

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

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

 x New Submission Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

African American Rural Home Sites in Washington, DC, 1865-1900

B. Associated Historic Contexts

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

African Americans in DC during the Civil War (1861-1865)

African Americans in DC during the Reconstruction Era (1865-1900)

The Establishment of Rock Creek Park and the Associated Records (1890-1900)

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D. Certification

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

Signature of certifying official	Title	Date of Action
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State or Federal Agency or Tribal Government

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

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

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

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E. Statement of Historic Contexts

1. Introduction

This Multiple Property Documentation Form (MDPF) establishes a historic context, proposed research questions, resource typology, and associated registration requirements for the evaluation of African American Rural Home Sites in Washington, District of Columbia (DC), dating from 1865-1900. This document pertains to the 68.3 square miles that comprise the District of Columbia but focuses on the approximately 1,755-acre Rock Creek Park (U.S. Reservation 339) as well as 99 smaller Federal land reservations that are also part of Rock Creek Park, including Glover-Archbold Park, Palisades Park, Meridian Hill Park, and Forts Totten, Stevens, and Reno, all of which are located in the northern and western parts of the District.

From the outset of the Civil War, thousands of enslaved African Americans sought freedom within the boundaries of DC, adding to what had been a large antebellum free African American population in Washington and increasing the African American share of the local population in the decades after the war. These families sought to establish homes, livelihoods, and communities in DC during the Reconstruction era, but for various reasons many of these communities have “vanished from the national memory, from the landscape and from historiographies.”¹ Real estate practices, planning policies, forced displacement, and the continual expansion and re-building of DC up to the present day have reduced the visible evidence of this post-war population and largely restricted archeological investigation to park lands and scant open areas where subsequent development never occurred. Rock Creek Park is a National Park Service unit within DC where the presence of an African American population after the Civil War has come to light through archeology and research of documentary records kept by Rock Creek Park Commissioners in the 1890s. Together, these sources have revealed small domestic sites occupied by Black tenants or owners dating to the period 1865-1900 that have local or regional significance. Three home sites in Rock Creek Park are nominated separately under this Multiple Property Documentation Form: The Sarah Whitby Site (51NW185), the Charles Dickson Site (51NW198), and the Jane Dickson Site (51NW183) (Figure 1).

2. Historic Narrative

a. African Americans in DC before the Civil War (1790s-1861)

Washington, DC, was established in 1790 as a slave-holding district firmly seated between two slave-holding states. In the early 1800s, the federal city’s Baroque planning and monumental, Neoclassical edifices showcased an optimism about the newly forged nation alongside the atrocity of an economy built on enslaved labor. As Asch and Musgrove explain in their book, *Chocolate City: A History of Race and Democracy in the Nation’s Capital*, the popular quip that Washington was built on a swamp erases the history of enslaved labor on the land.² Before Washington City was carefully designed by Pierre L’Enfant, the land was farm country in which rolling hills were dotted with large plantations owned by enslavers whose wealth depended on the labor of enslaved people. With the passage of the Residence Act in 1790, the nation’s capital officially moved from New York City to Philadelphia for ten years, and then to the newly built capital city in 1800. In that year, nearly a quarter of the

¹ Janifer LaRoche and Patsy Fletcher, *Historic Resource Study: Reconstruction and the Early Civil Rights movement in the National Capital Area*, Report prepared by the Organization of American Historians in cooperation with the National Park Service, Division of Cultural Resources, Resource Stewardship and Science, National Capital Area – Region 1 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2021), 182.

² Chris Myers Asch and George Derek Musgrove, *Chocolate City: A History of Race and Democracy in the Nation’s Capital* (The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 2017): 22.

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city's approximately 8,000 residents were enslaved. Most of the first twelve presidents utilized enslaved labor to run the White House.

Enslaved laborers were hired from their enslavers to build monumental projects like the Capitol and the White House as well as to dig the C&O Canal (beginning in the late 1820s). However, because white laborers resented working alongside enslaved workers, employers gradually lessened hiring enslaved labor for construction projects. Within the City of Washington, enslavement was associated largely with domestic service. Enslaved women outnumbered men two to one by the 1850s, and commonly lived apart from their kinsmen who worked on farms in the surrounding countryside, including rural sections of the District.³ Washington also became a hub for the slave trade by virtue of its location between the lower and upper South and its proximity to rail and water transportation. By the 1830s, Washington had one of the largest slave trading markets in the country, with holding pens and hotels and taverns used for slave auctions occupying ground now dignified by the National Mall. Through the efforts of abolitionists, slave markets eventually were ousted from DC in 1850, but the business just shifted south to the thriving markets of Alexandria, Virginia, which had retroceded from the District in 1848.

Nevertheless, a growing free Black population took root in the District in the early nineteenth century, surpassing enslaved Blacks in number by the 1830s. As the tobacco economies of Maryland and Virginia began to falter in the early nineteenth century, planters had less need of large numbers of enslaved laborers and reduced their work forces through the interstate slave trade, manumission, self-purchase agreements, or sale to free Black family members. Enslaved African Americans also contested slaveholder wills and successfully sued for their own freedom. At least three members of Maryland's Butler family won their freedom in this way.⁴ Virginia's manumission law gave freed slaves one year to leave the state, forcing them to migrate. Washington was a likely destination.⁵ By 1850, 73% of all Black residents of DC were free. By 1860, 14,316 African Americans lived in the District, 77% of whom were free.⁶

Free African Americans in Washington formed communities and established their own churches, benevolent societies, and schools. Free Black men and women worked as laundresses, waiters, drivers, construction workers, cleaners, nannies, teachers, and entrepreneurs. Despite the resistance and discomfort of white Washingtonians, the free Black population of Washington, DC, sowed the seeds for one of the wealthiest, most educated, and thriving Black communities in America at the turn of the twentieth century, concentrated in what is now known as the U Street Corridor and Shaw sections of the city. Free Blacks lived not only in the more-closely circumscribed City of Washington and in Georgetown, but in outlying sections of the District as well, such as the sparsely populated rural section west of Rock Creek. As one example from that vicinity, the 1850 census shows that Thomas and John Hebburn (Hepburn) both identified as laborers who had been born in Maryland, and each owned real estate on Milkhouse Ford Road, now part of the Chevy Chase neighborhood. Shown on Boschke's map of 1861, the small tract of "J. & T. Hepburn" stood opposite the much larger lands of white farmers Enoch

³ Mary Beth Corrigan, "Imaginary Cruelties? A History of the Slave Trade in Washington, DC," *Washington History* 13 (Fall/Winter 2001/2002): 7.

⁴ William G. Thomas, *A Question of Freedom: The Families Who Challenged Slavery from the Nation's Founding to the Civil War*. (Yale University Press, New Haven. 2020): 46; Archives of Maryland, Biographical Series "Irish Nell Bulter," 2011. <https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5400/sc5496/000500/000534/html/00534bio.html>. (accessed April 10, 2022).

⁵ Chandra Manning, "Washington, DC's Contraband History," Draft report prepared by Chandra Manning in cooperation with the National Park Service and the Organization of American Historians, 2020, 8.

⁶ Manning, 7.

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and Notley Moreland.⁷ The small tract became the nucleus of a rural Black enclave that emerged there after the Civil War, a pattern that occurred elsewhere in the District as well.⁸

Whether enslaved or free, African Americans in Washington were vulnerable constantly. Burdensome Black Codes required free African Americans to always carry proof of their free status, limited the number of Black people who could assemble in one place, and imposed curfews.⁹ Free Blacks were kidnapped frequently and sold into slavery or subjected to other forms of white violence and property damage. Those who were enslaved feared being sold south, where the expansion of cotton as the principal cash crop created demand for more enslaved workers.¹⁰ The lives of enslaved Washingtonians were very different from the lives of those enslaved on rural plantations, however, in several ways. As Asch and Musgrove explain: “On rural plantations, slave owners had almost dictatorial power and could treat their slaves as they pleased; in the city, they had to submit to local authorities, as well as the unwritten pressure exerted by their neighbors’ opinions.”¹¹ The life of an enslaved person in the city was often more independent than that of a rural counterpart, and enslaved people were permitted to live apart from their enslavers and hire out their services to other parties with their permission.¹² In the city, enslaved men and women had greater autonomy as well as a larger network of friends and family, which resulted in greater access to information. Most significantly, enslaved Washingtonians could commune with the free Black residents in the District. Still, families frequently were separated by enslavers who placed their own economic interests above enslaved people’s family attachments. Enslavers who bragged about treating their enslaved servants well also would sell enslaved children to the South, sundering them from their parents, without a second thought. Those sold to other plantations or enslavers would find themselves suddenly chained and tied with ropes, sometimes with a cuff around their neck, to be transported to a new home without warning. Being separated from one’s family in this way was so traumatizing that enslaved persons went to great lengths to avoid it. There are several accounts of women jumping from the third floor of a building, slitting their own throats, or cutting off a limb to avoid being sold farther away from their children.¹³

b. African Americans in DC during the Civil War (1861-1865)

On May 23, 1861, General Benjamin Butler, commanding Union officer at Fort Monroe in Virginia, responded to the petition of three enslaved men seeking refuge. He reasoned that the enslaved men, who were building Confederate fortifications and whose enslaver intended to send them to North Carolina to do the same there, were abetting the enemy and thereby could be confiscated as war “contraband.” This designation allowed Butler to refuse their Confederate enslaver’s request to return them under the terms of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act. Since Butler did not recognize the legitimacy of people as property, the three men effectively were released from chattel bondage, setting a precedent that spread throughout Union defenses and leading to the widespread use of the term “contrabands” to describe self-liberating people escaping to freedom.¹⁴ Enslaved people flooded into the capital seeking refuge and liberation from slavery. Confiscation Acts passed by Congress in 1861 and 1862 further supported this means of escape from bondage. Nearly half a million self-liberated men, women, and children fled

⁷ A. Boschke, *Topographical Map of the District of Columbia* (D. McClelland, Blanchard & Mohun, Washington, D.C., 1861).

⁸ LaRoche and Fletcher, *Historic Resource Study*, 129-31.

⁹ Manning, 9.

¹⁰ Damani Davis, “Slavery and Emancipation in the Nation’s Capital: Using Federal Records to Explore the Lives of African American Ancestors. *Genealogy Notes* 42 (Spring 2010), <https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2010/spring/dcslavery.html> (accessed March 09, 2021).

¹¹ Asch and Musgrove, 29.

¹² Washington Bar Association, *The Slavery Code of the District of Columbia: with Notes and Judicial Decisions Explanatory of the Same* (Washington, D.C.: L. Towers & Company, 1862), <https://www.loc.gov/item/08006783/>.

¹³ Asch and Musgrove, 32.

¹⁴ Manning, 15; LaRoche and Fletcher, *Historic Resource Study*, 46.

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to Union lines throughout the war, creating contraband camps wherever the Union Army encamped. When Congress passed the Compensated Emancipation Act on April 16, 1862, which abolished slavery in the District, roughly 3,200 enslaved Washingtonians were freed and the capital city became a symbol of liberation for those seeking to escape slavery.¹⁵ Historians describe the date as a joyous day in the District, during which the local Black communities celebrated the event with a parade.¹⁶ Enslaved people across Virginia and Maryland, as well as origination points farther south, poured into the District—some 40,000 before the war was over.¹⁷

However, life in DC was not without risk and restrictions. Although slavery was outlawed in DC, Congress did not repeal the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act until 1864. Prior to that time, anyone could return escapees to their enslavers. Bounty hunters profited from this loophole.¹⁸ Also, additional Black Codes were passed by the City of Washington that restricted the types of jobs Blacks could have, where they could live, shop, and eat, and when they could move around the city.¹⁹

Self-liberated African Americans came to Washington with no money, food, or shelter. Some 4,200 arrived by the fall of 1862, quickly overwhelming the private resources of free Blacks in Washington and leading to a humanitarian crisis. There was some demand for unskilled labor, so some self-liberated men and women could find work, but their living conditions were abhorrent due to the exorbitant cost of living in the city, and the municipal government refused to pledge resources to help.²⁰ Initially, refugees crowded into jail cells at the city jail and the Old Capitol Prison, into tenements such as Duff Green's Row, and even into stables and tents. Former army barracks at Camp Barker near present-day Logan Circle were converted into one of the largest contraband camps in the District. As their numbers grew, most self-liberators passed through one of a dozen contraband camps that developed around DC, including near present-day Brightwood, on Analostan (now Theodore Roosevelt) Island, in Dupont Circle, and in Adams Morgan. Many of them subsequently dispersed into Washington's growing supply of crowded alley housing.²¹ The unsanitary conditions in the camps combined with inadequate and contaminated water supplies fostered the outbreak of deadly diseases, such as smallpox, typhoid, and pneumonia.²²

A new contraband department established within the Quartermaster Department of the U.S. Army provided rations, accommodations, and hospital access to self-liberators in exchange for employment with the federal government or with the U.S. Army, which hired men to build the ring of forts surrounding the city. The federal government was the largest employer of both free Blacks and formerly enslaved people during the Civil War.²³ Freedmen labored in the fields, hauled goods, drove mule teams, cut wood, dug ditches, and worked on docks

¹⁵ Manning, 17-18.

¹⁶ C.R. Gibbs, "DC Emancipation Day: A Historical Overview of DC Emancipation," <https://emancipation.dc.gov/node/105922> (accessed March 09, 2021).

¹⁷ Manning, 19.

¹⁸ Sarah Fling, "Washington, DC's 'Contraband' Camps," The White House Historical Association, July 20, 2020, <https://www.whitehousehistory.org/washington-d-c-s-contraband-camps#:~:text=By%20calling%20runaway%20enslaved%20men,from%20Confederate%20to%20Union%20property> (accessed March 09, 2021).

¹⁹ Manning, 9.

²⁰ Asch and Musgrove, 44-45.

²¹ Janifer LaRoche and Patsy M. Fletcher, *Thematic Framework for the History of Civil Rights in the National Capital Area*. Report prepared by the Organization of American Historians in cooperation with the National Park Service, Division of Cultural Resources, Resource Stewardship and Science, National Capital Area – Region 1 (Washington, DC: National Park Service. 2021), 70.

²² Fling.

²³ Brian Taylor, "On the Fort": *The Fort Reno Community of Washington, DC, 1861-1951*. Report prepared for the National Capital Area under a cooperative agreement between the Organization of American Historians and the National Park Service. (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2021), 14.

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and defenses. Several men enlisted in the Navy, or (after 1863) the Army. Some were sent to former Confederate farmlands in Northern Virginia where they were expected to labor on the farms, a task strongly reminiscent of their enslavement. Women worked as laundresses, cooks, or nurses. Both men and women worked in the hospitals that proliferated in the city during the war.²⁴ Some contraband camps laid the roots for Black communities that would continue in later decades, especially near Camp Barker in the current U Street Corridor, where Howard University was founded in 1867, and in Alexandria, VA.²⁵

African American churches, Quaker groups, and benevolent organizations in the North provided aid to the self-liberated men, women, and children in DC, and wholly new organizations sprang up to provide for basic needs as well as legal aid and education.²⁶ By the onset of the Civil War, 45% of free Black children in DC had attended private schools formed by African American communities. Obtaining education was of paramount importance to the newly arrived freedpeople, and schools quickly sprang up in the camps and in church basements. In Alexandria, a school for self-liberators was opened on September 1, 1861. At Camp Barker, a school was established in July 1862 with day school for children and night school for adults.²⁷ The physical plight of the refugees was improved by donations from a variety of sources, including the intervention of Elizabeth Hobbs Keckley, a woman who bought her own freedom and became Mary Todd Lincoln's dressmaker and friend. Keckley formed the Contraband Relief Association to raise funds to provide clothing, food, and bedding to people in the camps within the capital. Keckley acquired donations throughout the war from the Lincolns as well as other notable leaders, such as Frederick Douglass.²⁸

When the Civil War began, Washington, DC was poorly defended. Major General George B. McClellan, the commander of federal troops for the military district containing Washington, appointed Major John G. Barnard of the Corps of Engineers to design and build a fort system that would encircle the entire city. He sited the forts, the principal features of the system, on high ground at principal roadways, railroads, waterways, and fords crossing the Potomac River. When completed, the city's defenses totaled 68 forts and 93 batteries connected by over 20 miles of rifle trenches, making Washington the most heavily fortified city in the nation.²⁹ Contraband encampments appeared at many of these fortifications and contraband labor was employed in their construction, but few of these temporary encampments evolved into lasting African American communities.³⁰

Construction of the fort system had a profound impact upon the physical character of the northern portion of what is now Rock Creek Park. The Boschke map of 1861 shows this area was predominantly rural. What later became the northern half of the park was heavily wooded at that time but also contained sporadic, clustered pockets of land cleared for agriculture (Figure 2). Fort DeRussy and Battery Kingsbury were built to defend Rock Creek and Milkhouse Ford Road. Providing infantry with clear fields of view and ability to open fire required extensive tree removal in front of these (and other) defenses. By 1864, land had been cleared for distances greater than one mile. An 1864 War Department map (Figure 3) shows a treeless, barren landscape between today's Georgia and Oregon avenues, with hundreds of tree stumps providing a visual reminder of where dense woodlands previously stood. The U.S. Army also constructed a road linking the forts that defended the northern portions of the District. This Military Road (still known by that name today) extended east to west across Rock Creek Valley just south of Fort

²⁴ Manning, 22-23.

²⁵ Manning, 4.

²⁶ Manning, 24-25.

²⁷ LaRoche and Fletcher, *Historic Resource Study*, 189; Manning 26-27, 39.

²⁸ Fling.

²⁹ Benjamin Franklin Cooling, III, and Walton H. Owen, II, *Mr. Lincoln's Forts: A Guide to the Civil War Defenses of Washington* (Shippensburg, Pennsylvania: White Main Publishing Company, 1988), xi. National Park Service, "Scalable GIS Mapping for Rock Creek Park, Washington, DC," On file, Washington, DC: National Park Service, National Capital Region, 2003.

³⁰ Manning, 3.

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DeRussy, providing another crossing of the creek. The federal government hired teams of laborers, carpenters, teamsters, and blacksmiths to clear woodlands and build the fortification system, many of whom were freedmen who had flooded the District after war broke out.

Documentary research on the vicinity of Battery Kemble, located about three miles southwest of Fort DeRussy, suggests that contraband encampments near Rock Creek Park, as well as elsewhere in the District, may have led to the presence of Black settlements in those locations in later decades. The Army constructed Battery Kemble as the primary defensive point guarding Chain Bridge Road, which used the Chain Bridge (built in 1797) to cross the Potomac River. The road intersected with the Georgetown/Rockville Pike and with roads to Alexandria. The Chain Bridge was of vital importance during the Civil War as it was one of three Potomac River crossings from Virginia into DC. To prevent any enemy force from using this crossing, the Army constructed the battery on a bluff overlooking the bridge.

Oral tradition suggests that formerly enslaved people squatted on and farmed the base of the hill below Battery Kemble. The Boschke map of 1861 shows only the houses of W. Murdock and W. Maddox in that area (Murdock's estate was located west of Chain Bridge Road) (Figure 4). In the G.M. Hopkins 1878 *Atlas of 15 Miles Around Washington*, this landscape is mapped as cleared with about 15 dwellings located east of Murdock's former property that were not there in 1861.³¹ Among the people identified at this location by Hopkins are William Peters, John Sephes, Daniel Cusberd, Jacob Hayes, and [Americus] Blackwood (Figure 5). Census records for 1880 note five individuals with the same or similar names as neighbors. All are identified as either "Black" or "mulatto," all were living at the time of the Civil War, and almost all came from slave-holding states (Table 1). Given their age, race, and origin, some of these people were probably freedmen who had migrated to Washington either during or immediately after the war, especially those born in South and North Carolina.

TABLE 1: AFRICAN AMERICANS LIVING NEAR BATTERY KEMBLE IN 1880

Name	Age	Race	Occupation	Place of Birth
Americus Blackwell (Blackwood)	27	Black	Laborer	Virginia
William Peters	36	Mulatto	Laborer	District of Columbia
Jacob Hayes	55	Black	Carpenter	North Carolina
Daniel Cuthbert (Cusberd)	50	Black	Cook	South Carolina
John Cefus (Sephes)	29	Black	Gardening	Maryland

Source: 1880 U.S. Population Census, District of Columbia, and Enumeration District L31

The Rock Creek defenses were put to use from July 11-12, 1864, during the Battle of Fort Stevens, which transpired across ground now partially encompassed within Rock Creek Park above Military Road. Confederate forces under the command of Lieutenant General Jubal Early advanced on Washington, weakly defended at the time because General Grant had stripped the garrisons to reinforce his armies in Virginia. On their way to Washington, Early's troops defeated a small Union force at the Monocacy River. This battle created enough of a delay that Grant was able to send troops of the 6th and 19th Corps to reinforce the city's defenses. The Confederates arrived at Fort Stevens on July 11th and spent the day probing the Union's defenses, searching for weak spots around the forts. They engaged in small skirmishes and occasional artillery fire. On July 12th, Confederate sharpshooters kept Forts DeRussy and Stevens under heavy fire. Union forces attempted to drive them back, out of range, but advanced only a few hundred yards before the attack was halted. North of Fort DeRussy, Confederate forces had occupied the Claggett farmstead. They were attacked by Gile's Reserve Corps, who were unsuccessful in driving them out. However, they did force another Confederate regiment out into the

³¹ G.M. Hopkins, *Atlas of 15 Miles Around Washington* (Philadelphia, 1878), <https://www.loc.gov/item/87675339/>.

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open as they attempted to reinforce the men at the Claggett farm, which allowed the guns at the fort to attack and drive them back. Early decided the next day to retreat to Virginia, finding the resistance at the forts too tough to overcome. They left during the night, and the Battle of Fort Stevens was over in one day.

At the end of the Civil War, the nation was reeling as the centuries-old economic order had been upturned. The war had resulted in immense loss of life, wide-scale destruction of cities and towns, and deep divisions between peoples in the North and South. Amidst this backdrop, four million newly-freed people needed help transitioning from enslavement to citizenship. In March 1865, Congress created the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (otherwise known as the Freedmen's Bureau) to assist freedpeople as well as rebuild the economies in impoverished southern states. According to the National Museum of African American History and Culture (NMAAHC),

the Bureau provided food, clothing, medical care, and legal representation; promoted education; helped legalize marriages; and assisted African American soldiers and sailors in securing back pay, enlistment bounties and pensions. In addition, the Bureau promoted a system of labor contracts to replace the slavery system and tried to settle freedmen and women on abandoned or confiscated land. The Bureau was also responsible for protecting freedmen and women from intimidation and assaults by Southern whites.³²

The Bureau operated through 1872, and while it had some successes, it is generally considered to have failed in its mission to assist newly formed Black communities. The Freedmen's Bureau played a significant role in housing self-liberators as well as in establishing the Barry Farms and Hillsdale African American communities in southeastern DC. But many freedpeople created their own communities independent of the Freedmen's Bureau.

c. African Americans in DC during the Reconstruction Era (1865-1900)

"Reconstruction" was a term used in the late 1800s to describe the shared national effort to recover from the Civil War. It had, broadly, two themes: physical rebuilding and the creation of new governments across the South, supported by martial law, that would fully incorporate African Americans into civic life. Important themes included access to education, a change in the paradigms of agricultural labor, population shifts, and voting rights. Key pieces of legislation that held promise to African Americans included the 13th Amendment, ratified in 1865, abolishing slavery and involuntary servitude; the Civil Rights Act of 1866, guaranteeing equal rights in the courts, property, and contracts; the Reconstruction Acts of 1867-1870, providing for political participation of Black men in southern states; the 14th Amendment, ratified in 1868, requiring equal protection under the law; the 15th Amendment, ratified in 1870, securing voting rights to Black adult male citizens; and the Civil Rights Act of 1875 that protected voting rights and ensured equal public accommodations. Nevertheless, this period was marked by conflict between African Americans (initially protected by the federal government and the Army) and southern whites determined to retain their privileged status. The end of military Reconstruction came with Compromise of 1877, which withdrew federal troops from the South and opened the door to segregation, discrimination, and the erosion of Black civil rights. In 1883, the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was struck down, and in 1896, the decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* sustained the constitutionality of state-imposed racial segregation, ushering in the Jim Crow era.³³

Because Congress had direct legislative control over the District of Columbia, Washington held a unique status during the Reconstruction era—as it had during the Civil War—as a place where new policies and legislation

³² National Museum of African-American History, Freedmen's Bureau Digital Collection, Smithsonian Institution, Smithsonian Online Virtual Archive, https://nmaahc.si.edu/object/sova_nmaahc.fb (accessed May 20, 2021).

³³ For a summary of Reconstruction legislation, see LaRoche and Fletcher, *Historic Resource Study*, 46-65.

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were field-tested and where enfranchised Blacks continually pushed federal officials for civil rights.³⁴ As early as 1863, following the agitation of Black soldiers, congressional influence banned discrimination against Black riders on railroad cars and streetcars. In 1867, Congress passed legislation (overriding President Andrew Johnson's veto) that provided suffrage to Black men in DC elections—the first law in the U.S. to grant voting rights to African American men.³⁵ Two subsequent events represent an intent by white political elites to disenfranchise Black voters, whose impact on local politics was growing. In 1871, DC was transformed by Congress into a federal territory governed by appointed officials alongside an elected local House of Delegates and a nonvoting representative in the U.S. House of Representatives. By 1874, even these elective offices were swept away by Congress, which placed the District under the authority of three commissioners appointed by the President.³⁶

Across the southern states occupied by the U.S. Army, the question of what kind of agricultural system would replace plantations reliant upon enslaved labor was paramount. After Union troops occupied Charleston, South Carolina, in late 1864, a large swath of plantation country fell under their control, most of the white landowners having fled. The War Department ordered General William T. Sherman to meet with African American leaders in the region to ascertain how they wanted to handle the situation. Many freedpeople wanted their own land that they could farm for themselves. One meeting was held on January 12, 1865, during which the Reverend Garrison Frazier answered questions posed by Sherman's staff according to an account published in several newspapers:

Question: State in what manner you think you can take care of yourselves, and how can you best assist the Government in maintaining your freedom.

Brother Frazier: The way we can best take care of ourselves is to have land, and turn it and till it by our own labor—that is, by the labor of the women and children and old men; and we can soon maintain ourselves and have something to spare. And to assist the Government, the young men should enlist in the service of the Government, and serve in such manner as they may be wanted. (The Rebels told us that they piled them up and made batteries of them, and sold them to Cuba; but we don't believe that.) We want to be placed on land until we are able to buy it and make it our own.

Question: State in what manner you would rather live—whether scattered among the whites or in colonies by yourselves.

Brother Frazier: I would prefer to live by ourselves, for there is a prejudice against us in the South that will take years to get over; but I do not know that I can answer for my brethren.³⁷

These two desires – to own land and to live in self-sustaining communities – recur in accounts by and about African Americans in this period. One expression of this idea in Washington, DC, was the development of Barry Farm (later known as Hillside) in Anacostia. The Freedmen's Bureau purchased the 375-acre tract from James Barry's heirs in 1868 as a place to settle some of the estimated 40,000 individuals who had sought refuge in DC.³⁸ The land was divided into one-acre lots and sold along with enough lumber and supplies to create a two-room

³⁴ LaRoche and Fletcher, *Historic Resource Study*, 51.

³⁵ LaRoche and Fletcher, *Historic Resource Study*, 50.

³⁶ LaRoche and Fletcher, *Historic Resource Study*, 74-77.

³⁷ "Negroes of Savannah," *New-York Daily Tribune* (February 13, 1865), in "Meeting between Black Religious Leaders and Union Military Authorities," Consolidated Correspondence File, series 225, Central Records, Quartermaster General, Record Group 92, National Archives, Washington, DC.

³⁸ National Park Service, "Living Contraband – Former Slaves in the Nation's Capital During the Civil War," Civil War Defenses of Washington, <https://www.nps.gov/articles/living-contraband-former-slaves-in-the-nation-s-capital-during-the-civil-war.htm> (accessed March 9, 2021).

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house. Many residents planted gardens or fruit trees on their properties. Isolated from the rest of the city and its services, Barry Farm residents became a strong, united community that banded together to build schools, churches, and infrastructure.³⁹ Barry Farm played an integral role in the development of postbellum African American civil and cultural life in the District and was the nexus of civil rights movements to desegregate DC schools. However, by the end of the twentieth century, Hillside suffered from neglected, dangerous, underfunded, and overcrowded public housing, endemic poverty, and high rates of violence, largely thanks to the urban renewal efforts of the late twentieth century and racialized policing. The area is currently being redeveloped through both private and public developments, inciting a great deal of controversy over the displacement of residents.

Innumerable Black settlements arose through the private and collective efforts of African Americans building upon the existing infrastructure and institutions of free Blacks in the District.⁴⁰ Washington's Black population rose from 14,316 in 1860 (accounting for 20% of the total population) to 43,404 in 1870 (accounting for 33% of the total population), and then doubled again by 1900 (when the Black share of the total population remained about the same). Most Black self-liberators and migrants entering the District preferred to settle in or near the built-up portions of the city, rather than in outlying rural environs, greatly expanding the pattern of low-quality alley housing distinctive to Washington. According to one account, 81% of Washington's Black population lived in alleys in the 1870s.⁴¹ The experience of John Brent offers a contrasting example. Born into slavery, Brent earned enough money to purchase his own freedom in 1840, and subsequently that of his wife and father. He eventually built houses south of Dupont Circle and held real estate valued at \$4,000 by 1870. He took in boarders, owned businesses, and helped found at least two churches, becoming a leader in his community.⁴² Brent's entrepreneurial spirit, like that of so many African Americans, was focused on building wealth through real estate and giving his children wider opportunities. His son, Calvin Brent, was working as a draughtsman by the late 1870s and became the first self-identified Black architect in Washington.⁴³

Blacks in DC were intent on owning property, employing the same determination that earlier had enabled many of them to set aside money to buy their own freedom—and they purchased not just their homes but the land on which their institutions were built.⁴⁴ Churches were the earliest institutions in which African Americans exercised independent agency in DC, beginning in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.⁴⁵ Churches and schools were core elements in the building of Black communities during Reconstruction, providing structures for connection and mutual support. The two spheres often overlapped, with early schools established in church basements and churches becoming sources of communication, political activism, community organization, and the founding of benevolent associations.⁴⁶ Black churches were among the institutions that stepped in early to help self-liberators, and newcomers sought to organize new congregations during the war, such as Shiloh Baptist Church, near Lafayette Square, which was founded by self-liberators from Fredericksburg, Virginia, in 1862.⁴⁷ Congress allotted funds for Black public schools in DC in 1864. At the same time, churches and benevolent organizations also continued to promote education through the construction of schools. The first purpose-built public school for Black children opened in 1865, and three more soon opened to serve the neighborhood growing adjacent to Camp

³⁹ Sarah Shoenfield, "The history and evolution of Anacostia's Barry Farm," DC Policy Center, last updated 2019, <https://www.dcpolicycenter.org/publications/barry-farm-anacostia-history/> (accessed May 20, 2021).

⁴⁰ LaRoche and Fletcher, *Historic Resource Study*, 122.

⁴¹ Cited in LaRoche & Fletcher, *Historic Resource Study*, 124.

⁴² LaRoche & Fletcher, *Historic Resource Study*, 131.

⁴³ LaRoche & Fletcher, *Historic Resource Study*, 131-132.

⁴⁴ LaRoche & Fletcher, *Historic Resource Study*, 122.

⁴⁵ LaRoche & Fletcher, *Historic Resource Study*, 238.

⁴⁶ LaRoche & Fletcher, *Historic Resource Study*, 236-38.

⁴⁷ Manning, 48.

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Barker. By the 1867-68 school year, approximately 40 schools for Black children were spread across the District.⁴⁸ Congress chartered Howard University in 1867, partly to educate more teachers, further anchoring the U-Street Corridor near Camp Barker as a growing center of Black culture and political life in DC. Freedman's Hospital, which had been established at Camp Barker, became connected with Howard University's medical school a few years later.

In contrast to developments in and near the District's urban core, the northwest section of Washington remained rural and sparsely populated through the 19th century. In 1870, the outlying area north of Georgetown and west of the 7th Street Turnpike had a total population of 2,811, of whom 1,274 were Black.⁴⁹ Here, as in many other outlying areas, African American communities (often small enclaves) developed organically along rural roads. Many of these unincorporated, rural African American communities had their origin in a small amount of acreage acquired by an initial African American who had accumulated sufficient capital to buy land. This buyer then subdivided lots or rented home sites, drawing other African Americans to the area who might be "connected by kinship (consanguine, affinal, and fictive), church, and work ties."⁵⁰ David S. Rotenstein has observed that these communities developed as "both a product of segregation imposed by whites and a space of independent agency by the Blacks who lived there."⁵¹ Property ownership allowed some Black residents a measure of economic independence by providing the opportunity to grow food or crops. Yet working as unskilled labor made it hard for most African Americans to amass enough capital to acquire land, making them reliant on tenant farming or sharecropping in rural areas. Tenants paid their rent with cash or crops, or a combination of both. Tenancy offered marginally more stability and independence than the practice of sharecropping, in which sharecroppers were completely reliant on the success of their crop to pay the property owner.⁵² However, tenancies often were arranged in such a way that the tenant would never be able to fully pay their rent, either in cash or crops, and thus tenant families would enter into a cycle of indebtedness to the landowner.

One form of tenancy was the so-called "house and garden" contract, which was a verbal agreement between the landowner and the prospective lessee. This type of contract was employed widely in Delaware and Pennsylvania during the nineteenth century to provide living arrangements for agricultural workers, and likely applies to similar arrangements that evolved across a much wider geographic region during Reconstruction to accommodate adequate numbers of agricultural laborers. A historic context of the St. George's Hundred African American community in Delaware describes this style of housing in the context of the rural, free Black community that developed there.⁵³ In the house and garden system, the planter had exclusive rights to the labor of the worker for a period of one to two years. In return, laborers received a small monthly stipend, a rent-free house, and a small parcel to farm for themselves. These were often located in the periphery of the estate on less desirable land or along major roads bordering farms.

In the vicinity of Rock Creek Park, three African American communities, for example, developed in close connection with each other in the late nineteenth century: one along the upper stretches of Broad Branch Road and old Rock Creek Ford Road, which has now been replaced by Military Road, one in the Reno subdivision, and

⁴⁸ Manning, 49; LaRoche and Fletcher, *Historic Resource Study*, 190-192.

⁴⁹ Figures are deduced from population tables given in LaRoche and Fletcher, *Historic Resource Study*, 396-97.

⁵⁰ David S. Rotenstein, *The River Road Moses Cemetery: A Historic Preservation Evaluation*. Report prepared for the River Road African American Community Descendants, 2018, 23.

⁵¹ Rotenstein, 6.

⁵² Sarah Janesko, "Architectural and Archeological Spaces of Tenant Farm Houses in the Late-Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Century." Unpublished paper, 2015.

⁵³ Jason Shellenhamer, John Bedell, Andrew Wilkins, and Robin Krawitz, *Historic Context: The Archeology of African American Life in St. George's Hundred, Delaware, 1770-1940, U.S. Route 301 Corridor, New Castle County, Delaware*. Report prepared for Delaware Department of Transportation by Louis Berger, 2016.

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in Maryland on River Road. Their mutual connections were strengthened through shared association with the Rock Creek Baptist Church in Reno, which was founded in 1872, and White's Tabernacle, a local benevolent organization founded in 1876.⁵⁴ The families on the DC side of the boundary also sent their children to an African American school on Grant Road (the portion later called Military Road, now Davenport Street NW in the vicinity of Linnean Avenue NW), that by one account had opened in 1866.⁵⁵

The earliest of these communities was established on Rock Creek Ford Road, just east of Broad Branch Road near the Maryland border (on the west side of present Utah Avenue NW, between Quesada and Patterson streets NW). Here, Joseph S. Belt sold nearly four acres to an African American named John Hutton around 1813. By 1836, this land had passed into the hands of John Hepburn (variously spelled Hebburn), who with his brother Thomas acquired small adjacent parcels and compiled a tract of 8 acres—a tract labeled with their names on Boschke's map of 1861.⁵⁶ The census of 1850 shows the two African American families of Thomas and Maria Hebburn [Hepburn] and John and Eliza Hebburn [Hepburn] living on the upper western reaches of what was then called Milkhouse Ford Road, across from the considerable lands of white farmers Enoch and Notley Moreland. John and Thomas each then possessed real estate worth \$150.

John Hepburn died in 1872, leaving instructions in his will for his wife, Eliza, to provide "full right and title" to certain individuals to whom he had already sold lots but not given deeds for their land: Thomas Hepburn (his brother), Ruth Ann Davis, William Briggs, Robert Dorsey, and Henry Smith. This duty prompted Eliza to commission and file a survey with the District of Columbia Surveyor's Office in 1873.⁵⁷ Hopkins' map of 1878 shows four buildings in this location that were deemed worthy of notation on the map, as well as two names: A. Davis and Elias Haben (probably Eliza Hepburn). Far more detail appears on Hopkins' map of 1887, where the tract is delineated into eleven small parcels ranging in size from less than half an acre to about 1.5 acres, denoted with the names R. A. Davis, W. Briggs, H. White, M. Frazier, T. Hepburn, L. Parker, Eliza Hepburn, [Mary] Smith, and one other that is difficult to discern. All had purchased lots from Eliza Hepburn.⁵⁸ The remaining lots may have been tenancies. In 1876, Robert Dorsey and his wife, Laura, moved just around the corner to a lot they purchased on Broad Branch Road, where another enclave began forming in the 1850s around parcels sold by George Milburn, a free African American who worked in the building trades. These owners included John Hyson and members of the Harris family.⁵⁹

In 1880, the census enumerated six households living in the former Hepburn tract, all of them African American and three with female heads of household. They included Francis Beckwith, Eliza Hepburn, Lany (a possible nickname for Ruth Ann) Davis, Marshal Frasier, Henry White, and William Briggs. The three female heads of household had all been born in Maryland; the male heads had been born in South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, attesting to significant levels of migration that had taken place either during or after the Civil War. The women were all tending house and most of the children were attending school. The men were listed as laborers (although Frasier had been listed as a "brickmoulder" in the 1870 census) and some likely worked for white farmers in the area. Francis Beckwith was probably the mother of Buck Beckwith, who lived within the Enoch Moreland household and was employed as a servant. As in many areas after the Civil War, African Americans

⁵⁴ Taylor, 36; Rotenstein, 42.

⁵⁵ Ann Kessler, "Another School Once Stood at the Site of Murch Elementary," Forest Hills Connection, January 19, 2016, <https://www.foresthillsconnection.com/style/forest-hills-history/another-school-once-stood-at-the-site-of-murch-elementary/> (accessed March 18, 2022).

⁵⁶ Rotenstein 23-24.

⁵⁷ These facts and the 1873 survey came to light in legal papers filed in 1930 to establish title to the property, as noted in Rotenstein, 23-25.

⁵⁸ Rotenstein, 27-28.

⁵⁹ Rotenstein, 30.

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continued to work for white landowners in subordinate positions, but they controlled their own labor and ownership or tenancy gave them a sense of autonomy.

By the 1890s, Hepburn's tract had been divided into 13 home sites and a small cemetery, all under Black ownership.⁶⁰ Between 1899 and 1920, however, Washington lawyer and real estate developer William Walton Edwards acquired all the former Hepburn parcels and rented them to tenants (Figure 6). In 1903, Edward H. Boose, a white man, rented a parcel from Edwards that included a six-room frame house, a barn, a couple of sheds, and the cemetery. The description offers a glimpse of the sort of building assemblage that had been established by earlier African American occupants. Once Edwards' heirs had cleared their title to the land in the 1930s, the land was sold in 1940 to a developer who subdivided it and built single-family homes. The lengthy legal proceedings needed to clear the title to this land illuminate the ways in which African Americans lost property and wealth. Ruth Ann Davis, who had been born enslaved in Maryland, evidently had left the area in the 1880s but continued to rent her property on Rock Creek Ford Road until she or her descendants lost track of it. Ultimately, they accumulated tax debts and liens and could not produce evidence of title. The white lawyers asserted that "The property was unimproved, unenclosed, vacant land and the only evidence of adverse possession was that a colored shanty and garden had existed on the property from about 1875 to 1915."⁶¹ Around the corner on Broad Branch Road, the adjacent cluster of Black-owned properties was acquired or condemned for the creation of Lafayette Elementary School and Recreation Center in the late 1920s.⁶²

An examination of the 1870 census indicates that, as this enclave of Black owners and tenants coalesced at the Hepburn tract, 25 other African American households lived in the area between the Moreland farms and the south end of Broad Branch Road near the Blagden Mill. They were enumerated consecutively, interrupted by one white tenant family from Ireland. Among them was the family of Sarah and Elijah Whitby, whose tenant home site is documented in a separate Registration Form associated with this MPDF. By far, most of these households were headed by men occupied as farmhands and included numerous adult sons and children in the same occupation. The wives kept house. Two households were headed by carpenters, illustrating that some African Americans were able to attain specialized occupations. Another household was headed by a mill employee, and two were headed by "farmers," a title that suggests they may have worked for themselves. One of these farmers was Charles Dickson, whose home site is also documented in an associated, separate Registration Form.

None of the families reported any real estate or personal property in 1870. All the heads of household and their wives were illiterate, and only a few had children in school. Many of the elders were born in former slave-holding states -- primarily Maryland and Virginia, but also North and South Carolina. Their youngest children, however, were born in DC, suggesting that the families were part of a migration of African Americans from more repressive states either during or after the Civil War. The census reveals a community of families—probably including both individuals who had been enslaved and those who had been free before emancipation—who were involved in agricultural work in a rural part of northwest Washington. They were present on this land but living in structures deemed too inconsequential to be denoted on maps, such as Hopkins map' of 1878.

In contrast to the unplanned communities on Broad Branch and Rock Creek Ford Roads, Reno developed as a planned subdivision. Although it was not marketed to African Americans, Reno became a predominantly African American community. Reno was laid out on the edge of the crossroads village of Tenleytown, on ground where Fort Reno, one of the Civil War defenses, was built in 1861. Following the Civil War, the 52-acre property reverted to the original owners, who sold it to developers, who in turn laid out a conventional grid of streets with

⁶⁰ Rotenstein, 23-25.

⁶¹ Quoted in Rotenstein, 30.

⁶² Rotenstein, 84, 34-35.

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hundreds of small building lots, most about 25 by 100 feet, advertising them for sale in 1869 as “elegant building lots.”⁶³ By one account, the lots cost \$12.50.⁶⁴ Many of the lots appear to have been picked up initially by white speculators. One of these individuals was a local white dairy farmer named Frederick Bangerter, who built some houses on the lots and rented them to Black families.⁶⁵ Development progressed slowly, although momentum picked up in the late 1880s.

The African Americans who settled on Broad Branch and Rock Creek Ford Roads after the Civil War sent their children to a segregated African American school that opened in 1866 on the eastern portion of Grant Road, just under a mile-and-a-half from the families who lived as far north as the Hepburn tract. The school for white children was located farther west on Grant Road, closer to Tenleytown. The African American families who settled in these areas also founded the Rock Creek Baptist Church in 1872.⁶⁶ This church occupied the southeastern corner lot in the Reno subdivision, just off Grant Road. Interviews with former residents who lived in Reno in the early twentieth century indicate that there was a fair amount of intermarriage and movement between the Reno and Broach Branch communities, who all knew each other through Rock Creek Baptist Church.⁶⁷ Another institution that tied these communities together was the Ancient United Order of the Sons and Daughters, and Brothers and Sisters of Moses, which was founded in 1876. The Moses Order was a dues-paying benevolent association that aided members experiencing sickness or death and helped with burial. These organizations spread from northern cities after the Civil War, providing a safety-net for African Americans based on mutual self-help.⁶⁸ This local chapter of the Moses Order went by the name White’s Tabernacle, whose trustees purchased a half-acre lot from John Chappel, close to the northeast corner of Reno, for use as a cemetery 1880.⁶⁹ In 1885, the group purchased two lots behind the Rock Creek Baptist Church and built a two-story wooden building where they held meetings, training programs, entertainment, and social events.⁷⁰

By 1882, a new school for white children had been built in Tenleytown and black students moved into the old two-room, frame schoolhouse built for those white children, which was closer to Reno.⁷¹ By 1900, a change in the tone of the marketing for the lots acknowledged Reno’s working-class character, appealing instead to “a builder who would put up inexpensive homes.”⁷² By the early twentieth century, Reno was known as a center of the local Black population and notes of discontent about Reno had emerged among the growing white population in the surrounding area. When Reno’s Black residents petitioned for a new school to replace the two-room school, which could only accommodate partial instruction, white residents on Grant Road expressed a wish to place the new school in Reno so that it would not affect their property values.⁷³ The new Jesse Reno School, built on Howard Road in 1903, was used until 1950, at which time its student body had declined precipitously.⁷⁴

As suburban development expanded throughout northwest Washington over the course of the early twentieth century (especially through the operations of the Chevy Chase Land Company), and as residential segregation

⁶³ Taylor, 20.

⁶⁴ Neal Flanagan, “The Battle of Fort Reno,” *Washington City Paper*, November 2, 2017, <https://washingtoncitypaper.com/article/188488/the-battle-of-fort-reno/> (accessed March 18, 2022).

⁶⁵ Taylor, 23.

⁶⁶ Taylor, 36.

⁶⁷ Rotenstein, 55.

⁶⁸ Rotenstein, 42, 39

⁶⁹ Rotenstein, 44.

⁷⁰ Rotenstein, 45; Taylor, 57.

⁷¹ Kessler.

⁷² J. B. Wimer, “For Sale—Reno Lots,” *Evening Star*, November 8, 1900, quoted in Taylor, 29.

⁷³ Taylor, 34.

⁷⁴ Kim Prothro Williams, “Tenleytown in Washington, D.C.: Historic and Architectural Resources, 1770-1941,” National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2008, E-31.

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became more entrenched, encroaching white residents began to view the working-class African Americans in Reno with distaste. Through condemnation proceedings, the government acquired land on the east side of Reno for the construction of Alice Deal Middle School for white students, which opened in 1931.⁷⁵ Over the 1930s, the Reno community was displaced further through the efforts of local white citizens' associations, suburban developers, and government officials who eventually succeeded in piecing together the land to create Fort Reno Park, an amenity long desired by the adjacent white suburbs. The Rock Creek Baptist Church finally sold its land to the National Capital Park and Planning Commission in 1943.⁷⁶ The last residents of Reno were evicted in 1951, resulting in the almost complete erasure of the African American communities that had developed in northwest Washington during Reconstruction.⁷⁷

d. The Establishment of Rock Creek Park and the Associated Records

The Rock Creek Valley land that would form Rock Creek Park was not vacant when the park was established in 1890. Much of the land had been worked by tenant farmers since the eighteenth century, and by 1890, dozens of people lived within the park's present-day boundaries, including property-owning farmers, tenants, and even a few suburbanites. The most accessible source of information about settlement of the area is found in the many detailed maps available from the mid-nineteenth century. Although these maps are an important resource for historians and archeologists, they can be misleading. They look complete, but they are not. Early maps of the park were not intended to note the location of every structure on the landscape, while property ownership maps depicted owners and prospective owners, not tenants. Maps like Hopkins' *Atlas of 15 Miles around Washington* show a landscape composed of farms with the family names that owned them. They reduce the importance of natural features like streams and hills.⁷⁸ On the other hand, the 1892 United States Geological Survey (USGS) map, in many ways the most detailed nineteenth-century depiction of the park, is a topographical document primarily concerned with the physical landscape. Neither kind of map gave the utmost attention to the homes of the tenants who accounted for most of the parkland's residents. To judge from these maps, the park lands were nearly empty, which is inaccurate.

Other kinds of records show that many people lived within the park, including some whose homes are not shown on any extant maps. The descriptions of the lands purchased for the park state the number and kind of structures that stood on them, sometimes in detail and sometimes in general terms. A few of the houses on land bought for the park were torn down within a few years, but many survived and were rented out until at least 1900. Lists of the renters survive, and these provide both another look at the landscape of the park and a glimpse at some of the people who lived there.

A map made at the time the park was established, titled *Character of Property Included in the Rock Creek Park*, lists 21 park properties with buildings (Figures 7 and 8; Table 2). Further details on some of these properties are provided by the rent lists. Two such documents have been located, one dated April 1, 1895, which is reproduced in Inashima's 1985 archeological study,⁷⁹ and a less elaborative document dated December 30, 1894. The 1894 list (Table 3) includes only the parcel number and the name of the renter, and it lumps all of the former Shoemaker properties together. The list does not say what was being rented, and in some cases it was probably

⁷⁵ Williams, 2008, E-33.

⁷⁶ Rotenstein, 55.

⁷⁷ Flanagan.

⁷⁸ G. M. Hopkins, *Atlas of 15 Miles Around Washington* (Philadelphia: G.M. Hopkins, 1878), <https://www.loc.gov/item/87675339/>.

⁷⁹ Paul Inashima, *An Archeological Investigation of Thirty-One Erosion Control and Bank Stabilization Sites along Rock Creek and Its Tributaries* (Denver, Colorado: National Park Service, Denver Service Center, 1985), 70-71.

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land rather than buildings. For example, there were no structures mentioned on Parcel 36 when it was purchased, so the tenant probably was not living there but using the property for farming or grazing.

TABLE 2: PARK PROPERTIES WITH IMPROVEMENTS, 1892

Parcel No.	Owner	Size (acres)	Improvements
21	William Riley	100.1	Small dwelling and outbuildings
23	Archibald White	75.4	2 small dwellings
26	August Burgdorf	25.2	Small dwelling
27	E.T. Meeds	20.0	Small dwelling
28	Mary Henderson	22.5	Small dwelling
29	Frederick Bex	23.0	Dwelling
33	Samuel Freas	40.3	Small dwelling
34	J.W. Cowden	79.7	Dwelling and outbuildings
38	J.R. Dos Passos	71.5	Small dwelling
39	Pierce Shoemaker	245.1	Several small dwellings
40	E.E. Gist	1.3	Small dwelling
62	McKeown heirs	35.3	Small dwelling and stable
63	Pierce Shoemaker	89.3	Quarry, small dwelling
65	Charles Dickson	.28	Small dwelling and garden
66	Jane Dickson	.26	Small dwelling and garden
67	B.H. Warder	39.3	Small house, outbuildings and ruins of stone mills
69	Pierce Shoemaker	5.2	Small dwelling and gardens
70	J.W. Willis	5.5	Dwelling, stable and greenhouse
79	J.P. Klinge	31.3	Stone dwelling
80	Mary Beall	2.1	Small dwelling
84	Harvey Page	6.7	Frame house and stables

Source: *Character of Property Included in Rock Creek Park*

TABLE 3: TENANTS IN ROCK CREEK PARK,
DECEMBER 30, 1894

Parcel No.	Tenant
21	F. Paton
23 & 36	B. White
26	J. Fegan
27	M. Osborn
29	William McCone
33	David Duley
33	Mrs. G. Perry
33	Louis Savoy
34	W.W. Stuart
38	S. Olden
40	Mason Anderson
62	Frank Winters
65	Charles Dickson
66	Jane Dickson
67	George Hall
70	J.C. Heide
80	G. Powell

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Parcel No.	Tenant
83	J.J. Kramer
84	Foundling Home
Shoemaker Parcels (39, 44, 48, 63, 69, 75, 76, 77)	Elijah Widby
Shoemaker Parcels	Samuel Dominess
Shoemaker Parcels	S.F. Reddick
Shoemaker Parcels	Fannie Bouldin
Shoemaker Parcels	G. Southern
Shoemaker Parcels	H. Rigney
Shoemaker Parcels	J. Clarke
Shoemaker Parcels	F. Smith
Shoemaker Parcels	Hugh McMahon
Shoemaker Parcels	R. Cross
Shoemaker Parcels	John Williams
Shoemaker Parcels	C.H. White
Shoemaker Parcels	James Scott

The 1895 document consists of two independent, overlapping lists, neither complete; by combining them (Table 4), one can obtain a detailed picture of the housing stock in the park. The notations “torn down” were added later in pencil, and there is no indication of when the demolition occurred. Comparison of these two lists with each other, other park records, and the U.S. Census allows us to identify some of these names of long-term residents of the area. For example, Hugh McMahon appears on both lists; he wrote a letter to the Park Commissioners in 1895 protesting an increase in the rent for his domicile, in which he said he had lived for 15 years. Samuel Dominess appears on both lists and in both the 1870 and 1900 censuses for the area (he does not appear to be listed in the 1880 census and the 1890 census was destroyed in a fire). Aside from Dominess, the tenant population seems to have been quite transient for the most part, since most of the names on the rentals have not been identified in any censuses of the area.

TABLE 4: PARCELS, TENANTS, IMPROVEMENTS, RENT, 1895

Parcel No.	Tenant	Improvements	Rent (\$)
9	Mrs. Eli Pinkney	Frame house, 1 room, poor	Free
21	-	Frame house, 4 rooms, poor	3.00
23	<i>Torn down</i>	Frame house, 4 rooms and out house, poor	-
26	<i>Torn down</i>	Frame house, 3 rooms, stable, fair	5.00
27	Marion Osborn	Frame house, 6 rooms and stable, good	Free
29	William McCrone	Frame house, 6 rooms and stable, good	8.00
33	Policeman Hess	Frame house, 10 rooms and barn, good	Free
33	L.D. Jones	Frame house, 4 rooms and small barn, good	5.00
33	<i>Torn down</i>	Frame house, 4 rooms and outhouse, poor	5.00
34	J.T. Morgan MP in charge of Park	Frame house, 10 rooms, barn, cow-shed & outbuildings, fair	Free
38	<i>Torn down</i>	Frame house, 2 rooms and out house	4.00
39	Robert Cross	Frame house, 1 room and out house, poor, 3 acres of ground	3.75
39	Hugh McMahon	Frame house, 4 rooms, fair, dilapidated barn	10.00
39	Hannah Williams	Small house on Blagden Mill Road, bad condition	Free

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Parcel No.	Tenant	Improvements	Rent (\$)
39	Thomas Riggs	Frame house, 3 rooms, fair	4.00
39	Thomas Smith	Frame house, 3 rooms, fair	4.00
39	-	Frame house, 3 rooms, fair	4.00
39	<i>Torn down</i>	Frame house, 2 rooms, fair	4.00
40	DC Duley	Frame house, 4 rooms, stable and out-house, good	5.00
63	Samuel Dominess	Frame house, 3 rooms, stable, poor	4.00
65	Charles Dixon	Frame house, 1 room, stable, poor	3.00
66	Jane Dixon	Frame house, 4 rooms, out house, fair	6.00
69	Sarah Whitby	Frame house, 2 rooms, stable, poor	3.00
75	-	Stone mill, building good, race poor	10.00
76	-	Stone barn, fair	2.00
79	Lizzie D. Larkin	Stone house, 7 rooms and stable, fair	20.00
84	Floyd Harleston	Frame house, 14 rooms, stable and carriage house, fair	14.00

Source: National Archives, Records of the Rock Creek Park Commission

Census records show that the tenant population of the park was racially diverse. Samuel Dominess, Charles and Jane Dickson (Dixon), Elijah and Sarah Whitby, and Hannah Williams were African Americans. Neither Fannie Bouldin nor Louis Savoy has been found yet in the census, but in 1870, all of the people bearing both family names in the District of Columbia were Black or mulatto. McMahon was an Irish immigrant while James Fegan was the son of Irish immigrants. Mason Anderson and David Duley were white men born in the District. A suggestive segment of the 1880 census that could represent a line of tenant housing along Blagden Road lists, in order, Robert Cross, Augustus Johnson, and Thomas Sharp, who were all Black, and then McMahon and Patrick Ryan, both immigrants from Ireland.

The most common occupation for male tenants in the area, according to the census, was “laborer.”⁸⁰ McMahon was a dairyman, Duley was a farrier, Dominess was a teamster, and Marion Osborn was a stone cutter. Aaron Dickson, the husband of Jane, was listed as a blacksmith in 1880. Among the women, Sarah Whitby and Ella Clark (wife of James Clark) were laundresses while Mary Ryan was a seamstress. The jobs listed for the children in the Whitby and Cross families give some idea of what was available for uneducated Black and Irish workers in rural DC in 1900 (Table 5).

TABLE 5: EMPLOYMENT IN THE WHITBY HOUSEHOLD, 1900

Name	Age	Employment
Sarah	32	laundress
Eli	29	day laborer
Moses	25	day laborer
Julie	22	cook
Israel	17	cart driver
Robert	15	cart driver
Henry	11	at school

Source: U.S. Census 1900

⁸⁰ United States Bureau of the Census, 1900 (accessed via Ancestry.com).

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TABLE 6: EMPLOYMENT IN THE CROSS HOUSEHOLD, 1900		
Name	Age	Employment
Albert	28	day laborer
Hannah	22	washing and ironing
Corah	21	Servant
Sarah	20	Servant
Elijah	18	day laborer

Source: U.S. Census 1900

Some insight into the kinds of houses occupied by Black migrants to Washington in the 1880s is provided by a series of remarkable drawings by DeLancey Walker Gill (Figures 9 and 10). Gill later became an artist with the Smithsonian’s Bureau of Ethnography, and his professional specialty was drawing Hopi pueblos, Dine (Navajo) hogans, and other Native American structures in the American Southwest. While he was in Washington, Gill made at least a dozen studies of the homes occupied by Black migrants, all of them built around the fringe of the city. The wooden structures Gill portrayed often lacked uniform massing, although many consisted of one-and-one-half stories with unevenly pitched gables, small windows, lofts sometimes accessible by exterior stairs, and irregular shed additions that accommodated extended or multiple families. Gill’s drawings may not have recorded the humblest abodes. One-room dwellings were common. In 1879, one commentator in the *Washington Post* described some African American settlements as places “of the rudest possible construction, few having any sashes in the window aperture, a board shutter closing out the cold winds, light and ventilation together, when shut.”⁸¹ White observers often labeled African Americans houses as “shanties,” a term that connoted self-built, makeshift, or substandard structures, often lacking proper internal framing, and clad in scavenged or cast off materials of uneven dimension. In an analysis of African American shantytowns, Lisa Goff has suggested that African American migrants to DC clustered together in ways that defied the orderliness of the grid and enabled them to live outside the oversight of whites: “[S]mall housing nodes offered African Americans the protection of group living, and the economies of scale that provided the domestic privacy that had been withheld from them until the end of the Civil War.”⁸² As the affluent white population and Washington’s urban geometry expanded into outlying areas, African American settlements were regarded as eyesores and sources of filth. They were gradually pushed out, leaving little trace of their existence.

In the years just before the park was established, suburbanization was encroaching upon the Rock Creek Valley. Parcels 26, 27, and 28 were carved out in the 1880s, and the houses were occupied by professionals or skilled tradesmen like Frederick Bex, a carriage maker born in England. Several such developments had been or were being completed south of Broad Branch and Blagden Mill roads, which is one reason the park narrows dramatically in that area. By 1887, “Blagden’s Suburb,” consisting of large lots varying in size from three to 16 acres—sufficient for affluent rural seats—had been laid out on the Blagden family estate east of Rock Creek and across from the Argyle Mill. In 1894, Hopkins’ *Real Estate Plat-Book* showed that many of these large lots had been purchased by multiple investors but were still not built upon. Private subdivision of lots had occurred near Brightwood on the east side of Rock Creek Park, and the Chevy Chase Land Company had begun to pick up and hold large tracts of land between Broad Branch Road and Reno but had not laid out subdivisions. *Baist’s Real Estate Atlas* of 1919, shows vast changes underway as the Chevy Chase Land Company converted rural land into suburban blocks filled with rectilinear dwelling lots and laid out in conformance with Washington’s master street plan. These subdivisions showed various stages of housing construction. The African American enclaves established in the mid-nineteenth century near the northwest limits of Rock Creek Ford Road and Broad Branch

⁸¹ “Wretched habitations,” *Washington Post*, 12 August 1879, 4; quoted in Lisa Goff, *Shantytown, USA: Forgotten Landscapes of the Working Poor* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 191.
⁸² Goff, 199.

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Road appear as anomalies—soon to be displaced—in a highly regimented landscape of uniformly shaped and sized lots.

In 1928, as the government was acquiring land for Lafayette Elementary School on Broad Branch Road, the *Washington Post* published a rare photograph of an African American dwelling in the vicinity of Rock Creek Park. Shown sitting on the stoop outside of her home, Mary Moten was descended from the Harris family that had owned land on upper Broad Branch Road since before the Civil War, in one of the early Black enclaves west of Rock Creek Park. Mary's two-story frame dwelling has a gable front and shows signs of settling. The siding includes boards of various widths and many of the windows appear to be single sashes. It was a survivor from the Reconstruction era and represented a vanishing breed.

Within Rock Creek Park, any vestige of the homes occupied by African American tenants disappeared around the turn of the twentieth century, as the park developed its internal road network to provide access to its scenic beauty and recreational potential. The construction of Ridge Road between 1899 and 1901 likely spelled the demise of the Sarah Whitby, Charles Dickson, and Jane Dickson home sites being separately nominated under this MDPF. By 1912, the Board of Control terminated all remaining lease agreements. The 1901-1902 MacMillan plan for Washington had called for the development of a master plan for Rock Creek Park but none was produced until the Olmsted Brother's prepared a planning study in 1918. The plan called for development of several components within the park: picnic groves, swimming holes, and wading pools along the creek that would appear "incidental" rather than intrusive; recreational facilities on the plateau east of the creek and north of Piney Branch Road; forests in the northern half of the park for exploration, hiking, and horseback riding; and a 150-acre area of rolling hillside and meadow on the east side of the creek north of Military Road for walks and picnics.⁸³ Rock Creek Park's conversion to a great urban park was complete, leaving behind only archeological evidence of its earlier African American rural home sites.

3. Research Questions

a. Race and Identity

Being Black in a time of white supremacy profoundly shaped African American life. It can sometimes be difficult to see race in the archeological record, but there are approaches that assist in teasing out its effects, and the extensive written records of the post-Civil War period often allow us to identify African Americans through documentary evidence. Race influenced the places people chose or were permitted to live, the kind of work they did, their poverty, and their intense devotion to their communities and their churches.

The first archeologists to investigate African American sites, mostly on plantations, often focused in a narrow and simplistic way on the search for African influence and African survivals. More recent approaches emphasize the ways African inheritance was transformed by New World conditions and the oppressions of enslaved life.⁸⁴ Africa has never disappeared from African American life, and indeed there have been multiple waves of interest in Africa spanning every generation since arrival in the New World. Many elements of African American life can be traced to Africa. But searching for worn glass gaming pieces and blue beads is perhaps not an adequate way to understand African American life. One theme in some African American archeology has been the ambiguities and multiple meanings of objects. Such complexity of interpretation is an archeological constant, but it was multiplied in the case of African Americans by resistance against attempts to change their culture and control

⁸³ Bushong 1990, 8:47.

⁸⁴ Theresa A. Singleton, "The Archeology of the Plantation South: A Review of Approaches and Goals," in *African Diaspora Archeology*, ed. Christopher C. Fennell (Society for Historical Archeology, 2008), 304-15.

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their time.⁸⁵ While race has to be recognized in the subtleties of location, patterning, and use of space, certain artifacts bring us face to face with questions of identity.

Questions of race need to be traced across the whole history of a property: how did African Americans come to live in this location? How much choice did they have, and how did they exercise agency in choosing living sites? How did they alter the property to suit their own needs? How did they respond to challenges of exclusion and poverty? And how did they come to abandon the site; was it by choice, or were they driven out? What did they leave behind, and why?

b. Land and Independence

The acquisition of land and the possibilities it promised for socioeconomic mobility has become an increasingly important area of research regarding African Americans in the post-emancipation period.⁸⁶ Land ownership was always foremost on the minds of the freed men and women since the acquisition of it provided a degree of independence and control that somewhat mitigated the disempowerment of Black people under white supremacy. Whites commonly ignored evidence of socioeconomic advancement of African Americans and their communities. White farmers sometimes complained that the most skilled and industrious Black farmers preferred to farm smaller, less prime parcels that they owned rather than rent higher-quality land that would return a higher income. However, African American land ownership in the nineteenth century must be considered in light of the tradeoff many Black farmers faced between independence and profit. Self-sufficiency held particular significance for recently emancipated African Americans, who linked land ownership to freedom. The acquisition of property needs to be placed within the broader efforts by freedpeople to cease their economic dependence on whites in order to improve the conditions for their families and greater communities.⁸⁷ African American landowners often stood out within their communities because, during a time in which most freedmen remained landless and enmeshed in debt, African American landowners were able to use their land as an asset to improve their lives and the lives of their children. One example of this comes from research conducted in Prince William Forest Park in northern Virginia. Small properties owned by African Americans before the Civil War were subdivided over time among heirs into smaller and smaller pieces. Most of the owners resided in cities but they held onto their rural inheritances, leasing them to local farmers who were often their relatives.⁸⁸

However, most African Americans were unable to achieve land ownership and instead lived as tenants or sharecroppers. It is important, therefore, to consider the terms under which African Americans occupied their land and how this impacted their use of it. Sharecroppers were often mobile, shifting every few years from one farm to another in search of better terms or better land. Tenants with better terms tended to stay longer. But all tenants were likely to be uprooted when the land was sold for other purposes, as happened eventually to most agricultural property in the DC area when it was developed as residential suburbs.

Questions about land ownership include understanding how the acquisition of property provided agency and economic self-determination to those African American men and women who achieved it. In what ways did African American landowners compare to white landowners with similar size holdings and income? Are there recognizable differences that can be identified between African American landowners and those who rented properties? Do sites associated with African American landowners exhibit evidence that the residents had more

⁸⁵ Jean E. Howson, "Social Relations and Material Culture: A Critique of the Archeology of Plantation Slavery," *Historical Archeology*, 24:4 (1990): 78-91.

⁸⁶ Nedra K. Lee, "Race, Socioeconomic Status, and Land Ownership among Freed African American Farmers: The View from Ceramic Use at the Ransom and Sarah Williams Farmstead, Manchaca, Texas," *Historical Archeology* 54:2 (2020): 404-23.

⁸⁷ Lee, 406.

⁸⁸ Bedell, 2003.

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self-sufficiency than their neighbors who rented their properties? Did they have comparable self-sufficiency to their white neighbors?

c. Community Formation

African Americans preferred to live with other African Americans, and in some cases they were forced to whether they wanted to or not. One of the themes of the Reconstruction period and the early twentieth century is the formation of African American communities. This is especially true in rural areas, where the dominant form of African American community had been the plantation with slave quarters. Some of these new communities were ephemeral, but others endured for generations; for instance, Reno City in northwestern DC and the nearby Graysville-River Road community in Montgomery County, Maryland, remained intact until the mid-twentieth century. Although currently under threat by increased developmental pressure, the Barry Farm-Hillsdale neighborhood in Anacostia still persists into the twenty-first century.

Questions to be investigated on rural archeological sites include, was the site part of a known and named community? If so, was it entirely African American or mixed race? Did the orientation of the site reflect the overall structure of the community? For example, were yard areas visible to neighbors maintained differently than those that were not visible? Were there additional communication routes, such as paths, that connected people to each other and to churches or schools? Did the presence of the African American community promote stability over time? What elements, institutions, or features were remembered by former residents or described in oral histories? How do these relate to migration and community identity over time?

d. Economic Life

Land ownership alone was not a direct path to wealth for African Americans, as they were primarily subsistence farmers who owned only enough acreage to meet the basic needs of their families. Few African American men and women in DC owned enough land to survive entirely by agriculture and they typically engaged in subsistence farming, utilizing the gardens, fruit trees, berry bushes, or livestock they raised in order to reduce their dependency on stores and merchants. In addition, both African American men and women supplemented their incomes by pursuing jobs outside of agriculture. Due to patriarchal gender ideology, the limited choices that African Americans had for jobs were almost all strictly divided along gender lines.⁸⁹ For women, work was usually confined to domestic labor in which they extended their homemaking to cooking, cleaning, and washing for white households. Often, such work would be done outside their own homes. In some instances, women were also able to provide a supplemental income by doing work for others from their own property, such as laundering and clothing alterations and repair. Additionally, Black women may engage in additional subsistence-related tasks from the home for sale at markets in order to generate additional income. At the same time, African American men could find employment as farm laborers or find work involving other forms of manual labor including drovers, carpenters, well diggers, and blacksmiths. As a result of the gender division of labor, women were further charged with childcare and domestic chores in their own household.

Rural African American home sites identified within Rock Creek Park could provide information about the economic lives of the men and women who resided in the periphery of Washington during the post-emancipation period. What forms of labor were the occupants engaged in, and is there evidence that both men and women were involved in providing income to the household? Is there archeological evidence that children were also involved

⁸⁹ Douglas K. Boyd, Aaron R. Norment, Terri Myers, Maria Franklin and Nedra Lee, *The Ransom and Sarah Williams Farmstead: Post-Emancipation Transition of an African American Family in Central Texas*. Prepared for the Texas Department of Transportation, Austin, Texas (2015), 460.

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in domestic chores or were employed in outside labor in order to supplement the family income? Is there archeological evidence that subsistence-related activities occurred at the site in order to sell goods to local markets in either DC or the surrounding counties? Were the residents utilizing their property to reduce their own dependence on local markets?

e. Consumer Behavior

Although most rural African Americans faced limited wealth and economic opportunities, members of their households regularly participated in the local economy and made choices about the consumer goods they purchased. These consumer choices can paint a more detailed picture of the daily lives of people who owned and lived at rural sites in DC, including what kinds of food they ate, where and from whom they purchased goods, how their children played, and more. In addition, consumer behavior acts as a process of self-definition in that the items people purchased confirm, display, and reflect who the owners of those objects are and seek to become.⁹⁰ The artifacts found on archeological sites and the analysis of those objects directly speak to the consumer behavior of the people and families who resided there. Certain artifacts and consumption patterns are strongly associated with African Americans and can indicate how consumer choices helped define Black culture while at the same time reflect their efforts to create a position within (as well as resistance against) a predominantly white consumer space.

f. Organization of Rural Properties

How did African Americans use the space on their lots or small farms? This general topic of how people arrange space in their homes and communities has long been of great theoretical interest to archeologists. There is a growing literature on the use of space by African Americans, enslaved or free, as a way of understanding how they created their own lives within the overarching oppressive structures of racism and slavery.⁹¹ Heath and Bennett provide a review of documentary and archeological evidence of the use of yards on enslaved and free African American sites, and they believe that it is possible to define yard areas used for work and for socializing based on artifact and chemical data as well as to draw parallels between African American and African uses of outdoor space.⁹² Methods for investigating the use of space include careful mapping of features and artifact distributions, employing paleobotany to identify plant remains and surviving living plants, using soil chemistry, and comparing this data with written records and oral history.

g. Spiritual Beliefs and Practices

African Americans were overwhelming Christian in this period, most belonging to Baptist, African Methodist Episcopal, or Catholic churches. Church attendance was a vital part of African American life and churches were founded wherever enough Black people lived within walking distance. Protestantism leaves little trace for archeologists to find at the domestic level, although it does at the community level, through church and cemetery sites. Catholics sometimes owned and wore saints' medals, and these have been found on African American domestic sites. At the same time, researchers have uncovered a broad variety of objects that appear to have been

⁹⁰ See Paul R. Mullins, *Race and Affluence: An Archaeology of African America and Consumer Culture* (Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002). Paul R. Mullins, "Racializing the Parlor: Race and Victorian Bric-a-Brac Consumption," *Race and the Archaeology of Identity* (2001):158-176. Paul R. Mullins, "Race and the Genteel Consumer: Class and African-American Consumption, 1850-1930," *Historical Archaeology* 33 (1999):22-38, <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF03374278>.

⁹¹ Robert Fitts, "The Landscapes of Northern Bondage" *Historical Archaeology* 30(2): 54-73; Patricia M. Samford, *Subfloor Pits and the Archaeology of Slavery in Colonial Virginia* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007).

⁹² Barbara J. Heath and Amber Bennett, "'The little Spots allow'd them': The Archaeological Study of African-American Yards," *Historical Archaeology* 34 (2): 38-55.

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used for other spiritual purposes by African Americans.⁹³ For example, a small house on the Manassas Battlefield in Virginia, occupied by African Americans around 1865 to 1890, yielded a collection of quartz spear points, thousands of years old, along with a quartz crystal.⁹⁴ A quartz spearpoint and a quartz crystal also were recovered from the corners of the house foundation at the Melinda Jackson site (ca. 1870s-1917) in Montgomery County, Maryland, a homestead owned by an emancipated African American woman and her family.⁹⁵ During the recent (2021) rehabilitation of Arlington House in northern Virginia, archeologists discovered a subfloor storage pit near the fireplace hearth in the west room of the South Dependency, where the enslaved family of Selina and Thornton Gray are known to have dwelled in the mid-nineteenth century. The pit contained four historic, glass bottles lain together on their sides with the open mouths oriented northward. Given their careful positioning, they are thought to be conjuring bottles, which may have been used as a talisman, to fend against evil spirits, or possibly to cast spells. In that case, the subfloor pit functioned as a hidden magical or religious shrine.⁹⁶ A bottle of Hoyt's cologne from a late nineteenth-century tenancy on the Patuxent River opened another window into African American life, since written sources record that Hoyt's was a favorite among Black gamblers who washed their hands in it for luck before throwing dice. These deposits and practices typically appear in contexts that indicate they were used in private settings, and the symbolic composition of these objects appears to reflect religious systems of particular West African cultures. All of these traditions borrowed from each other and were transformed in the Americas. Importantly, most of the people who engaged in these activities identified as being members of dominant religions, like Christianity, and these traditions coexisted peacefully with their religious beliefs. It is often difficult to identify deposits associated with these spiritual practices in an archeological context; however, if they are present, further studies would provide valuable insights regarding the evolving roles these important African spiritual practices played in African American households in the post-emancipation period.

h. Gender

Over the last few decades, there has been a significant expansion of work focusing on gender status, roles, and relationships within free African American households and communities.⁹⁷ The free and enslaved African American population in the DC area before and during the Civil War was predominately female owing to the preference for domestic enslaved workers in the urban setting. As more freedpeople arrived in DC, the ratio of men to women likely evened out, but Black women played an important role in the formation, growth, and flourishing of the free Black communities in DC. For example, Elizabeth Keckley founded the Contraband

⁹³ K.L. Brown, "Ethnographic Analogy, Archaeology, and the African Diaspora: Perspectives from a Tenant Community," *Historical Archaeology* 38:1 (2004): 79–89; C.C. Fennell, *Crossroads and Cosmologies: Diasporas and Ethnogenesis in the New World* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007); T. Ruppel, J. Neuwirth, M Leone, and G Fry, "Hidden in View: African Spiritual Spaces in North American Landscapes," *Antiquity* 77 (2003): 321–35.

⁹⁴ Laura J. Galke, *Cultural Resource Survey and Inventory of a War-Torn Landscape: The Stuart's Hill Tract, Manassas National Battlefield Park, Virginia*, Occasional Report No. 7. National Park Service/National Capital Region, Regional Archeology Program, Washington, DC. (1992).

⁹⁵ Kathleen Furgerson, Varna Boyd, Carey O'Reilly, Justin Bedard, Tracy Formica, and Anthony Randolph, *Phase II and III Archaeological Investigations of the Fairland Branch Site and the Jackson Homestead (Site 18MO609), Intercounty Connector Project, Montgomery County, Maryland*, Submitted to the Maryland State Highway Administration. (2011): 399-401.

⁹⁶ National Park Service, "Archaeological Discovery in the Slave Quarters," *Arlington House, the Robert E. Lee Memorial, Virginia* (website). Last updated February 3, 2022. Accessed June 8, 2022: <https://www.nps.gov/arho/learn/management/archeological-discovery-in-the-slave-quarters.htm>.

⁹⁷ K.S. Barile and J.C. Brandon, *Household Chores and Household Choices: Theorizing the Domestic Sphere in Historical Archaeology*, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004); J.E. Galle and A.L. Young, *Engendering African American Archaeology: A Southern Perspective* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2004); Maria Franklin, "A Black Feminist-Inspired Archaeology?" *Journal of Social Archaeology* 1 (2001): 108–25.

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Relief Society that helped to bring sanitary and humane conditions to the contraband camps as well as influenced the federal response in aiding self-liberators in those camps.

The Sarah Whitby and Jane Dickson sites represent two homes that had female heads of household. While not much is known about Jane, she was a Black woman who owned land at a time when land ownership was difficult to obtain for African Americans, and it was perhaps even more rare for Black women to own land. How did Jane acquire the capital to purchase the land? Did her occupation provide enough income? It seems unlikely that she was able to purchase land and a four-bedroom house through work as a seamstress or laundress. Sarah Whitby did not own the land she and her children lived on, but she did have the responsibility of providing for nine children through her income alone. It is likely, however, that her older children also helped out by taking on smaller jobs to supplement Sarah's work.

These sites could provide insights on the intersections of race and gender in the late nineteenth century. How were female heads of households regarded? Were they able to earn as much income as male heads of households? Both of these sites were rural, and the homes were fairly isolated. Did these women receive support from the nearby nucleated Black community, like Reno City? Did they, in turn, provide support to each other, to members of their extended families, and to others in the larger community? What were additional challenges that single or widowed Black women faced at this time?

F. Associated Property Types

1. Property Types

a. Name of Property Type: Farm

Description:

A farm, or agricultural complex, consists of a dwelling house and the outbuildings, pastures, and cultivated fields necessary for the operation of a substantial agricultural enterprise. The agricultural operation does not have to be large enough to support a family financially by itself, since many farmers also worked other jobs for income. Its distinguishing characteristic is that it is both a residence and a center of agricultural production. A farm typically includes a main dwelling surrounded by a cluster of outbuildings, such as kitchens, barns, stables, granaries, dairies, and wells. The clustering of buildings around an inner yard, or toft, is critical for the definition of the property type. In addition to buildings, any garden, wells, privies, or trash disposal areas are located typically in this inner yard as well. Under some circumstances, the farm also could encompass the whole property, including the fields, woodlands, fences, hedges, tenant dwellings, and lanes.

Significance:

Archeological sites representing the farm property type would be significant under Criterion D for their research value and potential to yield important archeological information about undocumented history. African American-owned farms were not common in DC during the second half of the nineteenth century. Since there are so few archeological sites of this type documented in DC, they are a significant property type that could provide valuable information about this period of migration of free Blacks into the District. Several African American-owned farms were present within the vicinity of Rock Creek Park during this period, including an 88-acre property owned by

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the family of Elizabeth Proctor Thomas, located along the 7th Street Turnpike (present-day Georgia Avenue).⁹⁸ This property type represents a level of economic independence achieved during this period, but such farms also served as an anchor for the establishment of African American communities in the District of Columbia.

Farms constructed by African Americans may meet Criterion A because of their association with themes like the Great Migration, community development, ethnic heritage, and social history. If African Americans employed other African Americans or leased associated tenant buildings to Black people who assisted in farming or were employed in associated industries, archeological sites could be eligible under Criterion A as representative of the movement of Black self-help and economic solidarity.

Archeological sites associated with this property type may meet Criterion B because of associations with figure(s) that resided there that are significant in either a regional or national context. In order for the farm to meet Criterion B, the relative significance of the individual must be established. Sites associated with figures who worked to build and sustain a community possess sufficient associative value for nomination under Criterion B, and if the individual's role within the community can be demonstrated, the farm should be eligible.

Registration Requirements:

Archeological sites associated with the farm property type are eligible under Criterion D and may also be eligible under Criteria A and/or B. Properties of this type must retain integrity of location and association. It is possible the property also may retain integrity of setting and feeling if the intact features associated with the resource are able to evoke a palpable sense of the past. In addition, if archeological research results in the ability to reconstruct – through the presence of structural remains and their relation to other associated features on the landscape (lanes, woodlots, fields) – the spatial organization of the farm property, it is possible that integrity of design also may apply to this property type.

The registration requirement for African American rural farms under Criterion A will differ based on the period of occupation and association. Because of the relative scarcity of rural archeological sites associated with African Americans in DC prior to emancipation and during the Reconstruction era, any such rural farm site with archeological integrity constructed prior to 1900 and with a clear association with significant themes or broad patterns in history is potentially eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. In addition, a rural farm property associated with an individual with a documented role in community formation or specific contributions to history should be eligible under Criterion B, provided the role of the individual or individuals and their impact on local, state, or national history can be documented and is clearly presented.

Registration requirements for African American farms under Criterion D must demonstrate archeological integrity and have the potential to provide significant contributions to history, such as the topics posed in the historic context. While a farm often implies expansive acreage as well as the buildings, the boundaries of an archeological site generally are defined by the presence of either the distribution of artifacts, subsurface cultural features, or structural remains. As a result, archeological sites for farm properties frequently (but not always) are limited to the area immediately surrounding the house and building cluster. However, there may be circumstances when other features should be considered, including remote structures (such as tenancies or sheds) and landscape features (such as lanes and hedge rows).

⁹⁸ Philip W. Ogilvie, *Vinegar Hill Area, 1715 to 1964*, manuscript on file at the Printed Materials Collection, DC History Center, 2002.

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Indications of integrity for sites of this property type are:

- Clear documentation of African American occupancy;
- Architectural features, such as pier bases, foundations, or chimney bases;
- Other artifacts that provide information about the dwelling;
- Pit features or wells;
- Trash middens or other intact deposits of artifacts and faunal material dating to the period of African American occupancy;
- Outbuilding remains, such as post holes, pier bases, or nail concentrations;
- Evidence of how the yard was laid out, such as fence lines and paths;
- Evidence of productive activity, such as garden beds, animal pens, or work areas;
- Survival of the farm landscape, such as fields, woodlots, lanes, and hedge rows.

b. Name of Property Type: Rural Dwelling

Description:

Another property type identified archeologically can be described as a rural dwelling. The rural dwelling is distinguished from the farm by the lack of outbuildings, making it unsuitable to serve as the center of a major agricultural operation. A rural dwelling property typically included a dwelling and a small plot of land, usually between one-quarter acre and one acre. The parcel was not large enough to support independent farming, but residents usually kept a garden and possibly fruit trees for their own sustenance and often raised poultry. A shed and/or chicken coop might be present, but not a barn.

A variation of the tenant-occupied rural dwelling is known as a “house and garden.”⁹⁹ This term originates in nineteenth-century agricultural reform discourse and describes a kind of property that was widely known throughout the country, so the term is used here descriptively. A house and garden lease would typically be situated on the property owner’s larger farm property. The lease would typically involve an arrangement with the property owner wherein the tenant paid a low rent in exchange for a labor agreement. A typical rental agreement specified that the tenant would work a set number of days per week or month for the landowner, for which a set wage would be paid. These properties were common throughout the region, especially after the abolition of slavery. They enabled landowners to retain a supply of agricultural labor and they provided housing for freedpeople, both before and after the Civil War, who continued to work as agricultural labor but who no longer lived in quarters directly under the roof or eye of enslavers. Evidence from Delaware suggests that these houses typically consisted of a single room in the range of 16 by 16 feet to 18 by 20 feet with a loft overhead and possibly a one-story, shed-roofed addition on one side. Typically built of log or frame with varying degrees of finish, such dwellings often rested on pier foundations built of wood, brick, or stone, which made them more easily portable and less likely to be preserved.¹⁰⁰ Houses of this description are similar to those depicted by DeLancy Gill, who produced a remarkable set of drawings of the homes occupied by Black migrants around the fringes of Washington, DC, in the 1880s.

⁹⁹ Rebecca J. Siders and Anna V. Andrezejewski. “The House and Garden: Housing Agricultural Laborers in Central Delaware, 1780-1930,” in *Exploring Everyday Landscapes: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture VII*, ed. Annemarie Adams and Sally McMurry, 149-66 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997).

¹⁰⁰ Siders and Andrezejewski, 151.

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Significance:

Archeological sites representing the rural dwelling type would be significant under Criterion D for their research value and potential to yield important archeological information about undocumented history, such as the topics posed in the historic context. Rural dwellings associated with African Americans are an important element in the evolution and growth of DC, as thousands of free African Americans and freedpeople sought to establish homes, livelihoods, and communities during the Reconstruction era. Archeological resources like the Sarah Whitby, Charles Dickson, and the Jane Dickson sites can provide further understanding of rural African American life in the District of Columbia during the late nineteenth century. Since many of these rural dwellings have vanished from the landscape and national memory, the investigation of such property types can broaden the understanding of the material lives of African Americans in an era when this population was expanding enormously in Washington and exercising new agency during a period of significant social and political change. The rural dwellings inhabited by African Americans, and the areas where they lived after the Civil War, provide important information on later settlement patterns that occurred as DC continued to expand.

Rural dwellings constructed by African Americans may meet Criterion A because of association with themes like the Great Migration, community development, ethnic heritage, and social history. Archeological sites associated with this property type may meet Criterion B because of associations with figure(s) that resided there that are significant in either a regional or national context. In order for the rural dwelling to meet Criterion B, the relative significance of the individual must be established. Sites associated with figures who worked to build and sustain a community possess sufficient associative value for nomination under Criterion B, and if the individual's role within the community can be demonstrated, the rural dwelling should be eligible.

Registration Requirements:

Archeological sites associated with the rural dwelling property type are eligible under Criterion D and also may be eligible under Criteria A and/or B. Properties of this type must retain integrity of location and association. It is possible the property also may retain integrity of setting and feeling if the intact features associated with the resource is able to evoke a palpable sense of the past. In addition, if archeological research results in the ability to reconstruct the spatial organization through the presence of structural remains and other intact features, it is possible that integrity of design also may apply to rural dwellings.

The registration requirements for African American rural dwellings under Criterion A will differ based on the period of occupation and association. Because of the relative scarcity of rural archeological sites associated with African Americans in DC prior to emancipation and during the Reconstruction era, any such rural dwelling with archeological integrity constructed prior to 1900 and with a clear association with significant themes or broad patterns in history is potentially eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. In addition, a rural dwelling associated with an individual with a documented role in community formation or specific contributions to history should be eligible under Criterion B, provided the role of the individual or individuals and their impact on local, state or national history can be documented and is clearly presented.

Registration requirements for African American rural dwellings under Criterion D must demonstrate archeological integrity and have the potential to provide significant contributions to history, such as the topics posed in the historic context. The key determinants of integrity for a property with a small yard or no yard are the remains of the dwelling itself and the presence of artifact deposits. Foundations may come in a variety of forms, such as pier bases and chimney bases. In some cases, there may be no foundation remnants at all. The absence of foundations does not rule out eligibility necessarily if there is other evidence that can show the size and composition of the dwelling. Besides foundations, building remains can be present in the form of artifacts, such

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as nails, window glass, and hardware; other building materials, such as roofing tin; and related features, such as driplines or drainage pipes.

A primary condition of integrity is the presence of artifact deposits. Artifact deposits may be found within the foundation itself, in exterior features (such as privies), or as middens in the yard. Feature deposits are preferred since yard deposits are more mixed and artifacts tend to have been damaged by trampling. However, yard deposits can be informative nonetheless, especially if the site has a fairly short occupation period.

With regard to deposits within the foundations of a demolished house, consideration must be given to the possibility that they came from outside the site. The cellar holes of abandoned houses have been used as trash dumping spots. Intrusive deposits sometimes can be detected by a sharp break between those deposits and an underlying rubble layer because they are of later date than the known occupation of the site.

Indications of integrity for sites of this property type are:

- Clear documentation of African American occupancy;
- Architectural features, such as pier bases, foundations, or chimney bases;
- Other artifacts that provide information about the dwelling;
- Pit features or wells;
- Trash middens or other intact deposits of artifacts and faunal material dating to the period of African American occupancy.

c. Name of Property Type: Rural Community

Description:

The surviving traces of rural African American communities attest to the presence and increasing social and economic independence of African Americans in DC in the decades following the Civil War. Such settlements reveal the evolution and growth of the northern and western periphery of the District, first by free Blacks prior to the Civil War and then by recently emancipated African Americans in the years that followed. A rural African American community is a district or circumscribed place containing African American members that was either distinct from the nearest Euro-American community or which self-identified as a cohesive African American enclave within a larger multiracial community. These African American settlements often were located along major transportation routes, specifically around crossroads in the countryside. Other communities grew up, over time, near large plantations where the enslaved people were freed. A good example of this pattern is the Gum Springs community near Mount Vernon, Virginia, founded around 1805 by West Ford, formerly enslaved at Mount Vernon. Some communities formed where freedpeople obtained land and gradually divided it among their descendants, such as Batestown, for example, which is partly within the Prince William Forest Park in northern Virginia.¹⁰¹ The rural African American community possessed a core or nucleus that over time came to include a concentration of dwellings and various outbuildings as well as communal or institutional buildings such as churches, social halls, and schools.¹⁰² Rural communities also may have some degree of self-sufficiency, such as a market or other commercial enterprises, whether they are formal separate spaces or a function of a home or another building. Rural communities in this region often were not defined very well and might overlap, so that

¹⁰¹ John Bedell, "Few Know that Such a Place Exists": Land and People in the Prince William Forest Park. Prepared for the National Park Service, National Capital Region by The Louis Berger Group, Inc. (2003), 60-62.

¹⁰² Jason Shellenhamer, John Bedell, Andrew Wilkins, and Robin Krawitz, *Historic Context: The Archaeology of African American Life in St. George's Hundred, Delaware, 1770-1940, U.S. Route 301 Corridor, New Castle County, Delaware*. Report prepared for Delaware Department of Transportation by The Louis Berger Group, Inc. (2016), 224

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one resident might claim to live in Wheaton, his next-door neighbor in Glenmont. But the absence of fixed boundaries does not mean that these communities were not vital in the lives of their inhabitants.

Several rural African American communities that have been documented within the District but outside the central city were comprised of individuals and families that migrated to DC. One of the earliest was Vinegar Hill, which was situated to the east of Rock Creek Park at the intersection of Georgia Avenue NW and Missouri Avenue NW. This community was established in the early nineteenth century and comprised of some families from Prince George's County, Maryland. Another documented settlement was the Reno subdivision, which was established by a white developer on the remnants of Fort Reno in the 1870s but became known as an African American community.¹⁰³ Other documented communities include an enclave, known later as St. Phillips Hill, of families who were formerly in bondage and settled near Battery Kemble during the Civil War as well as Barry Farm, which was established in Anacostia by the Freedmen's Bureau in 1868.

Significance:

The National Register typically recognizes entities composed of multiple buildings, such as towns and communities, as historic districts. National Register Criteria for Evaluation provides that historic districts may "represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction."¹⁰⁴ African American communities and individual sites within them may be eligible under Criterion A because of their potential to reflect broad patterns of history, such as the historic context of African American life in the Reconstruction Era.¹⁰⁵ Identified community organizations (such as churches, schools, or social halls) may reflect patterns of community growth and self-sufficiency. National Register Criterion D, commonly used for archeological sites, permits nomination of resources "that have yielded or are likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history." This is applicable to known historic African American communities where few, if any, above-ground structures or buildings still stand. The archeological remains of this property type can provide potentially important information about the web of kinship and interrelationships within the African American community. These communities would relate directly to the rural character of the District in the years that followed the Civil War and the increasing suburbanization of the area during the late nineteenth century. Archeological sites situated within these potential districts would serve as one of the few marks left by the broad class of individuals once held in bondage and seeking new opportunities on the periphery of the nation's capital.

Registration Requirements:

Archeological sites associated with the rural community property type are eligible under Criterion D and also may be eligible under Criteria A and/or B. Properties of this type must retain integrity of location and association. Although the archeological remains of this property type may be situated now in a suburban setting and may have been affected by later developments, it is possible the property may retain integrity of setting and feeling if the resource is able to evoke a palpable sense of the past. In addition, if the archeological research results in the ability to reconstruct the understanding of the spatial organization of a rural community, it is possible that integrity of design also may apply to this property type. The registration requirements for African American rural communities under Criterion A will differ based on the period of occupation and association. Because of the relative scarcity of rural archeological sites associated with African Americans in DC prior to emancipation and during the Reconstruction era, any such rural community with archeological integrity constructed prior to 1900

¹⁰³ Taylor, 7

¹⁰⁴ National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (U.S. Department of the Interior, 1995), 17.

¹⁰⁵ National Park Service, 1995, 15.

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and with a clear association with significant themes or broad patterns in history is potentially eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. In addition, a rural community associated with an individual with a documented role in community formation or specific contributions to history should be eligible under Criterion B, provided the role of the individual or individuals and their impact on local, state or national history can be documented and is clearly presented.

Registration requirements for African American rural communities under Criterion D must demonstrate archeological integrity and have the potential to provide significant contributions to history, such as the topics posed in the historic context. If several archeological sites can be shown to have composed a rural community, those resources should be evaluated as an archeological district as well as individually. The integrity standards for an individual site that would be a contributing element to an archeological district might be different, and often will be lower, than if it were evaluated alone. The remains of communities often will command much more attention and affection from the public than single houses, and therefore public engagement will be critical. The best source of information on the structure of the community, and therefore which elements will be most important to its integrity, may well be informant interviews.

A rural community will be made up of dwellings and other structure types, such as a store, church, or school. It also may include a cemetery. If the community ever had those foundational institutions, then the survival of those key sites likely will be considered critical to the integrity of the community as a whole. For example, if a community grew up around a crossroads store and later added a school but the locations of the store and school have been destroyed, it will be difficult to argue that the archeological remains of the community have integrity *as a community*; although, of course, the sites of the dwellings still might be individually significant. Roads, streets, or lanes are also vital parts of a community, and the integrity of the road network should be assessed as well.

Indications of archeological integrity for sites of this property type are:

- Clear documentation that a substantial portion of residents were African American with their own communal institutions;
- Archeological remains of nucleated residences;
- Archeological remains of at least one communal or institutional building. This site may represent the remains of a church, social hall, or school;
- Surviving cemeteries;
- Surviving streets or roads, or other evidence of community patterning.

G. Geographical Data

This historic context pertains to the geographic boundary of the District of Columbia. The District comprises approximately 68.3 square miles and is bordered by the Commonwealth of Virginia on its southwest side and the State of Maryland on its southeast, northeast, and northwest sides. Approximately 61.4 square miles of the District consist of land, and the remaining 6.9 square miles are water, which includes portions of the Potomac and Anacostia rivers, Rock Creek and other tributaries of the rivers, and Rock Creek Park in Washington, DC. Although the research for this document has focused largely on sites located in present-day Rock Creek Park, the historic context and the associated property types are relevant for the District of Columbia in its entirety.

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H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

It can be difficult to identify the race of the occupants of an archeological site through excavation. As a result, other documentation is required to determine whether a site can be attributed to African American owners or tenants. The evidence could be direct documentation about the residents of the site, or it could be that the site is within a community known to have been populated by African Americans. The names of landowners are comparatively easy to identify because they can be found on deeds, tax rolls, wills, and other documents related to property ownership. It should be noted, however, that the absence of indexes makes it difficult to trace many rural properties in DC. Most African Americans in 1865-1900 did not own land, and the identities of those individuals have to be traced in other ways. Occasionally, census records contain geographical information, allowing researchers to determine whether a particular individual or family is associated with a property. Other records such as rental documents occasionally survive, as is the case for Rock Creek Park, that allow individuals to be ascribed to specific tenancies.

It is probably more common, however, for the race of occupants of a particular site to be inferred from community composition through the demographics presented in census records. Care must be taken, however, to follow community changes over time. For example, the row houses on some streets in southeast Georgetown were built by white property owners, were rented to African Americans in the late nineteenth century, then were bought by new white owners after World War II. Other communities, such as Reno, were multi-racial from their establishment.

The Sarah Whitby, Charles Dickson, and Jane Dickson sites were discovered during an archeological survey of Rock Creek Park carried out between 2002 and 2006.¹⁰⁶ The survey was conducted under the NPS Systemwide Archeological Inventory Program in order to comply with Section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. The study was in no way a comprehensive archeological survey of the entire park. A variety of strategies were used to focus the fieldwork on those locations where the most important resources were likely to be found. The methods used to locate historic sites included:

- Review of previous archeological studies in the park, which began in the 1880s;
- Study of historical maps;
- Detailed documentary research, including chains of title for key properties and review of purchase records from when the Park was established;
- Use of the U.S. census to identify communities and learn about people known to have lived or worked in the park.

The Sarah Whitby Site (51NW185), the Charles Dickson Site (51NW198), and the Jane Dickson Site (51NW183) are shown on the 1892 USCGS Survey map of DC (Figure 11). Park records identified the occupants of all three sites. All three sites were identified during shovel testing of locations previously identified as having high potential for material. During this survey, shovel testing was focused on key landforms rather than being deployed on long transects or large grids.

¹⁰⁶ John Bedell, Stuart Fiedel, and Charles LeeDecker, *"Bold, Rocky and Picturesque,"* National Park Service, National Capital Region by The Louis Berger Group, Inc., 2008.

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One of the goals of the survey was to identify and study African American residences in the park. After these sites had been identified from shovel testing and documentary research had identified them as the homes of African Americans, follow-up testing was undertaken at the Sarah Whitby and Charles Dickson sites. This consisted of additional shovel testing and the excavation of test units. Test units, generally measuring 3 by 3 feet, were placed in identified site features that proved to be cellar holes. Artifacts from the sites were analyzed and cataloged and are curated at the NPS Museum Resource Center in Landover, Maryland.

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National Park Service

African American Rural Home Sites in Washington, DC

DC

Name of Multiple Property Listing

State

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This figure has been redacted.

African American Home Sites in Rock Creek
Park, Washington, DC

Washington, DC

Name of Property



Figure 2. Rock Creek Valley in 1861 (Boschke 1861)

African American Home Sites in Rock Creek
Park, Washington, DC

Washington, DC

Name of Property

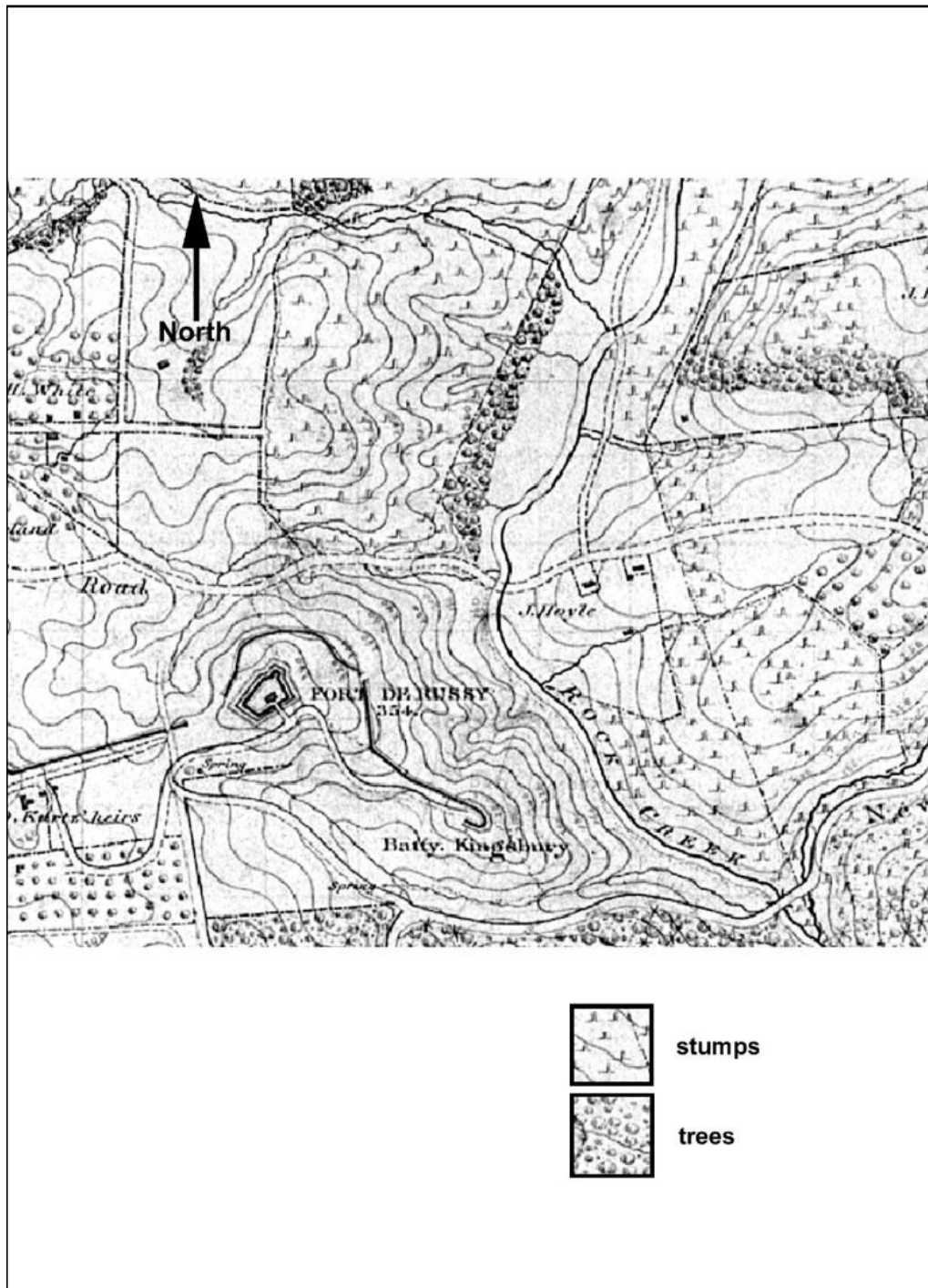


Figure 3. Rock Creek Valley in 1864 (War Department 1864)

African American Home Sites in Rock Creek
Park, Washington, DC

Washington, DC

Name of Property

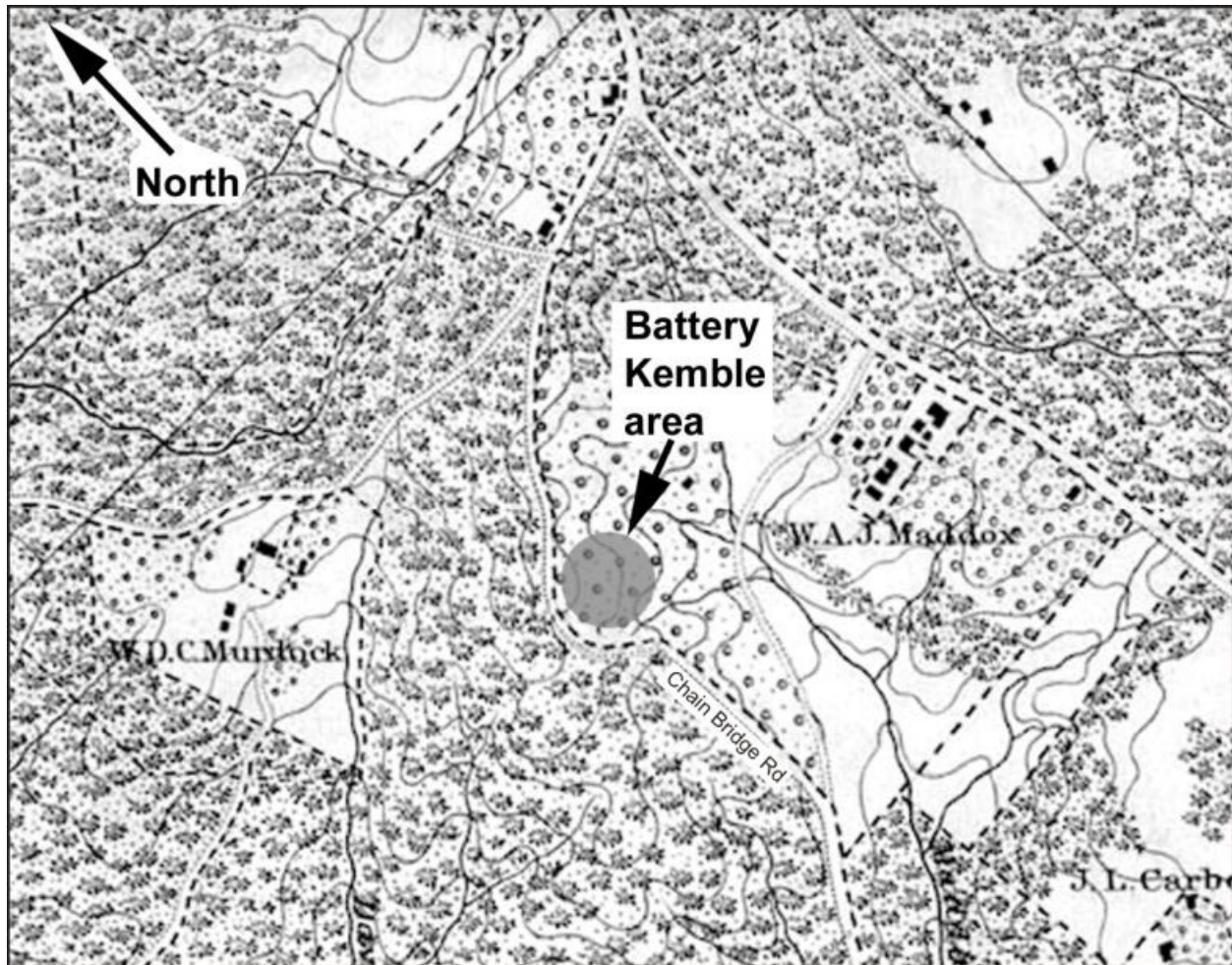


Figure 4. Detail of Battery Kemble Area, 1861 (Boschke 1861)

African American Home Sites in Rock Creek
Park, Washington, DC

Washington, DC

Name of Property

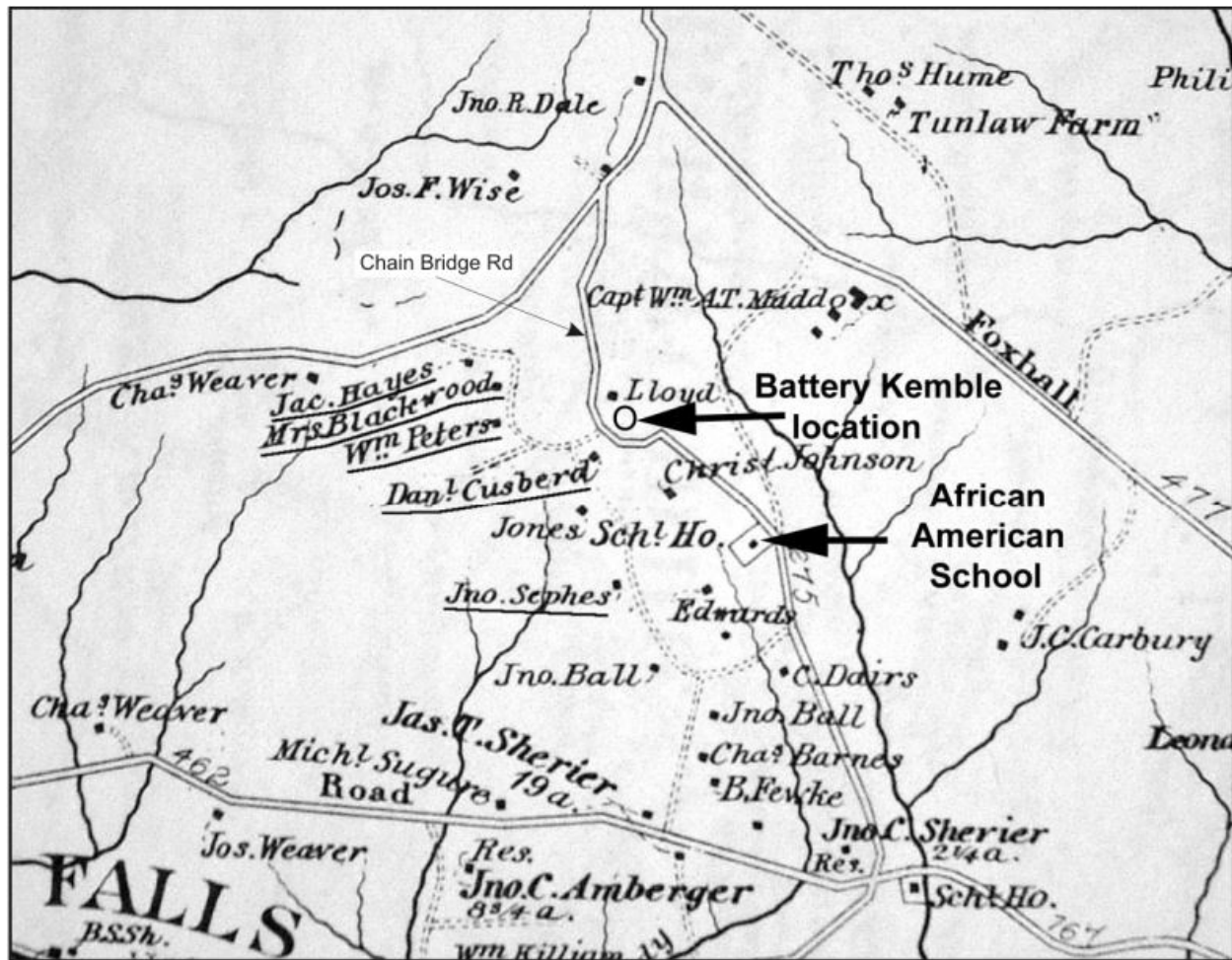


Figure 5. Detail of Battery Kemble Area, 1878 (Hopkins 1878)

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African American Home Sites in Rock Creek
Park, Washington, DC

Washington, DC

Name of Property

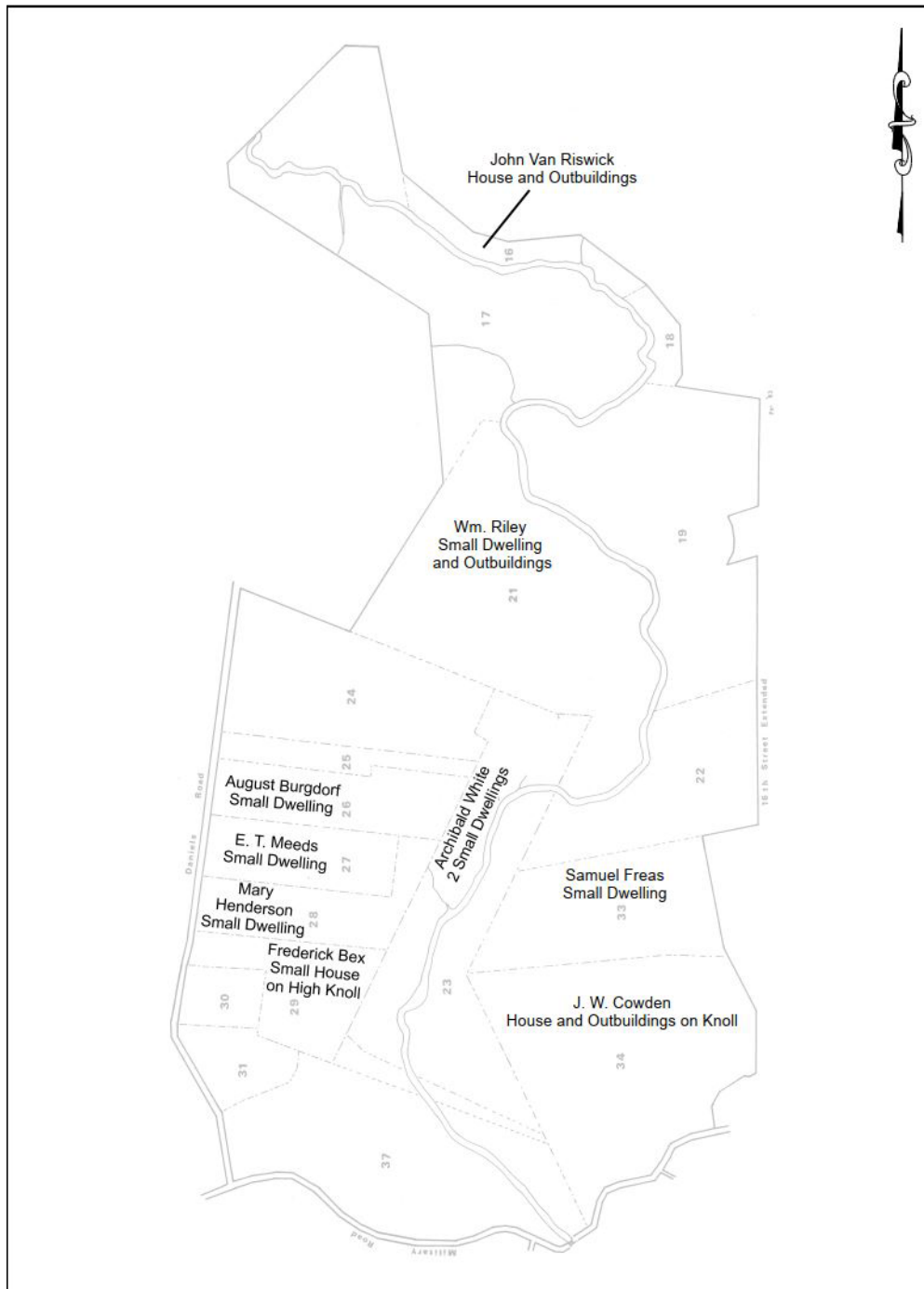


Figure 7. Character of Property Included in Rock Creek Park (North) (Inashima 1985)

African American Home Sites in Rock Creek
Park, Washington, DC

Washington, DC

Name of Property

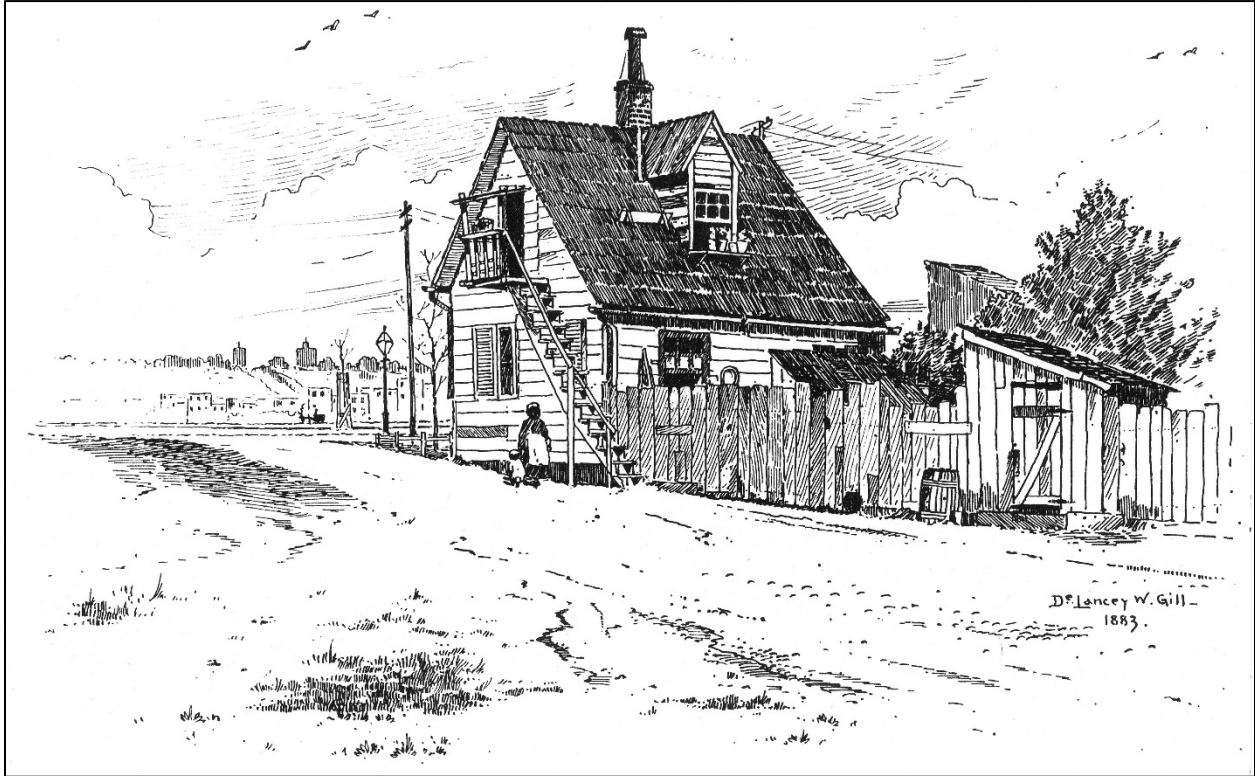


Figure 8. DeLancey Gill Drawing of House at 18th and R Streets, 1883 (Rock Creek Park)

African American Home Sites in Rock Creek
Park, Washington, DC

Washington, DC

Name of Property

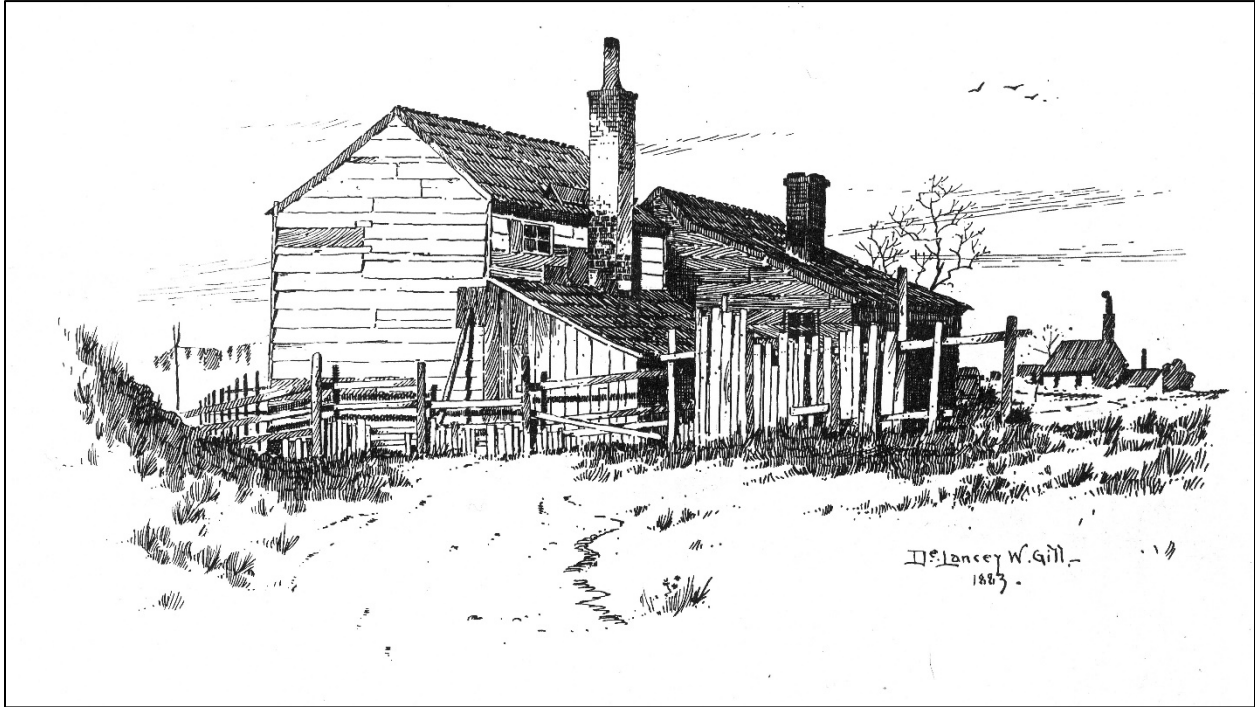


Figure 9. DeLancey Gill Drawing of House at 23rd and R Streets, 1883 (Rock Creek Park)

African American Home Sites in Rock Creek
Park, Washington, DC

Washington, DC

Name of Property



Figure 10. Artist's Reconstruction of the Zeal Williams House (Bedell 2003)

African American Home Sites in Rock Creek
Park, Washington, DC

Washington, DC

Name of Property



Figure 11. The Robinson House in 1862 (Library of Congress)

African American Home Sites in Rock Creek
Park, Washington, DC

Washington, DC

Name of Property

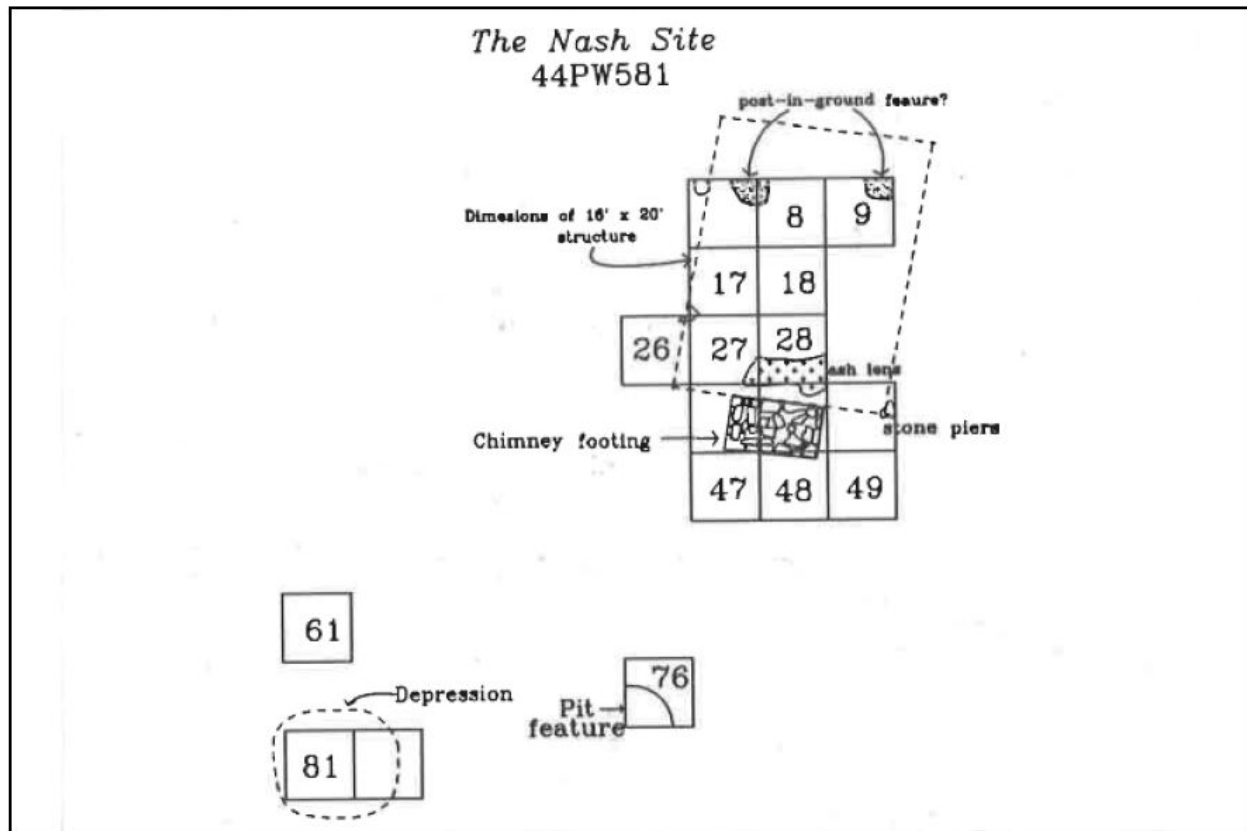


Figure 12. Archeological Plan of the Nash Site, Prince William County, Virginia (Galke 1992)

This figure has been redacted.