, and their shared lot, Mildred added, meant that most folks in the Middletown vicinity had no consciousness of deprivation: "Just like all people in the '20s and '30s, we were poor and didn't know we were poor, because everybody was poor."

Around 1924, to make ends meet, the Brumbacks opened an inn at Belle Grove. Malcolm's mother did the cooking, assisted by her sisters and an African American cook. Mrs. Brumback's specialty was fried chicken, Mildred noted. During this period a well-to-do Northern visitor, Francis Hunnewell, and his sister, Miss Louisa, were guests at Belle Grove, attracted by its rare plants and variety of birds. Sometime during the

Depression the Brumbacks sold Belle Grove to Mr. Hunnewell and worked out an arrangement whereby the Brumbacks continued farming the estate: “I’m not a farmer and know nothing about it,” Mr. Hunnewell had told Malcolm’s father. Into the 1940s, Malcolm and his father farmed Belle Grove lands, using horses and plows to cultivate the crops associated with “general farming” in the area: “wheat, corn, barley, hay.” They also had about “30 head of cattle” and, by the World War II period, a 12-acre apple orchard.

Belle Grove’s landscape was memorable, even during the Depression years.

According to Mildred:

I thought that it was the most beautiful place I’d ever seen. They had wisteria; it grew from the smokehouse over to the house. Mr. Hunnewell had so much shrubbery around Belle Grove. Everything was so beautiful.

She recalls that hedges were used as boundary lines on the grounds and, in the fall, after the wheat had been brought in, the “meadows were carpeted with blackberries and other wild berries.”

Belle Grove’s nearby woods and streams also were sources of recreation and a source for fresh water. Malcolm and his brothers hunted rabbits, squirrels, and quail. In the Cedar Creek branch stream running through the Meadow Mills industrial complex, Malcolm remembers pole fishing and swimming, activities that Middletown African American residents like Pat Long and her sister Nancy Washington also enjoyed during their 1950s childhood (see below). The community spring just south of the Brumback’s house and east of the Meadow Mills community supplied everyone with water, Mildred said.

Although the family worked hard on the property, they also relied on farm laborers, some of whom became tenants. In 1922, Malcolm’s father built the tenant house that Malcolm and Mildred remodeled in the 1970s and are currently living in. The Brumbacks hired cash tenants who worked full time for Malcolm’s father and got a house and salary. A series of white tenants lived in the house; the turnover was frequent. “Tenants moved around a lot,” Malcolm explained. “Someone else would offer them a little more money.”

Another tenant house, built in the nineteenth century, still stands at Meadow Mills, west of Belle Grove. The Brumbacks recall that in the late nineteenth century, George Copp lived there. Copp worked for the Hottles at Meadow Mills, firing the kilns

and running the steam engine. By 1948, a Mr. Curry lived in the house; in addition to tenant farming he made straw-bottom chairs and baskets.

The Brumbacks are very familiar with the history of the Meadow Mills community (see Chapter Five), which, they recall, grew up around the railroad depot, built sometime in the 1880s, by residents who were also attracted by the employment opportunities at Hottles Mill. Mildred noted that nineteenth-century maps showed “quite a few houses” that once provided dwellings for Meadow Mills workers. These dwellings are no longer standing.

As a boy, Malcolm remembers Meadow Mills as a quiet rural crossroads hamlet. “I remember going down there to get the mail and maybe buy a few things—necessities [like] pepper and sugar and canned goods. And they had candy in there too in big jars.”

To some extent, Malcolm’s father’s business, a lime kiln, and the commercial production of apples preserved the late nineteenth-century rural industrial character of the Meadow Mills community. For eighteen years, J. H. Brumback ran his kiln near the creek running through Meadow Mills. A cooper’s shop near the creek produced barrels for shipping out the Brumbacks’ apples to England on the railroad line. Malcolm remembers barrel staves being soaked in the creek and, after being hooped, drying out over the stove in the cooper’s shop. Apple farming continued during World War II, when German POW’s were conscripted for agricultural work in the Lower Valley.

After the War, Malcolm returned to Belle Grove with his wife of three years. He continued working for his father on the farm: “Jobs weren’t very much available. You couldn’t find a job.” On the farm, the Brumbacks continued a life that, into the 1950s, retained many of its traditional features. Mildred recalls that they continued taking wheat to be ground for flour at the Bartonville Mill located between Stephens City and Winchester off the Valley Pike. In August, Middletown used to sponsor a dance band and annual picnic for white folks in the town’s “picnic woods.” Woodsmen of the World also used these woods for their annual picnics. Like all park neighbors, the Brumbacks regret that the rural character of the Lower Valley is changing, and take an interest in the history of the region.

Ellen Brumback Dever

Malcolm Brumback’s sister, Ellen Brumback Dever, was born in 1919 at Belle Grove, the daughter of John Herbert Brumback and granddaughter of Andrew Jackson

Brumback. Her father and mother, Lizzie Catherine Brubaker, ran the Belle Grove Inn, and lived, with her sister Jane and three brothers (one of whom, Eldon, was her twin) in one wing of the Manor House. Ellen Dever was interviewed by Peggy Dillard in 2004, for the leaflet entitled *A Brumback Family History: Germany to Virginia*, published by the National Trust and Belle Grove Plantation, Inc. Mrs. Dever shares many memories with her younger brother Malcolm, whose interview is detailed above.

Floyd Wine

Although Floyd Wine has never lived near Cedar Creek, his long service as a preacher for the Church of the United Brethren has brought him to the Meadows Mills church many times. He recalls baptisms in many of the local streams (see Chapter Seven). Mr. Wine also consented to be interviewed about local agricultural practices. His family, which has been in the region since the eighteenth century, participated in communal farming practices which mirrored the cooperation of his fellow church members. For example, Mr. Wine recalls participating in a “circuit” along with the threshing machine, whereby local farmers would rent the machine as a group, and then follow it to each succeeding farm, until all the crops had been harvested. Mr. Wine recalls that this was difficult, hot, and often dangerous work, and he and his young friends teenagers were paid very little for their participation. Mr. Wine, whose parents spoke no English at home, recalls a few German-speaking residents in the Valley, and that in his youth, these people were considered local characters, and were somewhat ridiculed for their appearance and speech. Mr. Wine has made a lifelong study of local folklore and religious history, and has published several books and pamphlets, some of which he has generously donated to the project staff. For more on Mr. Wine, see Chapter Seven.

Douglas Cooley

Douglas Cooley, grandnephew of brothers John and Benjamin Cooley, who once farmed Belle Grove Plantation, attended a nearby Methodist church as a boy, when it was still a United Brethren Church. This church was established ca. 1877, and is located on Route 735, east of Middletown, in the hamlet of Reliance (Carr and Carr 1988; Greene 1997). Mr. Cooley, who was very ill during the researcher’s visit to the area in 2006, was unable to conduct a full interview. However, he has been very interested in

local history and genealogy, and has written several articles concerning local traditions. Mr. Cooley died in October 2008.

Irvan O'Connell Jr.

Mr. and Mrs. Irvan O'Connell Sr. of Winchester, Virginia, purchased Fort Bowman (Harmony Hall) in 1968. Their son Irvan Jr. is a life tenant at the property, which was donated to Belle Grove, Inc. by Mrs. O'Connell in 1989. Irvan Jr. attended Harvard University as a young man, and spent little time at Harmony Hall in his youth. However, he recalls the extensive work his parents undertook to restore Harmony Hall. Mr. O'Connell has hosted the Hite Family Association's visits to Harmony Hall over the years, and is aware that there is an extensive Native American village site near his home.

Other Neighbors

One park neighbor, who did not wish to be identified in this study, lives on a former tenant farm property immediately behind the Belle Grove manor house, across Meadow Mills Creek. This gentleman, who does not farm, has restored the original structure on the property, which he now uses as a tool shed. He has no current ties to the park properties, but is not in favor of preservation measures that might affect the current mining activities in the area. He is suspicious of "those town people" (meaning the residents of Middletown) whom he views as interfering in the rights of other people. "As long as they leave me alone, I'm alright," he explained. However, he also recalled that the Meadow Mills Creek once had many more fish, and that children who fished there were guaranteed a catch. Today, however, there are very few fish to be had. He also recalls the mill buildings and the old railroad depot that once anchored the small community of Meadow Mills.

The Hite Family Association

Research on the Hite Family Association was conducted in 2006 during the Hite Family Reunion at Belle Grove Plantation, an event which takes place every third year. The Hite Family Association, according to Elizabeth McClung, the Executive Director of Belle Grove, Inc. "is the closest Belle Grove can come to an alumni association" (*Winchester Star*, July 27, 2006). The organization was founded nearly 40 years ago, and the 2006 Reunion was the eleventh organized by the Association. The Hite Family Association includes members of the family of Jost Hite, one of the original German

settlers of the Shenandoah Valley, whose grandson Isaac Hite Jr. built the Belle Grove Manor House. It also includes members of the related Bowman, Chrisman, and Froman families, as well as anyone else who is interested in the Hite family. The principal events of the Hite Family Reunion are lectures by historians and genealogists knowledgeable about Shenandoah Valley history, and about the Hite family specifically, two banquets and luncheons, and a number of tours. Highlights among these was the tour of recent archeological excavations at Belle Grove, led by Dr. Clarence Geier, Professor of Anthropology at James Madison University, and an expert on Civil War archeology. In addition, the Hite Family Association makes it a point to visit many homes and other structures linked to the family. These include Belle Grove itself, home of Isaac Hite Jr.; Cedar Hall (also known as the Heater House) on the Cedar Creek Battlefield; Mt. Pleasant, built by Isaac Bowman; Long Meadow, built by Isaac Hite Sr.; Fort Bowman (Harmony Hall) built by Jost Hite's son-in-law George Bowman; Hopewell, a log cabin built by Jost Hite's son Jacob; and Chrisman Springs, built by Jost Hite's daughter Magdalena and her husband Jacob Chrisman. Many of these buildings have been mentioned in previous chapters.

The Association's members are drawn from a wide geographical area, with members attending from Ohio, Illinois, North Carolina, Arkansas and elsewhere, as well as from other Virginia localities. The Association's current president, Elizabeth Umstatted, hails from Villanova, Pennsylvania. The Hite family descendants have been generous to Belle Grove, donating funds and Hite family furnishings, including furniture, and a contemporary portrait of Colonel Isaac Hite. Local Hite family members also volunteer as interpreters at Belle Grove (see Chapter Eight). Many of the organizations members don't know one another, and the reunion serves as an opportunity to connect with family members from distant parts of the country. Genealogical research is a very significant activity for many of the Hite Family Association's members, and several workshops at the reunion were devoted to researching family history. Several members had been to more than one family reunion at Belle Grove. Many attendees showed great enthusiasm for the Hite family home tours, in spite of the hot, humid weather. One member claimed "it's an amazing feeling to see buildings that were homes to your ancestors, and built by their hands" (*Winchester Star*, July 27, 2006).

Although appeals through the Association's newsletter and website did not produce any specific mentions of childhood memories of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove

among the Hite/Brumback family members from other parts of the country, many felt a strong emotional tie to the Manor House. At the same time, many were also conscious that the complete story of the Hite family, especially the fact that the plantation was once worked by enslaved Africans, is still little known. One man said, “the mixed feeling is because we are on a plantation and there were slaves,” and suggested that it’s important for everyone to recognize all elements of history, and not just the pleasant parts (*Northern Virginia Daily*, July 31, 2006). The Association’s president Elizabeth Umstadd summarized the strong sense of immersion in her family’s history expressed by many of the Reunion attendees: “[Belle Grove] is very special. . . [while in the house or on the grounds] you can think yourself back to 1790” (*Winchester Star*, July 27, 2006).

Among the many “traditional” groups researched for this study, only the members of the Hite/Brumback family relate to the park as a group. Members of the Brumback, Stickley, Froman, Bowman, and Cooley families remain in the area but, except for Malcom and Mildred Brumback and Gee Gee Pasquet, none have current ties to the park. For the Hite/Brumback family particularly, the park is important to their sense of identity and of their family’s history. They have a strong sense of “custodial” concern for the properties, and hope that they will be protected from burgeoning development. Many of the resources on the park are significant to this extended family: the Belle Grove Manor House itself, the Brumback cemetery at Cedar Creek Grade, Long Meadow and its associated outbuildings, as well as the Hite Family Cemetery located there, along with the many natural and man-made features of the agricultural landscape, and the creeks and roads that criss-cross the property. In addition, Massanutten Mountain is visible from their front porch, and they take pride and draw a sense of strength and identity from this view.

OTHER GROUPS WITH POTENTIAL TIES TO CEDAR CREEK AND BELLE GROVE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

The Statement of Work for the Ethnographic Overview and Assessment at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove suggested that, in addition to park neighbors, Hite family descendants, and the descendants of their slaves, other groups might have significant historic or contemporary ties to the park. Potential groups included African Americans, religious groups, Native Americans, and Civil War reenactors. Religious groups,

particularly those associated with the Church of the United Brethren, and Civil War reenactors, are found to have significant ties to the park, and will be described in Chapters Seven and Eight, respectively. African Americans and Native Americans as communities have no documented ties to the park. Nevertheless, their historic connections to the study area merit further study, as the following review makes clear.

AFRICAN AMERICAN LIFE IN FREDERICK AND WARREN COUNTIES IN THE MODERN EARLY MODERN ERA: A VIEW FROM ORAL HISTORY

Researchers working on this project were able to locate two members of the local African American community who worked at the Belle Grove Plantation in the 1940s and the 1950s. Their recollections are consistent with other African Americans living in nearby communities, many of whom were also interviewed for this study.

Although little oral history has been collected among African Americans of the Lower Valley, census records make it clear that many emancipated and formerly freed African Americans who had been born or enslaved in or near the study area joined the “great migration” to the North and Midwest, in search of greater opportunities (e.g., Lemann 1991). Others migrated elsewhere in Warren County in search of work. It is here that project researchers located several African American individuals who recalled life in the Lower Valley in the early twentieth century, and whose children and grandchildren remain here today. These include William Cross, Pearl Williams, William Mason, and Anna Wanzer.

William Cross

William Cross represents the third generation of a Clarke County African American farm family whose experience spans enslavement, sharecropping, and land ownership. Mr. Cross’s grandfather William W. Cross, a sharecropper, was emancipated at age nine. The newly emancipated boy William was unable to leave the Shenandoah River plantation where he was born because he was too young to care for himself, and his older brother had been sold prior to the Civil War. However, he became a sharecropper, and managed to marry and raise a family on a farm near Gaylord Bridge. William the elder’s son, John, was the first family member able to purchase land, becoming the owner of a 131-acre farm in 1918. John Cross was fortunate in his relationship with his former employer. William explained:

He'd give you a chance if you're really trying to save your money. He knew Daddy didn't drink. He didn't smoke and he was always careful about the way he spent his money. And he was able to accumulate enough to make a down payment.

This hard-won independence also required devotion to intensive farm work. William recalled that "during the War [World War II] I sharecropped myself. I helped my father do his work and then I'd go out and rent other land." Altogether William farmed 500 to 600 acres of land, but he never lived on someone else's land or worked exclusively for one farmer:

If you start working for someone else, then you wind up just looking for that paycheck every week. And you wouldn't be able to accumulate nothing. That's why I hold on to be being my own boss.

In a diversified wheat economy such as the one that obtained in the Lower Valley in the early twentieth century, labor demands were seasonal and, if you did not work on a regular basis for one farmer, wage earning demanded mobility. As Mr. Cross points out, hired hands went from "one farm to another" getting paid for the amount of hay they baled or corn and wheat they shocked. At wheat harvesting time, laborer teams traveled the countryside with threshing machines: "Maybe you had one or two men on the farm. The rest of the guys are the ones following the machinery."

I worked for different farmers and I was paid a wage. When I put out a field of corn for somebody, then I did it on shares... Everybody wouldn't be the same. Everybody'd make a deal with you. The next person wouldn't like that deal and you'd have to make a deal with them.

Floyd Wine, described above and in Chapter Seven, has similar memories.

Although farmers and their families worked hard, and sometimes took on extra work for other employees, they were often able to hire help themselves. Cross remembers, "People came around looking for work... We had plenty of help in the country back then. They were paid by the hour." He remembers hired help lived in their own homes:

There used to be a lot of shacks out in the country. Most of the time they [hired hands] were just renting. They could go anywhere. Maybe one in the family worked for the landowner [where they lived]... You'd give them dinner. They didn't board then.

He remembers that his mother did the cooking during harvest time and would have 15 or 20 men sitting down to dinner. At these harvest time dinners he remembers

that “they [African American and white farm hands] worked together but they didn’t eat together. If they saw a black bird at their table, they didn’t want that.”

Although a successful farmer, William did not begin mechanizing his farm operations until the mid-to-late 1940s. A decade earlier electric-powered mills were becoming more common. Yet the same system of hauling wheat and corn to the local mill endured into the post-World War II period, as late as the mid-1950s in some areas of the Lower Valley. Farmers also needed horses for plowing and hauling: “We would have as many as 15 horses, mostly for hauling and farm work.”

Rural life in the Lower Valley changed dramatically in the immediate post-World War II period for small farmers like William Cross. Electricity came to Clarke County farms around 1945. “I bought my first tractor in 1946,” and “In the late ’40s is when I bought my first little truck.”

William and his father were not large operators, exporting to external markets in the mid-Atlantic area:

We’d take our products to the market and sell them. Your corn, your wheat, your cattle, hogs, chickens. On the weekend we’d have butter and eggs. . . to sell. We’d bring them to the local market—Charlestown or Berryville. That was back in the horse and buggy days.

He later inventoried other products they brought to market, including lard and apple butter. “You’d sell everything you could to make a profit. You didn’t get much money. You’d have to add them all together to make a profit.”

Those seeking to buy or sell products also came to the Cross family farm. Occasionally livestock dealers came by their farm seeking to buy cattle. Or a farm hand might be seeking work. “A lot of peddlers used to go around through the country selling patent medicines,” or corsets, shoes and other items. In addition:

Every little town had a couple of stores in it. Down where I lived [Wycliffe (near Berryville, eight miles east of Stephens City)] there was a big store down below me. [There also was] one down the road about another mile. One over in Gaylord. That was a store and post office.

These country stores were an important nexus of social life. You could get “a bottle of pop for a nickel. Get a good, big piece of candy for a penny.” The farmers “played cards, pitched horse shoes, played craps” at the store.

In a region with hilly terrain threaded with creeks, William’s childhood was very much like that of Malcolm Brumback’s. He and his neighbors dammed creeks for

swimming and fishing and they made go-carts to traverse the hills. Interestingly, they also made dugout canoes, a tradition associated with both African and Native American cultures: “You’ve seen the Indians’ boats. . . a lot of people would take a big log and cut a boat out of it.”

Hunting was also integral to rural life. Small game included groundhogs, turkeys, rabbits, pheasants, quails, and raccoons. Hunting also became a commercial activity:

My brothers would go out coon hunting or foxhunting at night. You’d trade some of your furs for some of his [the merchant’s] goods. Skunk was the main fur. All black skunks, that’s some money.

The tradition of African American summer revivals had become richly nuanced in the Lower Valley by the 1920s and 1930s. Summer revivals and summer church reunions were common. Interdenominational fellowship abounded. Pearl Williams describes the revival this way:

the churches would go together and bring in a certain preacher, an extemporaneous preacher. Somebody they thought was so fine. . . We had different preachers at these revivals. Then after the revival whoever was converted was baptized. There was no stipulation of which church you would go to if you wanted to be baptized.

According to William Mason, his Millwood Baptist church revival was more like a homecoming:

People came from all around. That was a big thing in Millwood, a three-day meeting. Now they don’t even have people to come to it. You’d figure on people being there from different places that you know. A lot of people come out of Pennsylvania. A lot of people came from New York, people that you knew. It was like a family reunion.

William Cross also recalled that “summer woods” meetings were an opportunity for interdenominational fellowship with both secular and religious aspects:

Most of the time the farmers who were going to be heads of the service cut the bushes, put-up the chairs. . . . [They] put your pulpit out in the woods. There would be preaching, singing, [a] picnic. Sometimes they’d have a piano, a guitar or banjo. Back then you’d clap and sing and you didn’t need music.

Although these “woods picnics” shared a surface similarity with the revivalist camp meetings attended by white residents of the area (including the annual reunion at Vaucluse Station, just north of the park), for African Americans these celebrations had additional meaning. William Cross suggests that part of their significance lay in the

continuities with pre-emancipation religious ritual, conducted in secret, often in woodland, settings (e.g., Raboteau 2004:219).

William Mason

African American William Mason (88 in 2006) shared with William Cross a rural childhood. As a child, Mr. Mason had worked alongside his father on their small farm in Millwood, ten miles east of Stephens City. Mr. Mason's father farmed both his acreage and 110 acres for two other families. Mr. Mason recalls that:

When we got big enough, we [children] helped my dad. When I was going to school my dad would be out there in the field plowing with the three horses and I would come in and change clothes and go out in the field and take the plow.

He noted that

I'd put the horse in and the milk. I'd stay out there 'til dark. I just loved to do it. I was a just a little fellow. I was so small that when the plow hit a stone, I'd have to throw it over and take the horse around and put the plow back into the furrow.

Mr. Mason's father practiced mixed farming, deriving income from numerous sources:

We'd take a bag and put it [the corn] on the horse's back and they'd grind it for cornmeal. We'd take wheat over there [to the Millwood mill] and he'd [the miller] grind it for flour. . . my dad used to take the wagon down. I'd go with him to the mountain and cut wood. And then we'd sell it to the folks in Milltown.

Mr. Mason also recalls that his father was a stonemason part time:

He and Rob Banister from Millwood rebuilt that rock fence where the old mill is there, down below where Guilfield church is. They built that fence down almost to the river.

Boyhood memories of playing baseball, religious rites of passage, or the festive occasions of summer all seemed intertwined with recollections of family and neighborhood ties:

I remember when my dad got baptized. . . . They all gathered that morning and they sang and then took him out in the water [of Millwood Creek] and baptized him. They would go to the church and have a big meeting that day. They'd have preaching. They'd have a meal too. They'd have a morning meeting and then the meal and then the evening meeting.

In particular, Mr. Mason remembered the gaiety of the Millwood Odd Fellows picnic:

They had a hall there in Millwood. The Odd Fellows would march from Millwood to Boyce to Pages' Woods. And they'd have a band up there and platform. We'd dance and we'd have a ball game on the hill above there.

The prospect of eking a living out of odd jobs, as hired farm help or working a small farm that provided little profit above subsistence living, propelled Mr. Mason out of farm work. He realized that the work horizons of most rural blacks in the Depression era Lower Valley were bleak: "There wasn't much around here other than farming. [Men could] work as hired help on farms and live in Millwood. A lot of them [Millwood women] worked for different families doing housework."

His first job was as a delivery boy for a Winchester drug store:

My first job was down here at Winchester at People's Drugstore. There was a black doctor there in town by the name of Doctor Poston and he was our doctor. And he called up and asked if I wanted the job. I was a bicycling drugstore boy. I delivered prescriptions. I did that for three years, five days and a half.

He then began working for the Front Royal viscose plant when it opened in 1940. His experiences there reveal both the opportunities that could open for capable, hardworking African American employees as well as the plant's discriminatory policies.

They [the company] had black and white workers but they were separate then. The water fountains had colored written on [one] and white on the other. . . . They had a big cafeteria, but one side was for the blacks and the other side was white. You [were] not supposed to go on the white side. See they had different departments. We [blacks] had what they called the "yard department." And then they had the engineer department. But the blacks [were] loaned to the engineer department [the department for whites]. The whites and the blacks worked together but you weren't assigned to their department. You were loaned to their department. We worked side by side yet you were in a different department. . . . I didn't get the same pay [when loaned out to another department to do the same work as white employees making more money]. When I first went there. . . I [did] the dirty jobs. And so one day the foreman asked me, "Mason do you want to drive a truck?" "Well, sho I'll try. I've never driven a truck, but I'll try." He said, "Well, I'll take you up and learn you how to drive a truck, double clutching." So he did. In about three days I was driving that truck, taking the waste from the building to the dump on the river. I done that for quite a few years.

Anna Wanzer

Anna Wanzer, an African American native of Stephens City, grew up there in the 1930s. Her family earned a living in ways typical of the area: both her father and brother worked in the Stephens City lime kiln. Her mother worked as a housekeeper in Winchester's George Washington Hotel. Her memories of the men's lime kiln jobs are of workers carrying metal lunch boxes and getting "so full of lime." She and Nancy Washington (discussed further below) also described the Middletown workers at this lime kiln as "returning home white with lime" (interviews with Anna Wanzer and Nancy Washington, 2006).

Ms. Wanzer rarely missed school. Her mother "knew you had to have an education to be well prepared for life." She went through nursing school in New York City and stayed on there as a nurse for some years. This experience brought about a consciousness raising. Ms. Wanzer remembers the public transit system in the 1940s: "I'd stand right out here on the corner and catch a bus to Winchester. I sat in the back." Once, on returning to Winchester from New York, however, her submission to the segregated public transit system snapped: "I got the city bus and the man told me I had to sit in the back. The man gave me my dime back." Other reminders of segregation were the homes in which African American visitors stayed as they traveled through the area. When she boarded with an aunt in Winchester as a Douglas student, she said her aunt "kept these strange people and we didn't like it."

Anna's parents were among the second-generation members of the Orrick Chapel Methodist Church in Stephens City. Although the Chapel was on the Stephens City-Middletown-Strasburg circuit, Anna and her family nevertheless attended every Sunday. If there were no preaching, they'd attend Sunday school and an evening service.

The Methodist church's central place in the African American Stephens City's community undoubtedly reinforced a community ethic. Anna remembers, "Whenever someone was ill they [her mother and a friend] would tie white rags on their heads and go and cook and do whatever had to be done in [that person's] home." The rags kept dust out of their hair and protected the women from tuberculosis, which Anna explained was "prevalent in certain families."

Anna has some memories of the African American Freetown community east of Stephens City, which has been destroyed by development. She remembers the houses

there were built “with slanting roofs like slave houses.” Among those living in the community was a blind woman, Sadie Robinson, who “was the best cook in the world.”

Anna is currently a member of the Methodist church in Stephens City from which the African American congregants separated in the 1850s. The church has a segregated burial ground but today, Anna smiles, “the church has become a place of worship with greater racial and ethnic diversity than ever existed in the nineteenth century.”

African Americans at Belle Grove: The Washington Sisters

Pat Long, who currently cooks for the Senior Citizens Center at the Stephens City Methodist church, learned her trade from her mother, Sadie Washington, who by the 1950s had quite a reputation as the chief cook at the Wayside Inn, Middletown’s oldest continuously-run commercial venture. In fact, Nancy Washington, Mrs. Long’s sister, relates that her mother’s Southern cooking was written up in a *Washington Post* editorial. At least four generations of the Washington family, and possibly more, have served as cooks, porters, and stagecoach operators at the Inn. The Washington sisters’ mother began working there at 13 years of age, as did Mrs. Long: “My mother’s mother worked there. My grandfather and his mother and father worked there.”

Sadie Washington raised her 12 siblings after her mother’s early death, in addition to working at the Inn and eventually starting her own family. The Inn was principally open during the summer months. Ms. Washington suggests the importance of the chief cook to its operations: “When I was 13 or 14 years old my mother took over the Inn. She was the cook there. My father cooked at night and did maintenance work around the Inn during the day.”

Mrs. Long recalls the informal apprenticeship African American children have traditionally engaged in as their mothers’ helpers, apprenticeships that were common to plantation kitchens: “I did salads [for my mother]. I came up from being a salad cook and making bread.” The entire family could cook—“My brother could cook just as well as the rest of us”—making for a united, flexible family labor force. For the most part, however, Mrs. Long noted that the Inn’s work force was gender divided. African American women cooked and cleaned; males were porters or maintenance men.

One of the sisters’ antecedents at the Inn, Jack Perkins, worked as a coachman during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Ms. Washington relates that “Uncle Jack

Perkins assisted on the coach that traveled from Warrenton, West Virginia, to Middletown—right across the mountain.”

The sisters have memories of the Inn’s traditional operations before the introduction of strict state regulations. The current Inn incorporates several building units, including a slave kitchen where “the slaves cooked in 1797,” Mrs. Long said. There was once a well in the middle of the old kitchen and Ms. Washington can remember the kitchen garden located in the Inn’s backyard.

In a town where African American men typically “worked on farms,” Mrs. Long remembers her grandfather worked on the Larrick farm for “regular wages year around.” Even their mother did some part-time domestic work, the typical job for African American women in Middletown. Both sisters are proud of the family’s long association with the Inn, as both a showcase of their professional achievements and as an enduring labor niche for the family in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Remembering the Inn’s tradition of fine Southern cooking only polishes the patina of their mother’s reputation as a cook: “Everybody called mama ‘Granny’ . . . She was famous for her spoon bread and rolls, pickled watermelon, cucumber pickles.” In addition to fried and smothered chicken, the Inn also boasted pheasant, boar and fish: “We [also] had a peanut soup we were famous for. Everybody loved the peanut soup.”

Ms. Washington also sees her family’s association with the Inn as one which fostered good race relations: “We grew up in a sheltered world, because we never had the race thing. [E]verybody was treated as a family [at the Inn].” She recalls, for example, that African American and white workers at the Inn shared meals together. While much has been made of the ways in which white labor demands have interfered with African American family cohesion, the Washington family offers a multi-generational case study in how the workplace nurtured both the African American family and African American-white relations.

Both sisters also have fond memories of their Senseney Street neighborhood, an African American community with its own church, Mt. Zion A.M.E., and a school. Even more central than the school to their neighborhood was Mt. Zion Church. “On Sunday you spent all day in church,” Ms. Washington related. “On Sunday mornings there was Sunday school and church, home for dinner and then back to the church for afternoon preaching.” The children performed in festive, elaborate programs for community holidays and celebrations. In many ways, these programs reflected the African American

love of performance. They also were a way in which elders instructed youth on presentation of self to the community:

We had different bible stories we performed as plays on Sunday evenings. We did Jacobs ladder, a memorable biblical reenactment within as well as beyond Middletown's black community.

Summer church picnics with the Stephens City and Strasburg A.M.E. churches also evoked pleasant memories of good food and fellowship. Potato salad, ham, fried chicken, green beans, sliced tomatoes, ice cream, cakes and pies, were favorite picnic foods, Mrs. Long recalls.

Remembering Mt. Zion Church, Mrs. Long said that "we were members of it. And if you didn't go to church you didn't go anywhere else." Mt. Zion closed down in the 1960s. "Then there were only two or three families left that went to church there. We didn't have enough [people] to keep it open. So we ended up coming down here to Stephens City Methodist church."

The fate of the Senseney Street school was as complex as that of African American education in the Lower Valley generally:

I remember they had a school on Senseney Street, right down the block from us. Then they closed it and we went to Stephens City. Then [we went to] the third through seventh grades in Middletown after they reopened the school there; [then] the eighth through twelfth grades at Douglas.

Senseney Street enjoyed a vibrant street life in the 1950s, with the neighborhood men's singing spilling out into the street, part of a performance culture as colorful as that of the Mt. Zion church programs. Ms. Washington recalls that:

the older men [of the community] would harmonize. They'd sit on the porch and we'd sit at their feet... They'd chaw their tobacco and sing. They would play checkers. They always met at my uncle's house next to the church. They sat on the porch of my uncle's house.

As late as the 1950s Middletown had retained its rural character. Mrs. Long remembers that "Growing up [on Senseney Street] we grew all our own food. And Daddy had chickens. We would have a cow that we butchered every year. Mother would can 300 jars of green beans and peaches [from] the garden." Ms. Washington remembers that, in addition to the garden, they had penned pigs and chickens in the backyard, as well as a smokehouse. They also "dug holes in winter for cabbages and apples and covered [them] with hay and dirt."

Mrs. Long remembers that “Mother’s cousins from back in the country would walk into town.” Both she and her sister recall hearing of Caroline Jenkins’s long walk from North Carolina to Middletown sometime in the mid-1860s. Like much folklore this story appears to contain some truth. Mildred Brumback’s research indicates that Caroline Jenkins first appears on the 1870 census as a native Virginian. Caroline and her husband lived in the George Wright household. Mr. Wright, an Englishman, owned a nursery on Church Street during this period. Mrs. Brumback reasons “Aunt Caroline” may have moved to the area during the Civil War period, since Washington, DC records indicate that Caroline Jenkins presented notarized testimony on Federal reparations for Civil War damage done to St. Thomas Chapel. In the 1870s, Caroline Jenkins and her husband bought the log house still standing on Church Street near St. Thomas Chapel.

The Washington sisters also can claim Belle Grove connections. Mrs. Long relates that “distant” Burke cousins once worked at the Belle Grove lime quarry. Ms. Washington recalls that as children they swam in a swimming hole near the old lime kiln and fished in the creek there. “We made our own [fishing poles]. We broke a limb from a tree and then got a string. The bob would be an oak nut.” They sometimes caught suckers, carp or sun perch.

As cooks and quilters, the Washington family enjoyed a more formal relationship with Belle Grove as well. “We catered parties at Belle Grove,” Ms. Washington said. Mrs. Long also remembers that she “used to go to Belle Grove to quilt.” Mrs. Long’s experiences with the quilting guild at Belle Grove resonates with accounts of other informants. Among African Americans, in the early twentieth century years before rural electrification, quilts were not luxury items but essential, warm bed clothing. Pearl Williams, a Berryville resident born in 1909, remembers both her parents making quilts. “My father made quilts out of very old coats with big patches. . . . Around the edges of these big patches he made crow stitches.” Mrs. Williams remembers in later years that “we used to have quilting parties because I used to belong to one. We had quilting at school [too]. I made my quilts out of scrap materials—a nine patch design.”

There are also accounts of the enslaved women’s “exquisite” sewing skills at Belle Grove. Their skills might have been taught them by their mistress or their mothers. Pearl Williams remembers her mother:

made all our clothes while we were young. She made little pants for the boys when they were young. She used gingham. You could get the nice

little plaids, little checks. Even after I got married and had children, I got one yard a week and made my little girl a dress. They had to have a new dress for Sunday.

Sewing skills were a necessity as well during the 1920s and 1930s. Mae Allison, 83 in 2006, recalls that:

We learned in home economics how to sew. It was very useful to me. Sewing was especially good because I could make my children's clothes. Back in those days you made them out of feed bags. They were printed. The white feed bags you'd make sheets out of them or dish cloths or towels. And the printed ones you make your little girl's dresses.

In pointing out that many of her Middletown relatives are buried in the African American cemetery on Reliance Road, Ms. Washington is also aware of the toll out-migration has taken on the community:

older people died in Middletown. Younger people left from the '60s on. Many older African American families who [once] lived on Senseney Street have left, such as the Gants, Williams, Elliotts and Perkins. They relocated to Akron, Ohio, New York, New Jersey, California and other places.

Into the 1950s the job market in the area was limited for African Americans. Many African American women from Middletown were working as domestics in Winchester and commuting by bus. Men "worked at the Winchester coal yard, the National Fruit Cold Storage, and the lime kiln in Stephens City."

As her generation came of age in the 1960s, Ms. Washington said, they reasoned: "I need more money. I'm not going to do this. I'm not going to do what my mother did. A lot of them left for better jobs." She also noted that, like herself, some are coming back to the area for "a decent life," a life in which they are enfolded in a caring community.

Summary: African American Life in the Modern Era and its Significance to the Park

African Americans and their national advocacy organization, the NAACP, used both the World War I and II eras to press for greater equality of status in the services and in home front jobs. In 1941, recognizing the importance of creating greater democracy within American society, President Roosevelt had issued an Executive Order eliminating discrimination in defense industries and the military. His executive order 8802 reaffirmed the "policy of full participation in the defense program by all persons, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin." *The Hornbook of Virginia History* notes that:

Returning black veterans were especially determined to obtain their rights, and campaigns to register black voters sprang up in several places during the late 1940s. Moreover, for the first time since 1900, African American candidates made serious runs for local elective offices (Campbell and Salmon 1994:70).

As elsewhere in the South, desegregation and the Civil Rights era was a difficult time in the Valley. Nevertheless, many African Americans became successful educators, lawyers, doctors, artists, and entertainers. Whatever may have been gained from a more integrated world, June Gaskin Davis, a long-time African American resident of the study area is now concerned that her children and grandchildren do not remember their heritage. She asks her relatives, “Are you keeping a record on that for that child so he will be able to know his heritage?” (interview with June Gaskin-Davis, 2006).

Most of the African Americans interviewed for this study knew of Belle Grove and its history. They believe their stories, of small family farms, religious revivals, day labor, and fine needlework, are part of the tapestry of Valley history, and they look forward to playing a more active role in the interpretation of Valley life, including its troubled history of slavery, the events and outcomes of the Civil War, and the period of Reconstruction and twentieth-century farming life. It is in this way that African Americans in the study area can “keep a record.”

NATIVE AMERICANS OF THE LOWER SHENANDOAH: INSTITUTIONALIZED RACISM AND ITS IMPACT

Anthropologists who write about race point to the specific historical conditions that led to the construction of such categories (e.g., Mukhopadhyay and Moses 1997) and to the way in which these categories structured social relations (Visweswaran 1998). A large body of contemporary scholarship in anthropology and cultural studies reminds us that although racial categories are “folk categories,” historically situated and inherently fluid, they remain powerful determinants of social behavior, and often serve to maintain social, political, and economic inequities. An example from Virginia, particularly relevant to the present study, was the egregious “Racial Integrity Act” of 1924. This act was championed by Walter Plecker, director of Virginia’s Bureau of Vital Statistics from 1912 to 1946.

The Racial Integrity Act created a bi-racial categorization of the population and required individuals to be registered at birth as either “white” or “colored.” Persons were defined as white if they were Caucasian with no other admixture. All other individuals were defined as “colored.” The act made it a felony, punishable by one year in jail, to file “false” registration of racial identity and in Virginia marriage licenses were not granted between 1924 and 1968 without checking documents of racial classification. While the African American community was the primary target of the Racial Integrity Act, the legislation was damaging to the Native American community. The bi-racial classification effectively eliminated “American Indian” as a racial or ethnic category and the Virginia Indian descendant communities struggled to maintain a separate identity while at the same time trying not to draw too much attention to themselves or their cultural practices. Thus there is nearly a fifty-year gap in the documentary records and public presentation of Indianness in the Commonwealth of Virginia (Moretti-Langholtz 1998). This situation has had particularly severe consequences for those Native communities, such as the Monacan, whose ancestors likely lived in the area now occupied by CEBE, who lacked the protection of a land base.

Chief Stephen R. Adkins of the Chickahominy Indian Tribe, who testified about the effects of this legislation before the U.S. Senate Indian Affairs Committee in June 2006, recalled that:

[This law] . . . caused my parents to have to travel to Washington DC on February 20, 1935 in order to be married as Indians. . . . Our state, by law, declared there were no Indians in the State in 1924, and if you dared to say differently, you went to jail or worse. That law stayed in effect half of my life.

Although the Racial Integrity Act was finally repealed in 1968, its effects were felt throughout the African American and Native American communities in Virginia, and many remain reluctant to discuss it. The policies enforced by the Racial Integrity Act, along with other kinds of economic segregation and hardship, Jim Crow laws, and the later “total resistance” movement that followed the desegregation of public institutions in Virginia and elsewhere, has had an unsurprisingly “chilling” effect. Researchers working on this project have encountered reticence which is likely to be an artifact of such experiences (Harris-Lacewell 2003).

The Federal Recognition Environment

Another factor which complicates research in Native American communities is the current Federal Recognition climate in which Native American identity and authenticity is contested. Presently, there are eight State-recognized tribes in Virginia: Pamunkey, Mattaponi, Chickahominy, Chickahominy (Eastern Division), Nansemond, Rappahannock, Monacan, and Upper Mataponi. While the Pamunkey and Mattaponi tribes have maintained their reservation status since the seventeenth century, the Commonwealth of Virginia granted official state recognition to them and four other tribes in 1983 and added the Nansemond and Monacan tribes in 1986 and 1989, respectively. In addition to these groups there are several other Indian communities which are not State-recognized, but which have long-standing ties to specific localities, and appear in the historical records of the Colony and the Commonwealth. Further complications arise when claimed tribal identities cross state boundaries.

In 1983 the Commonwealth established the Virginia Council on Indians (VCI) a state-sanctioned advisory board to the governor and state agencies. Representatives from the State-recognized tribes, along with Indian at-large appointees and members of the House of Delegates, may sit on the VCI on a rotating basis. For a number of years the Pamunkey and Mattaponi tribes declined to take their seats on the VCI. In the summer of 2007 the Office of the Governor in conjunction with tribal leaders reorganized the structure of the VCI. Since then tribal chiefs, instead of tribal member appointees, represent their respective communities.

At this time, six of the state-recognized tribes (all except the two reservation tribes) are seeking Federal Recognition as a group, through legislative action. The legislation, called the Thomasina E. Jordan Indian Tribes of Virginia Federal Recognition Act (H.R.1294), has bi-partisan support. On May 8, 2007, the U. S. House of Representatives voted unanimously to support the bill. To satisfy the opponents of the legislation, the six tribes have agreed to include an amendment to the legislation that would prohibit them from operating casinos. There have been several hearings on the legislation and the primary argument rests upon the injustice and impact of the Racial Integrity Act of 1924, which resulted in de-facto administrative genocide of Virginia Indians, which making it nearly impossible to meet the Office of Federal Acknowledgment (OFA) criteria (see below) as currently written (Moretti-Langholtz 1998).

The OFA, a branch within the Interior Department's Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), is responsible for overseeing the process which, since 1978, has allowed Native American communities to petition for recognition as an American Indian tribe. Several aspects of the Federal Recognition process have bearing on the research presented here. First among these is the importance placed upon continuity of governance and leadership in the OFA criteria. Another criterion for a successful petition is the ability to demonstrate continuity as a recognizable Indian "entity," with an historic attachment to a particular locality, territory, or region. Linking specific communities to specific places gives those communities concreteness, which, while important in contemporary political discourse, may not be demonstrable through surviving historical data. The very act of doing fieldwork in certain communities also gives a kind of recognition to those communities (e.g., recognition by "scholars"), which can cause difficulties with respect to other Indian communities in the region. Further, connection to government entities, such as federal and state parks, is another criterion which OFA uses to determine the eligibility of tribes for Federal Recognition. Thus, field workers must tread very carefully in contacting specific groups or individuals within these groups, and must weigh their claims for historical presence in a given area cautiously. Given the "below the radar" nature of many of these communities in the past 300 years, contemporary claims are sometimes difficult to verify. Thus, the absence of Native groups from the study area today is also testimony to the violence of their history, and their lack of documentable "traditional associations" with the properties of CEBE does not prove that such associations did not at one time exist.

Native American Communities with Historic Ties to CEBE

Although there is no Native community now living in or near the study area, the Monacan tribe recognizes traditional ties to the region. In order to further investigate their claims, fieldwork was conducted among the Monacan in the summer of 2006 by Dr. Danielle Moretti-Langholtz. Dr. Moretti-Langholtz also examined the sparse ethnohistorical literature for the Monacan. The following discussion of their recent history and culture is based on this research.

Previous Ethnographic Studies of the Monacan

As noted in Chapter Three, the first recorded encounter between English explorers and the Monacan people occurred during Christopher Newport's voyage of discovery in 1607. Although there is little information concerning their activities between this early period of European exploration, and the arrival of settlers in the Valley in the 1740s, Thomas Jefferson believed them to have been among the most powerful tribes in Virginia. He wrote that:

Those between the falls of the rivers and the mountains, were divided into two confederacies; the tribes inhabiting the head waters of the Potowmac and Rappahanoc being attached to the *Mannahoacs*; and those on the upper parts of the James River to the *Monacans* (Jefferson 1955:92).

Jefferson also inferred that "the Monacans and their friends were in amity with the Manahoacs," and waged perpetual war against the Powhatans to the east.

A French Huguenot, John Fontaine, who described the Saponi village near Fort Christianna in 1716 recorded that they were the direct descendants of a group he called the Monasukapanough. He described their houses thus:

The houses join all the one to the other, and altogether make a circle... . The walls of their houses are large pieces of timber, which are squared and being sharpened at the lower end, they are put above two feet in the ground and about seven feet above the ground. They laid them as close as they could one to the other, and when these posts are all fixed after this manner then they make a sort of a roof with rafters and cover the house with oak or hickory bark, which they strip off in great flakes, and lay it so closely that no rain can come in (Fontaine 1972:96).

Other Monacan shelters were circular, made of hooped saplings covered with bark or mats, as were the Native residences of the Tidewater. The women Fontaine encountered were long-haired, and protected their skin with bear grease. They went uncovered from the waist up, and avoided European men. Fontaine, on enquiring of their marriage customs, learned that men remained with their wives until they could no longer bear children, at which point they might take another wife. Thomas Jefferson was convinced that the massive Monasukapanough Mount, near Monticello, was an ancient Monacan monument. He wrote that it:

Was situated on the low grounds of the Rivanna. . . opposite to some hills, on which had been an Indian town... . It was of a spheroidal form, of

about 40 feet diameter at the base, and had been of about twelve feet altitude (Jefferson 1955:98).

Jefferson's excavation of the mound revealed numerous human remains, causing him to conclude that the mound was a "common sepulcher." Jefferson also described a party of Natives who visited the mound in the 1750s:

for a party passing. . . through the part of the country where this barrow is, went through the woods directly to it, without any instructions or enquiry, and having staid about it some time, with expressions which were construed to be those of sorrow, they returned to the high road. . . and pursued their journey (Jefferson 1955:100).

David Bushnell, an ethnographer and ethnohistorian writing at the turn of the twentieth century, took this as evidence that the party was familiar with the region, and perhaps descendants of the mound's original builders (Bushnell 1930). Another story related to Bushnell concerned the subsequent history of the Monacan, many of whom joined the Tuscarora, and traveled north with them to join the Six Nations. During the Revolutionary War, George Washington dispatched General John Sullivan to put their abandoned villages to the torch. Today the Monacans number about 1,400 people, living primarily in Amherst County. Many of them have made a living in the mining industry (Waugaman and Moretti-Langholtz 2000).

Among the many members of the Monacan tribe interviewed for this study were several who recalled or had heard stories of Native life in the Piedmont region in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. One woman related:

My father was born in 1909 and my grandparents in the 1850s. They gathered plants for medicinal purposes as well as wild berries and fresh greens for food. They did everything according to the seasonal cycle. In the springtime they were already preparing for the winter. The elders said, "It is better to have and not need than need and not have." Gathering wood was always an important activity. Before the 1960s—before coal—people used a lot of wood for heating and cooking. Gathering wood, even the dead fall, was an important activity. Even the earth has a life cycle. The cycle of seasonal activities was passed down to us. My grandmother used to say, "In the time of the dogwood trees it is warm enough to plant your garden." The elders knew how to observe the world around them and the signals from plants and animals. They paid attention to what was going on around them. The children helped with activities as well.



Figure 11: Reed Harvest, Monacan nation, 2006.
Photo by Danielle Moretti-Langholtz.

She continued:

The people set traps and snares for small game such as rabbits, squirrels and possum. Some sold possum. Our oral tradition tells us how to plant corn. During the time of the dogwoods you plant corn in little mounds. You plant three seeds and take two steps until all the corn is planted. When the corn is one hand high you go out and pull out the weakest corn seedling and lay down two bean seeds. That is how the people planted their gardens of corn and beans. We did not plant much squash. When the garden was finished my father liked to fold the plant [remains/stalks] back into the ground. We had a corn crib at our house when I was growing up.

Another tribal member noted:

Traditionally our people preferred the American Chestnut and Elm trees. However, the blight killed both of those resources. We used the bark from both of these trees to cover our houses and to make baskets. The people also used (and still gather) cat tails. These are gathered at the end of their growing season in August and September. Our villages would be located near a water source and close to where we could gather cattails or rushes for thatch. Cattails are porous and are good for insulation. Since they grow in water they [the rushes] are resistant to rot. The rushes are used for thatch and mat weaving. Rushes, if harvested properly, will grow back so they are a renewable resource. Do not pull the cattails out of the water but cut them under the water. We take the female plant, not the male plant (with the corn dog top). We even use the blades of the plants for weaving. The rushes can be used for a quiver.

We also harvested chestnuts for slow roasting but these nuts have been lost. We gathered butternuts (oblong), black walnuts and hazelnuts (they are little nuts). In recent times the people gather berries from cherry trees, raspberries, and blackberries using old coffee cans. They preserve the berries to eat them through the winter. In the past they dried the berries. Today, they make jams and jellies. We also gathered wild greens such as water cress in early February and thin leaf plantains which are available all year long. We ate cress, dandelion and poke along with wild meats. In February and March women can get out and gather dry land cress and edible dandelion and make poke-plant salad. Everything was seasonal. In May we had strawberries. In June we had cherries and in July we had blackberries and raspberries and nuts in the fall. These were the little things [foods] to take you through the season. We had a Fall Harvest dance to give thanks. Some of our songs and ceremonies have been maintained up in Canada among the Cayugas. We also had a Bean Dance and a Corn Dance.

Native American Folk Traditions in the Shenandoah Valley

One tribal member pointed out that:

The land and the animals tell you what to do and you can follow the seasons for food and your way of life. It takes nine months to build a village from start to finish. First you harvest the bark for houses in the spring—when the days are getting long—and then the cat tails in the fall. Then you weave your mats. The men have the responsibility for making the tools and the women make other things following the seasons. Also, people worked in groups. Think of this, the villages can only stand for ten years or so and then the houses start to deteriorate. About this same time the garden stops producing as much food as it did at first. Also the sanitation holes around the village are full. The animals close to the settlement have been harvested. Therefore the land and animals tell you that it is time to move your village. In order to harvest resources the people must find a new location for the village. They leave the old site and the land will reclaim the village and maybe there will be a time that the people will return to that spot. This is why archeologists say they find evidence of the same sites being used again and again as villages. But in between times the land had to reclaim the location. Oral tradition says the people knew when it was time to return to certain locations. The old ones knew all this stuff. Now we have a responsibility to maintain what remains of our traditional knowledge. In fact it was said that mother earth had a season as well. We were told as children not to play in mud puddles in the dog days. The old ones used to say this. They also said to be quiet during thunder as God is doing his work. The reasons behind some of these things have been lost. But they probably were sayings that had meaning and may have protected the people in some ways.

When asked if there were any traditions that are of special significance to the Monacan people in the Shenandoah Valley region, he replied:

I know we went up on the peaks to pray. In Amherst County Bear Mountain is sacred to us. Massanutten is a place where we would have prayed but I do not know which mountain.

CHAPTER SEVEN: RELIGIOUS GROUPS WITH TIES TO CEDAR CREEK AND BELLE GROVE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

THE CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN AND RELATED GROUPS IN THE LOWER SHENANDOAH

The Peace Churches in Their Wider Geographic and Historical Context

In his definitive book, *Shenandoah Religion, Outsiders and the Mainstream, 1716-1865* (2002), Stephen L. Longenecker, a professor at Bridgewater College, a Church of the Brethren institution located near Harrisonburg, Virginia, underscores the plurality and complex origins of religious life and history in the greater Shenandoah Valley. He observes that:

[the area is] . . . particularly well suited for a regional study because of its pluralism, which included groups of varying size and theology and representatives of diverse ethnicity. English, German, and Scots Irish embodied Anabaptism, Calvinism, congressionalism, and evangelicalism and worshipped as Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Lutherans, Reformed, Dunkers, Mennonites, Anglicans, Quakers and others. Even sectional identity lacked consensus. In this border region some traditions were southern branches of fellowships with a Northern outlook while others were the northernmost extension of groups with a Southern orientation. African Americans, though institutionally barren, contributed still further complexity. Shenandoah society was a little quilt with a fascinating assortment of patches of all shapes and sizes (Longenecker 2002:8).

By 1760, the Shenandoah Valley boasted about 21,000 inhabitants. Among these people were around 1,000 African American slaves. Scattered throughout the Valley were clusters of German Reformed, Mennonite, Quaker, Swiss, Irish Catholic, Swede, and Welsh settlers, and other groups. German settlements predominated in the Lower Valley. The Upper Valley was heavily populated by English and Scots Irish settlers.

Scott Suter (1999:8), in his study of folklife in the Shenandoah Valley, identifies three initial areas of German settlement in the Lower Shenandoah Valley. These historic settlements were: the Massanutten colony to the east in Page County, located between the Blue Ridge mountains and Massanutten Mountain; the Hite settlement on Opequon

Creek, a few miles south of Winchester; and an elongated Shenandoah settlement locale, which extended south from Strasburg along the western slope of Massanutten Mountain. Later, as farmers in the three locales expanded their holdings, these locales effectively became one large German settlement, although other ethnic and religious groups (especially Swiss and Scots Irish) were present in the areas, sometimes from original colonization, as in the case of the Hite settlement.

Within a few years, a Quaker colony—the Apple Pie Ridge settlement—was established by a man named Ross, who appears to have purchased the land from Hite. The Apple Pie settlement was to the north of the Hite settlement and Winchester, but still on Opequon Creek. By 1738, the number of Quaker families there had increased greatly, and monthly worship meetings were the rule. Eventually, many tiny Quaker settlements were established up and down the Shenandoah Valley. Common surnames among early Quakers here included Neill, Walker, Branson, McKay, Hackney, Beesom, Lupton, Barrett, Dillon, and Fawcett. During the Revolutionary War, other Shenandoah Valley settlers accused Quakers (and Dunkards, see below) of cowardice for their pacifist beliefs, and some of the Apple Pie Ridge Quaker families became impoverished after crops and properties were seized to raise war funds. In 1940, Willis and Walker indicated a continued Quaker presence in the Shenandoah Valley, along with still-distinctive modes of dressing among adherents:

The dress of the Quakers is still picturesque and many are to be seen in certain sections of the Valley. They [men] wear a broad brimmed hat, a long frock coat, generally black. The women wear full skirts, down to their ankles, black hose, plain black shoes, with round toes. Their bodices, usually black or gray in color are severely cut, with long plain sleeves, with a high neck, relieved by a white collar. They usually wear a small cap, made of the same material as their dress (Willis and Walker 1940:11).

Willis and Walker (1940:11-12) also mentioned common sightings in 1940 of “Dunkard women in ‘little black bonnets,’” who could be seen on “almost any street in any town along the Lee Highway.” These authors, like eighteenth-century traveler Dr. Thomas Walker and many locals still today, did not distinguish between various German Brethren sects, using the term “Dunkard” (or “Tunkers”) for all, in reference to their unique style of (forward) baptism (see below). Dr. Walker provided this description of some of these people on March 17, 1750:

The Dunkards are an odd set of people, who make it a matter of religion not to Shave their Beards, ly on Beds, or eat Flesh though at present, in the last, they transgress, being constrained to it, as they say, by the want of a sufficiency of Grain and Roots, they having not long been seated here. I doubt the plenty and deliciousness of the Venison and Turkeys has contributed not a litte to this. The unmarried have no private Property, but live on a common Stock. They don't baptize either Young or Old, they keep their Sabbath on Saturday, and hold that all men shall be happy hereafter, but first must pass through punishment according to their Sins. They are very hospitable
(Willis and Walker 1940:12).

Floyd Wine (b. 1917), a former Pastor, Moderator, and Elder of Meadow Mills Church of the Brethren behind Belle Grove Plantation, described the origins and signature belief and ritual of the German Brethren (also see Durnbaugh 1958:120-122):

If you're not familiar with the Church. . . They started in 1708 in Schwarzenau on the Eder River in Germany. Eight people were baptized—they baptized each other [in the Eder], and started a church. It's gone by several different names since then. . . . In Germany, they had mainly three basic religions. Whoever was over a province, ruler of the province. . . if he was a Catholic, then all of them in the province would be Catholics. If he was a Lutheran, everybody was supposed to be Lutheran, and if he was German Reformed Church. . . . So when the Brethren started they believed in adult baptism and many of the other churches did not, so when they started baptizing by immersion. That's when persecution started. . . . [The Church of the Brethren] came out of that mixture. . . . Most of them were bible readers, and in the reading they found that the [their mother] Church was not doing what the scripture was saying. . . . In baptism, those three churches, I think, sprinkled the babies. And, of course, the scripture says that, "he that believeth" is baptized—a baby can't believe anything. . . to baptize means to "put out of sight, to bury from sight" as Jesus was buried underground and came up a new person, the resurrection. The baptism is a symbol of that. . .
(interview with Floyd Wine, 2006).

Wine then diagrammed the correct names for the different "Dunkard" groups and their relationships (Figure 12). Wine observed:

The Church of the Brethren had three degrees of the ministry. The first was the Licentiate, which were licensed so they could preach, and if they were [the] Ordained, they could baptize and marry and do some of the other functions. And the higher degree of the ministers was called "Elder" . . . Only the Elder could preside over a business meeting, church business meeting, conference, or annual conference, it's called. And the Elder was usually the top dog in the church, usually had the last word, and had pretty well control of us. One minister later on said the Elder was

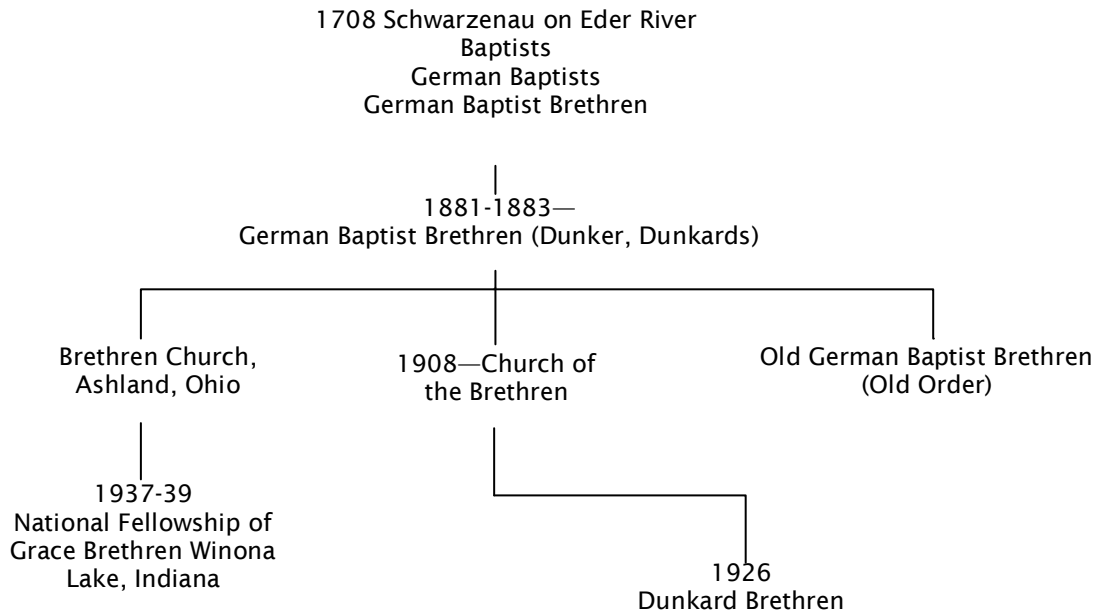


Figure 12: Evolution of “Dunkard” groups.
Redrawing of diagram created by Floyd Wine.

almost like a Czar. Whatever his word was, was almost law... In the 1950s, the Church had reorganization and they did away with the Eldership... I had several jobs, not at one time. I was an Elder... and that was done away with... I was Moderator of the [Meadow Mills] church at the same time I was preaching there... The Moderator presides over the congregation, but the pastor is supposed to take care of the needs of the congregation, baptizing, marrying, burying, and any spiritual interpretation, and the Moderator take care of the administrative part.

Wine also provided insight into the early history of the German Brethren and Church of the Brethren in the Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park and Lower Shenandoah Valley locales:

From 1708 to 1889, they [Church of the Brethren] never had a paid pastor. They were like the Mennonites somewhat in selecting ministers. They usually would select a banker or schoolteacher or someone who had a paid job, and who would be willing to preach free, [they] called [it] a “free ministry”... Their educational requirements were not nearly as high as some... the Lutheran and Episcopalian, for instance, you had to be a seminary graduate in order to preach. That was not true of the Brethren, Mennonites, and Quakers... [which] may have had two, or three or four or even five ministers in a congregation. They might have had eight or ten church houses, and they would take a certain circuit. One would go here one Sunday and then [in] two weeks here he was down here at another

one... They usually had meetings once or twice a month when they started, and it was a rotating schedule. And they did a lot of evangelism. Like my [great] great-grandfather road horseback into Pocahontas County, West Virginia, which is quite a distance. . . I know that Brother [Elder] John Kline, who. . . kept a diary of wherever he went and wherever he ate lunch, wherever he spent the night. And usually they had a preaching service at night wherever he was staying. . . He kept a diary for about 35 years, and much of the Brethren history in the Valley goes back to his diary, whatever he wrote down. In fact, he wrote down in his diary about ordaining. . . my [great] great grandfather [Elder Jacob Wine], and the local church doesn't have anything about that at all, but just his diary. . . He [Kline] was quite an evangelist and herb doctor. He'd go to West Virginia and turn his horse loose to graze while he picked herbs from the mountainside. And my [great] great-grandfather used to ride with him sometimes on these excursions.

Back during the [Civil] War, the Brethren, Quakers and Mennonites were Peace churches; they were opposed to the War. And when the Civil War came, a lot of people didn't understand why they would not join the military, and especially how the preachers would ride through the Union and Confederate lines. And they had your annual conferences. . . sometimes in Virginia or Pennsylvania, or wherever they might be. . . They sometimes crossed the lines, and a lot of them could not understand why they were doing this. . . They called a lot of the Brethren ministers Unionists because they were able to pass through the lines without any particular problem. [Elder] John Kline and my [great] great-grandfather were arrested when they came back from a West Virginia tour and were taken to Harrisonburg for questioning. They were later released, but finally John Kline was bushwhacked. He went to a blacksmith's shop, had his horse shod and on the way home somebody was waiting for him. Shot him off his horse. . . My [great] great grandfather assisted at the funeral.

Family Religious Affiliations Through Time

Over time, frequently through intermarriage, many descendants of pioneer German families in the Lower Shenandoah Valley shifted their religious affiliations to entirely new denominations, or to splinter Anabaptist sects to which some of their ancestors belonged. This is the case with several families associated with Middletown, Belle Grove Plantation and Long Meadow Farm, including the Hites and Brumbacks. For example, one branch of the Brumback family has shifted religious affiliation minimally from one of the German denominations or sects to Primitive Baptist to Presbyterian over the centuries since coming to Page County in 1754, and later to Frederick County in 1843. By the early twentieth century, successful farmer Andrew Jackson Brumback, who owned both Belle Grove Plantation and Long Meadow Farm (his home in Warren County and now a Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National

Historical Park-partnered property), helped found the Primitive Baptist Church at Cedar Creek (org. 1894) in Marlboro, a few miles west of Middletown.

In the case of the Hite family there is even more complexity in the family's religious history. As a young man, Jost Hite, founder of the Hite settlement on Opequon Creek, appears from parish records in his hometown of Bonfeld (now part of Bad Rappenau), Germany to have been either Lutheran or German Reformed. His mother, Anna Magdalena Hite, who died in their hometown nearly a decade before Jost emigrated, was described in parish records as "devoted to the Roman Catholic Church," and buried in a service conducted at her request under "special dispensation by a Christian of her religion from Wimpfen" (Jones et al. 1979:11). After Hite and his family emigrated to America (via England), they first settled in Ulster County in New York's Hudson River Valley, where he and his wife were witnesses for a christening in the Kingston Dutch Reformed Church; they later moved to the Germantown, Pennsylvania colony. When Hite organized the settlement on Opequon Creek, a few miles south of Winchester, among the families joining his venture were several families that had emigrated from his hometown in Germany, including the Merckels (his wife's kin) and the Funcks, the latter whom were Mennonites (at least in Bonfeld) (Jones et al. 1979:8-9).

By 1752, Jost Hite's oldest son, John, a baptized Lutheran, who lived opposite him in the Opequon settlement, was appointed a member of the vestry of the Anglican Parish of Frederick in the Virginia colony, and, thus, as an adult was a local lay official of the Church of England. Both marriages of Jost's grandson, Isaac, Jr., were solemnized in Episcopalian services, and Isaac was also a founding member of St. Thomas Chapel in Middletown (org. 1834). Isaac's son, and Jost Hite's great-grandson, Isaac Fontaine Hite, donated land for Hites Chapel Methodist Church (org. 1884) about five miles west of Middletown near his home property, "Rockville," where Hite descendants still gather annually for a family reunion (Belle Grove 2000:36; Jones et al. 1979:9, 25, 32).

On the other hand, the ancestors of Floyd Wine, who came to the Lower Valley in 1935, represent a continuous line of Anabaptist traditions leading back to German Brethren origins in Germany:

Michael Wine [Floyd Wine's great-great-great-grandfather] emigrated from Germany when he was two years of age in [1749]... He had twelve children and [one son, George was a minister], but Michael Wine to my knowledge never was, only he was a prominent church official... That family over time has produced over 150 ministers... Most all of the

Brethren came to Germantown [PA], and then they spread outward from Lancaster County and York, and then down into Maryland and Beaverdam, and then Frederick County [VA]... Then the Revolutionary War made some inroads and some of their farms were confiscated because they refused to join the military. So the pressure was put on them and so as long as they heard of free land elsewhere they began to migrate to other places... My ancestor, Michael, lived around York, Pennsylvania awhile and then he came to the [Shenandoah] Valley six miles west of New Market [Rockingham County, VA] in 1782... George Wine, [a distant relative of Floyd Wine] preached here [near Winchester around] 1900... at Peach Grove [Church of the Brethren] (interview with Floyd Wine, 2006).

MEADOW MILLS CHURCH OF THE BRETHERN

The church in closest proximity to Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park is Meadow Mills Church of the Brethren, located across from a back corner of the Belle Grove property, at the intersection of a paved road with two dirt lanes. This location is about three miles southwest of Middletown, in Frederick County. Formerly, Meadow Mills and other Church of the Brethren churches were often called “meeting houses” by their memberships, a term echoed architecturally in the steeple-less, house-like buildings erected for worship until recent decades. In the 1950s and 1960s, Meadow Mills served about 100-120 people. Since then its membership has risen and then declined, from 140 members in 1980 to a little over 100 in 2005. Meadow Mills is part of the Church of the Brethren Shenandoah District, a multi-county organization for the denomination’s churches in the Shenandoah Valley and West Virginia, which in 2005 totaled more than 14,000 people in membership (Church of the Brethren 1983; Mauck 2006; Shafer 2006; interview with Floyd Wine, 2006).

The church is situated in the Meadow Mills neighborhood, a once-thriving nineteenth and early twentieth-century hamlet that once included a post office, general store, school, and the J. H. Fisher Dairy (see Chapters Five and Six). At one time, Isaac Hite, Jr. or his descendents operated grist and lumber mills as well as a distillery nearby on Cedar Creek. The operations now lie in ruins in a wooded area near the local swimming hole, down the private road that runs beside the Meadow Mills Church property (Belle Grove 2000:27; interviews with Virginia (Gee Gee) Pasquet, 2006). Today, a scattering of houses, the modern church building, and mill ruins attest to this location’s earlier prosperity.

Meadow Mills Church, first organized under an unknown name at an unknown date, had its beginnings in worship services held in the Meadow Mills school, probably in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. In 1913, the school building was sold to the trustees of the newly-formed Union Chapel congregation—J. W. Hold Hottel, William P. Spiggle, and W. H. Racy. (See Ridings Chapel discussion below and Duggan 1994 regarding shared use of church buildings, sometimes historically called “Union Churches.”) From 1913 to 1926, Spiggle, a pastor of the Church of the Brethren, attended to the member’s needs. In 1938 or 1939, Norman Uphouse of Winchester, another Church of the Brethren pastor, oversaw reorganization of this group into the independent Meadow Mills Union Brethren Church. It was formally accepted as a Church of the Brethren congregation in 1959 by the larger denomination. The current structure was built in 1969 or 1970 (Carr and Carr 1988:14; Church of the Brethren 1983; Greene 1997:30).

For this chapter, Dr. Duggan interviewed former pastor J. Floyd Wine (ca. 1950-1966) and current pastor Fred Mauck (1995-present) about the Meadow Mills Church of the Brethren. Both Pastors Wine and Mauck are descended from families associated with eighteenth-century German settlement of the Shenandoah Valley. Pastor Wine began serving the Meadow Mills Church around 1950, was formally asked to be pastor in 1955, and continued in this capacity through 1966. During these years, Wine’s primary pastoral duties were to Calvary Church of the Brethren in Winchester, where he began Sunday conducting morning services (Wine 1972; interview with Floyd Wine, 2006). In the 1940s and 1950s, each Sunday afternoon Wine and his wife, Ruth, assisted at the Helping Hands Mission in Indian Hollow, a small mission operated by a Lutheran woman, in fulfillment of a personal vow, without monetary support from the Lutheran church. On Sunday evenings, Pastor Wine then proceeded to his Meadow Mills Church duties. He continues to serve the Meadow Mills congregation today as Moderator and sometimes Elder, even though he is still active in Calvary Church.

Pastors Wine and Mauck both attribute Meadow Mills’ founding to association with the Salem Church of the Brethren, located about two miles south of Stephens City in Shenandoah County (interviews, 2006). Several Brethren congregations call Salem Church their “Mother Church,” since it had many “preaching points” (apparently preaching stations, or incipient congregations) in the Lower Shenandoah Valley in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Salem Church founders came out of the Woodstock

Brethren congregation in 1858, and its first meetinghouse was built in 1859 (Church of the Brethren 1983). Wine also notes that Salem's original members came from Woodstock and many parts of Frederick and Clarke Counties, and that while several churches were founded out of it, Salem Church itself has never grown in size (interview with Floyd Wine, 2006).

Love Feast Rituals and the Meadow Mills Church

Dr. Duggan asked Pastor Mauck (2006) about important cyclical religious ceremonies that Suter (1999) found were important to Church of the Brethren congregations in the Upper Shenandoah Valley. In particular, questions were focused on the annual Love Feast ritual, which consists of three sequential services: Footwashing; Love Feast ("Lord's Supper" in Suter); and, lastly, Communion.

In *Shenandoah Valley Folklife*, Suter (1999), whose fieldwork was primarily conducted in Rockingham, Shenandoah, and Page counties in the Upper Shenandoah Valley, describes the Love Feast as practiced by Church of the Brethren congregations. His description, quoted in part below, also draws strongly on Bowman's (1995) definitive study of Church of the Brethren history:

Perhaps the most sacred of the Brethren celebrations, the love feast consists of three parts: washing of the feet, the Lord's Supper, and communion. The foot washing began with a hymn and reading of Scripture, followed by the washing, in which two members generally would wash and dry and then exchange roles with others until all members' feet had been washed. Men and women were separated.

Following the washing of feet, the Lord's Supper was served, consisting of bread, beef, and broth. This was not a social occasion but was instead a solemn time for reflection. More hymns were sung, and the tables were cleared and prepared for communion. Following more reading of Scripture, Bowman notes, "the elder greeted the brother next to him; and likewise, forming a chain of unity and brotherly love that was passed all the way around the table and back to the elder that began it. The same action, sometimes called 'passing the peace,' was repeated among the sisters." Finally, communion began with two cups of wine (one for the men and one for the women), which were passed around until everyone had partaken of the drink. The evening concluded with another hymn and prayer (Suter 1999:56-57).

The critical religious significance and enactment of the three parts of the Love Feast at Meadow Mills Church of the Brethren compares favorably with Suter's reporting about Love Feast practices in counties to the south in the Upper Valley, with

some minor variations and new details. Pastor Mauck describes continuation of spatially-gendered aspects of the three services, with women and men seated and ministered to separately (e.g., women wash the feet of other women) (interview with Pastor Mauck, 2006). Mauck differs from Suter, who calls the second service “Lord’s Supper,” instead referring to this ritual meal as the “Love Feast.” He also reports a change in location of this ceremonial cycle inside the Meadow Mills Church in recent years. Today, Meadow Mills Church holds this great celebration twice annually, once in the spring and once in the fall, each time following on the heels of a period of revival meeting. In the past, Mauck says, the three services were performed in the altar area of Meadow Mills Church’s sanctuary. Now, the big tables in the Fellowship Hall in the church basement provide a comfortable setting around which the three rituals are still enacted in sequence. He also says that in recent years croutons have replaced traditional unleavened bread (“Christ’s bread,” in CB terminology) in the Love Feast and Communion services at Meadow Mills.

Church of the Brethren Baptism Rituals and Meadow Mills Church

Suter’s folklife study includes a description by an anonymous non-member witness of an early twentieth-century Church of the Brethren baptism, which occurred at an undisclosed location in the Shenandoah Valley. This description is repeated in large part below. In Suter’s volume it is accompanied by a photograph of the 1905 baptism of a young woman in a creek around Bayse, Shenandoah County (1999:55):

A sudden hush fell on the company gathered there about that little stream. Two hundred or so there were of us—men, women and little children... Our eyes focused on the water. A short, spare man of medium height... was wading out into the stream. He wore hip boots and a suit of clerical black that was evidently waterproof. His head was bare. In his hand he carried a long broom handle. Carefully he stepped to the center of the narrow creek, feeling the bottom with his broomstick as he went... apparently satisfied, he nodded his head and waded back toward shore. On the bank a tense-faced group awaited him—ten boys and girls, ranging in age from twelve to twenty-five... The man with the broomstick joined them. Laying aside his improvised staff, he fell to his knees on a piece of rag carpet spread upon the bank. The others followed. With solemn emphasis, the square-jawed man now raised his voice in earnest prayer. At its conclusion, the little group arose. The man in the hip boots, quietly seizing the arm of one of the boys, walked once more into the stream. His companion’s face was white. Involuntarily he blanched as the icy water nipped his ankles, but with manly purpose he continued forward. In the middle of the creek his conductor turned him so he faced down stream,

and bade him kneel. With his hand, the other wet the nape of the boy's neck. Then, while utter silence held those watching from the bridge and bank, he put three solemn questions:

“Do you believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and came from Heaven to earth with the soul-saving Word?” . . .

“I do.”

“Do you willingly renounce sin and Satan and all his pernicious ways?”

More quickly this time, the youth assented.

“Do you promise to be faithful unto death?”

Again the answer came. The administrator placed his left hand over the face of the kneeling youth, his right at the back of his neck. “Then, with this confession of faith,” he announced, “in the presence of God and these witnesses, I baptize you for the remission of sins, in the name of the Father—”

With a single practiced motion, he plunged the youth face forward in the icy current. He came up gasping. Gently the hawk-nosed man smoothed back his dripping hair and waited.

“And the Son—” Again the shivering head and shoulders were immersed. Another pause.

“And the Holy Ghost!” For the third and final time the gesture was repeated. With his hand on the head of his newly baptized charge, the administrator offered a brief prayer. He raised the youth from his knees. Still standing in the water, he extended the right hand of fellowship and planted the kiss of love upon his cheek. Then, leading him to the bank, he turned him over to the square-jawed man. Again the hand of fellowship was offered. . .

So this was a Dunker baptism! . . . “German Baptist Brethren” was their real title, I knew, but like the Quakers, the name Dunker—or Tunker—the name given originally in derision, had stuck (Suter 1999:54-56).

In 2006 fieldwork interviews, Dr. Duggan queried Floyd Wine, Fred Mauck, and Gee Gee Pasquet about the history and prevalence of outdoor baptism services conducted in local creeks or the Shenandoah River. Wine and Mauck, both Church of the Brethren pastors, who follow this church's traditional forward dunking style, frequently led outdoor baptism services in the past, and still do upon request (except in winter), even though many Brethren churches now have indoor baptismal pools. Both Wine and Mauck say that within their memories there never were specifically delineated locations, either on Cedar Creek or the Shenandoah River, used for outdoor baptisms by Meadow Mills Church. Rather, they state that fluctuating water level and ready accessibility always determines a suitable place for each baptismal event. Gee Gee Pasquet, however, indicates a location on Cedar Creek, between the Highway 11 bridge and Interstate 81, which she has driven past on a number of occasions in recent years

when outdoor baptism services were in progress there. This suggests, perhaps, that suitable sites for baptisms do exist on Cedar Creek (at least with its modern water course and seasonal fluctuations), or that this location is a favorite baptizing spot for another, as-yet unidentified congregation(s).

In his interview, Pastor Wine also described the type of baptism practiced by the Church of the Brethren, and its symbolism for members. It is this distinctive style of baptism that led non-members historically to derisively call German Baptist Brethren and their offshoots “Dunkers” (a.k.a. “Dunkards” or “Tunkers”):

The baptism means “to put out of sight, to bury from sight,” as Jesus was buried underground and came up a new person—a resurrection. And the baptism is a symbol of that—as you bury the person, the old life, and they come up a new person. . . . And then, of course, they [different Christian denominations] have four ways of baptism—backwards, forwards, sprinkling and pouring. . . . The Brethren baptize three motions forward. Dip once in the name of the Father, and another in the name of the Son, and another in the name of the Holy Spirit. . . . The Brethren used to say that “Jesus never did anything backwards.” [He and author chuckle knowingly.] Course, the Scripture talks about the Israelites going through the Red Sea was a type of baptism, and it was a forward motion. And, usually, it—just backwards—is not just part of it [baptism] (interview with Floyd Wine, 2006).

Religious Musical Traditions and the Meadow Mills Church

According to Suter (1999:28-29), when the earliest German settlers in the Shenandoah sang during religious services, it was together in choral style, with no musical accompaniment. Later in the eighteenth century, Lutheran and some other monetarily better-off congregations acquired organs. By the early nineteenth century, the Upper Shenandoah Valley became an important center for the development and dissemination of the shape-note singing system, a movement that spread rapidly throughout the South, primarily through camp meetings, revivals, informal singing school gatherings, and song books. The four-pitch version became popular among English-speaking populations, after publication of the *Kentucky Harmony* (1810) at Harrisonburg, Virginia (Rockingham County). Among German settlers in the Shenandoah Valley it was publication of the *Die Allgemein Nutzliche Choral-Music* (1816) and *Genuine Church Music*, a.k.a. *Harmonia Sacra* (1832), authored by Mennonite schoolteacher Joseph Funk, which led to their preference for his seven-pitch, shape-note singing system.

In 1866, Funk's grandson, Aldine Keifer, and his friend, Ephraim Ruebush, founded a publishing company that promoted the seven-note system, through publication of more songbooks and a periodical for singing schools. Kiefer also founded the Normal Singing School in New Market, Shenandoah County in 1874, the South's first such institution, and a milestone in the history of Gospel music. In his fieldwork, Suter found that a few shape-note "Singings" continue today in the Shenandoah Valley. Mauck Meetinghouse in Hamburg, Page County and Weaver's Mennonite Church in Rockingham County, which added Singings in 1902, have the longest continuous histories of holding Singings and associated outdoor feasts; both draw large crowds (Suter 1999:29-30).

According to Pastor Fred Mauck, between the 1880s and 1900 local Church of the Brethren congregations switched from conducting services and singing in German only to English only. (This coincides with Floyd Wine's discussion of the demise of German language use throughout the Lower Valley in all contexts between the 1880s and early 1900s.) Later in the twentieth century, Meadow Mills Church added a piano and an organ to accompany singing, moving away from the older choral style for regular worship services. Periodic "Old Time Singings" and larger "Invited Singings," employing shape-note singing, though, still continue at Meadow Mills and other Brethren churches in the Valley. In the latter case, groups from other Brethren, and sometimes Lutheran, churches attend or perform at Meadow Mills. Gee Gee Pasquet, a Brumback descendent, and at least a second-generation Presbyterian, says such "Singings" were not part of local mainstream Protestant church traditions in the Middletown and Strasburg churches that she has attended over the last half century (interview with Virginia (Gee Gee) Pasquet, 2006).

OTHER CHURCHES IN THE MIDDLETOWN AREA

Of particular interest in this section are congregations in the general Middletown locale and Belle Grove Plantation that have ties to German pioneer Jost Hite and his children, as well as other historic local congregations. A discussion about historic African American congregations in Middletown also follows. There are other churches in Middletown of different denominations, including an Assembly of God church founded in the mid to late twentieth century, mentioned only in passing, or not discussed.

Hites Chapel United Methodist Church

In the spring of 1882, a Methodist congregation was formed about four miles northwest of Middletown, which met initially at Manson P. Smith's home and orchard, and later in Long's Grove Schoolhouse. Later, Isaac Fontaine Hite, son of Major Isaac Hite of Belle Grove donated land for a church building that was constructed in 1884 (Carr and Carr 1988:40; Greene 1997:23; Umstattd 2004:19). According to one person, in the last few years the Hites Chapel building has been closed, except for the annual Hite Family Reunion.

Middletown Presbyterian Church

This church was originally named Cliff Creek Presbyterian Church, and was organized in the Vaucuse/Chrisman Springs area in 1878, a few miles north of Middletown. In 1987, the congregation moved its permanent meeting place to the renovated "Old Grange Hall" on Senseney Avenue in Middletown and changed its name to Middletown Presbyterian Church (Carr and Carr 1988:66; Greene 1997:31).

There is an aside about the Vaucuse/Chrisman Springs area and an 1858 camp meeting that seems relevant. It should be noted that originally the place name "Chrisman Springs" referred to both the stone mansion built in 1751 by Jacob Chrisman and his wife, Magdalena, a daughter of Jost Hite, as well as the large, pooled spring visible from their house (see Umstattd 2004:24). It was at Chrisman Springs (either the home, the spring, or later a possible camp ground there with an outdoor "amphitheater") that a large religious camp meeting was held in 1858. An excerpt describing this event, which drew thousands of people, was written by William Hedges, a Methodist participant, and is included in Chapter Four of this report.

Typically, early camp meetings in the upland South were often non-denominational affairs, religious as well as social gatherings, and broadly attended by people from long distances (see for example Duggan 1995). An alternate reading of Hedges' description of the camp meeting at Chrisman Springs suggests that Methodist participation was high, but not necessarily that it was a Methodist camp meeting ground solely. Probably reflecting later and stronger differentiation between denominational activities, modern residents interviewed for this chapter said that only "Pentecostals" held camp meetings, and that Methodists did not hold camp meetings. Further oral history and archival research may reveal whether there is a direct connection between

the historic Chrisman Springs home and family-specific Methodist sponsorship of the 1858 meeting, or even if there are possible connections to the Cliff Creek Presbyterian Church (Middletown Presbyterian Church), which was founded in the Vaocluse/Chrisman Springs community within a decade of this camp meeting.

St. Thomas Church/St. Thomas Chapel

The original St. Thomas Church was completed in 1836 to serve as an Episcopalian church for Middletown and the nearby Vaocluse/Chrisman Springs area. Local tradition holds that the chapel's design was derived from that of the great York Cathedral in England. St. Thomas Chapel organizers included C. B. Hite of Belle Grove Plantation and some of his neighbors. It is possible that worship services at Belle Grove Plantation during Isaac Hite, Jr.'s day, now mentioned by interpretive staff, may have preceded organization of St. Thomas Church (Carr and Carr 1988:76; Cartmell 1989; interviews with Virginia (Gee Gee) Pasquet 2006).

During the Civil War the church was used as a hospital. It is believed that St. Thomas was occupied by General Sheridan's troops in 1864. These Union soldiers are credited with burning its pews and shutters for fuel and stabling their horses inside, leaving only the four walls standing when they left. Members subsequently restored the structure, and services continued regularly from 1867 to 1930, and periodically until 1946 (Carr and Carr 1988).

In 1967, the St. Thomas Chapel Trust restored the abandoned building, changing its name from Church to Chapel to denote its new community orientation. In 1973, it was registered with the National Register of Historic Places. By 1988, St. Thomas Chapel was being used for non-denominational services at Thanksgiving and Good Friday and for public and private services, weddings, and concerts (Carr and Carr 1988).

Grace United Methodist Church, South

The first Methodist congregation in Middletown was established about 1816 (see below). This group, known as The Methodist Church, met in a log building, which was replaced in 1853 by a brick structure. The present Grace United Methodist Church was dedicated in 1898, and in current decades its membership topped 300 congregants (Carr and Carr 1988:39; Greene 1997:21).

Historic African American Churches in Middletown

In Chapter Four of this report, two locations in downtown Middletown are described that were used as African American meeting houses in the nineteenth century; both were located on Senseney Avenue, off Main Street. The building known as the Methodist Church, built in 1818, presumably for white use only, was in 1879 converted and renamed Middletown Missionary Church to serve an African American Methodist membership (see Grace United Methodist Church discussion immediately above). Before the century was out, the new African American congregation built another church on the same street, and called it Mt. Zion Methodist Church.

In a field interview in August 2006, Gee Gee Pasquet of Long Meadow Farm told Dr. Duggan that her cousins and local historians, Guy and Martha Jones, along with unnamed others, had examined “the unused church building on Senseney Avenue” and found “a log structure sporting, still-strong 20-foot hewn logs” behind the building’s current walls. If accurate, this suggests that this structure reflects both the original 1818 church and the 1879 renovation (Methodist/Middleton Missionary Church). The Joneses also reported to Mrs. Pasquet that a formerly overgrown (now fenced) African American cemetery is located on a side road just outside of Middletown, reached by taking the first right turn after crossing over Interstate 81.

When quizzed none of the people interviewed by Dr. Duggan could recall any African American churches in the study area, although they said there likely are a few African American residents. (According to them, most African Americans in the area live in Stephens City or Strasburg.) No active or historic African American congregations were included in the two published histories about churches in counties that include, or surround, the Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park and partnership units (Carr and Carr 1988; Greene 1997).

Other Local Churches

There are additional active congregations in the Middletown area, ones primarily founded in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Three of these include: Missionary Baptist Church (Middletown); Valley Assembly of God Church (Middletown); and Refuge United Methodist Church (Stephens City) (Carr and Carr 1988:3, 50; Greene 1997:3, 46, 69). Project interviewees also mentioned that there were Quakers living in and near Stephens City, and Lutheran and Baptist congregations in

Stephens City and Strasburg. Some of these groups may have met in the homes of descendents of key founding families associated with initial Lower Shenandoah settlement, but a study of such possible connections was beyond the scope of this project.

One of the other churches near the project locale is Ridings Chapel United Methodist Church. Interviewee Douglas Cooley, grandnephew of brothers John and Benjamin Barnes, who once farmed Belle Grove Plantation, attended this church as a boy, when it was still a United Brethren Church (interview with Douglas Cooley, 2006). This church was established ca. 1877, and is located on Route 735, east of Middletown, in the hamlet of Reliance (Carr and Carr 1988; Greene 1997).

Ridings Chapel can be traced to a Lutheran congregation that met in a log building known as Old Pine Church, presumably at an unknown time in the nineteenth century. The Lutherans also allowed this structure to be used by other denominations in rotation. Such shared usage of worship space was common in rural areas of the upland South in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, whether in a designated church or meeting house, or even a school. Sometimes such a multi-use building was referred to locally as the “Union church” (see for example Duggan 1994). Later, under the Ridings Chapel name, the congregation drew founders from the United Brethren Church and Evangelical Church sects, which later merged as the Evangelical Brethren Church. In 1968, Ridings Chapel became part of the United Methodist Church, when the Evangelical Brethren Church merged yet again, this time with the Methodist denomination (Carr and Carr 1988; Greene 1997).

RELIGIOUS THEMED FOLK ART AND FOLKLORE

While a separate section on folkcraft traditions is included in this report (see Chapter Five), two folklore forms were encountered by this author in the course of fieldwork in the study area that have religious/ethnic themes or overtones. While all persons interviewed were asked about several types of German ethnic and religious folklore and folklife forms discussed at length in Suter (1999) in his study of Shenandoah Valley folklore, only one form yielded recognition or personal knowledge. Variants of a joke about Dunkards also were encountered in the course of non-related discussions with two different interviewees.

Folk Art

Suter (1999:77-78) identifies *fraktur* painting as one of the earliest forms of folk art practiced in the Shenandoah Valley, one that reflected “beliefs and acceptable motifs of the community.” *Fraktur* painting was practiced in this case in German settlements in Pennsylvania, and, later, by settlers from them who migrated into the Shenandoah Valley, where the objects were widely commissioned and used between the 1790s and 1820s. *Fraktur* were frequently stored as treasured keepsakes in family Bibles and dower chests.

Fraktur were illuminated manuscripts created to record “births, baptisms, (subtype: *taufschein*), or marriages or as house blessings, bookplates, and other commemorative documents (subtype: *vorschriften*)”. In general, schoolmasters and ministers of the Lutheran and Reformed Church schools painted most *fraktur*, which had texts that often stressed religious beliefs and themes. Anabaptist Mennonites and Brethren sects, who did not practice infant baptism, typically created only *vorschriften*. The painted motifs surrounding elaborately executed calligraphic writing that often featured brightly hued tulips, pomegranates, hearts, distelfinks, and parrots. Most surviving *fraktur* were anonymously rendered. Works by one practitioner of this folk art form, Peter Bernhart of Rockingham County, a schoolmaster and post rider, were commissioned broadly from Fredrick to Augusta Counties (Suter 1999:78-79).

Interviews with Gee Gee Pasquet revealed that a branch of her Fisher relatives have a family-curated *fraktur* in the form of a house blessing. This family name (including the former Fisher Dairy adjacent to Belle Grove Plantation) has long been associated with the lower Shenandoah Valley and Middletown area. The original date and location of manufacture of this *fraktur* is uncertain at this point. It is, however, signed “G. Miesse,” so a more exact dated provenance may be possible with more research. It is quite possible that other families of German-descent in this locale also have inherited *fraktur*.

Oral Folklore

Two jokes, variants on the same theme, were told to Dr. Duggan during the course of two interviews in different towns on the same day by men who were not acquainted on personal terms. Both variants emphasize the unusual personal appearance of “Dunker” males, and especially pastors, to non-sect members, although some

Brethren sects no longer require distinct dress or grooming practices. They also indirectly, through play on words, likely subsume, as is common locally, several Brethren sects under one name—Dunker—in reference to their distinct baptismal ritual.

The first variant was told by a member of another Protestant denomination on one end of the study area:

The Dunkards. . . in the old days they had beards, you know. Most of the ministers all had full and long breads. . . . So this Dunkard pastor was riding on the bus. And this fellow who was pretty drunk got in and sat down beside him. The fellow was quite drunk [and] was setting there, and he said, “Who are you?” And he says, “Well, I’m a Dunkard pastor.” And the drunk says, “Well, I’m a drunkard bastard but I still shave.”

The second interviewee at the other end of the study area, and a member of the Church of the Brethren, referring to the frequent local confusion over the various Brethren sect splits and names, told the author this variant of the joke:

Some people kind of confuse the “Dunkard and the drunkard” . . . “Well, I heard one where a fellow said to [someone present] . . . “I’m a Dunkard pastor.” And the guy that was drunk nearby, he said, “Well, don’t feel bad, I too am a drunken bastard.”

Both joke variants demonstrate the long-standing “Otherness” designation assigned to conservative Anabaptist sects locally, with that Otherness rooted in the historically-derisive application of the term “Dunker” (and its variants) to refer to the different-style baptism practiced by all German Baptist Brethren sects. Ultimately, the term was accepted and reincorporated as a name for themselves, as the German Baptists split into new sects repeatedly during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (see Wine’s discussion of these various splits and their names in the first section of this chapter). Today, the Dunkard baptismal style appears to be more of a curiosity, or even a forgotten referent. The attribution of this historic Otherness, however, by non-members may continue mainly in reference to customary styles of personal appearance, which still serve to visually (and by sect choice) set apart one sect—Dunkard Brethren—from other Brethren groups today, giving continued saliency to these local joke variants.

CONCLUSIONS

The Church of the United Brethren, as well as other descendant churches of the German and Scots Irish immigrants, the Tidewater-based Episcopal churches, and the

later Baptist sects that became significant to both African American and white residents in the Valley have played a significant role in the region's history. The Church of the United Brethren, with a church on the Valley circuit located just outside the park's properties, is a unique and distinctive participant in Valley life. Several locations on park properties have been and still are in use by Brethren assemblies for baptisms, and the Meadow Mills Church is one of the few places in the area where shape-note music performances can still be heard. The Brethren's associations with the park should be cherished, although the membership in this denomination is currently in decline.

Other churches in the area and on park properties as well have important associations with the Hite and Brumback families, including the Primitive Baptist Church, St. Thomas Episcopal Church (in Middletown), and the Ridings Chapel United Methodist Church and the Stephenson United Methodist Church (in Stephens City). The Hite Family Chapel on park property is no longer in use, but is an important stop on the Hite Family Reunion's tours. There are numerous cemeteries associated with the Hite, Bowman, and Brumback families, including the cemeteries at Harmony Hall and at Long Meadow, both on park property. These too are significant sites for the Hite Family Association. Other Brumback family members are buried at the Riverview Cemetery in Strasburg, Virginia. The African American slave cemetery at Belle Grove is not widely known, and seldom visited, although it has recently become a focus for interpretation of slave life at Belle Grove. The parlor at Belle Grove Manor house has also been the setting for a number of Hite and Brumback family weddings.

In sum, the park properties are linked in many ways to the religious practices of several associated groups, and park resources remain significant in the expression of religious beliefs and identity. Another group with strong associations with the park are Civil War reenactors, whose activities at the park, and role in the establishment and current activities of the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation, a park partner, will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CIVIL WAR REENACTORS AT CEDAR CREEK AND BELLE GROVE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

Civil War reenactors, a growing group of history enthusiasts who share an interest in the activities and material culture associated with (and the motivations and cultural context of) the Civil War, meet in increasing numbers to reenact significant battles of the Civil War. Those locations, such as the Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, where reenactors are permitted to recreate battle conditions and troop movements on actual battlefields, are especially important to the reenactor community. Reenactors have been featured in a number of popular and scholarly works, most notably Cathy Stanton's invaluable *Reenactors in National Parks* (1999); Tony Horwitz's *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from an Unfinished Civil War* (1998), and Jim Cullen's *The Civil War in Popular Culture: A Reusable Past* (1996). These studies emphasize strong emotional ties reenactor communities have to a uniquely personal view of history, and to specific places, such as Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, where important Civil War engagements have taken place. These ties are best understood in light of the growth of the "Myth of the Last Cause," an intellectual tradition that emerged in the years immediately following the war. This tradition, first articulated by historian Edward A. Pollard (1866), included several controversial tenets: that the South's forces had been "overwhelmed" rather than defeated, that secession was a justifiable response to Northern aggression, and that the principal cause of the war was a dispute over states' rights, rather than slavery. The Myth of the Lost Cause found advocates among many historians, and was widely promulgated in popular publications and in films. Although largely dismissed among modern scholars, its elements are reflected in the contemporary Civil War reenactor community (see below) and helped provide the underlying justification for the growing number of Commemorative organizations that arose in the South following the Civil War.

Commemorative activities began at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove in the 1870s and 1880s, when veterans and their families began to visit Belle Grove Plantation to

celebrate the anniversary of the battles that had taken place there and to present a dramatic interpretation of the Battle of Cedar Creek. The first of these visitors were members (or descendants) of Union forces who had participated in the decisive Battle of Cedar Creek, and who were responsible for erecting three of the four monuments presently located near the entrance to Belle Grove's grounds. With these prominent exceptions, however, commemorative activities at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park and elsewhere soon became the province of regional Commemorative societies, many of which were established soon after the war.

According to historian Caroline Janney, Southern women in particular played an important role as keepers of memory and in promulgating the basic tenets of the Lost Cause mentality. Among the most important contributions made by them was the establishment of memorial associations, some of which took as their mission the restoration and protection of monuments, artifacts (particularly flags), structures, cemeteries, and battlefields associated with the Southern cause. Janney writes that while women's work is often seen in terms of voluntarism, it was also intensely political, and should be understood in those terms (2006:166).

Janney notes that prior to the Civil War, death and mourning rituals had been the province of women. Southern casualties were so great, and resources were so constrained, that in the years following the war, many women felt that inadequate obsequies had been observed. They also mourned the despoilment of the landscape, and the loss of their homes. Newly impoverished, and facing the prospect of an entirely different and more laborious future, many women sought consolation in the glories of the South's past and women's role within it. These women understood themselves to be "Ladies," to whom others would look for guidance, moral leadership, and strength (Janney 2006:169). Ladies' Memorial Associations were one venue for the expression of these sentiments, and numerous examples of such associations in Virginia can be cited. Central to their activities was the arrangement, maintenance and visitation of cemeteries. Another frequent activity was the commissioning of memorials, including plaques, stones, and monuments. Southern women also understood themselves to be acting with both dignity and defiance, and, in claiming a principal role in these societies, staking a claim for themselves in post-war society (Janney 2006:178-179). One of the original Ladies' Memorial Associations was founded in Winchester, Virginia, not far from Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park. Mary Dunbar Williams and her sister

Eleanor Williams Boyd reacted strongly to stories of farmers plowing up soldier's bodies in their fields, and determined to engage all the local women who had worked with them during the war, in an effort to properly memorialize their fallen fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons. Their initial objective was to gather all the bodies of fallen soldiers to be found within a fifteen-mile radius, and to bury them in one location. They also urged local residents to commemorate the Civil War dead yearly, by laying flowers on their graves (Janney 2006:165).

CIVIL WAR REENACTMENT AS A SOCIAL PHENOMENON

These efforts to honor the dead and to “rehabilitate” Southern history, led principally by women, also began to find expression in the largely male-dominated Civil War Battlefield reenactment movement, now particularly active at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park. Civil War reenacting actually began during the war, as soldiers demonstrated to family and friends their actions during the war, in camp, in drill, and in battle. Veterans' organizations recreated camp life to show their children and others how they lived and to reproduce the camaraderie of shared experience with their fellow veterans (Hadden 1999:4).

A handful of organizations were instrumental in staffing these commemorative observances. In the North, groups such as the Loyal Legion, the Soldiers and Sailors National Union League, the Grand Army of the Republic, and other regimental societies participated. Their Southern counterparts in remembrance consisted of the United Confederate Veterans, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (the same group who later lobbied Congress to have the name changed from the “Civil War” to the “War Between the States”), the Children of the Confederacy, and other military and patriotic groups.

At the time of the 50th anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg, marked in 1913, more than 54,000 veterans are said to have been in attendance. Historian Carol Reardon notes the shift in frame toward reconciliation as former combatants engaged in reunion handshakes across the battlefield's stone wall, under the watchful and approving eye of General Pickett's widow (Reardon 1997:154). Some twenty-five years later, the 75th anniversary of the battle was marked by a reunion celebration at which more than 1,800 veterans attended before a crowd of some 250,000 tourists. It was at this second event

that President Franklin Roosevelt dedicated the Eternal Light Peace Memorial on Oak Hill, a popular tourist attraction at the military park to this day.

By the late 1950s, Congress had established a 25-member National Civil War Centennial Commission, whose members were appointed by the President. In December 1960, President Eisenhower issued a proclamation asking all Americans to join in four years of commemoration. Of the events that transpired during these observances, one scholar notes: “It was said with realism, ‘the South may have lost the war—but it’s sure going to win the Centennial’” (Wesley 1962:80). The Civil War Centennial observances and reenactment activities were less attentive to authenticity of detail than are more recent reenactments. The term “sham battle,” while sounding particularly derogatory, is precisely the term used at the time to refer to those engagements.

Of special importance is the fact that two groups, the National Muzzle Loading Rifle Association (NMLRA), founded in 1933, and the North-South Skirmish Association (NSSA), founded in 1958—both competitive shooting organizations of black-powder enthusiasts—drew tremendous crowds and new members as a result of their participation in the Centennial celebrations. By the end of the decade, however, a bifurcation began between the shooting enthusiasts and the founders of the modern reenactment community, only healed after the 1976 Bicentennial, when reenactors again became committed to historical accuracy in their weapons and gear (Anderson 1984:143; Hadden 1999:5; Turner 1990). Ironically, as reenactor organizations encouraged newly detailed research, avocational reenactors and professional historians began to move in different directions in their focus on the Civil War.

Scholars suggest that some of the differences between the academy and the public during this period are attributable to the ongoing search, unrequited by scholars, but common to millions of Americans, for a “usable past” in an ever-changing present. They point to the growing enthusiasm for reenactments throughout the 1980s, and note that this enthusiasm was reflected in the popularity of films such as *Glory* (1989) and *Gettysburg* (1993), as well as Ken Burns’ series *The Civil War* (1990). In addition, these films made extensive use of reenactors as extras and advisors, giving them additional cachet.

The reenactor movement has been further fueled by the growth of the internet, linking a vast new network of enthusiasts, and creating a greater and ongoing sense of community. Countless websites provide ready access to reenactor listservs, on-line

discussion forums, blogs, books, e-books, and sutler's resource sites. This information also facilitates an increased degree of accuracy or authenticity of equipment and makes planning for reenactment events easier. The Cedar Creek Battlefield Association runs several different such websites, some as recruitment sites for their annual reenactments, others providing information for reenactors and descendants of Battle participants.

Reenactment as a Form of Historic Pageantry

In a thoughtfully conceived and persuasively written study of early twentieth-century public historic pageants as a means for constructing a shared national identity, historian David Glassberg details how parades, murals, community celebrations and a number of forms of public spectacle served to educate members of different social classes, ethnicities, and regional identities about their proper roles as American citizens (Glassberg 1990). While Glassberg's focus is on twentieth-century progressive movements (e.g., religious, economic, and political), his larger observation regarding the paradoxical relationship between past and present as negotiated in historic pageants is relevant to the Civil War reenactor movement as well. Equally germane is Glassberg's observation that patriotic and hereditary societies of the early twentieth century—as opposed to public recreation reformers—tended to present pageants that were primarily nostalgic in tone. Such events:

would combine the customary patriotic and religious themes of the historical oration, revised for an age of mass spectacle, with a growing interest in the past as a source of communal traditions that could offer emotional respite from the consequences of modern progress (Glassberg 1990:283).

Many scholars agree that the pageantry of these events, the creation of “sacred time” that they engender has important social functions, and serves a deeper social need than merely “rehabilitating” the history of the Old South.

Reenactment as a Commitment to Historical Accuracy

Citing a disappointing reenactment of the Battle of Palmito Hill (outside Brownville, TX), where the amateurish props drew ridicule, one of the final events of the Texas Centennial observances, historian Jay Anderson concludes that reenactors from that event onward have strived for increased historical accuracy:

Instead of depressing buffs, inaccurate re-enactments seemed rather, to instill in them the desire to become even more authentic, to eliminate the

polyester uniform and the chrome bayonet, and to discourage the gun-happy, hard-drinking “cowboys”—or “farbs,” as the pseudo-buffs were called. Serious buffs took control of the battle re-enactments, skirmishes, and weekend bivouacs. In a way, the recreational side of living history came of age during the Civil War Centennial (Anderson 1984:141).

Cathy Stanton (1999) and others write persuasively that this commitment to historical accuracy also reflects the widespread interest among history enthusiasts and reenactors alike in “immersion” history. Those whom she and others have studied link the quest for accuracy of sensory experience with an important kind of historical understanding, too often ignored by scholars within the academy.

Enculturating the New Reenactor

A tremendous literature exists to instruct and encourage the new reenactor. Two particularly informative introductory texts on the subject are by reenactors Brian Daily (1985) and R. Lee Hadden (1999). Daily’s *The Basics: How to Get Started in Civil War Reenacting* (1985) is representative of the introduction many non-reenactors receive to the world of reenactment—with a focus on the on the equipment and minutiae of Civil War provisioning. Since this volume is privately printed, new “recruits” must acquire their copies through older members, a system which reinforces the exclusiveness of the group. The booklet answers such questions as “Can My Family Come?” as follows:

Although men and boys fought the Civil War, reenacting can be a family affair. Wives can dress in period gowns and participate as nurses or wash women. Activities held at reenactments for women often include afternoon tea and a stroll to the ball in the evening. The ball lets you relive the romance of the era. If you like to dance, you can join in the Virginia reel as period music plays. Or just enjoy watching. There’s something for everyone (Daily 1985:17).

In contrast to these colloquial booklets, R. Lee Hadden’s *Reliving the Civil War: A Reenactor’s Handbook* (1999), is a scholarly discussion of the history of the movement, the logistics of regiments, the range or variation within the reenacting community, and changes that have occurred to date since its founding. Hadden also provides useful references and practical tips for the neophyte reenactor. Of particular interest is Hadden’s discussion of the three levels of Civil War knowledge: (1) documented, detailed knowledge about the person, the company, regiment, and details of dress and equipment; (2) general knowledge of period dress and society; and (3) general

knowledge of the Civil War period. Hadden also distinguishes three “areas of sophistication” in which reenactors need to demonstrate knowledge: (1) knowledge of equipment and uniform, (2) understanding of nineteenth-century personae, attitudes, and lifestyle, and (3) knowledge of the War and the campaigns in which the reenactor’s chosen regiment engaged. Reenactors are expected to possess knowledge in all of these areas. Hadden also recommends Freeman Tilden’s book *Interpreting Our Heritage* (1957) which discusses the importance of public outreach in historical interpretation. Some reenactors have also been drawn into the scholarly community. As an example, reenactor-turned-professional-historian Rory Turner’s master’s thesis, “Sociability, Metaphor, and Time Warps in the Experience of Civil War Reenactments” has become a primary text in reenactor circles. Turner writes:

My drawing on enactment, then, is my attempt to find a term which includes performances, games, rituals, festivities, etc., in short, any cultural event in which community members come together to participate, employ the deepest and most complex multivocal and polyvalent signs and symbols of their repertoire of expression, thus entering into a potentially significant experience (Turner 1990).

REENACTMENT AT NATIONAL PARKS

The urge among many modern park users towards participation, expression and experience so well articulated in Turner’s thesis has been recognized by the National Park Service, and many of their policies address the reenactor community. Until recently however, preservation concerns led to policies preventing battlefield reenactments:

Battle reenactments and demonstrations of battle tactics that involve exchanges of fire between opposing lines, the taking of casualties, hand-to-hand combat, or any other form of simulated warfare are prohibited in all parks. Even the best-researched and most well-intentioned representation of combat cannot replicate the tragic complexity of real warfare. Respect for the memory of those whose lives were lost at these sites and whose unrecovered remains are often still interred in these grounds precludes the staging of inherently artificial battles at these memorial sites. Battle reenactments create an atmosphere that is inconsistent with the memorial qualities of the battlefields and other military sites placed in the Service’s trust. The safety risks to participants and visitors, and the inevitable damage to the physical resource that occurs during such events are also unacceptably high when seen in light of the NPS mandate to preserve and protect park resources and values (National Park Service 2006:147).

Battlefields as Sacred Ground

Nevertheless, the Park Service is attentive to the public's deep concern for places where American blood has been spilled. Another theme addressed by Park Service policies, and frequently mentioned by reenactors, is that of the sacred landscape. Visitors to these sites often see themselves as participating in a kind of pilgrimage. Battlefield preservation societies also express sentiments similar to that quoted by historian Amy Young:

It really doesn't matter much whether we feel that they [the combatants] acted correctly or not. We respect their commitment, may even envy the depth of feeling that drove them to take up arms. We honor their sacrifice. We mark the spots where they stood and fell. We turn their battlegrounds into places of pilgrimage
(Young 2003:19).

In spite of preservation concerns, recognition by National Parks of the yearning for personal connection to revered historical figures and events, expressed alike by living history enthusiasts and battle reenactors, has been a factor in the establishment of the innovative Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park. Enabling legislation establishing this park explicitly permits black-powder reenactment. This makes research among reenactors at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove especially significant, as many of the motivations of the movement itself find their fullest expression here.

CIVIL WAR REENACTMENT AT CEDAR CREEK AND BELLE GROVE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

Structure and Organization of Reenacting Units

Although many participants in reenacting organizations are recruited by family and friends, an aspiring reenactor can access a great deal of information about the hobby on the internet. A number of sites include rosters of reenactor units and sutler's organizations, and maintain reenactor event calendars. These sites encourage potential event sponsors to list their events on these sites as well, and provide links to other related sites. There are several on-line newsletters for reenactors, and many sites where reenactors can exchange views and information.

An excellent example of the way in which reenactors are recruited, organized, and deployed at reenactment events can be found by examining the websites of those reenactor units who have participated in the annual Reenactment of the Battle of Cedar

Creek and Belle Grove. Event sponsors such as the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation encourage registration by members of established reenactor units, most of which are based on historic regiments, or on other historic groups of battle participants, such as field hospital units. Most reenactor units actively recruit, and all stress the friendly and “family” nature of their group. Many such regiments operate their own websites, where those interested in joining can learn something about the history and membership of the regiment, their scheduled events, and their criteria for membership. An example is the 1st Virginia Cavalry, Company H reenactment unit (<http://www.1stvacav.com>, accessed August, 2009). The 1st Virginia reenactment unit interprets the lives and experiences of members of the 1st Virginia Cavalry, a group of independent units from the Shenandoah Valley region, who came under the command of J. E. B. Stuart. The 1st Virginia reenactor unit also participates in “living history” events, including those sponsored by museums, and state and federal parks.

Members are assigned ranks, the highest that of Captain, and the reenactment unit appoints safety officers whose duties include inspection of equipment, particularly horse tack and weaponry. Each member is required to conform to guidelines established for the unit regarding equipment, comportment, and organization. Safety guidelines are strictly enforced. New members consult with experienced members of the unit regarding their equipment, which must conform to company standards. Like other reenactor units, the 1st Virginia does not restrict membership to Virginia residents, and includes some from New England and the Midwest.

Reenactor units like the 1st Virginia establish an event schedule, and often chose one or two “premier” events, which they ask as many members as possible to attend. Many members attend with their families, who enjoy camp life, an aspect of reenacting which is also subject to strict guidelines of equipment, dress, and behavior. It is expected that reenactment units and their families will camp together.

Registration for a particular event, such as the annual reenactment of the Battle of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove, is handled by the sponsoring organization, in this case, the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation. Registrants must identify the unit to which they belong, although independent civilians are permitted to register as well. Participants must sign waivers, and inoculation documentation is required for all mounts.

The annual reenactment of the Battle of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove is coordinated by commanding officers; in this case a Union and Confederate commander

are appointed, who consult with one another to recreate the historic battles. Participants are free to contact these officials with questions.

For many years Civil War reenactors have been granted access to parts of the Cedar Creek Battlefield, managed by the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation, now a partner with Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park . In October of every year, thousands of people celebrate the anniversary of the Battle of Cedar Creek. For members of the reenactment community it represents one of the largest, most “authentic” events in which they participate, principally because it is permissible to use black-powder muskets and cannon, because the reenactment takes place on parts of the original battlefield, and because of its spectacular setting.

Fieldwork for this part of the project involved multiple visits to the site and visitor center, and attendance at two reenactments within the park unit (in October 2005 and July 2006). Team members observed the reenactments, and conducted informal interviews with reenactors, sutlers, living history interpreters, and others associated with Civil War reenactment. Information was gathered on a range of topics, including participants’ reasons or goals for engaging in battle reenactment or living history interpretation, reenactment expectations, realities, and assorted logistics such as outfitting, drilling and battle specifics, training in reenactor culture and etiquette, and expenses. The study’s findings are summarized below.

Setting and Organization

The Cedar Creek Battlefield Association has had many years experience organizing these events, and is well known as a professional and expert host. The headquarters are immediately across the street from the grounds of the Belle Grove Plantation and the Battlefield site itself. The Association manages all the considerable logistics for the event, including parking, sanitation, food, housing and safety. A large tent, known as the Living History Tent, anchors the event, and provides seating for numerous lectures, slide shows, and demonstrations that take place throughout the weekend. Visitors passing the tent and the information booths nearby enter “Sutler’s Row,” an area set aside for booths (mostly large tents) selling all kinds of goods, including clothing, accoutrements, books, candles, soap, antiques, and memorabilia. Costumed individuals stroll up and down the passages outside the tents, women always careful to be attended by a man. The variety of costumes during our visit was astounding,

ranging from elaborate ball-gowns to full general's uniforms. Historic figures such as George Armstrong Custer are interpreted, as are more unusual characters, such as mercenaries and mountain men. Long lines outside the photographer's tents form as people waited to have their portraits taken in costume.

The proprietors of these establishments were eager to talk, as many combined their passion for history with their business (see below). As we examined their wares, many of which were handmade, they answered questions about the materials and construction methods, all with considerable detail and with an emphasis on accuracy and appropriateness. Others sold goods produced by national and international companies especially for this market, and many claimed to operate on-line catalogues as well.

Other "demonstration" tents were nearby. These included cooking tents, soap and candle making exhibitors, and ironmonger's shops. Visitors and costumed participants alike sampled ham, cornbread, hard tack, and cider. Musicians played historic instruments and familiar tunes, while in the background, the sound of cannon fire and the smell of wood smoke provided atmosphere.

The reenactors themselves were encamped in two sections, widely separated from one another. The Confederate Camp was located closest to the Sutler's Row, on the Belle Grove side of the field, while the Union encampment was some distance away, on a rise overlooking the battlefield and the Heater House. Strict rules govern these encampments; participants must be in costume, and must make use only of historically accurate tents, bedding, and cooking equipment (Figure 13). All elements of the modern world, such as computers and mobile phones, are kept out of sight. Many participants remain in camp to "interpret," and answer visitors' questions with courtesy. Since participants are generally organized according to the regiments to which they belong, the leadership hierarchy within the camps is clearly understood. Some women interpret male soldiers, or the few known women known to have "impersonated" men in battle during the Civil War. Others interpret the various historically-known female roles, particularly nurses. By far the largest number of women interpret elaborately dressed "ball partners," however, even during the day.



Figure 13: Cooking equipment.
Photo by Julie Ernstein.

The code of etiquette was explained to our researchers on several occasions. Women were meant to be protected and revered, to behave with modesty and deference, and to maintain an elaborate toilette. Women spoke of their roles as mothers and wives, their duty to their families, and their love of country. They spoke of their sacrifice in supporting their soldier husbands and sons, and the hardship of running farms and plantations in the absence of their menfolk. The similarity between these sentiments, and those which motivated women in other commemorative organizations in the South, has been remarked upon by many scholars, and shares elements with the Lost Cause tradition, with its emphasis on upper-class gentility, nobility, sacrifice, and traditional women's roles. Many women told us they came to the reenactor movement through their boyfriends and husbands, whose interests they heartily supported.

Another related theme is that of safety, particularly appropriate at a reenactment where there are muskets, cannon, horses, and sabers in use. As an example, after asking permission, we took a picture of two young boys who promptly struck a pose (Figure 14), and were then challenged by their father, who warned them not to point their (reproduction) guns directly at us.

Interpreters were eager to discuss battle tactics; indeed, these details were everywhere on display. Maps provided to visitors explained the major movements of the



Figure 14: Young reenactors.
Photo by Julie Erstein.

battle, and the reenactment itself was narrated through a public address system. Battle participants spoke to visitors as well, explaining why they had occupied certain positions, what they did when “killed,” and whose orders they followed.

Some participants were also surprisingly open about their views on the causes of the war. Although they all acknowledged that slavery was an evil, most downplayed its importance as a cause of the war, and many responded that the issue was not slavery, but rather interference with local affairs, a “states’ rights” argument that has wide acceptance in the South. Even those who were willing to discuss the issue of slavery put it in largely economic terms. One woman said:

if you’d spent a lot of money on an SUV, and somebody wanted you to give it up, why you’d probably fight too. I know slavery was bad, but people had a lot of money invested in their slaves, and most treated their slaves well.

More were willing to speak about their family’s ties to the battle. One interviewee stated:

My family’s history decided which side I fight on. Two great grandfathers and one uncle fought on the Union side.
(interview, July 22, 2006).

Many had ancestors who fought on both sides of the conflict, although most of the people we interviewed had ties to the Confederacy. All spoke with deep admiration for the bravery of those who had fought at the Battle of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove, and many recalled the hardships the war had brought to their families.

Other themes mentioned in interviews, all identified by previous scholars, include the importance of accuracy in dress, gear, and interpretation; an interest in preservation, especially of artifacts associated with the battle; a need for personal experience in historical understanding; and a general sense that the story of the Civil War had not been properly told. The following points are a summary of our research findings.

1. **The most visible group.** Civil War reenactors are easily the most visible group associated with Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, and they value the current reenactor policies there as crucial to their continued meaningful use and enjoyment of this landscape and of the park. Reenactors, and the host of living history interpreters and period provisioners known as sutlers who accompany them, do not see themselves as users/consumers of the park unit. Instead, they regard themselves as interpreters of its significance—both historically and in the continued negotiation of national identity in which most park visitors engage.
2. **Regional and national interest.** Spectators are drawn from a wide range of localities, both within and outside Virginia. A “click count” of the license plates of cars in the principal spectator parking lot suggested that spectators came primarily from Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, and Virginia itself, but there were several visitors from more distant locations including Ohio, New York, South Carolina and some of the New England states. When questioned about their interest, many spectators said that they had family connected with the battle, or that they had an abiding interest in the Civil War.
3. **Cost.** Reenactors and their families make a substantial financial investment in this pastime. Many drive large vehicles replete with camping equipment and food, many maintain horses and transport them around the “circuit.” Most reenactors we spoke to describe the amount and cost of their equipment, and

the logistics required to ferry it to various reenactment sites. One reenactor told us:

Confederate infantry is cheaper to outfit because they're less strict in terms of their uniforms. Cavalry without a horse will run you \$1,500-\$2,000 in equipment. Infantry is probably cheaper—on the order of \$1,200-\$1,500 (interview, July 21, 2006).

In particular, the owners of original or reproduction cannon have invested many thousands of dollars in their equipment, and in the vehicles needed to transport it. The “circuit” of reenactment events of which the annual reenactments of the Battle of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove and First Manassas are only two, keeps many reenactors on the road for much of the year. Stanton (1999) and others have commented on the commitment that reenactors show to this pastime, in spite of its considerable expense and inconvenience.

4. **Business and pastime.** A significant number of attendees, reenactors, and their families had a business interest in the reenactor movement. Many of the people we spoke to, both those who participated in the “battles” themselves, and those who had “tents” on Sutler’s Row, had web-based businesses, including the manufacture of replica weapons, costumes, and musical instruments, as well as related services such as genealogical research, period photography, the sale of Civil War-related artifacts (including artifacts presumably looted from Civil War-era battlefields and encampments), and the sale of period or reproduction documents or maps. Many people attended such events on a monthly or even weekly basis, traveling a well-known circuit of reenactments throughout the country.
5. **Race, religion, and ethnicity.** Reenactors and spectators alike were predominantly white, a not-unsurprising finding, one replicated in other studies of Civil War reenactors as well (e.g., Stanton 1999). We noted a few Latino/Latina spectators, a handful of African American spectators, and one or two African American reenactors. A Roman Catholic Mass was held on Sunday morning in the Living History Tent (Figure 15) where a wide range of scholarly talks, book signings, and other informational events had taken place



Figure 15: Catholic service, Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, October 2005. Photo by Julie Ernstein.

over the course of the weekend. Other non-denominational services were held in the camps.

6. **Education and outreach.** Reenactors are very aware of their role in education and public outreach. Many are willing, even eager to be photographed, often assuming a period-specific pose (in the style of Matthew Brady's photographs). All those in costume seemed to regard it as their duty to answer visitors' questions, and, when we identified ourselves as anthropologists, took readily to discussions of the underlying meaning of the events we were witnessing. Nevertheless, a subtle distinction is made between Civil War reenactor troops and living history interpreters. When engaged in on-site reenactment events most reenactors remain "in character" and speak of events as though 1864 were the living present. For example, when questioned about how two reenactors came to be involved in the October 2005 event each responded, "Why I enlisted, of course!" When researchers attempted to explain that they meant specifically the October 2005 reenactment, they declined to break character and opted to change the

subject. Those who self-identify as living history interpreters, in contrast, had no such compunction about breaking character. That is, they wore the period costume but were very much engaged in delivering a history lesson. This latter group included a man representing a doctor from the U.S. Sanitary Commission and a mortician. On the other hand, when engaging with reenactors in either one-on-one conversation or as part of a Haversack Talk or other formulaic presentation, there is no background context provided relating to the underlying causes of the Civil War. That is, reenactors speak with great detail and authority about the specifics of the event in which they are engaged without reference to the broader historical backdrop against which it played out:

We do living history representation for the National Park Service and the visiting public. That's what reenactment is—living history (interview, July 23, 2006).

I got interested when I was in high school—read a book about the Civil War. Then I met someone who belonged to the Civil War Roundtable, a dinner organization. This person got me interested, and he belonged to a Civil War Artillery Unit. We started an organization in California, where we started a group which is still in existence today. Then we moved in the 1970s to Pennsylvania. There, we started an artillery group with three friends. I've got 40 years of unbroken reenactment experience, and we run this on a very democratic basis. Belonging to this kind of hobby is made up of an enjoyment of history, we're not just here for all the “bang bang,” and because of the camaraderie. The average reenactor stays in the hobby 3-5 years. A survey was done a couple of years ago. I've been a reenactor for 40 years—been to most all Cedar Creek events. My children grew up [at reenactments], my daughter came her entire childhood. My 16 year-old granddaughter is here with them today (interview with reenactor Bell Knapps, July 23, 2006).

9. **Accuracy.** In keeping with the sentiments of other groups of reenactors at National Parks (e.g., Stanton 1999), reenactors were principally concerned with accuracy, particularly with regard to their equipment and costume, and in the proper disposition of troops, cannon, etc. during the reenactment of the engagements themselves. Many reenactors had studied maps of troop movements and had rehearsed how to move across the landscape. The orientation exhibit at the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation headquarters,

across the street from the battlefield itself, which functions as a Visitor Center for the battlefield, provides two maps—available for purchase—that detail Federal and Confederate movements across the land at Cedar Creek. Most of the reenactors we interviewed possess quite specific knowledge regarding the location and importance of the natural, cultural, and other landscape features associated with these engagements.

10. **Partisanship.** Spectators are invited to express partisanship. When showing our pre-purchased tickets and receiving instructions for where to park our cars (in a huge, well-manicured parking lot), we were prompted by the volunteer with “Confederate or Federal?” Later, when we asked another volunteer why this was the case, she replied “It helps people to get into the spirit of it, and many people really do have a preference.” Another volunteer told us “We separate the reenactors, so why not separate the spectators?” We then asked “Do you separate the reenactors because they are heading to camps in different locations?” and were told with a laugh (therefore suggesting that this was only said in jest): “Yes, and it helps to cut down on the fights.”

11. **A focus on the Confederacy.** A larger proportion of reenactors at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove adopt Confederate personae. We spoke at length with one of the presenters of the Victorian Ladies Sidesaddle Association, and she explained that she had been a reenactor for many years but was forced to “switch sides” (i.e., from Confederate to Union) early in her reenactor career so as to be able to see more battle time. Her sentiment, repeated without exception by everyone with whom we spoke, was “Everyone wants to be a Confederate.”

On the field and in the Sutlers’ Row there also appeared to be a strong and relatively uncritical nostalgia for the Lost Cause. Reenactors in the Confederate camp seemed to feel a greater commitment to interpretation of this perspective as well. As we walked through the Confederate camp one evening, we were greeted with what appeared to be “scripted” comments meant to engage spectators in conversation and to explain the talk about the events of the day. In the Union camps, in contrast, reenactors were behaving more informally, chatting and playing cards, We had to initiate conversation



Figure 16: Recruitment poster.
Photo by Julie Ernstein.

with the Union reenactors and, finally, a bit frustrated, we asked a group of women assembled over a cooking fire: “Why don’t folks in the Union camp have as much to say to us as folks in the Confederate camp do?” One woman politely responded: “Oh, so few folks come out here that we’re never sure what we’re supposed to say to them.”

12. **Attachment to place.** With few exceptions, reenactors at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove were deeply, emotionally connected to the place and to the conflicts that took place there. Often, it was because one of their own ancestors fought at Cedar Creek, or in other Civil War engagements. One



Figure 17: Union encampment, Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, October 2005.
Photo by Julie Ernstein.

reenactor, a member of Co. K, 5th New York Calvary, who attended the reenactment of the Battle of First Manassas (Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, July 23, 2006) reported, “I’m very interested in Civil War History, because my great-great-grandfather fought at Cedar Creek.” In other cases, an attachment to the myth of the Old South was the motivation. In these cases, an occasional negative comment regarding “Northerners” might be offered, although most were sensitive to the idea that these were not acceptable sentiments.

In sum, these findings confirm those of Stanton (1999) regarding Revolutionary War reenactors. The conjoined themes of historical reverence, a deep respect for the bravery and honor of our nation’s soldiers, a reverence for place, and a need to immerse oneself in the experience of the past, are features of the reenactor’s experience. The quotes and photographs in this section are samples of the kinds of statements we collected, which help to convey the solemnity and the excitement of reenactor events,



Figure 18: Information tent, First Manassas.
Photo by Julie Ernstein.



Figure 19: Provisioning tent.
Photo by Julie Ernstein.

some of the most spectacular participatory spectacles available to American citizens today.

The Goals and Concerns of Reenactors

A number of students of the reenactment movement have commented on the pride taken in the variety of skills need to be a successful reenactor, and the amount of time that is needed to reach the desired level of expertise:

Re-enacting is about people skills, strategic tactics, drills, and doing your homework
(Jim Goetz, Belle Grove volunteer and reenactor, First Manassas, at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park, July 23, 2006).

Another reenactor reiterated this theme:

There's room for everybody. What there's not room for is where the public walks through and sees Styrofoam and modern stuff. That's why you have flaps on it
(interview, July 22, 2006).

Another stated:

This is not a hobby, it's a disease!
(interview with Confederate reenactor, First Manassas, July 23, 2006).

The often-noted commitment to accuracy among reenactors is one that is also expressed in the degree of effort most reenactors devote to the details of their uniforms and gear, and the assiduity of the research they conduct on the characters they choose to represent. Several organizations and on-line sites are dedicated to reenactor research, and active participants share information with one another using a variety of media. As one member of WATCHDOG, a research organization, remarked:

Some people need to do a lot more research—or check with those of us who have done it. This needs to be more than “Camping with a Civil War theme”
(interview, July 22, 2006).

Preservation and Heritage

Many people we spoke to were concerned about the preservation of battlefields and other Civil War artifacts. One participant noted:

I think it's great that First Manassas was held here because the money goes for preservation. If it were held in northern Virginia—closer to Manassas—the money would go into somebody's private pockets.



Figure 20: WATCHDOG members, July 2006.
Photo by Julie Ernstein.

Members of the organization known as SAVE THIS FLAG expressed similar sentiments, along with a need for education about the War:

The problem is, if you go to schools now, the Civil War pages are about one page or two. A television program a couple of years ago asked 20 high school students basic questions, and only one person could answer half of them, another could answer about a third of them correctly, and the rest didn't know. How do you expect this country to learn from its heritage if we don't study this?
(interview, July 22, 2006).

Battlefield Tactics

Many observers have noted that reenactors and the sites where battle reenactments take place are predominantly concerned with battle tactics, even while they recognize that it is quite difficult to recreate an accurate battle scene:

Adapting tactics from one battle scenario onto another battlefield is not an issue because in the eastern United States you're never going to find the original battlefield
(interview with reenactor, First Manassas, July 22, 2006).

Reenactors are not Civil War soldiers. Everyone wants to win. Many units depict troop maneuvers of "a typical engagement." So unscripted tactics



Figure 21 : SAVE THIS FLAG, July 22, 2006.
Photo by Julie Earnstein.

are what visitors are seeing when we show up early Sunday morning (interview with Confederate reenactor, First Manassas, July 23, 2006).

It doesn't matter who was precisely where. We know how it began, we know how it ends, we know what the middle was. Manassas was fought quickly, so there are not a lot of details to depict. It's [reenactment of First Manassas] only done here because Cedar Creek was willing to entertain it. It's becoming increasingly difficult to find hosts/sponsors to have us (interview, July 23, 2006).

People jump companies all the time (interview, July 22, 2006).

You do period things in camp, like saber drill, carbine drill, pay call, weapons issue, meal prep, sing, stable call. There's lots to do in camp that is educational for visitors and fun for us, too (interview, July 23, 2006).

You imagine who might have fallen. We're acting [laughs] (interview with men back in Confederate camp during battle, First Manassas, July 22, 2006).

How do we prepare? We plan movements and know that each group must take casualties, then on Sunday you put on a play for the visitors (interview with Confederate officer, First Manassas, July 23, 2006).



Figure 22: Bullet holes at Belle Grove Mansion.
Photo by Julie Ernstein.



Figure 23: Testing the cannon.
Photo by Julie Ernstein.



Figure 24: Information tents.
Photo by Julie Ernstein.



Figure 25: Firepit.
Photo by Julie Ernstein.



Figure 26: Firepit.
Photo by Julie Ernstein.

I don't get a thrill out of burning powder and clanging swords. I look at a line of Confederates and say "What are we gonna do to get around that?" (interview with Union reenactor, First Manassas, July 23, 2006).

No matter what you've agreed upon, the Confederate mounted cavalry will always flank around the flag and take the Union artillery (interview with Union reenactor, First Manassas, July 23, 2006).

Park Amenities and Rules

We don't ask for a lot of amenities. We really only need water, firewood, and toilet facilities. Other items may be provided, but they're not necessary. They are, however, very strict here about not digging holes, and we respect that (interview, July 22, 2006).

Reenacting as Community Outreach

I work for a firm in town, and during my interview they asked me "What will you do to improve the local community?" I told them about my ancestors, my interest in Belle Grove, and the fact that I wanted to volunteer in support of local history. I got the job (interview with Kenny Hulse, Belle Grove volunteer and Hite family descendant, on tour of Belle Grove, July 23, 2006).



Figure 27: Interpreter and Hite family member, Belle Grove.
Photo by Julie Ernstein.

CONCLUSIONS

The popularity of Civil War reenactments at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park is both a challenge and an opportunity. The challenges include the difficult task of making interpretation of the Civil War more balanced, including more of the background story, while placing less emphasis on the battles themselves, and “Holding the High Ground” with respect to presenting and interpreting the underlying causes of the War. These events draw a largely white, middle-class audience, and underrepresent various minorities, including women. At the same time, the strong interest in education, volunteerism, historical accuracy, and safety expressed by nearly all reenactors interviewed or observed, can and has been harnessed at other Federal and

state parks and at public and private museums. Civil War reenactors at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove thus represent an important associated group, whose identity is directly tied to the park, and who have a strong interest in the management of its resources.

Specific recommendations the project has engendered for the involvement of Civil War reenactors at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove, as well as for other associated groups, is discussed in the next and final chapter.

CHAPTER NINE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In 2004, over twenty scholars with interest in Shenandoah Valley history took part in an all-day forum hosted by Warren Hofstra at Shenandoah University. The aim of the forum was to delineate issues and concerns for regional scholarship. A summation of the discussions is available from Shenandoah University. Overall, the issues outlined represented a strong focus on issues of environment and identity, with topics for academic study clearly linked to broader contemporary environmental concerns in the Valley. Conscious attention was paid to the uses and abuses of scholarship through the heritage industry. The gathering on the whole concurred on the need for a closer and stronger relationship between the scholarly community and those charged with preserving and interpreting the Valley's heritage to a public audience.

The notion of a distinct Valley identity was the subject of intense discussion, with the gathering ultimately concluding that the notion of a regional identity with a distinctive historic trajectory remains a useful construct for framing research, albeit with the associated need to continually reassess the contemporary meaning of such a distinctive identity. Not surprisingly, one regional identity was linked to the eighteenth-century settlement of the Valley, with investigation of the individual ethnic groups contributing to the development of a regional character still considered to be a necessary and fruitful approach. All agreed about the need to further investigate and contextualize the history of Native Americans and African Americans in the Valley, whose histories have been traditionally understudied and their contributions undervalued. Similarly, the histories of groups of individuals defined by occupation was acknowledged as another understudied topic. These groups include but are not limited to peddlers, industrial laborers, and canal workers. Many of the people employed in these occupations were recent immigrants, but also contributed to the complex tapestry of Valley cultural history. Perhaps more importantly, a focus on labor history and industrial processes in particular was seen by the seminar participants as a means to counterbalance the prevailing emphasis upon the Shenandoah Valley as a place defined by rural agriculture,

pastoral landscapes, and small towns. In the end, a possibly contradictory notion of Valley identity was agreed upon, which emphasized that the single most salient quality of a Valley cultural identity was its actual and historic diversity.

Questions arise regarding the Valley as part of larger regions, namely Appalachia and more broadly the South. This concern is a theme, noted in previous chapters, that continues to run through Shenandoah historiography. The creation of West Virginia was also cited as a contributing factor to the lack of studies acknowledging the Valley as part of the broader region of western Virginia. Further study of the Valley counties of West Virginia should lead to a more nuanced understanding of self-perceptions in the Valley on the eve of the Civil War.

In terms of the twentieth-century history of the Valley, the arrival and continuing influence of agribusiness and industry was identified as an area that has been neglected by scholars. Rather than merely lamenting the transition of the Valley from an agricultural landscape to a mixed agricultural and industrial landscape, the impact of these changes needs to be more formally and objectively assessed. Understanding the background for these changes to the landscape in the twentieth century might support a more concerted effort to consider the ongoing impacts brought about by the rise of suburban superstores outside Valley towns, as noted in relation to Luray. The changes in the agricultural economy of the Valley have also had an impact upon the cultural composition of the region. Long celebrated for its eighteenth-century ethnic diversity, the Valley is now attracting new numbers of immigrants from a range of countries, particularly Latin American, who are beginning to make their own mark on the ever-changing cultural heritage of the Shenandoah Valley. Encouraging a sense of belonging among new residents may lead to a greater respect for a sense of place, and by extension, concern for and interest in the historical landscapes of the Shenandoah Valley.

At the turn of the twentieth century George Freeman Pollock inherited a 2,000-acre tract of mountainous land atop the Blue Ridge, which he converted into a naturalist's paradise named Skyland. Among those who came to Skyland were Senators Herbert Hoover and Harry F. Byrd, who with Pollock, decided to create a new national park and game preserve. By 1936 the Shenandoah National Park had become a reality and the first section of the Skyline Drive opened to use. Much of the land included in the new park was donated by public subscription and the men of the Civilian Conservation Corps were actively employed in constructing the drive and park facilities. The coming

of the automobile and the construction of the Skyline Drive further opened the region to tourism and the Shenandoah National Park provided public recreational facilities (Dohme 1976:18). The maps produced by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (1914) and Carl Pitner (1928) reveal that settlement was broadly dispersed throughout Frederick County, although it tended to be clustered near crossroads and at local service centers. Commemorative associations such as the Cedar Creek Battlefield Foundation, and Belle Grove Inc, brought additional visitors to the area. The establishment of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park was due in part to the recognition that this unique region was undergoing changes that threatened its historic landscapes and structures.

RESULTS OF THIS STUDY

The research results presented here add depth to the growing body of regional scholarship, as they are reflected in the history of park properties and the study area which encompasses the park. Highlights of this study include a survey of archeological and ethnohistorical information about the “contested” landscape that was the Lower Shenandoah Valley in the era of European expansion into North America, with an emphasis on the shifting Native populations and their role in the contest for Empire being played out along the borders of English, French, and Dutch settlements in the eighteenth century. While Native populations in Virginia and elsewhere were marginalized in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and suffered grave legal and social disadvantages during that time, their descendants are now seeking a greater place in the story of Virginia’s development, and further archeological and genealogical research may well reveal closer ties to the region in which the park is located than are now known (see below).

A second highlight of this study is the detailed information presented regarding the large and important population of Free Blacks who contributed centrally to the development of the region in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and whose stories are far less well known than are those of African Americans of the Tidewater Region. The picture presented here of Free Blacks, working alongside enslaved Africans, and small and middling farmers, is a more nuanced view of the backcountry economy than has previously been presented, and stimulates new research questions.

The fascinating story of the settlement of the region by representatives of various Protestant Reformed Churches, in particular the Church of the United Brethren, is also one that is only beginning to be told. This study focused in particular on living members of these church communities, whose recollections extend back to the earliest decades of the twentieth century. These people, and the churches, baptismal sites, and other significant landmarks linked to them represent a precious heritage, one in which the park participates directly.

In addition, this report has added detail to our knowledge of farm practices in the Lower Valley in the nineteenth century. What Belle Grove's owners could practice on a grand scale, most farmers in the region were able to imitate more modestly; many had multiple small businesses, employed laborers on a temporary or seasonal basis, and many made investments in or were dependent on, innovative agricultural machinery invented or manufactured in the region. Together, the folk practices associated with the Reformed Protestant churches and the regional farm society that emerged in the Lower Shenandoah Valley in the nineteenth century give the region much of its present distinctive flavor.

The findings of many generations of historians and archeologists whose focus has been the Shenandoah Campaign of the American Civil War provide a remarkably complete portrait of the battle, its antecedents and effects, as well as its participants on both sides of the conflict. New work focuses welcome attention on the role that African Americans and women had in the conflict as well. This report looks more closely at the way in which the Battle of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove has been remembered and memorialized, as part of the larger story of the Valley during the period of reconstruction, and during the rise of the regionally-significant Memorialization movement in the early decades of the twentieth century. Although this movement had many offshoots, among the most interesting is the growth of the reenactor community, which has risen to prominence within the past half-century, and which promises to become more significant in the future. Drawing on a complex set of national and regional concerns, the reenactor community has developed a particularly close relationship with a number of national parks, and is an especially significant at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park. This study focuses on participants in the reenactments, and presents a number of their "personal stories" as they reflect the larger themes represented by the Reenactor movement.

Specifically, this study was tasked with evaluating the historical and contemporary associations between the park and identifiable groups, and to identify those uses of the park's resources by these groups which may be affected by park decision-making. The following section briefly describes these groups and the resources associated with them, and makes recommendations for future research based on these findings.

ASSOCIATED GROUPS

As outlined in Chapters Six through Eight, the most significant groups associated with the park include park neighbors and landowners (some of whom are park partners), the local representatives of the Church of the United Brethren, and the Civil War reenactors who participate in the annual reenactment of the Battle of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove. Another important group with ties to the park is the Hite Family Association. Although no documentary evidence has yet been provided in support, oral history data indicates that Native American peoples once associated with park properties may have descendants in the present-day Monacan community, among the surviving Virginia Algonquian peoples, or among the descendants of other Siouan-speaking peoples to the south such as the Tutelo.

Iroquoian, Delaware, and Shawnee groups who were present in the region in the eighteenth century have no known descendants in the region. However, the Great Warrior Path (near Route 11), which borders the park, was the route along which numerous members of these groups passed during the centuries of conflict beginning with the Spanish *entradas* and the arrival of the French in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries A.D. Similarly, Winchester and Opequon settlement, to the north of the park, were important places in the history of Anglo-Indian diplomacy.

African Americans played an important economic role in the development of the region, and their contributions deserve much more attention than has yet been accorded them. However, in spite of extensive efforts, very few descendants of the free and enslaved African Americans who were so important to the antebellum economy of the study area could be located, and few if any associations between members of the contemporary African American community and the park could be identified.

Current Use of Park Properties by Associated Groups

Currently, the park and its resources are primarily linked to two associated groups. One is park landholders and partners, most of whom are descendants of Hite, Brumback and Stickley families, along with the Hite Family Association, who meet on a regular basis at the Belle Grove Mansion and make visits to Hite family properties and cemeteries a part of their commemorative activities. The second associated group, Civil War reenactors, have ongoing and significant ties to the park, and assemble in large numbers for the annual reenactment of the Battle of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove, and also participate in other interpretive activities at the park. The third significant group identified in the Statement of Work, members of the Church of the United Brethren, once used park river and stream locations within the park for immersion baptisms, but only one such event was recorded by our ethnographers in recent memory. The Meadow Mills Church, once part of the “circuit” of Brethren congregations, just off the park property, is still in use.

Park landowners and partners continue farming and livestock management practices that have their roots in the nineteenth century, although farming activity is currently limited within park grounds, and no park landowners make their living primarily through farming. Hite family descendants who still live on park properties, hunt, fish, and collect wild foods on the property, and some have significant collections of artifacts found in plowed fields or along the banks of streams. These families attach great importance to their history and long residence on park properties, and cite their concern for the continued preservation of the farming way of life, and of agricultural landscapes, as central to their support for the establishment of the park.

Perceptions of the Park by Associated Groups

Park landowners and Hite family descendants continue to view park properties as part of their family heritage. They are proud partners in efforts to preserve the landscapes and viewsapes with which their families have been associated for more than two centuries. Many are also active in the Hite or Brumback family associations and welcome visits from Association members.

Civil War reenactors who visit the park and who participate in the annual reenactments of the Battle of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove regard the preserved battlefield with its associated buildings (primarily the Heater House and the Belle Grove

Mansion) as hallowed ground. Most are very concerned to preserve its characteristics, and work hard to protect it, even as their activities present a significant preservation challenge.

PARK RESOURCES LINKED TO ASSOCIATED GROUPS

In light of these findings, the study concludes that the resources within the park of greatest significance to contemporary associated groups include the following general categories:

1. All properties associated with European settlement of the region, especially all properties and features associated with the Hite family and its descendants, including domestic and agriculture structures, outbuildings, industrial sites such as mills, and man-made features associated with agricultural practices, including ditches, fences, roads, and dams. All of these features and structures have been documented by architectural historians and, in particular, by the archeological surveys conducted by the park, under the direction of Dr. Clarence Geier.
2. All properties and features associated with nineteenth-century farming practices more generally.
3. All sites and properties associated with the Church of the United Brethren and its affiliates. In particular, baptismal sites along the shore of the Shenandoah River and its tributaries are significant. Similarly, the Meadow Mills church, directly outside of the park's grounds, is a significant feature associated with the Brethren.
4. All sites and features associated with the Battle of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove, and associated skirmishes and troop movements. These too have been well documented by Dr. Geier and his students.
5. All viewsapes associated with the agricultural landscape, the Belle Grove Mansion, and the Battle of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove. All those interviewed for this project placed great emphasis on these views, and urged that they be protected.

Most of these resources are well documented, and the recognized need for their protection formed part of the justification for the establishment of the park. Therefore,

the following recommendations are for further research on peoples and topics associated with the park and its environs not yet so well understood.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Native American Archeology and History

Although no direct ties between contemporary Native American groups and park properties could be documented, the park is located on territories occupied by American Indian people for thousands of years. Because of this long history, and because archeology may be one avenue for documenting more recent ties to living Native communities, further study of Native American history in the study area, and at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park specifically, is badly needed. Geier and Tinkham (2006) note that of the 22 sites associated with Native American occupation at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove, only three have tentatively-assigned period designations, and none have been excavated thoroughly. Interviews with park neighbors indicate that Native American materials turn up in all the plowed fields, and several local residents have significant collections of artifacts. Interviewees mentioned particular concentrations near streams and on river terraces, particularly around Bowman's Brook.

An archeologist with knowledge of the artifacts of the area might conduct a "artifact roadshow" for park neighbors, to help them identify their finds and to provide better regional data on the distribution of diagnostic cultural materials. The proximity of the park to the remarkable Flint Run and Thunderbird complex, a series of sites which span the periods stretching from the Paleoindian to the terminal Late Woodland, suggests that further survey and testing would minimally reveal a larger range of sites at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove, and help to identify the ties between the study area and this important nexus of Native American settlement. In addition, two sites already located on the properties of the park, Panther Cave and the Bowman Site, have already been identified as having potential national significance. Panther Cave is a site representing long-term occupation of the region, with a focus on mineral extraction, while the Bowman Site represents a rare (for the study area) Woodland-period village. In light of the difficulties involved in determining the tribal associations of those Native people living in or near the park, these sites should repay further exploration. The Bowman Site is not currently threatened, but further efforts to define its limits might

provide an opportunity to date it, and to allow limited investigation of the cultural ties of its occupants. Panther Cave is more vulnerable to development, and it may be wise to take efforts to protect it. Another survey might focus on Long Meadow, where tradition states that Jost Hite established a homestead on a Native village site. Gee Gee Pasquet's recollections (see Chapter Six) suggest that surface collections on the farm's property are especially rich.

The American Indian nation in closest proximity to the park, the Monacans of Natural Bridge, Virginia, may be descended from the peoples, including the Manahoac, who lived in the area of the park in the Late Woodland and Early Exploration period (see Chapters One and Two). This determination is based on the following data:

- a. Archeological data from the sixteenth century is scarce and ambiguous as to cultural affiliation, but it appears likely that people of different cultural backgrounds (see Chapter Two) were active in the area in the Protohistoric period. Among the most likely to have been present were ancestors of the historic Shawnee, Delaware, Susquehannock, and Monacan and Manahoac people.
- b. The earliest descriptions of European explorers, including Smith and Newport, note the presence of Monacan and Manahoac people in the region now occupied by Cedar Creek and Belle Grove, although no seventeenth-century European eyewitness accounts of their settlements have survived.
- c. Early eighteenth-century descriptions of the Native people living in the vicinity of Fort Christanna, in southwestern Virginia, suggest that some Manahoacs and Monacans were then resident in that area. These references are frustratingly vague, and it is not clear that those making such claims were knowledgeable about local languages and customs. It also appears that many reports were apparently based on fleeting encounters or second-hand information.
- d. As noted above, limited linguistic data collected in the nineteenth century have led some scholars to identify the languages spoken in the area now occupied by the park as Siouan. Although there are no speakers of the Monacan language today, many members of that community believe that their ancestral language was related to Tutelo, a Siouan language.

- e. Contemporary oral history data uniformly links the Monacans to the Lower Shenandoah Valley. Unfortunately, the systematic discrimination against Virginia's Native people, especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, likely prevented the preservation or collection of information needed to validate these claims.

The Monacans are currently state-recognized, and are part of a group of Virginia tribes seeking Federal recognition. Several members of the Monacan tribe were interviewed for this study, and they expressed interest in having Native American history and culture in the region become more of a focus at Cedar Creek and Belle Grove. For example, one consultant suggested having “a Native component to the materials, history and presentation.” Another said

Have a park that shows something about Native history. Include something about plants and animals (buffalo and elk). Use signage to tell how Native people used the forest and the land. . . the true use of the forest and the land.

It is also recommended that further research into the movements of the Six Nations through the Shenandoah Valley be undertaken. While Virginia's colonial records, scrutinized for this project, mention several parties ranging through the Shenandoah Valley, and some local accounts testify to the Valley's crucial role in the French and Indian War and the Revolutionary War, it may be that the colonial records of New York and Pennsylvania contain further specifics about Valley encounters. One local Native American suggests “You might also talk to the Cayuga, Mohawks, Potomacs and the Cherokee to see if they remember any of this history.”

The long and complex history of Native American involvement in frontier expansion is another example of the kind of story that the National Park Service is working hard to convey. Beside the Great Warrior Path, and in the shadow of Massanutten Mountain, a sacred site for many Native American peoples, Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park might well be the place to address this history in a thorough way.

2. Early Settlement History

Interpreters at Belle Grove Manor House do an excellent job of discussing the Hite family's history, and the Hite Family Foundation has a lively newsletter and a series of publications that often address early settlers and their descendants. “Living History

Days” at Belle Grove also provide general information about settlement history and colonial life in the Valley. There is a helpful publication, written by the Foundation’s president Elizabeth Madison Coles Umstatt, which details all of the Hite-Bowman-Chrisman and Froman family-related sites and buildings in the immediate vicinity of the park and in the park itself. However, the numerous other European-American families who were part of the earliest history of the Valley are less well studied, and receive very little attention in present-day interpretation. Geier and Tinkham (2006) note several structures and sites on park property that may help to interpret early settlement history. The Old Wagon Road (the Great Warrior Path) that runs through and past the park boundaries is a significant historical resource for this period as well. This study concurs with Geier and Tinkham (2006) that the network of roads running through the park are themselves worthy of interpretation, and form natural routes for walking and driving tours.

This study also provides significant new information about the Stickley family, some of whose members were among the first settlers in the Valley. Daniel Stickley purchased the Bowman mill, on park property, and his children built a nineteenth-century farmhouse now on park properties as well. Some of the Stickleys intermarried with the Hites, Bowmans, Brumbacks, and other local families, and perhaps more interestingly, did business with all of them. Substantial collections of Stickley family papers at the Library of Virginia and the College of William and Mary make possible a more detailed study of this prosperous, entrepreneurial family, whose history provides an interesting counterpoint to that of the more prominent Hite family. The history of the Stickley family also ties in beautifully with the religious history of the Valley, as the Stickleys were prominent “Mennonists” and thus connected to the significant community of Protestant Reformed sects, including the Meadow Mills Church of the United Brethren, just outside of the park’s boundaries. Other Stickley descendents, now living outside the area, might be contacted concerning family history, or to locate additional family papers.

3. Religious Diversity in the Valley

The Statement of Work listed the Church of the United Brethren as a significant local religious community whose history merited further study. Several members of this community were interviewed for this study, and one of the churches on the Brethren’s

“circuit,” the Meadow Mills Church of the United Brethren, is just outside of the park’s boundaries, while a related church, the Salem Church, south of Stephens City, is within the study area. The beliefs and practices of this and other Reformed Protestant sects provided the underlying rationale for many of the farming practices that are distinctive to the region, as well as an explanation for the political and social complexities that marked the region’s history (see Chapter Seven). In the future, it might be useful to place the history of the Church of the United Brethren within the larger context of the diverse religious history of the Valley. Among the communities that might be investigated are the Hopewell Quaker community, and African American Baptist and Episcopal churches located in Stephens City.

4. Women’s History and Current Interactions with the Park

Although the Statement of Work did not single out women’s history as a specific topic for study, research described in this report continually uncovered stories of women who played important roles in local history, from Ann Maury Hite, who ran Belle Grove as a widow for many years, to Elizabeth Vance, who kept a large family together for nearly forty years after her husband’s death, to Caroline Jenkins, an African American woman who became one of the first property owners in Stephens City. Many of the people interviewed for this study are women who have and still do play an extremely important part in local society and Cedar Creek and Belle Grove’s many partners include organizations where women play a prominent role. Any research project highlighting women’s role in the history of the region would be useful.

5. Reinterpreting Valley Slavery

Although the Statement of Work recommended an effort to locate descendants of Hite family slaves, it soon became clear that the more important research questions revolved around the ways in which slavery was incorporated into the Valley economy. This study provided significant new research regarding the contrasts between Tidewater Plantation slavery, and the more artisanal, integrated slave economy in the valley. An evolving system, it was also directly linked to the role of Free Blacks in the region (Chapters Five and Six). Both the Hite family slaves, members of the largest plantation slave community in the Valley, and the Stickley slaves, who lived with and worked with a number of Free Blacks and white servants, represent the variable experience of

enslavement in the region. Additional research might uncover further ties between the Free Black communities surrounding the park properties, and those enslaved Africans who worked on farms and plantations within.

6. Neglected Civil War Topics

In addition to the topics of women's history and African American history mentioned above, the study of the build-up to the Civil War, including the role of local anti-secessionists and conscientious objectors, might be a suitable subject for future research. Some of these people were associated with the Reformed Protestant sects discussed above, and their specific stories could be further highlighted. Floyd Wine, interviewed for this study, noted that non-conformists from the Valley faced significant social ostracism during the first and second World Wars as well. Their stories, further researched, could add significantly to the interpretations at the park.

Although extensive archeological surveys of the park's properties have been undertaken, these have focused mainly on the identification of features associated with the Battle of Cedar Creek and Belle Grove from a tactical point of view. In light of the growing archeological scholarship focusing on the experiences of others caught up in the Civil War, further work with this focus would be advisable. Such archeology will also be invaluable in interpretations at the park.

7. Local Crafts

Although not specifically indicated as a study topic in the Statement of Work for this project, several interviews uncovered evidence for local crafts, particularly pottery and quilts, made and used in the Middletown and Strasburg area (with the quilts sewn at Belle Grove). Further research on the folk quilts of the region might be an additional way to tie traditional African American peoples to the park. Another project might attempt to link the important pottery industry in Strasburg, just south of the park, with park residents in the past.

CONCLUSIONS

This seemingly remote section of Virginia, long ignored by historians (with the exception of historians of the Civil War), is in fact a central place in the history of the peoples of North America, from the Paleoindian period to the present. As such, it is now

in the historical spotlight, and a large body of research has become available, which greatly adds to the potential for putting Cedar Creek and Belle Grove into its historical and social context. Within the bounds of the Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park are places of great significance to the stories of American Indians, African Americans, Germans and Scots Irish, Virginia eighteenth-century ruling elites, non-conformist religious practitioners, and commemorators of the Lost Cause. The stories that emerge from this ethnohistorical and ethnographic study bring this long and complex history to life, and demonstrate that borderlands such as these are always the focus of intense, multi-faceted experience.

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1925 *A History of Madison County, Virginia*. Strasburg, VA: Shenandoah
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Young, Amy

2003 *Gender and Landscape: A View from the Plantation Slave Community*. *In*
Shared Spaces and Divided Places: Material Dimensions of Gender Relations and
the American Historical Landscape. Deborah L. Rotman and E. R. Savulis, eds.
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References

APPENDIX A: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS TAKEN FOR THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE BELLE GROVE-CEDAR CREEK ETHNOHISTORY PROJECT

Mae Allison
104 Liberty Street
Berryville, Virginia 22611
Interviewed July 21, 2006 at home

Elizabeth V. Banks
P.O. Box 78
Millwood, Virginia 22646
Interviewed July 27, 2006 at her home (now deceased)

Mildred and Malcolm Brumback
420 Belle Grove Road
Middletown, Virginia 22645
Interviewed August 12, 2006 at their home

Rosetta Clay
108 Josephine Street
Berryville, Virginia 22611-1332
Interviewed July 21, 2006 at her home

William Cross
3522 Wickliffe Road
Berryville, Virginia 22611
Interviewed July 28, 2006 at the African American Episcopal Church parish hall in
Berryville, Virginia

June Gaskins-Davis
1110 S. Loudon Street
Winchester, Virginia 22601
Interviewed July 20, 2006 at her home

Judy Humbert
575 North Kent Street
Winchester, Virginia 22601-5345
Interviewed July 20, 2006 at her home

Paul R. Jones
P.O. Box 751

Appendix A: List of Interviewees

Berryville, Virginia 22611
Interviewed July 19, 2006 at the Josephine City School Museum, Berryville, Virginia

Patricia L. Long
2163 4th street
Middletown, Virginia 22645
Interviewed July 27, 2006 at the Senior Citizens' Center, Stephens City, Virginia

William T. Mason
512 Eagle Place
Winchester, Virginia 22601
Interviewed July 27, 1006 at his home

Marquetta Mitchell
c/o Edward Jones Investments
152 East King Street
Strasburg, Virginia 22657
Interviewed August 30, 2006 at her office

Maurita Powell
151-6 Brookland Terrace
Winchester, Virginia 22602
Interviewed July 21, 2006 at the Josephine City School Museum, Berryville, Virginia

Anna L. Wanzer
P.O. Box 426
Stephens City, Virginia 22655-0426
Interviewed July 20, 2006 at the Stonehouse Foundation, Stephens City, Virginia

Nancy Washington
422 North Kent Street
Winchester, Virginia 22601
Interviewed July 28, 2006 at her home

Alice Welsh
219 Ridge Road
Winchester, Virginia 22602
Interviewed August 10, 2006 at her home

Pearl Williams
107 Liberty Street
Berryville, Virginia 22611-1125
Interviewed July 21, 2006 at home

Virginia Williams
P.O. Box 181
Berryville, Virginia 22611
Interviewed July 19, 2006 at home

OTHER INTERVIEWS

Leila Boyer, Shenandoah Valley historian
1392 Martz Road
Harrisonburg, Virginia 22802

Rebecca Ebert, Archivist
Special Collections
Handley Regional Library
100 West Piccadilly Street
Winchester, Virginia 22601

Patrick Farrish, Executive Director
Warren County Heritage Society
101 Chester Street
Front Royal, Virginia 22630

Deborah B. Hilty, Education Coordinator
Museum of the Shenandoah Valley
901 Amherst Street
Winchester, Virginia 22601

Diann Jacox, Superintendent
Cedar Creek and Belle Grove National Historical Park
P.O. Box 706
Middletown, Virginia 22645

Maral Kalbian, Northern Shenandoah Valley architectural historian
Clarke County Historical Association
32 East Main Street
P.O. Box 306
Berryville, Virginia 22611

Lynne Lewis, Senior Archeologist
National Trust for Historic Preservation
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036-2117

Stephen Longenecker, Shenandoah Valley religious history expert
Bridgewater College
20 Bridgewater College
Bridgewater, Virginia 22812

Elizabeth McClung, Executive Director
Belle Grove Plantation
336 Belle Grove Road
Middletown, VA 22645

Jonathan A. Noyalas
139 Virgo Lane
Martinsburg, West Virginia 25401

Maurita Powell, Treasurer
Josephine School Community Museum
303 Josephine Street
P.O. Box 423
Berryville, Virginia 22611

Byron C. Smith
Director and Curator
The Newtown History Center and Stonehouse Foundation
P.O. Box 143
5408 Main Street
Stephens City, Virginia 22655

Mary Thomason-Morris, Archivist and Local Historian
Clarke County Historical Association
32 East Main Street
P.O. Box 306
Berryville, Virginia 22611

TAPED AND TELEPHONE INTERVIEWS BY OTHER MEMBERS OF THE PROJECT TEAM

Interview with C. Douglas Cooley by Betty J. Duggan, August 17, 2006 at his home in Strasburg, VA. 1 tape cassette.

Telephone interview with Stephen L. Longenecker by Betty J. Duggan, August 17, 2006. Interviewer's notes.

Interview with Floyd Wine by Betty J. Duggan, August 18, 2006, at Handley Library, Winchester, VA. 1 tape cassette.

Telephone interview with Fred Mauck by Betty J. Duggan, August 19, 2006. Interviewer's notes.

Interview with Gee Gee Pasquet by Betty J. Duggan, at her home, Long Meadow, August 20, 2006. Interviewer's notes.

Telephone interview with Gee Gee Pasquet by Betty J. Duggan, September 26, 2006. Interviewer's notes.

Telephone interview with Charlotte Stickley Downey by Betty J. Duggan, September, 2006. Interviewer's notes.

Telephone interview with Mildred Brumback, September, 2006. Interviewer's notes.

Telephone interview with Douglas Cooley by Betty J. Duggan, September 2006.
Interviewer's notes.

Telephone interview with Floyd Wine by Betty J. Duggan, September, 2006.
Interviewer's notes.

Telephone interview with Ken Shafer, Archivist of the Church of the Brethren, Elgin, IL,
by Betty J. Duggan, September, 2006. Interviewer's notes.

OTHER INTERVIEWS

Members of the Monacan tribe and other Virginia recognized tribes contacted for this study include: Cherokee (Annette Sanouke), Saponi (Chief Martin), Occaneechi (John Blackfeather ?), Patawomeck (Robert Green), Piscataway contacts (M. Savoy), Chief Kenneth Branham (Monacan)

Appendix A: List of Interviewees

APPENDIX B: STATISTICAL TABLES

Table 8:
Demographic Overview of the Lower Shenandoah Valley, 1790-1910

	1790	1820	1850	1860	1870	1880	1910
Clarke County							
White	—	—	3,614	3,707	4,511	5,145	5,568
Free Black	—	—	124	64	2,159	2,537	1,900
Slave	—	—	3,614	3,375	—	—	—
Total	—	—	7,352	7,146	6,670	7,682	7,468
Frederick County							
White	15,315	16,557	12,769	13,079	13,863	14,997	12,093
Free Black	116	970	912	1,208	2,733	2,556	694
Slave	4,250	7,179	2,294	2,259	—	—	—
Total	19,681	24,706	15,975	16,546	16,596	17,553	12,787
Shenandoah County							
White	9,979	16,708	12,565	12,827	14,260	17,198	20,448
Free Black	19	317	292	316	676	1,006	493
Slave	512	1,901	911	753	—	—	—
Total	10,510	18,926	13,769	13,896	14,936	18,207	20,942
Warren County							
White	—	—	4,564	4,583	4,611	5,958	7,457
Free Black	—	—	366	284	1,105	1,441	1,131
Slave	—	—	1,748	1,575	—	—	—
Total	—	—	6,607	6,442	5,716	7,399	8,589

**Table 9:
Demographic Overview of the Lower Shenandoah Valley, 1920-1960**

	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960
Clarke County					
White	5,382	5,609	5,803	5,788	6,574
Black	1,743	1,530	1,303	1,241	1,366
Total	7,165	7,167	7,159	7,074	7,942
Frederick County					
White	11,923	12,680	13,547	17,537	21,507
Black	499	458	415	389	431
Total	12,461	13,167	14,008	17,762	21,941
Shenandoah County					
White	20,333	20,970	20,501	20,645	21,468
Black	434	501	337	383	354
Total	20,808	20,655	20,898	21,169	21,025
Warren County					
White	7,654	7,460	10,202	13,497	13,600
Black	1,129	821	1,056	1,187	1,054
Total	8,852	8,340	11,352	14,801	14,655

**Table 10:
Pre- and Post-Civil War Demographics**

County	1860		1870		1880	
	African Americans	Whites	African Americans	Whites	African Americans	Whites
Clarke	3,439	3,707	2,159	4,511	2,537	5,145
Frederick	3,467	13,079	2,733	13,863	2,556	14,997
Shenandoah	1,069	12,827	676	14,260	1,006	17,198
Warren	1,859	4,583	1,105	4,611	1,441	5,958

Table 11:
Land Tenure and Wealth Overview, 1860-1920

	1860	1870	1880	1900	1920
Frederick County					
Total farms	751	1,013	1,437	1,603	1,725
Tenant farms	—	—	85	W 55/B 0	W 382/B 1
Sharecropper farms	—	—	187	W 381/B 6	53
Agricultural wages	—	\$144,310	—	\$105,710	—
Land under cultivation	116,117	73,253	81,095	161,113	142,793
Invest farm equipment	\$148,515	\$124,749	\$101,889	\$197,840	\$940,696
Cash value in farms	\$3,987,945	\$4,494,430	\$4,243,413	\$5,259,180	\$12,821,430
Value farm production	—	\$994,911	\$702,002	\$993,426	\$4,817,401
Shenandoah County					
Total farms	493	1,078	1,806	2,382	2,388
Tenant farms	—	—	22	W 83/B 0	W 350/B 0
Sharecropper farms	—	—	102	W 212/B 1	56
Agricultural wages	—	\$86,520	—	\$113,070	—
Invest farm equipment	\$99,133	\$116,034	\$154,199	\$250,520	\$1,051,180
Cash value in farms	\$4,035,250	\$4,409,310	\$5,101,538	\$6,524,910	\$14,483,565
Value farm production	—	\$524,506	\$337,291	\$1,319,077	\$4,748,888
Warren County					
Total farms	415	409	579	804	772
Tenant farms	—	—	63	W 671/B 5	W 141/B 6
Sharecropper farms	—	—	109	W 102/B 3	17
Total wages	—	\$54,721	—	\$67,180	—
Land under cultivation	66,489	55,209	66,855	72,465	78,441
Invest farm equipment	\$44,739	\$49,048	\$39,819	\$80,140	\$338,742
Cash value in farms	\$2,205,779	\$2,041,435	\$1,535,382	\$2,077,670	\$4,840,661
Value farm production	—	\$524,506	\$337,291	\$755,966	\$1,784,296

Key: **Agricultural wages**=Total agricultural wages paid; **Land under cultivation**=Total land under cultivation; **Invest farm equipment**=Total investment in farm equipment; **Value farm production**=Value of all farm production. W=white; B=black.

Table 12:
Sizes of Farms by County in 1860 and 1950

Size	1860	Size	1950
Clarke County			
3-9 acres	0	3-9 acres	39
10-19 acres	2	10-29 acres	34
20-49 acres	16	30-49 acres	20
50-99 acres	35	50-99 acres	47
100-499 acres	204	100-499 acres	245
500-999 acres	29	500-999 acres	30
1000 or more acres	3	1000 or more acres	6
Frederick County			
3-9 acres	6	3-9 acres	179
10-19 acres	10	10-29 acres	226
20-49 acres	57	30-49 acres	139
50-99 acres	163	50-99 acres	282
100-499 acres	495	100-499 acres	637
500-999 acres	20	500-999 acres	42
1000 or more acres	0	1000 or more acres	9
Shenandoah County			
3-9 acres	2	3-9 acres	249
10-19 acres	7	10-29 acres	399
20-49 acres	34	30-49 acres	241
50-99 acres	129	50-99 acres	465
100-499 acres	309	100-499 acres	646
500-999 acres	9	500-999 acres	27
1000 or more acres	3	1000 or more acres	4
Warren County			
3-9 acres	8	3-9 acres	76
10-19 acres	12	10-29 acres	80
20-49 acres	43	30-49 acres	68
50-99 acres	98	50-99 acres	109
100-499 acres	240	100-499 acres	207
500-999 acres	12	500-999 acres	21
1000 or more acres	2	1000 or more acres	8

Table 13:
Overview of Manufacturing, 1820-1960

	1820	1850	1870	1890	1920	1940
Frederick County						
Agg Capital	—	\$522,325	\$525,848	\$828,218	\$89,904	\$4,732
Manu Ent	—	—	149	126	79	48
Avg Emp	1,179	491	312	809	839	2,348
Ann Wages All	—	—	\$49,915	\$210,379	\$671,838	\$1,673,499
Value All	—	\$593,317	\$757,124	\$1,061,997	\$4,567	\$8,762
Value Home	—	\$7,376	—	—	—	—
Shenandoah County						
Agg Capital	—	\$182,300	\$251,000	\$178,637	\$64,105	\$681
Manu Ent	—	—	74	74	81	35
Avg Emp	851	256	274	172	366	529
Ann Wages All	—	—	\$59,400	\$43,598	\$305,961	\$321,709
Value All	—	\$422,500	\$470,770	\$278,148	\$2,870	\$1,443
Warren County						
Agg Capital	—	\$216,350	\$101,080	\$259,459	\$8,631	\$1,141
Manu Ent	—	—	91	33	37	14
Avg Emp	—	169	138	211	324	420
Ann Wages All	—	—	\$19,375	\$57,925	\$208,254	\$302,399
Value All	—	\$281,670	\$284,709	\$266,210	\$1,435	\$2,044
Value Home	—	\$7,895	—	—	—	—

Key: **Agg Capital**=Aggregate capital invested in manufacturing establishments; **Manu Ent**=Number of manufacturing enterprises; **Avg Emp Manu**=Average employees of all classes in manufacturing; **Avg Emp All**=Average employees of all classes; **Ann Wages Manu**=Total annual wages in manufacturing; **Ann Wages All**=Total annual wages; **Value Manu**=Value of all products in manufacturing; **Value All**=Value of all products; **Value Home**=Value of all homemade products.

APPENDIX C: HITE FAMILY SLAVES

Table 14:
Isaac Hite's Commonplace Book 1776-1859 (Part 1)

Slave's Name	Mother's Name	When Born	Comments
Fanny	Nancy	April 1796	died August 1809; from father's estate
Sally	Nancy	April 18, 1800	from mother's estate
Martha	Sally	1841	from mother's estate
Billy	Truelove	January 23, 1792	from father's estate; sold to Moore
Kate	Sally Thomas	January 17, 1848	from father's estate
Daniel	Nelly	1808	from father's estate
Reuben	Winny	March 15, 1827	
Harry			died November 1854; purchased from Miller
George			purchased from Jacob Miller
Eliza	Kate	November 8, 1803	bought from I. Tobin
Catharine	Eliza	March 1823	bought from I. Tobin
Moses	Eliza	May 20, 1832	Sold
Christey	Eliza	January 18, 1834	
Henry	Eliza	October 28, 1836	Sold
Washington	Eliza	February 22, 1839	Sold
Emily	Eliza	April 1, 1845	
Amanda		March 4, 1829	purchased from Daniel Powers
Elizabeth	Amanda	April 23, 1846	purchased from Daniel Powers
Jane	Amanda	December 18, 1850	Died
Robert	Amanda	November 25, 1852	Died
Phebe	Amanda	January 4, 1854	
Franklin	Amanda	December 6, 1856	
Benn	Amanda	June 15, 1858	
Molly	Martha	February 22, 1857	
Libby	Amanda	June 15, 1859	
Ann Eliza	Catharine	October 27, 1859	
[break in the records]			
Eliza		February 7, 1750	
Truelove		January 28, 1754	
Jessy		July 27, 1762	
Jimmy		February 2, 1765	Dead
Sally		December 30, 1763	Sold
Milly		July 8, 1768	Madison
Joanna		March 16, 1773	
Diana		August 24 1775	Madison
Peggy		July 7, 1776	exchanged with Jno. Hite
Demas		September 12, 1777	exchanged with Jno. Hite
Priscilla		June 20, 1778	
Pindey		May 20, 1779	Madison
Winfred		August 19, 1780	ran away
Billy Webster		September 18, 1781	
Thoty		September 18, 1781	given to Nelly Baldwin
Richard			sold for £109
Francis		1754	ran away
Ned		1758	Dead

Appendix C: Hite Family Slaves

Slave's Name	Mother's Name	When Born	Comments
David		June 1, 1773	Sold
[blank]		May 1, 1784	exchanged with Jno. Hite
Bobby		August 8, 1784	Dead
Jordan		July 2, 1786	Dead
Jack		July 4, 1786	Sold
Frank		August 7, 1786	Twin
Ben		August 7, 1786	Twin
Sam		July 23, 1787	
[boy]	Truelove's boy	May 5, 1788	died a week old
Raphael		October 7, 1788	Exchanged
Anthony		January 1, 1789	
Ambrose		May 3, 1789	
Mary		July 24, 1790	Madison
Frank		1767	gave Jno. Hite £80 for him
Abba		1769	exchanged w/ Jno. Hite for these three
Harry		December 21, 1787	exchanged w/ Jno. Hite for these three
Hannah		February 20, 1790	exchanged w/ Jno. Hite for these three
Daniel		December 29, 1771	ran away
George (Madison)		October 1767	purchased from Solomon Hoge for £72
Billy		January 23, 1792	
George	Abba	September 11, 1792	died January 9, 1793
Polly	Joanna	September 26, 1792	
Peter (Madison)		November 4, 1792	Madison gave me by my wife
Cate		January 1779	Madison gave me by my wife
Adam	Abba	October 27, 1793	died November 11, 1794
Rachel	Truelove	June 25, 1794	Sold
Moses	Milly	November 3, 1794	
Isaac	Abba	October 6, 1795	
Fanny	Nancy	April 10, 1796	
Elias	Joanna	April 26, 1796	died May 23, 1797
Jonathan	Milly	July 23, 1796	died
James		March 8, 1756	age 42 in August 1796
Little Jim		age 21	
Joe		April 14, 1767	Sold
Joe		age 23	sold to Fry in 1796, £140
Harry		age 30	Dead
Bob		age 60	Dead
Simon		February 5, 1776	Dead
Anderson		July 1, 1775	Dead
Daniel (blacksmith)		January 14, 1793	
Bill		March 13, 1783	
Reuben		January 5, 1771	
Moses		age 66	August 1796
Molly		age 60	set free August 1796
Nancy		age 19	August 1796
Margery		age 42	sold August 1796
Suckey		age 34	August 1796

Appendix C: Hite Family Slaves

Slave's Name	Mother's Name	When Born	Comments
Dinah		age 60	August 1796
Jane		age 60	Dead
Judah		age 60	died February 12, 1803
Leah	Truelove	January 28, 1797	sold
Willis	Pindar	June 9, 1797	Madison
Thomas	Abba	January 28, 1798	
Deffney	Joanna's	May 9, 1798	Dead
Barbary	Cate	March 22, 1799	
[blank]	Nancy	June 7, 1799	Dead
Cupit	Rachael's boy	December 2, 1785	bought of Mr. Macon; sold
Charlotte	Pindar	October 6, 1799	
Pinny		March 15, 1770	Dead
[blank]	Joanna's daughter	August 30, 1793	gave her to Wmson for Simon
Jerry	Abba		
Sally	Nancy	April 18, 1800	Madison
Lucy	Diana	January 6, 1803	Died
Peggy	Kate	August 25, 1803	gave to Nelly
Hannah		1773	bought from Jno. Buck
Shadrack	Daphney	January 7, 1767	
Jonathan	Buck	August 17, 1776	
Robin	Milly	July 25, 1755	
Frank	Pegg	June 11, 1761	
Henry	Penny	January 14, 1791	Madison
Anna	Daphney	June 16, 1772	
Abraham	Anna	June 11, 1800	
Truelove	Sarah	November 16, 1783	
Sarah	Sinary	May 28, 1766	
Milley	Sarah	December 9, 1800	Dead
Sinar	Sarah	March 30, 1797	
Jimmy	Nancy	December 19, 1805	had measles
Chloe		1760	purchased of [blank]; had measles
Betty	Chloe	1795	purchased of [blank]; had measles
Howard	Chloe	August 1798	died; had measles
Winney	Abba	February 7, 1802	had measles
Joshua	Chloe	December 1802	had measles
Exeter	Bitsy	January 7, 1803	dead; had measles
Elijah	Kate	November 8, 1803	given to Nelly
Louisa	Abba	January 4, 1804	
Ben	Anna	May 3, 1803	
Libby	Sarah	May 9, 1809	given to Nelly
Reuben	Suckey	November 1, 1797	
Charlotte		1770	bought from William Elmy
Pindar	Charlotte	November 1801	bought from William Elmy
Rachael	Charlotte	January 19, 1805	bought from William Elmy
Nelson	Chloe	October 1805	
Simon	Sarah	October 1805	sold to Madison; twin
Sucky	Sarah	October 1805	sold to Madison; twin
Betty	Abba	December 15, 1805	Died
Patty	Katy	February 16, 1806	

Appendix C: Hite Family Slaves

Slave's Name	Mother's Name	When Born	Comments
Lucy	Anna	March 16, 1806	
Rachael		June 1782	bought from Howe
John (carpenter)		1785	
Becca	Diana	May 2, 1806	Died
Sally		January 1780	bought from Armistead Long
Patrick		October 15, 1798	bought from Armistead Long
Suzy	Truelove	December 5, 1806	
David	Charlotte	August 1806	
Charles	Diana	October 27, 1807	
Taylor	Sarah	December 20, 1807	
Sally Ann	Abba	January 6, 1808	a twin
Morton	Abba	January 6, 1808	a twin
Henry	Katy	March 9, 1808	
Daniel	Charlotte		
Stephen		1790	bought from Wm. P. Flood, Feb. 6, 1809
Sarah		1778	bought from Wm. P. Flood, Feb. 6, 1809
George	Sarah	1798	dead; bought from Wm. P. Flood, Feb. 6, 1809
Sally		1800	sold; bought from Wm. P. Flood, Feb. 6, 1809
Winney		1802	bought from Wm. P. Flood, Feb. 6, 1809
Abraham		1805	bought from Wm. P. Flood, Feb. 6, 1809
Moses		1806	bought from Wm. P. Flood, Feb. 6, 1809
Evelina	Nancy	March 18, 1809	
Milly	Anna	March 18, 1809	Sold
Juliet	Mary	August 13, 1809	Madison
Phillis		1788	exchanged Rachell & Leah for them
Bena	Phillis	1807	child sold; exchanged for Rachell & Leah
Celia	Phillis	December 4, 1808	child sold; exchanged for Rachell & Leah
Daniel	Hannah	January 2, 1810	
Charles	Charlotte	March 24, 1810	
Tom	Sarah	April 13, 1810	
Letty		age 28	June 1810 bought from Wm. Roach
Ellen	Letty	1809	bought from Wm. Roach
Seth	Phillis	July 18, 1810	Sold
Leah	Abba	August 10, 1810	
Sam	Mary	July 1811	purchased from Tunnill
Nat		1785	purchased from Tunnill
Josephine	Anna	July 1811	purchased from Tunnill
Tom		1778	Flood
Ellen	Letty	November 1811	Madison
Adam	Dinah	December 1811	
Gabriel	Sullan	January 1812	
Thornton	Sarah	February 1812	Sold

Appendix C: Hite Family Slaves

Slave's Name	Mother's Name	When Born	Comments
Charity	Philis	March 1812	
Nelly		1774	bought from Jude Wilson
Job		1775	bought from Jude Wilson
Daniel	Nelly	1808	
Austen	Nelly	January 30, 1812	Dead
Peggy	Mary	January 7, 1813	Madison
Abner	Letty	February 3, 1813	Madison
Plummer	Diana	January 1813	Dead
Polly	Sinar	March 1813	Sold
Jordan	Nancy	May 10, 1813	
Sylvia	Charlotte	June 8, 1813	
Harriet	Sarah	June 13, 1813	Sold
Israel	Phylis	January 1811	Dead
Nate	Hannah	January 22, 1814	Dead
Maria	Sarah	July 16, 1814	Dead
[blank]	Sally	September 1, 1814	Dead
Henry		1795	
Patrick		1797	
Nancy	Ginny	1778	Dead
Emanuel	Hannah	April 1, 1815	
Alfred	Letty	April 4, 1815	Madison
Nathaniel	Nancy	June 24, 1815	
Matilda	Sarah	January 24, 1815	
Betsy	[illegible]	July 15, 1816	
Lewis	Phillis	March 25, 1816	
Emily	Nancy	June 15, 1816	
Carter			purchased from John Hay
George Reed		1798	
Judah		1794	purchased from Abraham Kennon
Sam	Judah	May 1814	purchased from Abraham Kennon
George	Judah	March 18, 1816	purchased from Abraham Kennon
Marcus	Judah	August 1817	
Elizabeth	Sally	March [blank]	
Belinda	Judah	October 1812	
Peyton	Sarah	December 4, 1817	
Amos	Sinar	January 8, 1818	
John	Philis	January 27, 1818	
Frank	Hannah	June 22 1818	
Judah		June 1799	purchased from Farmar
Cupit	Fanny	February 9, 1819	
Solomon	Nancy	February 7, 1819	
Frank Smith	Sinar		
Charles	Sarah	September 12, 1819	
Milly	Judy	1819	
Mary	Pinder	1819	
Marie		November 2, 1795	purchased from Wm. Buck
Betty Ann	Hannah	May 31, 1820	
James	Sinar	July 25, 1820	
Jack		age 18 Oct. 10, 1820	purchased from Hughes

Appendix C: Hite Family Slaves

Slave's Name	Mother's Name	When Born	Comments
William		age 18 Oct. 10, 1820	purchased from Hughes - to serve 7 years
Abba	Winny	November 5, 1820	
Alfred	Pendar	February 24, 1821	
Charline	Fanny	March 3, 1821	
Mary	Judah	March 6, 1821	
Richmond	Martha	April 25, 1821	
Franklin	Nancy	February 27, 1822	
Landy	Sarah	March 15, 1822	
Rebecca	Winna	May 28, 1822	
Eliza	Lucy	June 25, 1822	
Amy		February 10, 1790	purchased from Rogers
Isaac	Amy	March 5, 1822	purchased from Rogers
Catharine	Pindar	August 25, 1822	purchased from Rogers
Anthony	Judy	February 1823	
Rachel	Sarah	October 27, 1823	
Betsy	Winnar	February 24, 1824	
Margaret	Fanny	April 7, 1824	
Hinser (?)	Phillis	April 26, 1824	
Livi Jones	Amy	May 9, 1824	
Maria	Lucy	May 29, 1824	Dead

Source: Isaac Hite's Commonplace Book 1776-1859.

Table 15:
Isaac Hite's Commonplace Book 1776-1859 (Part 2)

Slave's Name	Mother's Name	When Born	Comments
Harry	Truelove		Dead
Priscilla	Truelove	April 11, 1780	Dead
Lisa			Dead
Daphna			Dead
Sucky			Dead
Anna			Dead
Abba			exempt from tithe
Frank			exempt from tithe
Reuben	Susan	January 5, 1771	
Daniel (blacksmith)		January 4, 1773	died October 24, 1836
Job		1775	bought from Gilmer
Nibbia	Lena	September 18, 1771	
Sam	Milly	1787	
Harry	Abba	December 4, 1787	died October 22, 1828
Anthony	Milly	1789	
Isaac	Abba	October 6, 1775	Geo. Walker
Howard	Chloe	1798	died December 20, 1836
Jerry	Abba	1800	
Jim	Nancy	1801	given to Cornelius
Carter		May 3, 1836	sold; bought by A. [illegible]
Frank		August 1786	Twins
Ben		August 1786	Twins
Patrick	Sally	October 15, 1798	Sold
Daniel	Hannah	January 2, 1819	given to Mary
Daniel	Nelly	1808	gave to Isaac
Bill	Truelove	January 23, 1792	gave Walker
Jacob		June 1799	Runaway
Jordan	Nancy	1813	sold November 13, 1834
Sam	Judah	May 1814	
Manuel	Hannah	April 1, 1815	
Nathan	Nancy	June 24, 1815	sold November 13, 1836
George	Judah	March 1816	gave Walker
Marcus	Judah	August 1817	given Cornelius
Frank	Hannah	June 22, 1818	sold to his father
Robert	Fanny	February 9, 1819	
Solomon	Nancy	February 22, 1822	given to Frank
Franklin	Nancy	February 27, 1822	given to Hugh
Anthony	Judah	February 1823	Walker
Reuben	Winny	March 15, 1827	given to Isaac
Westly	Judah	September 1827	given to Hugh
James	Louisa	May 1, 1829	
Elias	Judah	March 16, 1830	
Elijah	Judah	January 4, 1832	given to Cornelius
Frank	Jenny		given to Matilda
Washington	Jenny	September 15, 1834	
Charles		bought May 15 1786	
Jonathan	Judah	February 28, 1836	Dead

Appendix C: Hite Family Slaves

Slave's Name	Mother's Name	When Born	Comments
Nelly		1774	purchased of Holmes
Hannah		1773	purchased of Buck
Nancy	Margery	1777	
Fanny	Nancy	April 1796	
Truelove	Sarah	November 16, 1783	
Judah		1794	dead 1836
Billy	Truelove	1795	
Winnie	Abba	February 7, 1802	given to Isaac; dead
Louisa	Abba	January 7, 1804	died July 27, 1832
Susy	Truelove	December 1, 1806	dead; W. Davison
Sally	Abba	January 16, 1808	
Leah	Abba	August 18, 1810	Dead
Milly	Judah	1819	Hugh
Abigail	Winnie	1820	given to Isaac
Betsy Ann	Hannah	1820	sold to her father
Caroline	Fanny	March 3, 1821	
Becca	Winnie	May 28, 1822	Sold
Mary	Judah	March 6, 1822	
Betsy	Winnie	February 24, 1824	given to Matilda
Margaret	Fanny	April 1824	
Frances	Fanny	December 13, 1826	
Lucy	Winnie	January 12, 1825	
Sarah Elizabeth	Sally	March 3, 1828	
Maria	Judy	February 15, 1825	
Jane	Sally	March 26, 1830	Dead
Martha	Sally	March 18, 1832	Dead
Hannah		1773	purchased of Buck
Nelly		1774	purchased of Holmes; dead
Nancy		1777	Dead
Truelove		November 16, 1783	
Judy		1794	Dead
Betty		1795	Dead
Fanny	Nancy	April 1796	
Sally	Abby	January 16, 1808	
Milly	Judy	1819	given to Hugh
Caroline	Fanny	March 3, 1821	Sarah
Mary	Judy	March 6, 1821	
Becca	Winnie	May 28, 1822	
Betsy	Winnie	February 24, 1824	Matilda
Margaret	Fanny	April 1824	Cornelius - sold and bought in [blank]
Maria	Judy	February 15, 1825	
Lucy	Winnie	June 12, 1825	
Frances	Fanny	December 13, 1826	
Jane	Sally	March 20, 1830	Dead
Martha	Sally	March 16, 1832	
Leah	Sibby (?)		both dead
Emily	Judy	May 13, 1834	
Louisa	Sally	July 17, 1834	
Hannah	Sally	1836	
Elizabeth	Sally	March 3, 1825	Dead
Isaac	Sally	April 1842	

Appendix C: Hite Family Slaves

Slave's Name	Mother's Name	When Born	Comments
Winnie	Jenny	January 18, 1843	Sold
James Henry	Peggy	June 29, 1843	
Judy	Sally	May 13, 1834	
Emily	Maria	September 11, 1844	
Sophia	Sally	April 8, 1846	
Amanda	Maria	January 28, 1847	Dead
Nancy	Peggy	February 23, 1847	
Catharine	Sally	January 7, 1848	
Willie	Maria	August 31, 1848	
Ophelia	Sally	June 23, 1849	Dead
Frank	Peggy	June 24, 1849	
Martha	Sally	February 1841	
Ann Eliza	Maria	January 25, 1850	
Frank		1767	bought from George Hite
Reuben	Susane	January 5, 1771	
Frederick		1775	bought from Booth
Job		September 18, 1781	bought from Holmes
Nibbia	Lena		
Benjamin	Lizzie	August 7, 1786	Twin
Franklin	Lizzie	August 7, 1786	Twin
Charles	Judah	July 17, 1786	
Sam	Milly	1787	
Anthony	Milly	1789	
Bill		January 23, 1792	
Jerry	Abba	February 9, 1800	
Jim	Mary	1805	
Carter	Sarah	August 8, 1806	Hay
Marcus	Judah	August 1, 1817	
Robert	Fanny	February 9, 1819	
Franklin	Nancy	February 27, 1822	
Matty	Judah	September 1, 1827	
James	Louisa	May 5, 1829	
Elias	Judah	January 4, 1832	
Washington	Jenny	September 15, 1834	

Source: Isaac Hite's Commonplace Book 1776-1859.

Table 16:
Isaac Hite Jr.'s Appraisal, 1/16-17/1837

Name	Gender	Age	Value	Special Skills
Frank Thornton	Male	69	\$0	---
Frederick	Male	60	\$0	---
Reuben	Male	65	\$0	---
Jeb	Male	61	\$50	---
Webber	Male	55	\$300	---
Sam	Male	49	\$300	---
Anthony	Male	47	\$300	---
Jerry	Male	36	\$500	---
Jim	Male	35	\$1,000	Blacksmith
Carter	Male	30	\$350	Blacksmith
Frank Jennings	Male	50	\$250	---
Ben	Male	50	\$200	---
Bill	Male	44	\$400	---
Manuel	Male	21	\$1,000	---
Marcus	Male	18	\$1,000	---
Robert	Male	17	\$1,000	---
Franklin	Male	14	\$600	---
Westly	Male	9	\$600	---
Jim or James	Male	7	\$450	---
Elias	Male	6	\$450	---
Elijah	Male	4	\$300	---
Frank	Male	7	\$600	---
Washington	Male	2	\$200	---
Charles	Male	50	\$350	---
Abby	Female	67	\$0	---
Priscilla	Female	58	\$0	---
Nelly	Female	62	\$0	---
Hannah	Female	63	\$0	---
Nancy	Female	59	\$50	---
Fanny	Female	40	\$250	---
Truelove	Female	53	\$100	---
Betty	Female	41	\$300	---
Sully	Female	28	\$250	---
Milly	Female	17	\$750	---
Mary	Female	15	\$100	---
Betsy	Female	12	\$750	---
Margaret/Peggy	Female	12	\$600	---
Francis	Female	10	\$500	---
Lucy	Female	11	\$500	---
Elizabeth	Female	8	\$500	---
Nana	Female	11	\$600	---
Emily	Female	2	\$150	---
Louisa	Female	2	\$150	---
Hannah	Female	1	\$100	---

Source: Frederick County Will Book 19:433-434.

**Table 17:
Frederick County Slave Schedules, 1850**

	Gender	Age	Color
Ann M. Hite	Male	7	Black
	Male	8	Black
	Male	50	Black
	Male	6	Mulatto
	Male	83	Mulatto
	Male	18	Mulatto
	Male	20	Mulatto
	Male	21	Mulatto
	Male	64	Mulatto
	Male	49	Mulatto
	Male	6	Mulatto
	Male	4	Mulatto
	Male	3	Mulatto
	Male	2	Mulatto
	Male	2	Mulatto
	Male	1	Mulatto
	Male	10	Mulatto
	Male	44	Mulatto
	Female	54	Mulatto
	Female	29	Mulatto
	Female	36	Mulatto
	Female	24	Mulatto
	Female	25	Mulatto
	Female	50	Mulatto
	Female	67	Black
	Female	71	Black
Isaac F. Hite	Male	55	Black
	Male	50	Black
	Female	47	Mulatto
	Female	27	Mulatto
	Male	22	Mulatto
	Male	18	Mulatto
	Male	16	Mulatto
	Male	14	Mulatto
	Male	11	Mulatto
	Female	21	Black
	Female	4	Black
	Male	40	Black
	Female	21	Mulatto
	Male	19	Black
	Male	43	Black
	Female	6	Mulatto

Source: Frederick County Slave Schedules, 1850.