BLURRED LINES: AFRICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY, MEMORY, AND PRESERVATION IN THE SOUTHWEST MOUNTAINS RURAL HISTORIC DISTRICT

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Introduction

> Whether it was Jefferson's manipulation of the landscape and his program to conceal from view the black slaves working at Monticello, the separate "colored" entrance to the cinema, or simply the denial of access to certain facilities, the effect was to render the black person invisible. Negotiating both the concept and the realms of invisibility became central to construction of black cultural identity.[1]

Craig Evan Barton, a former associate professor at the University of Virginia and Director of The Design School at the Herberger Institute for Design and the Arts at Arizona State University, penned the passage above in the introduction to the edited volume *Sites of Memory: Perspectives on Architecture and Race*. While the essays in the edited collection address a variety of issues related to race, architecture, and preservation, Barton pointedly addressed Charlottesville and Albemarle County identifying a long-standing history of marginalizing African Americans in the landscape. Commencing prior to the era of Thomas Jefferson and the founding of the University of Virginia, African American people and their associated material culture have been obscured from both the cultural and physical landscape of this area. When the Southwest Mountains Rural Historic District was created in the northeastern portion of Albemarle County in 1991, African Americans

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[1] Craig Evan Barton, *Sites of Memory: Perspectives On Architecture and Race* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001), 5.

were once again excluded from the dominant historical narrative and all but left out of the historic district. In the two decades since this historic district was created, almost no research has been published about the historically African American rural neighborhoods at the outskirts of the district boundaries and even less has been done to preserve their cultural and material heritage. In order to provide the most balanced and inclusive history of this area, or in the myriad similar places throughout the American South, preservationists and architectural historians need to interpret the landscape in a way that acknowledges all aspects of life in postbellum and reconstruction era rural communities.

At the conclusion of the American Civil War, over 2.3 million newly freed African Americans were left searching for employment.[2] Many Southern freedmen were desperately in need of jobs, and their former owners left without people to work their farms, which birthed a vicious system of tenant farming and sharecropping. In exchange for a small plot of land, homes, and the bare essentials, families raised and harvested crops for meager returns in an often-exploitive arrangement. As the twentieth century began, the promise of economic and educational opportunities drew many Southern African Americans away from rural communities and into cities. But what remained of the rural landscapes left in the shadows of the many plantation houses of the South?

The Black Belt was composed of Southern slaveholding-states with slave

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[2] For information on black employment after the civil war see Alrutheus Ambush Taylor, A.M., *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia* (Washington, D.C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1926), 105-121. Black labor was a hotly debated topic with two difference schools of thought. Booker T. Washington advocated for technical and manual training. See Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, Dover Ed. (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1995). W.E.B. DuBois advocated for an elite intellectual class to lead civil right's initiatives. See W.E.B. Dubois, *The Souls of Black Folk,* Brent Hayes Edward Ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

populations that made up the majority of each state's total population (see fig. 1).[3] By the 1930 census, there were more than 1.8 million Blacks in the South, 80% of which lived in rural communities.[4] Although these rural Black communities comprised a large portion of the Southern landscape they have been largely neglected or misrepresented in the historical record. Architectural historians in particular have failed to study the material qualities of these rural neighborhoods or the ways they frame current understandings of African Americans as both inhabitants and creators. This thesis explores the literature about rural African American landscapes with a critical focus on the Southwest Mountains Rural Historic District in Albemarle County, VA and proposes new ways of approaching preservation in early twentieth century Southern rural landscapes in a way that honors all of the cultural, ethnic, and social groups that shaped historic landscapes.

To date, there have been three primary periods of writing about rural Black communities. Though they will become more apparent later, these ideologies stemmed from the overarching presuppositions of each era. As with any history, the books and articles that are the focus of this study are representations of the authors' biases more so than of the experiences of many Black Americans. This is not to say that they are invalid, but more so to caution the reader against accepting those historical accounts as truth. Many of the authors examined were writing from times of immense racial and political conflict. The only exceptions to that rule are the scholars that have written material in the last 15 years, after the new history movement that began in the 1960s. Admittedly, though

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[3] E. Hergesheimer (cartographer) and Th. Leonhardt (engraver), *Map Showing the Distribution of the Slave Population of the Southern States of the United States Compiled from the Census of 1860. Sold for the benefit of the Sick and Wounded Soldiers of the U. S. Army,* (United States Coast Guard, September 1861).

[4] U.S. Census, 1930: Fifteenth Census of the United States: Census 1930, Population Volume VI "Families". PDF.

the scholarship has hailed from different historical periods, it is important to note that there has been no radical shift in the content. Accounts of Black rural America have remained overwhelmingly negative. The dominant narrative of rural Blacks has been one of allegedly lazy, poor, uneducated, hypersexual, violent, and subservient people. All of these negative stereotypes of rural African Americans, remnants of the Jim Crow era and minstrelsy shows, were caricaturized by E.W. Kemble's "Coontown Calamities" comic strip, Universal Pictures' "Scrub Me Mama with a Boogie Beat" animated cartoon, and Disney's "Song of the South" feature film.[5]

In the first half of the twentieth century, African American scholars and other historians were primarily concerned with documenting and improving the condition of the poor, uneducated masses of Southern tenant farmers. W.E.B. DuBois and other successful Blacks authored treatises on appropriate behavior, manners, and styles of dress that would supposedly enable Blacks to become upwardly mobile in society; they even instructed people on how to better maintain their homes and yards, eat a more varied diet, maintain better hygiene, and address the plethora of other aspects of Black life that seemed to take away from the reputation of the race as a whole.[6] Some publications, such as "The Fisk Rural Life Program: A Plan for the Development of Negro Leaders for the Rural South",

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[5] Edward Windsor Kemble, *Coontown Calamities* (Chicago: Chicago American, 1900), SFCGA - San Francisco Academy of Comic Art Collection, The Ohio State University Billy Ireland Cartoon Library & Museum; Walter Lantz and Universal Pictures, "Scrub Me Mama with a Boogie Beat," (A Walter Lantz Production in Technicolor, 1941); Joel Chandler Harris and Ruth Warrick. *Song of the South*. ([S.l.]: Walt Disney Home Video; London: distributed in U.K. by Buena Vista Home Video, 1946).

[6] Kali N.Gross, "Examining the Politics of Respectability in African American Studies" from *Benchmarks Almanac*, 43:28 (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, April, 1, 1997). More information is also available from Maurice Dolberry, "I Hate Myself!": What are Respectability Politics, and Why do Black People Subscribe to Them?" from A Line in the Sand. 5 September 2013. Web. Accessed 6 December 2013 < http://alineinthesand.com/respectability-politics/ >.

published in June of 1945, proposed ways that college educated African Americans could return to rural areas as teachers and leaders and work to solve problems caused by war, racism, and emigration to cities.[7] Other scholars and organizations, like those mentioned in Carter G. Woodson's *The American Negro*, provide step-by-step instructions on how to maintain yards and other elements of the property.[8]

In 1915, William Anthony Aery wrote a brief pamphlet that was included in The Southern Workman entitled *Titustown: A Community of Negro Homes*. Aery was an Anglo American faculty member at Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, now Hampton University. In *Titustown*, Aery described an African American community near Norfolk, VA that was built on land requested by a group of Black men. He described the houses and other buildings in the community as "comfortable and attractive."[9] William Aery's study is unique, in that he documented Titustown through photos but also through building cost and measurements of the residential buildings. On how the planning and organization of Titustown has benefitted the residents, he writes, "it [attractiveness] points the way of civic advancement, without which no class or race of people can long succeed."[10] Aery doesn't stop there. In an unprecedented approach, he also describes the physical landscape by saying, "Titustown streets are straight, well-graded, and bordered with trees, shrubs, and plants," and describes how the men in the town work constantly to improve those buildings

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[7] Rural Life Committee, *The Fisk Rural Life Program: A Plan for the Development of Negro Leaders for the Rural South* from the Fisk Rural Life Series. (Nashville, Tennessee: Fisk University, 1945).
[8] Carter Goodwin Woodson, *The American Negro* (Washington, D.C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1930), 17, 40-42, 63.
[9] William Anthony Aery, *Titustown*: *A Community of Negro Homes* (Hampton: Press of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, 1915), 227.
[10] Ibid, 227.

and streets.[11] Even though scholars have continued to be interested in the condition of rural Black Americans, in almost one hundred years no one has interpreted the built landscape in the ways that Aery did in this pamphlet.

Carter G. Woodson's *The American Negro* pioneered studies of rural African American life. Although the book presents with a rather obvious bias perpetuating negative stereotypes of rural Black communities created by Whites, it also provides a detailed image of rural communities. Woodson supports his claims with his own fieldwork and efforts to document various aspects of rural African American life. In 1930, Woodson and The Association for the Study of Negro Life sent surveys to rural African American and agents assisted rural Blacks with completing the questionnaire. This enabled Woodson to interpret how African Americans felt about their rural experience. The survey element sets Woodson's book apart from the rest; He was able to describe economic conditions, daily agricultural responsibilities, and religious practices with greater authority than some of the other authors represented in this brief historiographical survey. Though African Americans authors penned many of the texts on Black life, they lacked input from the residents of the communities that they examined. Judging by references to this study in more recent literature, it remains a seminal text because of its investigation into the lives of African Americans in rural landscapes.[12]

Zora Neal Hurston was arguably one of the 20th century's most influential African American writers and she used literary fiction to convey the realities of rural African American life in the early 20th century. Her most celebrated literary contribution was *Their*

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[11] Ibid, 228.

[12] It would be worthwhile to adopt an approach similar to Woodson's to see if these conditions are still extant in the American South in Black rural neighborhoods and communities.

Eyes Were Watching God, published in 1937, in which she describes a small Black settlement in Florida*. Dust Tracks on a Road*, her autobiography, is based on her own experiences in Eatonville, Florida. A very witty book, her personal anecdotes supply a very textured view of a rural African American community. Like some other rural Black communities, it was located near a network of larger white-owned farms and estates. It was one of the first to be incorporated as a town in the United States on August 15, 1887. Because Hurston was not concentrating specifically on the built environment, the landscape she described became a mere setting for a series of events. On the other hand, Hurston does bring up gender in relation to the rural community and is still revered in Black studies and gender studies for having done so. Primarily interested in writing fictional books, Hurston paints one of the most vivid images of early African American rural communities and how residents might have experienced them.

Also written in 1939, *The Negro Family in the United States* by E. Franklin Frazier sought to clarify misconceptions of the black family. His thorough and thoughtful analysis of documentary evidence, literature, songs, memoirs, and census data present a better-rounded view of African American families in the early 20th century. Republished in the 1960s, in response to the Civil Rights and Black Power movements, this book chronicles the Black family as a social unit looking through several different lenses. Of note, the book details how different rural African American families were from those in urban areas in structure and everyday practices. A lot of anti-urbanism rhetoric carries throughout the book. However, in differentiating rural spaces from urban spaces, he does not spend much time talking about the physical environment of those spaces and how that would have affected the residents.

What Frazier did well was remind the reader of how many African American families would have acquired land in the postwar era. He argued, "Often the emancipated Negro was unwilling to continue as a tenant or laborer; so we find the more ambitious among them undertaking to buy land."[13] The idea that only ambitious blacks owned land is troubling and judgmental, but is in keeping with the rhetoric of the Black Power movement which pushed the idea that African Americans needed to control their own resources in order to have true freedom. Frazier continues by fleshing out how mass migration to northern cities altered those landscapes, but he does not thoroughly address how that same migratory trend affected the rural communities that a considerable number of Black Americans were leaving. Chapter XIV, "The Flight From Feudal America", even goes so far as to suggest that rural Blacks are "primitive peasant folk."[14] Initially written when many Blacks were migrating to cities, and republished during a movement animated by African American demonstrations in cities, it becomes apparent that berating rural life would benefit the progressive image of the Black Power movement. However, in terms of describing rural material culture, it misrepresented the skilled craftsmanship and agency of many African American men and their families.

As the twentieth century bore on into the Civil Rights Movement and Black Power struggle of the 1950s, 60s, and 70s, historical literature became more objective, relying less on appealing to the sensibilities of respectability politics. Instead, these authors interrogated a wide range of sources and began to compare the condition of rural African Americans to their urban counterparts. By using the Black family as a lens, both of the

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[13] E. Franklin Frazier, "Broken Bonds" in *The Negro Family in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 87.
[14] Frazier, *The Negro Family*, 225.

following authors were able to critique gender roles, the role of kinship in property ownership, and how the built environment would have facilitated these relationships. While this is promising, they both lack critical assessments of the built form and would benefit from a deeper spatial analysis of African American residences and neighborhoods. At this time within African American studies, there was a major push to demonstrate the strength of the Black family as a unit and create a shared sense of power. At a time of great civil unrest and racial turmoil, authors endeavored to show just how resilient African Americans could be despite racism and the failed promises of the Civil Rights Movement.[15]

A critical aspect of interpreting rural African American communities is the organization and planning of these communities. Are there particular ways in which these communities are organized to facilitate childcare, security, religious expression, or other aspects of Black life? Carol Stack, a celebrated ethnographer and cultural anthropologist, addressed a few of these topics in her first book *All Our Kin*. She included a chapter on domestic networks that highlights how the spatial organization of African American residential areas facilitated kinship and friendship ties. Stack applied this concept to a study of an urban residential area, but it would be useful to see if this model holds true in rural areas. Stack's diagram of kinship networks and a map of the homes in her study were very convincing and fully supported her argument. Stack's second published book, *Call to Home*, chronicles the process of Blacks moving back down south after having lived in urban

[15] Many felt the Civil Rights Movement had failed in various ways. Whether it was with the failure to integrate schools more immediately (see "The Legacy of the Civil Rights Movement". *Virginia History Explorer*. The Virginia Historical Society. Web. Accessed: 6 December 2013.) or failed leadership (Bruce Hartford. "What were the failures of the Civil Rights Movement?", *Civil Rights Movement Veterans*. Veterans of the Southern Freedom Movement (1951-1968). Web. Accessed: 6 December 2013) there were failures that spurred the more radical Black Power movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

areas of the northern United States. Because it is outside of the primary scope of investigation for this research, kinship networks in property and home ownership patterns within rural African American communities will receive minimal attention. However, such studies are in progress or have already been done.[16]

The third and final phase of writing was published in the 1990s and 2000s. Following the pedagogy originating from the French concept of *nouvelle historie*, the late 1980s and 90s featured the rise of New Historicism. New historicists focused on interpreting history not only from their own personal biases but also as product of a the present era.[17] The new historicism also privileges narratives of previously marginalized groups such as women, the LGBT community, African Americans, and other cultural minorities. This new way of studying literature, sociology, anthropology, and history sparked a new interest researching the "other" in history. It is apparent from this group of readings that scholars have come a long way from superimposing racist beliefs onto historical narratives or even using the literature to reinvigorate stale cultural and political movements. New historicists have attempted to write history in a way that accounts for many different views and move towards a greater level of objectivity.

Richard Westmacott has succeeded in creating the most thorough and well-rounded study of rural African American communities. In 1992, Westmacott authored *African-American Gardens and Yards in the Rural South* and fused the methodological approaches of

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[16] Dylan Penningroth**,** *The Claims of Kinfolk: African American Property and Community in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill and London: University, 2003). See also Dyer and Baily "A Place to Call Home: Cultural Understandings of Heir Property among Rural African Americans" in *Rural Sociology* 73:3 (Rural Sociological Society, 2008), 317-338.

[17] More information on New Historicism can be found in John Brannigan, *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism* (Palgrave MacMillan, 1998); definition in Merriam-Webster Dictionary; The term derived from Stephen Greenblatt's use of it as a means of studying literary history.

anthropologists, sociologists, and landscape and architectural historians. Westmacott first argues for the swept yard as evidence of African heritage. He continues by highlighting African American cultural beliefs surrounding land-use, spiritual practices, and utilitarian nature of Black rural yards in the South. His depth of analysis of a specific topic is a helpful model for any research endeavor. Yet, like others, he fails to address the buildings on these properties. His focus on the yard, though very indicative of how African American's experienced rural life, does not at all mention the houses and interior spaces that would have been considered to fall under the domestic realm of women. They were in charge of food preparation and other domestic tasks. However, Westmacott succeeded in isolating the problem with saying forms of a particular community are different from another because of race. By layering other variables on top of the garden, Westmacott is able to conduct his research based on basic typology.

Extending Westmacott's analysis of rural African American yards and gardens, Vaughn Sills' *Places for the Spirit: Traditional African American Gardens, published in 2010,* uses the author's collection of photography of African American yards. Though it does not include much in the way of verbal interpretation of the overall landscape, it becomes especially useful when paired with Richard Westmacott's text on rural African American yards. Many of the images show African Americans in their yards and gardens and are great visualizations of the ways that they use the spaces. Some structures are also captured in the photographs along with the spatial organization of the sites that he visited and documented. Most of Sills' photos are contemporary and would be a valuable asset for any architectural historian endeavoring to write a comprehensive history of rural Black landscapes. A brief introduction precedes the collection of photographs and he also

included a short bibliography that would be useful in expanding potential sources for future study.

A collection of essays was published in the form of a book in 2003 entitled *African American Life in the Rural South, 1900 – 1950* edited by R. Douglas Hurt. Each essay approaches a different aspect of African American rural life. Notably, there were two sections that stood out for their focus on rural Black material culture. The essays titled "I have Been Through Fire: Black Agricultural Extension" and "Of the Least and the Most: The African American Rural Church" addressed the agrarian nature of rural communities and the centrality of the church in daily life. One of the essays provided a detailed look at how rural African Americans men were employed as farm agents, traveling to black communities to teach scientific agricultural methods. Women were agents in the Home Demonstration Program in which they sought to improve the living conditions of families living on farms. They were also tasked with suggesting ways to prevent illness by improving dietary health advice in these communities. The narratives presented in these articles complicate the ideas presented by African American scholars in previously mentioned sources on Black communities. It challenged claims that rural Black neighborhoods were structured completely around their own beliefs and experiences and opened up the possibility that these communities are more closely connected to each other because they received the same agricultural and developmental training from government-sponsored agents.

Churches, especially Baptist churches, were spaces where rural African Americans could practice their faith, hold community meetings and events, and conduct business.[18]

[18] Rosanna Gene Liebman, Matilda McQuaid, K. Edward Lay, and University of Virginia. *A*

Many of the black Baptist churches in the South had the same architectural forms, as documented by the author of this section of Hurt's edited collection. He relied on photographs of African American rural churches taken during the 1930s. A majority of Black churches were in rural contexts were the primary gathering spaces for the community. More money was invested in church property than any other property within these rural Black settlements. That becomes an issue especially when considering schools within those same communities. Of all of the sections of *African American Life in the Rural South*, this one describes the built environment most clearly, even mentioning the transient nature of Black churches (and communities) because of the instability of tenant farming. This book demonstrated the recognition that the process of studying the material cultural of specific cultural and ethnic groups is an interdisciplinary endeavor. Because each author focused on a different aspect of life in a rural Black neighborhood, this anthology was able to capture much more about rural African American communities than previous literature.

In 2007, Sterling A. Brown published a series of essays aimed at documenting the experience of African Americans in the South through poetry and other literature. His aim in this project was to create a more detailed view of the social, economic, and religious experiences of Blacks in the early twentieth century. "The Little Gray Schoolhouse" in particular examines the process of opening a school in an African American community as well as all of the subsequent work to procure resources for the education of Black children,

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Study of Ten Black Baptist Churches in Albemarle County, Architecture in Virginia. Vol. [no. 19], (Charlottesville, Va.: School of Architecture, University of Virginia, 1983). There are many other sources on the subject of Black churches that were not used as references for this paper. That said Aery, *Titustown*, 1915; *Rural South, 1900-1950*, 2003; and others all allude to or explicitly mention the pervasive role of the church in rural African American life.

especially in rural areas.[19] This section from the collection of short, literary pieces provides cultural context and a few descriptions of the physical environment of "negro" schools during the 1920s and 1930s. Most interestingly, it describes a group of black men from one community working together to construct a school for their children. Brown's focus on African American males as skilled builders is much needed and helps expand the role that Blacks took in constructing and planning their own communities. The contributions of black builders, especially in North Carolina, is best seen in works by cofounder of the Vernacular Architecture Forum, Catherine Bishir.[20]

In a similar vein, *Built By Blacks,* by Selden Richardson, provides a history of Richmond, Virginia from the 1700s until the near present. The book covers a huge amount of territory and any one chapter could probably justify having its own book. This wide survey examines geography, sociocultural beliefs, economics, laws, zoning, and other factors that caused black neighborhoods to move from the core of the city to the outlying suburbs. He also chronicles the rise and fall of African American architects and builders while raising important questions about their future in architecture. Though the time period of his study was very broad, his focus on the rise and fall of African American building culture in Richmond is specific enough that he is able to demonstrate the importance of black builders in the capitol of the Confederacy.

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[19] For an in-depth study of Rosenwald schools throughout the South and information about the Rosenwald Foundation funded by Julius Rosenwald and Booker T. Washington see Stephanie Deutsch, *You Need a Schoolhouse: Booker T. Washington, Julius Rosenwald, and the Building of Schools for the Segregated* South (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2011).

[20] Bishir provides a close analysis of free and enslaved African American artisans in the urban environment of New Bern, North Carolina in *Crafting Lives: African American Artisans in New Bern, North Carolina, 1770-1900* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

One major flaw in Richardson's methodology was to completely ignore rural communities. Richmond started off relatively small during the colonial era and has since expanded into the surrounding territories. This means that there would have been interaction between rural Blacks and urban Blacks. Rural black laborers would have come to Richmond to work and even learn new trades. Thus, there might have been evidence of these interactions within the material environment of the rural settlements just outside of Richmond. Furthermore, some of these areas may have been incorporated into the expansion areas of the city if they were not completely destroyed to accommodate the growing city. Even if Richardson had only briefly mentioned this, acknowledging that it is outside of the main focus of his book, it would have been more complete. However, his approach to analysis combines many different types of evidence including paintings and photographs and is still a valuable contribution to the field.

The study of rural African American communities has been primarily housed within Black studies, sociology, literary studies, anthropology, politics, and general history programs. However, if these fields were combined with architectural history in order to produce an in-depth, comprehensive assessment of twentieth century rural African American communities, these places could be reinvigorated and portrayed in an entirely new and more nuanced perspective. Through fieldwork, interviews and surveys, measured drawings, and other formal analysis new, more positive examples of the rural Black landscapes could be added to the historical record.

As this brief survey stands, rural African American communities remain relegated to the shadows of American architectural history. The men, women, and children of those neighborhoods, settlements, and hamlets composed the majority of the population and

landscapes in the American South. It is hard to comprehend how historians at the regional and national levels, thus far, have been slow to study the material culture of such a large demographic group over almost one hundred years.

The primary focus of this thesis project is the community, memory, and preservation of the rural African American communities on the eastern side of the Southwest Mountains Rural Historic District. African Americans and their families have been in this area for as long as it has been settled. In some cases, enslaved people inhabited the land prior to their white owners. However, the historic district as it currently exists, does not include the majority of historic black communities. Even more disturbing is the declaration that the rural Black homes within the district failed to meet the eligibility requirements for listing on the National Register of Historic Places alongside the many plantation houses and estates that are listed. The resulting historic district paints a homogenous portrait of elite, southern, slaveholding history devoid of any interaction with the Blacks that built, maintained, and supported those families and the plantation economy that enabled their social position.

For many reasons, this area has enjoyed an unprecedented level of stability. Many of the African American families that currently live in the historic neighborhoods radiating from the northeastern side of Route 231 have been there for more than a century creating a stable, close-knit community. Black children raised in the era prior to desegregation benefitted from the presence of Rosenwald schools and teachers dedicated to providing lessons in History, English, Math, and various manual trades. Adults were able to find employment within walking distance of their homes. Most of the families in the African American neighborhoods were members of Zion Hill Baptist Church, St. John's Baptist

Church, or Union Grove Baptist Church. Not all of these conditions existed in other rural African American communities during the first half of the 20th century. Bonded by common work environments, religious practices, and personal relationships, the African American communities in Keswick have persevered through adversity in the Jim Crow South.

Black neighborhoods in the historic community of Cismont are representative of similar rural, and often unincorporated, African American settlements across the state of Virginia. Unlike communities in the Deep South where education and employment opportunities for rural Blacks were few and far between, these communities benefitted from less restrictive and somewhat progressive politics in Virginia. Still, locating the history of the African Americans in this historic district has been no easy task. The most reliable sources of information on these African American communities survives in oral history, collective memory, and church records. Sources of formal documentary information consulted in the process of this thesis project include local tax records, court documents, genealogical databases, census data, and print media archives.[21]

Tracing the genealogies of various African American families was complicated because surnames of enslaved people were not often recorded in antebellum records. Furthermore, at the end of the Civil War many enslaved individuals adopted the surnames of their former owners, chose a name they liked, or switched from one name to another. Thus, tracking property ownership has been challenging. Another difficulty has been

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[21] Property Deeds, Plats, Tax Record and Chancery Records can be retrieved at the Albemarle County Clerks Office Records Room. 2nd Floor. J.F. Bell Funeral Home has published a digital catalog of their burials beginning in the early twentieth century. The Albemarle Charlottesville Historical Society holds a number of maps, photographs, and recordings specific to local history. The best information about cultural heritage in rural Black communities is passed through oral history and church records. The University of Virginia Special Collections Library is also a repository for local history.

identifying exactly where properties were located in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Albemarle County court records. Taxes were recorded by a general distance from the courthouse rather than by a specific physical address. Many African American families at the turn of the century also raised children that were not their own with no formal adoption records or paper trail. Tracking down those individuals was most difficult, but could be traced through census records from family to family. Lastly, because so much of the history is preserved orally, the age and health of some of the oldest surviving members of the communities covered in this thesis became a significant hindrance. Two members of the community who were very helpful in providing me with information passed during the research process. While there are other surviving elders, several of them have been diagnosed with memory-related illnesses and their accounts of the neighborhood can be just as much fiction as fact; separating the fact from the fiction and hyperbole has been arduous.

As such, I have decided to organize this thesis into three chapters based on chronology. Chapter one will provide the history of the first African Americans in the Southwest Mountain Rural Historic District prior to 1865. That chapter will explore plantation life, free black settlements, the Liberian Colonization Movement and its connection to one local plantation, and the Civil War. Chapter two will provide analysis of the African American communities in the postwar Reconstruction period up until the mid to late 1960s. This chapter covers the formative years and height of rural Black activity in the Cismont area. The third chapter will be a statement about the current Southwest Mountains Rural Historic District, its formation, threats to the architectural and cultural heritage of the Black neighborhoods, and current preservation policies. Chapter three will

conclude with recommended changes to rural preservation and the National Register criteria.

Overall, this thesis project is a call to action for preservationists. It will first provide a case study of a historic district created in the late 1980s and look critically at the history that is told. From there, I will provide thoughtful critiques of current preservation policy and offer a new way to approach rural preservation that reevaluates work done prior to the movement to include vernacular architectural and cultural history in the historical narrative, a move that will incorporate African American communities. It is my hope that this research will spur active preservation efforts in rural, particularly Southern communities, which have rich African American heritage. By studying Black churches, schools, and residences historians will be able to provide a more complete telling of post Civil War and Reconstruction era settlements in Virginia.

Chapter 1

Antebellum Cismont: Slaves, Liberia, and Free Black Neighbors

> As for the beautiful Country [Liberia] I am very much disappointed to see what beautiful country it is. Don't think there could be any better country found for our colored race any part of the globe, and when we come to behold the natural fruits hanging on our beautiful shady trees it makes my heart to rejoiced within me, and I almost exclaim O God thou has hidden many things from my eyes of men on this side of the shores and none were able to see it for ourselves which we have heard of for many years past and gone but you may be assured that we are long way behind the people of this country for their ingenuity.
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> - William Douglass to Dr. Minor, Feb. 5, 1857[22]

Keswick, Virginia, an area of Albemarle County, begins nine miles north east of the City of Charlottesville, extending almost to Gordonsville on the North, to Stony Point on the West, Louisa County on the East, and the area of Milton to the South. While the modern postal zip code is quite sprawling, including roughly 50 square miles of land area centered about the Keswick Post Office, locals identify Keswick as the area nestled on the east side of the Southwest Mountains (see fig.2). This area includes many smaller unincorporated communities with names like Cobham, Cash Corner, and Cismont. Cismont was originally called Bowlesville, after a local Blacksmith, but it was renamed in the 1890s after Nicholas Meriwether's Cismont Manor home "on the side of the mountain" nearby.[23] In tax, deed,

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[22] William Douglass to Dr. Minor, Feb. 5, 1857 in Letters from former slaves of Terrell settled in Liberia, 1857-1866, Accession # 10460, -a, Special Collections Dept., University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.

[23] Raus McDill Hanson, *Virginia Place Names, Derivations, Historical* Uses (Verona: McClure

and Census records, Cismont is part of the Rivanna District and Fredericksville Parish. Several historic African American neighborhoods lie within the communities listed above and have unofficial names like: Bunker Hill, Clarks Tract, Scuffletown, Boyden, and Cobham.[24] Despite this fact, only one of these neighborhoods is included within the Southwest Mountains Rural Historic District. In order to understand the current condition of the African American neighborhoods, it is necessary to study their beginnings as Virginia's westernmost frontier.

The Fry Jefferson Map shows that colonists had settled in the Southwest Mountains area as early as 1751 (see fig. 3).[25] Since then, generations of their families have cultivated the fertile land and built large estate homes, some former plantations. However, historians believe that the first humans to inhabit the area were the Monacan Indians.[26] Tribes of Monacans and other affiliated American Indians have been in the mountainous regions of Central Virginia for 10,000 years.[27] Monacan Indians can be identified, archaeologically, through the survival of their massive ancestral burial mounds. Thirteen of these mounds have been documented from the Blue Ridge Mountains throughout the Virginia Piedmont

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Press, 1969) 25.

[24] Barclay Rives, local historian and author, said in an interview on October 29, 2014 that Ebenezer Boyden allowed to freedmen to construct cabins on his property near Zion Hill Road. George Bates described the same location and called it Kizzie Town. Deeds and other texts show that Ebenezer Boyden owned that property, called Hopedale, but there is no evidence that the Black settlement there was called Boyden Town or Kizzie Town.

[25] Cassandra Britt Farrell, "Fry-Jefferson Map of Virginia." (Encyclopedia Virginia. Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, 18 Jan. 2012) Web. 18 Dec. 2013.

[26] In *The Monacan Indians: Our Story*, Karenne Wood and Diane Shields cover the history of Monacan Indians in the Piedmont. Karenne Wood and Diane Shields, *The Monacan Indians: Our Story* (Madison Heights, VA: Office of Historical Research Monacan Indian Nation, 1999).

[27] Wood, *The Monacan Indians*, 1.

dating back several thousand years.[28] One historian theorizes that the major road leading from Keswick to Cismont, Route 231 may have been a Monacan trail or trade route.[29] However, even though their presence in the area is documented, there is insufficient evidence to ascertain whether or not the road was originally a Monacan trail. Monacan Indians may also have had knowledge of differences in the soil quality because the roadway forms a boundary between prime agricultural soils on the southwestern side and lesser quality soils on the northeastern side. Despite the absence of concrete information about the original formation of the road, historians are confident that by the 1740s the main thoroughfare existed almost as it is does today.[30]

Virginia has a long and storied history of agricultural development. European colonists were drawn to the Piedmont because they envisioned it as an area that would enable a great deal of success through growing tobacco and wheat and raising livestock. In colonial Albemarle, most of the planters moving into the area came from the Tidewater region where tobacco and swidden agriculture had made them very wealthy men. This type of agriculture relied upon a very large enslaved labor force, which by the mid-eighteenth century was almost exclusively based on race. Enslaved Africans soon outnumbered whites 9600 to 8500 by the 1810 Census.[31] However, tobacco was not well suited to growing in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains, and the planter elite found themselves experimenting with new crops. Changes in agricultural production in Albemarle reduced the number of laborers needed to cultivate crops on most plantations. An overabundance

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[28] Wood, *The Monacan Indians*, 5.
[29] Nathaniel Mason Pawlett, "Albemarle County Roads 1725-1816" reprinted from Nigel Nicholson, *Portrait of a Marriage* (Athenium Publishers, 1973).
[30] Pawlett, Albemarle Roads, 41.
[31] Associated Press, "African-Americans Enrich County History," *The Daily Progress* (Charlottesville, Daily Progress, 25 February 1994), Special Edition. Print.

of enslaved people and Revolutionary ideals of freedom and universal rights inspired many slaveholders to manumit their slaves, either in life or through their wills at death. This dramatically increased the size of Albemarle County's free Black population.[32]

Whether free or enslaved, Blacks living in the Southwest Mountains region in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries lived lives fraught with uncertainty. For slaves, their living environment was an embodiment of their fragile position in the plantation environment. Laws passed in the Virginia General Assembly only exacerbated how nebulous the life of enslaved Africans had become. On January 1st 1808, Congress banned the transatlantic slave trade preventing any more legal importations of "any negro, mulatto, or person of colour, with intent to hold, sell, or dispose of such [person] … as a slave, or to be held to service or labour."[33] The 1808 law, however, did not outlaw interstate slave trade and Richmond, Virginia became the largest domestic slave trading post.[34] With little hope of long-term residency on any one plantation, or secure personal connections, the log cabins scattered at the base of the Southwest Mountains region became the physical embodiment of its enslaved inhabitants— anonymous and uncomfortable, but an integral part of the Cismont landscape (see fig. 4).

From Route 231, one can usually pick out the "big house" from the road. Rolling hills obscure the landscape surrounding many of the Federal and Greek Revival houses. No physical examples of log slave quarters from that period remain in the Southwest

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[32] Kirt von Daacke, *Freedom Has A Face: Race, Identity, and Community in Jefferson's Virginia* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2012).
[33] Paul Finkelman, "Slavery in the United States: Persons or Property," *The Legal Understanding of Slavery: From the Historical to the Contemporary* (Jean Allain, ed., 2012), 105-134.
[34] John Z. Zaborney, *Slaves for Hire: Renting Enslaved Laborers in Antebellum Virginia* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012), 12.

Mountains Region, but the memory of them lives on through oral history. Barclay Rives, descendant of William Cabell Rives of the Castle Hill plantation, recalls stories he was told about enslaved women carrying baskets full of water on their heads from a nearby spring to their quarters at the base of the mountains.[35] Rives also remembers being told that there were wood-frame buildings near the main house for those servants, but field slaves' log quarters were out near the foothills of the mountains at the rear of the property, like the quarters that have survived at Cloverfields (see Appendix A).[36] Slaves that lived farthest from the big house had the greatest opportunity to perform African traditions carried to Virginia from West Africa and the Caribbean, which supports Rives' account of the women in the field quarters at the base of the Southwest Mountains. The latter part of this chapter will discuss the legacy of log cabin construction in the built environment of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Blacks in the area and direct links to the African continent.

Blacks from Cismont also experienced slavery in more urban contexts. Virginia planters, unwilling to free extra slaves not needed for jobs at home, made additional money by hiring out men, women, and adolescents.[37] In 1844, Maximilian Rudolph Schele de Vere, a Swede by birth, became the new professor of languages and moved into Pavilion IV on The Lawn at the University of Virginia. While at UVA, he married Lucy Rives, daughter of Dr. Alexander Rives from Albemarle County.[38] Rives came from a slaveholding family and was at UVA through the Civil War with her husband. The *1860 U.S. Federal Census Slave Schedules* show that Schele De Vere owned 3 slaves—one male aged 65, one male aged 22,

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[35] Barclay Rives in conversation with the author. 29 October 2014.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Zaborney, "Chapter 3: Slave Hiring and Hired Slaves' Family and Friendship Ties in Rural Areas, 46-65.
[38] Ervin L Jordan, Jr., *Charlottesville and the University of Virginia in the Civil War* (Lynchburg, VA: H.E. Howard, Inc., 1988,) 13.

and one female aged 24.[39] Catherine Neale claims, "Professors also kept many of their former slaves as hired laborers after the Civil War. John B. Minor, for instance, kept in contact with all of his former slaves. Nancy and her family continued to do the Minors' washing, and Ellen hired herself to Professor Schele de Vere."[40] This strongly suggests that there were likely enslaved people living in the basement spaces of Pavilion IV between 1844 and 1882 (see fig. 5 & 6). It is very likely that because Schele de Vere was an immigrant to this country the three slaves came from Rives' home at Castle Hill in Cismont. Even though Virginia planters and lawmakers sought to prevent enslaved people from forming networks, their own travelling afforded slaves with opportunities to interact with each other and experience different environments.

The 1860 U.S. Federal Census Slave Schedules provide insight into another Cismont resident, F.W. Meriwether. She owned 80 slaves and a handful of them were listed as having belonged to other owners.[41] It was customary for an owner to figure out contracts for the coming year in December or early January. In her Diary, Louisa H.A. Minor writes several times about the distress she felt trying to hire out her enslaved workers and relying upon her uncle's advice.[42] Near the end January of 1864, Minor writes in her diary:

"At church and have sermon from Mr. Meade.... He too is down on the gaiety

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[39] Ancestry.com. *1860 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2010. Page 88 of 89 from the St. Anne's Parish in the County of Albemarle.

[40] Nancy is most likely the young woman listed on the Census. Nancy may have had children while living in Pavilion IV. Catherine S. Neale, "Slaves, Freedpeople, and the University of Virginia." (Thesis. Charlottesville, VA: Corcoran Department of History).

[41] Ancestry.com. *1860 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2010. Page 30 of 86 from the Fredericksville Parish in the County of Albemarle.

[42] Louisa H. A Minor and Mary W Anderson. "Wait and Hope: The Diary of Louisa H.A. Minor." UVA Text Collection.

> of the people at such a time as this; says it is a spark of madness. Thinks we compare well to Nero's fiddling while Rome burnt. There was but too much truth in all he said… It was decided on Monday that my darkies should be hired for this year. Something may be done next; perhaps it is all right for the money is worth so little now."[43]

Minor's diary demonstrates the practice of hiring out and also illustrates yet another threat of separation from home and family that many African Americans in Cismont faced.

Free blacks in the Cismont vicinity lived intermingled with white farmers up until the middle part of the nineteenth century. As Kirt Von Daacke explains in *Freedom Has A Face,* most literature on free Blacks in the antebellum South portrayed African Americans without any sort of agency or belonging to any community. He writes, "Most rural areas supposedly had tiny and dispersed free black populations."[44] Letters, court proceedings, and tax records paint a different picture. *Freedom Has a Face* describes the way Albemarle County whites interacted with free blacks, "as people with names, faces, and personal histories that were tied to specific events, times, and places."[45] This is not to imply that free blacks and whites operated on the same socioeconomic plane, but rather free blacks in Albemarle were able to conduct business as farmers, write out legally binding documents, and call on white neighbors as legal witnesses and executors of their last rights.[46]

From 1782 until the middle of the nineteenth century, free blacks experienced a lot of changes in legal status. After a brief period of increased liberty following the Revolutionary War, the Virginia legislature became increasingly strict in efforts to control

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[43] Minor, "Wait and Hope," Jan. 31-Feb. 6, 1864.
[44] von Daacke, 2.
[45] von Daacke, 3.
[46] von Daacke, 3.

free blacks, stymie potential slave insurrections, and curtail the formation of free black and enslaved personal networks. In 1791 enslaved Africans in Saint-Domingue began what would become a thirteen-year revolt for freedom.[47] Haitian rebels won the last battle of the war, in 1803, and in January of 1804 the French Colonial Army granted Haiti independence.[48] News of the Haitian revolution spread like wildfire through the colonial world causing fear and anxiety. The revolt would go on to spur several prominent slave revolts in the American South, including eleven failed attempts in the Commonwealth of Virginia.[49]

As early as two decades prior to the Haitian Revolution, Thomas Jefferson had already begun to envision a solution to the peculiar institution of slavery.[50] His solution had a profound impact on African Americans in the Cismont communities. In 1776, Jefferson proposed African colonization as a solution to the American dilemma of slavery.[51]In 1817, the American Colonization Society was fully operational out of Washington and by 1828 there was a chapter operating out of Richmond, Va.[52] Slaughter views the spread of local auxiliaries of the organization as demonstrative of the "strong hold this subject had taken on the public mind."[53] In the late 1820s, "Big Albemarle" still comprised of present day

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[47] Toussaint L'ouverture (1743-1803), *The Haitian Revolution,* Eds. Nick Nesbitt and Jean-Bertrand Aristide (London: Verso, 2008), introduction xxii-xli.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Robert McColley, "Runaway and Rebel," *Slavery and Jeffersonian Virginia*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964), 91-113.
[50] On the peculiar institution and Jefferson's role as a slave owner and supporter of the African Colonization Society see Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery In the Ante-bellum South.* [1st Ed.] (New York: Knopf, 1961).
[51] An in-depth discussion of the role of Virginia in the African Colonization Society is provided in Reverend P. Slaughter, "Chapter 1," *The Virginian History of African Colonization*. (Richmond: Macfarlane & Ferguson, 1855), 1-8.
[52] Slaughter, 11.
[53] *Ibid*

Nelson, Buckingham, Amherst, Fluvanna, and Appomattox Counties.[54] John Hartwell Cocke was president of the Albemarle County organization with T.W. Gilmer, James Hunter Terrell, and William Cabell Rives serving as his vice presidents and J. B. Carr as treasurer.[55] James Terrell, William Cabell Rives, and J.B. Carr all owned slaves in the Cismont vicinity.

James Hunter Terrell was born in 1832 and was the only son of Margaret Douglass Meriwether and Charles Terrell. James H. Terrell married a widow, but the couple never had children. However, the couple had over 80 slaves at their Music Hall plantation (see fig. 7). In death, James H. Terrell freed all of his slaves on the condition that they would move to Liberia as part of the Liberian Colonization Society experiment. From 1857 to 1866, Terrell's former slaves wrote a series of letters to Dr. James Minor, executor of Terrell's estate and Louisa Minor's brother, with tales of their journey to Liberia, experience upon arrival, sicknesses and deaths, and industry. While these letters revealed many things about Liberia, they provided just as much insight into the lives and families of enslaved people in Cismont.

Between December seventh and December thirteenth of 1856, Louisa Minor writes an entry in her diary that reads:

> Go down to Music Hall on Monday. Find Sister Mary alone, brother Jim having taken the freed servants to Norfolk to ship them for "Africa's sunny clime." He gets back this week and has so many amusing stories to tell of their trip down. Poor things. To many of them their freedom will prove anything but a blessing. My kindest wishes attend them to their new home.[56]

James Minor escorted the newly freed African Americans from Cismont to Norfolk and put

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[54] David A. Maurer, "Albemarle: A Treasure millions of years in the making." *The Daily Progress* (Charlottesville: The Daily Progress, 25 February 1994), 9.
[55] *Ibid*
[56] Minor, "Wait and Hope," 6 February 1857.

them on the M.C. Stevens ship headed for Monrovia, Liberia (see fig. 8). Less than three months later, William Douglass, Hugh Walker, and Samuel Carr, former slaves, penned a letter informing Dr. Minor of their safe arrival in West Africa, requested supplies, and described the overall health of the new Liberians. On February 6, 1857, they wrote from the settlement of Clay Ashland:

> Docter Minor Dear Sir us have taken this oppertunity of wrighting thes few lines to inform you how we ar geting along in our new home. We was forty one days from Hamton Roades to Cape Mont and we need to rejoice that noe lives has not bin lost in way coming. We ar at this tim settle on the St. Paul River fifteen miles from Monrovia and the Children and some of our old peopeol is about to take the Affrican feaver. But not as yet searous and as artickles is high here we send for some things. [57]

One month later, on March 8, 1857, William Douglass wrote again to Dr. J. Minor and Frank Nelson relaying this message:

> Dear Sirs
> I take this opportunity of sending my best regards to you as well as the family and friends. We all got safe from Virginia to Liberia all of us that came to Carysburg are well. Young Barrett had a slight bilious attack but is now better…[58]

Douglass goes on to describe the heavily timbered lands of Liberia mentioning that all of

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[57] The letter is faithfully transcribed as written by its authors. Subsequent letters from this same collection have been transcribed in the way that their originals authors penned them, including any spelling or grammar abnormalities. They reflect the increasing level of literacy in the freedmen and women of Music Hall after arriving in Liberia and attending schools, some of which were established by the American Colonization Society. William Douglass, Hugh Walker, and Samuel Carr to Dr. Minor, February 6 1857. James Hunter Terrell, Letters from former slaves of Terrell settled in Liberia, 1857-1865, Accession #10460, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, VA.

[58] William Douglass to Dr. J. Minor and Frank Nelson, March 8 1857. James Hunter Terrell, Letters from former slaves of Terrell settled in Liberia, 1857-1865, Accession #10460, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, VA.

the axes that the men brought with them were broken. He also lists the names of former slaves who died after arriving in Liberia from the "acclimating fever," as it is called in other letters from Terrell's former slaves.[59] In contrast, Mary Mickey tells Dr. Minor that a Liberian summer day is not as hot as a summer day in America and that she will send him some coffee. Thus, newly immigrated Americans in Liberia experienced a wide array of feelings about their new surroundings.

This letter furnishes the first evidence that emigrants to Liberia applied their building, farming, and religious education from Cismont to their newly established settlements in Liberia. As such, it also foreshadowed what Black Americans would do after the Civil War. Douglass derided a small portion of the Albemarle settlers for choosing to stay at the coast after several died of a fever. He wrote, "I always thought it imprudent for persons raised on high lands to settle on the coast so I came to this mountain where I am well as ever."[60] After describing again the sturdy trees of Careysburg, Douglass wrote, "We are building a log church and school house so that you must not think that I am idle."[61] He closes this letter to Dr. Minor sending his love to his "old Aunt" and adding, "if she is living tell her I thank God she did not start to come here as she could never have got here, this is not the country for any old people."[62] In subsequent letters, Douglass demonstrates that African Americans in Cismont were educated in farming different species of tobacco and experimenting with other crops prior to their move to Liberia. Familiarity with log construction indicates that enslaved people at Music Hall probably lived in log quarters instead of frame structures. Lastly, biblical prose and other Christian traditions verified

[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.

that enslaved people were raised participating in prayer, worship, and bible study on the plantation.

Religious practices varied within different enslaved populations in the Southwest Mountains area. Some met in the woods under the cover of darkness to worship, as Garland Monroe detailed in a statement given to the Works Progress Administration and recorded in *Weevils in the Wheat*:

> Dey had what dey called a stump preacher; ole man Tucker Coles it was. Dey call him a stump preacher 'cause he used to git up on a stump an' preach to de slaves—you see, up dere 'rounst Monticello ole patterolers would keep away, so de slaves ain't bothered to build a hut an' put pots all roun' like dey did in some places. Jus' preached right in de open, an' if de patterollers come, dey would jus' run down de mountain side 'long paths dat de patterollers didn't know nothin' 'bout.[63]

Monroe recalled these events from his childhood in Albemarle county, which would have been sometime between 1848 and 1860. His full statement revealed how some enslaved people in Albemarle County used informal spaces for religious worship; they were willing to risk severe punishment in order to do so.

Other slaves in the Southwest Mountains area attended religious ceremonies alongside their masters. Many of the slaveholding families in Cismont attended Grace Episcopal Church. However, Blacks were not allowed to attend the church and instead they met outside or in their own cabins. If someone wanted to be baptized, then that person would go to their master and make a request. In March of 1856, Louisa Minor recorded in

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[63] Charles L Perdue, Thomas E Barden, and Robert K Phillips, *Weevils In the Wheat: Interviews with Virginia Ex-slaves.* 1st paperback ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 214.

her diary:

> A beautiful day. Go to church to hear Bishop Johns again.... Uncle Hatter was confirmed today. He is Mr. Meade's first colored member and I believe him to be truly pious… My only regret is that Miss V and Lizzie Dee could not be with us. Have the "quality" [slave workers from the community] to dine with us as they are busy on the new road.[64]

On another occasion, Minor mentions "Uncle Isaac (a darky preacher)[sic]" as an alternative for a preacher that is late for a wedding, which suggests that some slaveowners in the area allowed enslaved men to preach to the other slaves. Enslaved preachers probably learned through observing services at their masters' churches and then practiced amongst themselves. Although there are many more mentions of church services in her diary, perhaps the last one is most telling. During the Civil War, most of the men were gone to fight for the Confederacy and Uncle Hatter must have been an older enslaved man serving as a driver or butler. In her entry from October 5-11th 1862, Louisa Minor wrote, "We cannot go to church as Uncle Hatter is so poorly. I have a meeting at Mammy Nelly's house with the darkies and enjoy it. Uncle Hatter and Uncle Gabriel have a warm discussion. I'm edified."[65] Minor uses the phrase "I am edified" throughout her diary to describe contentment with church services at Grace Episcopal Church. A willingness to meet with the slaves in their quarters in lieu of attending her church shows how religious piety crossed racial lines in isolated incidents in the Southwest Mountains area. Emigrants to Liberia took these religious traditions with them.

The pride that emigrants to Liberia displayed for taking part in a new experiment in

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[64] Minor, "Wait and Hope," March 1856.
[65] Minor, "Wait and Hope," 5-11 October 1862.

freedom is woven between the words that William Douglass and others mailed back to their homeland In a reversal of the African Diaspora, the freedmen felt it their mission to Christianize the heathen Liberian natives. However, upon arrival, Douglass and others discovered, as Mary Mickey wrote, "The people here are very genteel. I thought to find things different, and that we would have to enlighten the people, but I find that we need teaching ourselves."[66] The newly settled Liberian immigrants and the American Colonization Society built a number of roads and towns to accommodate the growing number of African American settlers. Even in a foreign country, former slaves from Cismont became keenly interested in sharing their knowledge of Africa with friends and family back in Virginia.

Mary Mickey writes to Dr. Minor to tell him that she has encountered other Blacks from the Cismont area in Liberia who had come from the Carr house "some years ago."[67] John Henry Paxton was only an infant when his family emigrated to Liberia so Mickey asked Dr. Minor to inquire with James O. Carr about "his friends, he had an Aunt he says his mother as his mother Huldah Paxton."[68] After engaging in more pleasantries, Mary Mickey asks Dr. Minor to "give our love to the colored folks, tell them how well we are and how pleased we are with the country."[69] Even though almost all of James H. Terrell's former slaves immigrated to Liberia, they still had friends, children, and spouses in Cismont. The longer they were in Liberia and the more settled they became, the more formal and organized their correspondences became before their correspondences trailed off towards

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[66] Mary Mickey to Dr. James Minor, Feb. 4 1857. James Hunter Terrell, Letters from former slaves of Terrell settled in Liberia, 1857-1865, Accession #10460, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, VA.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.

the end of the Civil War. William Douglass made remarks about the success of the Terrell group—all of the survivors were employed, including the women. When they wrote home, they almost always included messages to their peers about the plants, animals, climate, and sent their prayers (see fig. 9). Even an ocean and two hundred years of oppression could not unravel the social networks that rural free and enslaved families formed.

Unfortunately, the United States was on the brink of war when the former Terrell slaves sailed for West Africa. In early 1861, Louisa minor begins to write about The Commonwealth of Virginia and her desire for the state to leave the union following Mississippi and two other states that had already seceded.[70] In April of 1862, after the Civil War was under way, Mary wrote of Dr. James Minor's death. News of his death was not sent to the former slaves in Liberia and they continued to write him for four more years. William Douglass grew increasingly concerned having not heard from Dr. Minor about his children, who he intended to purchase and have brought to Liberia for the $50 that he mailed to Dr. Minor. It appears that he never achieved that goal.

President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing the millions of slaves in the Confederate States, on January 1, 1865. Louisa Minor wrestles with the collapse of the Confederacy leaving clues about the activity of her newly freed servants. From March 6th to March 10th of 1865, after union troops raided her home at Pantops, Louisa enters the following:

> Our losses of much value were as follows: five men servants (and we think John Trice too for he has not come home yet,) all the horses that were of any value but the two that Daddy and Met rode, about half of the year's supply of meat, some flour, all the turkeys but five, the two watches, a good deal of

[70] Ibid.

> corn, most of Daddy's clothes, all his guns, pistols and papers, some other little things. The servants that did not leave were so kind and attentive to us. Don't know how we would have come through our difficulties without them. Believe they saved us much and we have now full proof that they care for us for the Yanks offered them every inducement to go with them but they declined the honor.[71]

This diary entry is representative of the turmoil in much of the South. Southerners, white and black, did not know what to do since slaves were no longer required to work for their former owners. Some Blacks chose to remain at the only home they had known and continue doing the work that they had always done. Others were told by Union Soldiers that their former owners would be evicted from their land and it would be divided evenly amongst the freedmen. Louisa Minor's diary again provides context. From May 21st to May 27th of 1865 she wrote:

> We all feel so uneasy and troubled in mind about the servants. The Yanks meddle so much with them and put such high notions in their heads. They (the servants) have an idea, say the Yanks told them, that we are to be driven off and all we have to be divided among them.[72]

In *A Right to the Land* by Edward Magdol, there is a whole chapter devoted to freedmen's quest for land in the postwar period.[73] Magdol credits General Sherman's Special Field Order No.15 for having "cultivated the idea that they would receive their former master's lands."[74] Magdol concedes that Sherman made a

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[71] Minor, "Wait and Hope," 6-10 March 1865.
[72] Minor, "Wait and Hope," 21-27 May 1865.
[73] Edward Magdol, "6: Shall We Have Land?" in *A Right to the Land: Essays on the Freedmen's Community* (London and Westport: Greenwood Press, 1977), 139-172.
[74] *Ibid.*

promise and Southern blacks "tenaciously believed" it to be true.[75]

Lastly, Louisa Minor laments the loss of her female servants because they had left and moved to land their husbands obtained. In January of 1866, Minor scribbled a few passages about her servants in which she said:

> Very cold weather and plenty of ice but we have no hands to get any. It is very tantalizing. Quite an exodus of the Freedmen from the place since the New Year came in. Adeline and her family left the 6th and Nancy and her tribe the 13th. They both go to homes provided by their husbands and I hope will do well. It is very sad to see the servants we have been living with all our lives moving off. It is such a breaking up of old ties and affections for we were attached to them both for past kindnesses to ourselves and to our loved ones now sleeping beneath the sod. It was very hard for the children to give up Nancy for she had been a faithful Black Ma to them all both in sickness and in health but now they are free it is right for them to consult their own interest and it seems proper for them to follow their husbands as they will have to look to them now for support. Anne and her children will leave soon. Mammy and Aunt Peggy are the only remains of the old set left us and I do not suppose they will tarry very long.[76]

For almost a year, slaves had been taking leave of the plantation in pursuit of their new lives as free citizens. Even the former slaves who were apprehensive about leaving the old plantation were finally taking their leave. Whether they were purchasing land or renting it, the newly freed men and women were dispersing throughout the Southwest Mountains and surrounding areas. Others moved into the area hoping to reconnect with family they had lost over the years.

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[75] *Ibid.*
[76] Minor, "Wait and Hope," 7-13 January 1866.

For two and a half centuries, blacks were subjugated to one of the cruelest systems known to man, born into lives of servitude because of the color of their skin. However, even through considerable adversity they were became skilled craftsman who were adept at clearing land, planting and harvesting crops, building things, and forming deep personal relationships with whites, free blacks, and other enslaved people. The African colonization experiment proved to be much like any other colonial endeavor except African Americans were participants in a reverse diaspora playing the role of colonizer to a land that was the homeland of their ancestors. The American South had been built and established for the elite planter. Thus, the newly freed black masses would need to create a material culture profoundly shaped by the relational networks, village structure, and economic systems they experienced as slaves and transplant these things onto their own land. By 1870, African Americans had already begun inventing their own traditions on the Southern rural landscape.

Chapter 2

Scuffletown: Constructing Black Identity, Memory, & Place

> Gramma used to tell dis story to ev'body dat would listen, an' I spec' I heered it a hundred times. Gramma say she was hired out to de Randolphs during de war. One day whilst she was weedin' corn another slave, Mamie Tolliver, come up to her an' whisper, "Sarah, dey tell me dat Marse Lincum done set all us slaves free." Gramma Say, "Is dat so?" an' she dropped her hoe an' run all de way to the Thacker's place—seben miles it was—an run to de ole Missus an' looked at her real hard. Den she yelled, "I'se Free! Yes, I'se free! Ain't got to work for you no mo'. You can't put me in yo' pocket now!" Gramma says Missus Thacker started boo-hooin' an' threw her apron over her face an run in de house. Gramma knew it was true den.
>
> Betty Jones (b. 1863) of Charlottesville, VA, *Weevils in the Wheat*

Chapter one closed at the end of the Civil War when hundreds of black Americans in Charlottesville and environs began to exercise their rights as free citizens. On a cold winter day in January of 1870, Virginia was readmitted to the Union. The Piedmont Environmental Council made a report claiming that 43 of the 61 historic farms and former plantations in Cismont and Keswick were located on prime soil for agriculture.[77] That report failed to mention that the majority of the prime soil is located on the southwestern side of the road. The African Americans that stayed in the area after emancipation have historically inhabited the northeastern side of Route 231, also known as Gordonsville Road. They did not live on prime agricultural land. As the nineteenth century transitioned into the

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[77] Piedmont Environmental Council, *Southwest Mountains Area Natural Resource and Historic Preservation Study*, 7.

twentieth, African Americans acquired land, built their homes, and constructed their identity as free black Virginians.

Former planter families that lived on the east side of the Southwest Mountains were on what Edward Lay called, "richest soils in the county, and, formerly, the best hardwood forests."[78] Thus, the earliest permanent European residents had access to the best land for agriculture and hard timber to use as building materials.[79] By the time that thousands of newly freed African Americans were freed from the bonds of slavery, the best sites along the eastern side of the Southwest Mountain range had been settled, cleared, and planted by their former owners a century and a half earlier. Blacks looking to purchase land could not get properties that were situated on the prime agricultural soils or that took advantage of the high ground along the main thoroughfares.

The first thing that Blacks needed to obtain in order to build houses and communities was land. At the end of Chapter 1, we learned that freedmen felt entitled to their former masters' lands. When black men returned from fighting in the Civil War, or traversed back to their birthplaces from the plantations they had been sold or hired to, they believed themselves the natural heirs of the land and stood firmly in their demands. Their former masters, sullen by the fall of the Confederacy and facing financial ruin at the collapse of the slave economy, were equally unwilling to negotiate with freed Blacks. Because the formerly enslaved workers had been responsible for clearing the land, cultivating the crops, and keeping it all up, Edward Magdol writes:

> Their [Freedmen] resistant behavior that summer probably brought the United States to the brink of its first open class conflict, on cast geographical

[78] Lay, 8.
[79] Lay, 5-9.

> field. "The General Strike," according to W.E.B. DuBois, designated the refusal of freedmen to vacate lands they had sown and were tilling, to contract for labor lest they lose a claim on permanent homesteads, and their general exercise of their freedom to move about or remain at rest in time and space.[80]

On the 1860 Census, blacks outnumbered whites by approximately 2500.[81] In the Rivanna district, on the 1870 Census, whites were outnumbered by about 800.[82] According to John Hammond Moore, Albemarle's Reconstruction period lasted for only about five years with some semblance of normalcy returning by 1870.[83]

Magdol continued by listing three primary ways that newly freed African Americans acquired land. Freedmen who had earned enough money during the Civil War could purchase lands, by right. If one person could not afford the parcel, a group or groups of families may have pooled their resources to purchase property. If purchasing land was completely unaffordable or simply not an option, and there were many social and political reasons why it may not have been, then newly freed Blacks would rent land and pay their debts through sharecropping or bartering their trade skills.[84] An interview with Barclay Rives, revealed that in the 1870s Ebenezer Boyden, a former Rector of Grace Episcopal Church in Cismont, allowed free Blacks to build cabins on his property. They paid him rent

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[80] Chapter 3 "Shall We Have Land?" provides an in-depth study of the legal climate of Virginia and other former Confederate states at the turn of the century and the strategies freedmen used to acquire land. Magdol, 160.
[81] John Hammond Moore, *Albemarle: Jefferson's County 1727-1976* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1976), 115.
[82] Ibid, 215.
[83] Moore says, "Largely because of its isolation far from disruption of actual warfare and failure of so-called outside agitators to be much interested in such a rural community, the county emerged from Virginia's rather brief Reconstruction era (1865-1870) virtually unscathed." He goes on to describe the adjusting period. Ibid, 219.
[84] Magdol, 174.

by doing laundry and other work. Rives was uncertain about the number of cabins that were constructed on the property and there are presently no traces of them remaining. The only building that still stands in that area is a large, two-room, two-story, balloon- framed house that was owned by freedman, Harry Dickinson and his family (see fig. 10a-d).[85] An old plow and surrounding pasture are all that remain of Harry Dickinson's farm (see fig. 11). The driveway that used to connect the property to Route 231, long since abandoned, is overgrown but its traces are still visible today (see fig. 12).

Robert Kean's journal, former slaveowner at Edgehill, suggests that some masters tried to incentivize their most skilled laborers to stay nearby.[86] Kean's journal entry is significant because it echoes themes in Louisa Minor's diary about closeness and familiarity with the former slaves. If whites were going to have to accept that the old Southern order was gone, then they would rather adjust to the sweeping changes with familiar faces, some of which were their blood relatives.[87] This is evidenced by the large mulatto population and well-documented pattern of master and slave relationships.[88] White reluctance to welcome unknown free blacks into their communities combined with the desires of countless ex-slaves who wished to remain on the lands they worked and spurred what Magdol calls the "American Black Village Movement."[89]

Briefly summarizing what *A Right to the Land* articulates much more thoroughly,

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[85] Barclay Rives in conversation with the author on October 29, 2014.
[86] Ibid, 220.
[87] The white Rives family of Castle Hill and the African American Dickinson family of Cobham share blood relatives. Members of both families discuss their distant kinship in the short documentary film *The Coachman* film released independently by Lorenzo Dickerson in the fall of 2014.
[88] United States Census, 1860." Index. *FamilySearch*. http://FamilySearch.org: accessed 2014.
[89] Magdol, 174-199.

Blacks rigorously began building communities in a way that was inextricably connected to their antebellum human networks and place. Magdol cites examples throughout the South where African Americans purchased preempted land from the United States government at a discounted rate and divided it amongst large groups of people in cooperative efforts.[90] While Magdol ascertained that "cooperative effort in the countryside was not a success story," the history of African American neighborhoods in the Southwest Mountains region suggests the contrary. Oral tradition, documentary evidence, and the built environment suggest that during the Reconstruction Era, Blacks in Albemarle were very purpose-driven in constructing neighborhoods, or villages, based on kinship and other relational networks that existed prior to emancipation.

African Americans also purchased property from former masters or whites seeking financial security by selling off some of their acreage. In 1882, Albert Johnson purchased a tract of land adjacent to present day Clarks Tract Road from Francis Meriwether of Cismont Manor Farm (see fig. 13). Shortly before dying, Meriwether subdivided a section of her property that lay on the eastern side of Route 231 and sold those parcels to former slaves and tenants. [91] Albert Johnson was a very skilled house wright and carpenter and he constructed a large house for his family. Around 1896, before completing his first house, Johnson purchased a second tract of land adjacent to the first and began building another house for his extended family. Johnson's homes stand directly across the road from Cismont Manor, his first home being the only extant house in the Rivanna District built for

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[90] Ibid.

[91] Please see the attached appendix A for all survey documents specifically referenced in this thesis. Piedmont Environmental Council. Survey Records from the late 1980s collected prior to creating the Southwest Mountains Rural Historic District. Albert Johnson is also mentioned in K. Edward Lay, *Architecture of Jefferson Country* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2000), 223.

and by a black builder that fronts Route 231 (see fig. 14). His first house, Breezy Oaks, so aptly named for the oak trees Johnson planted surrounding the house, demarcates the historic black neighborhood on Clarks Tract road.[92]

The last means of acquiring land for newly freed blacks was by receiving it as a gift. Documentary evidence suggests that slaves were the primary source of labor in constructing Grace Episcopal Church. In the Vestry minutes for the Grace Church Building Committee, as well as in the Rives book, there is mention of hiring slave or colored laborers to complete the task of building the church for $1.00 to $1.50 per day after William Strickland's original church burned in a fire in 1895.[93] Even though Reverend Ebenezer Boyden and Reverend Edward Meade baptized and perform funeral rights for slaves and freedmen, Blacks were not welcome in services at the church. In 1870, John Armstrong Chaloner, owner of Merrie Mill plantation at the time, gave a portion of his land along Route 22 at the intersection of present day Zion Hill Road, to the developing black community for them to construct their church. The Black congregation named the church Zion Hill Baptist Church it is still in use today and despite other alterations ringing its original bell (see fig. 15a-d). Zion Hill became the center of black life in Cismont attracting the services of Reverend Robert Hughes, a descendant of the Hughes Family at Monticello send to live at Edgehill after Thomas Jefferson died.[94] The gift of land from one parishioner of Grace Church reflects sentiments that Alexander H.H. Stuart conveyed to University of Virginia graduates in 1866 as cited by Moore:

Let us remember that no blame attaches to the Negro. They were our nurses

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[92] Piedmont Environment Council survey records, Appendix A.
[93] Rives, *A History of Grace Church,* 44.
[94] Lynn Rainville, *Hidden History: African American Cemeteries in Central Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014), 74-75.

> in childhood, the companions of our sports in boyhood, and our humble and faithful servants through life. Without any agency on their part, the ties that bound them to us have been rudely broken. Let us extend to them a helping hand in the hour of destitution…and we should spare no pains to improve their conditions and qualify them…for usefulness in our community.[95]

Stuart believed it prudent for whites to help get freedmen on their feet. The overall tone of pity and misogyny in his speech belies his noble intentions and reveals that the white elite felt blacks had little agency of their own— a contradiction given many freedmen had already purchased their own land and built their own institutions by the late 1860s.

Even so, five years after the conclusion of the Civil War, black property ownership was still not all that statistically impressive. Only fifty-six of the total 14,994 blacks living in Albemarle in were listed as property owners on the Census of 1870.[96] Because the agricultural system had relied upon slave labor to be profitable and the economy had yet to recover from the crippling war, most freedmen were employed as tradesmen and worked as musicians, drivers, hotelkeepers, carpenters, and more.[97] There were only a few exceptions to this including a restaurant owner and the Scott family musicians whose houses and real estate property were valued at more than $10,000—a fortune for the time.[98] However, by 1910 the U.S. Census record 581 "negro and other non-white farm owners."[99] Once blacks owned land, they could build homes, outbuildings, and other

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[95] Moore, 221.
[96] Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research. HISTORICAL, DEMOGRAPHIC, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL DATA: THE UNITED STATES, 1790-1970. [Computer file]. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, 1970.
[97] Moore, 217.
[98] *Ibid*.
[99] Based upon the format of the query results, there is no way to know how many Virginia

structures and establish permanent communities. But how would their communities look?

John Michael Vlach and others have tried to identify stylistic elements and forms of African American vernacular architecture that may have been surviving Africanisms in the early twentieth century.[100] However, such linear methodological approaches fail to account for the expansive breadth of the African diaspora in the New World and certainly do not consider pervasive internal slave trading, climate, or other significant factors. As such, be it far removed from the scope of this chapter to attempt to identify the architectural precedents for the material landscape of rural Black neighborhoods. Instead, the focus will remain on Scuffletown with sporadic examples from the neighboring Black settlements in this part of the Southwest Mountains Rural Historic District.

Cloverfields Farm is one of the oldest homes along Route 231 and was the first estate of the Meriwether Family.[101] In 1730, Nicholas Meriwether received land grant for 17,952, which encompassed most of the land along the South-West Mountains.[102] Another Nicholas Meriwether I, who began constructing his home on the property during the mid 1700s, inherited this land.[103] Descendants of Nicholas Meriwether have since owned or controlled several of the other extant historic farms along this mountain range including:

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farmers identified as Negro versus other non-whites. These numbers may include farms owned by mixed-race individuals. Inter-university Consortium, THE UNITED STATES, 1790-1970.

[100] Vlach, John Michael. *The Shotgun House: An African Architectural Legacy*. (Pioneer America. Vol. 8. July 1976).

[101] Mead, Edward C. *Historic Homes of the South-West Mountains Virginia* (Harrisonburg, VA: C.J. Carrier Company, 1978).

[102] Mead, 130.

[103] Genealogical searches of the Meriwether family of Albemarle revealed a pattern of reusing names over several generations. While Mead seems to be certain that Nicholas Meriwether preceded Nicholas Meriwether I, one cannot rule out the possibility of there being only one Nicholas Meriwether responsible for the expansive territory that family held. Mead, 131.

Castalia, Kinloch, Edgehill, Cismont Manor, and Merrie Mill Farm.[104] The first structure was a one and half story, single-cell plan, with a chimney on the left gable-end.[105] It was later rebuilt as "an I-house exhibiting American bond but with Flemish variant" brickwork.[106] I mention this to point out the type of architecture and kinship network that would have influenced African Americans in Cismont at the turn of the century.

As rural black villages materialized in Albemarle, former slaves and free born African Americans associated Federal and Greek revival houses with class, power, and control of the surrounding landscape. As such, Blacks who were able to afford larger houses adopted similar architectural aesthetics as their former owners, like the two-over-two carpenter's gothic house that Harriet Johnson built near the aforementioned Dickinson House sometime around the 1880s (see fig.16). Middle class Blacks in Scuffletown built frame I-houses and four-squares. Others started with log cabins and expanded them as needed. Regardless of actual economic class, architecture was used to communicate the new social position of free Blacks and their identity as American citizens.[107]

Contrary to historical accounts of black rural communities being a collection of poorly organized shacks, by the 1940s the Maxfield Road neighborhood was neatly organized, had manicured gardens facing the road, and well-maintained outbuildings with riven hardwood or clapboard siding (see fig. 17).[108] Families raised hogs and chickens and used the back yard was a utilitarian space for penning livestock or foul, feeding animals,

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[104] Ibid.
[105] Lay, 15.
[106] Lay, 130.
[107] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 9.
[108] Ernest Bates in conversation with the author, October 26, 2013. Floyd Bates in conversation with the author, October 2013.

grazing chickens, butchering meat, and more.[109] Kitchens were often at the rear of the house to keep the front rooms of the home reserved for living spaces and entertaining guests. It also enabled more efficient preparation of meals because it was closer to the garden and animal coops (see fig. 17b). The plat of the bungalow house on Route 647 shows the outbuildings in relation to the house, placement of utilities, and orientation of the two-and-a-half acre lot (see fig.18).

One of the oldest African American homes in Scuffletown stands at the intersection of Maxfield Road and Louisa Rd. Originally owned by the Scott family, the house is representative of the houses of working class African Americans in Cismont. The large, two story home was constructed around 1900 and has whitewashed weatherboard siding (see fig.19). According to Albemarle County records, the house has six rooms, three of which are bedrooms.[110] Its exterior form most nearly resembles the frame I-Houses mentioned by K. Edward Lay in *Architecture of Jefferson Country*.[111] The Scott-Kinney family has owned this house and the nearly five acres of land surrounding it since its construction. The Scott family used to own land further down Route 647 but sold it to another Black family by the name of Taylor around 1900.[112]

Another home located about a third of the way down Maxfield road was constructed in 1920. Originally owned by the Bates- Cooper family, this large house has been renovated by the addition of metal roofing and aluminum siding. It was originally built with

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[109] Ernest Bates and Johnny Bates in conversation with the author with regard to the property of Otto Bates, Sr., 26 October 2013. See also Richard Westmacott, *Gardens and Yards*.
[110] County of Albemarle, "Property Information", *Albemarle County Virginia GIS-Web*, 2011, http://gisweb.albemarle.org/GISWeb/PropertyInfo.aspx.
[111] See Lay, *Jefferson Country,* 15. For I-House see 45-46.
[112] Only recently, with the passing of the owner, has the house started to fall into disrepair. Albemarle County Clerks Office, Records & Deeds Book 155, p.141.

weatherboard siding, similar to the Scott house, and sat on a much larger plot of land than it does in the present (see fig.20). The Cooper house most closely resembles the American Foursquare form that Edward Lay describes in *The Architecture of Jefferson Country*, with a few additions, that is a popular vernacular type in Albemarle County.[113] Other house types on Maxfield Road include the bungalow, small wood frame houses, and at least two Jim Walters kit homes from the 1960s.[114]

While establishing a church and beginning to form close-knit enclaves, blacks were also figuring out their new role in the rural economic system. After slavery, sharecropping became the new highly exploitative economic arrangement. Residents of the Maxfield Road neighborhood, colloquially known as Scuffletown, did not farm on their own properties in most cases. Instead, men worked in fields within walking distance and received a percentage of the yield—often below market value. At home, they planted subsistence gardens full of fruits and vegetables (see fig.21). They also raised hogs, chickens, and other livestock to provide for their families (see fig. 22). Most did not cultivate crops for commercial gain, but were willing to barter or sell items to other members of the community.[115] Men and women in Cismont were also able to maintain fairly consistent employment. Men were skilled in handiwork, like carpentry, stonework, masonry, and painting and other services were in high demand in rural Albemarle. Because elite whites in Albemarle had encouraged their most skilled former slaves to remain in the area, older

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[113] Lay, *Jefferson Country*, 45-46.

[114] Jim Walter Homes were prefabricated shell houses by house builder James Walter. Owners would have Jim Walter Homes assemble the exterior and finish the interiors on their own. The two on Route 647 in Scuffletown were both added in the 1960s; one replaced an older cabin.

[115] Farming on personal property was usually not the primary means of income for a family living in a rural village. Virginia Writers' Project, *The Negro In Virginia* (New York: Hastings House, 1940), 323.

men in the community probably apprenticed young boys while they were growing up passing trade skills down through the generations. Men like Willie Bowles, Harry Dickinson, and Otto Bates would have grown up learning to dig wells, build things, and work on mechanical instruments (see fig. 23). It was this high level of skilled work that enabled many working class black families to be upwardly mobile. Such social mobility was unheard of for African Americans living in the rural South in the earlier decades of the twentieth century, especially in states in the Deep South.[116] According to one resident, his father and most of his father's friends worked in construction or were day laborers during the 1930s and 1940s and were able to buy cars, install electricity in their homes, and provide a comfortable living for their large families.[117]

Meanwhile, many of the women labored as cooks or housekeepers in the former plantations along Route 231. A resident of Clover Fields farm remembers the owner's close relationship with the women that worked there and lived on Maxfield Road (see fig.24).[118] Service jobs were neither the most glamorous, nor the highest paying, but they were enough to get by. Black women employed as maids, laundresses, nannies, and cooks afforded whites the ability to maintain genteel lifestyles reminiscent of the antebellum era, but were essential in enabling African Americans to afford to build homes in their rural communities. In this respect, Cismont seems to have experienced superior circumstances when compared rural black settlements portrayed in most literature. By having well-built buildings, decorative gardens, easily traversable roads and proximity to Charlottesville, Scuffletown represented the greater degree of opportunity of living in Virginia, as opposed

[116] Virginia Writers' Project, 1940.
[117] Johnny Bates in conversation with the author, September 2013.
[118] Sara Barnes in conversation with the author over lunch on 21 November 2013.

to rural Georgia, Mississippi, or Alabama provided.

The men within the community collectively built many of the houses in Scuffletown. In one account, a preexisting home on the road (Route 647) was dismantled board-by-board, relocated, and reassembled with the addition of a porch and later a basement in 1934 (see fig. 25a-b).[119] Many of the houses did not have electricity or indoor plumbing when they were first constructed, but they did have hand-dug wells allowing quick access to water. People living in homes without wells to access ground water were forced to walk through the woods to the nearby creeks, streams, and springs. In an interview recorded for the Rosenwald Schools of Virginia project about her schoolteacher, Ms. Rebecca Boller recalls: [120]

> Because, you know, back in the day, we didn't-- the house we were renting, at the time, didn't have electricity. Even when TV came out, we couldn't have one because we didn't have electricity. But she would let us come over on Thursday nights, to watch "Gunsmoke," and immediately after -- that was the only thing she would let us watch, one show-- and immediately after that was over, we had to go home [laughter].[121]

Ms. Boller's experiences are emblematic of the way that many residents of Cismont would have lived until schools integrated in the 1960s. It is too easy to paint an overly bucolic portrait of Scuffletown in light of its pleasant scenery, but Ms. Boller's statement serves as a sobering reminder that while Blacks were building rural neighborhoods like Scuffletown, they were doing so on a shoestring budget with little to no education beyond middle school

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[119] Conversation with Ernest Bates in October 2013. See also County of Albemarle, Property Information (web), *Albemarle County Virginia GIS-Web*, 2011, < http://gisweb.albemarle.org/GISWeb/PropertyInfo.aspx >

[120] Albemarle County Historic Preservation Committee, "Rosenwald Schools of Virginia", *Virginia Department of Historic* Resources (Richmond: Virginia DHR, 2006). Web. Accessed 11 December 2014.

[121] Rebecca Boller for the "Rosenwald Schools of Virginia" in 2009.

unless a parent or relative could afford to send them to the Albemarle Training School in Charlottesville or George Washington Carver Regional High School in Orange, Virginia (see figs. 26 & 27).

At the neighborhood level, one-room and Rosenwald schools provided the only source of public education many Black children received from the late 1800s until massive resistance ended in Charlottesville in the late 1950s. Two Rosenwald schools are still extant in eastern part of the Southwest Mountains Rural Historic District including the Cismont Training School on route 647 and St. John's School on St. John's Road in Cobham. The Cismont Training School was located near the end of Maxfield Road close to Maxfield Farm, its official namesake (see fig. 26a-bmap). The school had a standard one-teacher a plan as prescribed by the Rosenwald Foundation and was constructed in 1922 with $300 from the black community, $100 from the white community, $1100 in public contribution from tax funds, and a $500 Rosenwald contribution.[122] Only a couple of miles away, a second larger Rosenwald School was built around the same time in the Cobham neighborhood (see fig. 27a-b). The African American community in Cismont, then, was large enough to support the construction of two schools for Black children.

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[122] Rosenwald schools were partly funded by the Julius Rosenwald Fund in Partnership with Booker T. Washington from Tuskegee University. Schools had banked windows on all sides to provide ample natural light. The plans came with measured drawings, elevations, and specific instructions on site placement and orientation to be completed by local carpenters. These schools were specifically intended for rural Black communities and children learned reading, writing, math, American history, black history, and manual and agricultural skills. The plans can be found in the United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, "Appendix One: Rosenwald School Plans from Rosenwald Schools in Virginia Multiple Property Document of the National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheets". PDF, p.51. Details about the schools are discussed at length in Stephanie Deutsch, *You Need a Schoolhouse: Booker T. Washington, Julius Rosenwald, and the Building of Schools for the Segregated South* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2011).

Booker T. Washington spoke to the Negro Organization Society in Richmond, Virginia in the fall of 1913. According to Washington, "Virginia was the first state to have a state supervisor of rural colored schools, and by doing so set an example for the remainder of the South."[123] He continues, "The work of Mr. Jackson Davis in improving the Negro schools of Virginia is an indication of how the best white people of the South are ready to give their time and talent for the betterment of conditions among Negroes."[124] Racial tension was pervasive in the United States during this time, but there was still some cooperation between the black residents of Cismont and their white neighbors. Even as early as the 1940s, spaces like horse races, private movie screenings at Merrie Mills, and the Seven Pines Drive-In Theater, located behind the old store and auto shop, were somewhat integrated- according to long-time Black resident Floyd Bates (see fig. 28 & 29)[125] Along these lines, the late Anne Gatewood, a resident of Maxfield Road and a deaconess of Zion Hill Baptist Church, claims things were always cordial between whites and blacks, because they grew up together and shared intimate personal relationships with the families. By 1959, Zion Hill Baptist Church and Grace Church, formerly segregated, had fostered an amicable relationship. A document entitled "Zion Hill Organ Fund" lists of names and contributions of Grace Church members toward a $500 Etsy Organ as a gift for the congregation at Zion Hill. Race relations in the area were hot and cold, as evidenced by the fact that the Grace Episcopal Church did not was not fully integrated until sometime after October of 1954 when the vestry minutes report, "The question of colored people

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[123] Booker T. Washington, "Negro Progress In Virginia" address given to the Negro Organization Society in the Richmond City Auditorium, 7 November 1913.
[124] Washington, 1913.
[125] R.K., "Seven Pines Drive-In", *DriveIns.Org*, 2001, http://www.driveins.org/va-cismont-sevenpines.htm>. Floyd Bates corroborated with the blog post in conversation with the author, December 2013.

being admitted to Grace Church was discussed. No action was taken."[126]The Etsy Organ is a far cry from a 1910 news article than ran in *The Washington Post* titled "Race Agitator is Flogged" in which an Abyssinian prophet was flogged in Cismont after fleeing "eight leading citizens" who "delivered a sound thrashing (see fig. 30)."[127] The contrast reveals exactly how slowly race relations improved throughout the twentieth century.

After building a community of houses, churches, and schools, African Americans had designed rural Neighborhoods that were physically and socially insulated. These places were subject to federal, state, and local judicial laws, but operated primarily on their own social and moral code. As St. John's Training School alumnus, Horace Brooks, said in an interview for the Virginia Rosenwald Project, "Not only the teachers taught. Whoever you went to see, you were just like their children, too. They treat you all the same. When you grow up like that, you don't have no dealing with the law, 'cause you know the rules."[128] Practices that are no longer politically correct, like corporal punishment and prayer in school, were cherished aspects of Black rural life on which many elderly residents still reflect.

The relationship between the church and social lives of its members is critical to interpreting the history of this place. In the Scuffletown neighborhood on Maxfield Road, the separation between church and state was scant. Aside from federal census records, church rosters serve as some of the best way to identify the families that lived in the

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[126] Grace Church, Vestry minutes, register and records, 1845-1965 (microfilm), Accession #3109 through 3109-e, Albert H Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
[127] "Race Agitator is Flogged," *The Washington Post* (1877-1922); 19 Nov. 1910. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Washington Post (1877-1997), 11.
[128] Horace Booker in an interview for the Virginia Rosenwald Project, St. John's Church, 11 July 2009.

historically black neighborhoods (see Appendix B). Almost all of the residents were members of Zion Hill Baptist Church and in the early decades of the twentieth century, the same woman served as the teacher for the Cismont Training School and lead Sunday school at the church.[129] Rebecca Boller remarked, "She taught Sunday school and she taught school, and-- I don't know-- it's kind of sad because I really don't know if she really knew what kind of impression she left."[130] Rebecca Boller's admiration for her teacher testifies to the centrality of Zion Hill church in Black life in Cismont, but also to the role of community members in developing secular knowledge and religion in the youth. In an era when government funding was anything but equal for Black schools as it was for white schools in the same districts, religion and the Bible became intrinsic aspects of rural Black education because most families had one.[131]

The African American community in Cismont has faced many challenges over the years. Following in the footsteps of their fathers and grandfathers who fought as soldiers in the Revolutionary War and Civil War, young men left the community to join the military during World War II, the Vietnam War, and Korean and Gulf Wars leaving the maintenance and upkeep to their aging parents and wives. Military service promised to bema guaranteed path toward upward mobility for men otherwise limited by their limited formal education. Upon returning to the States, many opted to stay in larger cities or were stationed elsewhere in the country.[132] Young women were also eager to leave rural

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[129] Boller, Virginia Rosenwalds, Transcript.
[130] Boller, Virginia Rosenwalds, Transcript.
[131] Prayer was not legally banned from public schools in the United States until June 17, 1963 when the Supreme Court ruled in favor of Schempp in Abington Township School District v. Schempp stating that public schools could not mandate prayer or bible readings under the Free Exercise Clause and Establishment Clause of the First Amendment.
[132] Ernest Bates in conversation with the author.

Albemarle because they no longer needed to remain in Cismont working service-oriented jobs.[133] Thus, the slow and steady outward migration began setting up the conditions for the largest issue currently facing the Black community in Cismont.

[133] Maxine Holland in conversation with the author December 2013.

Chapter 3

Before They're Gone: Memory and Preservation in Rural Black Communities

> Each Day when you see us black folk upon the dusty land of the farms or upon the hard pavement of the city streets, you usually take us for granted and think you know us, but our history is far stranger than you suspect, and we are not what we seem.
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> Our outward guise still carries the old familiar aspect which three hundred years of oppression in America has given us, but beneath the garb of the black laborer, the black cook, and the black elevator operator lies an uneasily tied knot of pain and hope whose snarled strands converge from many point of time and space.[134]

A close inspection of the map showing the boundaries of the Southwest Mountains Rural Historic District, reveals that the northeastern edge of the district along Route 231 has a rather odd shape. Asa Eslocker described the boundary as "crenellated" like the parapet of a castle, the voids roughly aligned with the historic black neighborhoods (see fig. 31).[135] The earliest residents of those historic neighborhoods were unwilling participants in the peculiar institution of slavery and their descendants were subjugated to over a century of legal racial, economic, and social oppression under Jim Crow laws. And then in the 1980s, their neighborhoods were carved out of the Southwest Mountains Rural Historic District. Enslaved, marginalized, and now rejected; this is unfathomable. Furthermore, many of the houses and other historic buildings in the black neighborhoods were

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[134] Richard Wright and Edwin Rosskam. *12 Million Black Voices* (New York: Basic Books, a member of the Perseus Books Group, 1941, reprint 2008), 10-11.
[135] Asa Eslocker in conversation with the author. 21 February 2015.

considered ineligible for the State and National Register citing their ubiquity and lack of physical integrity as causes for dismissal.[136] The district boundaries also insinuate that the smaller lot sizes and less monumental architecture of rural Black settlements were part of the same historical narrative as the former plantations within the historic district. In reality, slavery, emancipation, and the landslide of cultural and economic changes that took place throughout the United States during the Reconstruction Era directly shaped the Black neighborhoods of this area. Planners, historians, and preservationists have a duty to advocate for diverse cultural heritage initiatives that honor marginalized cultural groups, like rural African Americans, and provide those communities with the necessary tools to preserve their memories and material heritage. In order to meet that challenge, changes must be made to the National Register criteria and more rigorous legal protections placed on the rapidly disappearing African American heritage in the rural South. Local governments need to survey and identify rural Black landscapes, architecture, and material culture, including archaeological sites at former plantations, and aggressively protect what remains.

Preservationists approach rural landscapes in the South in hopes of preserving the visible scenic, environmental, and historical values of landscape, but interpreting what they do not see is even more indispensable. In the edited volume *Sites of Memory: Perspectives on Architecture and Race*, Craig Evan Barton engages the issue of race and memory in the urban south. He keenly ascertains that black cultural identity revolved around "negotiating both the concept and the realms of invisibility" in the constructed environment.[137]

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[136] See Appendix A for examples. Piedmont Environmental Council Survey Records. (Charlottesville: Piedmont Environmental Council. Unpublished Documents. 1980s-1990s).
[137] Craig Evan Barton, *Sites of Memory: Perspectives On Architecture and Race* (New York:

Although he addressed the subject from an urban perspective, the same can be said in rural landscapes where blacks were participants in constructing "a complex social and cultural geography" in which they "occupied, and continue to occupy, distinct and frequently marginalized cultural landscapes."[138] Many of the sites that were important to rural African American cultural identity have already been lost. For the places that do still survive, there are myriad threats to the remaining historic resources. At present, there are very few viable options for preserving cultural heritage in rural villages like Scuffletown.

31,975 acres of Albemarle County are part of the Southwest Mountains Rural Historic District.[139] The National Register of Historic Places Registration Form lists the period of significance for the historic district from circa 1760 until 1941 with 874 contributing buildings, 73 contributing sites, 30 contributing structures, 1 contributing object for a total of 978 contributing resources.[140] In the northeastern portion of the historic district, Route 231 has remained relatively unchanged since its construction barring the extension of Route 22 east from the Cismont store towards Cobham in the late nineteenth century (see fig. 32 & 33).[141] The entire district is part of the Journey Through Hallowed Ground national heritage area. The Journey Through Hallowed Ground formally recognizes Keswick as the main village for this area, however Cismont and Cobham would

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Princeton Architectural Press, 2001), 5.
[138] Ibid, 3.
[139] Land and Community Associates and Department of Historic Resources. National Register of Historic Resources Registration Form for Southwest Mountains Rural Historic District (Richmond: Virginia Department of Historic Resources, July 1991) PDF, 1.
[140] Ibid, 1,3 20-127. The registration form includes an inventory of contributing and noncontributing buildings.
[141] Louisa Minor described "slave workers" working on the new road in 1856 in "Wait and Hope," March 1856. The roads were paved in the early part of the 20th century as described by John Hammond Moore in *Albemarle Jefferson's County 1727-1976* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1976), 275-307.

have been equally significant communities, each with their own country stores, schools, neighborhoods, and post office depot—Keswick was the largest, wealthiest, and whitest of these three.

Beginning in the later 1980s, a team of land and community associates surveyed the proposed area for the Southwest Mountains Rural Historic District in partnership with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.[142] An evaluation of the survey materials reveals that none of the houses owned by African Americans were considered eligible for the National Register and only a handful were considered to be contributing buildings in the historic district. The term "ubiquitous" is used throughout the files in reference to early twentieth century vernacular bungalows and outbuildings, which is important because it implies that some resources were not considered historically significant at the time because there were so many of them. In at least one case, a property was listed as uninhabited in 1984 at the time of the survey, but the house has been continuously occupied since the early 1940s. The subjectivity of the survey problematizes the surveying practices used by historians and preservationists who enter an area with the goal of creating a historic district. If the Land and Community Associates went into the Southwest Mountains Area with a particular historical narrative in mind, then the district was shaped entirely by what that group of individuals believed was important and worthy of inclusion. Perhaps time and budget restrictions prevented thorough documentary research prior to the survey, but as Lesley Naa Norle Lokko quotes in "Body. Memory. Map." in *Sites of Memory*, "A place on the map is also a place in history."[143] In surveying communities to

[142] Those survey documents are currently stored at the Piedmont Environmental Council office in downtown Charlottesville. Examples of these files can be found in Appendix A.
[143] Barton, 132.

establish boundaries for historic districts, historians and preservationists must take care not to perpetuate the invisibility that is interwoven in Southern landscapes.

There are no black houses included on the National Register within this district, even though many of the later nineteenth and early twentieth century houses survive. Comparatively, the district nomination claims 51 properties had been previously listed on the National Register, the majority of which were former antebellum plantation houses.[144] Of the two Rosenwald schools in this district, Cismont Training School and St. John's School, neither is listed; both survive. The nomination for the district lists the "unnamed" black community along Route 647, Scuffletown, as a contributing resource exemplary of a traditional black settlement, but leaves out the other black environs.[145] Those not mentioned in the nomination are: Cobham, Clarks Tract Road, Bunker Hill, Boyden, and Campbell. With the exception of the two Rosenwald Schools and two historically black churches, buildings that contribute to the Southwest Mountains Rural Historic District portray the history of African Americans in the Southwest Mountains in piecemeal fashion.

The Blacks living in these communities were working and middle class families. The settlement pattern of small lots, located on side streets or adjacent to larger estates, and centered around a church or school is consistent with postbellum Black neighborhoods that Jeff Werner has observed while working on other historic districts with the Piedmont Environment Council.[146] The historical narrative of the Southwest Mountains district is one not only of slavery and elite plantations, but also reconstruction and negotiation of the new cultural landscape birthed by the Civil War. Any historic district in this area should have

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[144] Registration Form, 1.
[145] United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. "National Register of Historic Places Form: Southwest Mountains Rural Historic District." 21 August 1991.
[146] Jeff Werner, in conversation with the author on November 25, 2014.

accounted for the decades between 1865 and the 1964 Civil Rights Act because the entire landscape, economic, cultural, and physical, reflected paradigmatic shifts in the political and social climate when former slaves became neighbors.[147]

Within the past fifty years, changes in the demographic composition of rural black neighborhoods have made it difficult to recognize that they once were bustling centers of African American life. There has been no attempt to complete an in-depth survey of the buildings in the Southwest Mountains area since the formation of the historic district in the late 1980s. Despite this fact, many of the houses remain in good condition and are faithfully maintained, as much as possible, by the property owners. Some owners have sought to use services like the Albemarle Housing Improvement Program that aids low-income property owners with minor repairs and renovations and enables them to continue living safely in their homes.[148] Other property owners need much more significant repairs and are unable to afford the necessary work. From a preservation standpoint, there is a growing need to establish a revolving fund that can provide rural Blacks with the financial means to bring back their century-old neighborhoods.

Financing historic preservation is tricky, especially in rural areas. It is a complex balance between leveraging available preservation funds from the state and local governments, private individuals, and tax benefits. Local governments and non-profits working in historic preservation should be responsible for working cooperatively with each other to educate the public and publicize funding that may be available for rural Black

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[147] 1964 is a good cutting point for the district because the history of the integration and the Civil Rights movement in the Southwest Mountains area has just crossed the fifty-year threshold for historic preservation.

[148] AHIP, "About: Everyone should be safe at home," *AHIP Home Repair Nonprofit* (Charlottesville: AHIP).

property owners. Albemarle County, Virginia is a Certified Local Government with a board of architectural review and can leverage state and federal rehabilitation tax credits. In order for a property-owner to be eligible for the credits, the property must be listed on the state or national register of historic places. The property owner must then go through a three-step process to use rehabilitation credits. This includes identifying eligibility, writing up a rehabilitation plan with proposed costs and detailed explanation of the work to be completed, and providing documentary evidence of the work that was completed.[149] To utilize tax credits, the property owner must first be able to pay rehabilitation costs up front and be reimbursed after the work is completed. It is a cost prohibitive approach to historic preservation.

Virginia's Historic Preservation Trust Fund administered by Preservation Virginia was designed to save historic resources from severe neglect and demolition. As outlined by their website, the fund works by acquiring historic properties in danger of demolition or severe neglect, place them under protective easements, and sell them to owners willing to do the rehabilitative work using rehabilitative tax credits. The fund is self-perpetuating in that proceeds from the sale of properties purchased by the fund replenish the reserves and enable future preservation projects.[150] While immeasurably beneficial for historic communities seeking to attract preservation-minded buyers, a revolving fund could have the unwanted effect of further accelerating emigration out of rural black neighborhoods if the buyers are not African American.

Albert Johnson was a successful African American carpenter with connections to the

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[149] Virginia Department of Historic Resources, "Rehabilitation Tax Credits." Web. Accessed December 2014.
[150] "Revolving Fund Program," *Preservation Virginia*. Web. Accessed 16 May 2013.

Levy Family at Monticello, according to local lore, and built a house along Route 231 for his family circa 1889. His house, Breezy Oaks, is a contributing building in the Southwest Mountains Rural Historic District and is an excellent case study of how a revolving fund could potentially be beneficial. Breezy Oaks is building #B20 (2-591) in the Virginia Department of Historic Resources file on the Southwest Mountains Rural Historic District and is described as a "wood frame; 2-story with a raised stone basement; 2 bay original hall-parlor house" with a two story one bay addition. It had a side gabled roof with a one story, three-bay front porch that has a flat roof. The I-house has two brick chimneys, one at each gable end of the building (see fig. 34-36). At the time of the survey, there was a late nineteenth century chicken coop with a shed roof that was also a contributing building, but it is no longer extant. Johnson also built a second home on Clarks Tract in 1890 (see fig.37).

In 2013, Breezy Oaks sold to its present owner for $245,000. The house is sitting vacant and is need of significant structural and cosmetic repairs (see fig. 38a-b). Unfortunately, the new owner underestimated the amount of repairs the house needs and is searching for a preservation foundation to take the property. It has been difficult to find an organization that will accept the property and restore it to its former splendor. If no one accepts Breezy Oaks and the owner ultimately decides that there is too much work to be completed and at too great of a cost, then the house stands a chance of being demolished. If there were a revolving fund established, the owner would be able to sell it in good faith knowing that a preservation-minded individual would buy it and restore it. Many poor, working, and middle class families do not have the liquid assets on hand to pay for construction costs up front so a revolving fund would be a great boon preserving at least the material heritage.

Scuffletown and the other historic black neighborhoods in Cismont are "small communities of kin" and currently have several homes and parcels of lands jeopardized by being shared heir property.[151] In a 2008 article titled "A Place to Call Home: Cultural Understandings of Heir Property Among Rural African Americans," Janice Dyer and Conner Bailey define heir property as "land held communally by family members of a landowner who has died intestate."[152] Because many properties are being left to multiple heirs rather than to a single entity, titles to the land are unclear and often result in shared ownership or land loss, a major problem in rural Black communities. Dyer and Bailey cite reluctance to trust the legal system, lack of education, and a desire not to cause family conflict for causing these situations. The authors maintain that heir property has specific meaning to African Americans in the rural South stating:

> Land held in common among an extended family of heirs often has led many of these family members to establish residence on the land, creating small communities of kin. The rural countryside of the South is dotted with such small communities of kin characterized by clusters of mobile homes and simple houses.[153]

They continue by explaining that property ownership empowers African Americans to form deep connections with the land through personal, familial, and social ties.[154] Maintaining ownership of land in rural Black neighborhoods is tantamount to validating and stabilizing the African American family unit and has established a connection with ancestral heritage that was near impossible during slavery.[155] For

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[151] Dyer and Bailey, 320.
[152] Dyer and Bailey, 317.
[153] Dyer and Bailey, 320.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Dyer and Bailey, 321.

example, many families have a tradition of "going down to the country" at least once annually to reconnect with their rural roots and reunite with extended families that have moved to urban areas.[156]

Communal ownership reiterates the role of architecture as a mnemonic device and illustrates the kinship network that is the very fabric of rural black neighborhoods.[157] This type of property ownership poses a challenge for preservationists because fifty percent of the total property owners must approve the formation of a historic district. In the Southwest Mountains Rural Historic District, and probably others, areas with a higher density of multi-owner houses and properties may be avoided altogether if there is a chance that the district will not garner the majority of the votes.[158] The types of housing African Americans have constructed in order to continue to live in communities of kin and the ways that property has been subdivided pose a significant challenge for the building-centric approach of the National Register and other formal historic listings.

Another internal threat to historic preservation in the Southwest Mountains Rural Historic District is vacancy and abandonment. Of the houses in Scuffletown, at least four homes are listed on the Albemarle County property information website as "life estates" or have multiple owners listed.[159] All of these houses are currently listed as being in fair condition but received dwelling unit grades of D-, D--, or E. According to the Albemarle County GIS website, these property grades do not imply anything negative about the

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[156] Carol B. Stack, "Preface, *"Call to Home: African Americans Reclaim the Rural South* (New York: Basic Books, 1996), xi-xvii.
[157] Barton, 107.
[158] Samuel N. Stokes, A. Elizabeth Watson, and Shelley Smith Mastran. "Analyzing the Rural Community," *Saving America's Countryside: a Guide to Rural Conservation.* 2nd ed. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 110-159.
[159] County of Albemarle, "Property Information", *Albemarle County Virginia GIS-Web*, 2011, http://gisweb.albemarle.org/GISWeb/PropertyInfo.aspx.

current condition of the house or surrounding land, but rather it indicates that they are older, built with lower quality or lower cost materials, or vacant.[160] Some of the oldest remaining symbols of African American life in Cismont are jeopardized. Breezy Oaks and the Scott House at the intersection of Route 22 and Maxfield Road are examples of vacant houses that are slowly falling down.

In addition to being a side effect of unclear deeds, increased vacancy rates are a direct result of economic changes in rural communities. Whereas Scuffletown and similar rural black enclaves thrived when agricultural and manual trade skills were in high demand in the first half of the twentieth century, urban industrialization and manufacturing after World War II drew younger rural Blacks to northern cities. In Cismont, men like Landers Bates and Harry Byrd left their neighborhoods to go work at the Wonder Bread factory in Washington, D.C. Once they were established in the city, they served as conductors guiding other young men from Cismont to industrial jobs "up north" where they could make much more money than they could in rural Albemarle.[161] According to the 2010 U.S. Census, people identifying as African American only composed 8.7 percent of the population in the Rivanna District.[162] This number increases to 19.3 when those identifying as one race in combination with black and two or more races in combination with black are included in the total percentage. For a district that, in 1870, was majority African American, emigration to urban areas has caused major shifts in the demographics of working class neighborhoods, and is very noticeable in rural communities. The brunt of that cultural loss

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[160] "Appendix A Residential and Agricultural Guide" http://www.in.gov/dlgf/files/2011_Appendix_A_Final.pdf

[161] Many black families in Cismont have relatives that moved to Maryland and Washington, DC for industrial jobs. As such, D.C., northern Virginia, and Maryland are colloquially referred to as "up north." Stack, *Call to Home*, 3-4.

[162] U.S. Census Bureau, 2010.

likely occurred in the rural villages and not the larger properties. How can preservation be effective without the people and cultural heritage that made the area unique? How does leaving rural black neighborhoods out of the historic district affect the way residents attach value to traditional spaces?

In 2007, the Albemarle County Board of Supervisors released a new Rural Areas Comprehensive Plan. The 48-page report gives detailed information about population, current land uses, development areas, land cover, waterways and other natural resources, traffic accidents, and lands in conservation. Concerns about water quality, development, and conservation fueled the development of this new comprehensive approach aimed at "an evolving commitment to growth management."[163] The comprehensive rural land use plan permanently connected the county's rural conservation goals with its cultural and historic preservation plan, but does not make mention of African Americans or how to formally recognize culturally significant sites:

> The County also has a rich archaeological heritage, having been occupied by Native Americans for approximately 12,000 years before the arrival of European settlers, who themselves left significant artifacts and sites.[164]

Once again, African Americans are excised from the historic record.

Land loss has already been addressed as one of the most significant preservation challenge in rural black communities. The county offers several different resources and programs for putting land in easement, yet these options usually require a minimum amount of land. For instance, a property owner would need at least ten, but more often than not something more like forty or more acres of land that could be put under

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[163] Albemarle County Board of Supervisors, "Albemarle County Rural Area Plan" (Charlottesville: Board of Supervisors, 7 September 2007). PDF.
[164] Ibid, 2-3.

conservation or open-space easement. Albemarle County has a program that seeks to protect open spaces from development. Zoning and other ordinances further protect rural lands from subdivision and other developments that would disrupt agriculture, scenery, or historic resources. However, there is little to no interest in conserving small rural tracts on the scale that property owners in Scuffletown and others would need. Albemarle County claims to want to help owners afford their land, but assumes that only owners with large tracts of land have an interest in environmental conservation.[165] Homeowners with smaller parcels of lands cannot benefit from tax incentives as they are currently written and applied. Scuffletown and the other neighborhoods cannot take advantage of this approach further perpetuating the practice of privileging the elite.

Owners in any of the rural Black neighborhoods in Cismont could potentially pursue an easement with the Piedmont Environmental Council, which is committed to preserving diversity in historic landscape.[166] The Piedmont Environmental Council works closely with The Virginia Outdoors Foundation at the state level. Created by the General Assembly in 1997, the Virginia Outdoors Foundation holds 80% of the open-space easement acreage in Virginia, 16% of all protected acreage, and is funded by the state. Albemarle is one of its top five most protected counties. The foundation owns several properties that have been restored with projects financed by the Open Space Lands Preservation Trust Fund. Preservation Virginia operates as a steward for historic properties at the state level, but unlike the Virginia Outdoors Foundation, Preservation Virginia is a non-profit organization

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[165] Ibid, 6.

[166] From Piedmont Environment Council's website declares, "The Piedmont's beautiful vistas also present some of America's most historic terrain-where visionaries, pioneers, farmers, generals, soldiers, slaves and Presidents lived and left their mark." The statement is problematic because African American history is not limited to slavery and the civil rights movement, but is rarely celebrated outside of those two historical periods.

that uses funding from the state's Historic Preservation Trust Fund. "Preservation Virginia provides leadership, experience, influence, and services to the public and special audiences by saving, managing, and protecting historic places, and developing preservation policy, programs, and strategies with individuals, organizations, and local, state, and national partners."[167]

Rex Linville and Jeff Werner of the Piedmont Environmental Council opined that preservation easements in Albemarle County are usually for larger acreage.[168] While Linville acknowledged that 10 acres is probably their minimum, he also indicated that properties usually have to be a much larger parcel of land. At the state level, however, there is no minimum threshold for an easement. Wendy Musumeci, Virginia's Easement Program Coordinator stated, that their program includes lots as small as a quarter of an acre and up to thousands of acres in a single tract. Unfortunately for the property owners in Scuffletown, whose properties were considered ineligible for the National Register under the same criterion used for the state landmarks register, their one criteria is that the "property is listed on the Virginia Landmarks Register."[169]

At present, there are at least three resource-specific programs available to rural and minority communities. The first program is geared at protecting America's rural agricultural heritage by encouraging farmers to maintain their barns and use them for modern agricultural purposes. A great program for other areas, Barn Again! would have little to no impact on this historic district because there are relatively few barns. This area,

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[167] *Preservation Virginia.* Web. Preservationvirginia.org
[168] Rex Linville and Jeff Werner in interview with the author on 25 November 2015.
[169] Wendy Musumeci, Easement Coordinator for the Office of Preservation Incentives in the Virginia Department of Historic Resources. To the author via electronic mail on 7 December 2014.

however, is rich in other agricultural outbuildings like stables, smokehouses, dairies, privies, chicken coops, etc.[170]

Another initiative is the Rosenwald School Initiative. The National Trust Website states:

> The National Trust for Historic Preservation's Southern Office is leading the Rosenwald Schools Initiative… Many communities are now seeking ways to adapt these historic structures—no longer used for schools—to serve new needs. The Lowe's Charitable and Educational Foundation is partnering with the National Trust for Historic Preservation to support the rehabilitation and restoration of Rosenwald Schools.[171]

There are two of these schools in the Cismont area in the eastern section of the historic district. Both have been repurposed—one as a private residence, after considerable alterations, and the other as a community center, with more sympathetic restorations. Based upon the geographic distribution of Rosenwalds Schools throughout the rural south, these buildings could be repurposed to provide services currently clustered in urban areas. If two of the most obvious goals of historic preservation are to encourage economic development and promote a healthier population, as stated in Albemarle County's comprehensive plan, then adaptive reuse of Rosenwald schools could be a viable tool for bringing services to struggling rural localities.

Lastly, the Rural Village Initiative by lead by the Land Trust of Virginia conducts a series of studies into rural villages that were once agricultural centers of production and

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[170] "Barn Preservation," *National Trust for Historic Preservation*. Web, Accessed 12 December 2014.
[171] "Rural Heritage Resources," *National Trust for Historic Preservation*. Web, Accessed 13 December 2014.

community. The Land Trust of Virginia's Rural Village Studies analyze conservation values of land in and around historic rural villages. The organization has completed these studies and met with community members to share the results in the following villages: Buckland, Hillsboro, Lincoln, Lovettsville, Taylorstown, Waterford, and Bluemont."[172] A study of this type in Cismont may better demonstrate the economic factors that have affected the black neighborhoods so that planners and preservationists could address industry, transportation, utilities, and other elements of rural life that have changed the way African Americans experience their historic neighborhoods.

SUGGESTIONS FOR PRESERVATION

At the local level, zoning laws and conservation easements give preference to preserving land for open spaces, public greenways, and farms. These laws, so narrowly focused on preserving a specific type of rural property, are not effective for preserving rural villages where the lots are smaller and the residents are no longer engaged in agricultural practices. However, these small villages and unincorporated communities are a rich part of our history at a local and national level. The code should be amended to include preserving the cultural landscapes of rural neighborhoods, including settlement patterns characteristic of development in the period just after the Civil War. It may also be necessary to formally codify language about Native, African American, and other minority communities to encourage more attentiveness to communities underrepresented on local, state, and national registers.

According to Dr. Lynn Rainville, Albemarle County's African Americans made up

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[172] "Rural Village Initiative," *Land Trust of Virginia*. Web.

52% of the total population. However, by 2010, they comprised less than 10%.[173] The Department of Historic Resources has already demonstrated that they are interested in increasing the number of African American sites on the National Register and Virginia Historic Landmarks Registry, including sites related to slavery and the slave trade; Black communities formed in the postwar era, and Civil Rights landmarks. However, criterion for consideration to the National Register was not designed at a time when vernacular architecture was a priority. Sure the places are culturally significant, but the requirements for integrity and architectural character do not lend themselves well in communities where the buildings have been added onto to support larger families, as in most African American communities, or where old buildings were dismantled and used as parts for constructing newer home, churches, and schools. As John Michael Vlach very aptly noted, in *Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts*:

> While improvisation is a universal characteristic of imaginative humans, the extensive sense of improvisation commonplace in the Afro-American experience is rather special. For this case spontaneous change represents a cultural norm rather than single independent inventions. It is an integral part of the process of African art to constantly reshape the old and reinforce the image of the community.[174]

Others have taken notice of the ability of African Americans to adapt to harsh socioeconomic conditions in the rural South by utilizing every available source of building material. One Cismont native recalls his father tearing down old sheds and other structures

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[173] Rainville, *Hidden History*, 12-17.
[174] Vlach, John Michael. *The Afro-American Tradition In Decorative Arts.* Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1978. 3.

that were no longer useful and removing each and every nail, by hand, to reuse in other projects.[175] This resourcefulness is engrained in the way blacks interacted with their surroundings and is evidenced by the Jim Walters Homes and other modern prefabricated houses that have replaced older cabins or been added as the properties have been subdivided (see fig. 39 & 40). Such strict interpretations of architectural quality and integrity will always deem ineligible minority communities designed by change.

There have to be more initiatives, aside from Rosenwald Preservation programs, that are specifically geared towards rural Black communities. These places are not located within the urban context and, as such, are not privy to a lot of the great resources available within cities and towns. Heritage tourism is also unlikely because of their rural location, so preservationists will have to work more intimately with communities to address their needs. For instance, sustainability efforts encouraging productive gardens in urban areas would be even more beneficial in rural areas where there is plenty of land. Agricultural education programs could increase food security and revive historic uses of rural villages, thus preserving cultural traditions.

Beyond preserving cultural traditions is ensuring that cultural memory of these rural Black neighborhoods can be recorded and archived for future generations. Black churches and schools have long been the repositories for photographs, burial records, and oral history of black communities. However, most black schools have long since shut their doors and faded from our collective memory. Many Rosenwald alumni are in their seventies, eighties, and nineties. As the elders of the community pass away, there are fewer and fewer residents to sustain black rural church congregations and no one is collecting

[175] Johnny Bates in conversation with the author.

historical records from these places before the communities die out completely. Because the state and local governments have benefitted the most from the labor of working class blacks in rural areas, they have an ethical responsibility to preserve the cultural and material heritage in the historic district.

The City of Charlottesville is currently in the process of putting neighborhood signs on the entrance corridors of its historic neighborhoods and designing new color-coded pedestrian signs at prominent intersections. The initiative is one geared towards fostering a sense of local identity and community involvement. Charlottesville has also developed a Neighborhood Grant Program that allows neighborhood associations and groups of concerned property owners to apply for grant funding to improve their communities in a way that "demonstrates responsible stewardship of our community assets while balancing our community's social and environmental values."[176]Matching grant funds of up to $7,500 can be used for "Physical improvement projects that involve recreation or public safety facilities, natural resources features, landscape islands, public art and spaces, neighborhood signage, or community gardens. Projects that improve universal accessibility are also encouraged."[177]The County should adopt a similar program for rural black neighborhoods and encourage property owners to organize neighborhood associations to govern capital projects that will improve the community.

The County of Albemarle should start a rural preservation initiative that aims to reclaim the colloquial names of rural neighborhoods by placing signage at the entrance corridor for each community. For example, a sign for Scuffletown with an approximate date

[176] City of Charlottesville Neighborhood Development Services. "Neighborhood Grant Program: Program Synopsis," (Charlottesville: Neighborhood Development Services, 2015), 1.
[177] Ibid, 1.

of establishment could be placed at the intersection of Route 22 and Maxfield Road. The same could be done for the black neighborhoods at Bunker Hill, Clarks Tract, Boyden, Cobham, and Campbell. A project like this would require some documentary research to discover all of the former names that rural historic neighborhoods have, but the names on the signs should correlate with the period of significance for the Southwest Mountains rural Historic District. The County of Albemarle partner with the Central Virginia History Researchers of the Jefferson School African American Heritage Center to conduct research and encourage community buy-in and involvement. Another tenant of this program could be to allow owners to purchase a plaque for each individual house that is located in a historic black rural community, much like century farm markers are used in Louisa County.

Along those lines, the Virginia Department of Historic Resources and Commonwealth of Virginia should adapt the economic development and local preservation model of Preservation Virginia's Tobacco Barn Preservation Project for rural Black neighborhoods.[178] The project goals below have been amended from the Tobacco Barn Preservation Project with language changed to reflect the needs of neighborhoods like Scuffletown.

The Rural African American Neighborhood Project should contain the following elements:

- Identify communities that received a contribution from the Julius Rosenwald Fund to build schools in the 1920s in partnership with the Rosenwald Schools Initiative
- Free public workshops on building stabilization and maintenance;
- Free workshops on gardening and pruning plants;

[178] Sonja Ingram and Preservation Virginia, "Preservation Virginia's Tobacco Barns Preservation Project," Preservation Virginia (Danville, VA: Preservation Virginia Field Office), web, Accessed 18 April 2015.

- Preserve our Neighborhoods so they are more than a Memory poster contest for local middle school students;
- Rural Neighborhoods architectural survey of Albemarle County;
- An oral history project, Grandma and Grandpa's Hands, to interview and publish rural African American families' histories;
- A mini-grant project for the stabilization, repair and maintenance of selected rural Black neighborhoods in central Virginia;
- A "Showcase Village" project where a black rural neighborhood is repaired and a video made of the repairs work to be distributed to the public. (Similar to HGTV's Curb Appeal: The Block)

A comprehensive program like the one outlined above could be initiated at the county level on a trial basis and later expanded throughout the state. Because Virginia has always served as a model for effective historic preservation, it is only fitting that she takes the lead in preserving rural African American material culture.

In conclusion, this historic district as established is incomplete and establishing a separate historic district for the historic African American neighborhoods would only perpetuate patterns of segregation on the landscape. The only appropriate measure would be to expand the district boundaries to be formed around the cultural landscape, a task easily accomplished by extending the eastern boundary out to the C & O railroad tracks. Historic districts alone do not offer the kind of substantial regulatory and programmatic preservation that is so desperately needed in rural Black communities. With many failed government sponsored relief programs for newly emancipated African Americans, like the Freedmen's Bureau and Agricultural Adjustment Act of the New Deal Era, the state was

directly responsible for the manner in which these communities were established. I will not go so far as to call for reparations, but federal and state governments are greatly indebted to the African Americans that built the United States and are obliged to take an active interest in preserving Black cultural heritage for future generations.

Chapter two summarized a period of prosperity in the Southwest Mountains Rural Historic District before a long period of economic and population decline. In order for rural conservation in black neighborhoods to be effective, it has to include aggressive efforts to reverse emigration, create economic opportunity, and provide purpose-designed programs to conserve rural black material culture. Current initiatives at the state and federal levels stimulate African American cultural heritage preservation in rural areas, but building-centric approaches are too limiting. In recent years, the fields of architectural history and historic preservation have expanded to include more vernacular architecture like Rosenwald Schools, barns, outbuildings, vernacular residential architecture, and African American material heritage but have yet to truly reevaluate the tools and policies that are stymying the protection of those resources. Smaller lot sizes, unclear deeds, ineligibility for the register, emigration out of rural neighborhoods, and an aging rural population all compound the necessity of acting now.

Rural black communities existed in the antebellum period and are a part of the same historical narrative as the former plantation houses that have been well served by building centric preservation policy. In order to preserve rural African American historic neighborhoods and architecture, we have to create language that celebrates cultural context and privileges people, narratives, and context over architecture. In a time when Black Americans are marching and rioting to affirm that Black Lives Matter, we should be

looking to the historic physical landscapes around us and learning how to avoid perpetuating negative cultural stereotypes of rural African American life.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE NATIONAL REGESTER CRITERION FOR EVALUATION
(Proposed changes to the criterion are in italics.)

U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service
II. NATIONAL REGISTER CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

Criteria for Evaluation
The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and *cultural landscapes* is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and:

A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or

B. That are associated with the lives of significant persons in or past; or

C. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

D. That have yielded or may be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory*; or*

E. That are associated with the material and/or intangible heritage of historically marginalized ethnic or folk groups that underlie and are a living expression of our American heritage at all social and economic levels.

Criterion E (The Everyone Matters criterion) would codify the inclusion of historically marginalized ethnic and cultural minorities including, but not limited to: African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinos, LGBT, and Native Americans. Criterion E could also be interpreted in a way that encourages acknowledgement and preservation of cultural landscapes that may not have the physical integrity or architectural merit for criterion A, criterion B, or criterion C. The language for this proposed amendment to National Register Criteria for Evaluation was adapted from National Register Bulletin No. 38: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties.

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APPENDIX A

Piedmont Environmental Council Survey Records
Source: Piedmont Environmental Counc

PIEDMONT ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL
Albemarle County

Primary Name: HOUSE, RT. 647

Quad map: KE

Form Completed by: J. O'Dell, 2-87

Date/s: ca. 1920

Condition/occupancy: fair cond.

Architectural Description: frame; 1 story; hipped roof; 3-bay front. Modern section added to E. ca. 1960s.

Landscape/Environment: Stands on level ground a few yards from the road.

Significance: This bungalow is one of the older dwellings in this black community.

Va./Nat. Register: NE

DHL Theme/s: Domestic

PIEDMONT ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL
Albemarle County

Primary Name: HOUSE, RT. 647

Quad map: KE

Alternate Name/s: Burnett House (resident)

Form Completed by: J. O'Dell, 2-87

Date/s: ca. 1880

Condition/occupancy: good cond.

Architectural Description: Frame; 2 stories; built in 2 or 3 major campaigns.

Older part of house is probably the I-house unit at rear, with end chimney/s. Front 2 story polygonal bay; full-length veranda with turned posts.

Landscape/Environment: Stands several yards back from public road.

Significance: This is one of the oldest houses in this small rural black community.

Va./Nat. Register: NE

DHL Theme/s: Domestic

PIEDMONT ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL
Albemarle County

Primary Name: CLOVERFIELDS OUTBUILDINGS

Quad map: KE

Date/s: mid to late 19th c.

Condition/occupancy: None are occupied; most used for storage; condition varies.

Architectural Description: 1) The cornhouse, c. 1830-70 is constructed of 10" planks, and has a 2-room plan; 2) the dairy, ca. 1850-70, is a 10 x 8 foot frame building with diagonal lattice under the eaves; gable roof; 3) the kitchen, c. 1830-60, is a 16-ft-sq frame building with one-room plan, 10-ft-wide rock chimney and gable roof; 4) the smokehouse, ca. 1800-30, is a highly unusual 2-room structure with rosehead nails and amny original details; 5) the tenant house, is a mid to late 19th c. building with 1-room plan, batten siding and gable roof; 6) The privy is a simple early 20th c. structure; 7) small dwelling used as servant's quarters; 8) similar dwelling, possibly office, enlarged in 20th c.; 9) misc. poultry sheds; 10) gable-roofed barn and associated farm sheds.

Significance: The best collection of early to mid 19th c. frame out- and farm-buildings in Albemarle County.

Va./Nat. Register: Eligible with other buildings.

DHL Theme/s: Domestic; Agriculture.

Street of outbuildings behind main house; St. Anne's Glebe house in distance, at left.

Above: 19th c. secondary dwelling in back yard.

Above: Another 19th c. secondary dwelling (former servant's house) in back yard.

Dairy in back yard.

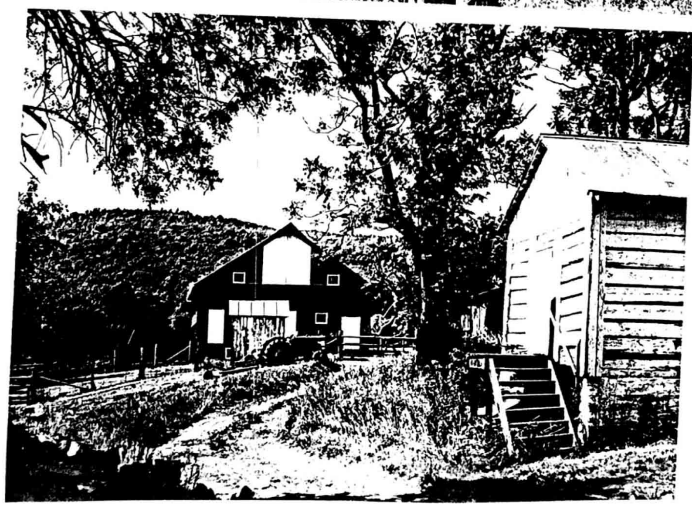
Poultry sheds (20th c.) to north of back yard; St. Anne's Glebehouse (reconstructed) at far right in photo.

Street of out-buildings at south edge of yard.

Smokehouse (the only 2-room smokehouse recorded in Albemarle County)

Mid 19th c. servant's quarters.

Barn is distance; log corn-house in foreground.



PIEDMONT ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL
Albemarle County

Primary Name: CISMONT MANOR

Quad map: KE

Alternate Name/s: Cismont

Date/s: 1836-37

Condition/occupancy: Excellent cond.

Architectural Description: Erected ca. 1836-37 by a builder named McMullin (who also built nearby Edgeworth), the original section is a 3-bay frame I-house set on high brick foundations. A rear addition of 1847 created a T-plan structure, and this has been considerably enlarged by other additions in this century. The handsome 2-tier front veranda may date to ca. 1847 or slightly later.

Outbuildings/Farm Structures: See File # 02-1058, "Cismont Manor Outbuildings".

Historical Data: This farm came off of Clover Fields in 1820, being a wedding gift to Mary Walker Meriwether on her marriage to her cousin Peter Minor Meriwether. After the death of his first wife, Peter Meriwether married Mrs. Frances W. Tapp and built the present house in 1836-37. Col. H. W. Fuller pruchased the estate from Meriwether heirs in 1883, and remodeled the house. C. S. Pillesbury owned the farm by the mid-20th c.; Mrs. Kennith Wheeler is the present owner.

Landscape/Environment: Nicely landscaped, but mostly mid-20th c.; some tall early trees. House occupies a rise about 100 yards or more west of Rt. 231.

Significance: This farm is interesting for its T-plan antebellum main house and several samller buildings, including an antebellum kitchen (said to be an earlier dwelling moved to the site from Ben Coolyn). A smokehouse, and possibly a slave house (see other file for outbuildings).

Va./Nat. Register: possibly

DHL Theme/s: Domestic

PIEDMONT ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL
Albemarle County

Primary Name: CISMONT MANOR OUTBUILDINGS

Quad map: KE

Date/s: various dates; mostly 19th c.

Condition/occupancy: All are in good cond.

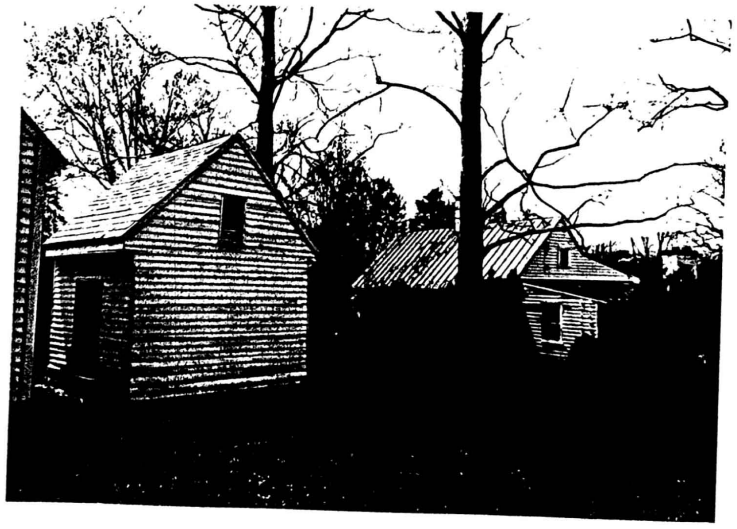
Architectural Description: 1) A 12-ft-sq ca. 1830-80 frame smokehouse; 2) a ca. 36' x 16' two-unit central chimney slave? house of mid-19th c.; 3) a 16½-foot-long "kitchen", now connected to the main house, which dates to the antebellum era. According to tradition, this is part of a pre-1820 house moved to this site from nearby Ben Coolyn. 4) misc. barns (20th c.).

Outbuildings/Farm Structures: See above.

Historical Data: See "Cismont Manor" sheet.

Significance: A good collection of outbuildings, but considerably altered.

DHL Theme/s: Domestic



Above: Smokehouse(L), and slave house(R).

Above: Slave house.

Above: detached kitchen.

Above: Tenant house.

Above: Broad lawn in front of Main House.

PIEDMONT ENVRIONMENTAL COUNCIL
Albemarle County

Primary Name: SCHOOL, RT. 640

Quad map: KE

Form Completed by: J. O'Dell, 2-87

Date/s: ca. 1910

Condition/occupancy: good cond.; now used as dwelling.

Architectural Description: Frame; 1 story; 5-bay front; projecting front central bay; gable roof; brick foundations. Exterior alterations; windows reduced in size.

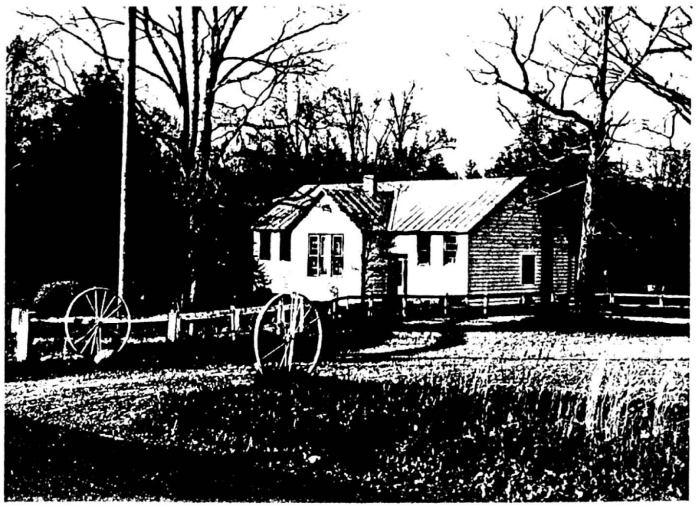
Historical Data: This former school, probably for black children of the neighborhood, stands next door to St. John Church.

Lanscape/Environment: Located about 30 yards from the public road, Rt. 640; on a level lot.

Significance: Although altered, this is one of the few early 20th c. black schoolhouses still standing in NE Albemarle.

Va./Nat. Register: NE

DHL Theme/s: Education



PIEDMONT ENVRIONMENTAL COUNCIL
Albemarle County

Primary Name: ST. JOHNS CHURCH

Quad map: KE

Form Completed by: J. O'Dell, 2-87

Date/s: ca. 1890

Condition/occupancy: good cond.

Architectural Description: Frame; 1 story; projecting front vestibule and low, narrow tower. Later flanking wings toward rear of the main sanctuary.

Outbuildings/Farm Structures: Early cemetery to rear of church.

Landscape/Environment: Located a few feet from public road; yard is open, with woods to the east and north. Level terrain.

Significance: This simple wooden church building remains largely unaltered on the exterior, being one of the earlier black churches in the area.

Va./Nat. Register: NE

DHL Theme/s: Religion

PIEDMONT ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL
Albemarle County

Primary Name: MUSIC HALL

Quad map: KE

Form Completed by: J. O'Dell, 3-87

Date/s: ca. 1910

Condition/occupancy: good cond.

Architectural Description: The house on this tract, built in the first half of the 19th c. and enlarged and partially rebuilt in the 1850s and again in the late 19th c., was replaced in the 1910s or '20s by the present large bungalow style farmhouse. Unusual in rural Albemarle for its progressive style and shingle and stucco cladding, the house is a 1½ story structure with full-length veranda and front porte-cochere.

Historical Data: The first house on this tract may have been erected by Chiles Terrell in the 18th c. His son Capt. James Hunter Terrell (1784-1856) inherited the place and named it Music Hall because of his passion for music (Terrell played several instruments). In the 1840s, after a trip to Massachusetts, Terrell freed all his 83 slaves, selling an estate in Louisa County in order to settle them in Liberia. On Terrell's death in 1856, the 600 acre Music Hall farm fell to his adopted son Dr. James Hunter Minor. Dr. Minor enlarged and improved the mansion. A Mr. Griffith bought the tract after Minor's death in 1862.

Lanscape/Envrionment: House occupies a level ridge in a hilly area along the eastern flank of the Southwest Mountains.

Significance: The main house at Music Hall is a large bungalow-style structure with interesting architectural detailing. Such a progressive house form was seldom employed in Albemarle at this period, and the house at Music Hall is largely unaltered. The property has historical associations with the abolition and Liberia-settlement movement.

Va./Nat. Register: unlikely

DHL Theme/s: Domestic; Social/Cultural

PIEDMONT ENVRIONMENTAL COUNCIL
Albemarle County

Primary Name: QUARTER RUINS, MUSIC HALL FARM

Quad map: KE

Form Completed by: J. O'Dell, 3-87

Date/s: ca. 1850

Condition/occupancy: Ruinous; chimney standing

Architectural Description: This building, judging from its form, was probably a slave house (it is too far from the main house to have been a service building). It took the traditional form of the type: 1 story with left; gable roof; probably 2 or 4-bay front; central rock chimney; symm. 2-room plan; overall measurements about 39' x 17'. Today the rock piers and some of the timbers are visible; the rock chimney is intact.

Historical Data: See Music Hall Farm file.

Landscape/Environment: This building occupies a slightly sloping area at the brink of a sharp declivity leading down to Rt. 600, which crosses the SW Mtns. It is located some 200 yards from the main house, in a wooded area.

Significance: Presently of low significance, because of its ruinous state.

Va./Nat. Register: NE

DHL Theme/s: Domestic

PIEDMONT ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL
Albemarle County

Primary Name: KESWICK SCHOOL

Quad map: KE

Form Completed by: J. O'Dell, 3-87

Date/s: ca. 1900

Condition/occupancy: fair cond.; now a dwelling.

Historical Data: This building continued to operate as a school until the 1950s, when it was purchased by the present owners and converted into a dwelling. Originally the school served elementary-age white children; later it was used by black children.

Significance: This is one of the few large turn-of-the-century schoolhouses remaining in Albemarle. When converted into a dwelling in the 1950s, one section was removed and a few openings altered.

Va./Nat. Register: NE

DHL Theme/s: Education

PIEDMONT ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL
Albemarle County

Primary Name: KESWICK SCHOOL (SITE)

Quad map: KE

Form Completed by: J. O'Dell, 2-87

Date/s: early 20th century

Condition/occupancy: no longer standing

Architectural Description: This small frame building had a rock basement and stood on a hillside; the site is near the present reviewing stand at the Keswick Hunt Club.

Significance: NS

Va./Nat. Register: NE

DHL Theme/s: Education

PIEDMONT ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL
Albemarle County

Primary Name: KESWICK FARM OUTBUILDINGS

Quad map: KE

Form Completed by: J. O'Dell, 2-87

Date/s: mid 19th century

Condition/occupancy: most are in fair cond.

Architectural Description: 1) Antebellum slave house: frame; one story; symm. 2-room plan with central brick chimney; later rear ell; alterations and changed openings. 2) 19th c. (probably antebellum) detached kitchen; frame; 1-story; 1-room plan; 3) 1928 tenant house; frame; 1-room; 2-bay front. 4) 1928 dairy-cum-wellhouse with shed roof and front porch; 5) ca. 1928 garage with smokehouse at the rear.

Outbuildings/Farm Structures: See above: a barn nearby is on the East Belmont tract.

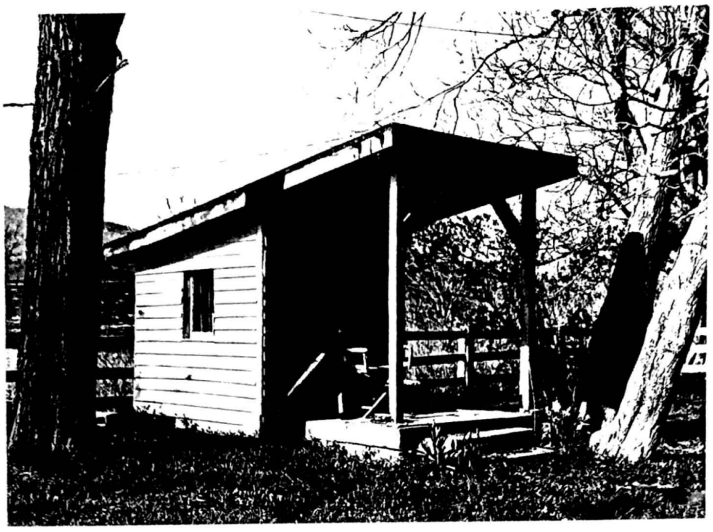
Historical Data: See Keswick Farm file.

Significance: An exceptional group of outbuildings, including two unusual 1920s structures.

Va./Nat. Register: unlikely

DHL Theme/s: Domestic

Detached 19th c. kitchen beside main house.



Above: ca. 1928 wellhouse-cum-dairy.

Above: Mid 19th c. slave house.

PIEDMONT ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL
Albemarle County

Primary Name: HOUSE, RT. 640

Quad map: KE

Form Completed by: J. O'Dell, 2-87

Date/s: ca. 1890

Condition/occupancy: good cond.

Architectural Description: Frame; 2 stories; 3-bay symm. front; hipped roof; 2 int. chimneys; probably central-passage plan; shed-roofed front porch.

Outbuildings/Farm Structures: several, some possibly coeval; all in poor cond.

Historical Data: This house is one of the oldest dwellings in this rural black community.

Landscape/Environment: Stands over 100 yards back from public road, on level ground with field in front.

Significance: Of moderate significance; one of the earliest dwellings in this rural black community.

Va./Nat Register: NE

DHL Theme/s: Domestic

PIEDMONT ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL
Albemarle County

Primary Name: HOUSE, RT. 647

Quad map: KE

Form Completed by: J. O'Dell, 2-87

Date/s: ca 1875

Condition/occupancy: fair cond.; vacant in 1984.

Architectural Description: Frame; 2 stories (raised loft); 3-bay front; ext. end brick chimneys; later 1 story rear kitchen ell.

Outbuildings/Farm Structures: A falling-down shed.

Landscape/Environment: Sits in open field, now partly grown up.

Significance: This is one of the oldest -- if not the oldest house in this small black rural community.

Va./Nat. Register: NE

DHL Theme/s: Domestic

PIEDMONT ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL
Albemarle County

Primary Name: HOUSE, RT. 647

Quad map: KE

Form Completed by: J. O'Dell, 2-87

Date/s: ca. 1950

Condition/occupancy: fair to good cond.

Architectural Description: 1 story; cinder-block construction; 3-bay front; gable roof; small front; shed-roofed porch. No additions; original 2-room unit only.

Outbuildings/Farm Structures: Note small frame cooler (?) in back yard.

Landscape/Environment: Stands beside of the road leading to Maxfield Farm.

Significance: NS; too new. This very small unaltered house illustrates the type of housing built by blacks in this area in the mid-20th century. Although very small, like late 19th and early 20th c. houses, this one is substantially built, using cinder blocks.

Va./Nat. Register: NE

DHL Theme/s: Domestic

PIEDMONT ENVRIONMENTAL COUNCIL
Albemarle County

Primary Name: ZION HILL CHURCH

Quad map: KE

Form Completed by: J. O'Dell, 3-87

Date/s: ca. 1900

Condition/occupancy: good cond.

Architectural Description: 1 story; frame.

Landscape/Environment: Located on the north side of Rt. 22 near opposite entrance to Edgefield (Merrie Mill) Farm. Level site; open, with woods behind.

Significance: Though altered on both interior and exterior, this simple frame church with pointed-arch windows retains its overall original form. It is one of several early churches belonging to black congregations in the area.

Va./Nat. Register: NE

DHL Theme/s: Religion

PIEDMONT ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL
Albemarle County

Primary Name: BREEZY OAKS

Quad map: KE

Date/s: ca. 1885

Condition/occupancy: Good cond.

Architectural Description: The present three-bay-front gable roofed I-house is the result of an expansion of a one-room-plan structure. Both sections are frame, with rock basement and chimnies with brick stacks. Simple int. detailing is largely intact.

Outbuildings/Farm Structures: None old

Historical Data: Originally part of the Cismont Manor tract. In 1882 Albert Johnson, a carpenter and housewright, bought this small tract from Frances Meriwether of Cismont Farm, who shortly before her death sold several parcels to black tenants and former slaves. Johnson's daughter, Florine, sold it to the Dowels, the present owners, in 1953. The Dowells named the place "Breezy Oaks".

Landscape/Environment: The house stands on level ground a few yards back from Rt. 231 (E. side); surrounded by large oaks and other hardwoods.

Significance: This house is significant for being one of the few documented, well-maintained area houses from the postbellum era built by a black family. Moreover, the original owner was a carpenter, and presumably built the original one-room unit (and possibly the addition) with his own hands.

Va./Nat. Register: unlikely

DHL Theme/s: Domestic

PIEDMONT ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL
Albemarle County

Primary Name: JOHNSON-PAYNE HOUSE

Quad map: KE

Alternate Name/s: Johnson House

Form completed by: J. O'Dell, 2-87

Date/s: ca. 1896

Condition/occupancy: good cond.

Architectural Description: The main house is a typical frame I-house; 2 stories; 5-bay front; ext. end brick chimneys; basement under one-half. The present 2 story front portico was added ca. 1979. The rear ell is an early add'n. The small cottage in the yard may have been moved from elsewhere. Measuring about the dwelling of a kinswoman of the Johnson family who lived in the main house.

Outbuildings/Farm Structures: Buildings no longer standing, but extant until recently, included a barn, smokehouse and corncrib.

Historical Data: This property was purchased in 1896 by Albert Johnson, Jr. from the Fuller family. Albert Johnson is believed to have built the house himself, and the property remained in the hands of his descendants until Mr. & Mrs. Waddell Payne bought it in 1965. Located near Breezy Oaks, also a Johnson property.

Landscape/Environment: Level tract surrounded by woods, only a few score yards from Rt. 648.

Significance: The frame I-house was built by a black man for his family shortly after acquiring the land in 1896. The small one-room cottage near the main house is of considerable interest for the light it sheds on living arrangement in the area among blacks in the 20th century.

Va./Nat. Register: unlikely

DHL Theme/s: Domestic

Main house, west end, visible on left; small cottage is on right, in background.

Early 20th c. photo showing Johnson family, original onwers, in front of house.

Front of main house today, with ca. 1979 portico.

PIEDMONT ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL
Albemarle County

Primary Name: DABNEY LOG HOUSE

Quad map: KE

Date/s: ca. 1880; 1900-30 (later is date of frame I-house addition)

Condition/occupancy: poor cond.; vacant

Architectural Description: The log house, a one-room plan structure, was the original dwelling; this was enlarged by the addition of a small frame I-house in the early 20th c. The log house is 1 story; 2-bay front; gable roof; chimney removed; crudely squared and square-notched pine logs filled with small blocks of wood set on the diagonal and covered with good lime mortar.

Historical Data: The present owners L. E. Dabney family purchased the farm around 1970; originally they lived in the old house, but now live in a trailor on the property. At my visit in 1983-84, they were planning to transform the old house into a cow barn. Before they moved here, a black family lived in the house.

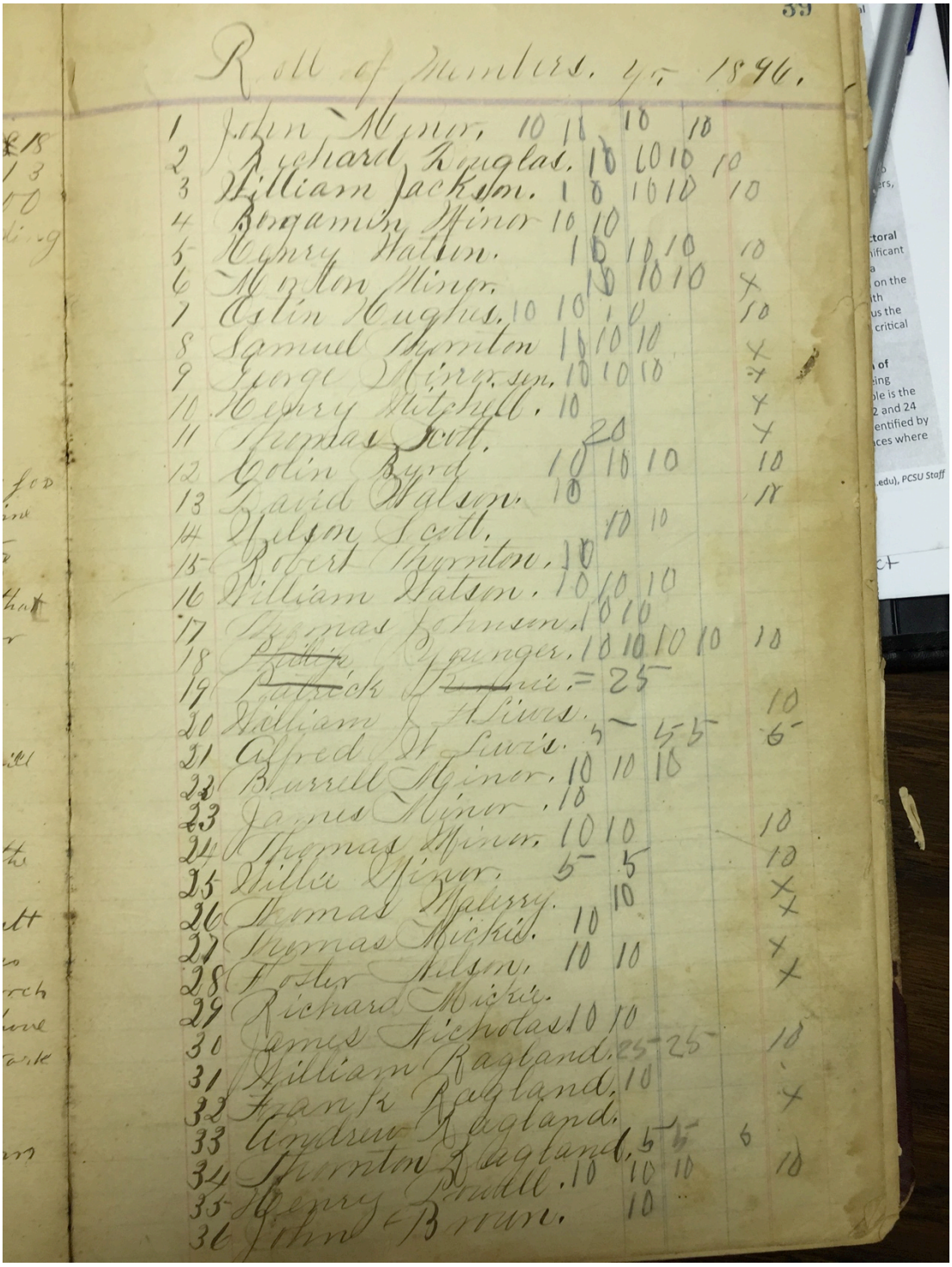
Significance: low signif., since heavily altered and in poor shape.

Va./Nat. Register: NE

DHL Theme/s: Domestic

Appendix B
Zion Hill Baptist Church
Church Roster 1896

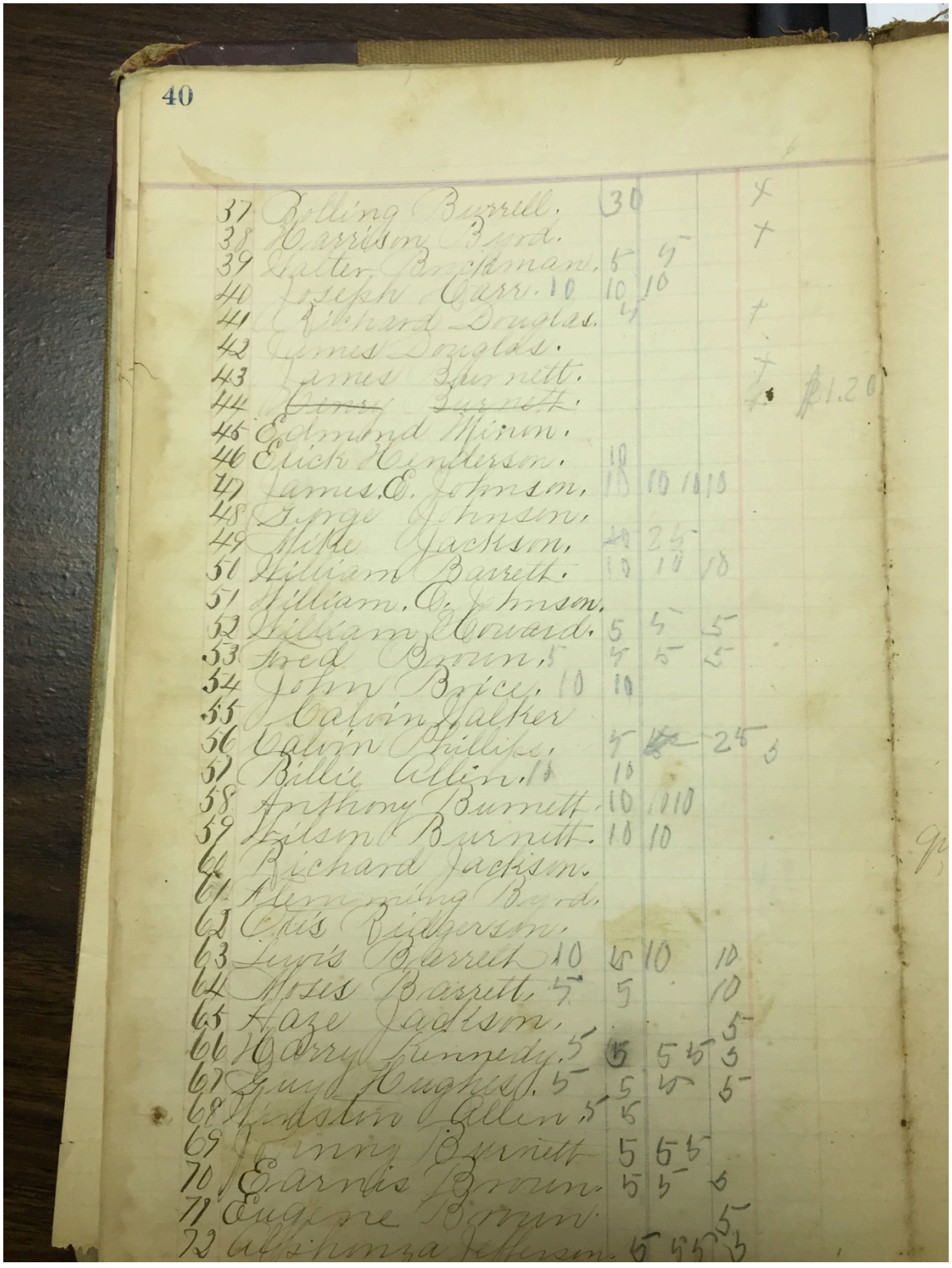
Source: Zion Hill Baptist Church Clerk



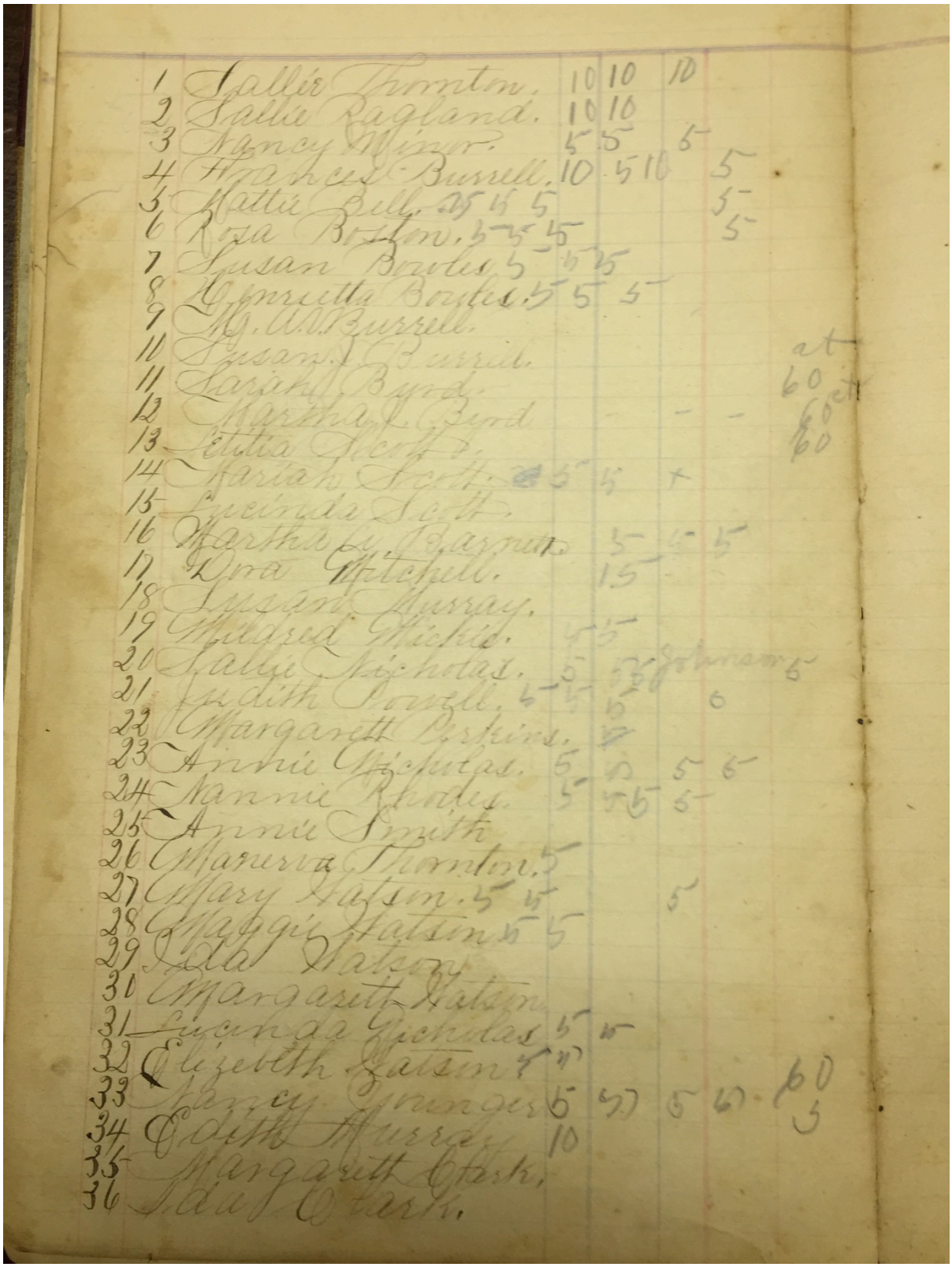
Roll of Members. yr. 1896.

1	John Miner	10	10	10	10		
2	Richard Douglas	10	10	10	10		
3	William Jackson	10	10	10	10		
4	Benjamin Miner	10	10				
5	Henry Hatton	10	10	10		10	
6	Milton Minor	10	10	10		X	
7	Asbin Hughes	10	10	10		10	
8	Samuel Hamilton	10	10	10		X	
9	George Miner sen.	10	10	10		X	
10	Henry Mitchell	10				X	
11	Thomas Scott		20			X	
12	Colin Byrd	10	10	10		10	
13	David Watson	10				11	
14	Nelson Scott		10	10			
15	Robert Hamilton	10					
16	William Watson	10	10	10			
17	Thomas Johnson	10	10				
18	~~Patrick~~ Granger	10	10	10	10	10	
19	~~Patrick~~ Lee	= 25					
20	William St Lewis	5	5	5		10	
21	Alfred St Lewis	5	5			6	
22	Burrell Miner	10	10	10			
23	James Miner	10					
24	Thomas Miner	10	10			10	
25	Willie Pizer	5	5			10	
26	Thomas Mallory		10			X	
27	Thomas Mickie	10				X	
28	Foster Nelson	10	10			X	
29	Richard Mickie						
30	James Nicholas	10	10			10	
31	William Ragland	25	25				
32	Frank Ragland	10				X	
33	Andrew Ragland	5	5			6	
34	Thornton Ragland	10	10	10		10	
35	Henry Tindall	10					
36	John Brown		10				

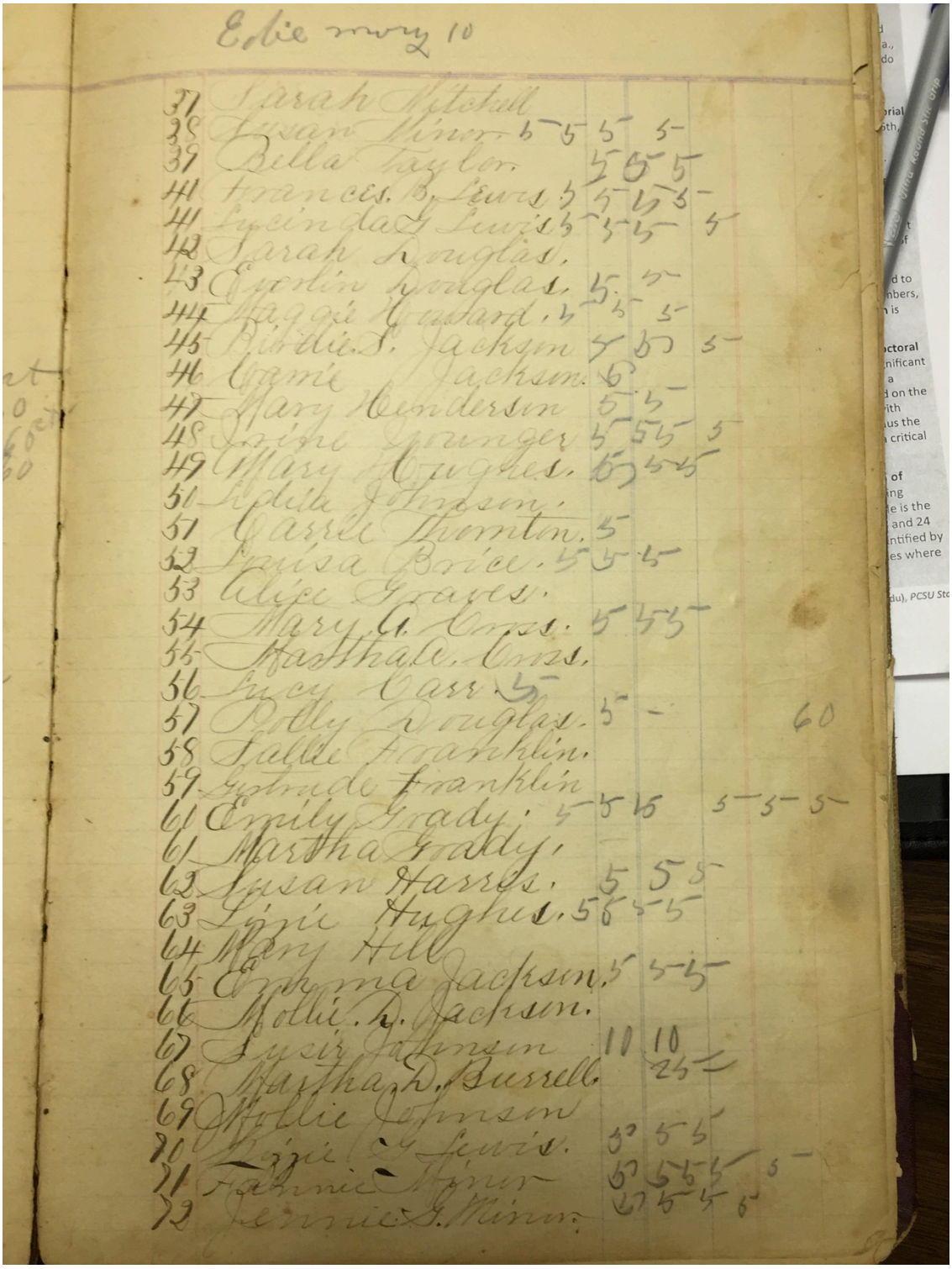
List of Male Members of the Zion Hill Baptist Church, 1896.



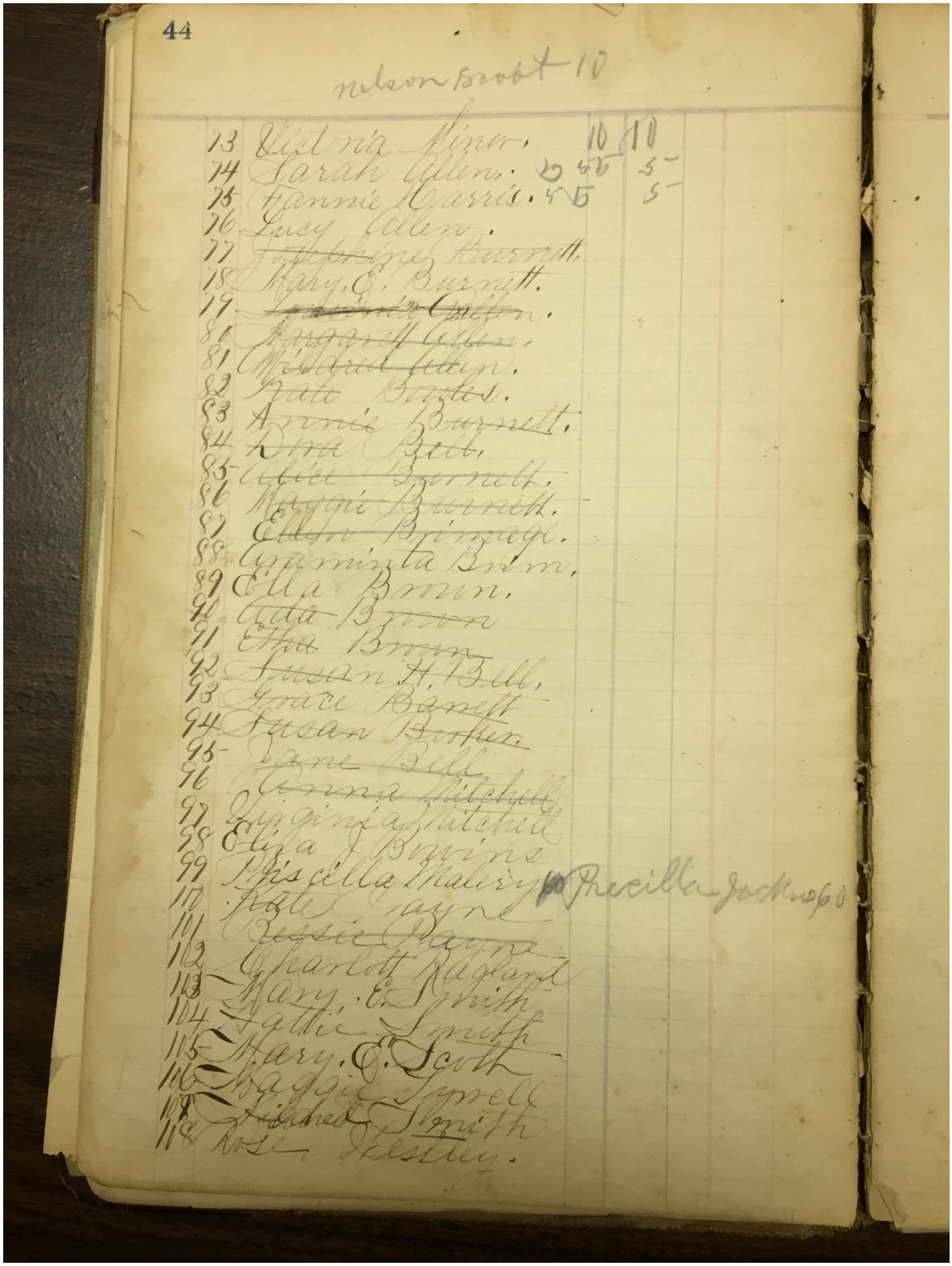
List of Male Members of Zion Hill Baptist Church, 1896 Continued.



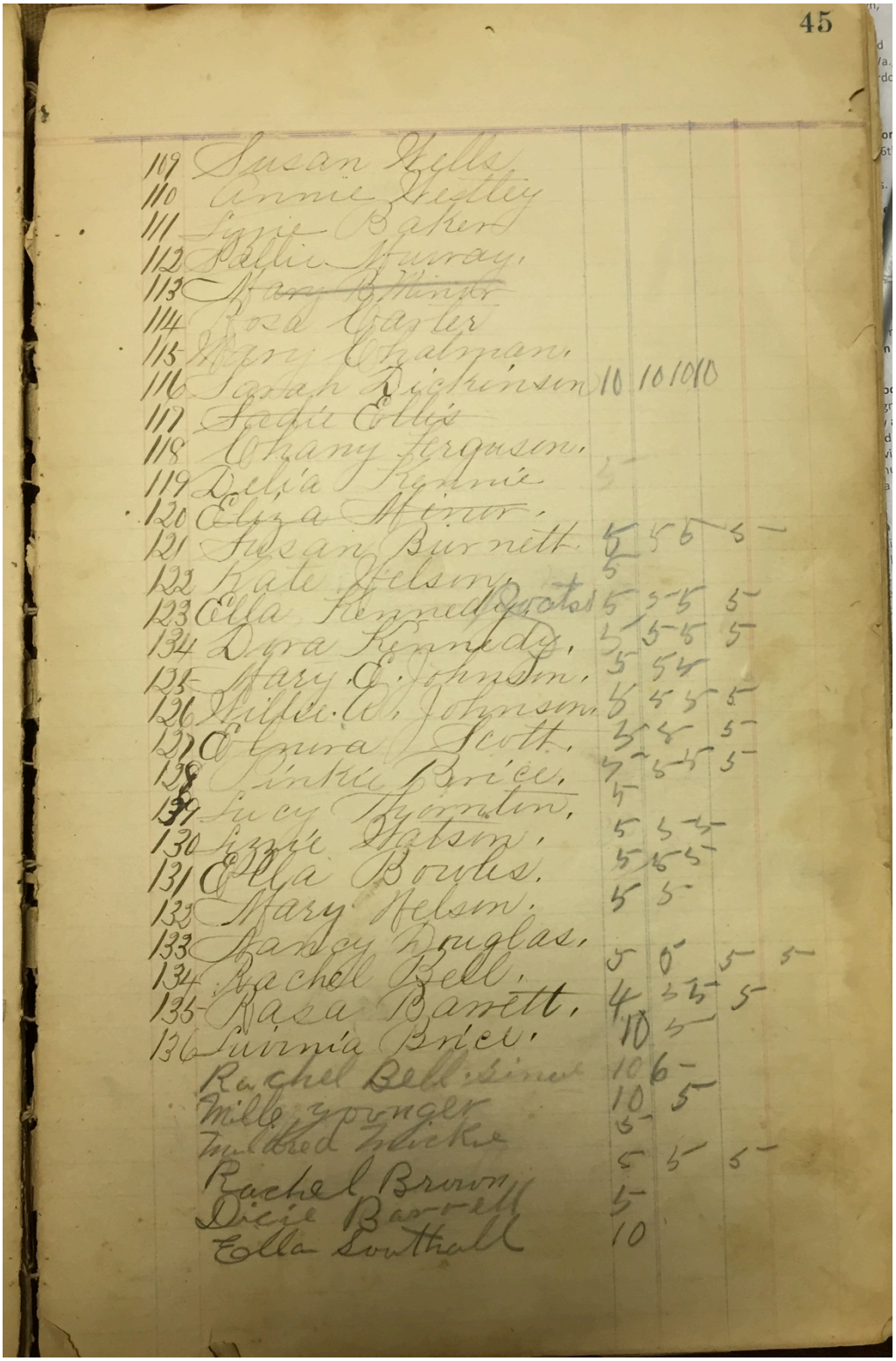
List of Female Members of Zion Hill Baptist Church, 1896.



List of Female Members of Zion Hill Baptist Church, 1896 Continued.



List of Female Members of Zion Hill Baptist Church, 1896 Continued.



45

109	Susan Wells.					
110	Annie Bentley					
111	Iggie Baker					
112	Sallie Murray.					
113	~~Mary Wright~~					
114	Rosa Carter					
115	Mary Chapman.					
116	Sarah Dickinson	10	10	10	10	
117	Sadie Ellis					
118	Ohany Ferguson.					
119	Delia Kynnie					
120	Eliza Minor.					
121	Susan Burnett.	5	5	5	5	
122	Kate Nelson	5				
123	Ella Kennedy	5	5	5	5	
134	Dora Kennedy.	5	5	5	5	
125	Mary A. Johnson.	5	5	5		
126	Hilliard Johnson	5	5	5	5	
127	Laura Scott.	5	5	5		
128	Cintha Brice.	5	5	5	5	
129	Lucy Hyman.	5				
130	Iggie Watson.	5	5	5		
131	Ella Boyles.	5	5	5		
132	Mary Nelson.	5	5			
133	Sarah Douglas.	5	0	5	5	
134	Rachel Bell.	4	5	5		
135	Rosa Barrett.	10	5			
136	Lucinda Brice.	10	5			
	Rachel Bell Sinc	10	6			
	Mille Younger	10	5			
	Mildred Hicks	5				
	Rachel Brown	5	5	5		
	Dicie Barrell	5				
	Ella Southall	10				

List of Female Members of Zion Hill Baptist Church, 1896 Continued

Appendix C
Table of Emigrants to Liberia
From the Music Hall Estate

Last Name	First Name	Locale	Occupation	Emancipator	Age	Ship Name	Destination	Notes	Date of Immigration	Level of Education	status
Barnet	John	Albemarle	farmer	M. L. Anderson	53	Liberia Packet		Husband of Ellen Barnet; (AR 28 [Apr. 1852], 118).	12/31/1852	Reads	emancipated
Barnet	Ellen	Albemarle		M. L. Anderson	50	Liberia Packet		Wife of John Barnet; (AR 28 [Apr. 1852], 118).	12/31/1852		emancipated
Barnet	James	Albemarle		Mildred Lewis	27	Liberia Packet		Husband of Diana Barnet; father of Mildred, John, Ellen, and Harrison. (AR 28 [Apr. 1852], 118).	12/31/1852	Reads	emancipated
Barnet	Diana	Albemarle		Mildred Lewis	26	Liberia Packet		Wife of James Barnet; mother of Mildred, John, Ellen, and Harrison. (AR 28 [Apr. 1852], 118).	12/31/1852		emancipated
Barnet	Mildred	Albemarle		Mildred Lewis	7	Liberia Packet		Child of James Barnet; sibling of John, Ellen, and Harrison. (AR 28 [Apr. 1852], 118).	12/31/1852		emancipated
Barnet	John	Albemarle		Mildred Lewis	5	Liberia Packet		Child of James Barnet; sibling of Mildred, Ellen, and Harrison. (AR 28 [Apr. 1852], 118).	12/31/1852		emancipated
Barnet	Ellen	Albemarle		Mildred Lewis	2	Liberia Packet		Child of James Barnet; sibling of Mildred, John, and Harrison. (AR 28 [Apr. 1852], 118).	12/31/1852		emancipated
Barnet	Harrison	Albemarle		Mildred Lewis	?	Liberia Packet		Three months old.Child of James Barnet; sibling of Mildred, John, Ellen. (AR 28 [Apr. 1852], 118).	12/31/1852		emancipated
Barnet	John	Albemarle		Mildred Lewis	25	Liberia Packet			12/31/1852		emancipated
Barrett	Charles	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	13	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Barrett	Dick	Albemarle		James H. Terrell estate	33	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	Connected by marriage to persons emancipated by James Hunter Terrell. Paid $400 to R. W. Lewis [for Dick Barrett] by the executors of Mr. Terrell." (AR 33 [January 1857], 23).	12/1/1856		purchased
Barrett	Ellen	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	7	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Barrett	Francis	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	29	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Barrett	James	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	2	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Barrett	Maria	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	31	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Barrett	Richard	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	10	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Barrett	Solomon	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	4	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Barrett	Young	Albemarle		Thomas Meriweather	48	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	Connected by marriage to persons emancipated by James Hunter Terrell. (AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Burns	John	Albemarle	oil miller		22	Roanoke	Monrovia	Died 1835/ blowing rock	2/1/1849	reads	emancipated
Carr	Ann	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	7	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Carr	Elizabeth	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	2	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Carr	Emily	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	1	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Carr	Maria	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	5	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Carr	Mildred	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	27	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Carr	Samuel	Albemarle		Francis Nelson	44	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	Connected by marriage to persons emancipated by James Hunter Terrell. (AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Cole	Sarah	Albemarle				Liberia	Monrovia	died 1839/ female disease	2/17/1830		emancipated
Coleman	Allen	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	16	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Coleman	Frank	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	12	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Coleman	Granville	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	4	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Coleman	Hunter	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	9	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Coleman	Maria	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	7	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Coleman	Martin	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	18	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Coleman	Washington	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	20	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Coleman	Wilson	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	22	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Douglass	Molly	Albemarle		James H. Terrell estate	12	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	J. H. Terrell's executors paid $2,000 to Hon. William C. Rives for the freedom of Hugh Walker, Susan Douglass, and Molly Douglass, who were connected by marriage to other persons emancipated. (AR 33 [January 1857], 23).	12/1/1856		purchased
Douglass	Susan	Albemarle		James H. Terrell estate	41	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	J. H. Terrell's executors paid $2,000 to Hon. William C. Rives for the freedom of Hugh Walker, Susan Douglass, and Molly Douglass, who were connected by marriage to other persons emancipated. (AR 33 [January 1857], 23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Douglass	William [Billy]	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	42	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	AR 33 (January 1857), 22-23. Letter to "Dear Friend," January 29, 1866, James Hunter Terrell Letters, Special Collections, Uva.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Franklin	Dick	Albemarle		Francis Nelson	64	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	Connected by marriage to persons emancipated by James Hunter Terrell. (AR 33 [January 1857], 23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Franklin	Henry	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	31	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	AR 33 (January 1857), 22-23.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Franklin	Milly	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	60	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	AR 33 (January 1857), 22-23.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Franklin	Warner	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	34	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	AR 33 (January 1857), 22.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Harden	Albert	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	3	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1860		emancipated
Harden	Carter	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	4	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1860		emancipated
Harden	James	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	6	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1860		emancipated

Harden	John	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	30	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	Connected by marriage to persons emancipated by James Hunter Terrell. The executors of J. H. Terrell's estate purchased John Harden's freedom from R. W. Lewis for $500. (AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 23).	12/1/1860		emancipated
Harden	Judy	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	26	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1860		emancipated
Harden	Sylla	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	9	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1860		emancipated
Howell	James	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	1	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	AR 33 (January 1857), 22-23.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Johnson	Isabella	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	15	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	AR 33 (January 1857), 22-23.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Mann	Rachel	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	19	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	AR 33 (January 1857), 23.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Michie	John	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	28	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	AR 33 (January 1857), 23.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Michie	Patrick	Albemarle		Henry Sigourney	56	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	Connected by marriage to persons emancipated by James Hunter Terrell. (AR 33 [January 1857], 23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Michie	Washington	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	23	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	AR 33 (January 1857), 22-23.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Minor	Dabney	Charlottesville Albemarle		Mary Minor	12	Saluda			9/1/1839		emancipated
Minor	Peter	Charlottesville Albemarle		Mary Minor	9	Saluda		"These are very smart boys & are to be placed with [illegible]. (Manuscript ship's list, Reel 314, RACS/LC).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Mitchie	Molly	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	51	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	AR 33 (January 1857), 22-23.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Moon	Moses	Albemarle		Samuel O. Moon	28	Luna			4/15/1836		emancipated
Scott	David	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	37	M. C. Stevens			12/1/1856		emancipated
Scott	Douglass	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	20	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Scott	James	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	22	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Scott	Margaret	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	19	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Scott	Mary	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	18	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Scott	Mary Ann [Maryann]	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	5	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Scott	Mildred	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	14	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Scott	Robert	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	12	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Scott	Robinson	Albemarle		James H. Terrell estate	44	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	James H. Terrell's exectors paid W. L. Holladay $800 for Robinson Scott's freedom; he was connected by marriage to another person emancipated. (AR 33 [January 1857], 23.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Scott	Syphax	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	70	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Scott	Thomas	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	41	M. C. Stevens			12/1/1856		emancipated
Scott	Thomas	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	10	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Scott	Tibby [Tibey]	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	50	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23). Tibey Scott to James H. Minor, Jan. 8, 1825, James Hunter Terrell Letters, Special Collections, UVa.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Southall	Adeline	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	27	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23). Adaline Southall to James H. Minor, January 8, 1858, James Hunter Terrell Letters, Special Collections, Uva.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Thompson	Samuel	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	63	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	AR 33 (January 1857), 22-23.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Thompson	William	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	50	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	AR 33 (January 1857), 22-23.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Thompson	Meckins	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	8	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	AR 33 (January 1857), 22.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Twine	Charles	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	24	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	AR 33 (January 1857), 22-23.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Twine	Jacob	Albemarle		F. W. Meriweather	55	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	Connected by marriage to persons emancipated by James Hunter Terrell. (AR 33 [January 1857], 23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Twine	Lucy	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	29	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	AR 33 (January 1857), 22-23.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Twine	Phil	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	21	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	AR 33 (January 1857), 22-23.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Walker	Betty	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	16	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 21-22).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Walker	George	Albemarle		Terrell/Minor	21	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 21-22).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Walker	Hugh	Albemarle		James H. Terrell estate	46	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	J. H. Terrell's executors paid $2,000 to Hon. William C. Rives for the freedom of Hugh Walker, Susan Douglass, and Molly Douglass, who were connected by marriage to other persons emancipated. (AR 33 [Ja. 1857], 23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Walker	Hugh	Albemarle		Terrell/Minor	20	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 21-22).	12/1/1856		purchased
Walker	Mary Jane	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	11	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	AR 33 (January 1857), 22-23.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Walker	Patty	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	39	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	AR 33 (January 1857), 22-23.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Walker	Rebecca	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	14	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	AR 33 (January 1857), 22-23.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Walker	Richard	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	2	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	AR 33 (January 1857), 22-23.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Walker	Sally	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	9	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	AR 33 (January 1857), 22-23.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Walker	Winslow	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	19	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	AR 33 (January 1857), 22-23.	12/1/1856		emancipated
Walker	Zachary Taylor	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	7	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	Listed as Z. Taylor in AR 33 (January 1857).	12/1/1856		emancipated
Winston	Horace	Albemarle			6	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
[Mann]	Alice	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	1	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	Listed as 1 1/2 year old after Rachel Mann in AR 33 (January 1857)(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated
[Twine]	Congo	Albemarle		James H. Terrell	?	M. C. Stevens	Monrovia	Listed as infant after Lucy Twine in AR 33 (January 1833).(AR 33 [Jan. 1857], 22-23).	12/1/1856		emancipated

Table 1: Emigrants to Liberia from Music Hall source: Virginia Emigrants to Liberia

Emigrants Database, Virginia Emigrants to Liberia, Virginia Center for Digital History, University of Virginia (/liberia/index.php?page=Resources¤tion=Search%20Emigrants).

ILLUSTRATIONS

All photos are the sole property of this author unless otherwise noted.

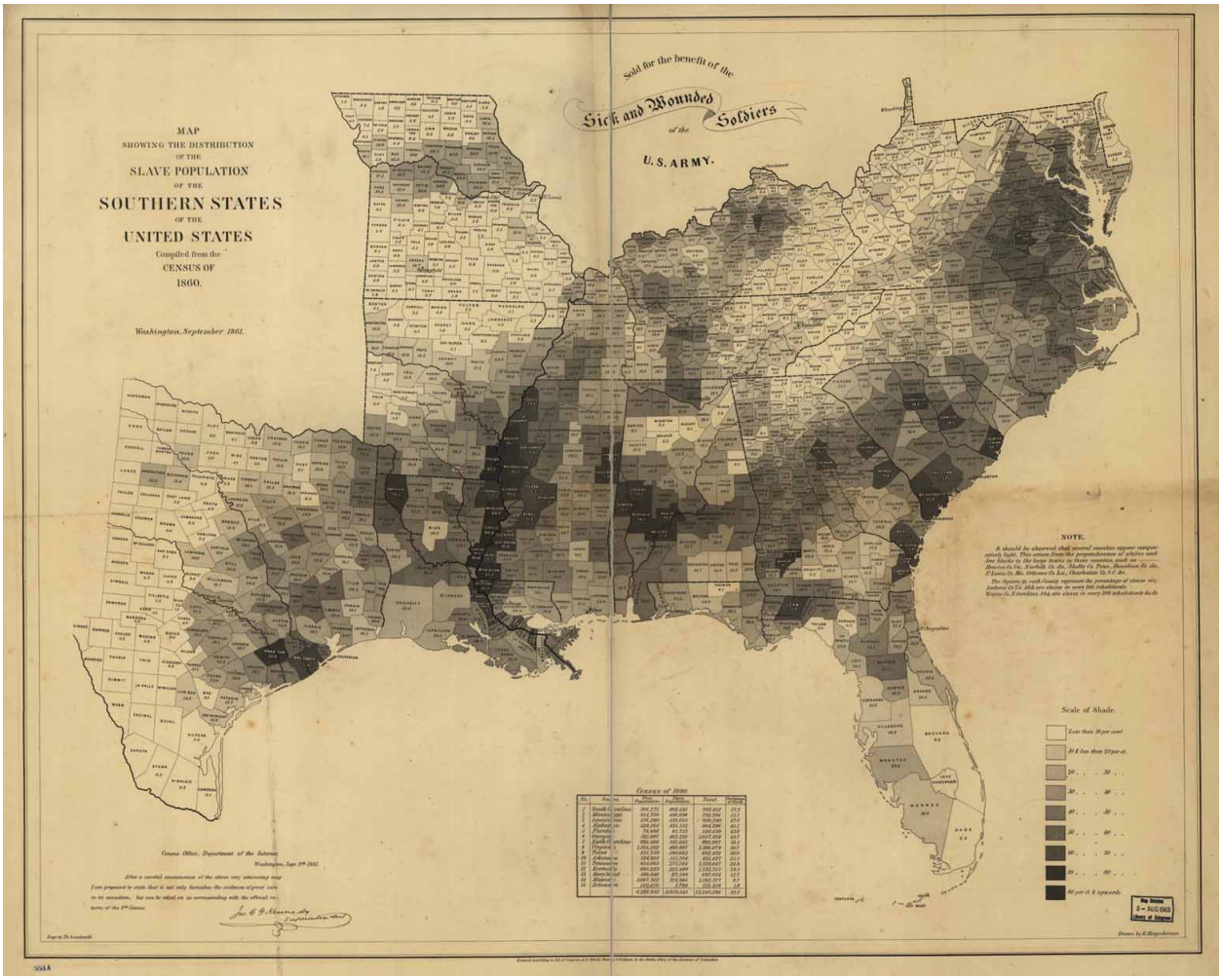


Figure 1 | Slave Population of the Southern United States as surveyed by the U.S. Army in 1861.

Source: United States Coast Guard Survey via Wikimedia.

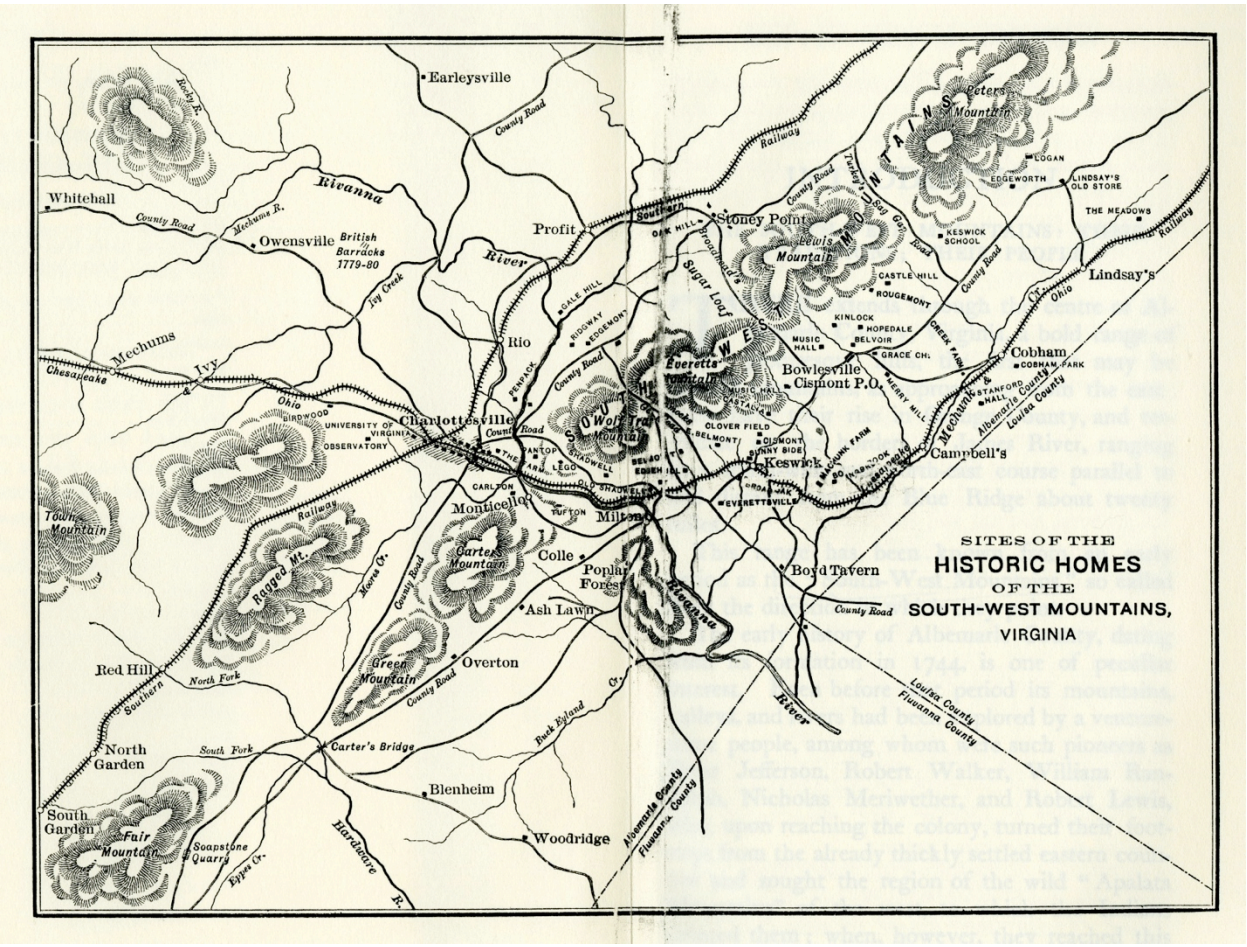


Figure 2 | Sites of the Historic Homes of the South-West Mountains, Virginia in 1899.

Source: Edward Mead, *Historic Homes of the Southwest Mountains, Virginia*, 1899.

Figure 3 | A map of the most inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole province of Maryland with part of Pensilvania, New Jersey and North Carolina. Drawn by Joshua Fry & Peter Jefferson in 1751.

Source: Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA

Figure 4 | Top: Exterior Bottom: Interior—Nineteenth century log slave quarter on the Sanford Burgess property in Fredericksburg, VA. The quarter is similar to what would have existed in the Southwest Mountains Rural Historic District and has only been slightly altered.

Figure 5 | Rear, southeast façade of Pavilion IV on the lawn. The short door on the left is the entrance to the possible basement-level slave quarter.

Figure 6| Top: NE wall Bottom: North wall showing evidence of white wash. The basement room under Pavilion IV on the Lawn at the University of Virginia possibly served as a slave quarter. Whitewashed walls and a cold joint in the brickwork may indicate possible opening into another room.

Figure 7 | Music Hall, exterior. Built in the 18th Century. The house burned in a fire in the 20th century.

Source: University of Virginia Library Digital Collection

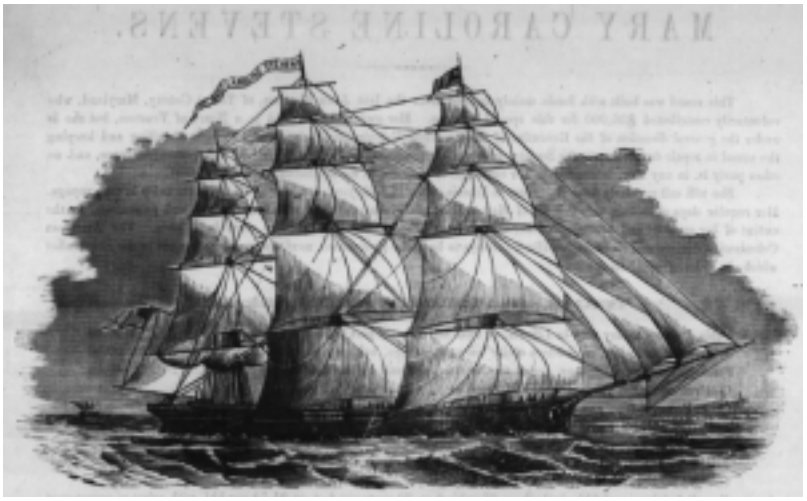


Figure 8 | American Colonization Society ship Mary Caroline Stevens (M.C. Stevens) used to transport freed people from Music Hall to Monrovia, Liberia.

Source: Phillip W. Magness, "Wither Liberia? Civil War Emancipation and Freedmen Resettlement in West Africa," *The Civil War Monitor*.

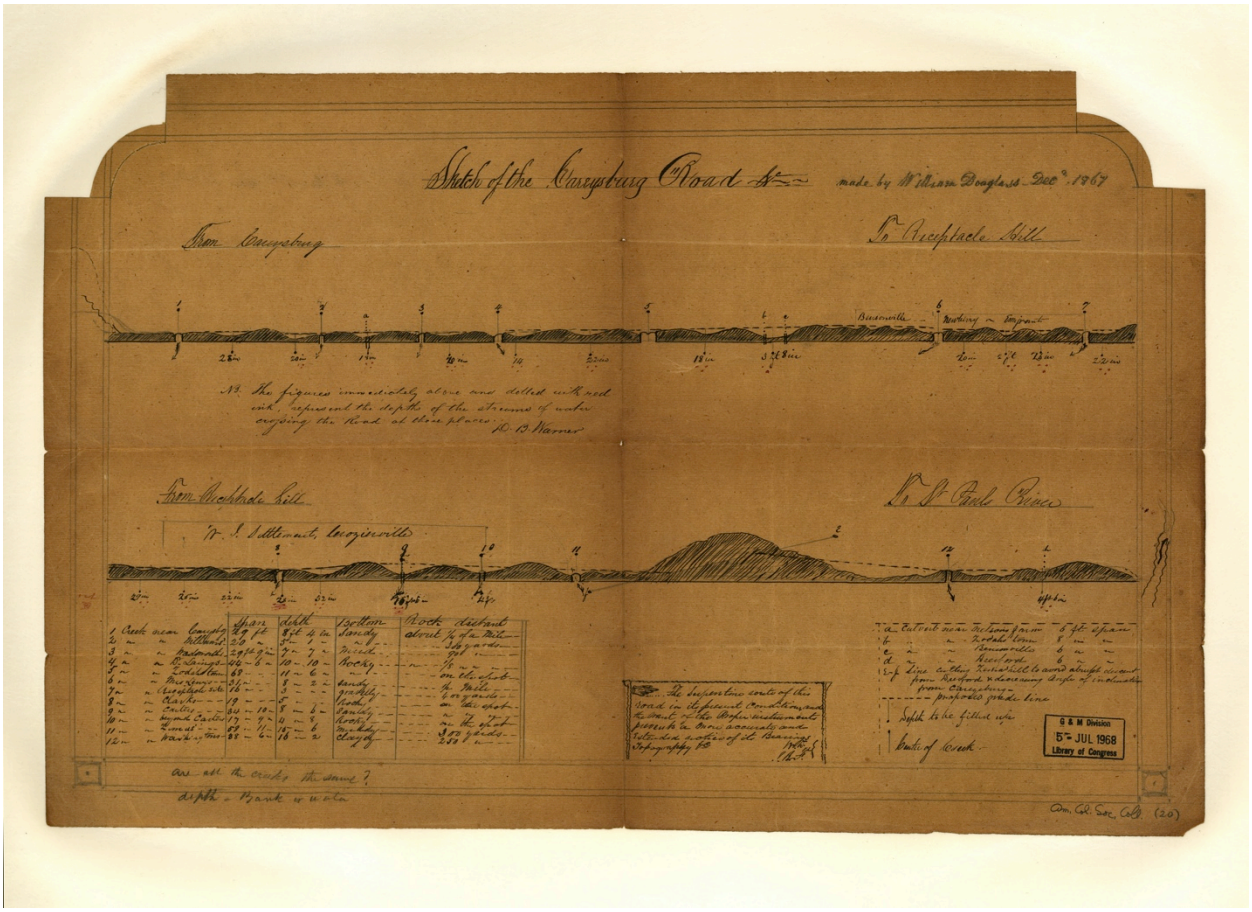


Figure 9 | Sketch of the Careysburg Road in Liberia made by William Douglass, Dec., 1867. William Douglass was a freed slave from the Music Hall estate of James H. Terrell in Cismont. The town was named for the Reverend Lott Carey (1780-1828), a former slave from Richmond, Virginia, the first American Baptist missionary to Africa, and an important figure in the early affairs of Liberia.

Source: Library of Congress American Colonization Society Maps Collection.

Top Left: Main façade from the South.
Right: Main Façade.
Bottom Left: The house was originally larger, but a tree fell and crushed the northeastern half.

Figure 10 | Dickinson House near probable location of Boyden. Formerly Ebenezer Boyden's property. Wooden balloon framed interior with stairs to the 2nd floor. Rubble and wooden pier foundation.

Figure 11 | Barclay Rives describing how Harry Dickinson's old hay baler would have worked. The old hay baler would have been hitched to a horse or mules and Dickinson would have collected hay until the bale of hay was large enough to release using the lever adjacent to Rives' hand.

Figure 12 | Harry Dickinson's Driveway that lead out to Route 231 East of Grace Episcopal Church.

Figure 13 | Cismont Manor and its location in comparison to Breezy Oaks and the other parcels that were subdivided from the estate after the Civil War. The other tracts are enclosed inside of the black box.

Source: Bing Maps.

Figure 14 | Breezy Oaks looking south from Route 231.
Source: Google Street View

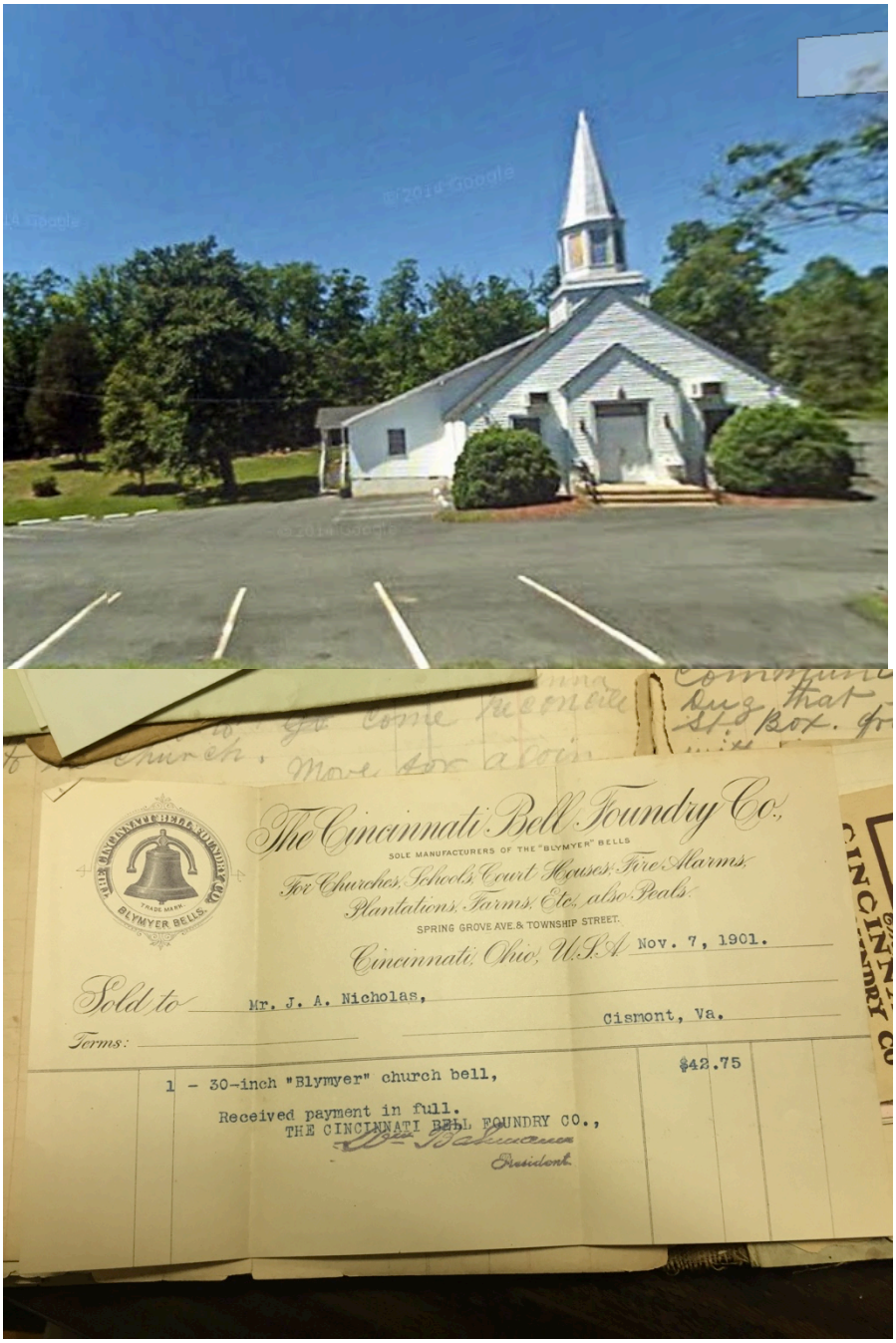


Figure 15 | Zion Hill Baptist church and a 1901 receipt for the original 30-inch Blymer church bell from The Cincinnati Bell Foundry.

Source: Google Street View.

Figure 16 | Harriet Johnson (Barclay Rives) House. Harriest Johnson was the original owner. This photo is taken facing south looking at the main façade. All features are original on this side of the building, but an addition has been added to the rear.

Figure 17 | Outbuildings for the Bates/Kinard House on Route 647 in Scuffletown.
Top (left to right): Chicken Coop, Storage shed, garage, rear of the house looking northeast across the former garden. There are grape vines on the fence in between the garden and shed. The kitchen window is on the left corner of the house.
Bottom Left: Shed with garage addition. The loft space inside was sometimes used as a guest room.

Bottom Right: Close up of the chicken coop with shed roof made of tin.

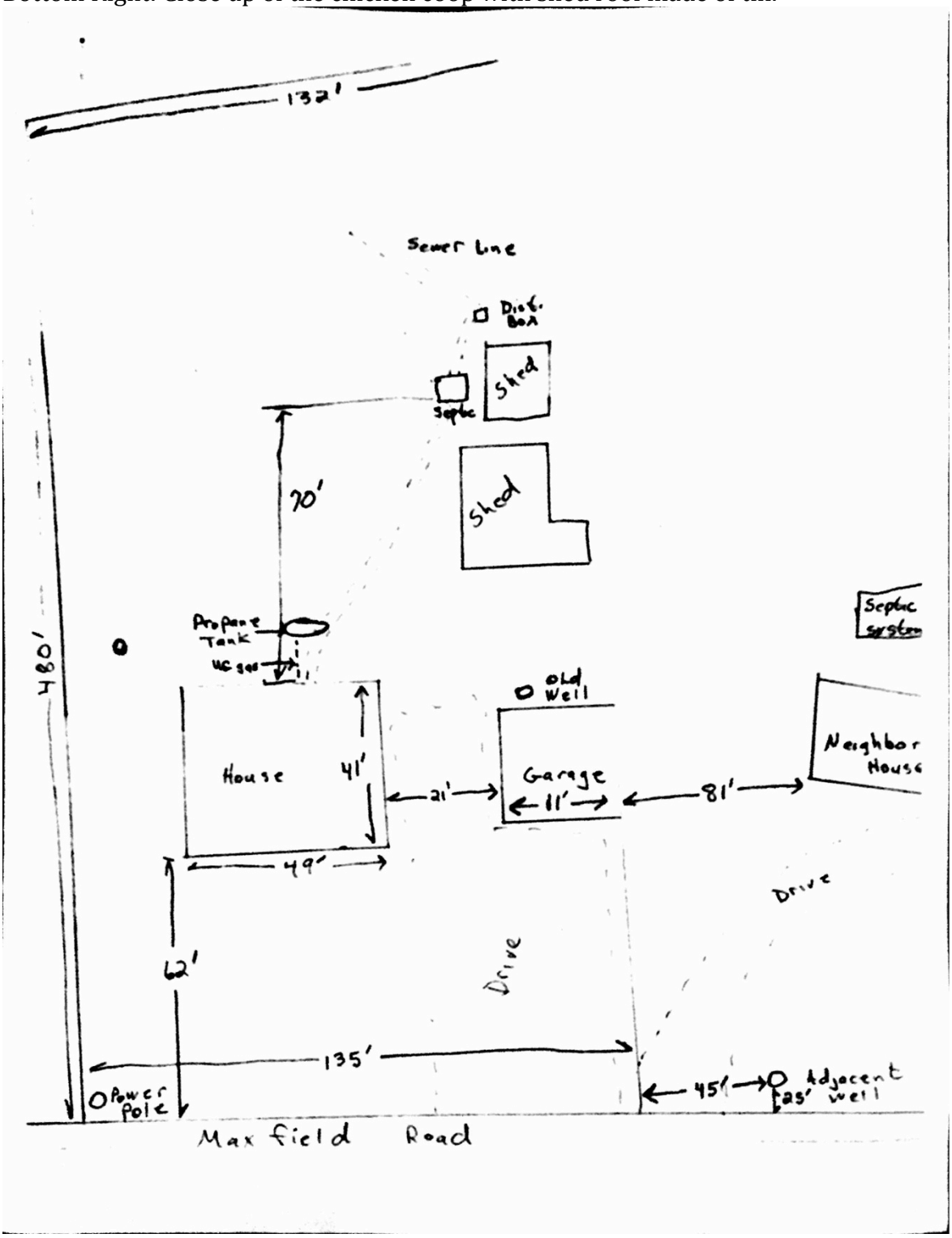


Figure 18 | Rough plat of the Bates/Kinard House on Route 647.
Source: Virginia Department of Health Thomas Jefferson Health District.

Figure 19 | Scott House on Route 22 (vacant). Two-story, cross gabled roof with brick chimneys on each gable end.

Top: Looking Northeast from the intersection of Route 22 and Route 647.

Bottom: Looking due North at the main façade of the house.

Figure 20 | The Cooper House is a cross gabled four-square house built circa 1900 on Route 647 in Scuffletown.

Figure 21 | Fruit trees in the yard of the Bates/ Kinard House on Route 647. Many families planted fruit-bearing trees and plants in their yards to increase the variety of their home subsistence gardens.

Figure 22 | Ruins of a hog lot sit at the southern edge of the Bates/ Kinard property on Route 647 in Scuffletown.

Figure 23 | Left to Right: Walter Johnson, Sr; Willie Bowles; Junior Johnson; Gene Carr; Otto Bates, Sr. Photo taken at Bocock's Farm in Cismont, VA in the 1940s. Four of the five men pictured were carpenters or masons. Willie Bowles was a driver.

Figure 24 | Bernice Cooper cuts a roasted pig for a local family.

Source: Felicia Cooper

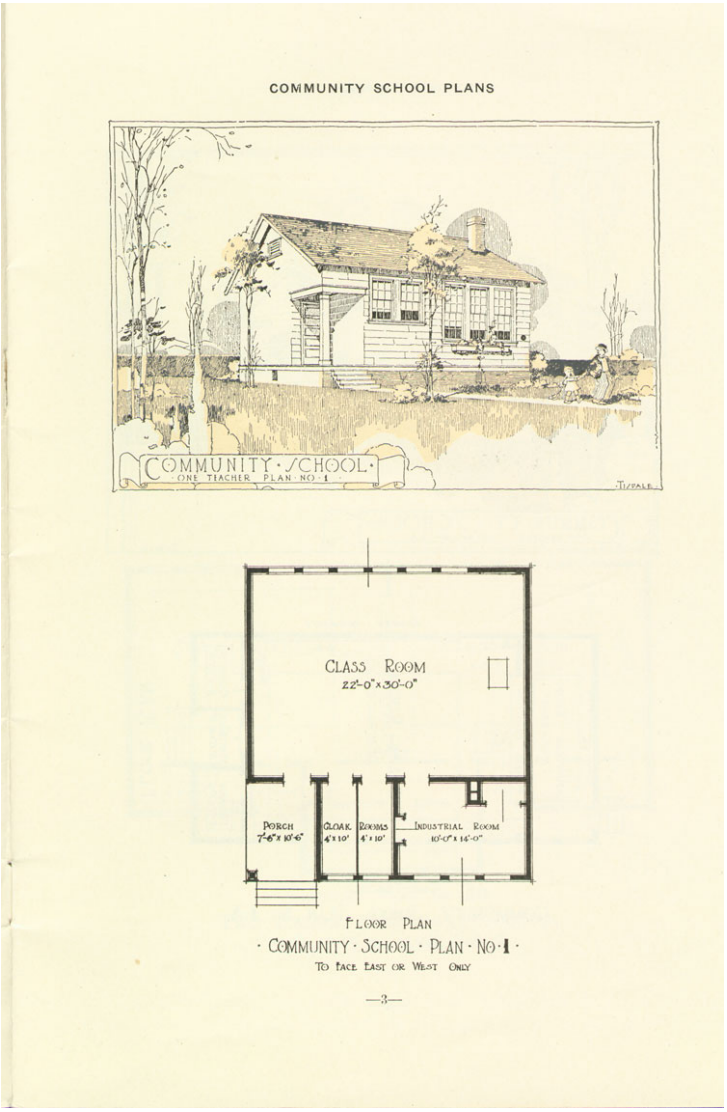
Figure 25 | Top: Close up of the original section of the Bates Cooper House that was moved to its present location from another location on Route 647 in the early 1940s. Bottom: Bates/Kinard house as completed with side and rear additions and porch. The house is a hipped roof, one-story, bungalow.

Figure 26 |

Top: Cismont Training School on Route 647 in Scuffletown circa 1922 after its construction.

Bottom: One-Teacher Rosenwald Plan for schools facing east or west.

Source: Fisk University Rosenwald Fund Database.



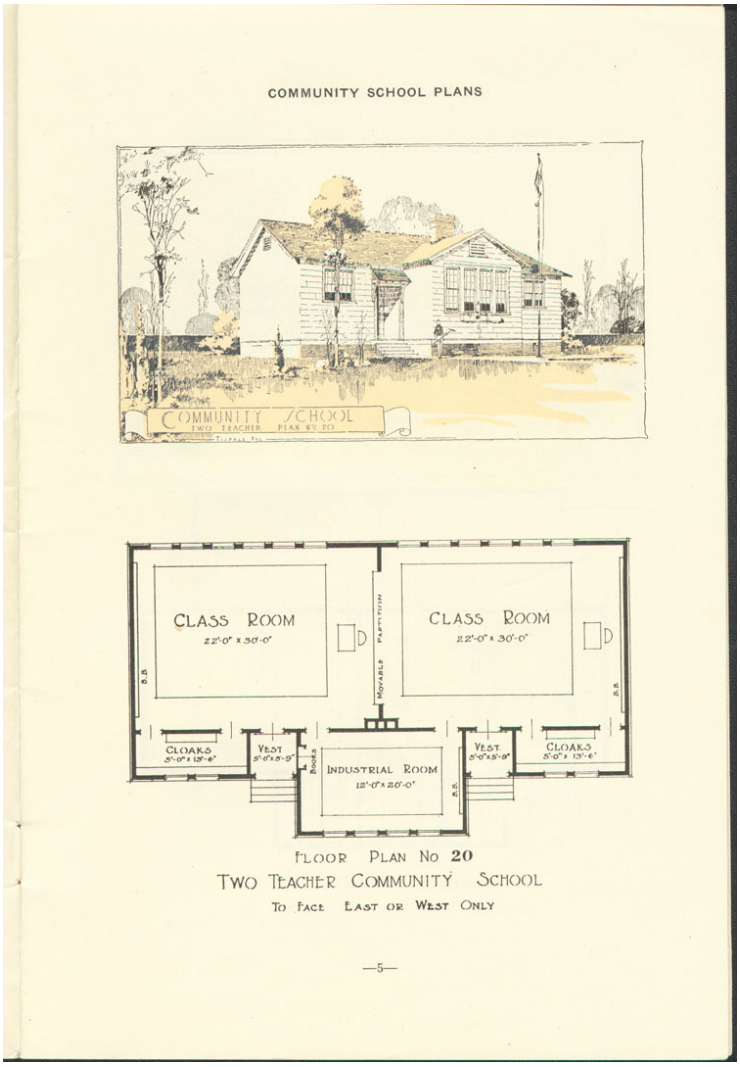


Figure 27 |

Top: St. John's School in Cobham on Route 640 at its completion in 1923.

Bottom: Two-Teacher plan for schools facing east or west.

Source: Fisk University Rosenwald Fund Database

Figure 28 | Horse Race in the 1940s or 1950s in Cismont.

Source: Barclay Rives

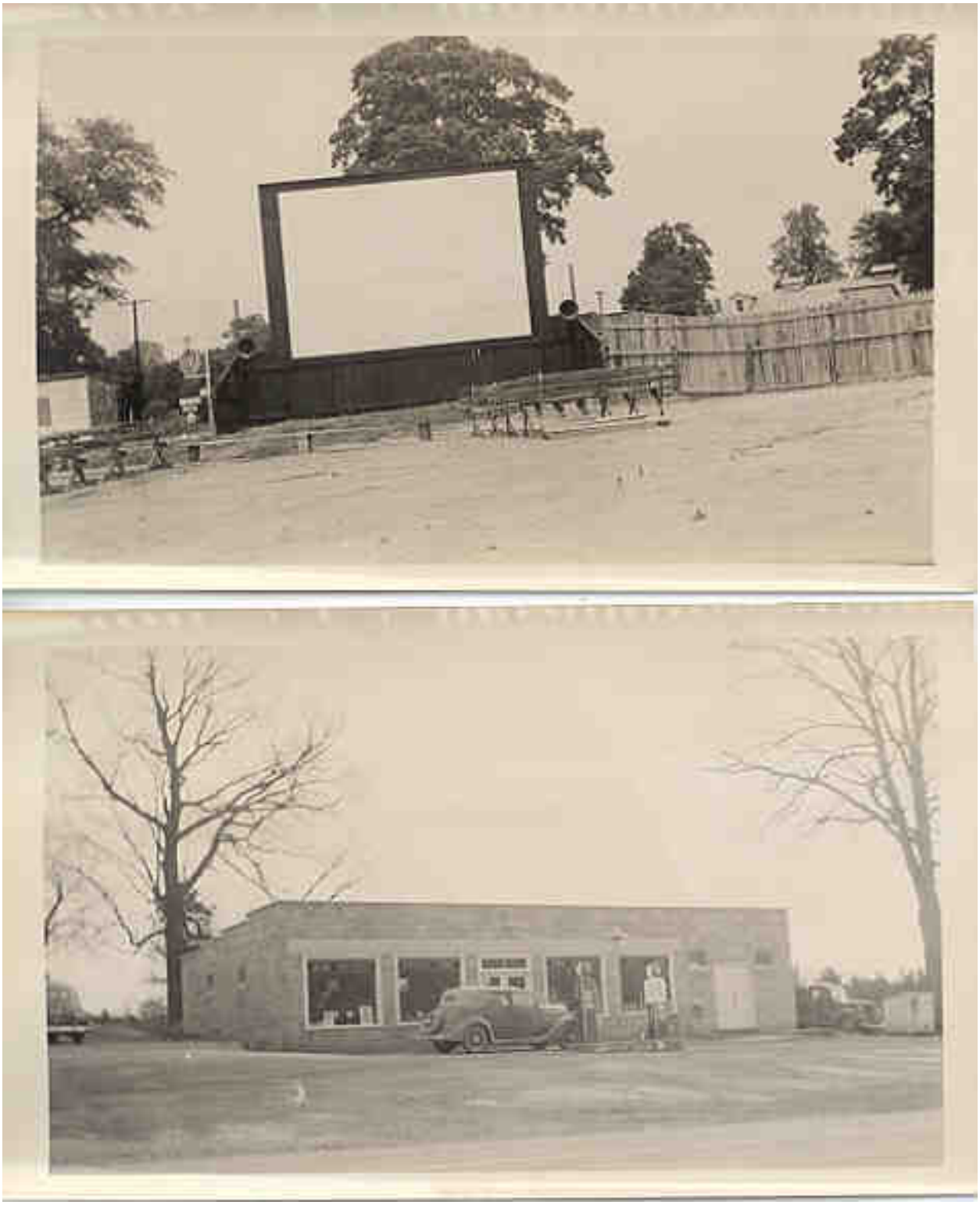


Figure 29 | Seven Pines Drive-In Theater on Route 231. The theater was eventually abandoned, but the projection booth still stand inside of the tree line behind the service station.
Source: "Seven Pines Drive-In" on Driveins.org

RACE AGITATOR IS FLOGGED

Colored Prophet, Routed From Bed, Is Banished From Cismont.

He Promises Crowd He'll Not Return. Kneels Before Women Converts to Receive Lashing.

Charlottesville, Va., Nov. 18.—D. C. Calvary, a negro agitator, claiming to be a prophet from Abyssinia, who stirred up intense race feeling on the Albemarle-Louisa line near Cobham, returned two days ago to that district to resume his teaching, after an absence of two weeks, during which time he was believed to have been in hiding.

Eight leading citizens of the Keswick and Cismont neighborhoods went in search of the prophet about 11 o'clock last night and found him at 4 o'clock this morning at the home of one of his disciples named Mahanes, near Thelma, Louisa county. The search was long and tiresome, being continued from house to house until seven cabins had been visited unsuccessfully.

Calvary was asleep when located. He begged his captors not to kill "a widow's son," and fell to praying and preaching. A noose was put about his neck, and he was hurried to the station at Cobham, 3 miles away. Much of the distance was covered in a "dog trot," which Calvary found a little difficult, with his 275 pounds of flesh.

A ticket for Clifton Forge was purchased by subscription, and the crowd then administered a sound thrashing, to receive which Calvary was made to kneel in the presence of some of his female converts. The crowd made use of riding crops and barrel staves.

Calvary was in a contrite mood, and willingly promised never to come within 20 miles of Cismont again.

As the train pulled out a salute of twenty shots was given by the crowd.

Figure 30 | 1910 article from the Washington Post describing the manhunt for an Abyssinian prophet allegedly inciting racial unrest.

Source: The Washington Post via ProQuest.

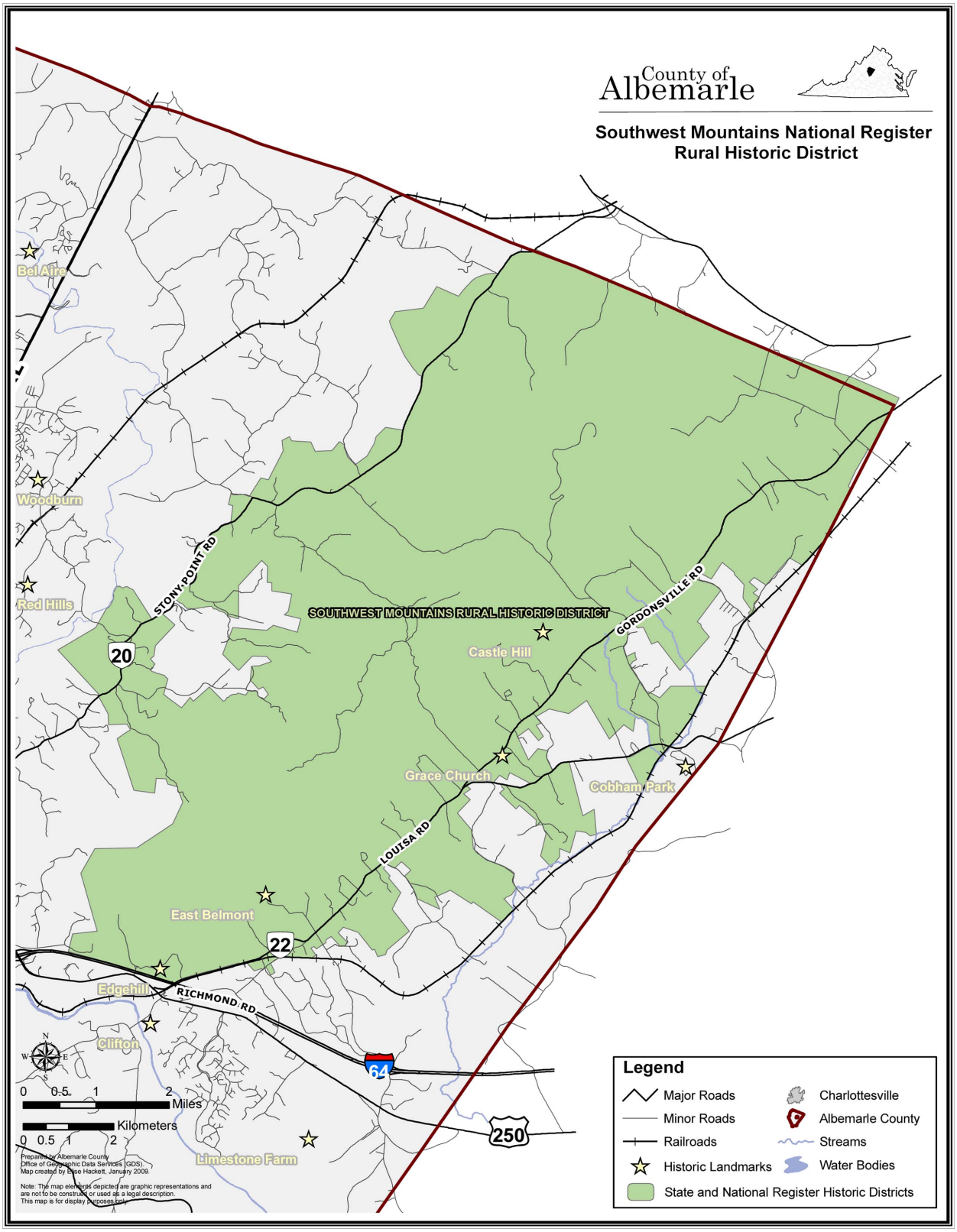


Figure 31 | Map of the Southwest Mountains Rural Historic District
Source: Virginia Department of Historic Resources

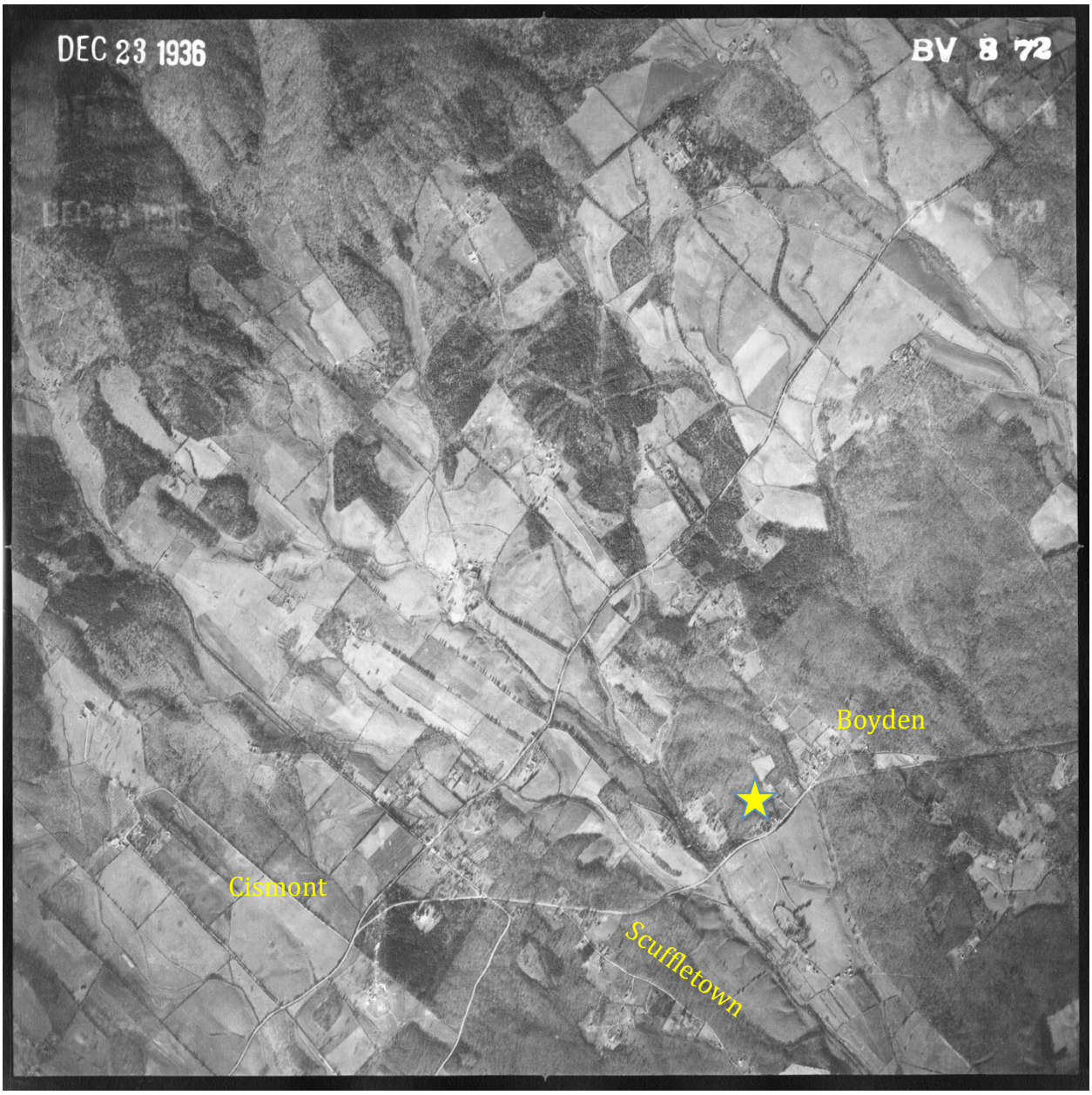


Figure 32 | 1936 Aerial Photo of Cismont and surrounding environs. The star marks the location of Zion Hill Baptist Church in Cismont.

Source: Bob Vernon of the Central Virginia History Researchers

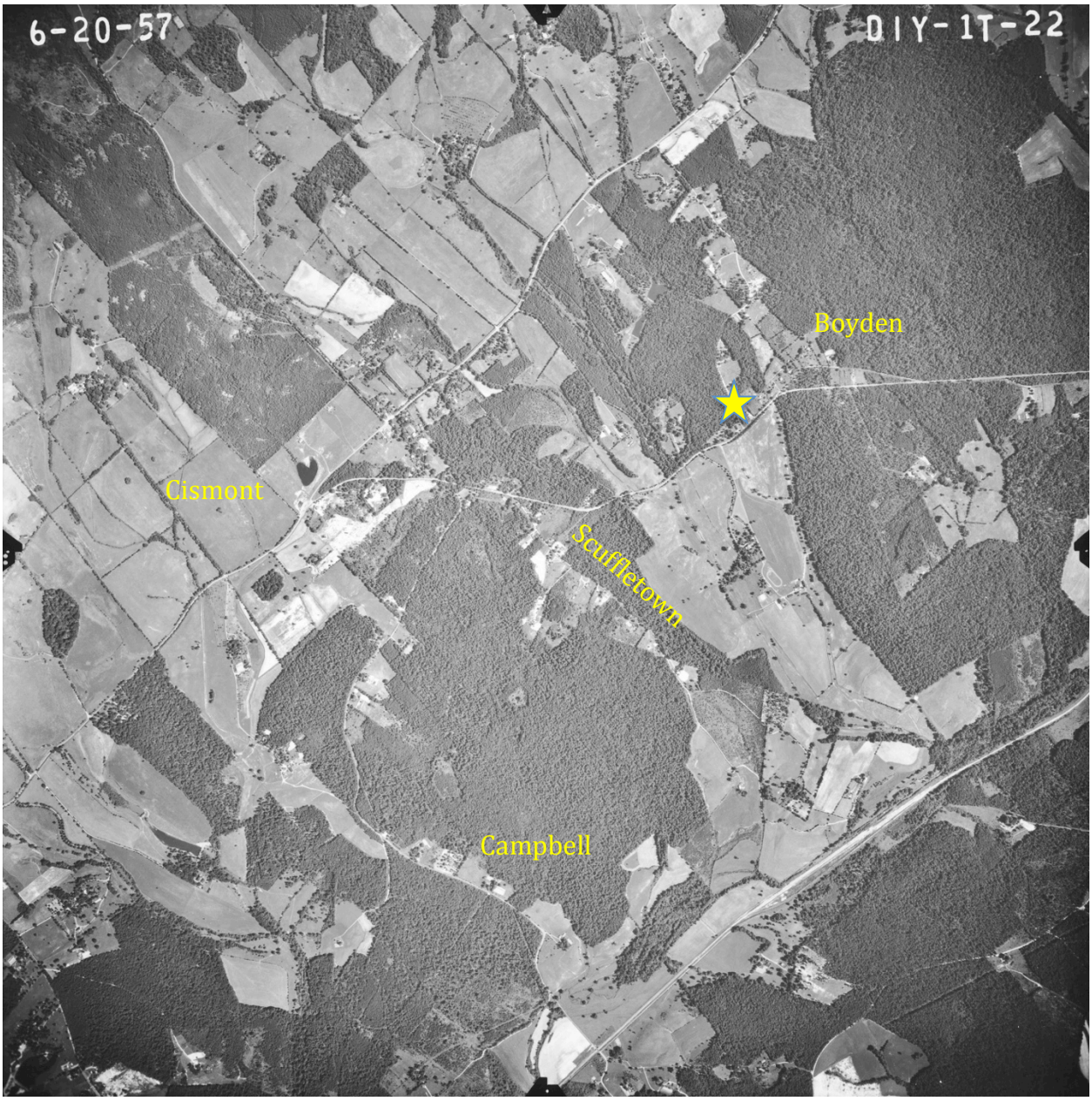


Figure 33 | 1957 Aerial Photo of Cismont and surrounding environs. The Star marks the location of Zion Hill Baptist Church in Cismont.

Source: Bob Vernon of the Central Virginia History Researchers

Figure 34 | Breezy Oaks front facade from the Southwest. The owner just replaced the roof.

Figure 35 | Breezy Oaks Chimney and Garden Wall from the west.

Figure 36 | Breezy Oaks Rear Façade from the South.

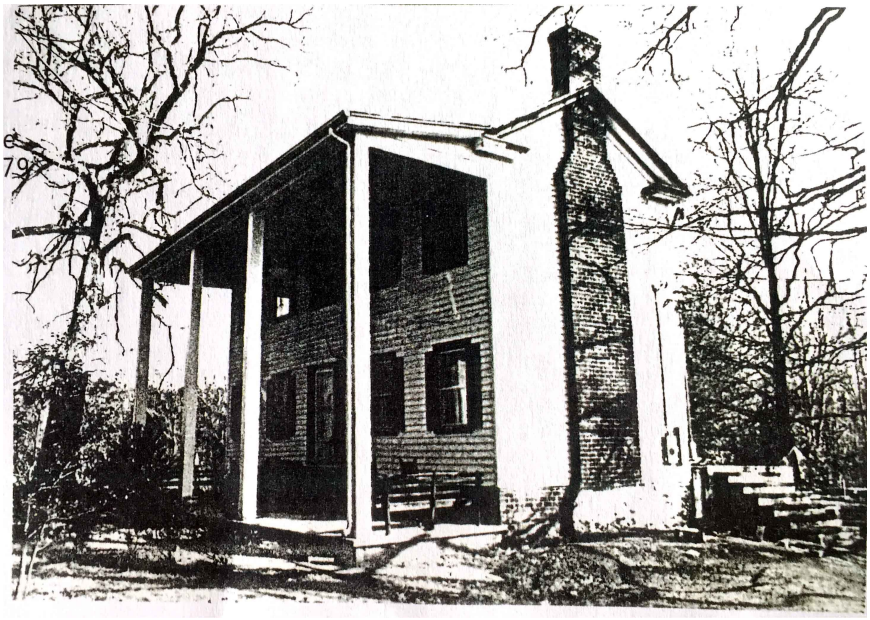


Figure 36 | Albert Johnson's second house circa 1890 located on Clarks Tract near Breezy Oaks.

Top: Photo taken in the late 1980s.
Source: Piedmont Environmental Council

Bottom: Recent photo with an addition on the south wall.

Figure 38 | Structural and cosmetic damages on the front façade of Breezy Oaks.

Left: Six-over-six window sashes and moldings need to be replaced. The left side of the porch is rotted out, so the front porch is not safe to stand on. There is also damage to the column on that side.

Right: There is significant rot and water damage to the roof of the porch.

Figure 39 | The Lewis House on Route 647 is a single story, cross-gabled prefabricated Jim Walters Home Company house that replaced an older cabin on the same site.

Figure 40 | The Brassfield House on Route 647 is a 1960s prefabricated exterior shell house made by the Jim Walters Home Company.

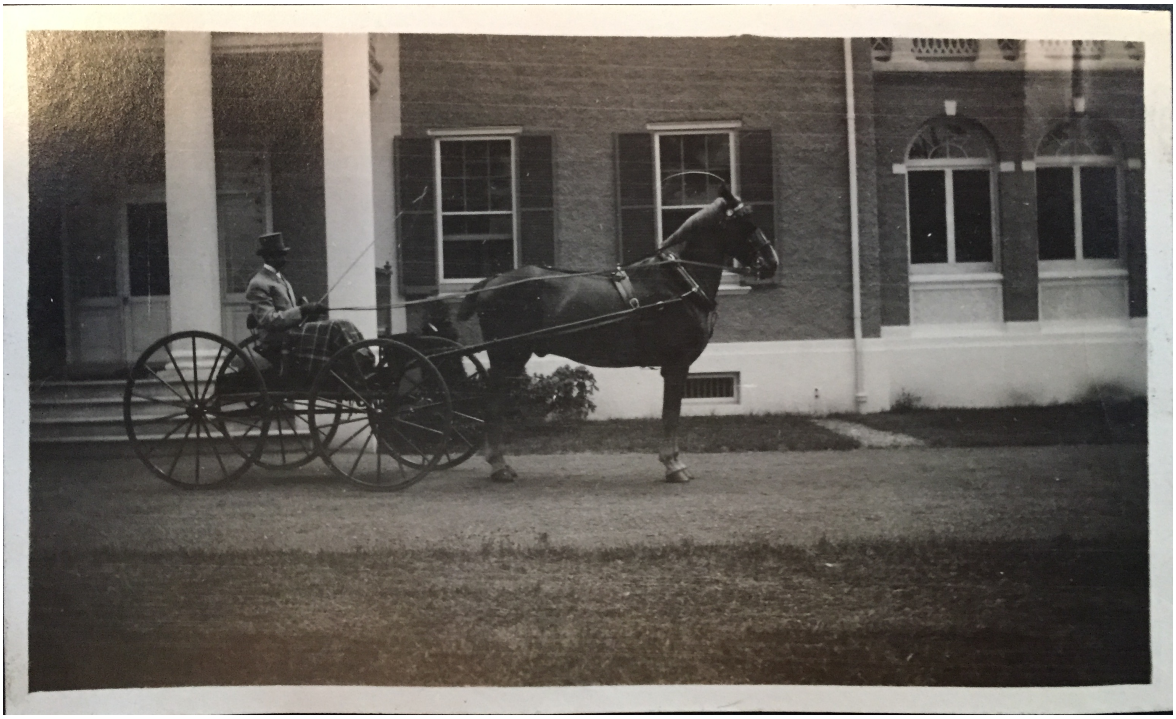


Figure 41

Top: Warren Dickerson (b. 1887- 1946) was born during the reconstruction era and became a driver for the very prestigious Edgewood Estate.

Bottom: Three unidentified African American women from the Cismont area dressed very fashionably.