PITTSYLVANIA: A CARTER FAMILY PLANTATION IN THE VIRGINIA PIEDMONT

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ABSTRACT

Manassas National Battlefield Park in Manassas, Virginia has very limited information regarding the archeological remains of a large plantation complex known as Pittsylvania (44PW287). In order to expand the information base concerning this contributing element to the park's National Register nomination, it was necessary to gather and synthesize the available historical and archeological data. In partial fulfillment of the requirements of the University of Maryland Masters of Applied Anthropology program, an internship was established, consisting of an above-ground survey of the Pittsylvania plantation complex and a comprehensive review and synthesis of the primary historical data related to the site. This project was intended to provide the park with a detailed summary of the occupational history of Pittsylvania as well as an updated, accurate representation of the site's built environment.

The results of this study will be useful as a contributing resource to the park's National Register documentation, and will also provide background information that will facilitate future research at the site. The resulting data should also serve to update the park's interpretive programs.

As part of the Carter family's vast land holdings in Virginia, the Pittsylvania plantation complex began as a tobacco plantation that was established in the mid-eighteenth century, evolving into a small-grains farming landscape by the nineteenth century. Plantation decline began in the first quarter of the nineteenth century upon the death of Landon Carter, Jr. By the time Pittsylvania witnessed the hostilities during the First Battle of Manassas, the main house had fallen into disrepair and the Carters were forced to abandon the estate until after the war. The house served as a field hospital during both battles of First and Second Manassas, but was burned sometime before 1864. A modest house, Pittsylvania II, was built near the site of the original mansion in 1885. The Carter heirs continued to occupy the property until 1903, culminating an occupational history that spans over 150 years of occupation by a single Virginia family.

The synthesis and interpretation of primary and secondary resources pertinent to Pittsylvania reveal much about the people who inhabited Pittsylvania and about the ideological implications of the plantation system in general. However, this study also reveals that substantial information regarding the experiences and contributions of African Americans at Pittsylvania is conspicuously absent from the available primary resources. Finally, this study shows that previous research at the site is incomplete, and some cases misleading or even incorrect. In short, the primary and secondary historical data surrounding this important site do not present an accurate picture of the site. Archeological research and interpretation have the potential to present a more complete story of Pittsylvania.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Manassas National Battlefield Park in Manassas, Virginia has very limited information regarding the archeological remains of a large plantation complex known as Pittsylvania (44PW287). In order to expand the information base concerning this contributing element to the park's National Register nomination, it was necessary to gather and synthesize the available historical and archeological data. In partial fulfillment of the requirements of the University of Maryland Masters of Applied Anthropology program, an internship was established, consisting of an above-ground survey of the Pittsylvania plantation complex and a comprehensive review and synthesis of the primary historical data related to the site. This project was intended to provide the park with a detailed summary of the occupational history of all the people who inhabited the landscape at Pittsylvania as well as an updated, accurate representation of the site's built environment.

Research Questions

This project utilized primary and secondary sources to inquire into the nature and appearance of the Pittsylvania plantation complex; the history of the Carter family at the site; enslaved life at Pittsylvania; the nature of, and reasons for, landscape changes over time; the origin and basis of previous research; the present archeological condition of the site; and recommendations for the better preservation and management of Pittsylvania in the future.

Chapter Two examines the regional historical context of the site and the establishment of Pittsylvania as a plantation. Chapter Three discusses the agricultural context of tobacco and wheat cultivation, as well as the growth and development of the Piedmont area. Chapter Four focuses on planters and the plantation system in general, while Chapter Five discusses the conditions for Pittsylvania's enslaved population. Chapter Six is a discussion of the lives of Landon Carter, Sr. and his son Landon Carter, Jr., who established Pittsylvania and their heirs in the area. Chapter Seven presents a detailed discussion of the history of the Carter family at Pittsylvania from the eighteenth century through the early part of the twentieth century, and also discusses public ownership and interpretation at the site. Chapter Eight is a summary of past field work at the site and a description of the above-ground archeological survey performed as part of this study. Chapter Nine places the results of this study within the larger interpretative context of plantations, discusses the potential nature of the archeological resources there, summarizes the findings of this study, and presents recommendations for the management and protection of the cultural resources present at Pittsylvania.

Research Methodology

The data for this study came from a number of different sources, including previously published research, primary historical documents, and secondary research sources. Primary historical documents utilized included patent and land grant information, deeds, land causes, wills, inventories, land tax rolls, personal property tax rolls, agricultural and population census data, letters and other

and owners of the Pittsylvania plantation complex were resident in Prince William County and thus actually occupied the site under study. Because personal property taxes were assessed according to the quantities of enslaved laborers, livestock, and titheable luxury items (such as furniture, watches, and wheeled vehicles) owned by each taxpayer, such data were studied as an indicator of socioeconomic status and also helped demonstrate changes over time. Similarly, land tax records gave information regarding changes in the monetary worth of land over time. Land cause records provided information on how the property boundaries were defined and how the land changed hands throughout the site's history.

Wills and inventories for several Carter family members, including Landon Carter, Jr., Wormeley Carter, Sr., and Elizabeth Carter were examined. Such documents provided information on how land and property was passed on to the various heirs and were also indicative of socioeconomic status and wealth. Wills and inventories also provided information regarding Pittsylvania's enslaved laborer population, including their names, occupations, and monetary worth.

Population census data provided information as to household size, composition, and familial relationships. Agricultural census records were reviewed as a means of determining what types of crops and commodities were produced, to what extent animal husbandry was practiced, and how much land was under cultivation.

Letters and correspondence between various Carter family members in the Manassas National Battlefield Park collections were utilized in order to gather any information about the site and the family, including family legends, traditions, and oral history. Such letters also often provided a modicum of personal information about the human actors on the landscape, and gave some clues as to the nature and condition of the physical environment at the site.

Secondary Source Material

Given the paucity of previously published material specific to Pittsylvania, as well the absence of any archeological research or excavations there, it was necessary to utilize secondary research source material in order to establish a physical and historical context for Pittsylvania plantation through time. General historical background data and information were extracted from volumes produced by various respected historians, archeologists, economists, and other scholars. Specialized reference works on the American Civil War were used as sources of site-specific military activity that occurred in the vicinity. When possible, contemporary eighteenth- and nineteenth-century diaries, publications, and other sources were used in order to further establish a historical context for the site. Published research on archeological investigations at other plantation sites was utilized in order to postulate the potential nature of the archeological record at Pittsylvania.

An unexpected source of Carter family history came in the form of an audio tape of an interview conducted in 1970 between George A. Reaves, Historian at Manassas National Battlefield Park and local historians Jack Ratcliffe and George Sutton. This audio tape was transcribed, and details the results of Sutton and Ratcliffe's research on Pittsylvania and the Carter family in general. The

CHAPTER TWO

REGIONAL HISTORICAL CONTEXT AT PITTSYLVANIA

In order to understand the significance of Pittsylvania, it is necessary to understand the historical context from which this Piedmont plantation emerged.

The first half of the eighteenth century witnessed the transformation of Virginia and the people who lived there, giving rise to a distinctive "Virginia" identity.[1] The land-owning English immigrants of the seventeenth century helped the colony to evolve from a raw settlement to a legitimate province, establishing "the 'Old Dominion's' native-born eighteenth-century plantation aristocracy."[2] Resources, both natural and financial, were concentrated in the hands of this native gentry throughout the eighteenth century and beyond.[3] In many ways, the Carter family, founders of Pittsylvania, personified this new society and new century, taking every opportunity to increase their wealth and the continuing wealth of their heirs through the systematic accumulation of land and power.

Settlement

In 1729, Robert "King" Carter purchased a land patent known as the "Middle Bull Run" tract in Virginia's Northern Neck, increasing his already substantial holdings in those areas and setting aside nearly 100,000 acres for his heirs.[4] The Middle Bull Run tract, along with the Great Bull Run tract and Lower Bull Run tract (acquired in 1724), encompass the present-day area of Manassas National Battlefield Park.[5]

Robert "King" Carter of Corotoman, Lancaster County, Virginia (1663-1732), "a man of tremendous energy, shrewd business habits, dominant personality, and accustomed to [success]," was the wealthiest and perhaps most influential man of his day in Virginia.[6] During his lifetime, he served as an agent for the Northern Neck proprietary, speaker, treasurer, and councilor of the colonial House of Burgesses, and also Acting Governor of Virginia in 1726, but he never lived on his Northern Neck

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[1]Isaac 1982:13

[2]Parker and Hernigle 1990:7

[3]Issac 1982:137

[4]Joseph 1996a:3.2; WPA 1941:26

[5]Harrison 1964:242; Joseph 1996a:3.2; Reeves 1998:2.1

[6]Harrison 1964:197; Morton 1941:9

May 15, Reach Bull Hall [Pittsylvania]. *My son Landon met me on Broad Run about 7 miles from home. We got to Hall by sunset, found all well there and everything better than I ever found since Sibley's death* [John Sibley was an overseer in Landon Carter's employ]. *Corn all measured and housed. We reckon they will certainly make at least 30 hogsheads there and if I mind Patrick* [probably the new overseer] *he will make 20 hogshead.*[14]

A 1777 entry in the diary of Landon Carter, Sr. indicates that the first house on the Pittsylvania tract was an overseer's house, and that Landon, Jr. was responsible for building a "dwelling house of taste" on his own.[15] At any rate, Pittsylvania "was considered a grand house in Prince William County."[16] Very little is known of the plantation layout and design, the outward appearance of the house, or the nature and location of outbuildings and quarters for the enslaved African American population that resided there along with the Carter family. The only known image of Pittsylvania can be glimpsed in the background of a photograph of the ruins of the Henry House taken in March of 1862 after the First Battle of Manassas. Some information is also provided by family oral history contained in letters and correspondence among the Carter family descendants. However, plantations in general, including those belonging to other members of the Carter family, can be seen as the ideological foundation of an established social order that flourished during the eighteenth century in Virginia, and may be thus used as a basis for interpretation regarding Pittsylvania.

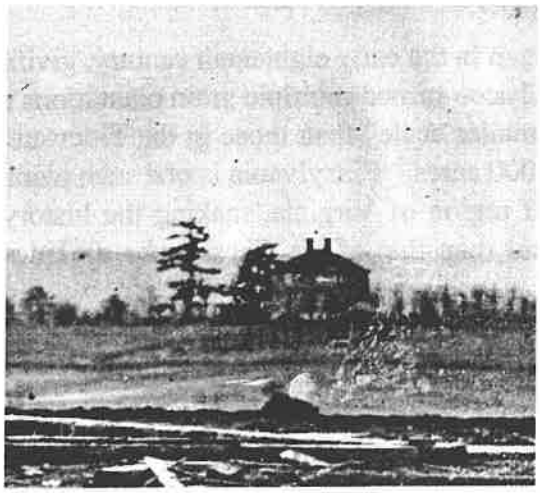

Figure 1. Pittsylvania in 1862 as viewed in the background of a photograph of the ruins of the Henry House following First Manassas. MANA Photofile.

[14]Ed. Greene 1965:133. Bull Hall and Pittsylvania are the same estates; Bull Hall may refer to the earlier overseer's house that was located on this tract. Pittsylvania is the more common name for Landon Carter, Jr.'s estate, and is the recognized name utilized throughout this document.

[15]Ed. Greene 1965:1123

[16]Joseph 1996a:3.3

crops than did their contemporaries in the Tidewater. However, once farms were established in the Piedmont, farmers there began growing grain as well as tobacco on a commercial basis.[8] During the eighteenth century, grain eventually became a profitable part of Virginia's trade with Great Britain, Ireland, the West Indies, and New England.[9]

A major difference between the Tidewater and the Piedmont regions lay in each region's reliance on tobacco. Throughout Virginia, chronically low tobacco prices forced some planters to contemplate a shift to wheat cultivation as early as the 1730s and 1740s, so that by the 1770s, "wheat had become a second staple in Virginia."[10] Though the change was gradual, it altered the basic language of agriculture, forcing planters to become farmers, a process that is suggested by the terminology used by contemporaries.[11] For example, when Issac Weld visited the Northern Neck in 1796, he observed, "Those who raise tobacco and Indian corn are called planters, and those who cultivate small grain, farmers."[12] Similarly, in the 1750s, Landon Carter, Sr. referred to his recent assumption of the role of a farmer and to his adoption of the methods of "English husbandry." Because he continued to raise tobacco as well as wheat, he carefully described himself as both a planter and a farmer.[13]

Tobacco Cultivation

The cultivation of tobacco required the systematic exploitation of large amounts of land; indeed, "there is no plant in the world that requires richer land, or more manure, than tobacco."[14] Fields were rotated, rather than rotating crops or fertilizing the land. Tobacco was planted and grown until the soil was depleted, then the planter moved on to the next tract of land. Exhausted tracts of land were allowed to remain unused for a period of at least 20 years.[15]

Additional land was required to grow corn to feed animals and enslaved laborers, pasture to graze

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[8]Walsh 1993:181

[9]Gill 1978:381; Morton 1941:142-143

[10]Gill 1978:382

[11]Breen 1985:31; Gray 1958:164-167; Morgan 1998:174

[12]Weld 1799:156

[13]Ed. Greene 1965:131, 145, 163

[14]Ed. Carman 1939:165

[15]Kulikoff 1986:47; Hernigle and Parker1990:7

hillocks into which the young plants would be set. As with all aspects of colonial tobacco production, the exact timing of transplanting depended upon the planter's judgement, and was thus an anxious time for both planter and laborer. As the tobacco ripened in the fields over the summer, enslaved laborers were usually given a number of tedious tasks, including weeding and hoeing each individual plant. Enslaved laborers were also busy with other necessary work in the springtime, including sowing vegetables, attending to the births of calves and lambs, shearing sheep, and making cheese and butter.

After eight to ten leaves had appeared on each plant, the planter ordered his laborers to begin "topping," or removing the top of the plant. This process prevented flowering, thus channeling the plant's energies into the leaves. Tobacco plants that were topped then put out "suckers," secondary shoots that had to be removed as well lest they deprive the developing leaves of important nutrients. During the summer growing season, enslaved laborers suckered each tobacco plant two to three times, allowing choice leaves to grow. While enslaved men and women worked in the tobacco fields throughout the summer, they also spent the warmer months harvesting grains.

The next step, tobacco cutting, also generated a great deal of tension on the plantation, as the timing of this decision was based entirely upon the planter's supposed competence, and the slightest miscalculation could compromise the whole crop. The process was supposed to begin sometime in September; precise timing was crucial, as an early frost could destroy the plants, but unripe tobacco cut too early seldom cured properly. Cutting led immediately to another arduous task, curing, in which the trick was to produce a leaf neither too dry nor too moist. The curing process was to be terminated at the moment the tobacco became dry without being brittle, pliable without being moist, a condition that could change radically from hour to hour. Following curing, several tedious tasks remained, including stripping and stemming the leaves from the stalks. These tasks required considerable amounts of time, and during the autumn months it was not uncommon for enslaved laborers to be forced to work long into the night. During this time, enslaved laborers were also busy harvesting vegetables and plowing fields to sow for the next year. Fall and winter were also the times that stock was slaughtered and meat was cured.

Only after these tasks had been completed could the planter order his laborers to begin "prizing," or packing the tobacco into hogsheads, which each weighed about a thousand pounds upon completion. Hogsheads were often not ready for shipment to the public warehouses and inspection until well after the New Year, and not until the following spring, a full fifteen months after the initial sowing of the tobacco seed, did the planter send loaded hogsheads to the European market. Such a work cycle contained few slack periods; indeed, Virginia planter Richard Corbin observed that;

> *To employ the Fall & Winter well is the foundation of a successful Crop in the Summer: You will therefore Animate the overseers to great diligence that their work may be in proper forwardness and not have that to do in the Spring that ought to be*

The Shift to Grain Cultivation

Some scholars note that the shift to grain cultivation began in the Piedmont as early as the 1740s, and that by the close of the eighteenth century, tobacco production had lost prominence in the Virginia Piedmont, due at least in part to a decline in soil fertility which made it difficult to produce good grades of tobacco.[30] While farmers continued to grow some tobacco, more and more began to focus on the less labor intensive cultivation of grains.[31] For example, Charles Yates, a Fredericksburg merchant engaged in the import-export trade, observed in 1774 that the planters were determined "to drop planting & turn their Lands to Farming as wheat yields more profit."[32] Likewise, in 1769 Robert Beverley expressed amazement at "the great Quantities of our most valuable Lands being so generally employed into the cultivation of Wheat."[33] The diary of Landon Carter, Sr. mentions "prodigeous fine wheat" and "Meadows inexpressible" grown at his son's plantation at Pittsylvania.[34] By the 1780s, several towns, including the port of Alexandria, flourished at strategic points on streams flowing from the Piedmont to handle the trade in wheat.[35]

Wheat Cultivation

The cultivation of wheat was particularly useful as an alternative or secondary crop to tobacco because it could be successfully grown on previously cultivated land. Hugh Jones wrote in 1724: "When land is tired of tobacco, it will bear Indian corn, or English wheat, or any other European grain or seed, with wonderful increase."[36] As late as 1775, the anonymous author of *American Husbandry* wrote:

> *The wheat and other corn...are raised principally on old tobacco plantations that are worn out for that plant without the assistance of much manure. This is a point which deserves attention: exhaust the lands in these colonies* [Virginia and Maryland] *as much as you will with tobacco, you will leave it in order for grain, which is a matter of great consequence to the settlers; since corn is a very profitable article of culture, and upon the rich lands of this country will (even after tobacco) yield large crops*

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[30]Breen 1985:160

[31]Stevenson 1996:175

[32]Cited in Gill 1978:382

[33]Cited in Breen 1985:180-181

[34]Ed. Greene 1965:591

[35]Harrison 1964:403; Morton 1941:144

[36]Ed. Morton 1956:77

The extra corn produced could be fed to draft animals, which in turn produced more manure for fertilization. The land used to cultivate wheat could then be prepared in the off season on tobacco plantations, and the grain could be seeded and plowed after the tobacco was harvested but before the corn needed to be gathered.[43]

The shift to grain cultivation occurred against a backdrop of increased enslaved laborer population through purchase and natural increase, which led to an "excess" of enslaved laborers in the Virginia Piedmont. Some slaveholders consolidated their "surplus" by selling or even manumitting excess laborers.[44] Grain cultivation also altered the pace of agricultural life, prompting one farmer to observe that "the ground was plowed; the grain was planted; after that, nothing need be done or could be done, except keep livestock away, until harvest."[45] Landon Carter, Sr., likewise, noted that there was nothing to be done after the corn was gathered "but feeding out Cattle and getting wood to burn" until early spring.[46] Further, grain cultivation gave rise to the need for other services and means of production, including the establishment of mills, and also the construction of roads to transport and market grain and grain products.[47]

Mills

In Prince William County, evidence of a regional reliance on grain cultivation is indicated by the establishment of several mills operating there by the late eighteenth century.[48] By century's end, there were 50 water-powered grist mills in operation in the county.[49] One such water-powered grist mill closest to the Pittsylvania tract was Sudley Mill, built on Catharpin Run by John Carter in the 1760s. One of the earliest mills in the area, the Carters constructed Sudley Mill to meet the needs of the various family estates in the area, as well as those of the local farming community.[50] The establishment of Sudley as a merchant mill for the Carter family "was a natural outgrowth of their vast land holdings and capabilities for grain production."[51] Most mills in this area ground grains into

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[43]Walsh 1993:185

[44]Stevenson 1996:175-176

[45]Cited in Breen 1985:55-56

[46]Ed. Greene 1965:343

[47]Berlin and Morgan 1993:19

[48]Reeves 1998:2.2

[49]PWC Historical Commission 1982:13

[50]Conner 1975:i; Reeves 1998:2.8

[51]Reeves 1998:2.8

CHAPTER FOUR

PLANTERS, PATRIARCHS, AND PLANTATIONS

The members of Virginia's ruling gentry class are often portrayed as the philosophical children of the Enlightenment, imaginatively employing reason to solve the problems of Virginia, and giving rise to a sense of Republicanism and free will that fueled the fires of independence.[1] Far from the mother country, inhabiting a vast unexploited land, members of the colonial gentry attempted to (re)populate and (re)develop a landscape and culture based upon the acquisition and ownership of land, and the power, freedom, and wealth that land ownership afforded.[2]

As the planters became more wealthy, they indulged themselves as consumers, importing expensive luxury products and having impressive stone and brick mansions built in an attempt to live like the English gentry.[3] Integral to the construction of this hierarchical landscape and social order was the plantation system, which created impossibly complex relationships and consequences for both blacks and whites. Indeed, C. Vann Woodward has observed that masters and the enslaved "shaped each others destiny, determined each other's isolation, shared and molded a common culture."[4] At the heart of much of the self-conception of many of the great planters was their identification with the biblical patriarchs and an ideal of self-sufficiency and independence.[5]

Rhys Issac has observed that after mid-century, the traditional world of the great planters came increasingly under attack, as the yeoman class began to abandon their traditional expressions of deference to the elite, eroding the symbolic authority of the planter class. This erosion can be traced to a number of factors, including the spread of evangelical Protestantism, or Great Awakening.[6] Further damage came in the form of widespread planter debt, crop failures, and economic depression in the 1760s and 1770s. The final changes were wrought by the American Revolution itself, which gave rise to a new political and social system.[7] However, the plantation system that the great planters had put into place would leave a lasting legacy that grew and changed with the times.

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[1]Breen 1985:26

[2]Morgan 1998:27-29

[3]Breen 1985:36-37

[4]Woodward 1964:5

[5]Morgan 1998:258

[6]Issac 1982:400

[7]Breen 1985:30-32

late-eighteenth-century masters viewed slaves, their relentless denial of rights to bondmen increasingly placed slaves outside society.[12]

The Planter as Patriarch

The great Anglo-American cultural metaphor of the planter as patriarch is imprinted upon the plantation system and embodies the ideal of an organic social hierarchy.[13] Invoking the Great Chain of Being, a Virginia lawyer argued in 1772 that, "Societies of men could not subsist unless there were a subordination of one to another...That in this subordination the department of slaves must be filled by some, or there would be a defect in the scale of order."[14] The perspective of the patriarch was that he anchored a social system based upon the "protection" that the powerful offered the weak, like a monarch defending his people in exchange for their loyalty and obedience. The planter patriarch was the source of indivisible authority on the plantation, and his "family" was composed of his own kin as well as the overseers and enslaved individuals that resided on the property.[15] In fact, in 1743 the Reverend Thomas Bacon of Maryland characterized enslaved laborers as "an immediate and necessary part of our household," emphasizing that "next to our children and brethren by blood,. . .our slaves are certainly in the nearest relation to us."[16]

The relationship between the planter patriarch and his "family"encouraged kindness and affection as it simultaneously encouraged cruelty and hatred.[17] For example, Landon Carter, Sr.'s diary records many instances of familial care towards sick or afflicted members of his enslaved population, noting "how wonderfully has [God] blessed me both with skills and inclination to assist my poor fellow creatures." He further observes that "they are human creatures and my soul I hope delighteth in relieving them." Yet he also noted that "kindness to a Negroe" seemed to be "the surest way to spoil him," and in August of 1778, he asserted that "slaves are devils and to make them otherwise than slaves will be to set devils free."[18]

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[12]Morgan 1998:25

[13]Issac 1982:20; Morgan 1998:258

[14]Cited in Morgan 1998:258

[15]Mullin 1972:19

[16]Cited in Morgan 1998:274

[17]Genovese 1972:4

[18]Ed. Greene 1965:615, 636, 1149

master; the right of protection, the right of counsel and guidance, the right of subsistence, the right of care and attention in sickness and old age. He has also a right in his master as the sole arbiter in all his wrongs and difficulties, and as a merciful judge and dispenser of law to award the penalty of his misdeeds.[25]

In a similar vein, Dr. Richard Eppes, a Petersburg, Virginia planter saw slavery as a charitable cause that was mutually beneficial to whites and African Americans. In a journal entry from 1855, Eppes opined:

Effects of slavery upon the formation of the Southern character, much better calculated to develop the finer feelings & nobler thoughts than the institutions of the North. . . .No opportunity offered [in the] *North for displaying the feelings of pity sympathy, authority & suavity there as here, reason why* [the] *North produces better business men &* [the] *South* [better] *professional men. . . .*[26]

The attitudes of planters like Eppes and Elliot are evidence of a shift to a less patriarchal and more paternalistic character of slavery that emerged during the nineteenth century. This attitude often made planters more inclined to emphasize their solicitude toward, and generous treatment of, their bondpeople, while also coming to expect gratitude, and even love, from them. Such an approach also helped masters gradually manufacture the fiction of the contented and happy enslaved African American.[27]

The system of plantation slavery also gradually became mechanized; a nineteenth-century planter wrote that: "A plantation might be considered as a piece of machinery; to operate successfully, all of its parts should be uniform and exact and the impelling force regular and steady."[28] Similarly, an anonymous essay written "By a Southern Planter" in Plantation and Farm stated:

No business of any kind can be successfully conducted without the aid of system and rule, and these are the more essentially necessary, in the varied and complicated operations of really good plantation and farm management. For what is management, but the carrying into practice of a well arranged system of order and rule, founded upon reason and experience. Order, then, in all things must be the aim of every man who expects to make himself a manager.[29]

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[25]Cited in Genovese 1974:76

[26]Cited in Brown 2000:33

[27]Morgan 1998:284

[28]Ed. Breeden 1980:31

[29]Ed. Breeden 1980:2

Americans, including some with occupations such as shoemaker, weaver, wagoner, and blacksmith.[32] Although these individuals may not have qualified as specialized tradespeople, they probably had some familiarity with craft tools without necessarily being artisans.[33] Regardless, their specialized labor enabled Pittsylvania to function even in a remote, frontier setting such as that of the late eighteenth century Piedmont.

[32]PWC Will Book H:477

[33]Morgan 1998:54

Quartering of Enslaved Laborers

The practice of dividing land into small tracts, known as quartering, was common on tobacco plantations, which necessitated a dispersed settlement pattern and large land holdings.[37] Large planters usually divided their land into quarters, which were separated from the home plantation. Dwellings for enslaved laborers were also referred to as "quarters."[38] For example, in his Present State of Virginia (1724), the Reverend Hugh Jones noted that " the Negroes live in small cottages called quarters, in about six in a gang," and that an overseer was often located nearby to supervise the occupants' tasks.[39] Oral histories and narratives further note that on plantations such as Pittsylvania, enslaved African American settlements were often large enough to resemble "little towns."[40]

Landon Carter, Jr. owned 152 enslaved African Americans at the time of his death in 1801.[41] However, it is unlikely that all 152 enslaved individuals were resident at the main plantation complex. In fact, Carter descendant Edward Corson recalled a story that suggests that quartering was practiced at Pittsylvania:

> *It is said that he* [Landon Carter, Jr.] *would encounter boys of eighteen and, not recognizing them, would ask them where they came from. "Why I belong to you," would be the answer. He had never seen them before.*[42]

Thus, it seems possible that at Pittsylvania, numerous enslaved persons were housed elsewhere in different quarters located near the agricultural fields, while house servants were placed closer to the "Big House."

Housing for Enslaved Laborers

The dwellings constructed to house enslaved laborers on plantations varied widely; however, they

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[37]Berlin and Morgan 1993:8; Breen 1985:41-43; Mullin 1972:47; Walsh 1993:172

[38]Kulikoff 1986:386; Mullin 1972:47; Vlach 1993:12

[39]Ed. Morton 1956:75

[40]Ed. Rawick 1972:177

[41]PWC Will Book H:477

[42]"Our Trip May 1929"; typed manuscript on file at Manassas National Battlefield Park, MANA #21550

National Battlefield Park: the Hooe family estate "Hazel Plain," and the Carter family estate "Portici." At Hazel Plain, field quarters for enslaved laborers seem to flank the main plantation complex on opposite sides, at the maximum distance from the main house but still within its view.[50] On the neighboring estate of Portici, owners positioned the main house at the center of a high ridge, with the field quarters at the opposite end of this ridge but within view of the main house.[51]

Housing for Enslaved Laborers at Pittsylvania

Although the precise locations of enslaved laborer housing at Pittsylvania are unknown, a letter from a Carter descendent to the grandson of Landon Carter, Jr., mentions "servants quarters back of the Pittsylvania house...both north and west."[52] This would place them close at hand but not necessarily visible from the front of the house.

Another Carter letter reports that when the family returned to the property after the Civil War, the main house had been destroyed and the heirs, "Edwin Carter and his two sisters, [were] living in a log cabin, not far from the site of the old dwelling."[53] Furthermore, a map drawn by Carter family historian George Sutton shows a building marked "servants" to the rear and left, or north and west, of the main house. These sources taken together suggest the possibility that this log cabin might have formerly served as quarters for enslaved persons attending to the needs of the immediate Carter family or otherwise working close to the main house, a common arrangement on plantations.[54] Returning to their ancestral lands, with their home in ruins, and forced to live in what was undoubtedly a cramped, crude, and altogether ruinous dwelling previously reserved only for enslaved persons must have been quite an adjustment for the once-proud Carters.

Family oral history further notes that cabins or quarters for enslaved laborers were "scattered about the property...marked by patches of richer soil where they [had] gardens, by a few fruit trees or a little clearing."[55] The practice of dispersing enslaved laborers over the landscape was common,

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[50]Reeves 2000, in prep.

[51]Parker and Hernigle 1990

[52]A. L. Henry to Edward Carter 6 November 1923; Arthur Lee Henry Papers, MANA #1466

[53]Hugh F. Henry, Sr. to Ada Corson 20 March 1882; Hugh F. Henry, Sr. Letters, MANA #21539

[54]Upton 1988:361

[55]Edward Corson, "Our Trip May 1929"; Typed Manuscript on file at MNBP, MANA #21550

laborers eleven pounds of corn, two pounds of fish, and a half pound of meat a week, along with whatever they were able to raise themselves.[64] Robert "Councillor" Carter of Nomini Hall, usually accounted a "humane" master, "made it a policy to give his slaves less food than they needed."[65] Landon Carter, Sr. was apparently an even less benevolent master, and did not distribute a meat ration, preferring to "only reward them [enslaved laborers] with a bit [of meat] now and then as they deserved it by their work and diligence." He further dismissed complaints of inadequate corn rations as "a contrivance of the people to get more to feed [their] fowls."[66] If Carter's slaves desired more salted pork, he required them to buy it directly from him with money they earned through their own industriousness.[67] Landon Carter, Sr.'s tightfistedness extended into other areas of life for his enslaved laborers; noting that "my people always made and raised things to sell," so he gave them but one shirt a year and then obliged "them to buy linnen to make their other shirt instead of buying liquor with their fowls."[68]

Planters may have viewed enslaved laborers' gardens as a way of raising profits by economizing on the amount of provisions they had to provide for their laborers, but enslaved individuals may have conceived of gardens as a means of taking control of their environment and their lives.[69] In fact, "by acting as if they owned the quarters, these slaves had overturned the declared order of the plantation."[70] Furthermore, the cultivation of gardens not only produced food and commodities that supplemented the diet and economy of enslaved laborers, but can also be seen as a way that "slaves challenged their masters' authority and took control of a larger portion of their lives."[71] Moreover, by marketing their surplus and saving the proceeds of those sales, enslaved individuals could elevate their standard of living and possibly even secure freedom for themselves and their loved ones.

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[64]Kulikoff 1986:392

[65]Morgan 1975:309

[66]Ed. Greene 1965:602, 871

[67]Morgan 1998:136

[68]Ed. Greene 1965:484; see also 299, 347, 1040

[69]Berlin and Morgan 1993:24

[70]Vlach 1993:15

[71]Berlin and Morgan 1993:3

Landon Carter, Sr. of Sabine Hall

Landon, Sr. was a man of enormous strength of character and unusual self-discipline, demanding these qualities not only of himself but also of others. He sought an ideal of moderation, thoroughly persuaded that "Extremes in any thing are bad." Without proper restraint and a determination to maintain prudence in one's appetites, habits, and behavior, one could, despite his reason, suffer himself to fall prey to the "most abandonned of all Vices" resulting in the corruption of "the whole machine with one kind of Morbidity or another." A strict adherence to the goals of moderation and prudence were essential for the man in pursuit of distinction, and Carter sought not only to maintain "every degree of temperance" in his own behavior but also to appear "to the whole World as a constant Enemy to...all Kinds of extravagant Life."[5]

As a father and patriarch, Landon, Sr. was obviously proud of "the care I have taken of my family, the paying off children's fortunes, and putting out 3 sons with an Estate very well to pass in the world, still maintaining a large family at home, and all this without being in debt but a very trifle."[6] He saw his central task as a parent "to leave those descended from me a reasonable subsistance to provide for those they shall be the instrument of birth to." However, "what he found most disappointing and most frustrating was his inability to impress his own values and drives upon his children and the apparent rejection by his family of the entire code around which had built his life."[7]

Parent-Child Relations

It is well known that Landon, Sr.'s relationship with his oldest son Robert Wormeley, or "Wild Bob"as he was called, was strained at best and also a source of great disappointment and consternation. In his diary Landon, Sr. often complained about his oldest sons Robert Wormeley and John; for example, he wrote in June 1774 that both had "wives very big with large gangs of children and yet they play and play it all away."[8] He once referred to John (of Sudley Manor in neighboring Fairfax County) as "the mere hero among the brutes if not an Agent of Hell,"[9] noting "not only his inattention to business, but also his preoccupation with drinking, gambling, and horse racing."[10] He complained in February 1774 of Robert Wormeley:

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[5]Ed. Greene 1965:465, 1013, 559, 17

[6]Ed. Greene 1965:447

[7]Greene 1965:52

[8]Ed. Greene 1965:830

[9]Ed. Greene 1965:1122

[10]Johnson et al. 1996:32

I have thought once my greatest happyness but as a just Father kept it concealed.[14]

During the eighteenth century, a son's duty to his parents often involved more than just obedience and was perceived as a lifelong obligation. Just as a father's principal responsibility was to guarantee the economic independence of his sons, a son's essential task was to honor his father by maintaining that sense of self-reliance and financial autonomy.[15] From the above exchange, it may be surmised that Landon Carter, Jr., like his older brothers, was not always viewed by his father as fulfilling his duties as a son, and was thus something of a disappointment to his stern father. However, through his ownership of a large and wealthy estate, Landon Carter, Sr. still exercised a powerful influence, allowing him to exert some control over his sons even after his death.[16]

Like Father, Like Son

Daniel Blake Smith has observed that eighteenth century children, especially sons, absorbed parental values and feelings at an early age, and the strong ties of affection and filial duty which bound many children to their parents were in part rooted in the close emotional regard that fathers displayed toward their children during childhood.[17] Landon Carter, Sr., like many planters, was a strict taskmaster, and took it upon himself to personally oversee nearly every aspect of life on his plantations; in a 1777 diary entry he talks about visiting his plantations and looking "into every hole and corner of them."[18] It might be assumed, then, that Landon Carter, Jr. learned much of what he knew about plantation management and the treatment of enslaved laborers from his father; indeed, a well-known quote from Thomas Jefferson describes how;

> *the parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to his worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by its odious peculiarities.*[19]

The Discipline of Landon Carter, Sr.

Landon Carter, Sr. in many respects lived up to the patriarchal mode of domination. He seemed to

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[14]Ed. Greene 1965:185

[15]Smith 1980:122

[16]Smith 1980:242-248

[17]Smith 1980:52-53

[18]Ed. Greene 1965:1114

[19]Cited in Morgan 1998:380

resistance was manifested in many ways in the instances cited above, including lying, destruction of tools or property, feigning illness, or refusing to work.[26]

At the same time, Landon Carter, Sr. could invoke a shared humanity between master and enslaved. "As a human creature," he said of one of his sick enslaved laborers, "I had all imaginable care taken of him." He "begged," "prayed," and "talked a great deal in a most religious and affectionate way" with an enslaved individual in an attempt to effect a reformation of character. He was sometimes the "forgiving" father, pardoning a fellow "creature out of humanity, religion, and every virtuous duty."[27]

Slavery as a system differed from conventional indentured servitude in a multitude of ways, not the least of which was the fact that the masters of enslaved individuals had to inflict pain at a higher level than the masters of servants. That is, the enslaved could not be made to work for fear of losing their freedom, therefore they had to be made to fear for their lives.[28] It was, ultimately, not necessary to extend the rights of Englishmen, or later Americans, to enslaved African Americans, since they were perceived as "a brutish sort of people." Because they were seen as "brutish," it was necessary, or at least convenient, to abuse, maim, or sometimes even kill them in order to make them work.[29] Indeed, it is difficult to read in Landon Carter, Sr.'s diaries the casual, matter-of-fact discussions of the abuse of enslaved individuals without acknowledging the fact that he probably felt that he was dealing with "a brutish sort of people."

As Landon Carter, Jr. did not keep a diary or any similar documentation, it is difficult to know for certain his attitudes regarding the management of his plantation and his enslaved laborers. However, observing his father's daily disciplining or "correction" of his own enslaved laborers must surely have inured Landon, Jr. to the "command experience" as a master of his own plantation.[30]

Frontier Life

The diary of Landon Carter, Sr. gives further evidence of the dangers and challenges of life at the edge of the frontier in eighteenth-century Virginia. Sickness was common; the first child born at Pittsylvania, also named Landon, died in 1770. Landon, Sr. recorded the event in July of that year:

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[26]Joyner 1991:91; Orser 1988; Weik 1997:84

[27]Ed. Greene 1965:589, 636, 778, 941

[28]Morgan 1975:312

[29]Cited in Morgan 1975:314

[30]Smith 1980:85

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE CARTER FAMILY AT PITTSYLVANIA

As discussed in Chapter Six, the Carters were one of colonial Virginia's most prominent families. Although the site is not well-known, Pittsylvania enjoyed a rather lengthy occupation, as the plantation was established sometime before 1756 and was occupied through the death of the last heir, Virginia Carter, in 1903. The most complete primary historical documentation regarding the Pittsylvania Carters is preserved in legal documents such as wills and inventories, and also in letters and correspondence between the various family members and heirs. What follows is a reconstruction of the occupational history of Pittsylvania, based upon these documents as well as existing research and scholarship. Such sources illuminate the patterns of life at Pittsylvania, as it operated within the changing social and economic context of the area.

The Will and Inventory of Landon Carter, Jr.

Landon Carter, Jr. married Judith Fauntleroy, the daughter of Colonel Moore Fauntleroy of Richmond County, who bore him 8 children: Mary, Elizabeth, Margaret, Wormeley, Charles, Judith, Moore, and John.[1] Although he never repeated his father's successes in his accumulation of wealth or status, Landon Carter, Jr. still died a wealthy man, owning 152 enslaved persons upon his death in 1801. His inventory also includes an estimate of incoming crops: 950 bushels of corn, 12,000 pounds of tobacco, 1100 bushels of wheat, a stack of oats, and a large number of stock animals. Additionally, the inventory lists a sizable amount of material possessions, including fine furnishings, ceramics, and books. All told, Landon Carter, Jr.'s estate was valued at $30,499.50.[2]

Landon Carter, Jr. did have some debts upon his death; the will stipulates his "desire that my Whole Estate be liable to the payment of my Just Debts and that the Crop on hand at my decease, be applied as far as it will go to that purpose, and what may then remain unpaid to be paid Equally by my four Sons."[3]

Landon, Jr.'s 1801 inventory notes that he owned a total of 37 cows and calves, 3 steers, 2 bulls, 14 small cattle, 45 sheep, 18 horses and colts, 1 shoat, 83 hogs, and 30 pigs. Oats, hay, and corn fodder are included in the inventory as well, suggesting that he used at least some of the land for animal husbandry, and probably also slaughtered some of his livestock for food.[4] The inventory also

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[1]WPA 1988:158-159

[2]PWC Will Book H:450

[3]PWC Will Book H:450

[4]Joseph 1996a:3.3

there is slightly more information about Elizabeth and Judith.

In 1817, George Carter sold 333 acres of the Lower Bull Run tract to the south of the Pittsylvania estate to his cousin Elizabeth Carter. This tract of land, called Spring Hill Farm, was the site of a house, later known as the Henry House, that was built sometime in the early 1800s.[10] Historian George Sutton speculated that the male heirs of Landon Carter, Jr. purchased the farm for their sisters Elizabeth and Judith in order to relieve themselves of the annuity payment.[11] Sutton's speculation is somewhat substantiated by a letter from Arthur Lee Henry, grandson of Judith Carter, who mentions that the Spring Hill farm was acquired as "a trade," but unfortunately does not elaborate further.[12] At any rate, Elizabeth Carter died in 1822.

Elizabeth Carter, like her brother Wormeley, accumulated some debts prior to her death, necessitating the sale of some her estate. Her will stipulates that:

> *my Estate be kept together till Christmas next for the purpose of finishing the crop now growing and collecting all my slaves together that are hired out, and when the crop is finished at the end of the year, I desire that my land may be sold by my Executors herein after named, on such credit as my said Executors may think best to increase the price, and the money ariseing from the said sale, as well as all my slaves, and every other description of property that I own (except such as is herein after bequeathed) it is my will and desire shall be equally divided between my much beloved sisters Mrs. Robert Hooe, and Mrs. Henry, and the children of my deceased sister Mrs. Bruce in equal portions. . . .*[13]

Elizabeth Carter's inventory reveals that she owned 23 enslaved persons upon her death in 1822. She also owned some livestock, including four horses, a steer, five cows/calves, 12 sheep, eight shoats, two sows, 30 turkeys, and eight ducks. The inventory further indicates that the land was used for the production of wheat, rye, and corn.[14]

It is interesting to note that Elizabeth Carter issued special directions as to how her enslaved laborers were to be sold upon her death. She stipulated that the executors were "requested to divide the families in such a way as will occasion the least distress." Elizabeth Carter, an unmarried woman

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[10]Joseph 1996a:3.6; 1996b:3.5

[11]Sutton Interview Transcript Reel #2

[12]A. L. Henry to Edward Corson, 8 January 1934, Arthur Lee Henry Papers, MANA #1493

[13]PWC Will Book L:477-478

[14]PWC Will Book L:510-513

Early Republic Years 1781-1815
The Will and Inventory of Wormeley Carter, Sr.

Very little is known about Wormeley Carter, Sr. He married Sally Edwards and built a house known as "Rosefield" to the west of Pittsylvania, probably in the 1790s. Not much is known about Rosefield other than it was situated on a knoll overlooking agricultural fields between two intermittent streams.[21] Rosefield is depicted on Civil War-era maps, but its original location is uncertain as the house was destroyed sometime before 1864 during the American Civil War.[22]

Financial troubles did not evade Wormeley Carter, Sr., despite his father's generous bequest. By 1810, Wormeley Carter sold off some of the outer fringes of the Pittsylvania estate to pay off his debts. Upon his death in 1815, Wormeley had only 1270 acres left to divide among his nine children: Landon, Jr. [III],[23] Wormeley, Jr., Ann F. Hamilton, Lucy Ewell, Judith, Kitty, Richard Henry, Addison, and Thomas Ottway. The executors of the estate sold 184 acres of land to pay debts incurred by Wormeley Carter, Sr. Wormeley, Jr.'s bequest consisted of about 190 acres of cleared land and 50 acres of woodland. Thomas Ottway and Richard Henry each received 125 and 135 acres of land, respectively. Ann F. Hamilton, married to Robert Hamilton, inherited the house at Rosefield. Landon, Jr. obtained the plantation house at Pittsylvania along with about 230 acres of cultivated land and 50 acres of woodland.[24] Although his cause of death is not known, "according to legend, Wormeley Carter [Sr.] died insane."[25]

The inventory of Wormeley Carter, Sr. reveals that he maintained possession of 31 enslaved persons. He also owned ten horses, 20 sheep, 13 cows/calves, two yokes of oxen, five heifers, two bulls, two steers, nine sows, ten pigs, 15 hogs, one boar, and four shoats. This suggests that the practice of animal husbandry continued at Pittsylvania, although not on as large a scale as during his father's tenure. The inventory also includes grain processing equipment such as scythes, hand mill stones, and a wheat fan, indicating that wheat and corn cultivation and processing were being conducted at the estate more extensively than during Landon, Jr.'s tenure. Wormeley Carter, Sr. left an estate

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[21]Joseph 1996c:4.77

[22]Sutton Interview Transcript Reel #2; the present-day Dogan House at Manassas National Battlefield Park is built on or near the original site of Rosefield (Jim Burgess, personal communication, 2000)

[23]Wormeley Carter named one of his sons Landon, Jr. In order to avoid confusion, this Landon, Jr. will be referred to as "Landon, Jr. [III] throughout this document

[24]PWC Will Book K:440

[25]Johnson et al. 1995:39

23rd Novr. 1815."[30] These 184 acres were purchased by Burkett Newman who constructed a house on the property.[31]

Wormeley Carter Sr.'s estate was valued at $6335.16. Even with all the sales of land, enslaved persons, and other property, by December 31, 1821, the estate of Wormeley Carter, Sr. still owed the executors a balance of $21.42.[32]

Lawsuit of 1815

The problems with Wormeley Carter's estate were apparently not limited to his numerous debts. According to Carter family historian George Sutton, a dispute over the estate of Wormeley Carter, Sr. resulted in a lawsuit in 1815 between his heirs and the heirs of John Carter.[33] This lawsuit left the Pittsylvania Carters poorer than ever, and may have led to a permanent rift between the two families. For example, a letter between Carter family descendants notes that "there was a great difference between the Pitt_ people and those of Sud[l]ey, the latter were sporty and am sorry to say not very honest in their dealings even down to the present generation."[34]

Even as early as 1770, Landon Carter, Sr.'s diary records an event that indicates that relations between John and Landon, Jr. were not particularly friendly. When the first child born at Pittsylvania died of the flux, Landon, Jr., two of his other children, and some of his enslaved laborers were also sick, yet John Carter did not come to their aid nor write to their father for help, even though he lived at Sudley Mansion only a few miles away from Pittsylvania. Landon, Sr. exclaimed;

> *. . .I shall hardly know what to say to John Carter, his brother, for to be sure when that youth was once violent ill of this disorder in my absence at home his brother Landon acted the brotherly part and attended him through the who*[le] *of the disorder and that when he was by the Doctor's Accounts in a most dangerous state. . . .Johnny has got a family now and must not venture as he used to. . .gratitude and humanity knew no such boundary as that of a partial family concern and it was often thought out of tenderness to that virtue that mankind were providentially saved from*

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[30]PWC Will Book L479-483

[31]Johnson 1996:3.6

[32]PWC Will Book L:479-483

[33]Sutton Interview Reel #2. John Carter of Sudley was the elder brother of Landon Carter, Jr.

[34]A. L. Henry to Edward Corson 2 April 1932, Arthur Lee Henry Letters, MANA #1522

the Sudley Church, and "died in peace, September 10, 1849."[41]

Upon his death in 1849, Landon Carter Jr.'s [III] wife Emily took over management of the 283-acre Pittsylvania estate. The 1850 Agricultural Census reveals that 200 acres were used for crop production, yielding 45 bushels of wheat, 500 bushels of corn, and 80 bushels of oats. Emily Carter also possessed two horses, two milk cows, two oxen, and ten swine.[42] The estate continued to decline at this time, "with the main dwelling house and outbuildings [in] disrepair."[43] Emily Henry Carter "is said to have found consolation in religion, and indeed she is carried on the Sudley Class rolls from 1836 until 1859, although after 1851 she is listed as 'old and infirm,' denoting inability to attend services regularly."[44]

The Pittsylvania farm's decline continued into the 1860s when Landon [III] and Emily's son Edwin took over management of the property. The 1860 Agricultural Census reveals that 50 acres of land were allowed to return to succession, while 150 acres were used to produce 25 bushels of rye, 100 bushels of corn, and 200 bushels of oats.[45] Edwin "struggled to keep the property together, leaving the main house abandoned for some years."[46]

The Civil War and Reconstruction 1861-1870

With the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, Pittsylvania, and the surrounding Manassas area, were caught up in armed conflict. The Confederates began the war with a victory at Fort Sumter, South Carolina, and the first major land battle of the war occurred at First Manassas on July 21, 1861. Hostilities occurred again in the area in August of 1862. Although a complete discussion of the Battles of First and Second and Manassas is beyond the scope of this paper, the Pittsylvania plantation complex played an important role in both battles. The following discussion of First and Second Manassas will focus on those events specifically related to Pittsylvania.

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[41]Johnson et al. 1995:39

[42]1850 Agricultural Census for Prince William County, Virginia, Bull Run Library, RELIC, Microfilm, Manassas, VA

[43]Joseph 1996a:3.11

[44]Johnson et al. 1995:39

[45]1860 Agricultural Census for Prince William County, VA, Prince William County Library, RELIC, Microfilm, Manassas, VA

[46]Joseph 1996a:3.13

Jr. An 85 year-old invalid, Mrs. Henry apparently refused to leave her home, Spring Hill Farm (now known as the Henry House), and "was fatally wounded when Ricketts' guns were turned on the house to flush Confederate sharp shooters from the structure."[54]

Carter family oral history details another story related to the hostilities during First Manassas. Just after the battle, Captain Alexander White, Company B, Tiger Rifles, First Special Battalion Louisiana Infantry, and Captain George M. McCausland, on the staff of Colonel Nathan Evans, fought a duel at Pittsylvania. The cause of the duel is not clear; one account states that McCausland made a disparaging remark against the Tigers. Another version says that McCausland claimed to have delivered an order from Evans during the battle that White claimed he never received. Whatever the cause of the argument, it appears that McCausland took offense and challenged White to a duel on the lawn at Pittsylvania. The weapon of choice was the Model 1841 "Mississippi" Rifle, the weapon White's company was armed with. McCausland, who was fatally wounded in the duel, died in the Pittsylvania house some weeks later.[55]

The Second Battle of Manassas

The Confederate and Union armies met again at Second Manassas in August of 1862. Union General George B. McClellan's failure to take Richmond during the Peninsular Campaign of 1862 led Federal officials to consolidate their forces under General John Pope. As they attempted to advance along the Orange and Alexandria Railway toward Gordonsville, Pope's men encountered Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson's forces on August 9, 1862.[56] Hoping to defeat Pope before McClellan's troops could come to his aid, General Robert E. Lee sent Jackson and his troops to Manassas, at the rear of the Union army. Lee, meanwhile, overtook the Union position at Thoroughfare Gap, putting him in an ideal position to reunite with Jackson in the vicinity of Manassas.[57]

Much of the fighting during Second Manassas was concentrated around the Unfinished Railroad, but Pittsylvania, or the "Brown House" as it is often referred to in reports, was a landmark that figured in the troop alignments of Kearny, Ricketts, Poe, and Thoburn.[58] The right flank of the Federal army retreated to Pittsylvania with the Confederate forces following, "making a desperate stand at Mrs.

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[54]Joseph 1996b:4.57

[55]Arthur Lee Henry to Edward Corson, 20 May 1929, Editor's note in A. L. Henry Letters, MANA #1470; Ewell 1931:168; Jim Burgess, personal communication, 2000

[56]Galke et al. 1992:23

[57]Galke et al. 1992:28-29

[58]Hennessy 1985:474-486; Todd 1886:205

. .speaking of that night, 'I felt like the Day of Judgement had come'."[67]

Post-War Years 1870-1930s

Edwin Carter and his sisters Sarah Jane and Virginia returned to what was left of their home in 1866. That same year, Edwin and Virginia Carter sold 94.5 acres to Henry Matthew. During the 1870s the property spiraled further into neglect, and Edwin Carter is listed as using only 30 acres, from which he produced 200 bushels of corn, 50 bushels of oats, and 50 bushels of wheat.[68] The 1880 Agricultural Census further reports that Edwin Carter cut 10 cords of wood from the property, and also owned two milk cows, three swine, and 20 chickens. The remaining 221 acres of the Pittsylvania estate were either rented or left unused. The farm was worth a mere $480.

During the 1880s, the Carter heirs continued to further divide the property; in 1882 they sold 136 acres from the easternmost part of the estate along Bull Run to Peter Ham, who sold it to A. H. Lee in 1885. The financial devastation of the once-proud Carter family is evident in a letter from Hugh F. Henry, Sr. to his cousin Ada Corson dated 20 March 1882:

> *The Rosefield house where your ma was born, and the Pittsylvania house where your Pa was born, were on the battlefield and were both burnt during the war, and have never been so built. And the Rosefield farm has gone into the hands of strangers. What is left of the Pittsylvania farm is in the hands of Edwin Carter and his two sisters, and they are living in a log cabin, not far from the site of the old dwelling...*[69]

Hugh F. Henry, Sr. further notes that the family graveyard at Pittsylvania remained unenclosed "as Edwin Carter is very inert and has not had sufficient energy to place it under an enclosure." Another letter dated 10 June 1882 expresses some concern about the family burial plot being disturbed should Edwin Carter lose the land:

> *...but for the danger of the ashes of our relations being disturbed by the plow share it* [the family graveyard] *might just as well be in the hands of a stranger as in its present condition, with no prospect of its being in any better hands. Edwin is entirely thriftless and will never have the means to enclose it.*[70]

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[67]Ewell 1931:168

[68]1870 Agricultural Census for Prince William County, Virginia, Bull Run Library, RELIC, Microfilm, Manassas, VA

[69]Hugh F. Henry, Sr. letters, MANA #21539

[70]Hugh F. Henry, Sr. to Ada Corson, 10 June 1882, H. F. Henry, Sr. letters, uncataloged letter in Manassas National Battlefield Park collection

and two above."[73] The house itself was frame, but the stones for the chimney were salvaged from the foundations and outbuildings original to the eighteenth-century structures.[74] The house was known as Pittsylvania II.

Edwin, Virginia, and Sarah Carter were, of course, very grateful for their relations' generosity. On 8 August 1885, Sarah Carter wrote her cousin Mary E. Carter:

> *It is a very nice house with four rooms a few steps from where the old house stood. We have been fixing it up a little. It looks like another place from what it did before the war. . . .Edwin and Arthur Henry have been hard at work hauling rock to enclose the dear old grave yard. It is done with a good strong wall around gate and lock. I am so thankful we have lived to see it done. We want when we are able to have a little painting inside.*[75]

The Carter Family Cemetery

As the above quote notes, in 1885 Edwin Carter and Arthur Lee Henry salvaged rock from the outbuildings and original main house at Pittsylvania to enclose the family cemetery, located to the south of the main house, and secure it with a locked gate. There may be as many as 70 graves in a linear pattern in the cemetery, including the graves of Landon Carter, Jr. and Dr. Issac Henry, yet none of the graves are marked with an inscribed headstone, although some are marked at the head and foot with rough native red sandstone. There was, apparently, at one time in National Park Service possession, a stone into which "L. C." had been scratched, taken from the grave of Landon Carter, Jr. in the northeast corner, but it has since been lost. The last interment in the cemetery was Virginia Carter in 1903.[76]

Figure 3. Native red sandstone grave markers in the Carter family cemetery at Pittsylvania. MANA Photofile.

Today, about two-thirds of the wall are intact, as portions of the north and east walls have been vandalized and robbed of stone, possibly taken by tenants on the property during the

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[73]Hugh F. Henry, Sr. to Mary E. Carter; 9 October 1884, Hugh F. Henry, Sr. Letters, MANA #21541

[74]Joseph 1996a:3.31; Sutton Interview Transcript, Reel #1

[75]Sarah Jane Carter letters, MANA #1477

[76]Sutton Interview Transcript, Reel #1; McGarry 1982:27-28

House" because of the color of the foundations as well as the color it was painted at the time.

Little other information regarding the placement and appearance of outbuildings has surfaced. Further correspondence between Edward Corson and A. L. Henry describes the placement of barns and servants quarters "back of the Pittsylvania house. . .both north and west."[83] Edward Corson also describes a "dug well" that "was lined with stones but, not working very well, they took the stones out to deepen it and then abandoned the whole project. Water was carried from Young's Branch some distance away." Corson also recalls that "parallel with the front of the house was once a row of locusts extending both ways but Cousin Edwin used them for firewood unfortunately."[84]

Enslaved African American Cemetery at Pittsylvania

Carter family oral history records another notable feature on the Pittsylvania landscape: a cemetery some distance from the main house that is believed to be the final resting place of members of Pittsylvania's enslaved African American community. Located on a level piece of land west of the main plantation complex, a few rough native sandstone head and foot stones, as well as depressions, mark these graves. The graves are scattered across a two to five acre plot, with some of the graves grouped together.[85]

At least one instance of archaeological resource vandalism was reported in this location during the 1980s, probably related to local rumor that this cemetery is actually that of a Georgia regiment encamped in the vicinity of the plantation during the first winter of the Civil War.[86] However, Carter descendent Edward Corson notes;

> *About six hundred yards southwest of the house, all grown up with trees, is the slave cemetery. Hundreds of stones without regular arrangement are present there over a large area. Many depressions point out graves. A little further over* [from the enslaved African American cemetery] *is the site where the Confederate General Bartow's horse was killed at the edge of the property. Over the* [property] *line are grave markers of members of the 8th Georgia Infantry who fell there.*[87]

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[83]Arthur Lee Henry Letters, 6 November 1923. MANA #1466

[84]"Our Trip-May 1929" manuscript on file, Edward F. Corson Papers MANA #21550

[85]Joseph 1996a:4.58

[86]Stephen Potter, personal communication, 2000

[87]"Our Trip - May 1929" manuscript on file, Edward F. Corson Papers MANA #21550. The 1862 Warder and Catlett Map denotes the location of the Georgia Cemetery. A letter dated 12 October 1927 from Arthur Lee Henry notes that the Georgia soldiers initially buried east of the Matthews House on Matthews Hill (in the direction of the Pittsylvania enslaved cemetery)

continued to live on the property, with a young African-American girl assisting her.[92] Virginia Carter died in 1903, and Dr. Edward F. Corson of Philadelphia inherited the property in 1917.[93] It is unclear whether he got the property directly from Mary E. Carter or through his mother, Ada Carter Corson.[94]

At least two tenants lived at Pittsylvania during Dr. Corson's ownership of the property. Historian George Sutton recollects a Mr. "Hundley" living in Pittsylvania II, and "Mr. Moser" is named as making improvements to the property in 1922 and 1923; further, Pittsylvania II is sometimes referred to as the tenant's house.[95] The Pittsylvania farm was apparently abandoned sometime in the 1920s or early 1930s.[96]

Public Ownership at Pittsylvania 1930s to Present

Dr. Edward Corson sold the 83.82 remaining acres of the Pittsylvania property to Manassas National Battlefield Park in 1961 after some haggling over the purchase price of $14,000. The deed (#33) is dated 10 November 1960 and was recorded 3 March 1961.[97] This figure was apparently lower than what Corson wanted, and he and his family felt that the government was treating them unfairly.[98] Pittsylvania II stood until 1970 when the National Park Service razed the structure.[99]

The Sons of Confederate Veterans acquired the Henry Farm in 1922, but did not interpret Pittsylvania during their tenure in the area.[100] Since its acquisition of the property, the National Park Service has focused its limited resources on interpreting the battles of First and Second Manassas, and the events and individuals most significant to these conflicts; therefore, at present, Pittsylvania is not a substantial part of the park's interpretive focus. However, Pittsylvania is a key site on the

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[92]Arthur Lee Henry to Mary E. Carter 27 February 1901, A. L. Henry letters, MANA #1460

[93]Joseph 1996a:3.39

[94]Jim Burgess, personal communication 2000

[95]Arthur Lee Henry to Edward Corson 6 November 1923, A. L. Henry letters, MANA # 1466; Sutton Tape #1 transcript

[96]Jim Burgess, personal communication, 2000

[97]PWC Deed Book 267:19

[98]Jim Burgess, personal communication 2000

[99]McGarry 1982:28

[100]Jim Burgess, personal communication, 2000

remnants of Pittsylvania today.[103]

The Sutton Map

The Sutton map shows the location of outbuildings, roads, and other facilities at the site in a formalized, symmetrical balance. According to Sutton, the house was approached by a road leading from Van Pelt Hill to a circular gravel drive in front of the house. The Sutton map also shows the locations of a number of dependencies, including a wash house, ice house, meat/smoke house, carriage house, barn, kitchen, well, weaving house, and school house. Manipulation of the landscape in the form of a formal garden, herb garden, and bowling green or "common" are also reported by Sutton. The family burial plot is shown located to the south of the main house, beyond the common.

In Sutton's conceptualization of the site, the main house at Pittsylvania faced south or slightly southeast. The wash house was northwest of the main house, the weaving house southwest, the school southeast, and an unnamed dependency to the northeast completed the symmetrical square arrangement of the main structures in the plantation complex. Lesser dependencies, including the icehouse, meat house, kitchen, and number of other unnamed structures, are arranged in a horizontal line connecting the wash house with the unnamed structure northeast of the main house. The formal garden is shown to the east of the house, and the bowling green to the west completes Sutton's concept of the symmetrically balanced landscape at Pittsylvania.

The Origins of the Sutton Map

The basis of the Sutton map was not previously clear. However, as the transcript of his interview reveals, by his own admission Sutton was unsure as to whether or not the dependencies he recorded on his map were properly named. He goes on to say, "I got most of those ideas from. . .Robert Carter's book"; that is, Robert "Councillor" Carter of Nomini Hall.[104] Evidently, Sutton reconstructed the Pittsylvania plantation layout from descriptions of Nomini Hall, located near Nomini Creek in Lancaster County, Virginia.

Figure 6. Detail of Carter family cemetery wall built in 1885. MANA Photofile.

Sutton undoubtedly utilized other sources, including Carter family letters and oral history, in his interpretation of the built environment at Pittsylvania; for example, Edward Corson recollects that "in the northeastern part [of the bowling green or common] can dimly be seen the

[103]McGarry 1982; Joseph 1996a, b, c

[104]Sutton Interview Transcript, Reel #2

CHAPTER EIGHT

ABOVE-GROUND ARCHEOLOGICAL RECONNAISSANCE SURVEY

As discussed in Chapter Two, an above-ground archeological reconnaissance survey was conducted in advance of archival research at Pittsylvania. The purpose of this survey was to assess and record the current condition of the built environment at Pittsylvania.

As previously discussed, Thomas E. McGarry conducted a limited above-ground survey at Pittsylvania and incorporated his results into a report detailing Civil War era sites at Manassas National Battlefield Park.[1] Maureen Joseph also examined Pittsylvania as part of her Cultural Landscape Inventory of Manassas National Battlefield Park.[2] Both Joseph and McGarry give descriptions of the visible features at the complex.

McGarry's 1982 Historic Sites Survey

McGarry's report details the house at Pittsylvania and its attendant outbuilding complex, identifying ten features, which include Pittsylvania I and II, outbuildings, and the Carter family cemetery.[3] McGarry is not explicit in his methodology except to note that his survey was completely above-ground, and that his site survey "was simplified by. . .a plan of the grounds made by George Sutton" which "proved useful in identifying the kind of complexity that could be expected and proved to be quite accurate in locating some sites."[4] From this statement, it is evident that McGarry's interpretation of the built environment at Pittsylvania was very much influenced by the Sutton map.

According to McGarry's survey, Feature 1 is the site of the original eighteenth-century house at Pittsylvania. The house appeared "Georgian in character with a hip roof, central chimneys, and large windows...reminiscent of the Carlyle House in Alexandria, Virginia."[5] This description is based upon George Sutton's reconstruction of the appearance of the house as it is seen in the far background of a photograph taken in 1862 of the ruins of the Henry House. He notes that the foundation is most visible on the north side, but that the remainder was located through probing. He identifies a depression in the northwest corner as an "L" shaped cellar, and attributes "the

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[1]McGarry 1982

[2]Joseph 1996a

[3]McGarry 1982:25-29

[4]McGarry 1982:24-25

[5]McGarry 1982:23

2000 Above-Ground Archeological Reconnaissance Survey

The purpose of the most recent survey at Pittsylvania was to assess and record the cultural landscape features that are evident today. The survey was conducted in early spring, before the site became completely overgrown, but while remnant perennials such as daffodils and ornamentals were in bloom. This permitted maximum visibility of landscape and structural features. All visible landscape features, including structures, roads, trails, paths, gardens, and fence lines were mapped using a laser transit and were also photographed. Previous maps made by McGarry and Joseph were used as references, and an attempt was made to locate features identified and mapped in these documents. This survey was only able to discern a portion of the features and outbuildings identified by previous surveys: Pittsylvania, Pittsylvania II, the well, an outbuilding interpreted by previous researchers as an icehouse, the "common," and the Carter family cemetery.

The foundations of the original eighteenth-century house are apparent, measuring about 30 feet by 50 feet and facing generally southeast. The outline and dimensions of the house were measured, then further delineated through probing. The depression area in the northern edge of the house interpreted by McGarry and Joseph as an "L" shaped cellar is more likely the result of foundation stones being robbed out, probably by Edwin Carter and A. L. Henry during the 1880s. As discussed in Chapter Seven, Carter family oral history records a wine vault at Pittsylvania rather than a full cellar; however, such a feature was not apparent during the 2000 survey.

Also evident are the ruins of the foundations and chimney rubble of Pittsylvania II, located about 25 feet south of the original house. The rubble pile from the chimney is substantial, and the house is aligned on the same axis as the original Pittsylvania house, facing generally southeast.

A small but obvious depression about five feet in diameter and located about 17 feet to the south of the main house was interpreted as a well by previous researchers. Extensive probing in and around this depression failed to produce any evidence of subsurface brick or stone, casting initial doubt upon this interpretation. However, as discussed in Chapter Seven, archival research revealed that Carter family descendent Edward Corson recalled a "dug well" that "was lined with stones but, not working very well, they took the stones out to deepen it and then abandoned the whole project."[11] Thus, it is possible that this feature is in fact the well.

145 feet to the west and slightly south of the main house is a small, roughly square foundation with heavy walls and a deep depression that is identified by McGarry and Joseph as an icehouse. It is about 15 feet square and is filled with early twentieth-century debris. In general, plantation icehouses varied widely in form and appearance; however, the icehouse at Folly plantation in Augusta County, Virginia "was a small, square building with brick walls that stood around five feet

[11]"Our Trip-May 1929" manuscript on file, Edward F. Corson Papers MANA #21550

reconnaissance survey of the Pittsylvania plantation and farming complex is that the nature and extent of the built environment at the site cannot be assessed through simple observation. Although the primary historical record does reveal some clues, it, too, is only a portion of the story and provides an incomplete record of the site and the people who lived and labored there. Extensive archeological survey and excavation, or remote sensing techniques, are necessary if the true nature of this site is ever to be fully understood.

families were concerned with establishing a colonial tradition parallel to the ongoing cultural development in England; therefore, this Georgian structural style "conveyed a whole set of social values and assumptions" that expressed a continuum of dominance and submission over the natural environment and other actors in the landscape.[3]

Charles Orser has described the ways that planter power was communicated through the plantation's spatial organization. The planter's house "was usually at the center of the estate within a cluster of support and service buildings," enabling planters and overseers to maintain surveillance over their land and enslaved laborers.[4] The tangible glory of these manorial estates thus served as "the most persuasive propaganda for the celebration of the plantation ideal."[5]

In addition to the main house and enslaved laborer dwellings discussed in previous chapters, plantation settings were characterized by an array of outbuildings and dependencies such as smokehouses, freestanding kitchens, dairies, icehouses, sheds, and privies. Although the number and purpose of the various dependencies varied depending upon the size and function of the plantation, no estate lacked an ensemble of attendant outbuildings. For example, Union officer Theodore Lyman noted that Virginia planters;

> *have a queer way of building on one thing after another, the great point being to have a separate shed or out-house for every purpose. . .You will find a carpenter's shop, tool room, coach-shed, pig-house, stable, kitchen, two or three barns, and half a dozen negro huts, besides the main house.*[6]

Outbuildings and dependencies often served to define the boundaries of a planter's yard and landscape or to underscore its geometrical layout. This was undoubtedly the pattern George Sutton had in mind when he (re)constructed his conception of the layout at Pittsylvania.

Thus, according to the dictates of the Georgian mode, a proper gentleman's house was not only substantially constructed but symmetrically balanced. The layout of the plantation was predictably ordered in its spatial arrangement, including the surrounding gardens and dependencies.[7] Guiding many planters in planning their estates was a highly rational formalism. The chaotic natural condition of the world was suitably improved only after it was transformed into a strict, hierarchical order composed of straight lines, right-angle corners, and axes of symmetry. The mathematical

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[3]Isaac 1982:37-38

[4]Orser 1988:323-324

[5]Vlach 1993:5

[6]Cited in Phillips 1929:332

[7]Vlach 1993:3

outbuildings: the kitchen, the bakehouse, the diary, the storehouse, and numerous smaller buildings. Two rows of large poplar trees formed an avenue about 50 feet wide in which the mansion was magnificently framed at one end. Viewed from the road, through the long avenue of poplars, Nomini Hall was said to appear "most romantic, at the same time it does truly elegant."[10]

George Sutton's Pittsylvania

As discussed in Chapter Seven, George Sutton used Nomini Hall as a model for his interpretation of the built environment at Pittsylvania. The conceptual layout of Nomini Hall depicted in Figure 8 bears a striking similarity to George Sutton's map (Figure 5), and supports the supposition that his map is an idealized representation of Pittsylvania based more upon historical research rather than any observable physical evidence at the site. However, Sutton's conceptualization of Pittsylvania can also be seen as a hierarchical landscape which set the Carter family apart, not only from their neighbors but from their enslaved laborers as well. Like Nomini Hall, Pittsylvania could be seen by members of the community from a distance, thus tying it to the general public landscape while still maintaining its boundaries. In this way, the formalized plantation layout served to reinforce the planter's position above, both literally and figuratively, the rest of the human actors on the landscape.

Archeological Potential at Pittsylvania

In many ways, Pittsylvania represents a very unique archeological resource. Given its location in an uncultivated, forested area outside the main interpretive core of the Manassas National Battlefield Park, it's long occupation period, and its remarkable preservation, Pittsylvania's archeological resource integrity is very high. Further, archeology combined with historical research would provide the opportunity to study and document the evolution of an eighteenth-century Piedmont tobacco plantation into a nineteenth-century small grains farming landscape.

Through archeological research and excavation, the true location and purpose of outbuildings associated with the Pittsylvania plantation complex might be ascertained. Archeology could also give insight into the date of construction of the main house and dependencies, and also shed light on architectural details such as chimneys and the (potential) cellar/wine vault. Archeology also might reveal whether an earlier overseer's house is located on the property, and locate other landscape details such as gardens or terraces. Finally, archeology might provide information as to whether the log cabin discussed in Chapters Five and Seven was in fact an enslaved laborer quarter that was later inhabited by members of the Carter family after the Civil War.

African American Material Cultural Remains

African-American archeology, or the archeology of the African Diaspora, is an area of growing

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[10]Morton 1941:205-209

Potential Housing Remains at Pittsylvania

As discussed in Chapter Five, housing for enslaved laborers varied widely.[17] However, the material remains excavated at other sites in the vicinity of Pittsylvania provide a basis for some speculation. For example, at the Nash Site, archeologists excavated a small structure that may have been used as a schoolhouse, but was also clearly once a home for the Nash family, an African-American family inhabiting the site during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Local oral history reports that there was a log cabin in the vicinity predating the Civil War that was used as a quarter for enslaved individuals.[18] The feature excavated at Nash site had a chimney footing and posthole, along with a small amount of domestic artifacts, suggesting the structure had a fairly short occupation.[19]

At Pohoke, the earlier eighteenth century component of Portici, two structures thought to be associated with enslaved African Americans were investigated. Structure 1 consisted of a small sandstone chimney footing, but no other architectural elements associated with the structure remained, presumably due to erosion and extensive agricultural activity at the site. However, the artifact record, coupled with documentary evidence, suggest that the structure served as an enslaved laborer quarter associated with Pohoke, the precursor to the Portici plantation complex.[20] Structure 1 at Pohoke "was initially thought to be a nineteenth-century field slave quarters. . .[but] was later interpreted as housing [for] a higher-ranking slave. A skilled craftsman who practiced carpentry and possibly blacksmithing is thought to have occupied the structure."[21] Also, excavations at the Portici mansion house "revealed a cellar slave quarters beneath the vernacular Georgian-style structure. Domestic slaves are thought to have resided there."[22]

If the enslaved laborer quarters at Pittsylvania were in fact made of log, as discussed in Chapter Five, they might be expressed archeologically as a chimney footprint offset by stone piers that would have supported a wooden floor, below which would be domestic artifacts, and perhaps a root cellar.[23] Again, one of the more fascinating clues uncovered by this study is the log cabin which may have been a enslaved laborer dwelling inhabited by the Carter family immediately following the Civil War. Archeological exploration is the only way that such a structure might be located and studied.

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[17]Vlach 1993:153

[18]Galke et al. 1992:123

[19]Galke et al. 1992:132-139

[20]Parker and Hernigle1990:37

[21]Parker and Hernigle 1990:265

[22]Parker and Hernigle 1990:265

[23]Stephen Potter, personal communication 2000

independence in spaces located at the very heart of the urban plantation."[32]

African American resistance can be expressed through material cultural remains in other ways. William Kelso has interpreted root cellars in Virginia enslaved laborer quarters to be an expression not only of an emerging African American culture, but also as proof of stolen contraband that "played a vital role in a master-slave 'sharing system'."[33] Stine et al. have combined archeological, ethnographic, oral history, and folklore data to examine enslaved individuals' participation in "local, informal economies," which transcended the market systems controlled by their masters, and strengthened community ties.[34] Leland Ferguson has examined African-derived colonoware ceramic forms and foodways as evidence of an emerging African-American culture that was not replaced by Euro-American practices.[35] Finally, Brian Thomas has examined the material culture from former enslaved laborer cabins in different spatial contexts at Andrew Jackson's Hermitage Plantation to explore how various categories of material culture reflected planters' efforts to control the enslaved, and how the enslaved African Americans contested and resisted those efforts.[36]

Archeologist Leland Ferguson notes that;

> *While masters could whip, torture, confine, and break up slave families, they had difficulty in forcing their rationalizations of slavery and other aspects of their worldview on African Americans. . . .While many slaves may not have overtly resisted their enslavement on a day-to-day basis, most did ignore European American culture in favor of their own, and in doing so they also ignored and resisted the European American ideology that rationalized their enslavement. Archaeological research helps us see the contrast between the world slaves built and the one they rejected.*[37]

Conducting archeological investigations into the enslaved African American community at Pittsylvania is perhaps the only way that we can gain insight into their lives. It is through archeological research and interpretation that the voices of Pittsylvania's enslaved population might finally be heard.

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[32]Herman 1999:99

[33]Kelso 1984:105

[34]Stine et al. 1996:59

[35]Ferguson 1992:98

[36]Thomas 1998

[37]Ferguson 1992:119-120

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Interview with George Sutton and Jack Ratcliffe, Manassas National Battlefield Park Collection, 1970

GS: Ah, you tell me! Twenty-five years of research hasn't discovered it. I can show you a dozen one contradictory stories. I have one letter from an old lady, a Carter, says that she remembers the night that Pittsylvania, Rosefield and Portici were burned and it was like the Hell had broken through the crust of the earth. You go into Lossing's history and you've got a copy of it up here written in 1865, and he says he visited the area and...only two of the old houses that were standing was Pittsylvania and the Chinn House. Now who's right?

GR: I see what you mean. How many houses have stood on Pittsylvania site?

GS: Two that I know of.

GR: And the remains of the one that we see today, the chimneys are not from the original Pittsylvania house then?

GS: The rocks are undoubtedly from the foundations. I'd be glad to take you over to my old place over here and show you in the fireplace where one of the rocks that came out of the chimney over there got several dates and several initials scratched on them and one identifiable. The initial is E. H. C. which is Emily Henry Carter. As I remember, the date was 1837 which was...the birth date of the last child, Virginia.

GR: Now that's the house that you lived in?

GS: I'll be glad to show it to you. It's right over there. I've got that stone in that fireplace.

GR: When did the second house, when was it destroyed? Do you know that?

GS: It was never destroyed.

JR: No it just fell down just last year.

GS: That house was built in 1880, between 1883 and 1885. And it was...Jack, you ought to remember...

JR: It was nothing but a little old, plain 4-room house.

GS: It was a 4-room house, two up and two down, with a center hall. Could you tell, when did Hundley leave then? Hundley rented that place from Dr. Corson.

JR: Oh there were people living in it up till I'd say 10-15 years ago.

GS: More than that. 'Cause I came here in '46...No one there then.

JR: Then it was before then...

GS: Before you get to the slave cemetery I want to give you...

GR: What date was the wall built?

GS: I said it was completed by 1885. This letter says it was just been completed by 1885. See Arthur Lee Henry, the husband of this latest Mrs. Henry, spent many years, according to some letters I have, of his early life with the Pittsylvania people.

JR: Well after all, his mother was a Carter anyhow...

GS: No! Arthur Lee Henry was a son of John and John was a son of the old lady here. Arthur Lee was a grandson of the original old lady here, Henry.

GR: That's Mrs. Judith Henry.

GS: Right! That's right. He was her grandson and you see this fella John was a rambler and after the war he kinda took off. His wife was an invalid...

JR: [Arthur?] was sort of a rambler, too. He didn't stay around here very long either.

GS: Well I don't know about that, but at any rate he brought Arthur Lee down here. Now Arthur Lee was born I believe in 1858, and he spent much of his life, and I have a copy of one of his old letters which says in 1866, the Pittsylvania Carters, at that time which would only be the two daughters and son, were living in a small cabin very near the old site.

JR: That's probably a slave cabin or something...

GS: I refuse it to be in that...I can't find out where the cabin was though but I think it was kinda back behind it. Now you're talking about the slave cemetery. In order to describe it, I had some pictures from Dr. Corson taken about 1905 I think, 05, 06, 07, 08, somewhere along in there, early part of this century. Standing over in the slave cemetery it said that the stones there indicated. And by the way, right beside it in this picture is that marble cube [Stovall Monument], I suppose you've seen it over there by the Matthew's place? That marble cube shows up in this picture. Evidently it was not where they found it. I don't know this time but evidently it was up there by the slave cemetery. Now if you're going to the slave cemetery, there are two ways you can go. First, the old entrance to these places, there were three entrance roads by which you could get to Pittsylvania and shown on the Beauregard map. That road is the road which appears directly in front of the Van Pelt place that cuts, you know that's cut in the road like this. That road on the Beauregard map goes around to the east side of the Van Pelt's place and stays up out of the bottom but near the foot of the hill and goes far up there to about where those extremely tall pines are. It then turns westward...

JR: Now wait a minute. Doesn't that also go down to the farm ford?

from there - and it should be, some of your men here should tell you where that stone is.

GR: One question: the Matthews family and the Pittsylvania family are mentioned, the Carter family are mentioned intertwined quite often. Was there a relationship between the two?

GS: Not that I know of. I have the family tree and all the descendants and everything. So far as I know, I don't know exactly when the Matthews house was built. You'd have to look there but I don't think it was there in 1815, that plat you know of Wormeley Carter...

JR: It wasn't there. I think they bought from that particular plat...they bought a section of Pittsylvania...

GS: We traced that one down there that they did buy, what was it...in 1865.

JR: I'll have to go back and look at the map now. I've got it at the office...

GS: Well they sold Matthews some land. And they bought land...the Pittsylvania...See when the division of the family broke up the large amount of land about 1815, the portions were so small nobody could make a living off of what was left. Back over here where the - what's the name of this house up here just west of the...

JR: J. Dogan house?

GS: No, this side of the Dogan house, right next to the Stone House. You know what I'm talking about...

JR: Sowers?

GS: Sowers! Well this road that went all the way around went by the Matthews house and came out to Rosefield which I think was a little west of the Sowers house.

GR: Now where is this Sowers house in relation to the Stone House?

GS: It's there now. It's that frame house, it's just, it's the first house...

JR: It's 400 yards to the west of the Stone House.

GS: Of 234 there.

GR: Is that the house that is referred to as the Osterling house? [discussion]...Oh on this side of 234?

GS: No, it's on the other side of 234, about...[discussion] No, it would be north of 211 and west of 234. It's there now unless you all have torn it down recently.

some things, but she said she remembers the night well when Pittsylvania, Rosefield, and Portici were burned.

JR: Well, I'd told you a dozen times before, I doubt if all three were burned at the same time.

GS: Well, I agree with you.

GR: Do you have any idea when the present house on the J. Dogan site was built?

GS: No, I'm not going into that. Well, it was sometime before 1860. The old story...who was it, Longstreet and Lee were eating breakfast in the Dogan house and a shell hit the yard, didn't explode, rolled up to the house and there's an old negro up here, this fella Charlie Berry, told me that the old floor used to show the scorched streak across the floor where that shell went.

GR: That's the one on the site now or...

??: That's the Dogan house down on 622.

GS: That's the...back Sudley Road going to Sudley.

GR: What happened to the Matthews house that was on the site? Did it burn or just fall down or torn down or what?

GS: I don't know. I think it was more or less abandoned like. I have never tried to trace the Matthews family as to what happened to them. They were living there for a while after the war but how long I don't know.

GR: The Chinn house is really the only house site we have marked in the park. You know the foundation stabilized area thing. To your knowledge, are there any other house sites in the park that are historic and, other than say Matthews house, and are not marked?

GS: Well Pittsylvania site is not marked and easily identifiable.

GR: Well, alright, Matthews and Pittsylvania. Any others besides those two that you know of?

GS: Yes, there's one site and I don't know the history of it exactly. Let's call it Robinson Road here that cuts...

JR: You're talking about the Stone Road or the Rock Road that goes down...

GS: Turns off opposite Van Pelt place and comes south.

JR: And it's a house site back there before you, in between the two branches. You know Young's

JR: Actually, you were signaling down toward the southeast...not from Signal Hill itself because you couldn't see it.

GS: Well, the first message came from Signal Hill. The message...

JR: The message was relayed, though, down to [?] and then back up to Bull Run.

GS: Yeah. Many writers say they saw it directly from Signal Hill. I don't know whether they did or not.

JR: The could have seen the glint from there but whether or not, in fact they did see the glint and the dust but they could not signal all the way through here evidently.

GS: I don't know.

JR: Where this tower was evidently it was down behind a tree or something.

GS: I think this tower was down this side of the top of the ridge, see. Because it would then be hidden. You must remember all the troops after they came back here from the 18th...of July on, they all hid you know this side of the top of the hill and there were just a few of them up there, observers up on top of the hill there the morning of the battle. The tower was evidently close to where Alexander's tent was and one of the first shots from...Sherman's battery, the one that never got across the Run, over there just north of where the quarry is now...

Reel #2, Part 1 of Interview between George A. Reaves, Historian at Manassas National Battlefield Park and Jack Ratcliffe of Manassas and George Sutton of Fairfax County.

George Sutton (GS):...this is what I was talking about on the Robinson Road where you go south from the Van Pelt place and cross Young's Branch there just to the left a hundred - two hundred yards. I've been all over that and those were flower terraces. There used to be, and I expect there still are, tiger lilies coming up there in the ...yeah...yeah.

Jack Ratcliffe (JR): Well all those were terraces around Portici.

GS: And Sudley.

JR: And Sudley, yeah.

GS: Well the terraces at Sudley are all gone, of course.

GS: Are you gonna correct me some more?

GS: I asked Montgomery about that, and he said she could've been. But he said he had heard her tell that story several times about directing those Union officers down there where the bodies were, and they found them of course, and that's where Pat Jones got his story, you know, about "the dead behead easily" - they found a corpse down there that had been decapitated, so that was the basis. That spring is still there and there's still a little water flowing out of it. It's on just next to the road on the right hand side there. That's another house site. Now there are a number of other house sites originally on the Pittsylvania tract, just where they were I don't know, but it was said: that all the slave's cabins were scattered over the plantation and they were not centrally located near the house. There were some. I have my own reconstruction of what the thing at Pittsylvania looks like, from the outbuildings, of all I have gotten together. There's the...(unintelligible)...let's see if I can find it very quickly for you. Stop your machine just a minute and I'll show it to you. Okay...now wait a minute, let me see this...oh maybe it's in the front of the...could it be in that drawer? It's my own idea of Pittsylvania based upon all of the information that I have accumulated. I know some of these places were there, and up until the time you cleaned up the hill up there, the old stones from the weaving house and the school house and some of the dependencies in the back.

GR: Now that's the hill that's Park's referred to as Matthew's Hill?

GS: No, this is right up to Pittsylvania...Pittsylvania being...

GR: Were the two houses you refer to original houses - the weaving house and school house - were they there during the battle, or...?

GS: No, the remains were there, and the stones were there, up until a very few years ago, by which you could mark the weaving house in front and the school house. The weaving house was on the right, as you look out, and the stone...the school house was on the left as you look out, in front.

GR: They were the...they were original buildings to the plantation?

GS: This maybe will orient you. Now that's just my own crazy ideas putting everything together of what it might have looked like at the very beginning. Now whether those dependencies are properly named, but they're just those. I got most of those ideas from King's...not King, but Robert Carter's book, Robert Carter - Councillor Carter, and I have a plan here. I've identified a number of those buildings. Pittsylvania house itself was 30 x 50. It's identifiable, and there is...it's possible (unintelligible) had identified a gravel driveway that circled in front of the house. I've done that. It did not have a full basement-it only had a wine cellar. The wine cellar excavation is identifiable there now, unless something's happened to it. And the foundation stones, if you know where to go to look for them, part of them, are still there. Next?

GR: You see I don't know all the names here, but George, one time we were up there and we went up to along the corner of your farm, there was the...when I say ruins of a house...now this is right up very near the highway, 'cause we drove right off the highway. And you said this was the place that had been like a hospital, and the...the well was filled...

by the amputations that were dumped off the porch. You see, what they did, they...the doctors there at that period of time, they didn't try to dispose of the, of the limbs. Bob Lewis told me that his grandfather told him down at Portici that he stood there and watched them throw out the limbs and until they'd filled up the porch and he scooped 'em together and carried 'em down and threw 'em in a ditch. Bob Lewis told me that. So I think the story about the limbs and amputations at the Chinn House is true. Based upon what Mrs. Tyler told me, and she said that she had heard the story repeated by Matilda - Ol' Aunt Tilly, she was called.

JR: I've heard it a thousand times, and the fact is, you boys don't even remember the Chinn House. I remember the Chinn House and it was in good shape...

GS: I do, too...It was a shame they ever tore that down....

JR: Well I don't know why they ever took the damn siding off of it to begin with.

GS: Well they had some of the old mantles in there when I first came here, Jack.

JR: What was his name? Goodow or Goodlow? He was sort of the park superintendent at that time, and I don't know what he was trying to do with it.

GR: You know, the story we've got in the files is that they decided that they were going to restore it, so they took off the roof to see how bad of shape it was in, and then decided...then they found out they couldn't have...didn't have enough money to restore it and then never put the roof...

GS: Undoubtedly, of course the money involved there...but the thing could have been restored because it was the best condition of any of them.

GR: That was something that shouldn't have ever happened.

GS: That's right. Of course Sudley up here was...was burned and added to several times.

JR: Well I remember...you remember the portion of Sudley house that stood there up until about ten years ago.

GS: Yeah, well that original chimney was there.

GR: Where...where is Sudley house in relationship to Sudley church and the building known as Sudley Post Office?

JR: Oh it's...

GS: Northeast...I think a mile or two miles

GS: Yeah. These people here...see they were five Carter homes. Oh, there's George Carter, right there. Mountain View...that was a...Mountain View was a Carter house, so was Red Hill, and there were-

JR: There were seven Carters.

GS: There were seven Carter houses north or east of Bull Run standing at the time of the battle. 1-2-3-4-5-6...

JR: You've got Ben Lomand and Liberia-

GS: I said north...north. I'm talking about this way. North.

JR: Oh, yes.

GR: Now, this is the road that you referred-

GS: That's the old road.

GR: Right.

GS: Now, this road here...now, there's Pittsylvania the Carter house. There's the "Y" I was talking about.

GR: Right.

GS: The road now...could I trace on there very lightly?

GR: I would prefer not, not on this original.

GS: All right. The road now comes down here and turns like this, see, and it turns out like this. It makes an "S" there, see, like this. And I don't think that's in accordance with your Beauregard map of August. It don't look like it to me.

GR: Now, you're referring to what is called Harris Map?

GS: I'm calling it Beauregard Map, the one that's August 1862. You see many of these things, many of these...

JR: That's different.

GS: I'm sorry, that's your second Beauregard Map.

GS: That was the Dogan House at that time, too, there were two Dogans. You...You've got this Dogan house here right here in the corner.

GR: Right. This house that is standing there now, do you know when that was...when that was built?

GS: I thought you said you destroyed it.

GR: No, I'm living in it.

GS: Oh, you're living in it! Well that's the Sower's Place.

GR: Okay..we were-

GS: Now, from what...I don't...I can't tell you up here because I don't know Montgomery's line. But from what Montgomery Peters told me, along in here or here somewhere was where he used to plow up this pottery, which I assume to be the location of Rosefield.

GR: Then the Dogan House must have been built sometime in the late 1800s, early 1900s.

GS: I don't know, it shows up you see here on this map.

GR: I know, you've got a half basement down here and it's rough construction. Well it looks like this house is part of the original-

GS: I really have never tried this. I know what...I know what this section of...this section of land right in here, according to this division, when they divided up Pittsylvania, and this went to the Hamiltons over here. And it specified in the...whatchamacallits will that she should have Rosefield, this house over here. Now it was there in 1850, when it disappeared I don't know. When this house was built, I don't know.

JR: Here's an interesting thing - this map is 1864, and Pittsylvania's not on it.

GS: Well I don't think Pittsylvania was there in '64. Well this is a map made of your second battle, isn't it? "Map of the Battlefield of Bull Run...U.S. Forces...General G.T. Beauregard commanding the Confederate Forces, July 21, 1861." Oh, this is nuts!

??: It was made in 1877, yeah.

GR: This is just a...one of the many maps that was drawn out there. It's not particularly interesting.

GS: You know one of the most interesting maps that you could possibly get a hold of, and I think one of the most accurate as to the location of troops, is the map attached to - it's out of print, but you can still get it in the Congressional library, and I have a copy of it - is the map that's attached to "The

gain. I guess that should be enjoyment. 4) Wrath: violent anger, vehement exasperation, the effect of anger or indignation. 5) Gluttony: excessive eating, extravagant and indulgence of the appetite for food; sumptuous and gorgeous feasting. 6) Envy: chagrin and uneasiness at good fortune of another and desire to possess it. 7) Sloth: slowness, laziness, indolence.

JR: Now I want you to tell these people, George, how that fit with the Carter family at Pittsylvania.

GR: I give up...I'll pass!

GS: There is a book, well, I guess there are others...I have one book in which there are many letters of Robert "King" Carter. And if one reads those letters, he convicts himself of the first 6 of those 7 mortal sins. The seventh mortal sin was reserved until -

JR: The seventh generation.

GS: The last male in the seventh generation, which was Edwin Carter of Pittsylvania (laughter)...Does that make enough lies for you? That's my whole conception.

GR: To get away from the Carters for a minute, and back to the Battlefield, according to Major Hanson's book *Bull Run Remembers*, under the monument at First Manassas, the First Manassas monument built by the Henry House, there were buried the bodies or the remains of many of the soldiers that fought here, and then the monument was built on top of it. Do you know of any basis for this story?

GS: Would you like to see a contradiction that the stones in that monument came from the foundations of Pittsylvania?

GR: No, I'm not familiar with that...

GS: (laughing) There's another one!! Yes, I've heard that story about the reason the monument leaned here. When it started leaning or anything else I don't know.

GR: Do you know of any basis other than just a story that this is...

GS: They were buried everywhere.

GR: Right, this we know, but were-

GS: According to him also the gullies here on the north side of the Henry House hill were the remains of where they were dumped, and I have some letters which talks about the ungodly odor that prevailed in this area for a number of weeks after the first battle, because many of the bodies were buried very lightly, and I would assume, uncovered by varmints and everything else. I have an old letter that tells about the noise of fighting dogs and things like that at night over there. Uncovered

your WPA book tells you about the Van Pelt House and when they...when they went in there. I've gone through a lot of the old deeds and I saw them, and I just don't remember...I just didn't pay any attention to the timing of it.

GR: Well, you were speaking of clearing slash pine just a minute ago, and the old orchard. Other areas...the maps, the Beauregard maps and the maps we have here show various degrees of ground cover; everything from hardwood forest and pine north of 29/211 Warrenton Turnpike in 1861. How much of the cover that's there today, and was there when you came on to the property, would you say was there in 1861? Is it much more overgrown, or less, or...?

GS: Ha, you remember what the Confederates did in the fall of 18 and 61? Every piece of firewood for miles around was cut down and used to build the huts up around Centerville. I do have...I do have a letter...an old letter that refers to some cathedral pines north of Pittsylvania a little bit there. I don't know whether this shows...well, this shows the woods west of Pittsylvania here. That's where Jackson's forces camped that night. This don't show any woods north there. I've never been able to make out what that square was right there, but that's some woods there. If you look at another map...well, if you look at another map, of Beauregard's August map...this is July I think here...this area north and west...north and east of Pittsylvania's just blank, the one map, the Beauregard map I have, and (unintelligible) just says "Pittsylvania Farm," and Mrs. Lewis-Aunt Maggie-she moved down there to the cabin her father built. He obtained that property in 1875. He bought it from Van Pelt, young Van Pelt's administrator, the old man. And she told me, and so did Montgomery Peters told me-tell me-that Mr. Pringle farmed the Pittsylvania farm on a share. And Montgomery Peters said he used to drive the cattle in for him, milk cows in at night. That's as far as I can tell you about that.

JR: Just don't forget, that they didn't have any fertilizer. Soon as the field began to wear out, they'd go out and get another one and let it grow back. I remember several years ago that I looked up a deed down below Lake Jackson. The deed was dated in 1790, and it says from a pile of stones in a piney old field in 1790. So you see what would happen.

GS: Well, Jack, you take that description you've got that you traced out for me on the Pittsylvania tract, that 2800 acres, now that refers to a tree from down here at the mouth of Young's Branch and up to another tree up along Young's Branch...I'm sorry, did I knock that over?

GR: No, I was just turning it a little more to the left.

GS: If you can get those old deeds...now speaking of timbers, the main timbers in that portion of Sudley Mansion that remained before it was torn down there, they were mortise and tendon, and by the way, those corner...corner posts in that house were eight by eights, they were mortised and tendoned with pegs, I have one of the dern pegs, and the timbers were all marked with roman numerals where they fit together, and I understand the same thing was true at Pittsylvania. As a matter of-

the same as this one. Well, what did...what did the original Henry House look like?

GR: Where is my picture? Here we go...this is a photo - whoops, excuse me! I didn't mean to hit you.

GS: That's all right.

GR: Is a sketch made about the time, reported to be the Henry House. A story and a half, and several of the accounts from the period refer to it as being a story and half, so we assume that this one is fairly accurate, or as accurate as a sketch can be.

GS: Well, (unintelligible) in the uppermost portion where...

JR: Where the snipers were.

GS: No, no they weren't up there, where McDowell and also Beauregard went up there and looked out at the opposing lines and there's no, nothing to show where.

GR: Right, it looks like they may have been where the boards are ripped off, or whatever, I don't know. I'm not defending that as the original...as an original sketch.

GS: This corresponds to...this corresponds to...to a sketch that's on one map which was drawn right after the battle. I can't remember now which map it was. But it shows it about like that, probably one and half stories. But the letter from Betsy Carter in 18 and 12 indicates there was more than that to it.

GR: What, there was more to the Henry house?

GS: Yes, yeah. See, the...Betsy Carter and Judith Carter were not left any land under the will of their father. But they were left annuities, which the boys had to pay them each year, and I have this letter of 18 and 12 from Betsy. And she was dunning her brothers - she wanted some meat, I think, and more corn that was due her, stuff like that, and she says something in there that gives you the impression that there was something in the way of a loft...of a loft to the house, instead of just a covered roof. And she also gives you the impression that it was a center entrance place. Now what the hell, it may have burned part of it, I don't know. But you see they, the brothers came over and bought this land for Betsy and Judith. And they lived over here, you know, for quite a while, before Mrs. Carter - Mrs. Henry - was married, married Dr. Henry. And I assume the boys bought that land and gave it to them to get rid of that annuity, see? I don't know if that's the truth, but you get out of these dern things, you know you're just bound to get certain suppositions and imaginations in your mind that you can't get away from.

GR: Sort of like alimony today - you do it (unintelligible)...

JR: That's the dinner!

GS: She refers to a dinner, and all the servants...Now, it isn't clear in her book whether that dinner was at a second visit or not. But I think it was perhaps prior to the battle, because she refers there to the servants that were out in their old uniforms that were partially threadbare and green with age, and silver service just were there, and they were served in immaculate style a roast goose egg for dinner.

JR: All they had was a roasted goose egg!

??: Well, that's a great civilization.

GS: So that's that story. I've got it written up here.

JR: You know, one of the odd things about these people at Pittsylvania to me, was the lack of the so-called pomp and ceremony, especially in the cemetery. If you go in the cemetery, you find a real fancy grave system, whereas the other brother of Landon, and yet there's nothing over here in this graveyard.

GS: Now that's...that's the big mystery.

JR: What...what...why? I don't know. And what happened to all of those people? They must have been...Some of the younger children died in young age, and why-

GS: The first one did.

JR: Well, why didn't they put up a tombstone for them?

GS: I got my own lie connected with that.

GR: Well, that's what we're here for.

GS: Oh, you're not gonna get that story! You're not gonna get that story! It's all...it's all fiction, but it's mine, and I've got a basis for it (laughter). Sooner or later, if I can't find anybody that's foolish enough to cut this cock-eyed book of mine, well I'll let you get a copy of it.

JR: You know, one of things George and I talked about a whole lot was the lack of information that the present day people have of this Landon Carter family, and of course there's none of them around, but there's plenty of John Carter's people. And the only thing we can figure out, and I still think that it's because of the big argument and court case-

GS: The lawsuit in 1815.

GR: This, to be perfectly honest, is a source that they can come to. One thing you don't have to worry about, these documents are never printed for the public. But, also, it gives them other leads of people that they can talk to, so we're not-

GS: All right, I'm gonna cut you off right now...cut you off right now. When and if your people get ready and get into that situation, if I'm still alive, I'll tell you where to get copies of all these letters.

GR: This is ...this is what our people will need. And we're giving them leads and everything else, and the next historian may want to know something about the Sudley family, the Sudley area, the Pittsylvania area, and this tape will be here for him to play back, I hope.

GS: Many...many of...many of the letters that I refer to, copies are easily obtained. Not all of them. And when the time comes...I'm not trying to be smart alecky, and cut you off, but there's some of those I want to use myself! (laughter) Some of the stories in there I'll use myself first! Soon as I can find anybody foolish enough to read some of them.

GR: I hope you get somebody to publish your book.

??: I agree with you there, it took a lot of effort to dig them up, I could use them myself...just so you get that book published.

GR: Got a couple of questions here... maybe you all can help us with. One of the questions that we get consistently here in the park, particularly on railroad buffs, and I realize this is a little off the Carters, but maybe you've run across something on it, is the military railroad that ran from Manassas to Centreville, that was built during the fall and winter of 1861 and evidently ripped up in March and April of 1862. We know the rails came from the B & O, and we know that it made an "S" curve between Manassas and Centreville. Are you familiar with any of the background information on it?

GS: No, really I'm not. I walked over it once. Major Hanson conducted the tour down there one time years ago. I guess it was for the Civil War roundtable. And we started out and went down there to where the bridge crosses...what is that, Cub Run where it crosses?

JR: Well, it's right close to Cub Run, it didn't cross...just before Cub Run runs -

GS: No, that's Bull Run, cross Bull Run...cross Bull Run.

JR: I can take you there.

GS: Yeah. We then cut around to the available roads. About the most I know about it is a fact that's publicly available, documented many, many times. There was hardly a stick of stovewood left in the whole area around here, that they just trimmed out the trees for miles. Yet that can be contradicted by the clearing out of the Manassas Gap railroad here to curtail Mosby's activities. They was supposed to have cleared that back, the timber, for a mile each way.

JR: '58. From '52 to '58 it was called Tudor Hall. Then from '58 on when the Manassas Gap came into it...that's just one of the many pictures.

GS: Let's see that one. See if I'm familiar with that one.

JR: I've got one that's even better than that.

GS: Yeah...

JR: Edwin Forbes, in a big book, as big as that, had pictures of Manassas.

GR: Well, was...where were the railroad yards? Were they south...or...of the present station, or-?

JR: Not south.

GS: West.

GR: I don't mean south...they were west of the present station. In other words on up into...well, you wouldn't say into Manassas, but-

GS: Well wasn't the junction east of the old railroad station?

JR: The actual junction of the Manassas Gap railroad was east of the present station-

GS: Yeah.

JR: - and-

GS: East of the old station?

JR: No, east of the present station.

GR: Now this is another obvious blow up of this different location. Where would you say this picture, which is, for the record, picture twelve on page twelve of *Civil War Railroads*?

JR: That is east of the present station going toward the (unintelligible)...Now, -

GS: Yeah, I've seen that.

JR: - the two railroads, Manassas Gap -

GS: Yeah , I've seen that.

JR: Well, now-

GS: He doesn't give any idea of a turnaround, that's the reason I ask.

JR: Well, there was a 'Y' which is still much in evidence, and in the middle of the 'Y' was a turntable. Now at one time, in about 1895, the turntable was in existence.

GS: It was.

JR: And then it was disbanded, and not too many years ago, a big truck fell in where the turntable was (laughter). And...but they had the 'Y' first and then the turntable, and then the 'Y' again, then the double track after that.

GS: You know the story about that engineer, don't you? Did you ever hear that about him carrying Imboden's troops over there?

GR: Right, I'm familiar with it -

GS: There was two engineers, you know, that got I think court martialed, maybe shot, I don't know. The engineer that carried Imboden over there, and the engineer that was bringing Johnston's troops over here from the valley on the morning of the 20th, 19th or 20th, I don't know - morning of the 19th or 20th of July. I never been able to find his name; I know the name of the...of the conductor of the train, but I don't know the name of the engineer -

JR: I ran into something yesterday that was interesting to me: You've all heard of the Measle Camp down there at Bristow? This was another Measle Camp down next to Union Mills.

GS: Well they had measles all over the damn place.

JR: Well I guess they did.

GS: They had measles all over the damn place. You know this...this letter out here at...oh, I pointed out there where the pictures are...Francis-

JR: Watson.

GS: Francis Watson. That letter he has from Lieutenant Preston Carter? It mentions in that letter - I think you've got copy of it - scared he's gonna catch the measles. He was down at Manassas then.

JR: Oh, by the way, talking about Sudley Mansion, Willie Preston is buried over there, and it's got a little iron fence right around it, and it's in the gardens, and that was real close to Sudley House.

GS: Right in front; just outside the front gate.

JR: Yes. That's the reason why that's on the list for to be zoned historic. They're trying to get that through right now.

GR: Is that in Prince William County? There's been some question I know whether that's in the county.

JR: Yessir.

GS: (unintelligible) ought to be able to tell you.

JR: It's in Prince William County, and I'll tell you something else: Prince William County extends to the east side of Bull Run, and the line goes up to (unintelligible) now, as is the drawn line, but the actual line originally went to the east side. Bull Run's all in the county.

GR: Well, I'm fresh out of questions.

JR: All right, I'm getting hungry anyhow.

GS: Well you got a situation...you were asking about these houses and whether they were Carters. See all of this land except for small portions, from here clear back to Bull Run, was included in those original grants.

JR: Well, Carter land went clear past Leesburg, as far as I can-

GS: Well, yes, because Landon Carter of Pittsylvania mentions his...that his interest in holdings up in Leesburg. It wasn't called Leesburg, nobody called...something else, 18 and 01. He mentions-

JR: It was Leesburg.

GS: Well maybe I'm mistaken.

JR: Well, now, Oatlands as example, that place-

GS: That was George Carter's place.

JR: Well that was still Carter land, that's what I'm getting at.

GS: Yeah, that...that's...that's...that...according to the story, they have that book. I never have tried to trace it down. George Carter's father, Robert "Councillor" Carter, bought 6000 acres of land up there, in 17 and 60, as I remember it, and gave it to George Carter on his 21st birthday, for his present. Now, I just don't know how you're gonna get a hold of 6000 acres of land in 17 and 60, up in there. To buy.

GS: Yeah, the one that shows the picture right in the front...my memory was they got a picture right in the very front.

GR: This is the photographs.

JR: Machine's still running.

GS: I was standing out here, with Jim Meyers, one day, and we were talking and looking and he had this picture and he showed it to me and so forth. And I got to look at it, but, this is...this is a photograph of...this is the...this is the March '62 photograph of the remains of the Henry House. And to the right of this little tree, you'll notice, is a house on the skyline. I took that picture, sent it to the Archives, and had a small portion blown up. I had a suspicion that this was Pittsylvania. Now you can stand right out here and look northward, and it had to be looking northward there, because they were taking the picture looking northward and there's nothing open to the south. Now if you'll notice the contour of that field lying there...if you go out here and examine it right there, you can make out the contour of this line. It's my old fence right there. From that, I then imposed upon my son-in-law and daughter, and I think he give credit in here doesn't he? He did somewhere. Gave credit...I put my son-in-law to work, and my daughter, who studied art at that time, he scaled it off. Now they forgot two things: first, the house was much higher off the ground than this. Secondly, there was a porch on each end of the house. Thirdly, it was a center entrance hall house, and there must have been a window in front of the hall on the second story. This house, you can go over there, you can take folks over there and find the foundations of the house now. And this house was 30 by 50. Some letters say that it was eight rooms, some say it was ten rooms. I don't know what that was, I never have any description cause the...the...the foundation...the few foundations stones and the level place where the old kitchen was, out here, to the left. Now you were asking about the cemetery: you've been over there, I assume?

GR: Yes.

GS: Well, it's easily identifiable right here, at this location. Here's the cemetery.

??: So it's to the south of the house.

GS: South. The house faced generally southeast. It's in the front of the house. It faced southeast. Now, you see, even by this time - this was March '62 - now you see, there's some evidence of dependencies back here.

??: Right.

GS: Now I took a picture of that with my 35 mm camera, and...in color, so that you could blow it up.

??: Blow it up and make the house as big as this here.

Colonel Jennings that he would consider the matter carefully, but because of the financial condition of Colonel Jennings, he must give it thorough consideration, because he could not afford to make grants without being satisfied that the quitrents could be paid, as he was responsible to his lawyers for such revenues. And asked the Colonel to come back to see him in a few months, having giving it consideration as to how he might pay for it. Thereupon the "King" immediately conceived the idea that there were many applicants for small grants of land, that he should preempt as much of the vast territory in the piedmont as possible, so that his children might have the rents and revenues and sales of such lands and thus provide for their future security. His first conquest preceded to taking out of the grants for the Bull Run Tract...Bull Run Tract, and the "King" immediately began plans to take this grant in the name of his children for himself, and thus prevent smaller landowners from being able to take grants throughout a large part of upper Prince William County and the piedmont. This is the second meeting. Colonel Jennings appears at the Proprietor's office after...wait a minute...yeah, after...after his first meeting. Colonel Jennings reads Colonel Carter's grants taken after his first meeting, tells him off in terms...He sees that the grant of land he was applying for had been taken out in the name of Carter's children. So he goes rearing back into Carter's office. Colonel Jennings reads Colonel Carter's grants taken out after the first meeting, tells him off in terms, which shocked the "King" by relating the scheming of the "King" to ruining him, his guilt of six of the seven mortal sins. "King" threatens to throw Jennings out, but he keeps on, and "King" takes it finally sitting, sulking, and staring in space, as the affect of the accusations cut Jennings deep...or cut deeply. Jennings finally says the "King's" latest exhibitions of pride, covetousness, lust will bring economic degradation, misery, suffering, and pillage from the carnage of war, at the door of his offspring, whose inheritance is borne in such corruption and sin. The first born shall die, and the old and decrepit Mrs. Henry, the seventh child, shall be torn and shelled in civil strife and renowned for generations to come. Others shall suffer their children into impotency from their pride, while wars, devastation shall deprive them of the food from their own labors, condemn them to pillage, theft, and stealth for existence under the torch of war shall consume some in their dilapidated and shell-wracked ancestral home, consume same in its own fire of attrition. And only murder preserves the survivors to live in the rot and skunk-infested cabin of their former slaves, and not a mark shall identify the graves which shall be the homes of snakes and burrowing animals and hidden from human site and visitation."

JR: ...and it wasn't fit in until after Jennings came to found out and tried to get it that Carter got hold of it. This...this block of land here.

GS: See, the 2800 acre grant of land was five years later than these other grants.

JR: It goes right on down, and it might be fiction, but it's still-

GS: Some of my lies!

JR: It fits together (laughter).

GS: That's where the seventh just runs through everything you can mention in that whole branch of

GS: Wait a minute...see what that is. It's a stump.

GR: Just an old wood stump.

JR: An old stump.

GS: Well all you see, are, are stones that's just barely...is that a stone or a stump?

JR: That's a stump.

GS: That would be the northwest corner of the house.

JR: Well you can see the hole right over there.

(Garbled)

GS: Now...what is it? Let's see it. See what kind of a brick it is.

GR: At this point we found the foundation and the root cellar of the old Pittsylvania house. As of the time of this interview, it was still quite obvious.

??: It's a red rock.

GS: Well that may be one of your cornerstones.

??: Well, no, this is...this is not a cornerstone, I don't think.

GS: Well, there's just kind of a bunch of them, at each corner.

??: I've got another one under my foot.

GS: You're probably right at the corner.

??: Yeah, here's a whole pile of them.

??: (child speaking) Here they are, I just found them.

GS: Now that...that wine cellar was under the rear northwest corner.

??: (child speaking) Here's a brick.

JR: Here's the corner of the house, here. I'm standing right-

dependencies. And it didn't come down this road...(unintelligible)...over here behind the Matthews.

GR: We are now walking down the Farm Ford Road toward Matthews' house and toward the old slave cemetery.

JR:...side by side the way they buried the people.

GS: This is where Jim Robinson found all those twenty...no, seventeen...seventeen people out here and dumped them in the gullies so he wouldn't have to dig graves, all he had to do was just throw some dirt over them, see. Came around the house, Edwin used to run off and hide.

JR: Talking about Edwin Carter.

GS: Huh?

JR: Go ahead, I'm just talking into this machine here...(unintelligible).

GS: Oh yeah, well,...(unintelligible)...start in with a road up there by Pittsylvania and cut off these two turns, you're gonna go right through this slave cemetery which is over to our right...(unintelligible)...said that he once counted over a hundred graves.

JR: This is the creek here.

GS: Here's the drain...just beyond this bend up here...and that's what we did, I remember now, we moved that bush. Now it's right out through here...

JR: Two skinned dogwoods.

GS: Can you remember that? It's right here, see by this tin can, unless somebody moved-

JR: The trash can is right behind...(unintelligible)...

GS:(talking and description...unintelligible)

JR: We're in the middle of the slaves' graveyard.

GS: Huh?

JR: No, I'm just talking to myself, so...begin to see where it is - you find some little stones and depressions. There's a right big cedar tree here in line with what we've seen.

GS:...what you call a pole coffin (?)...dug the grave a little bit wider down as for distance, and then a shelf on it, and narrow, and then the body was placed there, with no coffin, then they'd shorten

GR: This is the end of the interview. We returned to the cars which were parked down at Quarters #6 and returned to the building itself. The final portion of the interview, as stated before, was at the site of Pittsylvania. Again, the people being interviewed were Mr. Jack Ratcliffe of Manassas, Mr. George O. Sutton of Washington, D. C. Mr. Sutton has written a book, which has yet to be published, on the Carter family, and has indicated his willingness to allow the National Park Service to use some, if not all, of his sources. They are evidently quite extensive.