

# Architectural Analysis of Slave Dwellings at Oatlands Plantation, Loudoun County, Virginia

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## Introduction

This report details the results of investigating and documenting four structures that are located within the bounds of the historic Oatlands Plantation, and assesses the likelihood that they had served as housing for enslaved workers. A group of brick buildings, referred to as the Garden Dependencies, or North Service Wing, is adjacent and parallel to the terraced formal garden lying just to the east of the main house. The other three structures are substantial stone buildings located a considerable distance from the main service complex. Two of the buildings are grouped together roughly 750 feet south of the main house; the third is roughly 500 feet from the others and 400 feet southwest of the main house. The two buildings that are farthest away are on what is known as the tract of Little Oatlands, which was sub-divided from the main Oatlands property and is jointly owned by descendants of the Eustis-Finley family. The third stone structure is at the property now referred as the Hamlet, a 54-acre parcel that was legally separated from the main Oatlands tract in 1965, and which was acquired by the Oatlands, Inc. in 2014 (Figure 1).<sup>1</sup>

The investigators undertook detailed physical examination of the four structures over a span of three days in September and October 2018. Each of the stone duplexes was documented by way of photography, measured drawings made of the floor plans, and detailed descriptions of selected features, such as doors and windows, ceilings and floors, surface finishes, and fireplaces. Particular care was taken to identify original fabric and to attempt to trace chronological changes by closely examining construction materials and methods. The extensive modifications to the buildings that have occurred made it a challenge to identify dateable historic material. (See Appendix A for detailed data recorded for the duplexes.)

As other investigators already had undertaken relatively detailed studies of the brick Garden Dependencies, our goal was to focus on questions specifically related to whether they had likely served as domestic quarters for enslaved workers.<sup>2</sup> This emphasis necessitated closely comparing the earlier findings with our own observations; in some instances, alterations made subsequent to the previous work required us to infer the conditions when those studies were carried out. As the dependencies were recorded in plan and elevation drawings by HABS in 1973 and again in 1998 in conjunction with the most recent historic structures report, we did not undertake to prepare new measured drawings in addition to our photographic documentation and detailed notes. (For our field notes on the Garden Dependencies, see Appendix B. Digital images documenting selected features at all four structures are keyed to an accompanying spreadsheet and provided on a CD.)

In addition to detailing the results from the physical examination, context for interpreting the findings is provided by comparison with a database of 42 duplex slave quarters that had been previously studied by the authors. As well, the returns of the 1860 U.S. Census for slaves and

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<sup>1</sup> "The Early History of Oatlands" (Draft, 2017), Oatlands House and Gardens.

<sup>2</sup> E. Blaine Cliver, *Oatlands Historic Structures Report: Architectural Analysis* (Draft, 1976), and Oehrlein & Associates, Architects, *Oatlands Plantation Historic Structures Report* (1999).

slave housing for Oatlands are compared with the data for the northern district of Loudoun County as a whole (Appendix C).

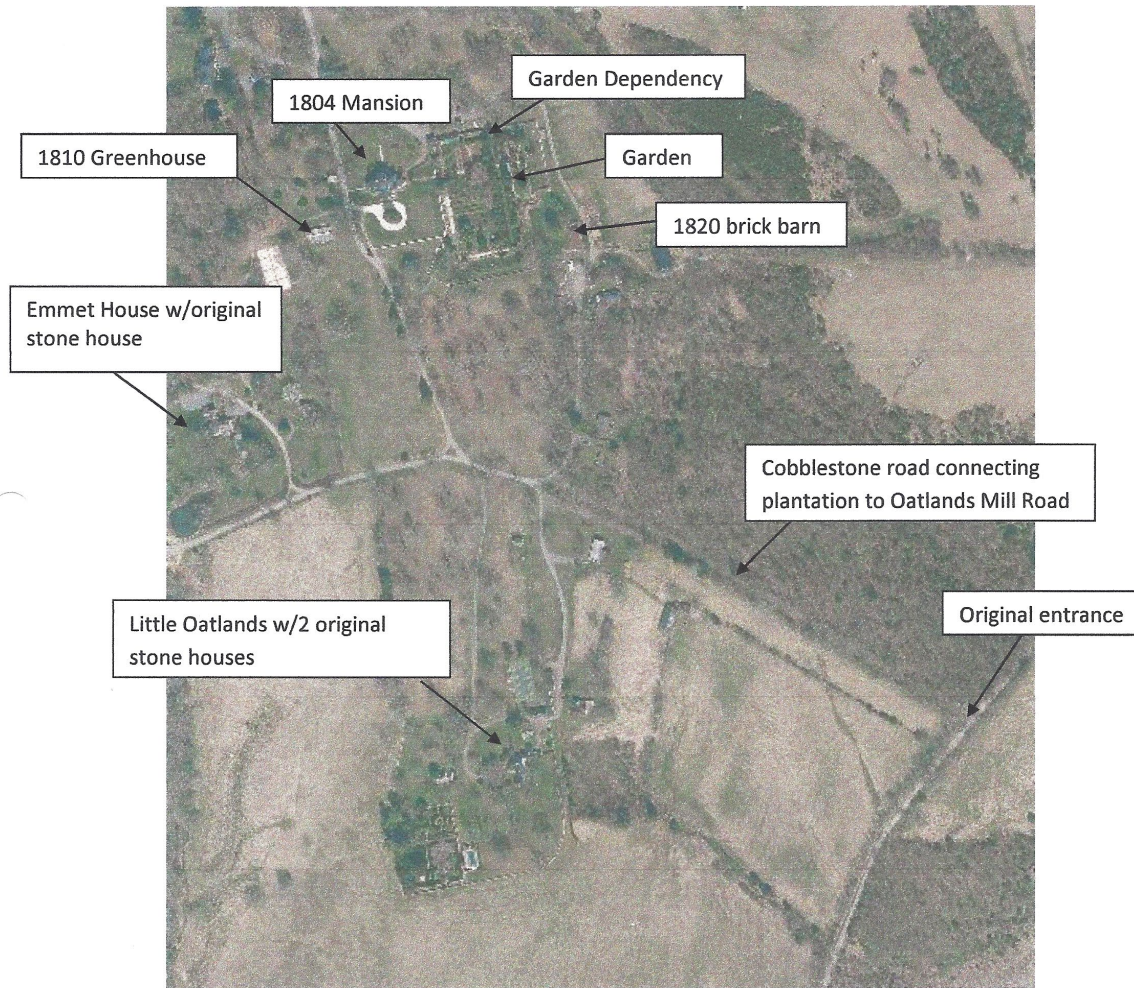


Figure 1. Aerial photograph of Oatlands, indicating locations of historic features: Little Oatlands, Duplexes 1 and 2; Emmet House (Oatlands Hamlet Duplex); Garden Dependency.

## Investigations

### Little Oatlands

Two stone buildings are located at the property now known as Little Oatlands, which up until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century had been a part of the Carter family's Oatlands plantation. The structures are situated within 100 feet of each other and bear numerous similarities in form, materials, and methods of construction. Both buildings have been extensively altered over the years, but they retain sufficient integrity to determine their original layout as duplex residences for enslaved workers. Documentary and physical evidence combine to infer that the quarters were erected

during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The larger eastern structure is designated as Stone Duplex 1; the adjacent building is Stone Duplex 2.

No documentary evidence relates to constructing any of the slave houses at Oatlands, but a newspaper article from 1819 refers to, “a neat and uniform row of stone-houses for the accommodation of the slaves, [and] form a village, having the public road for its street.”<sup>3</sup> The proximity of Duplexes 1 and 2, along with the duplex at Oatlands Hamlet, and their location near the historic road leading to the Oatlands home complex, strongly suggest that these are the buildings to which the article refers. Physical evidence revealed at Duplex 1 supports a pre-1819 date of construction for that building; given the close similarities with both Duplex 2 and the Hamlet Duplex, all three structures likely were erected contemporaneously.

#### Duplex 1:

The original structure consisted of a south facing, two-bay, one-and-one-half story, side-gable roofed dwelling, with an interior brick chimney, arranged to serve as a double residence (Figures 2 and 3). The 19-inch-thick stone walls feature irregular coursing and large, flat stones at the corners. Measuring approximately 24 feet wide and 35 feet long, the façade was nominally symmetrical, with the chimney located roughly on center and with exterior doorways near each front corner. The doorways provided separate access to one of two equal-sized heated rooms on the first floor, with heated rooms above that were presumably reached by two sets of stairs that no longer survive. Single windows are centered on the end walls on both floors; it is likely that windows were roughly centered in the north wall of both first-floor rooms, which were enclosed by the earliest addition and now are not visible. The window in the east room (designated the dining room in 1973) likely was converted to form the existing doorway connecting with the pantry; another doorway in the north wall in the west room (library) connects with the maids room, and probably is an insertion, with the earlier window blocked off and concealed behind the current wall finish.



Figure 2. Little Oatlands Duplex 1, west elevation (2018); original pitch of roof indicated in red.

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<sup>3</sup> *The Journal of the Times* (1819):285-286.

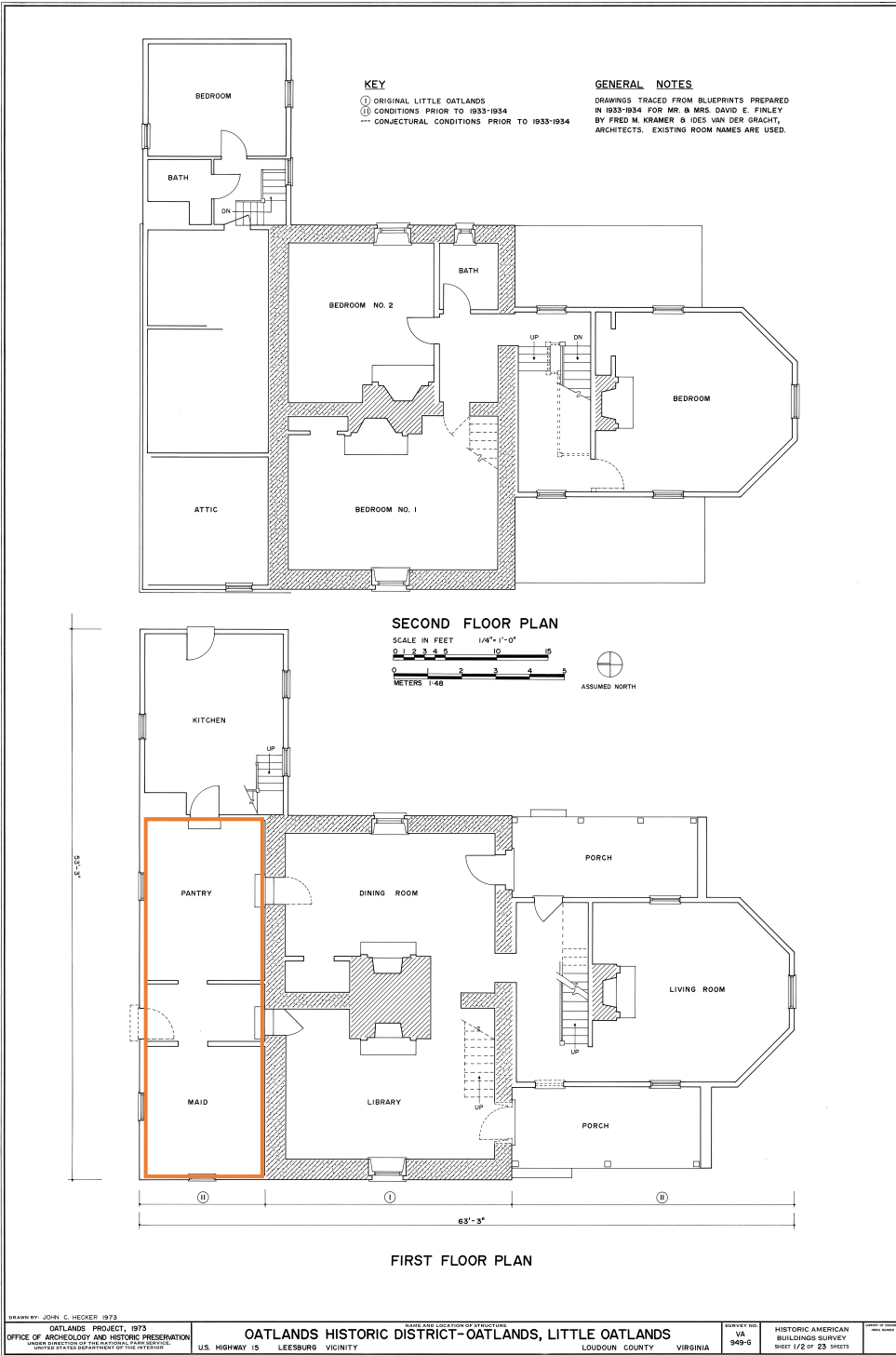


Figure 3. Little Oatlands Duplex 1, floor plans as drawn by HABS (1973); the first addition along the north elevation of the stone building is indicated in orange.

Physical evidence revealed in the captured north eave of the roof support a pre-1819 date of construction. Ceiling joists and the false plate on the north wall are visible below the shed roof for the north frame addition. The joists are hewn and pitsawn, and nails found in the frame are hand wrought (Figure 4), as are flooring nails visible on the second level.

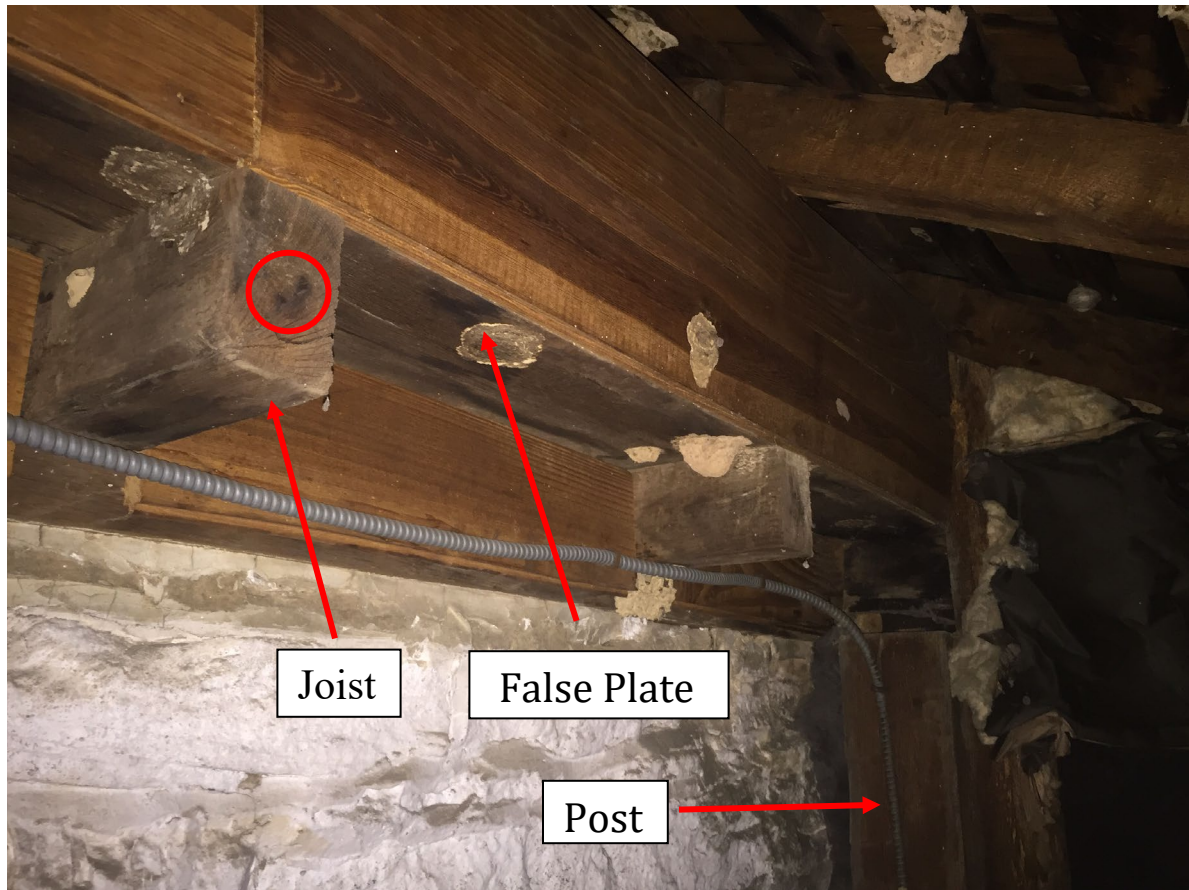


Figure 4. Remnants of trapped north eave of Duplex 1, within attic of addition (2018): joists (hewn and pitsawn) and false plate (pitsawn); rectangular holes for nails (circled in red) to attach fascia and soffit (removed); wrought nail with spade point observed *in situ* to attach rafter to false plate. Corner posts (hewn) to support frame of addition, rafters and skip sheathing boards (sashsawn), with cut nails.

Physical evidence also suggests that the first episode of significant alterations occurred in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, possibly as early as preceding the Civil War. The first addition consisted of a one-story, one-pile, shed-roofed frame running the length of the rear (north) elevation (Figure 3). The roofline of the original building on this side was elevated to a shallower pitch by installing rafters for the new shed roof resting on the earlier frame; at a later date (ca. 1934), stones were inserted to raise the west gable end wall to accommodate the new angle of the roof.<sup>4</sup> The

<sup>4</sup> Fred M. Kramer, Architect, "Alteration for Mrs. & Mrs. David Finley, Oatlands, VA," revised January 5, 1934.



framing members and the underside of the new roof are visible in the shed attic. Substantial hewn and adzed posts (Figure 4) are set against the corners of the stone structure, each with a wide (12 inches) board down brace; the rafters and shingle nailers are sashsawn. Cut nails were used in this construction: examples to attach the braces to the posts are visible, and the tips of cut nails penetrate the wood shingles (now covered by the standing seam metal roof) and the skip-sheathing nailing boards. Given the sashsawn material, hewn posts, and mature cut nails, this evidence indicates that the frame addition may date before the Civil War.

Duplex 1 was referred to as the “overseer’s cottage” in a document that likely dates to the ca. 1930s, and which relates to when members of the Carter family moved to Little Oatlands ca. 1897.<sup>5</sup> There is no further evidence to support that claim, and the original duplex arrangement, along with the overall context, argues strongly that the structure served as quarters for the enslaved. Nevertheless, the addition and other changes to the fabric might combine to indicate an important early modification of the domestic arrangements. The exterior doorway at the southwest corner of the façade (library) has been infilled and converted to a window, and a doorway was cut in the lateral stone wall that separated the two first floor rooms. These represent modifications that typically were made to duplex structures to convert them from their original function for housing separate families, to only one, which usually occurred after the conclusion of the Civil War. According to architectural drawings from 1934 that were prepared in advance of a series of alterations to the structure, the exterior doorway had been removed and the partition had been cut through at that time.<sup>6</sup> While it is not possible to demonstrate that all of these changes occurred simultaneously, the apparent early date of the addition raises the possibility that the building was modified to accommodate an overseer.

#### Duplex 2:

As with Duplex 1, the neighboring structure has been modified significantly over the years, but sufficient historic fabric remains to indicate that it had originally served as a duplex quarter (Figure 5). The original stone structure was two bays in form, one-and-one-half story high, with a side-gable roof and a centered interior brick chimney. The approximately 19-inch-thick walls feature irregular coursing and large, flat stones at the corners. Measuring roughly 21 feet wide and 28 feet, five inches long, the building fits the format of a double quarter or duplex, with its two exterior doorways on the south-facing façade providing separate access to two, equal-sized downstairs rooms. The central chimney contained brick fireplaces for each of the four rooms, above and below. Enslaved occupants likely used a pair of stairs on the chimney’s south side to reach the second floor. Original gable end windows on the ground and upper stories were converted to doorways to connect with later additions, an open porch was erected against the south façade, and dormer windows were added on the front and rear.

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<sup>5</sup> “Recollections of Two Granddaughters of George Carter, II,” Ms. on file, Oatlands House and Gardens.

<sup>6</sup> Kramer, “Alteration,” 1934.



Figure 5. Little Oatlands Duplex 2, south façade (2018); dormers, porch, and wings added.

The most important change on the interior was to cut through the stone partition to allow direct access between the rooms on both levels. This necessitated removing and replacing the original stairs, although the current staircase and upstairs landing likely occupy the same position as the earlier versions, which probably were much steeper, open ladders. New wood floors with narrower boards were installed, as were modern utilities, with the additions containing a kitchen, dining room, and bathrooms. Closets and a storage alcove were placed on either the south or north side of the fireplace in each duplex room. In the 1930s or 1940s, the doors and windows were systematically reworked; the doors, sash, and the surrounding trim all were replaced.

Although subsequent modifications and additions have obscured physical evidence that might be used for more precise dating, the overall similarities in layout, material, and workmanship between Duplexes 1 and 2, suggest that they were erected at roughly the same time (before ca. 1819).

### Hamlet

A third substantial stone structure is at the Hamlet, located roughly 500 feet to the northwest of the complex at Little Oatlands. As with the others, the building at the Hamlet has been extensively modified over the years, and has been incorporated as a wing attached to a larger structure that in mid-2017 was opened as the Inn at Oatlands Hamlet. Sufficient original material exists to indicate that the building at the Hamlet is similar in overall character, materials, and interior layout to the two structures at Little Oatlands, and likely originally served as a duplex residence for enslaved workers on the plantation. Extensive modifications to the structure over the years have obscured physical evidence that would allow more precise dating, but the overall

similarities to Duplexes 1 and 2 at Little Oatlands suggest that this structure was also referred to in the 1819 newspaper article as having accommodated slaves.

The original two-bay structure is roughly 20 by 30 feet in dimension, with a central chimney serving fireplaces in the two approximately equally-sized downstairs rooms. Exterior doorways are located near the east and west corners of the south-facing façade, with a window centered on the opposite, north wall of each room. The structure has been raised from its original height of one-and-one-half to two stories; an angled seam in the stonework in the east gable indicates that the pitch of the current side-gable roof matches with that of the original roofline. A window is roughly centered in the east gable; the adjoining wing (Figure 6) likely now covers a matching opening positioned in the opposite gable.



Figure 6. Hamlet Duplex, north and east elevations (on the left); incorporated as a wing to the former Emmet House, now the Inn at Oatlands Hamlet (2018). Raised from 1.5 to 2-stories, dormers added (former gable roofline in red).

On the interior, none of the original ceiling or wall surfaces, flooring, or fireplace materials are visible, and the doors and windows and the associated trim have been replaced. Therefore, the only interpretive opportunities relate to the overall plan, with a center chimney and two matching rooms accessed independently from the exterior. The similarities in plan with the duplexes at Little Oatlands, and with other known duplex slave quarters, suggests that stairs to reach the

second floor rooms were likely positioned on one or both sides between the fireplace mass and the exterior walls. Even more extensive changes have occurred on the second level, such that nothing other than the placement of the window in the east gable and the two-room plan are discernible of the original condition. The chimney has been completely encased with wallboard and built-in wood closets, so that it is not possible to confirm the existence of fireplaces.

A second historic stone building is located at the Hamlet, situated within a hundred feet to the northeast of the duplex. This two-story structure, which has been traditionally identified as a combination dairy and springhouse, has been extensively modified, to include new floors on both levels and a rebuilt foundation comprised of concrete block. Other than a brief examination to determine the extent of later modifications and to confirm the low level of surviving historic fabric, no further investigations were conducted. Its overall character and method of construction suggests that the structure may date to the same period as the duplexes, and thus was likely a component of the outlying quarter complex.

### Garden Dependencies

The group of buildings that are together referred to as the garden dependencies consisted of three substantial brick structures, roughly square in plan, that ran in a line to the east of the Oatlands main house, along with a narrower wing of rooms attached to the east wall of the northern-most structure. All together, the buildings formed a dis-contiguous right angle adjoining and bounding the corner of the formal terraced garden to the east and south. Only two of the square structures survive; the location of the third building is indicated on a ca. 1923 plan of the site, labelled as the “Garden House” (Figure 7). A brick building that has been attributed as the Garden House primarily based on architectural characteristics is depicted in photographs dating to the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Figure 8). The original function of this structure is unknown, but it appears to have been used as a residence at the time that the photographs were taken. The second square building, to the north, is identified as the “Studio” on the 1923 plan, but it originally served as a meat house (or smokehouse) before it was adapted to other purposes between 1903-1921. The northern-most structure was converted to be used as a laundry after 1903, but on the 1923 plan, it is grouped with the attached wing running to the east under the label “Servants Quarters.”<sup>7</sup> The focus of the recent investigations has been to examine the latter spaces (Figure 9).

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<sup>7</sup> Oehrlein & Associates, *Oatlands Plantation* (1999), 2.40.

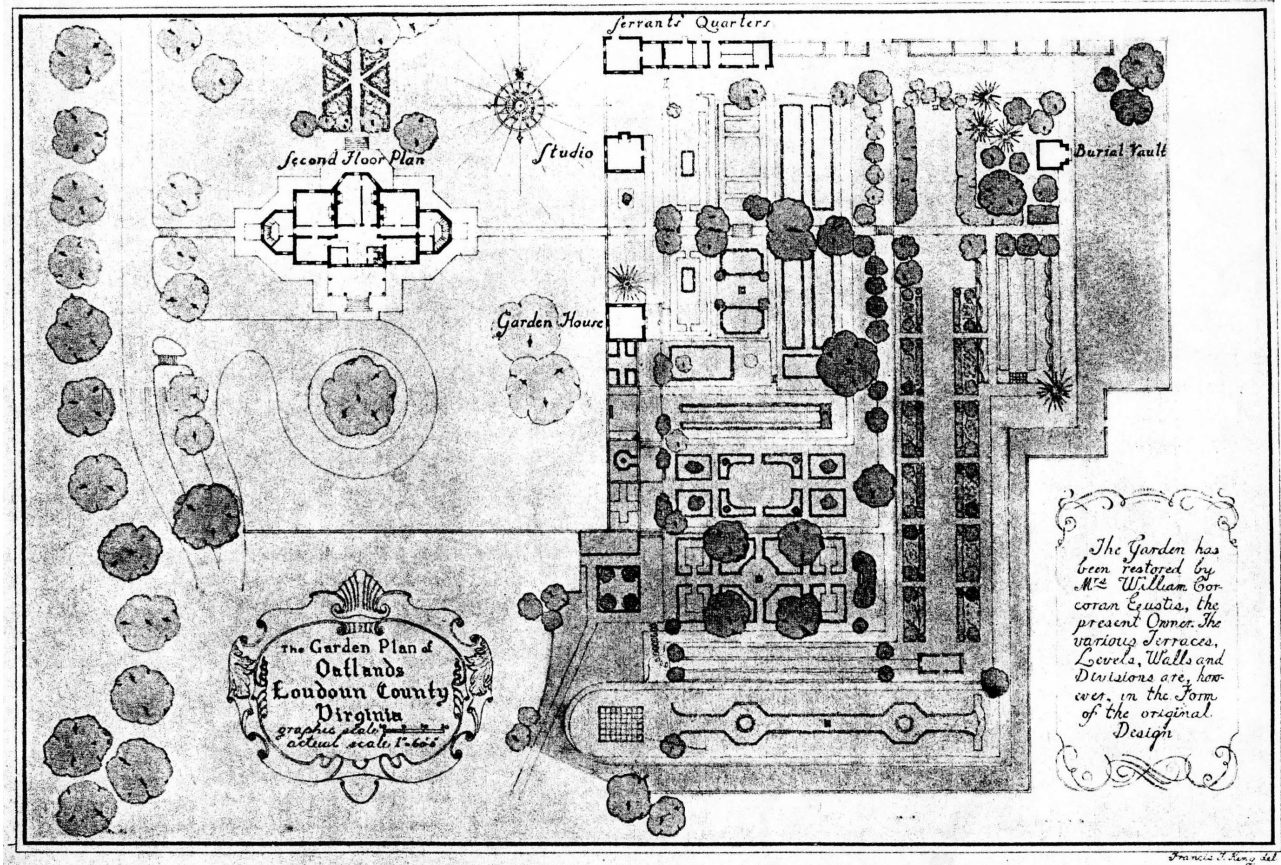


Figure 7. "Garden Plan of Oatlands," 1923. The Garden Dependencies are arranged in a line between the main house and the garden to the east: labelled as the Garden House (non-extant), Studio (smoke house/meat house), and Servant's Quarters (pavilion and "additions").



Figure 8. Undated photo of the structure (non-extant) identified as the Garden House on the 1923 plan, viewed from the west.

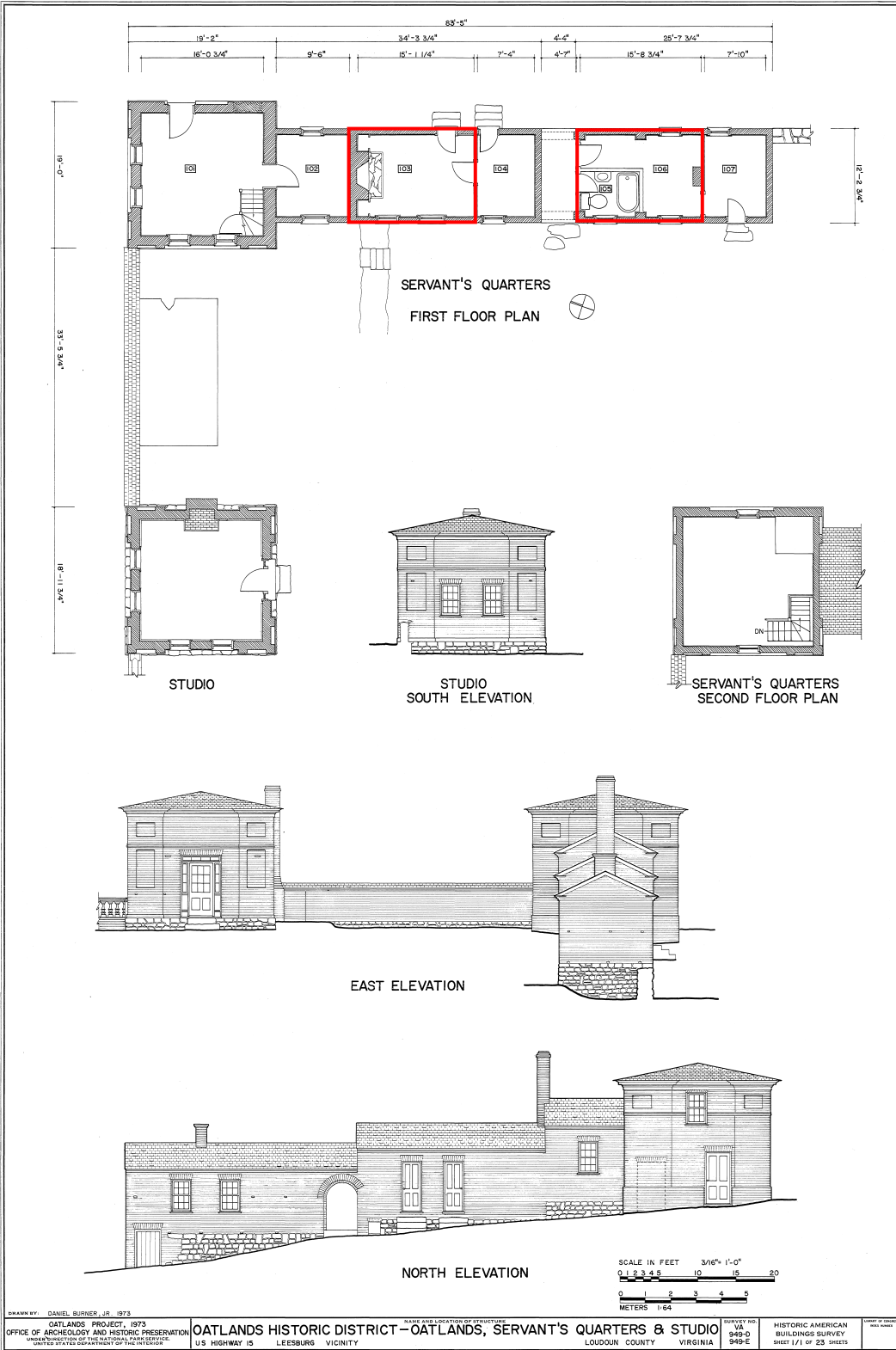


Figure 9. HABS (1973) documentation drawings of the “Oatlands Servant’s Quarters and Studio” (garden dependencies); likely spaces for housing slaves outlined in red.

Given the prominence of the dependencies within the Oatlands formal landscape, it is surprising how few references have been found in the historical documentary record that can be associated with the buildings. However, this may be a function of the fact that the best source of evidence for construction activities at the plantation are the accounts of the mason, William Taylor, which end with his death in 1822.<sup>8</sup> According to Oehrlein & Associates (1999):

Because the exact use of the Garden Dependency remains to some extent uncertain and may incorporate a number of uses, the question of which, if any, of the historical documentation relates to it also remains uncertain. Two different Carter-era references, however, may involve these structures. In the summer and early fall of 1811, William Taylor worked 10½ days on a building referred to as the “office.” Another possible Carter-era reference to the buildings relates to the construction of the “storehouse” in 1821. There, William Taylor laid 23.7 ½ feet of stone, 75,609 bricks, and erected 70 feet of cornice, 9 14-inch arches, and 9 9-inch arches. He also walled up two cellar doors and did extensive plastering. Early documentation of the structures jumps to 1890 when a letter, written by a visitor to Oatlands, describes extensive storage buildings – most of which were in ruin – around the terraced garden. During the Eustis era, the buildings incorporated a laundry, and according to one source, one room was fitted out as a “sick room.”<sup>9</sup>

The reference to the arches included in the 1821 source cited by Oehrlein & Associates do not match with the existing structures. Blaine Cliver argued that the likely date of construction for the garden buildings might be related to the period when extensive alterations were made to the main house between ca. 1825-35. This assessment was based largely on the similarities in construction materials (nails and plaster) he found in the dependencies compared with those in the west stair wing and the porch, which were added during that period.<sup>10</sup>

Outbuildings that housed a variety of utilitarian functions were common features on 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-century agricultural complexes, large and small, throughout the Chesapeake region. Arranging them in semi-detached groups located relatively near the main house was standard practice at large plantations, such as Oatlands. These structures could be joined together as ranges of discrete functional spaces -- such as at Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello – or more commonly as individual buildings arrayed in formal rows, as at George Washington’s Mount Vernon. Individual structures among groups of outbuildings, as well as spaces within service wings, were typically devoted to housing slaves who worked in support of the planter’s family and immediate household.<sup>11</sup> At Mount Vernon, upwards of 90 slaves were listed in 1799 as living at Washington’s “Mansion House Farm,” most of whom resided in substantial brick wings

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<sup>8</sup> Lori H. Kimball, “Summary and Comments: Judgement M2642, George Carter vs. William Taylor’s Administrator” (2011).

<sup>9</sup> Oehrlein & Associates, *Oatlands Plantation* (1999), 2.40.

<sup>10</sup> Cliver, “Oatlands Historic Structure Report” (Draft, 1976).

<sup>11</sup> Edward A. Chappell, “Housing Slavery,” in *The Chesapeake House*, edited by Cary Carson and Carl R. Lounsbury (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), Pp. 156-178.



attached to the formal greenhouse. Enslaved families who lived together were housed in individual log houses located across the lane from the brick quarters; others may have lived in the garrets above other outbuildings where they worked. In contrast, the field hands lived in groupings of log quarters located at the four outlying farms, where they were supervised by resident overseers.<sup>12</sup>

The arrangement of the structures comprising the garden dependencies at Oatlands follows the larger pattern for a complex that combined both utilitarian workspaces and housing for the enslaved. Central to identifying spaces used for the latter capacity is the question of a source of heat and exterior access. The second square structure, now known as the studio, originally served as a smokehouse (meat house); the current chimney and fireplace were added when it was converted for another purpose in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup> Of the seven first-floor rooms comprising the conjoined linear structure to the north, only two spaces offer evidence to indicate that they were heated as they were originally constructed.

The north garden dependency is organized into three contiguous components, designated by Oehrlein & Associates as the Pavilion and the first and second additions. Use of the term “additions” is cause for some confusion, as all three sections have been determined to be contemporaneous in construction, albeit normal practice likely meant that the Pavilion likely was begun, if not completed, shortly before the other two. Close inspection of the Pavilion reveals that it was never heated, although the small room appended to the east wall was outfitted at a later date with a series of wood stoves, which were connected by pipes to the adjoining brick chimney stack in the west end of the first addition. As originally constructed, the Pavilion and the adjoining room formed a functional unit; as did the two rooms comprising Addition 1, and the three original rooms in Addition 2. As the main rooms in each of the additions were heated, they are likely to have served as quarters for slaves. The adjoining unheated spaces, which were accessible from the heated rooms via interior doorways, may have acted as utilitarian spaces related to the duties of the residents.

Attribution of the uses of the Pavilion remains inferential, at best (Figure 9). The two doorways in the north wall are essentially original, although the doorway on the west was altered and the header was elevated to go along with raising the wood floor ca. 1903. The second doorway, which is infilled with bricks, is substantially wider and was set lower in the wall. Together with the finding that the interior floor level had been up to one foot higher when originally constructed, this suggests that the doorway provided access to a storage cellar below the Pavilion floor. Access between the Pavilion and the room to the east (Room 102) was provided by an arched opening that was not fitted with a door until ca. 1903. A doorway in the south wall of this room provided direct access between the Pavilion and the garden; that opening has been converted into a window. Whatever the function of the first-floor rooms, they were planned to act in concert, and were physically separated from the storage function assigned to the cellar. The current stairway positioned in the southeast corner of the Pavilion was added ca. 1903 to

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<sup>12</sup> Dennis J. Pogue, “The Domestic Architecture of Slavery at George Washington’s Mount Vernon, *Winterthur Portfolio* 37:1 (2004):3-22.

<sup>13</sup> Oehrlein & Associates, *Oatlands Plantation* (1999), 2.57-58.

provide access to the second floor.<sup>14</sup> The framing for the second floor likely dates to the early 20<sup>th</sup>-century renovations, and along with lowering the floor and the extent of the other modifications -- combined with the presence of the arch in the east wall – makes interpreting the original configuration and function of the second floor quite challenging. (See Appendix D Survey Notes for more detail on the current conditions.)



Figure 10. Pavilion north and west elevations (2018); two doorways in the north façade are original but have been altered (location of infilled doorway indicated by red arrow).

Addition 1 consists of three bays facing the garden, with a doorway originally located near the center of the south wall, flanked on either side by windows. A substantially larger room (garden library) occupies the west portion, with the west window and the exterior doorway now in the north wall. The fireplace against the west wall is an original feature, and is sized for domestic use. The east room had a window on the south, but was accessible only through an interior doorway in the frame partition. As elsewhere, the windows and doorways in Addition 1 have been extensively modified, with the south doorway turned into a window and two doorways added in the north wall providing direct exterior access to both rooms (Figure 11).

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<sup>14</sup> Dating the several alterations to the space to 1903 is according to Oehrlein & Associates, *Oatlands Plantation* (1999), 2.48-52.



Figure 11. Addition 1, south elevation; center window originally was a doorway; two left bays front the heated space, which likely accommodated slaves.

Addition 2 is separated from Addition 1 by the open, arched breezeway. The chimney location toward the east end of the structure is original, although the stack (as in Addition 1) has been rebuilt (Figure 12). The plan likely consisted of three rooms, with the middle space heated and slightly larger than the others. Extensive modifications were made to the structure over the years, with the most significant affecting what had been the two western rooms. Unlike the frame wall in Addition 1, the partitions separating the three rooms were masonry: the brick wall separating the middle and east rooms survives, the one to the west has been removed, as has the original end wall that formed the east side of the breezeway. The walls were removed at least by 1923, when the interior of the addition is depicted on the garden plan as consisting of the east room and two long, parallel spaces with doorways opening onto the breezeway. This unusual layout almost prefigures the current use of the space as gender-specific restrooms, which were outfitted in 1986.<sup>15</sup> As the result of this work, it is impossible to determine the original nature of the heat source, but presumably it was a fireplace similar to the one that survives in Addition 1. The exterior doorway in the south wall of the east room was created by converting the original window opening. The doorway in the partition between the two east rooms appears to be an original feature (now closed).

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<sup>15</sup> Oehrlein & Associates, *Oatlands Plantation* (1999), 2.52-53.



Figure 12. Addition 2, south elevation; east doorway converted from a window; two left bays fronted the heated space, likely to accommodate slaves.

It is not clear what functions were intended for the unheated rooms in Additions 1 and 2, but the interior access between them and the adjoining heated spaces suggests that they were meant to complement the duties of the occupants. Given the proximity and the original orientation of the spaces toward the garden – before doorways were inserted in the north wall of the additions – it is likely that the garden was the focus. The Pavilion, on the other hand, may have served another function more directly related to the main house – similar to the nearby smokehouse. That the space below the Pavilion was devoted to storage of some kind seems compelling, but the exact nature of the contents kept there is problematic. The highly unusual arched opening connecting the Pavilion with the adjoining room is suggestive and, together with the original doorway opening to the garden, may indicate that it also served primarily in support of gardening activities.

### **Interpretation and Comparative Analysis**

#### Duplex Quarters:

In examining the original formats of the three Oatlands duplexes, a number of shared qualities become apparent and reflect the same date of construction, compass orientation (long axis east-west), common builders, and similar purpose of housing at least two enslaved households. All three structures have thick (18-20 inches) stone walls with irregular coursing and corners with large flat stones placed on alternate courses to create a quoin-like appearance. Each building was one-and-one-half stories in height with a side-gable roof, had two exterior doorways on the south façade, and contained two equal-sized rooms on each floor on either side of the central brick chimney, with no communication between.

Original stairs, all since removed, may have existed on either or both the north and south sides of the chimneys, but two of the duplexes apparently had both stairs on the south, with arrangements for occupants in each of the downstairs rooms to reach separate rooms in the upper story. Opposite the exterior doorways in each room was one large window on the north elevation. The builders established similarly sized windows in the gable ends on both the first floor and the half-story above. The duplexes had wooden floors, and brick fireplaces heated each room, on both floors. Although not confirmed at present, the interiors likely had either plaster or whitewash applied directly to the surfaces of the stone walls.

The Hamlet Duplex measures 20 feet (north-south) by 30 feet, 1 inch (east-west), encompassing 600 square feet. The Little Oatlands Duplex 2 is almost exactly the same size, measuring 21 feet, 1 inch (north-south) by 28 feet, 5 inches (east-west), comprising 599 square feet. Little Oatlands Duplex 1 stands out as noticeably larger, measuring 24 feet, 2 inches wide (north-south) by 34 feet, 10 inches long (east-west), enclosing nearly 842 square feet. In the modern era, builders removed the roof of the Hamlet Duplex and raised it to two full stories. In that regard, other than its central chimney and two-room plan, more specific evidence for this building's upstairs portion is lacking.

#### *Comparison of the Oatlands Duplexes with those of the Virginia Slave Housing Project Database*

The duplexes at Oatlands demonstrate several common features of Virginia double quarters. All three buildings had center chimneys, with two exterior doorways, and stood one-and-one-half stories high. Documentary evidence indicates that the overwhelming majority of Virginia quarters were constructed of logs, but stone construction was not uncommon, and several stone duplexes have been recorded in the VSH database. In terms of overall dimensions, all three structures fall within the upper range indicated by the VSH sample, with one of the buildings significantly larger than the norm. With generously sized rooms above and below, and with gable-end windows and fireplaces for heat in the garret spaces, the Oatlands duplexes stand out among the sample as examples of improved, physically upgraded, slave housing. The Oatlands duplexes are atypical for "home" quarters given that they are relatively distant from the plantation's mansion house.

Documentary evidence indicates that log construction was by far the most common material selected for Chesapeake slave houses, but only nine log duplexes (21%) have been recorded in the VSH database. Most of the surviving structures are either frame (13 buildings, 31%) or brick (12 buildings, 29%), along with seven stone duplexes (17%), and one that combines stone below and frame above (2%). Most duplexes display an approximately 1:2 ratio of width to length, with a modal dimension of approximately 16 by 32 feet (512 square feet). The majority (57%) of duplexes had central interior chimneys, like those at Oatlands. About a fourth (24%) had exterior end chimneys and another five (12%) duplexes relied upon interior end chimneys.

The sizes of duplex slave houses could vary considerably, with those of the VSH Project ranging from as small as 326 square feet (about 16 by 20 feet) for a stone building situated in Manassas, to an impressive 1,576 square feet for a brick duplex in Clarke County (measuring about 30 by 52 feet). More common and representing a clear pattern are duplexes ranging between 500 and 600 square feet. For the 42 duplexes making up the VSH database, two-thirds ranged in size

from 400 to 600 square feet, with a mean of 571 square feet and median of 533 square feet. Therefore, at roughly 600 square feet, both the Hamlet Duplex and Little Oatlands Duplex 2 are at the far upper end of the range. Little Oatlands Duplex 1 is unusually large at over 840 square feet, paralleled by only two other examples within the VSH database; both brick duplexes measuring 20 by 40 feet (800 square feet) that survive in Rockbridge and Pittsylvania counties.

Duplexes did not vary in height to a great degree, ranging from one to one-and-one-half stories. But within that relatively narrow bracket, builders found options to accommodate more or less space above the ground story. Seven (17%) duplexes had attics that occupants could access, likely only for storage purposes. Garret rooms defined the most common arrangement, found in 18 duplexes (43%). In these structures, enslaved occupants on the ground floor could use cramped spaces beneath the roof frame for sleeping and storage, and which provided some degree of privacy. Natural lighting typically was limited to small gable-end windows, although in many instances the spaces must have been lit only with candles or lamps. Close numerically were duplexes with a half-story above, observed for 15 buildings comprising over a third (36%) of the database. All three duplexes at Oatlands fall into the one-and-one-half story category, with gable-end windows. Such buildings permitted more standing room, offered more opportunities for windows on the gable end and façade walls, and usually received a greater degree of interior finish.

In comparison with the other seven stone duplexes in Virginia, those at Oatlands vary from most by having central chimneys. Within the VSH database, only the two duplexes at Arcola, also in Loudoun County, have center chimneys. The duplex at Audley Farm in Clarke County has a central brick flue used in conjunction with iron woodstoves, instead. The other stone duplexes have either interior or exterior end chimneys. Three buildings -- those at Ben Lomond in Prince William County (419 square feet), at Clover Hill in Manassas (326 square feet), and Arcola 1 in Loudoun County (447 square feet) -- measure noticeably smaller than the duplexes at Oatlands. The remaining four stone duplexes are in the same general 600 square foot size range as the Hamlet and Little Oatlands Duplex 2 buildings: Arcola 2 (523 square feet), Audley Farm (590 square feet), Messila in Clarke County (633 square feet), and Farnley Farm in Clarke County (642 square feet).

Overall, the two duplexes at Arcola offer the closest comparison for the buildings at Oatlands. While of stone construction, with central chimneys and two exterior doors in each portion, the Arcola duplexes are smaller, have garrets as compared to upper half-stories, and had rougher interior finishes. Most of the Arcola first-story rooms had dirt floors, the garret rooms remained unheated, and only small gable-end windows provided natural light and air for those spaces.

#### *Estimates for the Number of Slaves Occupying the Oatlands Duplexes*

Data from the U.S. Federal Census of 1860 allows researchers to arrive at estimates for the number of the individuals who occupied quarters. Besides enumerating the number of enslaved African Americans per owner, a census question called for respondents to indicate the number of “slave houses” on their properties. Dividing the number of the enslaved by the number of slave houses per owner provides estimates of individuals per house. Such estimates have interpretive value, but come with distinct limitations. Census marshals could be idiosyncratic and

inconsistent in their recording, and often did not designate mixed-use buildings, where slaves may have lived as well as worked.

Using this type of information from one of the districts (unnamed) in Loudoun County indicates that the vast majority of the district's owners (86%) had between one and five slaves per house. The average was 3.14 slaves per house, with the statistical median even lower at 2.0 individuals. These figures largely reflected the common circumstance that most owners in this part of Loudoun County had few enslaved African Americans, and even fewer houses dedicated for their habitation, a result observed for several other Virginia counties in 1860. Therefore, for these purposes we focus on the occupancy rates associated with those Loudoun County plantation owners who had 20 or more slaves on their estates. These individuals also had a greater likelihood that their census counts for slave houses included duplexes. For the 14 plantation owners in the above district that fall into this category, the calculated occupancy rates are a mean of 8.86 and a median of 7.84 individuals per house. For an additional six plantation owners in the Southern District of Loudoun County, the location for Oatlands, the mean occupancy rate was 5.57 per house.

Similar relevant research, using a baseline of three to six enslaved individuals per room, suggests that most duplexes housed from six to 12 or more per building, a figure that encompasses the plantation occupancy rates for Loudoun County. Duplexes of average size (500 to 600 square feet) and with attics or garrets probably incorporated such numbers of slaves, as did some duplexes with half-stories above. Thus, the Hamlet Duplex and Little Oatlands Duplex 2, with 600 square feet of space and upper half stories, likely housed between six and 12 individuals.

Little Oatlands Duplex 1, with 840 square feet of space, was noticeably larger, and thus may have been intended to house a higher number of the enslaved. As noted earlier, duplexes with half-stories and alternative types of stair access could incorporate more than the two households on the ground floor. The upstairs rooms in this duplex, as well as those in Little Oatlands Duplex 2, were heated spaces with brick fireplaces. Applying occupancy rates of five and six individuals per room (given the larger room size) for the four rooms in Duplex 1 yields a potential of accommodating a range from 20 to 24 total enslaved occupants. One possibility is that each of the four rooms was meant to accommodate a separate group or family, but, if so, we would expect to find evidence for dedicated access to those spaces.

#### Garden Dependencies:

As with the stone duplexes, two spaces within the Garden Dependencies exhibit characteristics indicative of having served as housing for enslaved workers. Given the proximity of the dependencies to the main house, and the relatively ambitious architectural detailing of the structures, it is almost certain that the individuals domiciled here were considered "house" slaves. As such, they were likely to have enjoyed a somewhat higher level of status within the enslaved community, and may have received beneficial treatment from their masters. On the other hand, the closer interaction between those individuals and the Carter household may well have caused them to perform a wide variety of duties, as needed. It is uncertain how the unheated spaces adjoining the likely domestic quarters functioned, and whether they were assigned to the enslaved for their use. The function of the Pavilion is particularly speculative at this time, other than the apparent storage cellar that was accessible from the exterior, and thus

would not have interfered with other uses. The unusual feature of the open, arched connection between the Pavilion and the rear room is especially intriguing.



## Appendix A: Oatlands Duplex Survey Forms

**Building Name:** Little Oatlands - Stone Duplex 1

**Evidence Type:** Extant

**Historical Site Name:** Oatlands Plantation

**County:** Loudoun

**State:** Virginia

**Longitude:** 39° 02' 12" N

**Latitude:** 77° 36' 59" W (@ SW corner)

**Investigators:** Dennis J. Pogue, Douglas W. Sanford

**Institution:** Virginia Slave Housing Project, Inc.

**Project Start:** 9/20/18

**Project End:** 10/22/18

### **Summary Description:**

Two stone buildings are located at the property now known as Little Oatlands, which up until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century had been a part of the Carter family's Oatlands plantation. The structures are situated within a hundred feet of each other and bear numerous similarities in form, materials, and construction methods. Both structures have been extensively altered over the years, but they retain sufficient integrity to determine their original lay out as duplex residences for the enslaved. Documentary and physical evidence combine to infer that the quarters were erected during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The eastern structure has been designated as Stone Duplex 1; the adjacent building is Stone Duplex 2.

Duplex 1 was modified and expanded during at least three major construction campaigns, which have combined to substantially enlarge the building and imbue it with an overall Colonial Revival appearance. The one-and-one-half-story stone core has a side-gable roof and center chimney. A projecting two-story frame addition is centered on the former south façade, with an open porch on the end and a screened-in porch running the length of the east wall connecting to the southeast corner of the stone block. A one-bay, shed-roofed frame addition runs the length of the rear (north) elevation. Two frame additions are appended at the northeast corner of the earlier addition: a two-story, gable roofed kitchen running online to the east, and a one-bay, two-story gable-roofed cell projects at a 90° angle to the north. A one-story, shed roofed extension abuts the kitchen on the east. A standing-seam metal roof covers the entire structure.

### **Chronology:**

The original structure consisted of a south facing, two-bay, one-and-one-half story, side-gable roofed dwelling, with an interior brick chimney, arranged to serve as a double residence. At both the SW and SE corners, there is a return of the cornice with a horizontal timber set flush with the stone wall on the west and east gables. The 19-inch-thick walls feature irregular coursing and large, flat stones at the corners. Measuring approximately 24 feet wide and 35 feet long, the

façade was nominally symmetrical, with the chimney located roughly on center and with exterior doorways near each front corner. Each doorway provided separate access to one of two equal-sized heated rooms on the first floor, with heated rooms above that were presumably reached by stairs leading from each first-floor room that no longer survive. Single windows are centered on the end walls on both floors; it is likely that windows were roughly centered in the north wall of both first-floor rooms, which were enclosed by the earliest addition. The window in the east room (Room 1) likely was converted to the existing doorway connecting with the pantry; another doorway in the west room (Room 2) probably is an insertion, with the earlier window blocked off and concealed behind the current wall finish.

Physical evidence suggests that the first episode of significant alterations occurred in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, possibly as early as preceding the Civil War. The first addition consisted of a one-story, one-bay-wide, shed-roofed frame running the length of the rear (north) elevation. The roofline of the original building on the north was elevated to a shallower pitch by inserting rafters for the new shed roof; at a later date (ca. 1934), stones were inserted to raise the west gable wall to accommodate the new angle of the roof. The framing members and the underside of the new roof is visible in the shed attic. Substantial hewn and adzed posts are set against the corners of the stone structure, each with a wide (12") down brace; the rafters and shingle nailers are sashsawn. Cut nails were used in this construction: examples are visible to attach the braces to the posts, and the tips of cut nails penetrate the wood shingles (now covered by the standing seam metal roof) and the nailers. Given the sashsawn material, hewn posts, and mature cut nails, this evidence indicates that the frame addition may date before the Civil War.

Duplex 1 was referred to as the "overseer's cottage" in a document that likely dates to the ca. 1930s, and which relates to when members of the Carter family moved to Little Oatlands ca. 1897. There is no documentary evidence to support that claim, and the original duplex arrangement, along with the overall context, argues strongly that it served as a double quarter for the enslaved. Nevertheless, the addition and other changes to the structure might combine to indicate an important modification of the domestic arrangements. The exterior doorway at the southwest corner of the façade (Room 2) has been infilled and converted to a window, and a doorway was cut in the stone wall separating the two first floor rooms. These represent typical modifications that were made to duplex structures to convert them from housing separate families to only one. According to architectural drawings prepared in 1934 in preparation for making a series of alterations to the structure, the exterior doorway had been removed and the partition had been cut through at that time. While it is not possible to demonstrate that erecting the addition, cutting the doorway in the partition, and closing the second exterior doorway occurred simultaneously, the apparent early date of the addition raises the possibility that the building was modified to accommodate an overseer.

By 1933, a one-and-one-half story frame addition with a gable roof was attached to the east end of the rear frame, and a frame two-story wing had been erected centered on the south façade. The rear addition served as a kitchen on the first floor and a bedroom above; the two-story wing contained a substantial living room on the first floor and the master bedroom on the second. A lateral hall and stairway on the north ran along the former façade of the stone duplex core, which likely replaced a stairway located in the southeast corner of the west first-floor room (Room 2) of the former duplex. A doorway had been inserted in the south wall of the former duplex entering

into the east room (Room 3), which was widened in 1934. This plan is indicated in the set of construction drawings prepared for the Finleys in 1933/34, and which were utilized to prepare documentation drawings by HABS in 1973. Subsequent alterations in 1934 and later, consisted of extending the south wing and creating an open porch at the end, erecting yet another two-story wing on the north, and installing two gabled dormers for windows penetrating the north wall of the stone core. A standing seam metal roof now covers the entire structure.

Interior changes resulted in removing and replacing the quarter's original stairs, which likely had been located on the south side of the chimney base in each of the first-floor rooms. According to the HABS documentation, a much less steeply pitched replacement staircase likely had been located in the west room (Room 2). In 1934 the Finley's inserted an entry lobby in the middle of the south wall of the former duplex, both to improve access between the stone core and south addition and to create a closet and opposing doorways for the east and west ground floor rooms. Before 1933 access to the duplex's upper story rooms shifted to the second level of the south addition, with a cut-through in the stone wall leading to the east room. The east room was partitioned to create a bath in the southeast corner, and a hallway leading to a doorway that had been cut in the central partition to provide access to the west bedroom (Room 4).

Other interior changes included the installation of new wood floors with narrower boards downstairs; modern utilities; the insertion of bathrooms within each of the upstairs rooms; and, closets in three of the four original rooms. Dormer windows installed in the north wall supplemented the original openings centered on the gables. A systematic reworking of the doors and windows occurred during the 1930s or 40s, with the replacement of doors and sash, along with a consistent treatment of the openings' surrounding trim. The original window on the north wall of the eastern downstairs room was converted into a doorway connecting with the northeast addition. In the western room, a new doorway was inserted on the north wall to access the north addition, with the construction of bookcases along the rest of the wall resulting in the removal of the original window.

### **Bibliography:**

*The Journal of the Times* (1819)

"Alteration for Mr. and Mrs. David Finley, Oatlands, VA," Fred M. Kramer, Architect, revised January 5, 1934

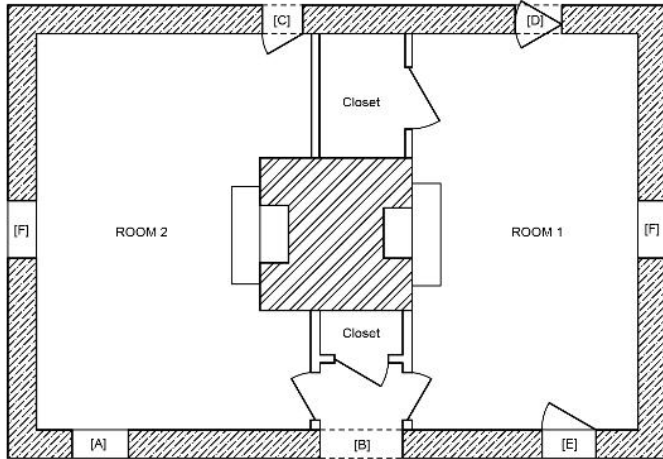
"Little Oatlands," HABS (1973)

"The Early History of Oatlands" (2017), Ms. on file, Oatlands Historic Site

**Principal Construction Type:** Masonry – Stone

**One and One-Half Story**

**Footprint (24.2.0 x 34.10.0) (Additions Not Shown):**

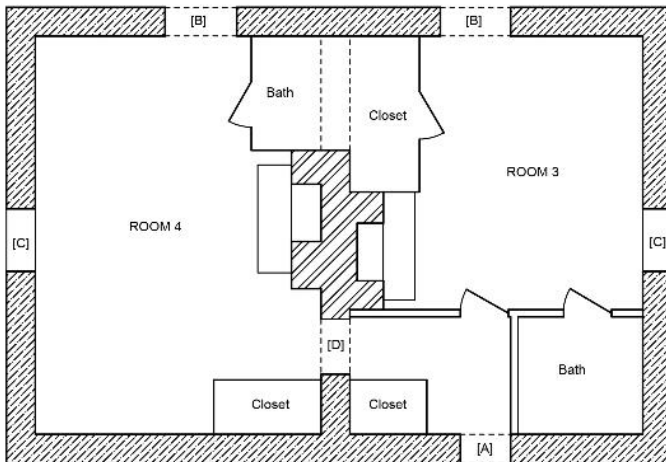


- [A] Original doorway converted to window
- [B] Opening cut through exterior wall
- [C] Opening cut through exterior wall
- [D] Original window converted to doorway
- [E] Original doorway
- [F] Original window openings



LITTLE OATLANDS I

First Floor



- [A] Opening cut through exterior wall
- [B] Window cut through exterior wall
- [C] Original window openings
- [D] Doorway cut through partition



LITTLE OATLANDS I

Second Floor



**Number of Rooms (Period I):** 4 total (2 down, 2 up)

**Dimensions:**

(1) Downstairs, east: 20.6.0 (N-S) x 11.10.2 (E-W), 7.5.1 (H)

(2) Downstairs, west: 20.9.0 (N-S) x 14.7.2 (E-W), 7.4.1 (H); greater length N-S likely due to reworking of north wall during modern alterations to access the later frame addition. Greater width due to space reaching the medial wall to the east, whereas in Room 1, the width of the room is shortened by the closet on the north side.

(3) Upstairs, east: 14.3.2 (N-S)\* x 13.6.1 (E-W), 7.8.2 (H); \*current N-S dimension is shorter than original room due to modern insertion of hallway along the building’s southern wall. +E-W dimension extends to western fireplace wall, whereas E-W dimension to the closet north of the fireplace is 11.8.0.

(4) Upstairs, west: 20.8.3 (N-S) x 13.4.2 (E-W), 7.9.2 (H); N-S dimension reaches original stone walls; E-W dimension extends to eastern fireplace wall.

**Doors:** 12

**Rm. 1, S (1/E)**

**Rm. 1, N (2/D)**

**Rm. 1, W (3)**

	<b>Rm. 1, S (1/E)</b>	<b>Rm. 1, N (2/D)</b>	<b>Rm. 1, W (3)</b>
<b>Type:</b>	Panel door w/inserted 3 x 3 arched glass sash at top	6 panel swinging door	4 panel
<b>Dimensions:</b>	2.10.0 (W) x 6.5.0 (H)	2.5.0 (W) x 5.10.2 (H)	Not measured, modern insertion
<b>Hardware:</b>	5-knuckle butt hinges	Pegged at top and bottom on east side	3-knuckle butt hinges
<b>Swing:</b>	In	Both in and out	Out (into room)
<b>Replacement:</b>	Older door, but altered with glass sash; according to Finley family tradition, the arched window may have been salvaged from the Oatlands main house cupola	Modern insertion at probable original window location	Door for modern closet at north side of fireplace

Doors: *continued.*

**Rm. 1, W (4)**

**Rm. 2, E (5)**

**Rm. 2, N (6/C)**

<b>Type:</b>	Not described, modern insertion to modern entry lobby	4 panel, modern insertion to modern entry lobby	4 panel, modern insertion to reach northern addition
<b>Dimensions:</b>	Not measured	Not measured	Not measured
<b>Hardware:</b>	4-knuckle butt hinges	4-knuckle butt hinges	3-knuckle butt hinges
<b>Swing:</b>	In	In	Out
<b>Replacement:</b>			

**Rm. 3, S (7)**

**Rm. 3, S (8)**

**Rm. 3, W (9)**

<b>Type:</b>	4 panel, door to modern, inserted bathroom	4 panel, door to modern, inserted hallway	4 panel, door to modern, inserted closet
<b>Dimensions:</b>	Not measured	Not measured	Not measured
<b>Hardware:</b>	3-knuckle butt hinges	3-knuckle butt hinges	5-knuckle butt hinges
<b>Swing:</b>	NA	NA	NA
<b>Replacement:</b>			

Doors: *continued.*

**Rm. 4, E (10)**

**Rm. 4, E (11)**

**Rm. 4, S (12)**

<b>Type:</b>	4 panel, door to modern, inserted bathroom	4 panel, door to modern, inserted hallway	4 panel double doors, for modern closet
<b>Dimensions:</b>	Not measured	Not measured	Not measured
<b>Hardware:</b>	3-knuckle butt hinges	3-knuckle butt hinges	3-knuckle butt hinges
<b>Swing:</b>	Out (into Room 4)	In	Out (into Room 4)
<b>Replacement:</b>	Modern insertion	Modern insertion	Modern insertion

Windows: 7

**Rm. 1, E (1/F)**

**Rm. 2, S (2/A)**

**Rm. 2, W (3/F)**

<b>Type:</b>	Double-hung sash, 6/6	Double-hung sash, 6/6	Double-hung sash, 6/6
<b>Dimensions:</b>	2.7.2 (W) x 5.0.0 (H)	2.7.2 (W) x 5.0.0 (H)	2.7.2 (W) x 5.0.0 (H)
<b>Hardware:</b>	Thumb latch	Thumb latch	Thumb latch
<b>Shuttered/ Slide/ Swing:</b>	Modern replacement at original location	Modern insertion at former exterior door location	Modern replacement at original location

Windows: *continued.*

**Rm. 3, E (4/C)**

**Rm. 3, N (5/B)**

**Rm. 4, W (6/C)**

<b>Type:</b>	Double-hung sash, 6/6	Double-hung sash, 6/6	Double-hung sash, 6/6
<b>Dimensions:</b>	2.7.2 (W) x 5.1.0 (H)	Not measured, modern inserted dormer	2.7.0 (W) x 5.0.2 (H)
<b>Hardware:</b>	Thumb latch		Thumb latch
<b>Shuttered/ Slide/ Swing:</b>	Replacement sash & trim, original window location		Replacement sash & trim, original window location

**Rm. 4, N (7/B)**

**(8)**

**(9)**

<b>Type:</b>	Double-hung sash, 6/6		
<b>Dimensions:</b>	2.3.0 (W) x 3.8.0 (H)		
<b>Hardware:</b>	Not described, modern inserted dormer		
<b>Shuttered/ Slide/ Swing:</b>			

EXTERIOR

**Foundation:**

**Continuous Masonry:** Stone (field stone)

**Thickness:** Approx. 19 inches

**Height:** NA

**Bond:** Other – irregular coursing



**Mortar Type:** Unknown – original mortar not visible due to re-pointing and paint

**Joint:** Unknown, not visible

**Repaired:** Yes

**Shed/Porch:** No

**Roof:**

**Roof Form:** Gable

**Roof Covering:** Standing seam sheet metal

**Roof Framing:**

**Exposed:** Partial

**Form:** Common Rafters

**Collar Ties:** Yes

**Collar Dimensions:** NA

The north eave remains largely intact and visible captured beneath the shed roof of the north frame addition. The exposed ends of the ceiling joists are spaced 19.2 inches apart (inside to inside) and measure 2¾ inches wide and 4 inches high. The joists appear to be oak; they project 7 inches beyond the wall plate, and have rectangular nail holes from attaching the fascia and the soffit. Resting on top of the joists is a false plate, which appears to have early sash saw marks that are narrow and at a slight angle. The plate is 7/8th inch thick and about 11 inches wide. One spade-point wrought nail is visible where it penetrated a rafter and missed the false plate; a second wrought nail attached the fascia to the face of one of the joists. The wall plate on which the joists rest measures 2¾ inches thick and about 12 inches wide. The joists are notched over this plate, with the notch about 1 inch wide.

The frame of the duplex roof is visible from within the roof of the south addition. The frame was inaccessible, however, but consisted of common rafters likely joined at the peak with saddle notches; square-butt wood shingles survive attached to portions of the frame.

The shed for the addition utilizes sash-sawn rafters, measuring 3¾ inches high and 3¼ inches wide. Nailers for the shingle roof, surviving beneath the modern sheet metal roofing, measure 2½ inches wide and 1 inch high (thick), and are also sashsawn. The circular-sawn shingles are thin and relatively narrow, measuring 4 inches or less wide. Where the addition's shed roof meets the corner of the duplex is a 5½-inch corner post, with all of its sides hand adzed. It has a down brace lapped to the inside of the post, with this board measuring 1½ inches thick and 6 inches wide.

**Building Height:** (SW corner)

**Ground to Soffit:** 12.6.2

**Ground to Top of Eave (crown):** 13.1.0

**Walls:**

**Masonry:** Stone

**Bond:** Irregular coursing

**Mortar Type:** Unknown, original mortar not visible due to repointing and modern paint

**Joint:** Unknown, not visible

**Repaired:** Yes

**Chimney(s):**

**Chimney (1):**

**Material:** Brick (simple cap molding)

**Location:** Interior – Center

**Height:** Not accessible

INTERIOR

The first-floor interior measurements (wall to wall) are 31.7.3 (E-W) x 20.9.0 (N-S); upstairs, the wall height is 4.11.2 (north wall) from the floor to the initial slope of the ceiling.

**Wall Framing:** NA

**Wall Finish:** Plaster – on stone

**Fireplace (1):** Center: Room 1, west wall

**Fireplace Material:** Brick, reworked

**Fireplace Overall Dimensions:** 8.0.0 (N-S) x NA (chimney mass flush with wall)

**Fireplace Opening Dimensions:** 2.8.0 (W) x 2.8.2 (H) x 1.6.2 (D)

**Hearth Material:** Unknown, parged with concrete

**Hearth Dimensions:** 5.4.0 (N-S) x 1.6.2 (E-W)

**Fireplace (2):** Center: Room 2, east wall

**Fireplace Material:** Brick

**Fireplace Overall Dimensions:** 8.0.0 (N-S) x 2.11.3 (E-W)

**Fireplace Opening Dimensions:** 2.11.0 (W) x 2.8.0 (H) x 1.5.2 (D)

**Hearth Material:** Unknown, parged with concrete

**Hearth Dimensions:** 5.2.2 (N-S) x 1.6.2 (E-W)

**Fireplace (3):** Center: Room 3, west wall

**Fireplace Material:** Brick

**Fireplace Overall Dimensions:** 5.7.2 (N-S) x NA (chimneystack flush with wall)

**Fireplace Opening Dimensions:** 2.11.2 (W) x 2.6.2 (H) x 1.5.2 (D)

**Hearth Material:** Brick

**Hearth Dimensions:** 5.7.1 (N-S) x 1.8.3 (E-W)

**Fireplace (4):** Center: Room 4, east wall

**Fireplace Material:** Brick

**Fireplace Overall Dimensions:** 5.7.2 (N-S) x 2.7.0 (E-W)

**Fireplace Opening Dimensions:** 3.0.0 (W) x 2.7.0 (H) x 1.6.0 (D)

**Hearth Material:** Brick

**Hearth Dimensions:** 5.7.2 (N-S) x 1.7.1 (E-W)

**Stairs:** Not at present, original stairs removed (upstairs accessed from 2<sup>nd</sup> floor of modern addition to south)

**Type:** Unknown

**Subfloor Pit:** No

**Floor:** Wood

**Floorboard Dimensions:** Downstairs floorboards are narrow modern replacements; upstairs floorboards are wider and look older – appear to be tongue-and-groove, with T-head nails; widths range largely from 7½ to 10 inches, but note one board measuring 14 inches wide.

**Dating:** Before 1819

The newspaper article (*Journal of the Times*) from 1819 refers to: “a neat and uniform row of stone-houses for the accommodation of the slaves, [and] form a village, having the public road for its street.” The proximity of Duplexes 1 and 2, along with the duplex at Oatlands Hamlet,

and their location near the historic road leading to the Oatlands home complex, suggest that these are the buildings to which the article refers.

Physical evidence in the form of wrought nails in the second floor floorboards and wrought nails and early sawn surfaces found in the captured north eave support a pre-1819 date of construction. Ceiling joists and the false plate on the north wall are visible below the shed roof for the north frame addition. Joists are hewn and pitsawn. Nails found in the frame are hand wrought. Flooring nails on the second level appear to be wrought.

### **Notes**

#### **Interior:**

*Room 1:* According to members of the Finley family, the window sash with arched panes set into the exterior doorway may have been salvaged from the cupola in the Oatlands main house.

*Room 2:* Running N-S from the north wall, there is a distance of 6.4.0 from that wall to the north side of the fireplace/chimney base, which is 8.0.0 long, and a distance of 6.5.0 from the south side of the chimney to the south wall. The current window (Window 2) on the room's southern wall (toward the SW corner) represents a modern alteration of what was the original, exterior doorway.

#### **North Frame Addition:**

Visible within the space under roof of the frame addition is the construction for the two, modern dormer windows on the duplex's roof. Beneath the windows' framing are openings for early modern utilities, namely plumbing and pipes for steam radiators. The openings have been enclosed with dimensional lumber, modern concrete, reused brick, and the lath and plaster for the upper story rooms' interior walls.

**Building Name:** Little Oatlands – Stone Duplex 2

**Evidence Type:** Extant

**Historical Site Name:** Little Oatlands (private property within former Oatlands Plantation)

**County:** Loudoun

**State:** VA

**Longitude:** 77° 37' 01" W                      **Latitude:** 39° 02' 12" N                      (SW corner)

**Investigators:** Douglas W. Sanford, Dennis J. Pogue

**Institution:** Virginia Slave Housing Project, Inc.

**Project Start:** 9/20/18

**Project End:** 10/22/18

**Summary Description:**

Two stone buildings are located at the property now known as Little Oatlands, which had been a part of the Carter family's Oatlands plantation. The structures are situated within a few hundred feet of each other and bear numerous similarities in form, materials, and methods of construction. Both structures have been extensively altered over the years, but they retain sufficient integrity to determine their original lay out as duplex residences for slaves. Documentary and physical evidence combine to infer that the quarters were erected during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The eastern structure has been designated as Stone Duplex 1; the adjacent building is Stone Duplex 2.

The western slave quarter at Little Oatlands (Stone Duplex 2), has undergone extensive interior modifications and exterior additions in the Colonial Revival style of the 1930s-50s, a treatment that it shares with the other stone duplexes at Oatlands. The one-and-one-half-story, side-gable-roofed stone core is two bays wide, with two doorways on the south-facing façade and two roof dormers. A one-story, gable-roofed, stretcher-bond brick veneered wing is attached to the east end wall, which is accessed only from the interior of the main block. A one-and-one-half-story, shed-roofed frame addition extends across the southern two-thirds of the west end wall, with an exterior brick chimney for a stove flue, and an exterior doorway on the south. An open, three-bay porch with a shed roof runs the length of the south elevation of the stone main block. The entire structure is now covered with composition shingles. The porch, the west addition, and the dormers were in place by 1937, when architectural plans for the east addition were prepared.

**Chronology:**

The original structure consisted of a two bay, one-and-one-half story building with a side-gable roof and an interior brick chimney. The approximately 19-inch thick walls feature irregular coursing and large, flat stones at the corners. Measuring roughly 21 feet wide and 28 feet, five inches long, the building fits the format of a double quarter or duplex, with its two exterior doorways on the south-facing façade providing separate access to two, equal-sized downstairs rooms, with the central chimney containing a fireplace for each room. Enslaved occupants likely

used a set of stairs on the chimney's south side to reach two rooms upstairs, both of which have brick fireplaces. Original gable end windows on the ground and upper stories have been converted into doorways to connect with the additions.

Interior changes resulted in removing and replacing the original stairs, although the modern staircase and upstairs landing likely occupy the same position as the earlier versions. New wood floors with narrower boards were installed, as were modern utilities, with the additions containing a modern kitchen and bathrooms. Closets and a storage alcove were placed on either the south or north side of the fireplace in each duplex room. A systematic reworking of the doors and windows occurred during the 1930s or 1940s, with the replacement of doors and sash, along with a consistent treatment of the openings' surrounding trim.

### **Bibliography:**

*The Journal of the Times* (1819)

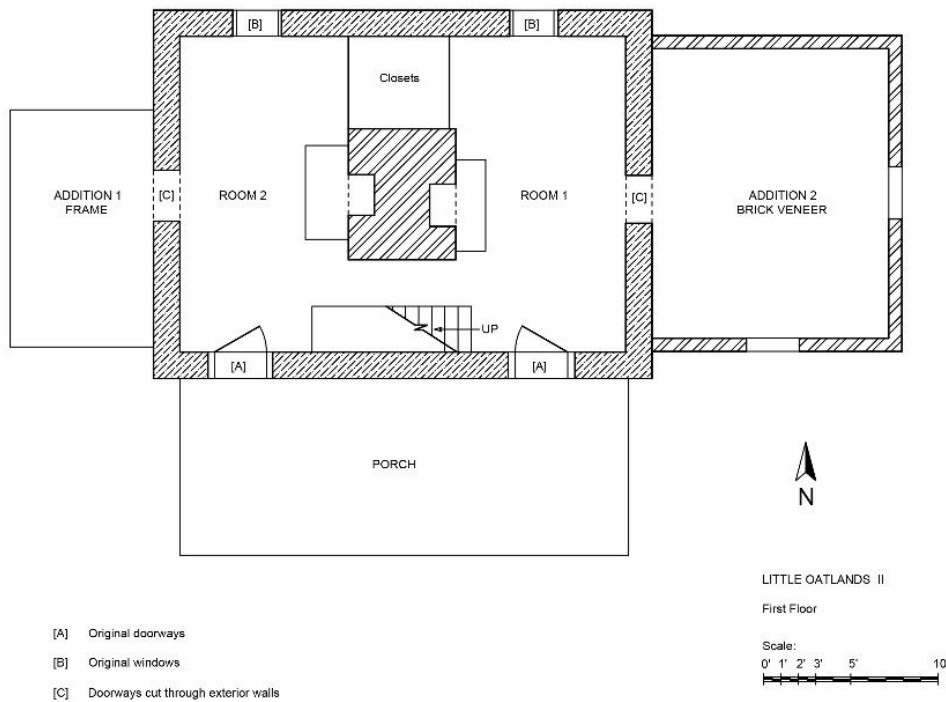
“Alterations and Extensions to Guest Cottage,” Fred M. Kramer, Architect, revised July 2, 1951

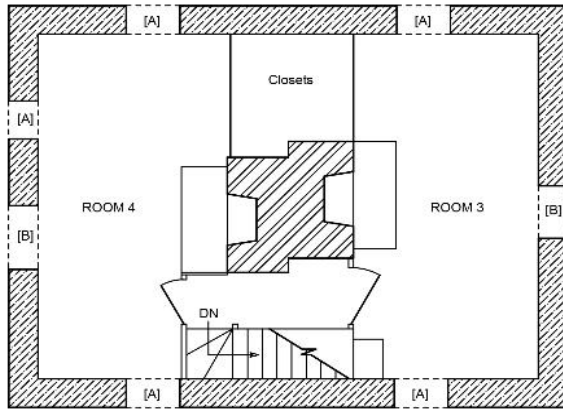
“The Early History of Oatlands,” (2017), Ms. on file, Oatlands Historic Site

**Principal Construction Type:** Masonry – Stone

**One and One-Half Story**

**Footprint (21.1.0 x 28.5.0) (Additions not shown, second floor plan):**





LITTLE OATLANDS II  
Second Floor

- [A] Window openings inserted in walls
- [B] Doorways inserted in walls to connect with additions



**Number of Rooms:** 4 total (2 down, 2 up)

**Dimensions:**

- (1) Downstairs, east: 9.9.1 (E-W) x 18.3.2 (N-S), 7.8.0 (H)
- (2) Downstairs, west: 9.9.2 (E-W) x 18.2.0 (N-S), 7.8.0 (H)
- (3) Upstairs, east: 9.4.2 (E-W) x 17.10.0 (N-S), 6.11.2 (H)
- (4) Upstairs, west: 9.8.2 (E-W) x 17.11.2 (N-S), 6.10.2 (H)

**Doors:** 13

**Rm. 1, S (1/A)**

**Rm. 2, S (2/A)**

**Rm. 1, E (3/C)**

<b>Type:</b>	4 panel door w/later inserted 3/3 sash with tracery in upper row	4 panel door w/later inserted 3/3 sash with tracery in upper row	Not described, modern insertion
<b>Dimensions:</b>	2.11.2 (W) x 5.9.2 (H), 1.5 in. thick	2.10.0 (W) x 5.9.0 (H)	Provides access to modern brick addition to the east
<b>Hardware:</b>	3-knuckle butt hinges (modern)	3-knuckle butt hinges (modern)	
<b>Swing:</b>	In	In	
<b>Replacement:</b>	Older door; sash possibly salvaged from Oatlands main house cupola	Older door; sash possibly salvaged from Oatlands main house cupola	

Doors: *continued.*

**Rm. 2, W (4/C)**

**Rm. 2, E (5)**

**Rm. 2, S (6)**

<b>Type:</b>	Modern insertion, not described (board & batten)	Modern insertion, not described (4 panel)	Modern insertion, not described (board & batten)
<b>Dimensions:</b>	Provides access to modern frame addition to the west	Provides access to stairs hallway	Door for modern closet beneath stairs, in room's SE corner
<b>Hardware:</b>			
<b>Swing:</b>			
<b>Replacement:</b>			

**Rm. 2, E (7)**

**Rm. 3, W (8)**

**Rm. 3, E (9/B)**

<b>Type:</b>	Modern insertion, not described (board & batten)	Modern insertion, not described (4 panel)	Modern insertion, not described (4 panel)
<b>Dimensions:</b>	Door for modern closet to north side of fireplace	Door providing access to stair landing	Provides access to upstairs portion of modern brick addition to east
<b>Hardware:</b>		3-knuckle butt hinges (modern)	5-knuckle butt hinges (modern)
<b>Swing:</b>		Out	Out
<b>Replacement:</b>			Probable location for original gable end window



Doors: *continued.*

**Rm. 3, W (10)**

**Rm. 3, W (11)**

**Rm. 4, W (12/B)**

<b>Type:</b>	Modern insertion, not described (board & batten)	Modern insertion, not described (board & batten)	Modern insertion, not described (4 panel)
<b>Dimensions:</b>	Door for closet on north side of fireplace	Door for closet in room's SW corner (beaded, circular sawn boards)	Provides access to upstairs portion of frame addition to west
<b>Hardware:</b>	H-L hinges, modern reproduction	3-knuckle butt hinges (modern)	3-knuckle butt hinges (modern)
<b>Swing:</b>	Out	Out	In
<b>Replacement:</b>			Probable location for original gable end window

**Rm. 4, E (13)**

**(14)**

**(15)**

<b>Type:</b>	Modern insertion, not described (board & batten, beaded boards)		
<b>Dimensions:</b>	Doorway within partition wall, providing access to upstairs stair landing		
<b>Hardware:</b>	H-L hinges, reproduction		
<b>Swing:</b>	In		
<b>Replacement:</b>			

**Windows: 6**

**Rm. 1, N (1/B)**

**Rm. 2, N (2/B)**

**Rm. 3, N (3A)**

<b>Type:</b>	Single-hung sash, 6/6	Single-hung sash, 6/6	Single-hung sash, 6/6
<b>Dimensions:</b>	2.4.2 (W) x 3.9.0 (H)	2.4.2 (W) x 3.9.0 (H)	2.4.2 (W) x 3.9.0 (H)
<b>Hardware:</b>	Metal thumb latch	Metal thumb latch	Metal thumb latch
<b>Shuttered/ Slide/ Swing:</b>	Modern replacement and trim	Modern replacement and trim	Modern replacement and trim

**Rm. 3, S (4/A)**

**Rm. 4, N (5/A)**

**Rm. 4, S (6/A)**

<b>Type:</b>	Single-hung sash, 6/6	Single-hung sash, 6/6	Single-hung sash, 6/6
<b>Dimensions:</b>	2.4.2 (W) x 3.9.0 (H)	2.4.2 (W) x 3.9.0 (H)	2.4.2 (W) x 3.9.0 (H)
<b>Hardware:</b>	Metal thumb latch	Metal thumb latch	Metal thumb latch
<b>Shuttered/ Slide/ Swing:</b>	Modern replacement and trim	Modern replacement and trim	Modern replacement and trim

## EXTERIOR

Similar to the two other stone duplexes at Oatlands, this building is essentially aligned N-S, E-W. The compass bearing along the west gable end, looking northwards, is 348<sup>0</sup>.

### Foundation:

**Continuous Masonry:** Stone – fieldstone, painted white

**Thickness:** Approximately 19”

**Height:** NA

**Bond:** Irregular coursing

**Mortar Type:** Not visible due to repointing and paint

**Joint:** Not visible due to repointing

**Repaired:** Yes

**Shed/Porch:** Yes – on south facing façade, modern addition

### Roof:

**Roof Form:** Gable

**Roof Covering:** Composition shingles (asbestos?), modern

### Roof Framing:

**Exposed:** No (not visible)

**Collar Ties:** Unknown (not visible)

**Building Height:** (SW corner)

**Ground to Soffit:** 13.6.2

**Ground to Top of Eave:** 14.2.1

### Walls:

**Masonry:** Stone

**Bond:** Irregular coursing

**Mortar Type:** Not visible, due to later repointing and paint

**Joint:** Not visible, due to later repointing

**Repaired:** Yes

**Chimney(s):**

**Chimney (1):**

**Material:** Brick

**Location:** Interior – Center

**Height:** Not accessible

The chimneystack above the roofline is narrower at the top; at the bottom it is stepped outward for six to eight courses as it meets the shingled roof.

INTERIOR

**Wall Framing:** NA, stone structure

**Wall Finish:** Plaster on stone

The wall height in the upper story, to the point where the ceiling slopes upward, is 4.8.1.

**Fireplace (1):** End – off Center to south; Room 1 – west wall

**Fireplace Material:** Brick

**Fireplace Overall Dimensions:** 7.5.0 (N-S) x NA (chimney mass is flush with wall)

**Fireplace Opening Dimensions:** 2.4.1 (W) x 2.7.0 (H) x 1.6.2 (D)

**Hearth Material:** Unknown – covered with modern concrete

**Hearth Dimensions:** 5.2.2 (N-S) x 1.9.2 (E-W)

**Fireplace (2):** End – off-center to north; Room 2 – east wall

**Fireplace Material:** Brick

**Fireplace Overall Dimensions:** 7.5.0 (N-S) x NA (chimney mass is flush with wall)

**Fireplace Opening Dimensions:** 2.4.0 (W) x 2.6.0 (H) x 1.6.0 (D)

**Hearth Material:** Unknown (removed)

**Hearth Dimensions:** 5.4.0 (N-S) x 2.5.0 (E-W)

**Fireplace (3):** End – off-center to south; Room 3 – west wall

**Fireplace Material:** Brick

**Fireplace Overall Dimensions:** 6.0.2 (N-S) x NA (chimney stack flush with wall)

**Fireplace Opening Dimensions:** 3.2.2 (W) x 2.9.0 (H) x 1.6.0 (D)

**Hearth Material:** Unknown, covered with concrete parging

**Hearth Dimensions:** 5.8.2 (N-S) x 2.1.2 (E-W)

**Fireplace (4):** End – off center to north; Room 4 – east wall

**Fireplace Material:** Brick

**Fireplace Overall Dimensions:** 6.3.0 (N-S) x NA (chimney stack flush with wall)

**Fireplace Opening Dimensions:** 2.10.2 (W) x 2.5.2 (H) x 1.6.2 (D)

**Hearth Material:** Unknown, covered with concrete parging

**Hearth Dimensions:** 5.8.0 (N-S) x 2.4.0 (E-W)

**Stairs:** Yes – modern replacement; on north side of chimney, extending into Room 1

**Type:** Open Winder (see plan drawing)

**Stairwell Dimensions:** 8.2.1 (E-W) x 2.6.0 (N-S)

**Number of Treads:** 10 treads, 2 winders to upstairs landing

**Stair Tread Dimensions:** 2.6.0 (L) x 0.10.0 (W) x 0.8.0 (H)

**Subfloor Pit:** No

**Floor:** Wood – downstairs and upstairs flooring is modern replacement, with narrow floorboards

**Floorboards Dimension:** NA

**Dating:** Before ca. 1819

The extensive alterations and additions to the structure have obscured original finishes and fasteners throughout. Access to the attic is quite limited, but the framing members appear to have been largely if not totally replaced. The overall character of the structure – the stone construction, symmetrical arrangement of the rooms, two exterior doorways, spacing, and central chimney – is similar to Stone Duplex 1. In combination with their proximity, therefore, the dating evidence for Duplex 1 is inferred to apply to Duplex 2 as well. The newspaper article (*Journal of the Times*) from 1819 refers to: “a neat and uniform row of stone-houses for the accommodation of the slaves, [and] form a village, having the public road for its street.” The proximity of Duplexes 1 and 2, along with the duplex at Oatlands Hamlet, and their location near the historic road leading to the Oatlands home complex, suggest that these are the buildings to which the article refers. Physical evidence found at Duplex 1 reinforces dating of that structure to before ca. 1819.

## Notes

**Interior:**

According to members of the Finley family, the window sash with arched panes set into the exterior doorways may have been salvaged from the cupola in the Oatlands main house.

*Room 2:* From the north side of the chimney to the north wall is a distance of 5.3.1; from the south side of the chimney to the south wall is a distance of 5.4.2. The fireplace has been partially rebuilt using modern brick. The original hearth has been removed, although the former limits remain visible due to a patch within the floorboards that front the fireplace.

*Room 3:* Originally the chimney/fireplace extended out (to the east) from the medial wall a distance of 2.6.1. Due to the construction of a modern closet on the north side of the fireplace, the fireplace/chimney construction is flush with the closet wall. Visible within the closet, at its south end, is the narrowing of the chimneystack by 0.10.2, creating a shelf within the closet.

*Room 4:* The modern closet to the north of the fireplace has double doors; beyond the closet (to the north) are four drawers below and a cabinet above for additional storage. Originally, the chimney/fireplace extended out (to the west) from the medial wall a distance of 2.4.0. Due to the modern closet's construction on the fireplace's south side, the fireplace/chimney is flush with the closet wall.

*Stairs:* The current construction is a later, modern replacement, presumably in the same area of the original stairs. The stairs' treads, risers, and stringers are all circular-sawn lumber, attached with wire nails. Downstairs, the distance (N-S) between the south side of the chimney and the building's south wall measures 6.1.0.

**Building Name:** Oatlands Hamlet Stone Duplex

**Evidence Type:** Extant

**Historical Site Name:** Oatlands Plantation

**County:** Loudoun

**State:** Virginia

**Longitude:** 77<sup>o</sup> 37' 08" W                      **Latitude:** 39<sup>o</sup> 02' 21" N (SE corner)

**Investigators:** Douglas W. Sanford, Dennis J. Pogue

**Institution:** Virginia Slave Housing, Inc.

**Project Start:** 5/18/18                      **Project End:** 9/20/18

**Summary Description:**

The Oatlands Hamlet stone duplex has undergone extensive interior and exterior alterations in the modern era, when it was incorporated into the much larger Eustis-Emmet family house. In recent years, the house has been converted to commercial use as a rental facility known as “The Inn at Oatlands Hamlet.” These modifications limited the extent of surviving period elements and materials, but sufficient evidence exists to indicate that the building at the Hamlet is similar in overall character, materials, and interior layout to the two structures at Little Oatlands, and likely was one of the buildings referenced in the 1819 newspaper article as having accommodated slaves.

The original stone, two-bay, side-gable-roofed structure, is approximately 20 by 30 feet in dimension, with a central chimney serving fireplaces in the two roughly equally-sized downstairs rooms. The 19-inch-thick walls feature irregular coursing and large, flat stones at the corners. Exterior doorways are located near the corners of the south-facing façade, with a window centered on the opposite, north wall of each room. The structure has been raised from its original height of one-and-one-half stories to two stories; a seam in the stonework in the east gable indicates that the angle of the current side-gable roof matches with the original roofline. A window is roughly centered in the east gable; the adjoining wing now covers a matching opening that presumably was positioned in the opposite gable.

**Chronology:**

The substantial addition of the Emmet house attached to the west end wall of the duplex led to several modifications, and a renovation in the Colonial Revival style of the 1930s-40s. This is similar to the situation found at the other two stone duplexes located nearby at Little Oatlands. This work included removing and raising the original steeply pitched roof, and adding two gabled dormers to each side of the new roof. A shed-roofed porch was constructed across the south façade at the first-story level. Interior changes resulted in removing the original stair arrangements, installing new wood floors, replacing the original window and door treatments, and installing modern utilities, bathrooms, and closet spaces on both floors. Furthermore, the

west gable-end wall was removed and rebuilt in order to join the western rooms with the Emmet house. Later upgrades for the building's use as part of the Inn led to the modernization of utilities and bathrooms, and refreshed wall surfaces and ceilings.

The downstairs rooms of the duplex essentially retain their original dimensions and basic arrangement. On the other hand, the extent of modern alterations upstairs precludes the possibility of observing original fabric in these spaces, and of offering any interpretation beyond that provided by the sizes of the rooms. Whether or not these rooms were heated remains unconfirmed, except by comparison with the other stone duplexes at Little Oatlands, where fireplaces heated the upstairs rooms. The two exterior doorways and the window openings on the rear elevation of the Hamlet at the first-story level appear to be original, as are the two windows in the east end wall.

### **Bibliography:**

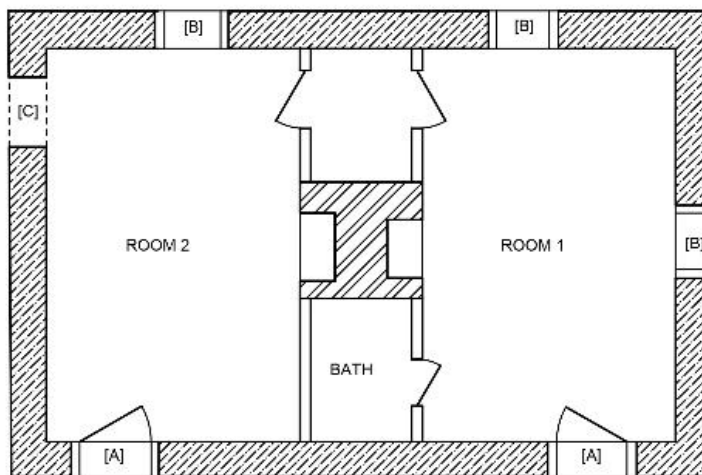
*The Journal of the Times* (1819)

“The Early History of Oatlands” (2017), Ms. on file, Oatlands Historic Site

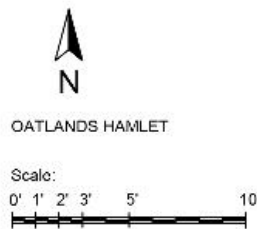
**Principal Construction Type:** Masonry (stone)

**Two Story** (originally 1.5 story)

**Footprint (20.0.2 x 30.1.2) (Additions/Second Floor Not Shown):**



- [A] Original doorway
- [B] Original window opening
- [C] Doorway cut through exterior wall





**Number of Rooms:** 4 total (2 down, 2 up)

**Dimensions:**

- (1) Downstairs, east: 10.10.1 (E-W) x 16.9.3 (N-S), 7.6.0 (H)
- (2) Downstairs, west: 10.9.2 (E-W) x 16.9.1 (N-S), 7.6.0 (H)
- (3) Upstairs, east: 10.7.1 (E-W) x 16.10.0 (N-S), original height unknown, due to removal of original roofing and raising to full story.
- (4) Upstairs, west: 14.1.2 (E-W)\* x 16.10.0 (N-S), original height unknown (see Room 3). \* The room's greater width, compared to the other rooms, is due to the removal of the west gable-end wall during construction of the modern addition. The distance from the west side of the bathroom wall (about even with the original chimneystack) to the current west wall is 12.2.0 (E-W). Originally, Room 4's width likely measured 10.9.2 (E-W).

**Doors:** 2 exterior doors

[Did not record modern, inserted doorways in the first- and second-story medial walls, or those allowing access to the modern additions to the west after removal of the original, west gable-end wall.]

**Rm. 1, S (1/A)**

**Rm. 2, S (2/A)**

**(3)**

<b>Type:</b>	~3 x 3 glass panel in upper half, 2 vertical panels in lower half	~3 x 3 glass panel in upper half, 2 vertical panels in lower half	
<b>Dimensions:</b>	3.0.0 (W) x 6.1.2 (H)	3.0.0 (W) x 6.1.2 (H)	
<b>Hardware:</b>	5-knuckle butt hinges and metal door knob (both modern)	5-knuckle butt hinges and metal door knob (both modern)	
<b>Swing:</b>	In	In	
<b>Replacement:</b>	Sash with arched window panes may have been salvaged from the Oatlands main house cupola	Sash with arched window pane may have been salvaged from the Oatlands main house cupola	

**Windows:** 4 total

[At original openings; did not record 4 second-story, gabled dormer windows, which were added when the roof was raised.]

**Rm.1, N (1/B)**

**Rm. 2, N (2/B)**

**Rm. 1, E (3/B)**

<b>Type:</b>	6/6, double-hung sash	6/6, double-hung sash	6/6, double-hung sash
<b>Dimensions:</b>	2.4.2 (W) x 4.4.2 (H)	2.4.2 (W) x 4.4.2 (H)	2.4.2 (W) x 4.4.3 (H)
<b>Hardware:</b>	Modern thumb latch	Modern thumb latch	Modern thumb latch
<b>Shuttered/ Slide/ Swing:</b>	Modern, replacement sash and framing	Modern, replacement sash and framing	Modern, replacement sash and framing

**Rm. 3, E (4/B)**

**(5)**

**(6)**

<b>Type:</b>	6/6, double-hung sash		
<b>Dimensions:</b>	2.4.2 (W) x 3.7.2 (H)		
<b>Hardware:</b>	Modern thumb latch		
<b>Shuttered/ Slide/ Swing:</b>	Modern replacement sash and framing		

**EXTERIOR**

**Foundation:**

**Continuous Masonry:** Stone

**Thickness:** Estimated at 19½ inches

**Height:** N/A

**Bond:** Irregular coursing

**Mortar Type:** Unknown, original mortar not visible

**Joint:** Unknown, original joint not visible

**Repaired:** Yes, with cement

**Porch:** Yes, modern porch on front (south) façade, with shed roof (not measured).

**Roof:**

**Roof Form:** Gable

**Roof Covering:** Modern wooden shingles

**Roof Framing:** Current roof is a modern replacement; original framing for a one-and-one-half story building removed.

**Building Height:**

**Ground to Apex:** 22.3.2 (east gable end); 17.7.0 as estimated apex of the original 1½-story height

**Ground to Bottom of Rake Board:** 14.6.0 (NE corner)

**Ground to Top of Eave:** 15.1.0

**Ground to original gable end Eave:** 11.3.2

**Walls:**

**Masonry:** Stone

**Number of Courses:**

**Bond:** Irregular coursing

**Mortar Type:** Unknown, original mortar not visible

**Joint:** Unknown, original mortar joints not visible

**Repaired:** Yes, with cement

**Chimney(s):**

**Chimney (1):**

**Material:** Brick (the brick stack, above the roof line, has been rebuilt)

**Location:** Interior – Center

**Height:** inaccessible

## INTERIOR

**Wall Framing:** N/A – original stone walls not visible

**Wall Finish:** Current walls surfaces treated with sheetrock or drywall, covered with paint or wallpaper.

**Fireplace (1):** End – Center, Room 1

**Fireplace Material:** Brick, rebuilt with modern brick

**Fireplace Overall Dimensions:** N/A, chimney base flush with current wall

**Fireplace Opening Dimensions:** 2.6.0 (W) x 2.4.0 (H) x 1.5.0 (D)

**Hearth Material:** Stone

**Hearth Dimensions:** 1.6.0 (E-W) x 4.0.0 (N-S)

**Fireplace (2):** End – Center, Room 2

**Fireplace Material:** Brick, rebuilt with modern brick

**Fireplace Overall Dimensions:** N/A chimney base flush with current wall

**Fireplace Opening Dimensions:** 3.0.2 (W) x 2.5.2 (H) x 1.8.1 (D)

**Hearth Material:** Stone

**Hearth Dimensions:** 1.5.0 (E-W) x 4.0.0 (N-S)

**Stairs:** None at present, original stairs were likely at either side of the chimney base

**Subfloor Pit:** No

**Floor:** Wood, replaced

**Dating:** Before ca. 1819

The extensive alterations and additions to the structure have obscured/removed original finishes and fasteners throughout the building. The structure was raised from 1.5 to two stories, which has obliterated the original roof framing members. The overall character of the structure – the stone construction, symmetrical arrangement of the rooms, doorways, spacing, and central chimney – is similar to Stone Duplexes 1 and 2 at the nearby Little Oatlands property. In combination with their proximity, therefore, the dating evidence for Duplex 1 is inferred to apply to the Hamlet as well. The newspaper article (*Journal of the Times*) from 1819 refers to: “a neat

and uniform row of stone-houses for the accommodation of the slaves, [and] form a village, having the public road for its street.” The proximity of Duplexes 1 and 2, along with the duplex at Oatlands Hamlet, and their location near the historic road leading to the Oatlands home complex, suggest that these are the buildings to which the article refers. Physical evidence found at Duplex 1 reinforces dating of that structure, and thus Duplex 2 and the Hamlet, to before ca. 1819.

### **Notes**

According to members of the Finley family, the window sash with arched panes set into the exterior doorways may have been salvaged from the cupola in the Oatlands main house.

### **Interior:**

*Room 1:* A modern bathroom has been inserted into the space between the base of the chimney and the front (south) wall. On the north side, a modern closet has been installed, along with a passageway between this room and Room 2. Originally, these two spaces likely contained ladder-like stairs for the occupants of each room to access the rooms of the half-story above. A similar arrangement of bathroom and closet space exists in the upper story, between Rooms 3 and 4.

*Stairs:* The original stairs have been removed, although it is suspected that stairs existed on one or both sides (north and south) of the central chimney, allowing each downstairs room to have access to a storage and sleeping space above. Within the modern closet on the south side of the chimney base (between Rooms 1 and 2), there is an odd step up against the chimney. This step could be a stair remnant. Such a step is not visible on the chimney’s north side, although the modern installation of tub and shower at this location could have removed the evidence.

## **Appendix B: Oatlands Garden Dependencies Survey Notes**

**Douglas W. Sanford & Dennis J. Pogue, Virginia Slave Housing Project, LLC**

**9/20, 9/22 & 10/22/18**

### **Overall Comments**

The exterior brickwork reflects a single, overall period of construction: relatively homogenous sizes and colors of hand-made bricks, 3-course common bond, corbelled cornices, and jack arches. For example, the common bond main walls (north and south) extend across the “separate” buildings and room divisions.

All three of the buildings have the same standing seam sheet metal roofing, an installation dating to the 1990s.

Provisionally designated here as the western, middle, and eastern dependencies, the three buildings contain the following rooms or spaces, as shown on the HABS drawings: Western Dependency - rooms 101 and 102 (and a room upstairs); Central Dependency - rooms 103 and 104; and, Eastern Dependency – rooms 105, 106, and 107.

In the 1999 Historic Structures Report (HSR) by Oehrlein & Associates, Architects (Washington, D.C.), the Western Dependency above is referred to as the “Pavilion,” with its eastern extension considered the higher, western third of the “First Addition.” In this scheme the Pavilion is designated room 200 (same as room 101) and the eastern room becomes room 201 (same as room 102). The lower, eastern two-thirds of the First Addition corresponds to the Central Dependency above, with its interior spaces designated rooms 202 and 203 (same as rooms 103 and 104 above). The “Second Addition” corresponds to the Eastern Dependency above, with rooms 205, 206, and 207 matching rooms 105, 106, and 107. Oehrlein & Associates refer to the three connected buildings as the Garden Dependency.

As discussed below, Oehrlein & Associates (henceforth, O&A) made a number of key observations regarding changes to the building over time, especially with respect to original openings (doors and windows) and alterations in the modern era, such as the extensive interior modifications dating to ca. 1903.

### **Western Dependency, Room 101 (O&A - Pavilion, Room 200)**

#### Exterior

The largest, westernmost structure stands 1.5 stories high and has exterior wall recesses on both stories. The lower recesses are rectangular, having corbelled top edges. The brickwork in the west wall is integrated with that of the garden wall (running N-S) that extends southward from the building’s SW corner. The building has a projecting water table, with a greater degree of projection on the north wall.

The west façade’s first story contains two windows with jack arches. There are two doorways with jack arches on the north elevation. The eastern doorway is at a lower elevation (five courses lower than the western doorway, measuring from the top of the arches) and likely

formerly led down into a substantial cellar or basement. Its original bottom limit (estimated sill) occurs three courses from the current ground surface. Later this doorway was enclosed with brick, totaling 24 courses beneath the jack arch. This doorway measures 3.9.0 wide as compared to the western door's 3.4.2 width.



Figure 1. Pavilion north elevation, east doorway (2018); former entrance to cellar storage area, infilled.

*North wall, western doorway:* The western doorway has been significantly altered, evidence for which is more readily observed on the interior. The current header is a ca. 1903 insertion at a lower elevation than the original, which survives near the current plaster ceiling (lower edge is visible). Two brick courses, set with Portland mortar, are exposed between the new and old headers. The current door framing is narrower than the original opening, with brick rubble and wood shims used to fill the gap on the west side between the frame and the original edge of the opening. Slots are set in the masonry to receive the original doorpost. O&A staff recognized this change, which together with a horizontal plaster ghost for the original baseboard, indicated that the building's original floor level was about 9 inches higher than the floor in 1999. The bottom of original wall plaster was at a distance of 6 feet, 6 inches beneath the current ceiling. The modern wall plaster, installed after the door's alteration, rises 11 inches above the current baseboard and crosses over the original brick edge and the rubble infill to meet the current doorframe. This higher elevation for the original floor would have accommodated a larger, more convenient storage space below, accessed by the eastern doorway on the north wall. The header for the eastern doorway is visible on the interior, with hatch marks to receive a plaster base coat.



Figure 2. Room 101, northwest doorway (2018); replacement header, original door opening, and pre-ca. 1903 height of baseboard, all with red arrows.



## Interior

According to the current Oatlands' gardener, the building's flooring (boards and joists) was in a state of near collapse, resulting in their replacement in 2009. At that date, the "deep hole" of the cellar was visible. [Photos of the work carried out in 2009 do not indicate the existence of a readily apparent cellar, however.] The interior walls have plaster on brick, with a lower, tannish-brown coat (without whitewash) appearing to be original or at least earlier, followed by a thicker, 3-coat plaster that is modern in origin. The later plaster does have animal hair as part of its mixture. It has a whiter scratch coat, a darker gray leveling coat, and a white finish coat. The O&A report considers this plaster to be associated with the extensive, ca. 1903 building modifications. The plaster ceiling has the same construction, relying on sawn lath and late machine-cut nails. Nailer boards were added to install the plaster ceiling. The ceiling joists visible through holes in the ceiling appear to be band sawn.

*Room 101:* The downstairs room measures 16.1.1 (E-W) x 15.10.3 (N-S). The south wall contains two windows, a larger one to the west and a smaller one at a lower elevation to the east. The latter window's smaller size is a function of the fact that the stairs' upper portion (stringers and treads) rises against this wall at this location. The window's interior trim (at the upper east corner) is truncated to accommodate its intersection with the stairwell. This window measures 2.6.0 (W) x 2.1.0 (H) and is a 2-sash casement arrangement, with both sash swinging inward. The sashes have 3-knuckle butt hinges. O&A staff considered this window a ca. 1903 insertion related to the stair construction in the SE corner. On the exterior, this window's jack arch contains uneven brick and its east jamb has small pieces of brick keyed in.

The larger window on the south wall is a single-hung sash, 6/6 construction and measures 2.8.0 wide and 4.4.0 high. O&A staff interpreted this window as another modern alteration, with the opening originally having served as a doorway. Although there are indications of changes to the exterior brickwork beneath the window, we do not concur with that finding. The opening is narrow with respect to the dependency's other doorways and both the jack arch and the brickwork of the window jambs appear to be of period construction. Beneath the window, there are two vertical seams within the brickwork, measuring 3.5.0 apart. Yet the seams are interrupted by stretchers in the existing courses and thus do not appear to indicate a former doorway. The presence of an original doorway in the south wall of the dependency's eastern extension (Room 102) provided a means to access the garden directly, including on axis with the east-west walkway on the upper garden terrace (see below). A remaining question is why this window is positioned off-center (to the west) in the wall. The window is aligned with the western doorway on the north wall.

The west wall windows are also two-sash, in-swinging casements; each sash measures 2.6.0 (W) x 2.7.0 (H). All of these windows have the same type of modern trim, pointing to a systematic refinishing of the room's openings in the 1903 era.

*Southeast corner stairs:* These stairs are a ca. 1903 installation, enclosed with vertical bead boards, and overlap the older (darker) wall plaster. The stair stringers, treads, and risers are band sawn; the stairwell framing uses modern dimensional lumber and is associated with the double joists added below the plaster ceiling. The stair is constructed with late machine-cut nails. The stairs formerly had a door, at the level of the first tread, hinged on the east side. The O&A staff

suggested that the room's original stairs existed in the NE corner, but provided no evidence for that interpretation. We could not see any supporting evidence, especially given the extent of modern interior changes.

*East wall doorway (archway):* An arched opening in the east wall of Room 101 connected Rooms 101 and 102, which was infilled, framed, and hung with a door as part of the major renovations that were carried out ca. 1903. The unusual presence of the open archway suggests that the two spaces had linked functions that are currently undetermined. The bottom of the header for the later doorframe measures 7.7.0 from the current floor. The material in the doorframe is circularsawn and the trim has the same bead and profile as that for the other windows and the stairs. There is no immediate evidence of the archway's top portion (the arch) in the east wall of the upstairs room. The archway remained open and untreated into the modern era, as only the later type of plaster was applied to its surface. The arch measures 3.6.2 wide (N-S).



Figure 3. Room 102 with infilled former archway (2018); wood header and blocks to support brick archway infill; early plaster is just visible on the inner surface of the arch; ca. 1903 plaster with score marks to receive skim coat covers the walls and overlay the arch infill.

Above the current door header, on the east side (west wall of Room 102), is a secondary “header” at a higher elevation. This member likely was installed to support several courses of mortared brick that served to fill in the area within the arch and above the door frame. Short vertical supports are braced between the headers. The upper header and the supports both display lath marks, and likely were cut from a former ceiling joist. The wooden members appear to be both circular and band sawn, and were attached with wire nails. The arched opening was

covered with lath on the west, and both the lath and the infill brick were covered on both sides of the wall with the same 20<sup>th</sup>-century three-part plaster found elsewhere in the Pavilion and Room 102. From the underside of the arch to the top of the inserted header measures 2.2.0; from header to the top of the door frame is 2.11.0.

*Upstairs room:* The two windows (on the north and south walls) have been reframed, with replacement headers and later period trim.

Evidence for early shelves exists in the northeast corner. Repaired horizontal seams mark the locations of trenches cut into the brick walls to support shelves; paint ghost marks indicate the locations for vertical supports. Each unit had two shelves, measuring 2.4.0 from the floor to the lower shelf, and 4.5.0 from the floor to the upper. The unit on the eastern wall measured 4.9.0 wide (N-S), as did the unit on the north wall (E-W). The modern plaster seen in this room (the same as downstairs in Rooms 101 and 102) covers over much of the shelving marks. The O&A report noted that a water tank was stored in this corner enclosed by board partitions, supporting the laundry operation in the downstairs room that began after 1903.

The plaster on the brick walls appears to be mostly of the more modern kind seen in Rooms 101 and 102 below, although the earlier (brown) plaster occurs on the room's west wall and on the western third of the north and south walls. On the latter two walls, in the area with the older plaster, there are three wooden pegs inserted in each wall, at a distance of about 5.5 inches from the ceiling level. The pegs are two feet apart to the east and 1.9.0 apart to the west, indicating that they are aligned north to south. Their function remains unknown. All of the upstairs room's walls have a modern skim coat, which respects the boxing in the NE corner for the former water tank and thus should date after 1903.

The floorboards are narrow, circular sawn (seen from below), and reflect a modern origin, likely of the same period as the window and door trim and the later wall plaster.

One possible interpretation is that originally, there was no upstairs room or flooring, in that the pavilion (Room 101) was open from the floor, formerly at a higher elevation, to the roof framing. In 1903, builders installed the stairs, the current flooring, and the plaster ceiling below (for Room 101). The current floor level permits only 6 feet, 6 inches of headspace, which is relatively low for the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. In addition, the brick ledges in the stairwell opening occur on both the east and south walls, but are not used for joists related to the upstairs floor. The upstairs ceiling lath, which has been removed, also appears to have modern-type nail holes. Still, having full height windows at a floor-less level, which would be difficult to access, seems odd, other than to provide lighting and to retain the building's exterior symmetry.

*Roof framing:* The building has a pyramidal roof. The bottom surfaces of the original ceiling joists have lath and plaster marks. These joists measure 0.2.2 (W) x 0.7.2 (H) and have vertical sash saw marks, and have machine-cut nails. Later joists, sistered to the earlier ones, have band saw marks. A larger (thicker), replacement joist was inserted across (north-south) the upstairs room's centerline. Horizontal braces between the joists are circularsawn and have been attached with wire nails. The square king post, which appears to be original, was chamfered to accommodate the later, central joist. Every other rafter adjoining the king post was mortised into the post, whereas the other rafters lap onto it. Rafters extending to the four corners of the roof

are triangular in profile. Outriggers for the eaves are composed of the same type of wood as the joists, and were mortised and tenoned to the end girts.

### **Western Dependency, Room 102 (connected to Room 101; O&A – Room 201)**

While Room 102, on the exterior, appears to be a one-story addition to the larger, 1.5-story structure to the west, it was built at the same time and was connected to Room 101 via the open archway. Originally, neither room appears to have been heated. Room 102 measures 10.3.2 (N-S) x 9.2.3 (E-W). O&A staff considered this room (Room 201 of the “First addition”) to be a later, but immediate addition (together with the rest of the First addition) made to the Pavilion. Yet, the exterior walls of the one-story room are bonded to those of the larger dependency (Room 101).

*Interior walls:* The brick walls have interior plaster, namely the same modern, three-coat plaster seen in Room 101, along with a later overlying finish coat. The bottom portions of the north, south, and east walls have additional support at the base, wherein the brick construction juts out from the wall’s vertical surface. On the north and south walls, the extended brickwork has been mortared over to form a surface that curves inward toward the top, whereas the extended brickwork on the east wall is rectangular and looks to be an intact, period construction. These “bump outs” or ledges likely supported the original, higher floor level noted in the O&A HSR. The north and south ledges probably held sockets for the floor joists and after the floor’s removal and lowering, the partially dismantled ledges were mortared and plastered over, gaining their current appearance. These repairs lap over the rectangular ledge’s lower wall portion, to the east.

*Windows:* The north wall window appears to be original and measures 2.7.0 wide and 4.4.2 high (from the jack arch to the sill). O&A staff observed that the south window (4.5.0 high), which is wider (3.8.0), originally served as a door. On the interior wall, there is a break in the wall plaster on the west side and brick infill on the east side. Reworked brick on the window’s exterior wall also points to an earlier doorway construction.

*Archway and the east exterior wall of Room 101:* The archway construction extends upward, above the level of the ceiling joists in Room 102, where the exterior surface of the Western Dependency’s east wall is visible beneath the gable roof framing of Room 102. There is a shelf or slot along this wall that was meant to accept the decorative wood banding, or belt course, which exists on the dependency’s other exterior walls and marks the transition to the building’s upper story. In this location, the slot consists of a gap in the brickwork, with several wooden blocks set into the masonry to serve as nailers, but the decorative banding was not installed. The bricks at the top of the arch form the bottom of the slot in that location, with bricks of the slot cut to lap up against the arch’s brick.

Starting at the bottom of the slot, a shelf is set back four inches, followed by a rise of three inches, followed by a shelf set back 1.5 inches, and then a rise of two brick courses (approximately 6.25 inches), and then a shelf set back in (toward Room 102) 1.5 inches. The unused nailers measure 0.2.0 x 0.8.2. Apparently, the builders installed the slot to receive the decorative banding, possibly anticipating that Room 102 was to be covered by a flat roof. As the low-pitched gable roof overlaps the slot, the decorative banding element was not installed. There

are seven brick courses above the slot to the roof peak. The brickwork at the bottom of the segmental arch extends past the vertical edges of the archway's side walls.

*Stovepipe holes:* There are three round openings at the approximate center of the east wall, indicating possible stovepipe holes. The highest opening is round and contains a modern, ceramic thimble that is six inches in diameter. Its top surface begins seven inches below the ceiling joist above. The second, middle opening is round, lacks a thimble, and is composed of cut and shaved brick. It is 6½ inches in diameter and its top is 3.10.0 below the ceiling joist. The third and lowest opening could not be accessed for a measurement, but it begins 2.1.0 from the top of the second hole. These holes align with the flue of the chimneystack in Room 103 to the east.

*Roof framing:* The room has four earlier (possibly original) ceiling joists that have lath and plaster marks on their bottom surfaces. Later joists were both sistered to these joists and inserted in between. The common rafters are pegged and thinned at the top, and some have carpenter marks that look fresh and amateurish, suggesting these are relatively recent replacements. These timbers, at least on their bottom surfaces, are band sawn. Only remnants for the earlier false plates survive on top of the ceiling joists' ends.

### **Middle Dependency, Rooms 103, 104 (O&A - Eastern two-thirds of the "1<sup>st</sup> addition," Rooms 202, 203)**

This dependency has a gable roof of low pitch.

#### Middle Dependency, Room 103:

Room 103 has been extensively remodeled in the modern era and serves as a gardening library and meeting space. The room measures 11.6.0 (E-W) x 9.11.0 (N-S), with a ceiling height of 8.3.3. Originally, this room was heated, presumably as a domestic space for slaves within the dependency. This room has two windows on the south wall and an exterior door on the north wall.

O&A staff determined that the eastern window on the south wall, which occupies a central position on the dependency's south façade, originally functioned as a door. The opening is wider, measuring 3.3.0 (like a door), and there is a change in the exterior brickwork at a point 6.5.0 from the bottom of the jack arch, conducive with a door-sized opening. Similarly, the current, modern door on the north wall (the more western doorway on the north façade) originally served as a window. The opening measures 2.7.0 wide, like other windows within the garden dependencies, and a break in the exterior brickwork and mortar at a distance of 4.6.0 beneath the jack arch corresponds to a window-sized opening.

*Fireplace:* The fireplace opening at the west gable-end wall has a jack arch, a single flue, and measures: 4.1.0 (W), 2.10.2 (H), and 1.9.0 (D). At its rear, the fireplace is 1.10.0 wide. The replacement hearth (of slate) measures 1.7.0 wide (E-W) and 6.0.0 long (N-S). The interior floor and rear wall of the fireplace have been replaced. The front edges of the fireplace opening have angled or curved (rounded) bricks. On the south interior face is an eyehook for a crane. The eye is one inch in diameter, while the hook is 3/8ths inches thick, and is positioned 2.7.0 above the firebox floor. There is a machine-cut nail in the masonry just above the eyehook. The

chimneystack contains a single flue, where the stovepipe holes noted from Room 102 in the Western Dependency are visible. The opening for the lowest pipe hole is quite ragged and looks to be a later insertion.



Figure 4. Room 103 fireplace (2018); while heavily reworked the overall size of the fireplace opening is likely to reflect the original condition.

#### Middle Dependency, Room 104:

This room has a separate, exterior door on the north wall and a window on the south wall. At present, the room is used to support the library in Room 103 and as the gardener's office, with the same degree of modern remodeling. The remnants of a former partition wall are visible on the north and south walls and presumably this wall made Room 104 an unheated space within the original building. Room 104 measures 7.3.1 (E-W) x 9.10.3 (N-S) and has a ceiling height of 8.3.3.

O&A staff suggested that the room's doorway on the north wall (east of the door for Room 103) was installed soon after the building's initial construction. We disagree with that interpretation, finding instead that the opening is a modern insertion. It has a different type of jack arch, has poorly patched small brick within jambs, and reflects re-pointing with a modern, greyer mortar. We do not think a window existed at this location, either. Similarly, we do not consider the room's window on the south wall to have been a door. Its brickwork defines a narrower opening, measuring 2.7.0 wide (like other windows). The window's jack arch is somewhat irregular, but does not delineate a wider opening. There is evidence of considerable re-pointing

beneath the window, possibly moisture damage, with the use of some darker colored brick, perhaps as replacements. In sum, access to Room 104 was through the interior wall partition, rather than via exterior doorways.

### **Eastern Dependency, Rooms 105, 106, 107 (O&A – East Addition, Rooms 205, 206, 207)**

This dependency has a gable roof of low pitch. It is inferred that originally, a single domestic room, with heat from the chimney/fireplace on the interior wall to the east, occupied the space now divided into Rooms 105 and 106.

#### Eastern Dependency, Room 105:

Currently, Room 105 is the women's restroom. The HABS drawing show that in the 1930s, two exterior doorways were on the building's western exterior wall, within the brick arched breezeway that spans the walkway between eastern and the middle dependency. Today, only the southern doorway survives, allowing access to this restroom.

Surviving within the modern restroom are "stubs" for a former interior (north-south) wall, with one stub on the northern wall and a matching one on the south. The room has two windows on the south wall. The western window measures 2.7.2 wide and 4.4.0 high, from the bottom of the jack arch to the bottom of the window's sill. The room's eastern window, which occupies a central position on the dependency's south wall, also measures 2.7.2 wide and 4.2.0 high.

#### Eastern Dependency, Room 106:

Room 106 currently serves as the men's restroom and its interior treatments are all modern in origin. The brick flue for the Eastern Dependency's interior chimney survives along the medial wall and now accommodates the bathroom sink and plumbing. Based on this chimney, we assume Room 106 (and some portion of Room 105) served as a heated, domestic space for slaves. The exterior doorway on the room's north wall is a modern insertion, having replaced what is suspected to have been an original window. There is some evidence for a former jack arch at the doorway's upper, west corner and, a break in the mortar occurs at a height along the doorway's jambs that occurs about at the same elevation as the window for Room 107 to the east.

#### Eastern Dependency, Room 107:

*Exterior:* An opening in the foundation at the northeast corner provides access to a storage space below this room. The opening has a jack arch above and had L-shaped gaps at the opening's brickwork to accommodate wooden jambs for framing a door. A wood nailer survives on the opening's west side, for a lock keeper. The current framing is a modern replacement. The brick walls have been parged with mortar and/or are covered with whitewash. The O&A report refers to this space as a coal cellar.

*Interior:* Room 107 originally was unheated and may have functioned as a storage space, or for some other utilitarian purpose related to gardening. A ceramic thimble for a woodstove pipe appears to be a later insertion. This room measures 10.9.3 (N-S) x 7.9.2 (E-W), with a ceiling

height of 7.4.1. It has an original window on the north wall and at present, an exterior doorway on the south wall.

O&A staff determined that originally, the south wall opening had been a window that was transformed into a doorway in the modern (ca. 1903) era. The opening measures 2.7.2 wide, like other windows, and both the bottom surface of the jack arch and the upper portion of the brick jambs have a mortar stain and seam from a former window frame. On the interior, we observed that the current doorway header is intrusive to the old wall plaster, indicating that the plaster was removed to allow for its insertion. The doorway also has a nailer set into the brick wall on the west side. The current door is board and batten construction, with sash-sawn vertical boards.

In sum, and in parallel fashion to the Middle Dependency's interior arrangements, the eastern room of the Eastern Dependency did not have an exterior doorway, with access occurring through an interior partition wall. An interior doorway exists at the southern end of the west wall, which appears to be original (now enclosed) and allowed access into the heated space to the west, Room 106.



Figure 5. Room 107, blocked doorway connecting to Room 106 (2018); the opening and architrave are likely original.



Room 107's interior walls have plaster (with animal hair) on brick, with this treatment on top of an earlier coat of whitewash applied to the brick. The room floorboards are tongue and groove, measure from 9.75 to 10.25 inches wide, and are affixed with wrought, T-headed nails. The beaded baseboard's profile matches that of the western wall's doorframe and looks older. The ceiling plaster has split lath and machine-cut nails, with a sash-sawn joist visible above.

### **Arched Breezeway between the Middle and Eastern Dependencies**

O&A staff maintained that originally, the only exterior doorways for the Eastern Dependency existed on the west, gable end wall, beneath the arched breezeway. While modern HABS drawings show these doorways, we could not observe surviving evidence for the original openings, given the degree of modern alterations. At present, only the doorway to the women's restroom (Room 105), a modern facility, exists on the west wall.

O&A staff also suggested that the interior arches within the breezeway, those with pedestals on the east side (against the Eastern Dependency's west wall), are later constructions. We disagree with this interpretation, finding that arches look to be a period construction that exhibits the same bonding methods on the north and south sides of the breezeway.

**Appendix C:  
Slavery and Slave Housing at Oatlands Plantation:  
In the Context of the U.S. Census for Loudoun County, 1860**

**Douglas W. Sanford, Virginia Slave Housing Project, Inc.  
October 2018**

*Introduction*

Information from the U.S. Federal Census of 1860 (Schedule 2, for Slave Inhabitants, accessed via [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com)) for Loudoun County, Virginia provides an interpretive context regarding questions of slave ownership and slave housing at Oatlands plantation. At this date, Elizabeth Osborn Carter, the widow of Oatlands' former owner George Carter (Sr., who died in 1846), held title to more than 120 slaves and 3,400 acres of land, comprising the County's largest plantation. Census data for Elizabeth Carter derive from the Southern District of Loudoun County, whereas the comparative data used below comes from a systematic analysis of the information for an "Unstated" district that roughly corresponded to the county's northern portion. The following discussion focuses on the demographic composition and the living and working arrangements of the enslaved Oatlands community.

Each sheet of the 1860 census contains lines for 80 enslaved African Americans. Beyond the names of each "slave owner," who represented a household (family) head, columns of information provided the age, sex (male or female), and color (black or mulatto) of each slave; the presence of particular physical or mental disabilities ("blind, deaf & dumb, insane, or idiotic"); whether or not the slave had been manumitted or was a fugitive from the state; and, lastly, the number of "Slave houses" for each owner. While the listed household heads correspond to slave owners in many cases, a significant number of these individuals were white citizens who did not own, but hired enslaved workers from others. Unlike previous federal censuses, the 1860 enumeration was the only one to address slave housing, calling upon census marshals to list the number of quarters on each property with owned or hired slaves.

Loudoun's unnamed district contained 433 household heads who together owned and/or employed 2,053 enslaved African Americans, of whom 999 were males (49%) and 1,054 were females (51%). White women (total of 62) represented 14% of the district's slave owners and/or employers. The household heads also owned 535 slave houses, but as discussed below, a number of the entries did not contain any slave houses according to the census marshal.

*Slave Ownership and Demographic Composition*

In the U.S. Census for 1850, Elizabeth O. Carter, listed as Betsy Carter, owned 85 enslaved individuals. By the time of the 1860 census, Oatlands's slave population had increased dramatically to 128, a 50% rise that represented more than an increase by natural births. Based on additional census information for this year, Elizabeth Carter owned five more slaves who were hired out to other property holders, bringing her overall total to 133 slaves. The figure of 128 slaves is used in most instances for the analysis that follows. In 1860, Elizabeth Carter was 60 years old and was listed as a "Farmer" by way of occupation (rare for a woman). Her

household included her elder son, George, age 21 who also was described as a farmer; younger son, Benjamin G. Carter, is listed as a “Student at Law.” Other white household members were, Jonathan A. Tennison (age 50); Anna F. Grayson (age 29); John F. Grayson (age 27); and, F.F. Grayson (age 20), noted as a “Medical Student.” Elizabeth’s maiden name was Grayson and the Grayson family members represented her brother’s children, for whom she had acted as a guardian. Elizabeth’s real estate amounted to \$150,000, while her personal estate reached \$250,000 – largely corresponding to the value attributed to the enslaved workers. Both sums were high for the period and within Loudoun County.

According to the (skin) color information provided to the census marshal, Oatlands’s enslaved population was dominated by “black,” as compared to “mulatto” individuals. Eight mulatto African Americans were listed, comprising only 6.3% of the plantation’s 128 slaves. In 1850, Elizabeth Carter had 46 male slaves (54.1%) and 39 female slaves (45.9%). By 1860, these proportions nearly had reversed, with the 66 females representing 51.6% of the plantation’s enslaved workers, while the 62 males constituted the remaining 48.4%. Adding the five hired out slaves, four female and one male, slightly alters these percentages to 52.6% female and 47.4% male. This near balance of the biological sexes signaled a stable and self-reproducing African American population, a common circumstance within the 19<sup>th</sup>-century American South and on many large plantations in Virginia and other slave states.

The age composition of the enslaved community at Oatlands in 1860 reinforced this appearance of demographic stability. Using ten-year brackets (ages 1-10; 11-20; 21-30; etc.) for both males and females, there is a wide range in ages, from several children aged one year, to an 80-year-old woman; and overall, largely a young population. Children ages 1 to 10 comprised nearly one-third (28%, 36 slaves) of the entire population, while slaves aged 20 and under constituted a simple majority of 54% (69 slaves). The trend continued as those aged 30 and under represented two-thirds (68%, 87 slaves) of the total number. On the other hand, only seven slaves (5.5%) reached ages between 61 and 70 years; and two females (1.6%) stood out as the community elders, at ages 75 and 80. The percentages for the age brackets applied almost equally to male and female slaves, with the exception of the highest bracket (ages 71 to 80).

Adding the five hired out slaves (four females ages 10, 14, 20, and 24; and, one male aged 17) does not significantly alter the above demographic results. Owners of large plantations, such as Oatlands, often hired out member of their enslaved work force, whether as skilled artisans (blacksmiths, carpenters, brick masons) agricultural laborers, or as cooks, seamstresses, and nurses. Studies show that hired out slaves ranged widely in age, including children below the age of 12, and thus the fact that four of the five slaves hired out by Elizabeth Carter were 20 years old or younger was not unusual. Employers found younger slaves cheaper to hire and to provision with food, clothing, and shelter; and that such slaves could carry out a wide range of useful tasks. Furthermore, in both the colonial and antebellum eras, slaves of ages 12 to 16 were considered young adults. Hence Elizabeth Carter’s three hired out slaves at ages 17, 20, and 24 fit the category of “prime hands,” those considered fully capable of productive work in a range of occupations.

Using the census information from the unstated district of Loudoun County for the 433 white households noted above, slave ownership and/or employment ranged from one to 62 bonded African Americans. In fact, most whites had few slaves within their households, with a mean of

4.7 and a more accurate median of 2.0 slaves per household. Over one-third (36%) of the owners/employers had one resident slave, while a simple majority (50%) had one to two slaves. The vast majority (75%) of the district's whites owned or employed between one and five slaves, and only 10% of households represented properties with 11 or more enslaved people. Overall, many slaves in Loudoun County lived in town, working either in residences or businesses, and on small farms. Consequently, most enslaved African Americans in this area lived alone or with just a few of their own kind, making it difficult to maintain relations of family, marriage, and community.

The minority of owners with higher numbers of slaves typically represented the district's larger landowners, those with substantial farms or plantations. Using 20 or more slaves as a commonly accepted figure for a plantation-scale operation, this district had 14 plantations. The top 10 slave owners had between 21 and 62 slaves each. Larger slaveholders tended to monopolize the enslaved population for a given county or district. For example, the 50% of owners and/or employers noted above with one to two slaves held only 14% of the district's total enslaved population. In contrast, owners with 10 or more slaves, while comprising only 14% of all household heads, legally possessed 50% of the total. This pattern of aggrandizement continued at the elite level, with the top 3% of owners with more than 20 slaves holding sway over 19% of the district's enslaved workers. An unintended consequence of this imbalance was that the more substantial residential groupings of slaves supported key African American communities with more opportunities to sustain family, kinship, and culture.

Oatlands plantation stood out as the property with the largest number (128 or 133) of enslaved African Americans in Loudoun County (for both the unstated and the Southern district), by a substantial margin. The next largest plantation, owned by S.J. Ramey, had less than half that number, at 62. This fact makes comparisons of slave ownership on the local level somewhat problematic, with Oatlands qualifying as a "great" plantation, that is, among the largest plantations at the time and occupying a small, elite level at the top. Thus, Oatlands is best compared with such prominent examples in Virginia as the presidential plantation estates at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello (Albemarle County), George Washington's Mount Vernon (Fairfax County), and James Madison's Montpelier (Orange County). As discussed below, in mid-19<sup>th</sup>-century Loudoun County, Oatlands also represented an important African American community on its own and within the local region.

While not considered here in detail, it should be kept in mind that Elizabeth Carter had other plantation and slave holdings in the local region. Her "Bellefield" property near Upperville, Virginia (Fauquier County) encompassed seven parcels and about 900 acres, containing multiple farms and enslaved African Americans.

### *Slave Housing*

For the 433 households in the unstated district, a total of 50 slave owners and/or employers had no slave houses, indicating that the slaves on these properties either lived within their owner's or employer's house, or in outbuildings that primarily served other functions, such as kitchens, laundries, stables, or carriage houses. For the remaining 383 white households, slave house ownership ranged from one to seven cabins or quarters, with a mean of 1.4 houses and a median of 1.0 slave house per household. These low figures reinforce the finding that the district's

whites typically owned and/or hired few slaves. Correspondingly, 74% of these households had only one slave house, and 93% of these families had no more than two.

Unfortunately, the entry for the number of slave houses belonging to Elizabeth O. Carter in the 1860 census is illegible. Nonetheless, given regular patterns within the census data concerning slave house ownership and especially of the number of enslaved people per house (obtained by dividing a property owner's number of slaves by the number of slave houses); it is possible to develop estimates of the number of slave buildings at Oatlands. For the unstated district in Loudoun, the number of slaves per house ranged from one to 21, with a mean figure of 3.1 per house and a median of two. However, since the district's dominant pattern centered on low numbers of slaves and slave houses per owner, these figures are not used in the following estimates.

Instead, I drew upon the 14 plantation owners mentioned earlier, with these individuals owning between 20 and 62 slaves and having between one and seven slave houses. Dividing the number of enslaved people by the number of quarters per property in these cases produces a range from four to 21 slaves per house, with a mean of 8.86 and a median of 7.84. Dividing Carter's 128 slaves by the latter two figures generates estimates of 14.4 and 16.3 slave buildings for Oatlands plantation. A second, but similar estimation method entails using six large plantation owners' properties within the county's southern district, where Elizabeth Carter resided. These men had between 27 and 45 slaves and from five to 8 slave houses, with a mean of 5.57 slaves per house. Applying this figure to the 128 slaves at Oatlands produces an estimate of 23 quarters.

Based on recent architectural studies at Oatlands, five slave-related buildings survive on the property, namely three stone double quarters or "duplexes," and the two dependency buildings at the north end of the terraced garden, close to the main house. Estimates of the number of enslaved individuals living in these structures are presented elsewhere in this document, but obviously, these buildings would not have housed all of the enslaved workers at Oatlands in 1860. As known from other architectural and documentary studies, slaves also regularly lived within a plantation's main house, as well as in other outbuildings such as kitchens, laundries, barns, and stables. Again, how many slaves at Oatlands occupied such arrangements remains undetermined, but a suggested and probably conservative number combines five slaves within the mansion with another 10 slaves in various outbuildings for a total of 15 individuals. Using the above, plantation-related figures for slaves per house (8.86, 7.84, and 5.57) with an adjusted total of 113 slaves at Oatlands, produces estimates ranging from 12.8 to 14.4 to 20.1 slave houses, respectively. Overall, given the five known slave buildings at Oatlands, it is likely that another eight to 15 cabins and quarters once stood on the property.

### *Concluding Remarks*

Both within the context of the 1860 census information and based on past studies of plantation societies in Virginia and the American South, we can rethink Oatlands as a local community at that date and during earlier decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. First, it was distinguished by being the largest plantation community within Loudoun County. Second, and from a demographic and cultural perspective, Oatlands should be recognized as overwhelmingly an African American community, despite the legal, social, and economic power of the plantation's owners, the Carter family. Enslaved people there comprised the vast majority of the plantation's residential

population and obviously, its dominant workforce that made possible the plantation's economic success, its considerable array of functional and ornamental architecture, and a corresponding designed landscape of gardens and grounds, agricultural fields, and a substantial milling complex.

Oatlands furthermore constituted an important local center for African American families within the county, given its large enslaved population and relative demographic stability. Slaves there had extended ties of marriage and kinship. In addition, their social life, economic networking, and efforts at cultural preservation extended beyond the plantation's physical bounds to others on nearby farms and plantations and most likely, to the county seat of Leesburg. For example, historians of slavery have documented that enslaved people had kin ties and marriages outside their plantation residences, even though the latter relationships were not recognized publicly or legally by white society at the time. Similarly, other slaves, such as those driving carts and wagons or working as skilled artisans, traveled to other farms, plantations, and towns. At times, enslaved people sold their own garden produce and craft items at local markets.

Oatlands slaves lived in several locations across a plantation landscape of over 3,000 acres. In a common circumstance of architectural preservation, the surviving slave buildings at Oatlands are those better built and situated closer to the main house, namely the three stone duplexes south of the mansion complex and the two, brick domestic structures within the north range of garden dependencies. These structures likely housed primarily slaves forced to serve in domestic support and kitchen-related roles, as gardening and grounds staff, and in various trades. Missing are the many cabins and quarters that once existed beyond the greater main house complex and on the plantation's outlying farms (or "quarters") and at the mill. Most of these buildings would have housed slaves working as "field hands."

Large plantation owners typically would cluster such buildings within a given farm quarter (often a plantation division of several hundred acres), at times with an overseer's house nearby and with other support structures, such as barns and stables. Most of the slave buildings would have been of log construction, consisting of one room with a loft above, and with dirt floors and wood-and-mud chimneys. Given their relatively ephemeral construction, such quarters rarely survived the test of time, but as archaeological sites, the slave settlements at Oatlands could be discovered and interpreted through appropriate types of research. With her greater wealth and cosmopolitan connections, Elizabeth Carter, as with other elite plantation owners in the national and antebellum periods, may have engaged in "improved" slave housing. This effort to establish a more "rational and scientific" plantation and slavery management regime, typically led to the replacement of log cabins with frame quarters set on masonry foundations or piers, with wood floors, brick chimneys and glazed windows. Again, future archaeological research could substantiate whether or not this type of change took place at Oatlands.