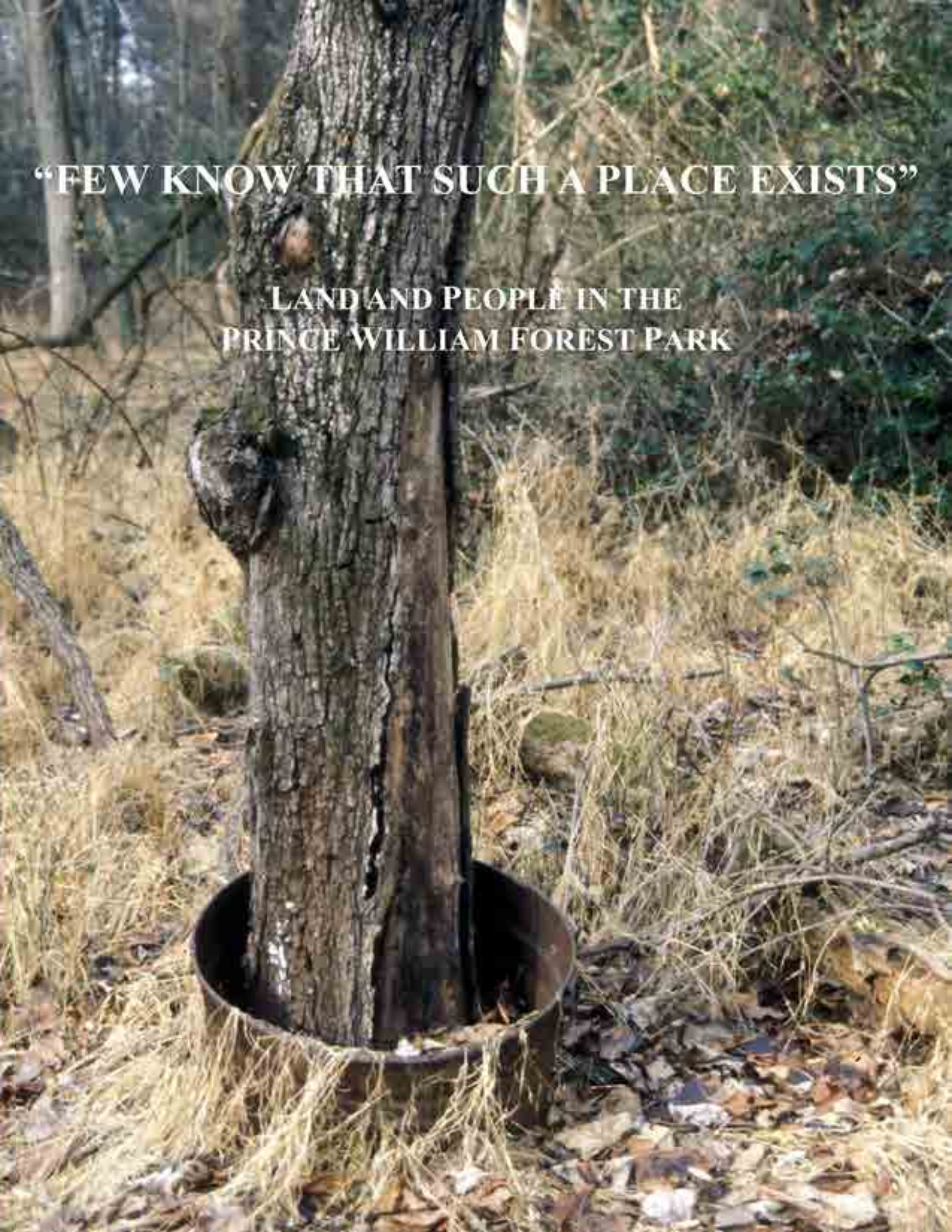

"FEW KNOW THAT SUCH A PLACE EXISTS"

LAND AND PEOPLE IN THE PRINCE WILLIAM FOREST PARK

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LAND AND PEOPLE IN THE PRINCE WILLIAM FOREST PARK

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FOREWORD

The land that is now the Prince William Forest Park has a history extending across at least 9,000 years. The inhabitants of this landscape have included ancient Native American hunters and gatherers, seventeenth-century Doeg Indians, English settlers, enslaved Africans, free African Americans, Civil War soldiers, farmers, millers, shopkeepers, and the young men of the Civilian Conservation Corps. All of these people have left traces on the landscape.

During a four-year study, from 1999 to 2003, archeologists searched the park for evidence of the many people who have lived there. More than 60 archeological sites were found, including Native American camps, colonial plantations, farms, houses, mills, a school, and more. This volume, part of the documentation of the archeological study, is written as a historical narrative, and is intended for anyone interested in the history of the park and the region. In order to protect valuable and sensitive historical sites, detailed maps are not included. A separate, technical report was written for use by park managers and archeological professionals, and that volume includes the mass of the archeological data from the project, organized by survey area, as well as detailed maps and other figures.

Prince William Forest Park has been a wonderful place for us to work. We have been in the park in every season and have enjoyed brilliant fall color, winter quietude, the bursting life of spring, and the green shade of summer. It is a beautiful place to be. It is also a fascinating place for archeologists because much of the historical landscape, from roads to house foundations, is plainly visible and can be identified just by strolling through the park's wooded lands. The people who work in the park have also made our experience there a pleasure. Everyone we have dealt with has been helpful and enthusiastic. We wish particularly to thank Bob Hickman, Kate Richardson, George Liffert, Bryan Carlstrom, Russ Whitlock, David Elkowitz, Bill Ellis, Steve Hay, Jacques Lavelle, Carol Polio, and Jennifer Lee. Of the many people outside the park who have helped with this project we wish especially to thank Stephen Potter and Bob Sonderman of the National Capital Region of the National Park Service, Phyllis Scott, Don Wilson and the rest of the staff in the RELIC Room at the Bull Run Community Library, Lee Lansing, Scott Parham, and Ronald Ray Turner. Without their help, this project would not have been possible.

Many people have worked on this project over its four-year duration. The project was directed by the author and managed by Charles LeeDecker. Dr. Daniel Wagner was project geomorphologist, and ethnobotanist Justine McKnight toured the sites and helped us identify many plant species. Robert Jacoby, Brad DuPlantis, and Keith Googins served as field supervisors. Eric Griffitts and Lisa Krauss carried out historical research. The artifacts were analyzed by Mallory Gordon, Gerry Scharfenberger, and Robert Jacoby. Artifact photos were taken by Rob Tucher, and the figures were drafted by Jackie Horsford. Editorial assistance was provided by C. Carol Halitsky and Anne Moiseev. We owe special thanks to the field archeologists whose hard work and care brought all our discoveries to light: Sean Alexander, Risa Arbolino, Adam Frank, Greg LaBudde, Paul Luton, Michelle McClenny, Christopher Stanton, Stephanie Taleff, Lucy Wesson, and Pam Wood.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. A LANDSCAPE FROZEN IN TIME

The Prince William Forest Park is a refuge. Just 20 years ago, the Park's northern Virginia neighborhood was mostly farms and forests, but now the suburbs of Washington have expanded up to the Park's boundaries and reached well beyond it to the south. The Park is now an island of accessible woodlands, surrounded on two sides by development and on the other two by the Quantico Marine Corps Base. Within the Park's 13,000-acre island, the plants and animals of a Piedmont forest are protected from bulldozers, and people can find relief from the stresses of modern life. The Park also protects a precious historical legacy. People have walked these hills for at least 9,000 years, leaving artifacts and other traces of themselves behind. Ancient Native Americans camped all along both branches of Quantico Creek, hunted in the hills, gathered nuts in the forests, and walked the trails that crossed these ridges. The first European settlers came in the late 1600s, clearing land to plant tobacco and corn in ways they had learned from the Indians. After that, the old forests were slowly transformed into a farm landscape, with fields of wheat and other crops alternating with wooded areas. Roads were built, some of them following old Indian paths, and communities grew up along the roads. Down to the 1930s, the Park shared the history of much of Virginia, and its landscape was like much of the surrounding area.

PLATE 1: An Old Wagon Road in the Park

In the 1930s, the Park was selected by the Roosevelt administration to become a Recreational Demonstration Area. The Park's residents were bought out, the farms were abandoned, the people

were removed, and the houses were torn down. Young men from the Civilian Conservation Corps were brought in to convert the old rural neighborhoods into a recreational landscape where young people from the cities could experience healthful outdoor living. Cabin camps were built, and streams were dammed to create lakes. Since that time, the forests have been growing, and most of the Park has been slowly reverting to a more natural state. With the removal of the Park's inhabitants and the halting of most development, the Park's historic landscape was frozen as it was in 1935. The old farm roads, the piles of stones that marked the edges of plowed fields, the foundations of farm houses, and even old erosion gullies are shaded by trees but otherwise essentially unchanged (Plate 1). Just by walking in the Park's woods, we can experience something of the landscape of old rural Virginia. That landscape preserves a record of life in the area from ancient Native American times to 1935, as pristine as we are ever likely to find in eastern North America.

B. THE STUDY

Over a four-year period, from 1999 to 2003, archeologists from The Louis Berger Group, Inc., carried out a study of the Park's archeological and historical legacy. Working with the Park and the National Capital Region of the National Park Service (NPS), Berger archeologists surveyed more than 1,200 acres of the Park and recorded 60 archeological sites, ranging from ancient Native American camps to homes built in the late 1800s. We also studied how the landscape of the Park has evolved and used written records to learn more about the history of the Park and some of its inhabitants. Archeological testing has been carried out at eight sites:

- the Williams Branch Site, a Native American stone quarry and camp dating to between 7,000 and 3,000 years ago;
- the Quantico Creek Site, a Native American camp on the floodplain of Quantico Creek, used between 3,000 and 1,000 years ago;
- the William Bennett Plantation, which was set up around 1710 and occupied until around 1820;
- the Luke Cannon Site, a farm first occupied around 1750, rebuilt in the 1790s and occupied until 1935;
- Chapman Plantation or Missouri Mills, a large plantation with a mill and other industrial elements built around 1802;
- the Keys Site, a farm occupied by the Keys family from 1810 until 1916;
- the Zeal Williams farm, which was built around 1870 and became the nucleus of the African American community of Hickory Ridge;
- and the Prince William County Poor House, used between 1795 and 1928, one of the first of the rural poor farms built after the separation of church and state in Virginia.

This volume is presented as a narrative history of the Park, and it presents only a summary of the archeological findings, and it draws from numerous supporting technical studies of the park's history, landscape, and archeology.

C. THE SETTING

The Park is in northern Virginia about 20 miles south of the Washington Beltway (Figure 1). It straddles the fall line of Quantico Creek, extending from the Coastal Plain up to the Piedmont. Quantico Creek is a tributary of the Potomac River, which lies four miles east of the Park's eastern boundary. The distance from the eastern end of the Park to the western extremity is about six miles. The Park largely corresponds to the drainage of Quantico Creek, and the North and South Forks of the creek are the main streams (Figure 2). The two forks come together near the eastern end of the Park, and it is only below that point that Quantico Creek presents any obstacle to people wanting to cross it. Recent boundary changes have brought more area along Chopawamsic Creek into the Park, but this area was not covered in this study. Most of the creeks in the Park tumble freely over rocks, but meadows created by beaver dams now choke many valleys, creating swamps and small marshes, and this was probably true in ancient times as well. The elevation of the Park ranges from about 50 feet to just over 400 feet, but despite the low elevation, the terrain is rugged. The landscape is divided into ridges separated by steep-sided stream valleys. The only level areas are on top of the larger ridges, where almost all historic settlement took place, and on floodplains along Quantico Creek.

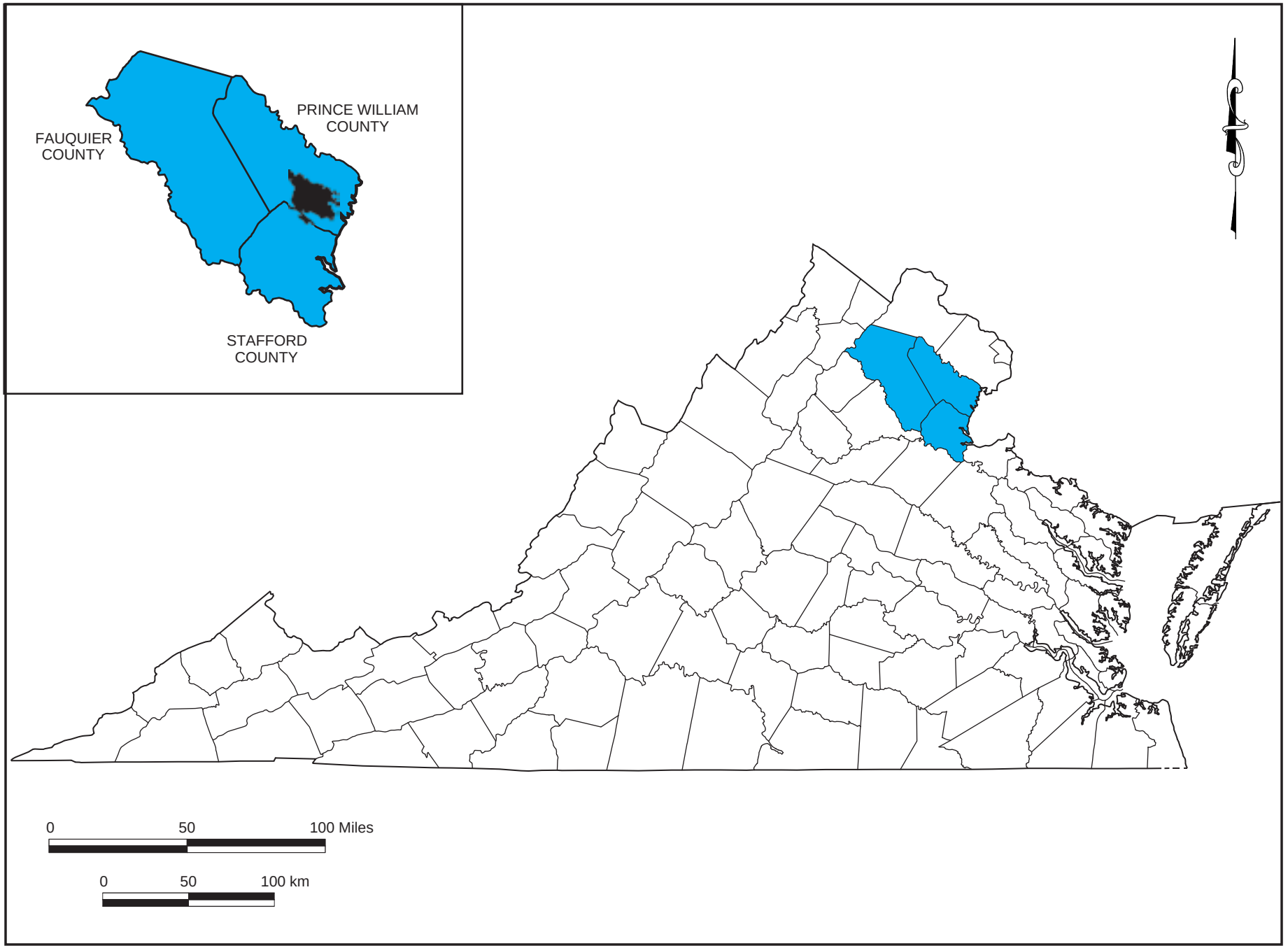

FIGURE 1: Location of the Prince William Forest Park

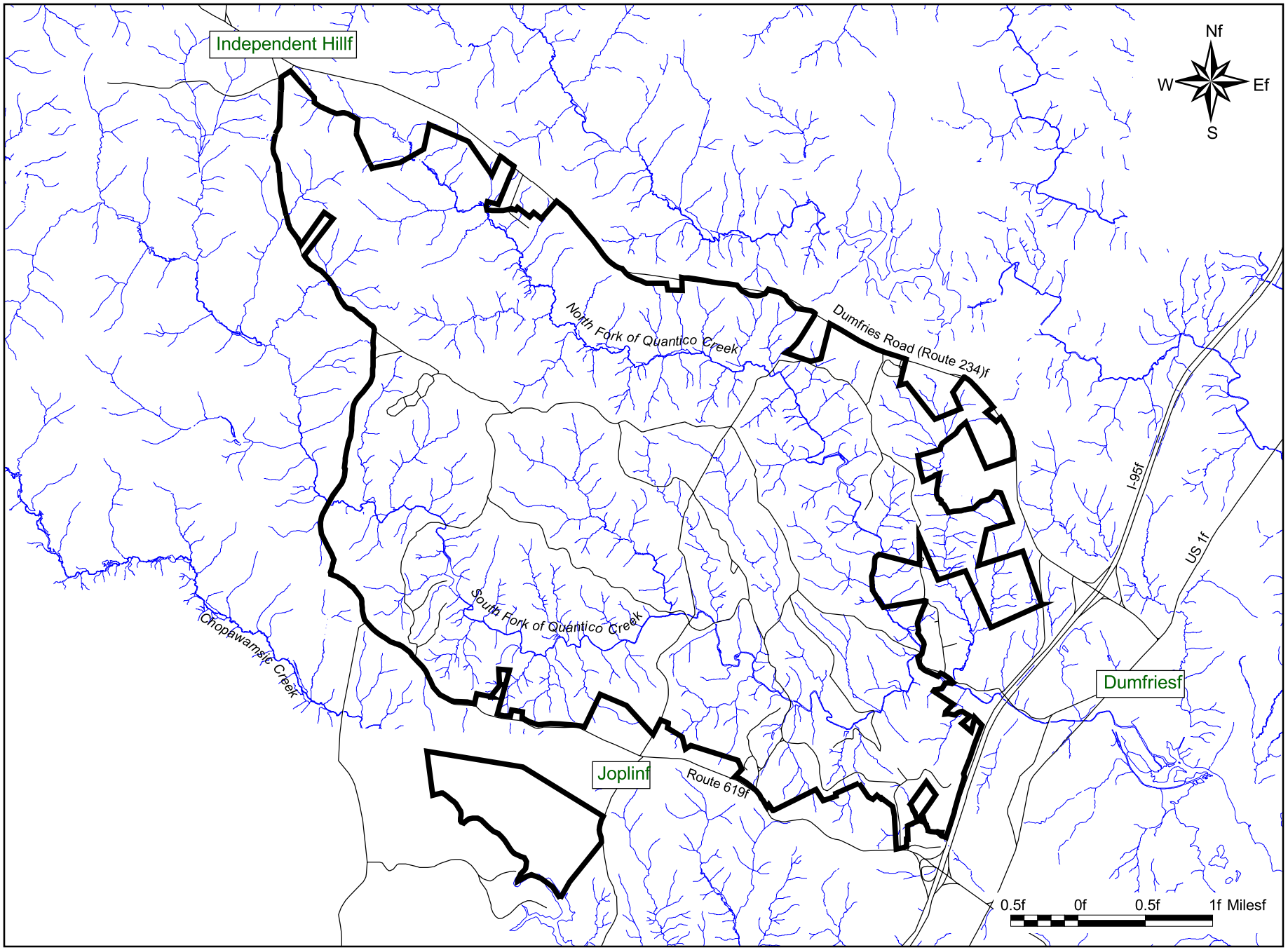

FIGURE 2: Prince William Forest Parkf

II. NATIVE AMERICAN OCCUPATIONS

A. THE ANCIENT LANDSCAPE

In ancient times the Park was part of the great forest that covered most of eastern North America, stretching from the plains to the ocean that would one day be known as the Atlantic. While it is tempting to think of this forest as "primeval" or "unchanging," in fact it was constantly changing. Modern studies have shown that the world's climate has changed repeatedly in the 11,500 years since the end of the last Ice Age. At that time, Virginia was covered by spruce and hemlock forests like those of Maine or northern Michigan. Fossil pollen preserved in lakes and bogs shows us that as the world warmed, oak trees spread northward, driving out the spruces, and that oaks became the dominant trees in the Park by about 10,000 years ago. Oaks have grown in the Park ever since, but in cool centuries, they were joined by birches and alders, and in warm eras, by hickories and southern pines. Wet years brought spreading wetlands and the sweet gum and red maple trees that thrive in them. Dry times brought forest fires, leaving behind layers of pond mud rich in charcoal; the pollen in those charcoal-stained layers record the presence of the grasses and shrubs that grow in burned-over lands.

During the Ice Age, the Potomac was a freshwater river that flowed freely to join the Susquehanna at a point that is now under the heart of the Chesapeake Bay, and the ancient Susquehanna reached the sea 60 miles east of the Bay's modern mouth. As the ice melted, the water rose, sea water filled the ancient river valleys, and the Potomac slowly became the tidal stream we know today. Tidal water reached Quantico perhaps 5,000 years ago. Before that time, the river would have looked much as it does today above Washington, and it would have supported very different communities of plants and animals.

B. THE PATTERN OF ARCHAIC SETTLEMENT

It is not difficult to find evidence of ancient Native Americans in the Park. Go to any level ridgetop overlooking either branch of Quantico Creek, stick a shovel in the soil, and you will most likely turn up small flakes of quartz and other stones. These flakes, which archeologists call *debitage*, are the waste left by people making stone tools. People who relied on stone tools left them wherever they camped, and we can get a rough idea of how many times a camping spot was used by Native Americans from the number of flakes we find. On most of the small Native American sites in the Park we have found only a few flakes, one to three per shovel-dug hole. In a few places we have found many more pieces of debitage along with stone tools and other traces of prehistoric peoples. These larger camps are mostly on the lower reaches of the streams, within an easy day's walk of the Potomac River.

The oldest datable artifact found in the Park is a spear point that was probably made in what archeologists call the Early Archaic period, between 8000 and 6000 BC (Table 1). The first known human settlement of Virginia took place in what archeologists call the Paleoindian period, in late Ice Age times when now-extinct mammals like mastodons and giant ground sloths still roamed North America. Most paleontologists think that the extinction of those animals was caused, at least in part, by human hunters; indeed, it seems that our species has caused great animal extinctions whenever

we have reached new lands (Flannery 2001). The arrival of a more modern climate, along with communities of plants and animals much like those we know today, marks the beginning of the Archaic period (8000 to 1000 BC). During the Early and Middle Archaic periods, there were few people in eastern North America, and they lived by hunting and collecting wild plants. They probably roamed widely throughout the year, sometimes in bands of 50 to 200 people, sometimes in smaller groups, and sometimes alone. We know from studies of modern hunter/gatherers that they think of their whole territories as their homes, not just the places where they happen to be camped. Their way of life depends on their intimate knowledge of their lands and the plants and animals that live in them. Sometimes they travel to gain information more than anything else. As John Smith wrote of the Indians he met, "by their continuall ranging, and travell, they know all the advantages and places most frequented with Deere, Beasts, Fish, Foule, Roots, and Berries" (Smith 1986). For example, the place along the North Fork we know today as the Greenwood Gold Mine is mentioned in early deeds as "the lick," that is, the salt lick, and we can assume that Native Americans had long known of this place; in fact, stone flakes and spear points have been found on the ridges all around this location.

8000 BC

A hunter pushes his way through the fir trees to the edge of the bluff and looks out across the river valley below him. A broad floodplain, scoured nearly bare by the violence of this year's floods, stretches away from him toward the river, shining in the rising sun. Even at dawn the air is warm—warmer than he can ever remember it so early in the spring. Looking at the trees, he knows that they feel the heat, too. They look weak and sickly, their old needles graying, their new buds eaten by worms. The land is changing. The caribou have gone off far to the north and no longer come even to the edges of his people's lands. Many other animals have disappeared, and game is scarce. All winter he has hunted the forest deer—prey he is not used to—and it has been a hungry season. Today, though, he seeks a different quarry. In the night, he heard the geese returning, and he is scouting for them along the river. It is a moon before the calendar of his fathers tells him to expect the spring flocks, but in his life, the geese have come early every year. Never so early as this, though, and his people are not ready. The women have not brought out the nets and fixed them, and his brothers are still off to the north, hunting. So he is alone, and he has only his atl-atl and a spear with a two-pronged point he carved of bone. Still, if the flock is big enough, he knows that he can throw and be assured of hitting something, and even one goose will seem a feast for his hungry family. Scanning the river bank, he sees geese everywhere. Their raucous sound is just beginning, and they are starting to stir, ruffling their feathers, testing their wings. Hungry as he is he pauses to thank the spirits for this bounty that comes every year and has saved his people before, one predictable event in this age of change. Then, he begins to climb down the steep slope to the valley below.

There are no large sites of the Early or Middle Archaic periods in the Park—just a few stone flakes and spear points left where people camped as they passed through. The largest sites of this period are usually near freshwater swamps and marshes, close to a variety of foods, or else by stone quarries. Still, we can be sure that the Park was part of what many people considered their homes throughout that period, and they must have thoroughly explored its forests and known its groves of nut-bearing trees, its berry patches, and the places where its deer denned for the winter.

In the Late Archaic period, 4000 to 1000 BC, the Native American population seems to have grown much larger. The people of the Late Archaic made, used, and lost more spear points than anyone else in the region's history. If you find a spear point lying in a field in Virginia, odds are it dates to the Late Archaic. In the earlier part of the Late Archaic, before 2000 BC, the most common type of spear point is called the Halifax point. The people who used these points camped throughout the uplands of the Middle Atlantic Region, leaving many small sites scattered across the landscape. Sites of early and later periods are usually concentrated in certain kinds of environments, but Halifax sites are everywhere. Any level site near a stream, or especially at the meeting place of two streams, seems to have been a suitable camping place for them. They must have been masters of the woodland environment, able to feed their growing population because of their great knowledge of all the resources the woods had to offer. Unfortunately, the kinds of places these people chose for their camps offer terrible conditions for archeological preservation, so that even though we have excavated many of these sites, we know very little about the Halifax point-using groups.

Just as they made use of all the possible food sources of the woodlands, Halifax point-using Late Archaic groups also used the stone they found in their woodland homes. Earlier and later peoples often journeyed to the special quarry sites where one can find chert, jasper, rhyolite, or other easily worked stone, or else traded for these materials. Halifax stone-tool makers made their spear points out of white quartz, a hard stone but one that can be found almost anywhere. Quarry sites where Halifax and other archaic people made tools from quartz cobbles have been found all across the region, including in the Park.

Table 1. Ancient Native American Cultural Sequence, Middle Atlantic Region

Cultural Period	Approximate Dates
Paleoindian	9500-8000 BC
Early Archaic	8000-6000 BC
Middle Archaic	6000-4000 BC
Late Archaic	4000-1000 BC
Early Woodland	1000-500 BC
Middle Woodland	500 BC-AD 800
Late Woodland	AD 800-1600
Contact	AD 1600-1700

In the later or Terminal Late Archaic, between 2000 and 1000 BC, the archeological record changes. Instead of many small sites distributed throughout the landscape, we find large sites along rivers. Some of the sites along the Potomac are very large, covering dozens of acres. New kinds of spear points were developed, especially a type called Savannah River. Savannah River points were usually made of quartzite rather than quartz, and some of them were so large and wide that they are called "broadspears." People began to carve bowls from steatite (soapstone), and to make drilled stones that we think were used as weights for fishing nets. We imagine that people were camping along the rivers so that they could use food and other resources from the rivers, especially the great spring and fall runs of shad, herring, eels, and other fish. However, we have very little evidence of this. Nor do we know the relationship between the river-oriented, Savannah River point-using people and the Halifax point-using hill people. Did one group evolve into the other? Were the Savannah River people invaders from further south? Did they live side by side? Or, was it just that one people used different kinds of tools when hunting in the woods and when fishing by the rivers? Even though sites of the Late Archaic period are very common, we are only beginning to understand what the lives of the people who used the artifacts we find were like.

2500 BC

The two hunters had waited in the bushes all through the long, hot evening, watching the salt lick along the little stream. It was a hot, dry summer, and only a trickle of water flowed between the rocks. The leaves of the trees hardly moved in the gloom, and sweat collected on the hunters' faces and hands. A few mosquitos buzzed around them. They fought the urge to stand and stretch their aching legs, or to talk to relieve their boredom—hot deer need salt, and the hunters knew that if they waited long enough, one was bound to come. Two does had come earlier, but they had somehow caught the hunters' scent in the still air, and they had run away. The quarter moon was rising now, which meant that it would soon be black dark in this dense forest. Then they saw them: a buck and three does, picking their way carefully down to the stream. The hunters were perfectly still, their black-painted faces blending into the night, their breathing as quiet as the rustling of mice. The elder man slid his fingers gently along the shaft of his spear-thrower, his hand taking the casting grip he had practiced so many times. The little point on the end of the spear thrower was set firmly in the notch in the end of his throwing dart. The feathers on the shaft came from a barred owl, another night hunter. Silently he prayed to the spirits of the forest, asking their aid, promising to burn the deer's bones so its soul could return to the forest, and the herd would not be diminished. The deer moved closer. They stopped to drink and lick the salty rocks near a poplar tree about 40 paces away. It would have to be a perfect throw. When the buck turned his side to the hunter, making a good target, the hunter began to move. His motion was swift but perfectly smooth. His legs straightened, lifting him up. His right arm went back, the spear-thrower gripped in his hand, two fingers holding the small spear in place. His left hand went forward for balance. The buck straightened, turning its ears to catch this new sound, and its muscles tensed to spring. The hunter's arm came smoothly forward, the spear-thrower came up and then followed the arm forward, and the dart shot off it into the night. Too late, the buck realized what was happening and tried to leap away, but he could not outrun the speeding dart. It struck him at the base of the neck and the quartz point cut through his hide, deep into his body. The three does ran, but he could not follow, and the two hunters ran toward him with their knives out to finish the hunt.

C. THE WILLIAMS BRANCH SITE — THE ARCHAIC PERIOD IN THE PARK

The Williams Branch Site is one of a group of Native American sites on the uplands that surround the large floodplain along the South Fork, just west of its meeting with the North Fork. Today this floodplain is mostly dry, but before drainage ditches were dug across it, sometime around 1900, it must have been swampier. The ridges that overlook this swamp from both the north and the south are strewn with evidence of ancient campsites (Table 2). The Williams Branch Site is on the largest ridge on the north side, which is about 600 feet wide. Small streams run through steep, narrow valleys both east and west of the ridge. The site extends more than 1,000 feet north along the ridge, and its total area is about 14 acres, but most of the artifacts were found at the southern end, overlooking the floodplain. This artifact-rich area had two parts, a broad hilltop about 500 feet across and 50 feet above the floodplain, and a small toe extending southeast from the main ridge, about 25 feet above the floodplain.

Table 2. Datable Artifacts from the Native American Sites Surrounding the South Fork Floodplain of Quantico Creek

Site	Artifact Type	Date Range
Williams Branch	Morrow Mountain II point	4500 to 4000 BC
	Halifax point	4000 to 2000 BC
	Savannah River point	2000 to 1000 BC
	Contracting stemmed point	4000 to 500 BC
Coles Ford	Savannah River point	2000 to 1000 BC
	Small triangular point	AD 700 to 1600
	2 Quartz-tempered potsherds	500 BC to AD 1600
Old Ridge Road	Contracting stemmed point	4000 to 500 BC
	Quartz-tempered potsherd	500 BC to AD 1600
Muschett	Palmer point	8000 to 7000 BC

During the testing of the Williams Branch Site, the archeologists excavated 14 3x3-foot test units. Eight of these were on the hilltop, and six on the lower ridge. Both areas were rich in artifacts, especially the lower ridge. The soils on the hilltop had been plowed, but those on the lower ridge had not. More than 4,500 artifacts were recovered during the testing. Most of this material, 3,690 artifacts, was quartz debitage that came from cobbles (Plate 2). Quartz cobbles can still be seen scattered across the surface of the slope between the hilltop and the lower ridge, and this must have been the source of the stone used by the Native American residents. The concentration of debitage was particularly heavy on the lower ridge, where up to 900 artifacts were found in a single test unit. This area must have been a sort of quarry and stone working shop, where people collected cobbles and made them into spear points and other tools. Cobbles broken by high heat, known to archeologists as fire-cracked rock, were found on both the hill and the lower ridge, showing us that fires were built in stone-lined hearths on the site. Several stone tools were found, including spear points and scrapers. The only datable artifacts were four spear points. One was a small Halifax point, the very common type used by the forest masters of the Late Archaic between 4000 and 2000 BC. The other specimens could not be identified as precisely, but one resembled the Late Archaic Savannah River type, and another was a contracting stemmed point of the type that is also generally dated to Late Archaic times but may have been used from 4000 to 500 BC. Another may have been a point of Morrow Mountain II type (4500 to 4000 BC). The points therefore suggest that the site was used throughout Middle and Late Archaic times.

What can we learn from all these pieces of broken stone? The manufacture of a single stone tool can produce as many as 400 pieces of debitage, so 3,600 flakes is not a very large number, but on the other hand, less than one tenth of one percent of the site was excavated. Extrapolating the artifact densities we found in our units across the entire site, there should be at least 1.5 million pieces of debitage in the Williams Branch Site. If we assume an average of 200 flakes and chips for each stone tool, then people must have made around 7,500 stone tools at the site. Since the site was in use for at least 3,000 years, 7,500 tools means only two tools per year. A skilled knapper can make a spear point from a quartz cobble in less than half an hour, so the piles of debitage we found might represent only one hour of human presence a year. The fire-cracked rocks and the spear points show

that people did more than just make stone tools at Williams Branch, but it is worth emphasizing how little human activity it takes over the course of 5,000 years to produce what seems like a very rich archeological site.

PLATE 2: Artifacts from Williams Branch

Of course, Williams Branch is just one site. So far as we know, the cobble quarrying area on the lower part of the Williams Branch Site is unique in this area, but the upper, hilltop part of the site is matched by similar sites on all the ridges surrounding the South Fork floodplain. We have defined 11 sites in this small area; of the 250 acres surrounding this one swampy floodplain along Quantico Creek, at least 150 acres are archeological sites. Sites measuring at least 25 acres have as many artifacts as we found in the hilltop part of Williams Branch. Extrapolating from our findings at Williams Branch, there should be at least 10 million pieces of debitage in this group of sites, at least 1,000 spear points, and at least 10,000 other stone tools. These numbers are not much better than guesses, but they give us an idea of how much evidence of their presence ancient Native Americans have left. If there were no soil or leaf litter in the Park, we would see the rocky ground littered with white pieces of quartz like hailstones after a heavy storm.

The group of sites around the South Fork floodplain is a rich one, but it is not unique. Follow almost any stream that flows into the Potomac up to where it forks, and if there is a suitable level camping spot nearby, you will find sites similar to Williams Branch. Testing along lower Chopawamsic Creek has revealed another large group of sites, including a quartz quarry where hundreds of pieces of broken rock are visible even through the leaves covering the ground. Add to these large sites the thousands of smaller sites that dot the countryside—one on almost every spot of level ground overlooking a large stream or at the meeting place of two smaller ones—and the extent of the record

that the ancient hunter-gatherers of North America have left of their presence all across the landscape becomes apparent. The meaning of this record is that the whole landscape is where ancient Native Americans lived. They did not invest a great deal of energy in any single site; instead, they dispersed their activities throughout the woods, swamps, and waterways of their homelands. Certain favored locations, at the meeting places of major streams and rivers, were visited more regularly, and more artifacts piled up in those locations, but even the largest Archaic sites in eastern North America do not imply that people lived there in large groups for any length of time. Other sites may be where they are owing to short-lived environmental factors, such as groves of nut-bearing trees or stands of plants with medicinal roots. Still other sites may be way stations along well-used trails. When all we find are debitage and a few stone tools, we can say very little about why people came to a particular spot, but the broad pattern of these sites in the landscape tells us something important about how those people lived.

D. WOODLAND TIMES

1. The Early and Middle Woodland, 1000 BC to AD 1000

The Woodland period begins around 1000 BC with the introduction of pottery. In the Ohio Valley the next 500 years were a period of growth and flourishing culture, during which the beginnings of horticulture helped to support the complex ritual lives of the Adena and other "mound builder" groups. The east coast saw only limited development in that direction, and there is some evidence that population levels actually fell throughout the region, perhaps because of colder weather (Fiedel 2001). Even if the population did not actually shrink, there is little evidence that peoples' lives were radically different in the Early Woodland period from what they were in the Late Archaic. Early Woodland sites are generally found along the rivers, as are Late Archaic sites, and we imagine that Early Woodland people used the same range of plants and animals as their Late Archaic predecessors had (Custer 1984, 1989).

Pottery became more common in the Middle Woodland period and was produced with a wider variety of manufacturing techniques and decorative styles, especially after AD 1. Other signs of an increasing pace of cultural change are present. The bow and arrow were introduced around AD 700. If populations fell in the Early Woodland, they rebounded in the Middle Woodland period. The historic Indians of Virginia and Maryland mostly spoke Algonquian languages that were closely related to the languages of Algonquian speakers in Canada and the Great Lakes Region. Speakers of these languages may have entered the Middle Atlantic region from the north sometime during the Middle Woodland (Fiedel 1990). Artifacts identical to those used in northern New York were found a few years ago in a burial that dates to about AD 550 along Rock Creek in Washington, D.C., which supports the case for migrations from the north during the Middle Woodland period.

We have a general impression that over the course of the Late Archaic and Woodland periods, people of Virginia and the Middle Atlantic region gradually changed their way of life from one in which they moved regularly about the whole landscape to one in which they spent much of their time in villages or "base camps." Anthropologists call the tendency of people to live in one place "sedentism," and we think that after 4000 BC, the Native Americans of our area were increasingly sedentary. Whereas Halifax points are distributed almost evenly across the landscape, most of the Native America pottery we find comes from larger sites along rivers or major streams. More pottery

was found in one test unit dug in a Woodland site along the tidal part of Chopawamsic Creek than has been found in all the work we have done in Prince William Forest Park (Bedell and Fiedel 2003). We are not sure how people arranged their lives, but they seem to have been spending more and more time in their main camps. We suspect that they used those camps for harvesting shad and herring during the spring fish runs, and they probably dug up the marsh roots known to historic Indians as "tuckahoe." (Tuckahoe may refer to pickerel weed, arrow arum, or goldenclub, all of which have edible roots, or it may just be a general word meaning "marsh roots.") They may have practiced an early form of agriculture using native North American plants such as squash, sunflowers, passionfruit, and annual weeds with starchy seeds, such as amaranth, sumpweed, and goosefoot. We also know, however, that they continued to roam widely through the woods, hunting and gathering, and we have found both spear points and potsherds of the Early and Middle Woodland periods in the Park.

2. The Late Woodland

During the Late Woodland period, after about AD 1000, agriculture and the construction of fortified villages spread through Virginia and the rest of the Middle Atlantic region, and Native American societies took on the form observed and recorded by the first European explorers and settlers. By combining archeological discoveries with the careful accounts of some of those explorers and the traditions of modern-day Native Americans, we can reconstruct a picture of what life was like around the Chesapeake Bay in the Late Woodland period. People lived in small tribes of a few hundred people, each with one or two villages. John Smith's map of 1608 shows dozens of such villages all around the Bay and its tributaries, one every five to 20 miles. The houses in these villages were what we call wigwams, consisting of a frame of saplings bent to form arches and an outer covering of woven mats or sections of tree bark. Politically, these villages were joined together into tribal confederations led by chiefs such as the famous Powhatan.

Late Woodland Indians were farmers. They raised crops that originated in Mexico, especially corn, beans, and squash. These crops came to our area around AD 1000 after they had been bred to grow in the North American climate. Native Americans of the Late Woodland practiced what we call "swidden" or "slash and burn" agriculture; that is, they cleared land by cutting and burning, grew crops on it for a few years until its fertility began to fall, and then moved on to new fields. However, farming did not replace hunting, fishing, or gathering among the Indians. The classic account of the Native Americans' seasonal round was given by John Smith in his description of the Virginia Algonquians. He wrote,

> In March and Aprill they live much upon their fishing wires; and feed on fish, Turkies, and Squirrels. In May and June they plant their fields, and live most of Acornes, Walnuts, and fish. But to mend their dyet, some disperse themselves in small companies, and live upon fish, beasts, crabs, oysters, land Tortoises, strawberries, mulberries, and suchlike. In June, July, and August, they feed upon the rootes of Tochwough berries, fish, and greene wheat. It is strange to see how their bodies alter with their dyet, even as the deere and wilde beasts they seeme fat and leane, strong and weake [Smith 1986:116-117].

In the fall, Smith and other observers tell us, the Indians left their villages and journeyed several days away to hunt deer and gather nuts:

> At their huntings leave their habitations, and reduce themselves into companies . . . and goe to the most desert places with their families, where they spend their time in hunting and fowling up towards the mountaines, by the heads of the rivers, where there is plentie of game. For betwixt the rivers the grounds are so narrowe, that little commeth here wich they devoure not. . . . At their huntings in the deserts they are commonly two or three hundred together. Having found the Deere, they environ them with many fires, and betwizt the fires they place themselves. And some take their stands in the midsts. The Deere being thus feared by the fires, and their voyces, they chase them so long within that circle, that many times they kill 6, 8, 10, or 15 at a hunting [Smith 1986:118].

Because of their continued reliance on hunting and gathering, Late Woodland Indians left many small archeological sites scattered across the landscape. The Park seems a particularly likely spot for fall deer hunts to have been carried out by people who lived along the Potomac. The Late Woodland pottery found at sites along Quantico Creek may have been left during such expeditions. Other sites cluster along the trails that crisscrossed the whole region; some of the trails were short paths, but others were highways that stretched hundreds of miles. Indians of the historic period were great travelers, willing to walk hundreds of miles for trade, hunting, warfare, or diplomacy, and their paths became the basis of many later roads. The old road that became U.S. 1 follows an Indian trail known as the Potomac Path, and at times this trail may have passed through the eastern part of the Park. The presence of Native American sites along the former path of Ridge Road, which ran through the center of the Park, suggests that this road also follows the route of an Indian path.

Accounts of European observers show that the Indians they met were not only familiar with the resources of the forests around their homes, but also knew their own history. Edward Bland, who led a trading expedition into the North Carolina Piedmont in 1650, recorded several monuments to important events along the well-traveled path from the falls of the James southwest to Ocaneechi town. "Severall great heapes of bones" marked the place where Opechancanough, brother of Powhatan and his successor as leader of the Powhatan confederacy, led 400 of his own men on the warpath and "treacherously slew" 260 Hocomawannack Indians. "A great heap of sticks covered with greene boughs" marked the spot where "a great man of the Chawans" had been killed fighting bravely in battle; young men of his people placed fresh branches on the spot as they headed off to war, to "animate them to doe the like when occasion requires." In another place the explorers saw a cleared path 40 yards long between two unusual trees. They were told a long story of war, diplomacy, and deception, culminating with the treacherous killing of a Chawan king during a meeting at the two trees. The path was kept clear as a monument to those events; allies of the Powhatans removed fallen leaves or branches from the western half, and allies of the Chawans cleared the eastern half (Briceland 1987:82-83). The Potomac Path must once have been lined with similar monuments.

The forests were also the setting of many Native American religious rituals. John Smith and John Strachey both described a coming-of-age ritual for boys that was practiced around Jamestown in which the boys lived in the woods for months being taught by the religious leaders of their tribes. Among the Lenape and some other groups young women underwent an even more harrowing initiation; when it came time to bear their first child, they went into the woods and gave birth alone. One of the most routine rituals of Indians throughout much of North America, for both spiritual and medicinal purposes, was the sweat, often performed in specially built sweat lodges, some of them

well outside the bounds of the village. For Late Woodland Indians, the forest was not only a place where one searched for food, but a place to mark history. It provided the setting for important rituals as well.

E. QUANTICO CREEK — THE WOODLAND PERIOD IN THE PARK

The Quantico Creek Site is located on the broad South Fork floodplain, just 150 yards from the Williams Branch Site. It sits on an old bank of the creek, overlooking a now dry and filled channel of the stream. It seems that over the past 10,000 years, the South Fork has been working its way south across this floodplain, leaving behind a series of old channels and old stream terraces. The terrace where the Quantico Creek Site was discovered was built by the stream between 6,000 and 3,000 years ago.

When we began excavating the Quantico Creek Site, we hoped to find that as the stream built up its levee, dumping a load of fine sand every time it overflowed its banks, it had buried the remains of a series of Native American camps, so that as we dug down we would encounter older and older artifacts. Unfortunately for us, it seems that people did not begin camping on this spot until it had reached nearly its modern height, so there were no deeply buried artifacts. Most of what we found was in the plowzone or the layer just below it. Those finds included at least two stone tools. One was a Fox Creek stemmed spear point made of rhyolite (AD 400 to 900), and the other was a small quartz scraper. Twenty-five potsherds were found, but most of these were very small. Only one truly diagnostic specimen was found, a thin, quartz-tempered sherd decorated with designs made using a cord-wrapped stick. This is almost certainly a specimen of Potomac Creek ware, AD 900 to 1600. Three other sherds appeared to have the same decoration. Some of the other sherds can be dated in a rough way from the manufacturing technique. One sherd from the buried plowzone was tempered with steatite (soapstone), which probably dates it to the period 1200 to 800 BC. Another was tempered with chunks of clay, and this technique was most common between AD 1 and 400. Nine sherds were tempered with crushed quartz and mica, which may date them to later Middle Woodland times, between AD 600 and 1000 (matching the Fox Creek point). The other sherds, tempered with crushed quartz or sand, could also date to almost any part of the Woodland. The pottery represents use throughout the Woodland period.

The use of this site in the Woodland period may represent a change of habits from Archaic times. The Quantico Creek Site produced more ceramics than all of the other Native American sites in the Park combined, and no definite evidence of Archaic occupation. Archeologists have noticed that along some rivers in the region, they usually find Archaic sites on the uplands and Woodland sites on the floodplain (Gardner 1982, 1987), and we may be seeing the same thing at Quantico Creek. One explanation archeologists have offered for the shift is that Woodland peoples may have been harvesting the seeds of annual plants such as sumpweed and goosefoot that thrive in floodplain environments. That could be the case at Quantico Creek, since sandbars along the creek do support populations of weedy annuals. However, it is dangerous to generalize from this one site, and it may simply be that the relatively high and dry terrace where the Quantico Creek is located was not high and dry enough to be a good camping spot in Archaic times.

We can imagine small groups of people—the terrace is too small for a big group—traveling up Quantico Creek from their camps or villages on the Potomac. Some might have been hunting, others

looking for roots or perhaps medicinal plants. A war party might have also come this way, or a lone traveler on his way to trade or visit distant relatives. They made their camps along the bank of the stream, built fires, cooked meals in their clay pots, slept, and went on their way.

AD 1608

Aliquippa ran through the grove of poplars along the bank of the creek called Quanticutt, her feet sinking into the soft soil. It was late in the early autumn afternoon, and if she was going to get home before dark, she would have to hurry. In the woven bag over her shoulder she already carried what she had come here to find, a double handful of maycock roots. Her grandmother had the pains in her shoulders and hips again, and she had sent Aliquippa to gather the roots for her. Aliquippa was surprised because she knew that maycock roots were poison. "You may eat the fruit when they are yellow," her mother had told her, "but never eat the leaves or the roots because they will make you sick, and you might die. Even too many of the fruit can sicken you, so just eat one or two." So, she had challenged her grandmother, eager to show off her knowledge. But her grandmother explained that sometimes medicine and poison were very close to each other, and that what can kill can sometimes also heal. "Everything made by the Great Spirit has a purpose," her grandmother said, "even the wolf, who teaches us how to hunt, even the blind worm. If I brew it right, the maycock root will poison my pain, but not my body." Aliquippa had taken her bag and gone off into the woods in search of maycocks. They were easy to find, their dark green leaves like spread hands hiding their stems, hiding the white flower that bloomed in the moon of planting corn. She did not really have to come so far, since maycocks grew all through the woods, even just around the village. But she used this break from the work of husking and pounding corn to visit one of her little secrets, the maracocks growing on a tree that had fallen along the banks of Quanticutt. Two moons ago she had seen the first of the showy purple flowers on the fallen tree, and she had made note of where they were so she could find the spot when the fruit were ready. Ahead she could see the sunlight streaming into the glade left by the great tree when it fell, and her heartbeat quickened when she approached. Yes, she thought, the vines were still there and she could see yellow fruit hanging from them. Running forward, she grabbed one of the brightest and yanked it off the vine, then bit half of it off and felt its slightly sour sweetness dissolve in her mouth, enjoying it. She ate two more as she stood there. Then she put another in her bag and skipped back down the creek toward home. The woods around her were open, and once she had climbed up the rocky slope from the creek, the path was smooth and sandy. The sun was just setting when she reached the edge of the bluffs and saw the Potomac River below her. She was looking down over Pamacocack, her home, a dozen wigwams surrounded by cornfields on the floodplain by the river. But something else caught her eye. On the river she saw a canoe, but it was like no canoe she had ever seen before. It was nearly as big as a house, and from its center what looked like a dead tree sprang up, hung with white blankets. The great canoe moved up the river without oars. Something about it gave her a terrible feeling, moving that way, so strange and quiet on the river. She watched it move away around the bend to the north, then caught her breath and ran down to her house, to tell her mother about this strange thing and find out what it meant.

Note: "Maycocks" are what we call may apple; "maracocks" are passionfruit.

III. EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT

A. THE DOEGS AND THE SUSQUEHANNOCK WAR

The arrival of the English colonists at Jamestown led quickly to profound changes for Native Americans throughout eastern North America. The impact spread far beyond the actual reach of the white men as European diseases and warfare over the fur trade led to the disappearance of many tribes and the displacement of others. A few Indian groups, such as the Five Nations Iroquois, took advantage of the changes to expand their wealth and power, but for most the seventeenth century was a time of shrinking populations, loss of territory, and political uncertainty. The Native Americans who occupied the Park in the early 1600s were a tribe known to history as the Doegs or Tauxenents.

John Smith's map shows a village called Pamacocack along the Potomac between Quantico and Chopawamsic creeks, under the built-up center of the Marine Corps Base. According to later English authors, this village was within the territory of the Doegs. The Doegs spoke an Algonquian language but were not members of the Powhatan Confederacy (Potter 1993). Smith placed the houses of the *werowanc* or chief of the Doegs along the north shore of the Occoquan River, but by 1650 their capital was on Mason Neck. They seem to have lived on both sides of the Potomac, and their territory may have extended westward to the mountains. The English considered the Doegs their enemies, the very definition of "bad Indians," and never even pretended to treat them fairly.

The Doegs' territory in northern Virginia was well beyond the area of early English settlement, which was mostly limited to lands along the lower James and York rivers. The English population of Virginia expanded slowly throughout the 1620s and 1630s, until the alarmed Powhatans launched an attack on them in 1644. What the English called the Second Powhatan War ended with an English victory in 1646, and almost immediately the colonists began to expand their settlements. They quickly spread up the Potomac and west into the Piedmont, ignoring the claims of the Doegs who lived along the upper Potomac. The 1650s saw a frenzy of land speculation in which the wealthy and well-connected patented thousands of acres of land, and by 1670, all the land on the navigable parts of the Potomac and its tributaries had been claimed. The site of the Doegs' main village was, it seems, the first piece of property north of the Chopawamsic claimed by an Englishman (Harrison 1924:41). For reasons we do not understand, the Doegs seem to have been in political decline in this period, and not long after 1650, most of them moved either across the Potomac into Maryland or northwest to join the Susquehannocks, an Iroquois group who were at war with the powerful Five Nations. In 1673, the Susquehannocks were defeated and nearly destroyed by the Five Nations, and they and their Doeg friends seem to have scattered across the Maryland and Virginia back country.

In the 1660s and 1670s, the Doegs still hunted and traded in their old Virginia territories, and in 1675 a dispute over pigs between some Doegs and a settler named Mathews led to bloodshed and helped to touch off the colonial struggle known as Bacon's Rebellion. Fighting broke out after the Stafford militia, sent to catch the pig stealers, killed several Susquehannock Indians who said they had nothing to do with the pig dispute. At a council held between several Indian leaders and officers of the Virginia and Maryland militias, the Susquehannock representatives were murdered by Marylanders, and the Susquehannocks and Doegs took to the warpath to get their revenge. The

Indians attacked plantations all along the northern Virginia frontier. According to contemporary reports, they killed 36 English settlers in one attack along the Rappahannock. Many plantations in northern Virginia were abandoned, and most of the settlers withdrew below Aquia Creek. Eventually, however, the Doegs and Susquehannocks were defeated by the English. Many of their people were killed, and they soon disappeared from the historical record. The testimony of a "King of the Doegs" appears in a Stafford County record of 1691, in which he reported that after being held prisoner for 14 years by the Seneca (one of the Five Nations of the Iroquois), he lived with the Nanjetecoes (Nanticokes) in Maryland. Most likely the other Doeg survivors merged with the Piscataway and other Maryland Indians or moved farther west, beyond the reach and knowledge of the English.

B. THE GREAT LAND GRAB

After the Susquehannock War, the English settlement of northern Virginia resumed. However, many of those who had been driven out by the war never returned, and some property owners seem simply to have forgotten about their claims. The war therefore added a further level of confusion to a land-patenting system that was already distorted by corruption and ineptitude. The patents were claimed by "headrights"; a planter could take 50 acres of land for each person he paid to bring to the colony. However, patenting alone did not create outright ownership of the land. The land also had to be "seated." Despite various legislative attempts to define it, the meaning of "seating" remained vague, but the rules generally required that some portion of the land be cleared for farming and a house built before the claim would be legal. Many of the tracts patented in the great land rush of the 1650s were never seated, and so the patents lapsed. Many tracts were patented again or even several times. The land grab in Virginia was carried out so quickly that there was no time for accurate mapping. Mistakes in the surveys sometimes left large voids between patents or led to overlaps and competing claims. Furthermore, it was often not clear which claims had lapsed because the land was unoccupied—a question, in fact, that often depended on the whether the claimant had the political power to have the courts recognize his claim. These problems were well known to contemporaries; in 1691 one petitioner began his suit before the Stafford County Court by saying,

> Whereas there hath arisen some disputes and controversies like to happen between the adjacent neighbours and Proprietors of the next adjoyning lands . . ." [Sparacio and Sparacio 1987b: 42].

Because of all these complications, the date when land was patented does not necessarily indicate when it was first cleared or occupied, and it can be very difficult to reconstruct the early history of a property from the written records.

The first patents in the Park were taken out in this 1650 land-rush period. In 1652, Samuel Mathews, the governor of the colony, claimed 5,211 acres along the north shore of Chopawamsic Creek, extending northwest to a point in the southeastern part of the Park. The other lands around the tidal portions of Chopawamsic and "Quanticutt" creeks were claimed by 1665, and by 1678, three large patents had been taken out by Gilson, Morris, and Beck & Hatoft that made up the northeastern third of the Park (Figure 3). To date, no good evidence has yet been found that any of these lands were actually settled in the seventeenth century. Archeological sites dating to this period are rare in northern Virginia, suggesting that the land was very thinly settled indeed.

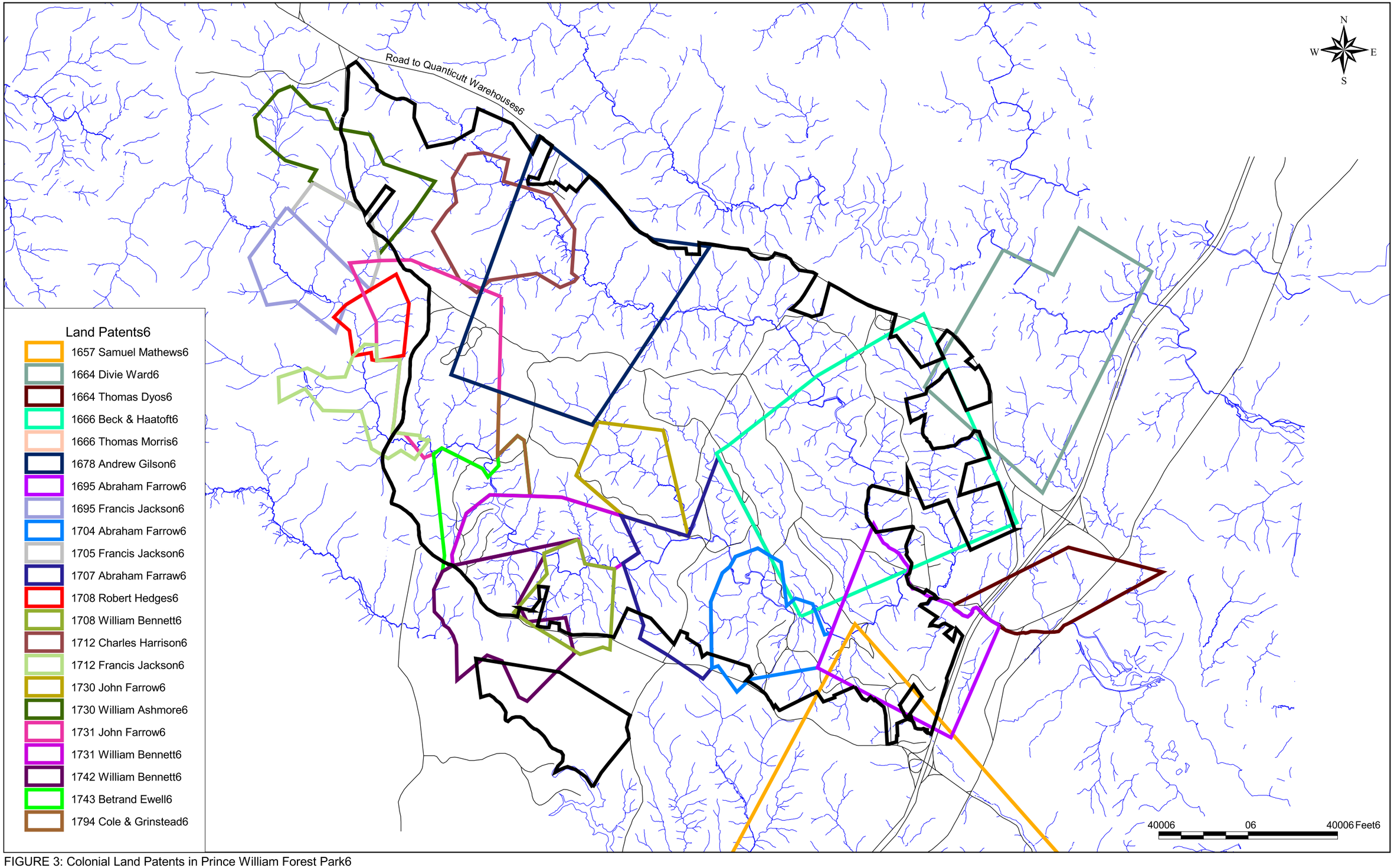

FIGURE 3: Colonial Land Patents in Prince William Forest Park6

C. THE FRONTIER

During the 1650 to 1720 period, the Park was on the frontier of English settlement in North America. Indeed, the pattern of American frontier life that would eventually be extended all the way to Missouri and east Texas was established in the Virginia borderlands. Both the characteristics of the frontiersmen that we admire—courage, ingenuity, self-reliance, woodcraft—and those that make us uncomfortable—violence, greed, hatred of Indians—were to be found among these Virginians. They made clearings in the forest, planted crops, protected their livestock from wolves and cougars, raised families, and set up new county governments, churches, and other institutions. Some of them settled down and became long-time residents, but many of them stayed only a few years or a decade before moving on further west. The records suggest that in this early period, a number of plantations were set up along the Potomac River in what is now Prince William County and along the lower reaches of the creeks. It is harder to know what was happening further inland. We know that a few hardy people settled in the back country since their houses and roads make scattered appearances in the records, but more than that we can scarcely say.

1. The Landscape of 1650

What did the country look like when the first Europeans settled in the Park? The question sounds simple, but it is actually a hard one to answer. Virginia was not one vast forest waiting to be cleared, as the folklore of the American frontier sometimes has it. One English promoter assured prospective settlers in a 1650 pamphlet that they would not have to cut the forests themselves, "for there are an immense quantity of Indian fields cleared already to our hand by the Natives." Accounts of John Smith and other explorers who ventured forth from the settlements around Jamestown often speak of "old fields" or "Indian fields," cleared by Native American farmers to grow their crops. The Native Americans practiced what anthropologists call "swidden" agriculture, clearing plots by cutting down and burning any existing vegetation, and planting the same plot for only a few years before moving on to new areas. As he traveled Virginia's rivers, John Smith saw forests alternating with active corn fields and old fields growing up in brush or small trees.

Besides clearing the land for planting crops, Virginia's Indians also set fires in wild lands when they were hunting. The effect of these fires would have depended on the ecology of the places where they were set. A fire set in a mature oak forest does not usually hurt the larger trees; instead, the underbrush burns, clearing out everything underneath the forest canopy. The effect of such burning in Virginia was described by several seventeenth-century observers, who spoke of forests so open a man could pass through them on a horse at full gallop: "Neare their habitations . . . a man may gallop a horse amongst these woods any way, but where the creekes or Rivers shall hinder." (Smith 1986:116)

A fire set in an old field growing up in brush or young trees, however, will probably burn everything, leaving behind a smoldering clearing. In this case fires would interrupt forest succession, preventing the growth of mature trees and keeping the land in meadows and brush. We have some indications that much of the land along Virginia's rivers was like this. For example, the English settlers all commented on Virginia's wonderful strawberries. Wild strawberries do not grow in the shade of a mature forest, but require open, sunlit meadows. The account written in 1650 of an expedition from Virginia into North Carolina mentions large tracts of "open Champion lands"—"champion" was an

English word for open country—and also "a piece of very rich ground whereon the Moketans had formerly lived and grown up so with weeds and small prickly locusts and thistles to a very great height" (Briceland 1987:145). Most of these old fields were along the rivers where Indians had their villages, but we also have some evidence of open lands well away from the water. For example, an inland area in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, measuring more than 2,000 acres, was described in deeds as "The Range," and the residents suggested to the governor that it would be easier to build a new road through those open grasslands. Another "savannah" appears in deeds for properties along Elk Run in Fauquier County. Perhaps in dry years the hunting fires sometimes burned out of control and consumed the larger trees along with the underbrush, creating these islands of prairie in the midst of the forest.

We do have some specific information on the landscape of the Park itself in this period. When colonial surveyors laid out land grants for their employers they chose trees to serve as the corners of the plots, marking the trees with blazes. One way to get a glimpse into the forests that stood in Virginia at the time of European settlement is to examine the deeds and see what kinds of trees the surveyors used for those corner markers. For example, a grant given to Robert Hedges in 1708 is described as:

> Beginning at three markt Poplars standing on Quanticott[1] main Run ye said three Poplars being likewise the Beginning of Samuel Jacksons land on ye same Run & extending thence by ye said Jacksons line South twenty five Degrees West fifty Poles to a Markt Red Oak standing in ye said Jacksons Line thence South fourty seven Degrees East fourty Eight poles to a Hickory then South tenn Degrees East sixty four poles to a Black Oak then East twenty poles to a Hickory then north eighty Degrees East twenty poles to a White Oak standing by ye main Run on ye Upper & North side thereof then south thirty Degrees East down ye Run by its meanders thirty five poles to ye mouth of a Branch then up ye said Branch north seventy five degrees East sixty poles to a markt white Oak standing in ye Branch then North four Degrees East one hundred & fourty poles to a Red Oak then North twenty five Degrees West Eighty six poles to another of Samuel Jacksons Lines then by e same Line of Jacksons south fifty four Degrees West to a White Oak corner tree of Jacksons standing on ye Main Run then up ye Main Run to the first Beginning. . . [Northern Neck Grants 1703-1710:191].

Counting up all the mentions of tree species in patents and deeds for the area between Chopawamsic and Powells creeks, over the 1650 to 1720 period, we find that nearly 80 percent were oaks of one kind of another (Table 3). (A "Spanish oak" was what we call a southern red oak.) Hickory and poplar were the only other species with more than three mentions. The uplands of the Park were covered with a mature oak-hickory forest. Three pine trees are mentioned, but two of them are located along the lower Chopawamsic, near the former Native American village of Pamacocack. Charcoal from a Late Woodland archeological site in this area was identified as cedar and pine (Bedell and Fiedel 2003). The lowlands along Chopawamsic Creek were probably farmed by the Doegs, and when European settlers arrived, the land was probably a thicket of pine and cedar. The only other signs of clearings in the great forest are two deeds that mention "poyson fields." One is the 1695 patent for the lands of Samuel Jackson's adjacent to the Robert Hedges' grant we just considered, just west of the Park along the upper reaches of the South Fork; the other is

[1] Quantico Creek was called "Quanticutt" in the 1600s. The first use of the modern spelling we have found was in 1712, and by 1730, the creek is always called "Quantico".

along the upper Chopawamsic. A "poyson field" was probably a meadow in which some plant grew that was harmful to cattle, but it is not clear what that plant might be.

Available records suggest that in 1650, most of the Park was covered in old hardwood forests. This does not mean that nobody lived in the Park. Besides any surviving Doegs, we have vague hints in our records of a class of wild white men, sometimes called "rangers," who lived just beyond the settled lands of the Tidewater. The county court of Norfolk complained in 1677 about "idle persons" who "doe for the most part employ themselves in hunting and killing of wild cattle" (Morgan 1975:237). In the 1680s, the authorities in Virginia "prohibited all Pens to be made in the woods under pretensions of catching wild horses as also all Rangers to say those that make it their business to Range for wild horses," and in 1690 the court of Stafford County issued orders enforcing this policy (Sparacio and Sparacio 1987a:109). (One supposes that the rangers were accused of rustling horses that did have owners.) A Moravian missionary traveling in the Shenandoah Valley in 1749 wrote:

> We came to a house, where we had to lie on bear skins around the fire like the rest. The manner of living is rather poor in this district. The clothes of the people consist of deer skins. Their food of Johnny cakes, deer and bear meat. A kind of white people are found here, who live like savages. Hunting is their chief occupation [Robinson 1979:148].

These "loose and vagrant persons" were a constant worry to the colonial authorities. They enter the records when military expeditions had to be mounted—as one Virginia general noted, such expeditions depended on "lose, idle persons that are quite destitute of house and home"—and when they were caught killing other men's cattle, hogs, or horses (Morgan 1975:241, 40). In February 1692, a jury made up of men from the Quantico area convicted William Burton of killing a hog belonging to Joseph Sumner. Burton was fined 2,000 pounds of tobacco, about as much as a man could raise in a year; since there was no way could Burton could pay the fine himself, they were, in effect, sentencing him to as much as two years of servitude to a planter who would pay the fine in return for Burton's labor (Sparacio and Sparacio 1987b:93). The rugged terrain of the Park would have made it an ideal spot for rangers to carry out their illicit activities, whether penning rustled horses or feasting on stolen hogs.

Table 3. Tree Species Mentioned in Patents and Deeds, 1650-1720

Tree Species	Number
Oaks	
White Oak	45
Red Oak	25
Black Oak	24
Spanish Oak	4
Chestnut Oak	1
Unspecified Oak	4
Oak Total	**103**
Hickory	13
Poplar	5
Locust	3
Beech	3
Pine	3
Black Walnut	2
Mulberry	1
Sycamore	1
Maple	1

Another activity of the Rangers, one that did have the support of the authorities, was catching wolves. Wolves were a great danger to the free-ranging cattle, the sheep, and the pigs on which the new colonists depended for food, and with the decline in hunting by Indians and the new food source provided by sheep and calves, they may have been increasing their numbers in the 1600s. The

colonists responded by paying a bounty of 200 pounds of tobacco for wolves' heads. A curious entry in the record book of Stafford County on December 13, 1692 notes, not only the names of the hunters claiming bounties but the method by which they obtained their wolf heads:

> Capt. Withers gun; Samll. Jackson trapp; John Arrledge Trap; Dr. Maddockes gun; Thomas Barton senior pitt; Richd. Foot Indian; Robert Hedges pitt; John Grigsby pitt; Wm. Bennett gun . . . [Sparacio and Sparacio 1989:136].

The "Indian" entries refer to heads purchased from Indians. Wolf pits were markers on the landscape that could be used as corners in property deeds; a wolf pit in the Park served as a corner for Captain Samuel Mathews' 1652 land grant, the first given out in the vicinity of the Park.

When the first European planters arrived in the area now encompassed by the Park, it was covered in forests made up largely of oak trees. It was the haunt of wolves, wild pigs, and possibly also of wild, rebellious men. There were a few clearings, perhaps created by the fires Indians set during their hunts, but for the most part the forest was made up of large trees. Most likely, given that this area was close to villages along the Potomac, it had been burned repeatedly and there was very little undergrowth.

2. Early Settlers: Abraham and Margaret Farrow

Around 1730, most of the southern shore of Quantico Creek from Joplin almost to the Potomac belonged to one man, Abraham Farrow. Farrow's origins are not known, but he was probably an immigrant from England. He first appears in the records in 1691 as the husband of Margaret Farrow, who was formerly the wife of Edward Mason. Mason had been a wealthy man, a relative of the George Masons of Mason Neck, and by marrying his widow, Farrow was making the classic move of the ambitious Virginian. The customs of Virginia gave the widow much greater control over her husband's estate than was the case in England, so "The man with his eye on the main chance went for the widow rather than the daughters when a wealthy Virginian died" (Morgan 1975:167). Farrow, like George Washington a few generations later, found his marriage to be a major step up the economic ladder, and in the 1690s, he began acquiring land along the Quantico.

A deed of 1701 identifies Farrow as a millwright, and he was long associated with Quanticutt Mill, the gristmill that was built at the falls of the Quantico around 1690 (Figure 4). In 1704, Farrow was accused by Joshua Davis, the owner of the mill, of breaking into the mill house and carrying away 137 bushels of Indian corn and eight bushels of wheat. No doubt this alleged altercation was actually a dispute about how much of the mill's profits should go to Davis as the owner and how much to Farrow as operator. (By including an allegation of violence, litigants could get their case heard quickly by the Justices of the Peace instead of by the very slow process of the regular civil courts.) Farrow's identification as a millwright makes it likely that he had been born in England since seventeenth-century England provided many more opportunities than Virginia to learn that trade. Very few millwrights appear in the Stafford County records, and it may be that Farrow himself was responsible for the design and construction of the Quantico mill. By 1708, Farrow had become wealthy enough to buy the mill outright:

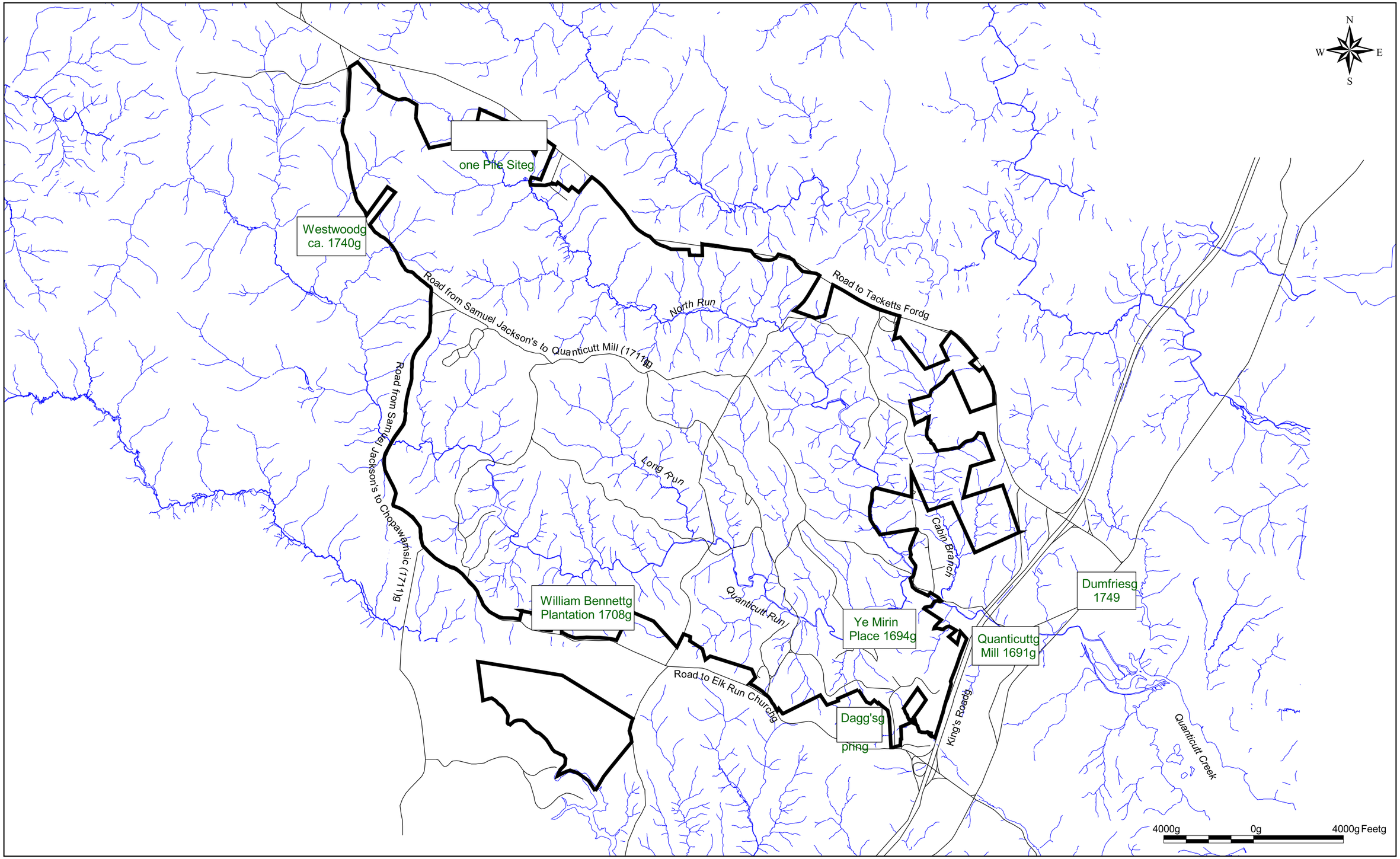

FIGURE 4: Sites of the Colonial Period in and Around Prince William Forest Parkg

> I Joshua Davis of County Richmond this 13th day of Janry 1708 for the consideration of 5000 pounds of tobacco paid by Abram Farrow of Stafford County . . . have sold all that parcel of land being in Stafford County containing 200 acres being on the South side of Quantico Creek. . . and likewise an old water grist mill standing at the head of Quantico Branch [Sparacio and Sparacio 1989:160].

Farrow's first acquisitions were of land close to the Potomac that had been patented in the 1650s and so may have been cleared and settled for some time (like the mill tract). By 1704, however, he had begun to patent unclaimed land farther inland. These patents may have further enriched Farrow and his descendants, but they also embroiled the family in a long series of property disputes with other claimants to the same land.

One of Farrow's patents along the South Fork of the Quantico overlapped with a large grant west of Dumfries given in 1666 to Beck and Hatoft. In 1704, the owners seem to have written off or forgotten about the far end of their grant, leaving it for Farrow to claim, but the Beck and Hatoft grant was later purchased by the very wealthy Tayloe family of Mt. Airy, and in the 1740s, they forced Farrow's heirs to return the land he had encroached on. But that dispute was minor and easily resolved compared to one created by a patent of 800 acres Farrow and his neighbor Thomas Harrison took out in 1708 at the head of Little Creek. This grant, which included the southeastern corner of the Park, overlapped with a patent of 5,211 acres taken out by then governor Samuel Mathews in 1657. The parts of the Mathews patent along Potomac and Chopawamsic creeks had long ago been cleared and planted, but the inland corner had never been occupied or even accurately surveyed. The Farrows set up a plantation near the main entrance to the Park that eventually came to be called "Dagg's Spring," after John Dagg, an early tenant. However, in around 1710, the Mathews patent came into the hands of the Carter family, another great clan with a firm determination to hold onto every square foot of their lands, and a dispute began that was still raging in the 1820s. That dispute left a wonderful gift to historians in the form of very detailed maps drawn up at the behest of Sophia Carter, one of the litigants, which show the Mathews patent and all the parcels that had been sold out of it before the Carters acquired the land (Figure 5).

Although he was a miller by training, Farrow grew mostly tobacco on his lands in Virginia. Tobacco was the center of the Virginia economy, the main export, and the main form of currency. The tithes paid to Virginia churches were based on the number of tobacco plants on a man's lands, and the 1724 tithe list for Overwharton Parish indicates that Abraham Farrow, Sr., was growing 24,000 plants, his son William was growing 12,026 plants, and Abraham, Jr. was growing 6,229. To help tend their tobacco plants, the Farrows bought slaves. Up until about 1680, most of the labor on Virginia plantations had been done by indentured servants from England, but after that date, the supply of such willing immigrants began to shrink, and the planters bought more slaves. Slavery had not been very well established in Virginia before 1680; the people who did much of the work on the Farrows' plantations around 1700 had probably been born in Africa, in a very different world than the one in which they worked and died.

Abraham and Margaret Farrow had at least six children: John, William, Abraham, Mary, Lydia, and Rose, all of whom are mentioned in Abraham's will of 1731. Margaret must, therefore, have been quite young when they married and even younger when she married Edward Mason. As a young woman marrying a much older man of property, she displayed the same "eye for the main chance"

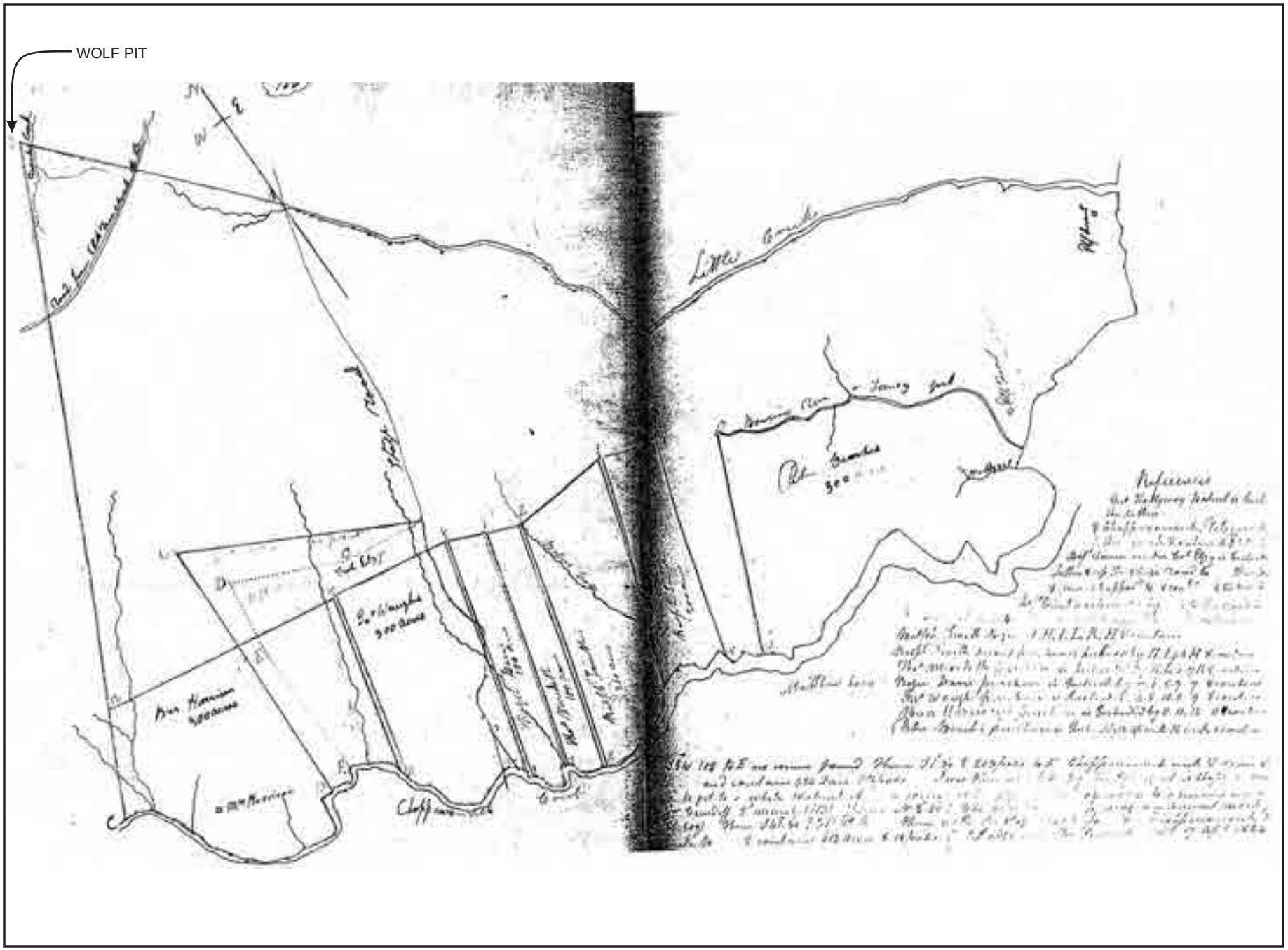

FIGURE 5: Map of Mathews Grant

SOURCE: Prince William County Plat Book, pg. 125

that Abraham Farrow showed when he married her, so perhaps they were well matched in their ambitions. Abraham's will reveals the extent of their success since he distributed 2,500 acres of land and 10 slaves among his heirs in addition to lands he had already given to his older sons. "All that tract & Plantation of Land wheron I now live being 200 acres and lying between the branch called the Tan Branch & Bartons line together with the Grist mill" went to Abraham, Jr. The old Quantico Mill probably stood somewhere near where I-95 crosses Quantico Creek. Tan Branch was a small stream that originates in the Park, northeast of the Visitors' Center, and flows north into Quantico Creek. Abraham's plantation, therefore, may have been beside the mill, or perhaps on the level lands south of the creek and east of I-95 where a housing development now stands. The lands between Tan Branch and the South Fork, which were entirely in the Park, went to Abraham's step-daughter Margaret Bennett. The lands farthest west, around Joplin, went to Mary Davis and her husband Joseph.

D. THE WILLIAM BENNETT PLANTATION SITE, 44PW1330

Only one archeological site dating to the period of early European settlement has so far been found in the Park, the William Bennett Plantation Site. William Bennett was married to Margaret Bennett, who was the daughter of Edward Mason and the step-daughter of Abraham Farrow. In 1708, Bennett took out a patent for 291 acres of land on the south side of the South Fork of Quantico Creek, just west of Joplin. Either intentionally or otherwise, his survey was so inaccurate that he actually laid claim to 400 acres of land. In 1731, he patented 434 additional acres of land north and west of his first grant, and the grant refers to this land as "adjacent to the tract where the said Bennett now lives." Sometime before 1731, therefore, Bennett and his family had moved to their new claim, cleared the land, and built a house. Although they were only about four miles from the gristmill and tobacco warehouse at the head of Quantico Creek, the Bennetts were on the frontier of English settlement. The colonists spread along the navigable rivers, and around 1700, the only settled part of Northern Virginia was a narrow strip along the Potomac and Occoquon rivers. Before the 1720s, there is very little evidence of settlement so far to the west, and for many years, the Bennetts probably had no close neighbors. They lived on the frontier, trapping wolves, trading with Indians, and building up their farm as English-style civilization gradually overtook the forests around them (Figure 6).

The terrain where the Bennetts settled was very rugged. There is level ground along the top of the main ridge, where Route 619 runs, and along the subsidiary ridges that run north toward the South Fork. Between those ridges are steep ravines, and along the South Fork the ridges tumble down steep, rocky slopes to a swampy floodplain. The plantation site is located along one of smaller ridges that run north from Route 619. Because the 400-acre patent was so rugged, there were not very many places within it where a plantation could have been built. It was therefore rather easy to find the site; we simply checked each of the possible ridges with a metal detector until we found a concentration of nails and other artifacts.

The Bennett Plantation Site had a long history, and the archeology reflects this. Artifacts were found at the site dating to all periods from the early 1700s to after 1820. Most likely, somebody lived at the site for more than a century. When the site was finally abandoned around 1830, the owners of

FIGURE 6: Artist's Reconstruction of the Bennett Site Around 1725

this land did not move very far away. William Carter, who bought 450 acres of the old Bennett lands in 1830, built a new farm just 50 yards south of William Bennett's plantation, and the foundations and other remains of this farm are still visible in the woods.

The main archeological discovery at the Bennett Site was a cellar hole measuring 16x24 feet. A number of bricks and fragments of fieldstone were found in the cellar fill, so the house must have once had brick or stone foundations. As not enough brick and stone were found to build a whole house, the house was most likely frame. The artifacts suggested that the cellar hole was filled in around 1820. The most closely datable artifacts are potsherds; in the 1650 to 1850 period, ceramic technology was evolving very rapidly, and we can use products like creamware (1762-1820) and pearlware (1775 to 1840), both found in the cellar, to help us date archeological features. The 16x24-foot house was probably not the first one William and Margaret Bennett built on the site. Pioneering Virginians of their generation almost always built what we call post houses in which the frame was held up by poles set into holes in the ground, as in a modern pole barn. Without wood preservatives, the poles begin to rot within a decade or two, and such houses do not last very long. But they can be put up quickly and are easy to modify or enlarge, which made them ideal for people setting up new farms in the forests. (The English did not know the even simpler technology of building houses from logs, which was brought from Sweden or Germany by later immigrants.) The house with the cellar and the brick and stone foundations was probably built after the first one had decayed and the Bennetts felt more settled in their home.

Of that earlier house we found no trace, and in fact we found only a little evidence that people lived on the site before 1760. However, this is not surprising. The first European and African settlers of Prince William County seem to have traveled very light; we find very few artifacts on their sites. A house site dating to around 1730 has recently been found on the lower reaches of Chopawamsic Creek, and the excavation of 15 3x3-foot test units there produced only 47 artifacts: 16 potsherds, five pieces of bottle glass, eight pieces of brick and mortar, 13 badly rusted nails, one piece of window glass, three fragments of white clay tobacco pipes, and a lump of rusted iron (Bedell and Fiedel 2003). Inventories of household possessions from the Stafford County records of this period are almost all short and simple:

> . . . one flock bed one sheet one blanket and rugg one iron pot two pewter dishes and two plates a small table two chairs one old Trunke and one chest. . .
>
> . . . one bed and furniture one old small chest three chairs one old warming pan one old pair of bellows one iron pot old frying pan two spoons two porringers two pewter dishes one old table cloth two old towels three napkins one old pillion, one pewter tankard one box smoothing iron. . . [Sparacio and Sparacio 1987a:92, 104].

Such inventories were never complete and often omit items of low value, but in this case the archeology suggests that they were not far off the mark. After 1750, when the northern Virginia frontier had been transformed into a plantation society, the residents began to accumulate many more possessions, and the archeological record becomes much richer. The material from the later period of the William Bennett Site therefore overwhelms the earlier period, and limited digging like that performed at this site generally produces mostly later objects.

1710

Margaret Bennett pondered the chickens in her yard, wondering which of them to kill for dinner. Her stepfather, Abraham Farrow, was coming, and she thought a visit from the grand old man required something other than pork and hominy. But the foxes had been around, and there weren't many cockerels left, so she was thinking she might have to kill a hen, too. The chickens were all scratching around the stumps in her yard. It wasn't much of a yard, but what could you expect on land she and her husband had claimed just two years before? The house was just clapboards nailed to poles stuck in holes in the ground, with a dirt floor, a roof that leaked, and a stick-and-mud chimney that made her nervous. There was no fence around the house, so the cows and hogs could walk right up to the door, and a few days ago she had found a shoat inside rooting under the bed. She had asked for a fence, but she knew that fencing the corn field and the tiny trees of the orchard had to come first, and that was as far as the menfolk had gotten this summer. Thinking about dinner again, Margaret wished she had enough berries for a pie, but her children had only brought back two pints from their morning trip to the blackberry bushes in the old fields by John Dagg's place. She knew there were plenty more berries down by the mill, where there were more old fields, but her boys were still too young to walk that far. The boys had dropped off their berries and wandered off to the creek, down the hill and into the old woods. They said her daughter was somewhere behind them. Margaret looked up to see if the girl was coming, across the tobacco field toward the path that led down to the Farrows' plantations and the landing at Quanticutt Mill. There among the dead trees and the tobacco plants her husband William was hoeing weeds with the Negro they called John, who had come from Africa and had lines scratched into his face. He was a hard worker, but he sometimes made her nervous, too—how could they ever know what he thinking behind his still mask of a face, he who had come so far from such a different world? But there in the lane was little Mary, with a basket so full of berries the girl could hardly carry it. Margaret ran to meet her, took the berry basket from her hand and then picked up the little girl. "Can we have a pie for grandpa now?" she asked. "Yes," said Margaret, "we can have a pie, and I'll fix some chicken, and you and I can break the wishbone together."

IV. COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT, 1720 TO 1780

A. SPECULATION IN THE PLANTATION BACKWATER

The population of northern Virginia remained small until after the Treaty of Albany in 1722 ended the threat of attacks by the Iroquois and their allies. The land then began to fill up with settlers. Plantations spread beyond the tidal shores and up into the Piedmont, laying out a network of roads as they went. In 1724, the rector of Overwharton Parish, which then included all of northern Virginia, said that he ministered to 650 families. In the same year, colonial tax documents indicate that there were 1,554 "tithables" in Stafford County, which covered the same area (Harrison 1924:117). A "tithable" was a person who could engage in tobacco cultivation (yet another way that tobacco dominated Virginia's culture and institutions). This category included males over 15 and also adult female slaves. A series of records in 1699 shows that for the colony as a whole, there were about 2.79 people in the population as a whole for each tithable, so in 1724, the population of northern Virginia was about 4,300. Rapid population growth thereafter led to the formation of new counties: Prince William in 1731, Fairfax in 1742, Fauquier in 1759. In 1744, a new parish, Dettingen, was erected with boundaries essentially the same as those of modern Prince William County.

The register of Overwharton Parish says that in 1724 there were 279 tithables, or about 800 people, in the "precinct between Aquia and Quantico," the Bennetts and Farrows among them. The registers of the new parish of Dettingen provide counts of tithables for almost every year from its founding to 1802, and they document the very rapid population over that period (Table 4). The first head count in the parish record is for 1745, when there were 977 tithables, or about 2,800 people in the county. Rapid population growth continued down to the time of the Revolution, when the county held more than 2,000 tithables and probably around 6,000 people. After stagnating during the recession of the Revolutionary period, population growth resumed again after 1785 and continued until about 1800.

Table 4. Population Estimates for Prince William County, 1745-1785

Year	Number of Tithables	Population Estimate
1745	977	2780
1755	1277	3640
1765	1410	4020
1775	2003	5710
1785	2063	5880

The population in the area now composing the Park seems to have stayed very low in this period. Only a few farm or house sites have been found that date to before 1770. The Bennett Plantation Site (above) continued to be occupied throughout this period, down into the 1800s, and the house with brick foundations was probably built some time between 1730 and 1770. The Luke Cannon Plantation Site was also occupied in some fashion before 1770, and the Clifton Mill Plantation may also have been founded in this period. These sites are described in detail below, and on both of them signs of colonial occupation were obscured by the much greater evidence of occupations after 1780.

The lack of sites is related to the pattern of land ownership. In the middle years of the eighteenth century down to the Revolution, most of the Park lands belonged to large landowners who lived elsewhere. The Farrows lived east of Dumfries along the southern shore of Quantico Creek. The largest single tract in the Park belonged to the Tayloe family of Mt. Airy, owners of the Neabsco iron furnace and one of Virginia's richest and most prominent families. John Tayloe II purchased 2,146 acres of Park lands some time before 1750. This land was managed as part of the Neabsco iron plantation, and it is possible that Tayloe bought so much wooded land to serve as a source of charcoal for the furnace (Kamoie 2000). However, none of the distinctive ring features left by large-scale charcoal burning have been noted in the Park, so it does not seem that the land was ever used in this way. A deed of 1750 records that Tayloe leased 150 acres of this tract to George Calvert, who was already living there, so perhaps much of this land was leased to tenant farmers (Prince William County (PWC) Deed Book M:1). Calvert's land was largely outside the Park, along the lower part of Cabin Branch and Mine or Batestown Road.

Other wealthy men who speculated in Park lands were John Linton, Foushee Tebbs, John Gibson, and William Carr, all of Dumfries. Dumfries, at the head of navigation on Quantico Creek, was founded in 1749 by a group of planters and merchants with connections to Scotland. A tobacco warehouse had stood at the head of Quantico Creek at least since 1730, and possibly since 1713, and attempts to incorporate a town had begun in 1740 (Harrison 1924:387). Once established, the town thrived, serving as a commercial hub and, after the courthouse was moved there in 1759, as the political center of the county as well. On the eve of the American Revolution, the town included a masonic lodge, a newspaper, a race track, and many other amenities, with a population in the hundreds. The town's leading merchants made so much money trading tobacco that they became the county's wealthiest residents and bought up plantations throughout the region. William Carr bought more than 5,000 acres of the county in the 1780s and 1790s, and he still left a pile of cash behind that his executors invested in yet more land. These men leased some of their land to tenants and may have had some of it worked by gangs of slaves, but their homes were in Dumfries or on the hills overlooking its harbor.

B. THE STONE PILE SITE: TENANCY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Stone Pile Site is the remains of a small tenant farm located in the northwestern corner of the Park. Amateur historian Phyllis Scott found a series of nineteenth-century deeds that referred to a property corner in this area as "a stone pile near where an old house once stood." The first of these deeds dates to 1845 (PWC Deed Book 19:49). In the years before that date, the property belonged to absentee speculators, so the residents must have been tenants or slaves. Ms. Scott explored this area and found a stone pile in the mapped location, as well as a shallow depression containing at least one handmade brick. The stone pile was located on a broad ridge a few hundred feet north of the North Fork. Berger archeologists found a small concentration of artifacts along the crest of the ridge. These artifacts included some sherds of creamware (1762 to 1820), the invention that made Josiah Wedgwood rich, and other fine earthenwares known as pearlware (1775-1840), and whiteware (1820 to present). The site must have been abandoned by 1840 at the latest, but it is much more difficult to say when the "old house" was built. A good guess might be about 1770. The site therefore dates to the end of the period we are discussing here.

Even so, the site can serve as a representative of many similar small sites that must have stood in and around the Park area in the eighteenth century. The site was small; the artifacts were all found in an area measuring about 75 feet across. Only 29 artifacts were found on the site despite the excavation of 26 shovel test pits. The site is on the crest of a ridge, not far from the point where the nearly level ridgetop ends and the steeper slope leading down to the North Fork begins. The North Fork is about 600 feet away, and a small tributary stream flows about 150 feet from the site.

The Stone Pile Site is probably the remains of a house where tenants or slaves lived. People who did not own their land were the majority of the Park's inhabitants in colonial days. They left very few traces in the written records and, as this site shows, they did not leave much of an archeological footprint, either. If the site had been 50 years older, that footprint would have been even smaller, perhaps so small that we would never have found the site. Of the 29 artifacts we found, 21 were sherds of refined pottery types that did not exist before the 1760s. It is possible that an earlier site of this type would have earlier pottery types, but quite likely not. The dishes made of creamware and pearlware that we usually find on sites of poor and ordinary people were plates and teawares (teacups, saucers, teapots). Before 1760, most people in Virginia ate off pewter or wooden plates, which very rarely survive in the ground, and they did not drink tea. Of course, people used pottery for other kinds of vessels, too, such as storage jars and milk pans, but these vessels remained pretty much the same in form and material before 1760 and afterward. We found no sherds from such vessels at the Stone Pile Site, so we cannot assume that we would find very many (or any at all) at a site dating to earlier in the colonial period.

A tenancy or slave quarter site from before 1760 would leave very little for us to find. Excluding the potsherds, all we found at the Stone Pile Site was three pieces of olive-colored wine bottle glass, one iron kettle fragment, one nail, one piece of a white clay tobacco pipe, and one piece of brick. In the northeastern part of the Park, we used a metal detector to find a similar site, the Douglas Hill Tenancy, which dated to around 1800. The excavation of 40 shovel tests at metal detector "hits" on that site produced 16 nails but only eight non-metallic artifacts (a fragment of a white clay tobacco pipe, four sherds of pearlware, a sherd of coarse red earthenware, and two fragments of bottle glass). The single brick found at the Stone Pile Site is not enough to represent even a chimney, let alone a foundation, so the house was probably framed around ground-set posts and had a chimney made of wood and mud, with a few bricks on the hearth. No evidence of foundations or a chimney was found at Douglass Hill, either, and there was no sign of a well at either site. The poverty of this record explains why it has proved so difficult to find sites in the Park dating to the colonial period.

C. WESTWOOD

There was only one grand plantation in the immediate vicinity of the Park; it was called Westwood. Westwood was built by the Reverend James Scott in the 1740s. Scott was the rector of Dettingen Parish and therefore minister of the church in Dumfries from 1745 until his death in 1782. He was the younger brother of Alexander Scott, another Scottish churchman. Alexander Scott had come to Virginia in 1711 and had set up a plantation at Dipple, along the Potomac just south of Chopawamsic Creek. Alexander, a bachelor, enticed his younger brother to Virginia by offering to make him his heir. Equipped with this inheritance and his own funds, James Scott embarked on a program of land speculation and development. His first purchases were three large tracts of land that straddle Route 619 along the western boundary of the Park: 450 acres from the heirs of Samuel Jackson in 1745,

724 acres from Abraham Farrow, Jr., in 1746, and 300 acres from William Ashcroft in 1754. The site of the Westwood house has recently been located within the Quantico Marine Corps Base just outside the Park, but the plantation included at least a thousand acres of Park lands.

Westwood was a truly grand estate. Scott described his properties on the Quantico as including 2,000 acres (meaning there were other purchases for which deeds do not survive). The house is described in a 1762 petition to the House of Burgesses as "a very good and large Brick House, two Stories high, with Cellars under the Whole, and completely finished, all Necessaries and convenient Offices, with a Garden, Orchards, and fine Meadows" (see Appendix C, Volume II). Scott's probate inventory of 1782 has a total value of £1,171 and includes a branched French silver plate candlestick, a "large looking glass" valued at £12, coach horses, and a long list of books itemized by title, as well as 12 slaves (PWC Will Book G: 179, 199, 264; see Appendix C, Volume II). Scott's will shows that he also owned plantations in Stafford and Fauquier Counties, thousands of acres of land in Kentucky, and a share of the Ohio Company (managed by his friend George Mason).

The Scott family were involved in one of the most famous events in the history of Dumfries, the duel between John Scott and Colonel John Baylis in 1765. John Scott was a son of the Rev. James, and he was 18 years old when the duel took place. Scott's charge to Baylis was preserved by the family and later printed in a family history:

> Westwood, Monday, September 2nd, 1765
>
> Sir: Your scurrility to me the other day, when you so manfully drew your sword upon a naked man, I should have passed by as unworthy of my resentment, nor would I have paid more regard to so palpable a falsehood as was contained in the advertisement you first set up at Tyler's, because I regard it as below the resentment of any gentleman. But as soon as I heard that you had dared to cast aspersions on the character of my Father (whose sacred function would have protected him from any but a wretch dead to every sentiment of virtue and honor), I no longer hesitate to call you to that account which your repeated insults to the best of men so loudly called for. I shall therefore expect you next Wednesday morning at the back part of Quantico church, armed with pistols and attended by some gentleman, furnished with a pair of the same instruments. I think it necessary that we should each come accompanied by some gentleman in whose honor we can confide, not only as it may be serviceable to the survivor to produce proof that he killed his antagonist in an honorable way, but because the great disparity in our strength might lay me open to advantage which I have too much reason to think you would very readily make use of. I therefore insist upon seconds, and I would have them to be of reputation. You are at liberty to choose whom you please for your attendant, and I shall endeavor to get one to attend me to whom you can have no exception.
>
> Your humble servant,
> John Scott

Baylis responded:

> To Mr. John Scott, Dumfries, Sept. 3rd, 1765
>
> Sir: I received yours this day by the hands of Mr. Bullett. I shall forbear to use that low, base scurrility that you do, but tell you at once I shall meet you according to your desire armed with a pair of pistols and a small sword to give that satisfaction you have demanded.
>
> John Baylis
>
> [Hayden 1973:605-7].

According to the Annapolis *Gazette*, the duel actually took place on September 4. As Scott and Baylis were cocking their pistols, Cuthbert Bullett, Scott's brother-in-law and second, "rushed between them and entered into an expostulation with Baylis" in an attempt to prevent the duel. Baylis, far from being put off, insulted Bullett and suggested that he fight in Scott's stead. Bullett accepted and shot Baylis in the thigh, a wound from which he died that night. John Scott fled the country for Scotland, where he entered King's College of Aberdeen, eventually following his father into the ministry. Bullett was tried for murder, but the jury acquitted him on the grounds of self-defense.

A chance survival of certain documents allows us to see what may have lain behind the duel, and these records also provide another glimpse into the lives of the Scott family and the Virginia plantation elite. In 1762, Sarah Scott, the wife of the Reverend James Scott and the mother of John Scott, killed one of the Scott's slaves, a "boy" named Davy. A coroner's inquest said that the death was accidental. John Baylis, as one of the Justices of the Peace for Prince William County, told the county court that a complaint had been made to him, stating that Davy's death was actually "murder in a most cruel manner" and that the inquest had been intimidated by the Reverend Scott into returning the "accidental death" verdict. The Scotts circumvented Baylis by arranging for the investigation into this matter to be handled by their friend Henry Lee, another Justice of the Peace. For some unknown reason, Lee's inquest was copied into the county deed book, where it can still be read (PWC Deed Book P:254-260).

The fullest description of the event was given by Rachael Nichols, apparently a white servant of the Scotts'. She told the inquest

> that on the thirty first day of March last past Davy a Negro boy of the said James Scott's having run away was brought home and by the order of his master received moderate correction, that some time after he was ordered into the Garden by his Mistress the said Sarah Scott to work amongst several other Negroes which the said Sarah had been the whole day directing and overseeing, that this deponent some time afterwards saw the said Negro boy laying on his back in one of the alleys of the Garden moving his hands over his head the said Sarah some distance off with her back towards him & that she never saw anything of him afterwards until by the desire of the said James Scott and Sarah Scott his wife this Deponent went to a log'd house a small distance from the Garden Carrying some Drops with her which Mr. Scott desired as she said, Perhaps the boy might die in a fainting fit, that when this Deponent went to the Logged house she there found the said boy dead then this deponent returned and acquainted the said Mrs. Sarah Scott of the same which seemed to giver her great Uneasiness & Expressed great Concern, declaring though she believed she struck the said Boy about neglecting his work she

> had no design to hurt, much less to kill him and desired this Deponent again to return to the said boy & try to bring him to himself if possible, which she did, but in Vain that there appeared to this deponent to be no mark of violence upon the said Negro boy Davy, for she stript him & wash'd him all over with brandy & saiv only some blood on the hind part of his head in one spot Mixed with his wool or hair, that the next Morning this deponent went to the spot in the Garden where she saw the said boy lying the day before & there Examined & found no sign of Blood in any part of the alley, that this deponent has lived in Mr. Scott's Family and well knows that the said Negro boy Davi was a Particular Favourite of his Mistress the said Mrs. Scott who used frequently to Excuse him for that reason, she believes, when he deserved correction, that this deponent knows of no Malice or ill will the said Mrs. Scott had against the said Boy nor does she believe from appearances that the said Sarah had any Intention of Maiming or killing the said Slave & further saith not.

The blow itself was described by Edward Cornwell, apparently another white servant or employee of the Scotts:

> . . . in the presence of this Deponent who was a small Distance off the said Sarah Scott with a small walking Cane or stick did strike the said Negro boy Davy twice which felled him to the Ground, that the same appeared to be done with no Evil or malicious Intent but through the Heat of Passion & with no design to Mortally wound or kill the said Negro boy Davy as this deponent verily believes. . . .

The witness then added, in a telling remark about the expectations of his society, "that the same Accident might have happened to any other Person by striking an unlucky blow."

Justice Lee concluded the inquest by reporting,

> upon the whole I am of Opinion that as the death of the Negro with which the Defd. Sarah Scott is charged was occasioned by an Accidental Blow from the said Sarah without any Malice or Design to Kill; the same ought to be Dismist and have Adjudged Accordingly.

The court seems to have accepted Lee's recommendation.

James Scott died in 1782, and his lands were divided among his children. The biggest share of Westwood (782 acres) passed to his grandson Alexander Scott. James Scott, another grandson, received 311 acres. In 1788, Alexander Scott sold 250 acres "of the tract on which Westwood stands" to John McMillian, a large landowner in the county; this property was adjacent to Quantico Creek, outside the western boundary of the Park. (It later became part of Seymour Lynn's "Hayfields.") In about 1789, Alexander Scott sold the remainder of his share of Westwood to William Carr, another Dumfries grandee. We believe that the Westwood house had already been destroyed by then, probably by fire; there is no sign of it in the tax lists for Carr or any of his descendants. The Scotts moved west, leaving the Dumfries area, and soon Westwood was nothing but a name.

The story of the duel and the sordid killing that lay behind it reminds us that colonial Virginia was a competitive and violent society. Public life was dominated by competition, whether in politics, recreation (horse racing and card playing for high stakes were two favorite pastimes), or social display. Violence was a constant part of life. Cock fights competed with horse racing as the favorite

spectator sport, among rich and poor alike, and another favorite sport was a dangerous sort of wrestling that allowed eye gouging and biting. Virginians waged savage war against Indians and inflicted savage punishments on their servants, whether those servants were free whites or enslaved blacks. Nor would Virginians have been offended by this characterization. The leading planters saw themselves as the heirs to the culture of medieval knights and Roman aristocrats, and they valued skill and success in warfare above any other activity. One of their founders, John Smith, took as his motto a true soldier's creed: *Accordamus. Vincere est vivere*[2] (Smith 1986:5).

D. THE PLANTATION LANDSCAPE

What did the Park look like at the time of the American Revolution? From Dumfries, a thriving port town, several roads ran west into the hill country. The route we now know as Route 234 was well established, known as "the road from Dumfries to Tacketts Ford" or simply "Tacketts Road," and though it was not as straight as the modern road, it followed essentially the same path. What we call Route 619, along the southern boundary of the Park, was part of "the road from Dumfries to Elk Run Church." Both of these roads were around before Dumfries was founded in 1749; an earlier deed refers to Dumfries Road as "the road from Tacketts Ford to Quanticutt warehouse." The leg of Route 619 that runs north-south along the Park's western boundary was also present, called in one deed of 1712 "the road from Samuel Jackson's to Chopawamsic." Samuel Jackson's plantation along the upper reaches of the South Fork, where Westwood later stood, also figured in the naming of another main road that has now gone largely out of use. "The road from Samuel Jackson's to Quanticutt Mill", later known as Ridge Road, ran along Mine Road on the north bank of Quantico Creek, entered the Park near the Pyrite Mine, ran for a ways along a now abandoned route and then joined Pyrite Mine Road. From the fire road it joined the northern part of Scenic Drive, leaving Scenic Drive to follow the access road to Oak Ridge Campground, and then following the West Gate fire road out to Route 619. Mine or Batestown Road was also present by the 1790s and probably much earlier; it may have been the "Rolling Road from Crupper's Cabin to Quantico" mentioned in a deed of 1731. The great north-south road that became U.S. 1, known in colonial times as the King's Highway, was established by the 1710s. It seems that this road crossed Quantico Creek in at least two different places, a dry weather ford near where Quantico Church stood, and a wet weather ford to the west. The part of Telegraph Road preserved in the Park seems to represent the branch of this road that ran down to the wet weather ford.

A traveler heading west along one these roads would have seen a largely wooded landscape. In colonial Virginia tobacco was grown using the "long fallow" system. Land was cleared, and tobacco was planted on it for two to three years, which greatly depleted the nutrients in the soil. Corn was then grown on the same land for a few more years, and then the exhausted land was left fallow and allowed to grow up however it would for as long as 20 years. After that time, the soil's fertility would have been restored, and tobacco could be grown on it again. Later generations of farmers would come to see this system as wasteful and slovenly, but it was an adaptation of techniques used by Native Americans and worked well as long as the population was low and land plentiful. The techniques of planting were also copied from the Indians. The stumps were usually not cleared from the land, but left in place to rot slowly, and instead of plowing the soil, farmers hoed it into mounds where seeds were planted. The long fallow system preserved the long-term fertility of the soils. Soil

[2] *Author's translation: We the enemies agree on this: to conquer is to live.*

erosion was not a serious problem where these methods were used, and since the yields per laborer were about the same or rising throughout the 1650 to 1720 period, the land seems to have kept its fertility over several cycles of use and rest. The landscape created by the long fallow system consisted of a patchwork of active fields and abandoned fields in various stages of regrowth. Philip Fithian, a Princeton man who came to Virginia in 1773 as tutor to the children of Robert Carter of Nomini Hall, wrote this description of the Northern Neck landscape in his journal:

> From the Window, by which I write, I have a broad, a diversified, and an exceedingly beautiful Prospect of the high craggy Banks of the River Nominy! Some of those huge Hills are cover'd thick with Cedar, & Pine Shrubs; A vast quantity of which seems to be in almost every part of this Province—others are naked, & when the Sun Shines look beautiful! [Fithian 1968: 30, Dec. 14 1773].

Those cedar and pine shrubs were growing in old tobacco fields.

Under the long fallow system, tobacco farmers planted only about 10 percent of their arable land in any given year, and since at least half of the land in the Park is too rugged for planting, no more than five percent of the land our traveler passed in the Park would be in crops. Most of the fields would be either tobacco or corn, with a few fields of wheat and beans. At least some of the fields would never have been completely cleared, so stumps and possibly even dead trees would be scattered amongst the corn and tobacco plants. Corn, tobacco, and beans were all planted without plowing in hills made with hoes. For much of the year, travelers would have seen people with hoes out in the fields, either planting or trying to keep weeds under control.

On the broader ridgetops the rest of the land would be old fields. Those fields that had been abandoned only a few years ago would be weedy meadows where cows grazed. The half wild cattle were smaller, leaner, and tougher than our modern breeds, and some would have had the long horns we associate with Texas. By 1780, some fields in the area now occupied by the Park could have been abandoned for nearly 20 years, and those fields would have grown up into thick woods of young pine and cedar trees like those observed by Philip Fithian. One deed of 1788, for a property along Dumfries Road, gives as a corner "a stake amongst several marked pines in an old field" (PWC Deed Book U:22). Passing along the road, the traveler would have seen scattered tobacco and corn fields alternating with old fields in various stages of succession and, in steeper spots, woods that had never been cleared. In 1780, those woods would still have contained many great old oak and hickory trees, since logging would largely have been limited to the places where fields were being cleared. The cutting of trees for timber and firewood would have begun, though, especially close to Dumfries, so in some places the biggest and straightest trees would have been cut out, and small saplings would be growing up to fill the voids the larger trees had left.

Among the mosaic of fields, old fields, and forests were a few dwellings. Probably no more than 20 families lived in the area of the Park at any given time during the colonial period. Most families would have been tenants. These tenants paid for their rent one hogshead of tobacco, weighing 530 pounds. The size of the parcels they rented varied from 100 to 150 acres, probably depending on the quality of the land, but the rent was almost always the same. The export of tobacco so dominated the Virginia economy that the landscape was carved into farms matching, in a sense, the size of the barrels in which it was shipped. Since it was generally reckoned that in an average year, one hand could grow 1,500 pounds of tobacco and enough corn to feed himself, a single tenant paid about one

third of his tobacco crop in rent. The houses of these tenants would probably have been wooden structures framed around ground-set posts, although some might have been log cabins with shallow brick or fieldstone foundations. Anyone who grew tobacco had to have a barn for storing it, but otherwise these small farms probably included few outbuildings. They did not have wells, so water had to be brought from the nearest creek. Their animals mostly fended for themselves in the woods. The surviving leases require that tenants plant orchards of apple and pear, which would have been near their houses. Fields and orchards were fenced, to keep out the free-ranging cattle, usually with worm fences made of split logs. Those houses were probably not along the road, but away from it, out at the ends of the ridges overlooking the creek (closer to their water supply). This pattern was broken by a couple of more substantial farms, such as the Bennett Plantation, which boasted frame houses with brick foundations and chimneys. At the far end of the Park, Westwood stood out by itself, with its grand brick house, slave cabins, gardens, and vast fields, the only plantation of its kind in the neighborhood.

V. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FAMILY FARMS, 1780-1850

A. BREAK-UP OF THE BIG ESTATES

Between 1770 and 1830, the pattern of land ownership within the Park changed. The speculators and absentees who owned the land along the fall line began to sell it off, and over the period between 1770 and 1830, most of the large patents were broken up. Many large tracts were split into lots of 100 to 400 acres. Some of the buyers of these tracts moved to them and set up farms. These owner-occupied farms were more permanent and more substantial than the tenant dwellings and slave quarters of the earlier period, and several have been identified during the archeological survey of the Park. These include the Luke Cannon Site (ca. 1792), Grinstead (ca. 1770), Cole Hill (ca. 1794), Chapman Plantation (1802), and the Keys Site (ca. 1810) (Figure 7). The process of breaking up estates did not all flow in one direction, however, and in the nineteenth century, several local farmers were able to amass properties of several hundred acres. These new estates did not match the earlier patents, but were assembled from diverse parcels purchased as they became available. Few of these estates lasted for more than one generation, and the local land market remained very active until World War II.

The society of the new resident farmers was quite different from the colonial society that had preceded it. Whereas many of the colonial elite had resided in Dumfries, where they kept town houses and entertained each other, the new landowners were rooted to their own places. Those who amassed large estates generally lived on them in rather modest frame houses. They did own slaves, but not large numbers of them. This society was more localized, less cosmopolitan, and less grand than that of colonial Dumfries. The fall line area assumed the character it would have until World War II—that of a quiet rural backwater. The population of the fall line zone remained low throughout the 1800s. After 1820, the county tax records indicate any buildings that stood on a parcel of land, and the records for the Park show that many properties had no buildings associated with them.

The change to a landscape dominated by owner-operated farms went along with a shift from raising tobacco to growing wheat that took place throughout the Chesapeake region. Growing tobacco by the long fallow system required large tracts of land, and as populations grew, there just wasn't enough space in the Tidewater area to sustain the system. Profits for planters fell, reaching bottom around 1740 (Walsh 1989). Many of the big planters began at that point to grow wheat as well as tobacco, and they also experimented with other crops, such as flax, indigo, and cotton. We examined a sample of 50 Prince William County estate inventories from the 1730s and found that only five listed plows or wheat fans (tools used for winnowing, that is, separating the edible wheat seeds from their stalks), but in a similar sample from 1778-1782, 32 listed plows. (No Prince William County inventories survive from the 1744 to 1778 period). The experiments being made with other crops show up in the 1778-1782 documents. Flax seed and raw cotton are common in the 1778-1782 inventories, and two list indigo. There is also evidence that cloth production was being pursued more seriously. Wool cards and spinning wheels are common, and 10 inventories in the sample list looms. The trans-Atlantic tobacco trade was badly interrupted by the Revolution, and Virginia

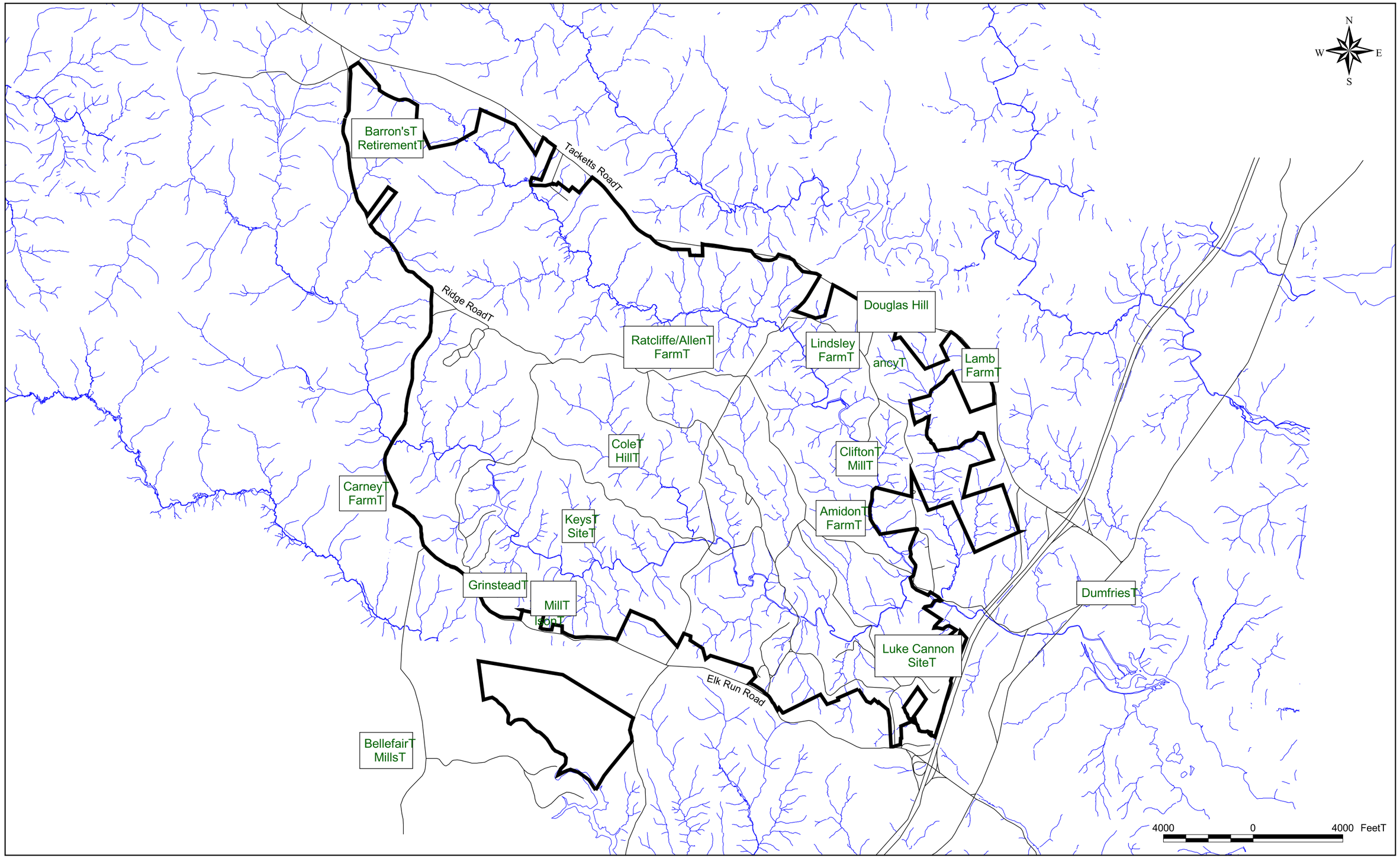

FIGURE 7: Nineteenth-Century Sites in and Around Prince William Forest ParkT

experienced a deep recession between 1773 and 1785, but even so tobacco remained the most important crop in Prince William in this period. Only a few inventories in this sample list the value of crops, but in those that do tobacco is always the most valuable.

The tobacco trade recovered after the war, and the records of merchants in Dumfries show that tobacco was their main export until 1800. But after the Revolution, wheat increasingly took over farming in the area. Dumfries never made the shift to the flour trade as Alexandria did, and it entered a gradual decline. We know that several of the new farm owners in the Park were growing wheat, because plows and wheat fans appear in their estate inventories, and indeed, as explained below, wheat farming in this period may have had a major impact on the local environment.

Besides these economic shifts, Virginia also experienced major social and religious changes in this period. The parishes of the established, Anglican church had been among the most important political and social institutions in the colonial order. The parishes collected taxes, administered poor relief, oversaw all marriages, and performed other government functions. The parish was run by the vestry, a board of prominent local citizens chosen by the other vestry members. Churches were fine brick buildings built in the latest architectural styles. When the congregation met on Sundays, they sat in a way that reflected the local hierarchy, the wealthy landowners in the front, poorer free holders behind them, and servants in the back. The service followed the ritual formulas laid down in the *Book of Common Prayer*, with the recitation of set prayers, Bible readings, and only a short sermon.

In the 1760s, the prominence of the Anglican parish was increasingly challenged by the preaching of evangelists for new religious denominations, the Methodists and the Baptists. These new denominations met anywhere—outside, in a barn, in private houses—and they shunned ordered decorum in favor of religious intensity. At their services, people wept, cried out, confessed their sins, and called on God to save them. All persons, black or white, were welcomed, without regard for rank. Chopawamsic Baptist Church was founded in 1766, and it included many slaves among its members, people known only as "Negro Nat" or "Negro Jim." After the Revolution, the Anglican church lost its legal privileges and its tax revenues and most of its members as well. Most of Virginia's Anglican churches were abandoned, fell into ruins, and soon disappeared. Along with the parish, the old social order was also in decay. Politics took on a new, populist tone, and wealthy planters, rather than having offices given to them because of their rank, had to campaign in rough and tumble elections (Isaac 1975).

Around 1800, the population of eastern Virginia reached a peak that it would not surpass until after World War I. Prince William County lost about a quarter of its people between 1800 and 1830 (Table 5). Yet a glance at the census for this period shows that families of four, five, or even six children were the norm. The extra children were all leaving the area, joining the great migration of Americans to the west. We are sometimes able to find out where they went when heirs to Prince William County lands living in western states sold their parents' Prince William county lands. Most of the county's children went due west, first to Kentucky and later to Missouri and Oklahoma. Others went

Table 5. Population of Prince William County, 1790-1830

Year	Population
1790	11,615
1810	11,311
1820	9,419
1830	9,206

southwest, to Tennessee and Mississippi. Very few went northwest to Ohio, Indiana, or Illinois. The white migrants who took this road willingly were joined by many slaves. The population of Virginia's enslaved African Americans was increasing nearly as rapidly as the population of their owners; slave owners exploited the opportunity to profit from the increase in children born to slaves by selling "excess" slaves to planters in newly developing lands. Especially after cotton production became a major industry in the 1820s, the demand for slave labor in the Gulf states was enormous, and tens of thousands of people were uprooted and sold west to meet that demand.

In this same period, a community of free African Americans was established along Mine or Batestown road in the northeastern part of the Park. This community got its start in 1807, when John Gibson, a wealthy Scottish merchant who had made his fortune in Dumfries, left land and cash to the seven children of a woman named Nancy Mackie. His will does not say so, but these were presumably his own children. The children included Thomas Mackie or McKee, who ended up owning 114 acres of land along Cabin Branch, and Sally Bates, who is remembered as the founding mother of Batestown. The Mackie children married into other free African American families of the area, especially the Coles, the Bates family, and the Kindles or Kendalls. With 178 acres of land, Henry Cole, who married one of Sally Bates's daughters, became the largest "colored" property owner in antebellum Prince William County.

B. THE LUKE CANNON SITE

The Luke Cannon Site is one of the farms set up as the estates of the big speculators were broken up, and a new house was built on the site in the 1790s. The site is on a prominent hill near the eastern end of the Park, north of the visitor's center overlooking Dumfries and the lower part of Quantico Creek. In this case, the site is somewhat older, and a house probably stood there by 1757, but the site seems to have been thoroughly cleared when the new house was built. The land had been part of the estate of Abraham Farrow, and he left it to his step-daughter Margaret Bennett. She left it to her grandson, William Bennett, from whom it passed to William's aunt, Mary Devier, whose widower Hugh Devier sold it to Luke Cannon in 1792 (Figure 8). Cannon was related to the Bennetts; William Bennett's will left land in Kentucky to "his brother" Luke Cannon. Most likely they had the same mother, although she has not yet been identified in the records. Luke Cannon was a tobacco inspector at Dumfries for many years and a successful planter who accumulated more than 1,000 acres of land in the area. He seems to have served in the Revolutionary War, since a claim for the bounty land to which veterans were entitled was made by the heirs of a Captain Luke Cannon of Prince William County in 1830, two years after our Luke Cannon died. After his death, the land was divided and parts were sold off, but the house passed to his daughter Mary Cannon, who lived until 1875 and is buried nearby. After her death, the land disappears from the records for a while, but it reappears in the 1890s as the home of Reuben S. Abel, who kept a store near the present-day Park entrance.

The foundations of the house Luke Cannon built in the 1790s are still visible on the surface of his farm site. The stone house foundations measured 16x28 feet, with a stone and brick chimney at each end. Since the house had matching end chimneys, it probably had a symmetrical facade like the house shown in Figure 9. There was a cellar under half of the house. The house faced east toward Dumfries. When the hilltop was clear of trees, Cannon's house must have been visible from far off. There was a stone-lined well about 30 feet west of (behind) the house. Just behind the house was

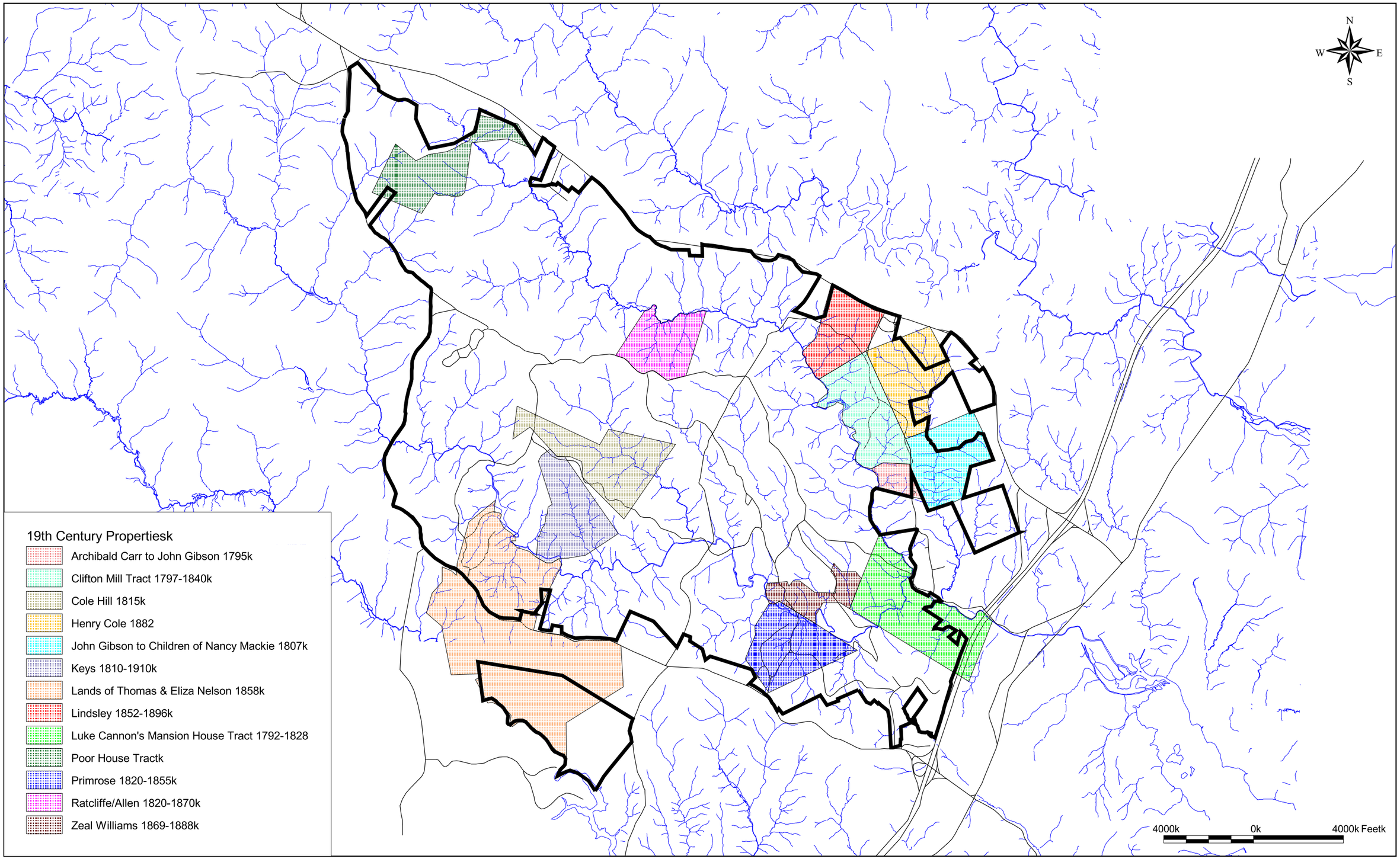

FIGURE 8: Some Nineteenth-Century Properties in Prince William Forest Park

FIGURE 9: Artist's Reconstruction of the Luke Cannon Plantation Site Around 1800

a building measuring 10x10 feet, possibly a smoke house or a dairy. (Since it does not appear to have had a chimney, it was probably not a kitchen.) About 70 to 100 feet north of the house were the stone foundations of a barn measuring 28x36 feet. Sixty feet south of the house there was a large pile of stone and brick rubble, possibly the remains of a kitchen or a slave quarter.

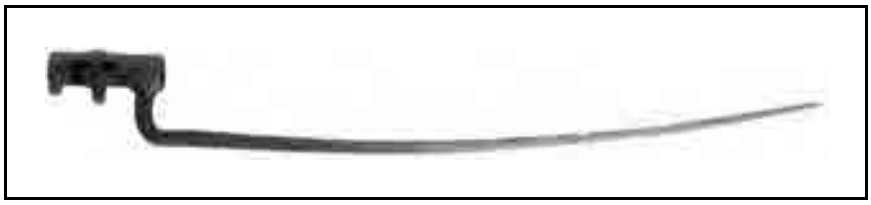

PLATE 3: Civil War Bayonet Found at the Luke Cannon Plantation Site

More than 4,000 artifacts were recovered during the testing of the Luke Cannon Site. The artifacts come from all periods of the site's occupation. Very few artifacts were found in front of the house, which suggests that this area was kept neat and clear of trash. The older material was mostly found around the edges of the site, as if the location of the house had been thoroughly cleared before it was built. The artifacts we did find, mostly behind the house and behind the barn, included many sherds of decorated ceramics from both tea- and tablewares; coarse ceramics made of earthenware and stoneware; bottle glass; buttons made of shell, bone, brass, porcelain, and pressed glass; seven clay marbles; an earring and other jewelry parts; and two fragments of harmonica reeds. A Civil War-era bayonet was found under some stone pavement near the north chimney, as if it had been buried there for safekeeping (Plate 3).

C. THE KEYS SITE

The Keys Site is probably the best preserved of the farm sites established in this period. The site is on the north side of the South Fork, along the road that once crossed the South Fork on the dam of Nelson's Mill. The stone foundations of a large house, a well, and at least three other structures are plainly visible. The site's integrity can be traced to the fire that, according to local informants, destroyed the house around 1916. As there was nothing standing on the site by the 1930s, it was not bulldozed by the Civilian Conservation Corps, nor later by the U.S. Army in the 1940s when the area was used for training during World War II. The site belonged to one family, the Keys family, from its founding into the twentieth century, which is quite unusual in this area.

The property was bought by John Keys in 1810, and the main buildings were probably constructed soon after that. The house measured 38x17 feet, with a 10x10-foot rear addition. Most likely it was a two-story "I house" like the one shown in Figure 10. The well was in front of the house. To one side of the house was an external storage cellar measuring about 20 feet square. Such cellars have been found at two other house sites in the Park, and are still common in parts of the Appalachians. Most houses in Virginia were built without cellars under them, and if later residents wanted a cellar, it was easier to build it outside the house rather than underneath a standing structure. The Keys' sheds stood in other locations in the yard. At the head of a ravine to the south of the house was a small stone building that was probably a spring house (Plate 4).

Relatively few artifacts were found at the site and very few from the later stages of its occupation (1870 to 1910). However, this lack of artifacts is actually an important piece of data, since it

FIGURE 10: Artist's Reconstruction of the Keys Site Around 1830

indicates that the residents of the house had come to regard their yard as a decorative space that should be kept clean rather than a work area where trash could be dumped. It seems likely that in this period a barn was built for the pigs and other messy aspects of farm life at some distance from the house.

PLATE 4: Foundation of the Spring House at the Keys Site

D. CHAPMAN PLANTATION

Chapman Plantation, established around 1802, presents a minor variation on the pattern of these family farms. It was a larger, grander estate, and it included a mill, a distillery, and other industrial components. This plantation was on the north bank of Chopawamsic Creek, on land that has recently been transferred from the NPS to the Marine Corps. The house measured about 20x50 feet, and it was built on a massive platform of clay that had been carefully constructed at the edge of a very steep slope leading down to Chopawamsic Creek, giving the house a commanding view over the valley. The slope directly in front of the house was terraced, and daffodils are still growing there, so this area may have been an ornamental garden. At least three other structures once stood near the house. Directly behind the house was a pile of stone that probably represents a kitchen. Forty feet east of the house was a second smaller structure with very clear foundations measuring 10x12 feet. In the same line, 40 feet farther from the house, there was another, quite unusual structure, the foundations of which consisted of a platform of stone and sterile earth measuring about 8x10 feet. This structure overlooked a bend in the lane that ran across the front of the house, and it may have been some sort of gate house or office. A large cemetery, surrounded by a brick wall, lies about 160 feet behind the house.

The house and graveyard sit on a ridge. West of that ridge an old, deeply worn road trace runs down through the ravine to the mill and the creek. This is presumably the nineteenth-century road down to the mill. Along the old road down to the mill, 400 feet west of the house, is a very large ice house pit, about 20 feet in diameter and more than eight feet deep. Because of its large size, the ice house probably represents a commercial ice operation. Another obvious feature of the old plantation landscape is the mill race that carried water from the mill dam to the mill. This race runs for about 500 feet along the north bank of Chopawamsic Creek. The dam itself seems to have been in approximately the same location as a twentieth-century concrete dam that now partially blocks the creek; a low mound of earth running across the narrow floodplain on the south bank has the look of an old dam. On the north bank, right near the end of the mill race, the rock cliff face bears the marks of old quarrying. Such small quarries are known in other locations in the area and must once have been an important part of the local economy, but at the present time very little is known about this industry. No well has been found at the site, but surely one must have been present, so perhaps it was carefully filled or covered some time in the twentieth century.

Very few artifacts were found during the testing around the house. The space around it was kept almost free of trash, which must have been buried or carted away and dumped in some convenient ravine. The artifacts we did find were the same types we found on all the other sites of this period, so the Chapmans' larger house and grander estate was not reflected in noticeably finer dishes or other goods.

E. THE FAMILY FARMS

By 1830, at least half a dozen family-owned farms had been established in the Park, and all of them would be occupied in some form down to the twentieth century. Besides the three we tested, we have identified Grinstead (established ca. 1770), Cole Hill (ca. 1794), Barron's Retirement (ca. 1820 to 1830), and the Ratcliffe Farm (ca. 1830). Most of them would have looked rather similar from the road. The heart of such farms was a two-story frame house with at least two rooms on each floor. Many houses had a one-story kitchen addition on the back or one side. A well would be located quite close by, sometimes in front of the house but sometimes in back. These farms had barns and numerous other outbuildings, most of them whitewashed frame structures, but some made of split logs. They were neater and more carefully laid out than the colonial farms that had preceded them, and some were landscaped for decorative effect.

The houses of all the larger farms were substantial frame structures. Most probably had two stories, like the Smith House on the Quantico Marine Corps Base, built around 1815 and shown in Plate 5. All had foundations made out of local stone. They had large, well-made chimneys, often built of stone up to the point where they narrowed and of brick above that. They had many glass windows and they probably had fireplaces on each floor. They generally did not have full basements, but some of them did have cellars of some kind. Luke Cannon's house had a cellar underlying about half the house, as did the house at Chapman Plantation. The Keys family built an exterior cellar next to their house. However, there was no sign of a cellar at Grinstead. The sizes of all the house foundations dating to before 1850 that have been found in the Park are shown in Table 6.

The farms that have been investigated each had several outbuildings, at least three at the Luke Cannon and Keys Sites. Considering how little archeological work has been done at each site, it is

PLATE 5: Smith House, Built Around 1820

Table 6. House Foundations in Prince William Forest Park, 1720 to 1840

Site	Date of House	Dimensions of House (feet)	Addition	Area (sq. feet)
Bennett Plantation	1720-1750	16 x 24		384
Grinstead	ca. 1780	20 x 40		800
Luke Cannon	ca. 1792	16 x 28		448
Chapman Plantation	ca. 1805	20 x 50		1,000
Keys	ca. 1806	17 x 38	10 x 10	746
Dent Tenancy	ca. 1820	20 x 21		420
Ratcliffe	ca. 1830	16 x 18	8 x 18	432
Baron's Retirement	ca. 1830	16 x 28		448
Carter/Schultz Farm	ca. 1840	17 x 34	11 x 17	765

safe to assume that other structures were present. Observers sometimes noted that Virginia farms had the look of a small village, with many small outbuildings instead of one large barn; such a building pattern seems to have been common in the Park. Most of the outbuilding structures seem to have been barns and sheds of various kinds. There may have been a separate kitchen at the Chapman Plantation (identified by chimney rubble), and there was a spring house at the Keys Site.

Colonial farmers were a messy lot, and archeologists are used to finding trash scattered throughout colonial-era yards, even right outside the front doors of the houses. Only a truly grand estate like Westwood would have had a formal front yard or a garden devoted to something beyond raising vegetables. After 1790, some ordinary farmers started to reshape the space around their houses in

ways we are used to seeing in our own time, with a neatly kept yard in front of the house and the work relegated to the back. Very few artifacts were found around the Keys or Cole Hill houses, or anywhere close to the house at Chapman's Plantation. Luke Cannon's front yard was also nearly clear of trash. The Keys House seems to have had a well-kept front yard facing the road. Grinstead was set up in the same way by the later 1800s, with a formal driveway flanked by flowering trees. Very few artifacts were found in front of the house. We do not know what these people were doing with their trash, since we have not found their dumps, but perhaps they were placing it in ravines at some distance from the house as their descendants did after the Civil War.

A good clue to the location of old house sites in the Park is the presence of very large old oak trees. Several nineteenth-century house sites in the park include one of these trees, and a few of the larger farms are marked by two or three large oaks. The trees growing near Chapman Plantation were planted around the time the house was built, in about 1802, and some of the trees at other sites are nearly as old. Although the Park's inhabitants left no records telling us why they planted these trees, documents from other parts of British America show that trees were sometimes planted to mark important events. People planted trees when they acquired new farms, or when children were born; some men planted trees when they went away to war as a promise that they would return (Stilgoe 1982:165). This tradition was present in New England by the 1720s and has lasted in some areas to today. When we imagine the nineteenth-century farms in the Park, we should imagine a small oak tree planted near the house, providing shade and also a record of the people who planted it.

Another feature of these farms was the family graveyard (Plate 6). In England and the rest of Europe people were buried at the churchyard in consecrated ground, but this tradition very quickly dropped away in much of North America. In Virginia the settlers at Jamestown buried their many dead at the church, but as soon as they began to spread out across the countryside, they started burying their dead at their own farms. By the early 1700s, the custom of having a family graveyard was entrenched. English-educated clergyman Hugh Jones noted in his 1724 account of the colony that the dead were buried "in gardens or orchards where whole families lie interred together, in a spot usually handsomely enclosed, planted with evergreens and the graves kept decently". A desire to be buried at one's home became part of attachment to the land. John Custis lived much of his life in Williamsburg, but he wanted to be buried on the Eastern Shore farm where he grew up, "by my grandfather . . . where formerly a large walnut tree grew" (Crowell and Mackie 1990:110).

There are at least 26 family graveyards, a pauper's field (at the Poor House), and a cemetery (at the old church site in Hickory Ridge) in the Park. About half of the family graveyards are in the same position relative to the houses with which they are associated. The houses sit high on a ridge where the top is broad and level, and the graveyards are farther down the ridge where it narrows. Most likely the graveyards were at the edge of the tree line, with a clear line of sight from the house. At other farms, the graveyard is on the next ridge over from the house, and in a few cases it is above the house, higher on the ridge. The distance between the house and the graveyard varies from as little as 100 to as much as 1,000 feet. The habit of planting evergreens in graveyards, noted by Parson Jones in 1724, continued into the nineteenth century, and cedar trees are growing in several of the small graveyards in the Park.

Some of the family farm owners had slaves. Luke Cannon owned as many as 14; Richard Cole owned four. However, no slave quarter sites have been identified during this project. Experience

PLATE 6: Small Family Graveyard in the Park

with the archeology of Virginia and Maryland shows that in this area it is hard to tell the difference between the homes of slaves and the homes of poor free people, or to distinguish between white and African American households. All of Virginia's poor tended to live in similar small wooden houses—post houses in the 1600s and early 1700s and then in log cabins. They used similar dishes, tools, and utensils, too, so that we find the same kinds of artifacts around their sites. In the case of slaves, their dishes may have been cracked cast-offs, but we can't tell this from the small fragments we dig from the ground. A few sites have produced clear evidence of associations with Africa, usually in the form of ritual objects such as cowrie shells and bags of crystals that had been buried around house foundations, but such evocative discoveries are rare (Wilke 1997). A possible slave quarter site has recently been found on the Quantico Marine Corps Base. The site, as described by the archeologists, resembles the Park's Stone Pile Site: two shallow depressions and a thin scatter of ceramics, nails, and bottle glass (Balicki et al. 2002:93-94).

F. TENANCY

Although some family farms were established and worked, much of the land in the Park continued to belong to absentees, and was often occupied by tenants. During the period between 1780 and 1830, some tenant families were able to buy land and become farm owners themselves because land was relatively cheap, the land market was very active, and mortgage money was available. There was no hard and fast economic difference between tenants and small owners, and these groups intermarried. Some people who were tenants when they were young became owners later on. It seems likely that some tenants chose to remain in that position because they had decided they could do better for themselves renting land than by taking on the risks of ownership.

The Douglass Hill, Power Line Hill, Payne Tenancy, and Dent Tenancy sites all represent tenant homes of the 1800 to 1850 period. At the Dent Tenancy stone foundations are still present for a one-room house measuring 20x21 feet, with a brick chimney. This small house probably represents the way most tenants lived. In terms of artifacts, the tenant sites from the early 1800s seem to have been very similar to those from colonial times, and very little was found at the Douglass Hill, Payne Tenancy, or Power Line Hill sites. No outbuilding foundations were found at any of these sites. One of the artifacts from the Douglass Hill Site was a fragments of a handpainted pearlware teacup, suggesting that the tenants at Douglass Hill were able to include some refinements in their lives.

G. THE LANDSCAPE OF 1830

In 1830, a traveler passing along the roads through the land now composing the Park would have seen fewer trees and much more cleared land than 50 years before. As farmers converted from long-fallow tobacco farming to growing wheat, they brought more land under cultivation. At the peak of the early wheat-farming boom, around 1815, as much as 40 percent of the Park may have been actively farmed. The land was also cleared more completely; farmers removed stumps from the land they cleared and plowed straight furrows across it. These practices led to a great increase in soil erosion. It was once believed that the erosion that devastated much of Virginia's farmland and filled in harbors like the one at Dumfries was caused by the careless methods of early tobacco growers. However, detailed studies of sediments in the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries show that this is not the case. Erosion and sedimentation did increase after European settlement, but not by very much. Erosion became much more of a problem after 1750 with the spread of plows and wheat cultivation (Earle 1988; Miller 1986; Walsh 2001). Most of the land in the Park is not severely eroded, but the effects of increasing erosion are visible near some of the owner-operated farms that were set up after 1780. The land around Luke Cannon's farm is heavily gullied, and much of the topsoil is gone. The damage seems to have been done between 1792, when Cannon bought the land, and 1813, when a note in the property tax records says that Cannon's main farm was "valuable land but lies broke." Other areas of significant erosion are around Cole Hill, where we know Richard Cole was heavily involved in wheat farming from the 1790s to 1815, and on some of the ridges around the William Bennett Plantation. On several small ridges in the northern part of the Park the evidence of erosion follows a definite pattern. The flat top of the ridge is hardly eroded at all because it is so level, and the steep, lower slopes of the ridge show little erosion because they have never been plowed. In between, however, is a sloping area where erosion gullies are visible. It seems that the worst erosion in the Park is mainly the product of decisions made by particular farmers to clear unsuitable land for planting wheat, and that most of the poor decisions were made in the boom wheat years of the early 1800s.

Much of the rugged land in the Park was not cleared, of course, and remained forested. The rising population of the late 1700s took a heavy toll of trees, and by 1800, most land in the Park had probably been logged. Eighteenth-century loggers did not clear-cut large areas as modern loggers do, but chose particular trees to cut for particular purposes, leaving smaller or less valuable trees behind. Despite these conservative methods, most of the large trees would eventually be cut, and shortages of timber began to appear throughout the older Tidewater counties around the time of the Revolutionary War (Earl 1988). Even the trees that marked the corners of old land grants were cut, and over the course of the 1700s, more and more deeds mention groups of saplings or fence posts as corners instead of large trees. The disappearance of valuable timber was noticed by landowners,

who took steps to protect the trees they still had. The first lease that limited the tree-cutting privileges of a tenant living on land that is now part of the Park dates to 1762 (1761-64:99), and such limits became routine in leases contracted in the later 1770s. At the same time the trees were being cut, the deer were probably being hunted out, and the wolves were being driven westward by expanding settlement. By 1830, the forests in the Park, though still extensive, would have been quite different from what they were in 1650. There would be few great oaks or hickories, many more smaller trees, many more pines, and few large wild animals.

PLATE 7: Stones Piled Along the Edge of a Plowed Field in the Park

Over the course of the nineteenth century, the simple worm fences of colonial times were increasingly replaced by post and rail fences made from sawn boards, which took more labor to build but lasted longer and used less wood. Some of these fences surrounded fields or gardens, and others enclosed grassy pastures. Property boundaries were marked with piles of stone; other piles of stones grew up along the edges of plowed fields (Plate 7). Wagon roads connected farms on these properties to the public high roads and to each other; the Park's forests are still cut through with the remains of what sometimes seems an amazing number of these roads.

H. CLIFTON MILL

One economic resource that was abundant in the fall line area was waterpower, and a mill stood on Quantico Creek by 1692. These mills, however, proved to be precarious operations, both economically and physically. Local newspapers are full of advertisements for the sales of bankrupt mills; the Clifton Mill on the North Fork of Quantico Creek was sold twice to pay its owners' debts in the 40 years of its existence. It seems that there was never enough grain to be milled or lumber to be sawn in this area to make all the mills profitable, and that schemes to use this waterpower for manufacturing (Clifton Mill was built, according to one deed, to be a paper mill) never developed.

1815

The whole neighborhood was gathering for the sale at Cole Hill Farm. Hedgeman Murphy had driven his cart over from the farm he was renting on Tacketts Road, crossing the North Fork on a deeply rutted wagon road and climbing Cole Hill on a track so steep that his horse had barely made it. He was stunned by the poor condition of the farm. The lands west of the house along the crest of the ridge were in good shape, but the slopes along either side were a mess of gullies and weeds. Across the stream to the south he could see other fields that looked just as bad. Richard Cole had sold plenty of wheat these past twenty years, but his land had paid a heavy price, and now a good quarter of it was gone. Murphy knew the estate was being split up among the five children, and he was thinking that with so much of the land broke, the shares would be painfully small. It had been the same when Benjamin Carney, right up the road, had died. Carney had taken better care of his land, but even so, the one-sixth shares that fell to his children were hardly enough for a living. Some of the Carneys were still around, but some had sold their shares and moved west. These days it seemed like almost everybody was moving west. It was a hard time in old Prince William. Dumfries town was fading, and the big Scottish merchants had either died or moved to Alexandria. The harbor was full of mud, and the new towns down on the Potomac had never amounted to anything. Westwood had burned down, and the Scotts had moved west, too. So many trees had been cut hereabouts that lumbering was down and Deneale had had to sell his sawmill. Wheat prices were still high, with war in Europe and all, but this land was tough for wheat. Not much of it was level, and if you pushed your plow onto the slopes, you got what Richard Cole got here, gullies and weeds. Sometimes Murphy thought that if he had any guts he would head west himself—make a new start in Kentucky or Missouri. But there had been Hedgemans around here for a hundred years and Murphys for near as long, and he aimed to keep it that way. With hard work, you could still make a living farming in this country. Looking around, he saw the other young men from the neighborhood that felt the same way—Richard Cole's son Daniel and his son-in-law, George Weedon; John Storke who was setting up a farm just a mile to the west; and at least a dozen more. They were all here to bid for the gear Richard Cole had bought with his wheat profits, his plows and wagons, the wheels for spinning wool and flax, his herds of horses and cows and the fine hogs that had had the run of the low woods along what some called the Sow Branch. Murphy had his eye on one fine boar especially—just the thing, he thought, to get his own herd going. Yes, with the money from his wages and his wheat crop, he aimed to buy enough to set himself up as a real farmer. With a good plow, a cow and calf, five or six sheep, the boar, and some tools, he'd be ready to farm for sure next year. That place on the North Run would really get going, and if wheat prices held, he'd have his own land in just a few years. Maybe lots of folks were heading west, but there was life in this old country yet, and he planned to make the best of it.

Note: Hedgeman Murphy spent $103.60 at the sale of Richard Cole's estate for a cow and calf, six sheep, a "large boar," a hog, two stacks of wheat, one grindstone, one plow, one scythe and cradle, four lots of tools, and a glass decanter. Unfortunately for him, wheat prices fell in the 1820s, and it was 1830 before he managed to buy a farm of his own, not far from where Route 619 crosses the South Fork.

Mills that could make money were in danger of being washed away. Two mills known to have stood along the South Fork of Quantico Creek, the Nelson Mill and another that was about a mile east of Route 619, have vanished without a trace. So while mills were important landmarks and crucial parts of the local economy, they made few people rich. The most successful mills, such as Chapman's, Nelson's, and Bellefair, seem to have been operated as parts of diversified estates that also included large amounts of land and other sorts of operations.

The only visible mill remains that have been found in the Park are those of Clifton Mill, and are located along the North Fork of Quantico Creek, just below Cabin Camp Number 4. The dam associated with the Clifton Mill in itself it not particularly impressive; the North Fork trail crosses right over the remains, and most hikers probably do not notice. But if they stepped through the brush down to the bank of the stream, they would see the well-preserved remains of a stone wall that was once part of the dam, perhaps four feet tall and eight feet long, on the north bank opposite. From that dam the race (a channel for carrying water from the dam to the mill) extends along the north bank of the stream for about 800 feet. The site of the mill is clearly visible as a cluster of pits at the end of the mill race, but no foundations are apparent; they were probably robbed, possibly during the construction of the dam at Camp No. 4 by the Civilian Conservation Corps but probably long before that. An advertisement placed in the Alexandria Gazette by the mill's owner in 1803 provides a detailed description:

> The mill is an over-shot water wheel with a wheel of 20 feet 9 inches and four feet head, with two pairs of stones. One pair of French burrs of five feet, the other of Cologne, with every apparatus necessary for carrying on merchant business to the best advantage. The mill house if fifty feet long and twenty-seven feet wide, two stories high, with a small kiln for drying corn, together with a barn, stable, cow house and lumber house, convenient to the mill. A convenient dwelling house (not quite finished) with kitchen, meat and corn house; the whole of which have been built within seven years past. . . . Should the whole of the land be required with the mill, there is another small house, kitchen and meat house, at a short distance from the former [Turner 2000:52].

A later advertisement (Aug. 27, 1805) breaks the 228-acre property into two parts, the mill and associated buildings on 90 to 100 acres, and

> A small plantation, containing from 120 to 130 acres, adjoining, and being part of the above tract of land. There is on this place a small Dwelling House, Kitchen & Meat House, also a very thriving young Peach Orchard, with other Fruit Trees [Turner 2000:59].

It seems likely that the Clifton Mill Plantation Site, near the theater building and graveyard in Cabin Camp 4, represents this other "small plantation." At that site we found potsherds and fragments of olive bottle glass in shovel tests behind and on one side of the theater building, enough to show that a house site once stood underneath either the theater or the parking lot in front of it. The house, barns, and so on associated with the mill must have been closer to the mill itself. Quite likely, they were under Area E of the Cabin Camp, directly overlooking the mill. Archeologists found some nineteenth-century artifacts around the fringes of this camp, but the central portion was graded when the camp was built.

From 1813 to 1824, the Clifton Mill and its associated 228 acres belonged to James Deneale, a resident of Dumfries and a fascinating character. Deneale also owned the mill known as Quantico Mills, which was located just outside the Park along Quantico Run, near I-95, and he was a partner in the Quantico Warehouse Company. He was, besides, an inventor, and he advertised at least two of his inventions in the newspapers. In 1807 (*Alexandria Gazette* July 30), he announced a bread oven "on entire new principles," which, he claimed burned less wood and baked better bread than conventional ovens. In 1809 (*Alexandria Gazette* July 12), he followed with a patented "wheat rubber," which he installed in the mill of Nathaniel Ellicott at Occoquan:

> Practical millers know, that in a great proportion of the wheat that comes to market (from the manner it is stacked in the fields by the farmer and exposed to the weather) a number of sprouted and unsound grains mingle with the mass, and it has eluded the ingenuity of the miller to separate it from the sound grain—they also know those unsound grains injure materially the taste and color of flour—my machine not only frees the wheat of stone, onion, cockle, dirt, &c., but does absolutely take from it every unsound grain, from what cause so ever it may have been injured [Turner 2000:72].

Deneale's inventions represent the wave of mechanical ingenuity then overtaking America, giving us Fulton's steam boat, McCormick's reaper, and other important improvements. Millers, with their mechanical experience and ready access to waterpower, were always in the forefront of these developments.

Deneale's inventiveness did not, however, enable him to turn the Clifton Mill into a money-maker, and he advertised it for sale in 1818 (*Alexandria Gazette* June 5). Deneale noted that the mill "is better secured from floods than any I am acquainted with, having but 3 feet of dam," and indeed far more of the Clifton Mill survives than any of the other mills known to have been in the Park.

Another feature of the Clifton Mill Site is a small stone quarry located just downstream from the mill. At least two other similar quarries have been identified during this project, one at Chapman Plantation and one along the South Fork near the western boundary of the Park. Since so many buildings in the area had stone foundations, small-scale quarrying must have been an important local industry, but we have not seen any mention of it in the written records.

I. BATESTOWN

Free African Americans had been present in Prince William County from its beginnings. Some are mentioned in the records of the county court, others in the parish records. Since none of these "free Negroes" seems to have owned land, and since no censuses were made, it is extremely difficult to trace their families through the records. However, the African-American Cole family seems to have been in the county since 1767, when Phoebe Cole appeared in a county court record along with six children named Robert, Catherine, Thomas, Joseph, Eleanor, and Sarah. By the time of the first surviving U.S. Census for the area, dating to 1810, there was a sizable "mulatto" community in the Dumfries District. After the Civil War, many of those African Americans lived near the eastern boundary of the Park in a community called Batestown, along the road known officially as Mine Road but known to its residents as Batestown Road.

We encountered an important part of this African-American community when we investigated the history of the softball field near Camp No. 1. In the 1930s, this was the site of the Civilian Conservation Corps Camp where the many of the men who built the Park lived. Clearing for the construction of that camp destroyed most evidence of what was there before, but a few hints of an older presence could still be seen. Around the eastern edge of the field are a couple of old cedar trees like those that grow around many old home sites in this area. A house also appears in this location on the 1926 USGS Quantico quadrangle. We began to discover the history of that house when we were researching the location of a small, nineteenth-century tenant site we found nearby. That property was identified as "The Davis Tract from the Division of Henry Cole's Estate", with a reference to a deed from 1882 (PWC Deed Book 54:289). "Henry Cole's Estate" was a 239-acre property that included much of what became Batestown.

Henry Cole was himself a notable character. An African American identified in the census as "black", he became the owner of 78 acres of land on Cabin Branch in 1842 and purchased 77 acres more between 1850 and 1855 (Table 7). This second purchase made him the largest African-American landowner in antebellum Prince William County, and in 1872, he added still more land. According to the 1860 Agricultural Census, Henry Cole's farm consisted of 50 acres of improved land and 113 unimproved acres. He owned three horses, a team of oxen, two milk cows, four other cattle, and eight pigs. His farm produced 30 bushels of wheat, 225 bushels of corn, 100 bushels of oats, 30 pounds of tobacco, and five bushels of potatoes.

Table 7. Henry Cole's Household in the 1870 U.S. Census

Name	Gender	Race	Age	Occupation
Henry Cole	m	Black	70	Farming
Betsy Cole	f	Mulatto	60	Keeping house
Martha E. Cole	f	Mulatto	22	
James E. Cole	m	Mulatto	22	Works on farm
Nancy Cole	f	Mulatto	20	
Julia Cole	f	Mulatto	40	Domestic servant (she was the widow of George Cole)
George Cole	m	Mulatto	16	
Sarah A. Cole	f	Mulatto	14	

It was unusual for Henry Cole to accumulate so much land at a time when discrimination against African Americans was so harsh, but Cole was not the only owner of a large property in the area of the Park. A "colored" man named Thomas McKee shows up in property tax records from the 1820s to the 1840s as the owner of more than 100 acres of land in the same northeastern area of the park. The lands Henry Cole purchased in 1842 had belonged to Thornton Kendall "in right of his wife" since the early 1820s. Kendall himself was an African American although he is not always identified as one in the records. Further work showed us that Thornton Kendall's wife was Sally Bates, who is remembered as one of the founders of the community of "Batestown." Sally took the name Bates from her first husband, John Bates; Henry Cole's wife Betsy was the daughter of Sally and John Bates. Sally Bates, we discovered, was born Sally Mackie or McKee; suddenly we had a connection between Henry Cole and Thomas McKee. A deed of sale dating to the 1830s gave us another clue, allowing us to trace the origins of Batestown to an unlikely place: the will of Scottish merchant John Gibson.

John Gibson was a wealthy Scottish tobacco trader who came to Virginia just after the Revolution and made his fortune in Dumfries. When he died in 1807, he left land and cash to the six children of a woman named Nancy Mackie. Although not stated in his will, Nancy Mackie's children were presumably Gibson's own children. Gibson and Mackie never married, and since their children were all identified as mulatto, Mackie must have been an African American. The children were Richard Mackie, George Mackie, John Mackie, Thomas Mackie, Sally Bates, and Nancy Mackie (who became Nancy Payne). Two of the Mackie children sold their shares in this land to a white man, A.G. Dade, and moved to Alexandria. Those who stayed married into other free African American families of the area, especially the Coles, the Bateses, and the Kindles or Kendalls.

When Richard and George Mackie sold their land in Batestown, they did something that later became very unusual for African Americans in rural Virginia. African-American families had a very strong tendency to hold onto their land. Historians have found many cases of black farmers in Virginia who preferred to work small plots of land that they owned rather than become tenants on larger and more lucrative tracts owned by whites (Medford 1992). Some white property owners complained about the irrational unwillingness of black farmers to become tenants, but African Americans probably saw owning their own land as the only way to achieve a degree of real independence in a world where political power was held by whites. This desire to own land had some interesting effects on the landscape of the Park. Families who owned land tended to have many children, and they almost always either left their land to their children jointly or divided it evenly among them. White families also often divided their land, but many of the heirs later sold or exchanged their parcels, and farms were generally reassembled within a decade or so. Not so with land held by African-American families. Since people held onto their land even if they moved away, the land came to be divided into smaller and smaller parcels. Each parcel was usually the home of a family, so communities grew up on these increasingly divided farms. This process of division among heirs leading to the growth of a community happened twice in the Park, on the lands of Henry Cole and on those of Zeal Williams. The 1926 USGS map shows at least 10 houses within Cole's lands, which by that time had been divided into about 20 separate properties.

J. THE JERSEY COUNTRY

In 1862, a Federal officer who traveled through Independent Hill reported that he had passed through "the Jersey Country" (Ratcliffe 1978:5). We discovered what this meant when we began checking the census records for families that owned land in the Park. At least five of the families were immigrants from the northeast. The Lambs, the Amidons, the Richmonds, and the Averys were from New York, the Lindsleys from New Jersey. Curious, we checked the 1860 census for the entire county, and we found at least 84 families who had emigrated from New York, New Jersey, Vermont, and Pennsylvania. These were whole families who came together, husband and wife and often children, and they almost all bought land and became farmers. (The only exceptions were two wheelwrights.) There were also dozens of single men and women who had come from the same area. Most settled in the Dumfries, Independent Hill, or Bristow Station districts. Why did they come?

The simple answer is hunger for land. In the 1840s, the original area of the United States consisting of the vast lands stretching from the Atlantic to the Mississippi were filling up with farmers, and the western plains were still Indian Country. Land in the old counties of Virginia was cheap, therefore

presenting an opportunity to relocate for people from overcrowded areas. We suspect, though we have as yet found no real evidence, that some real estate speculators from Virginia encouraged the migration by advertising in the northeast. Some local historians believe that the northeastern immigrants were heavily involved in dairy farming, and that they were largely responsible for the dairy boom that came to Prince William County in the late 1800s. However, the Agricultural Census for 1860 does not report that farmers from the northeast had any more dairy cows than Virginia-born farmers. Certainly some of these northeasterners participated in the dairy business, but they do not seem to have caused its rise. According to historians working in Fairfax County, just to the north of Prince William County, northeastern immigrants were taking advantage of commercial fertilizers and other new technologies. They thought that their mastery of these new methods would enable them to make money on land that had been largely abandoned by Virginians, and the evidence of their success suggests that they were right (Netherton et al. 1978).

Three of the sites we recorded in the Park, the Lamb, Amidon, and Lindsley sites, were the homes of Yankee immigrants. Both the Lindsley and Amidon sites seem from the artifacts we found to have been occupied earlier, so the new arrivals set up shop at existing tenant farms. The Lamb Site seemed to be a new foundation. The objects we recovered from these sites seemed like those we found at the other nineteenth-century farms, but we did not dig very much at any of these sites, and further excavation could produce differences. The barn foundation at the Lamb Site is a bank barn, a form native to the northeast, but the barn at the Henry Carter Site was also dug into a steep slope, and the Carters seem to have been native Virginians.

VI. THE POOR HOUSE

A. HISTORY OF THE PRINCE WILLIAM COUNTY POOR HOUSE

One of the historic sites long known to have been in the Park is the Prince William County Poor House, which stood from 1794 to the 1920s. The establishment of county-run poor houses was made necessary by the disestablishment of the Anglican church in the 1780s. In the English system, each parish had collected a tax for relief of the poor, and many had maintained work houses where poor parishioners could earn their keep by working at tasks like weaving and sewing. After the Revolution, Virginia, led by Thomas Jefferson, moved faster than any other state to break up the interweaving of church and state that had long characterized most European systems. To fill the gap left by the end of the church-based poor relief system, each county was required to elect Overseers of the Poor, who were responsible for collecting the Poor Tax and administering the proceeds.

The establishment of the Prince William County Poor House is documented in records kept by the county's early Overseers of the Poor. Because of institutional inertia, they continued to record their actions in the account book of Dettingen Parish, which survives and has been published. This record tells us that the plans for a poor house were first discussed by the four Overseers in 1792. On June 4, 1793, they appointed commissioners to oversee the construction of "a framed house Sixteen Feet Square with a Stone or Brick Chimney weather Boarded & Covered with Shingles and as many Logged Cabins as they may Judge Sufficient for the present." On September 13, 1794, the commissioners rendered their accounts, and it seems that by that time, at least the bulk of the construction had been carried out. The Poor House was certainly standing by July 10, 1795, because on that day the Overseers met "at the Poor Houses."

The Dettingen Parish records also provide a few clues about the life of the Poor House residents. In November 1794 the Overseers ordered Thomas Harrison, president of the Overseers, to

> lay in as much Corn and Pork as the contingent Fund will admit of and give such other Directions as he may judge necessary in having the Poor removed to the Poor houses and providing them with Necessary Cloathing and Beding [Dettingen Parish Records 1976:84].

Other records mention lard, bacon, and molasses, so it seems that the Poor House residents shared the diet of other poor, rural southerners. The records also note the appointment of an "overlooker" for the Poor House, John Mathews, but they do not say whether he lived at the site as later superintendents did.

The modern political debate about the wisdom and fairness of providing charity to the poor is very old and was well underway in the early days of the American republic (Klebaner 1976; Trattner 1999). People argued vehemently, then as now, about whether charity sapped the will to work and the spirit of independence, and about whether it hurt the economy by luring workers out of the workforce. They also argued about whether relief was better given "indoors," that is, in an institution, or "outdoors," in people's own homes. The most prominent model of indoor relief was the parish work house, which allowed for the neediest to be helped without violating the principle that all who can should work for their keep. Since manufacturing was not well developed in most

of America, it only made sense that a work house should be a farm where the residents could at least feed themselves. Work houses and poor farms represented a compromise of sorts between those who thought the needy had to be cared for and those thought charity only worsened poverty, the real cause of which was on the "intemperance, idleness, and vice" of the poor themselves. As one editorialist wrote, "without fear of want to goad them on, the poor become idle and improvident" (Klebaner 1976:12). Some writers had high hopes for Poor Farms, which would remove the poor from ale houses and other temptations to sin and teach them habits of discipline, frugality and hard work.

From the rhetoric that surrounded these political decisions, one would imagine that those on poor relief were able-bodied men who just needed a little prodding to get out into the fields. The records of Prince William County tell a different story. The first surviving list of the residents at the Poor House, from 1795, reads:

> William Miliner deaf and a very old man
> James Wilky a very deaf old man
> William Martin deaf and blind
> Celia Wilkinson very infirm
> Ann Lunceford and Child . . .
> Arrabelle Baze a blind troublesome old Woman
> Elizabeth Wood an insane Woman
> Elisabeth Doughty to Assist in Washing

Later lists, provided in the federal census, are similar, consisting mostly of the elderly and young children. It is difficult to imagine that the residents of the Poor House, infirm and troubled as they were, ever did much farming or lumbering, although they probably kept a garden and perhaps a few animals. We do not know, therefore, what was done with the 255¾ acres of the Poor House tract, especially since an early record indicates that at least initially none of the land was leased out.

The records reveal that in the 1790s the Poor House represented only part of the Overseers' operation. They provided funds for the burial of the indigent, and for the education of poor children. They also paid for what was called "outdoor" relief, that is, the care of poor persons in their own homes or those of their relatives. The accounts rendered in 1793 included several such payments:

	£:s:d
To Anne Pate a poor Woman	5:0:0
To Old Granna Ford a poor Woman	6:0:0
To John Foxworthy for keeping his infirm son	5:0:0
To Edward Harris a poor Man	3:0:0
To Hannah Tingle for keeping a poor Child	5:0:0
To James Grinstead for keeping Sussana Barker a poor Person	4:0:0
To Nancey Lunceford and two Poor Children	5:0:0

The record kept in the old parish account book breaks off in 1802. The only records that have so far been found for the later period are the annual "Returns" made by the Overseers of the Poor to the state legislature, and these are much less detailed than the old parish book. From the Returns we can

learn the amount collected in poor tax, the amount spent on indoor and outdoor relief, and the number of inmates in the Poor House, and for some years they include a list of aid recipients.

At least one description of the Poor House survives, written in 1926 by a welfare reformer crusading against the poor house system:

> Poor farm located 13 miles south of Manassas, way back on poor, cutover land, off any traveled road, in a woods. Very few know that such a place exists. The poorhouse is an old frame shack, one story, about 14x84 with 6 rooms, some without doors, windows boarded up. Fertilizer sacks filled with straw and old buggy cushions for mattresses on broke-down beds. Bed covers are rags—parts of old blankets or quilts, very filthy. An old man, clothes ragged and filthy, asleep on a pile of dirty rags, in a vile room swarming with flies and vermin. Poor and insufficient food poor, filthy clothing; no music, amusement or religious services. No medical attention whatever; no screens, the place reeking with bedbugs and body lice. Well water, filthy outside privies used by both sexes, no sewerage, slop and garbage just thrown through the doors. Contaminating diseased inmates use same bedrooms and toilets as do other inmates, and their clothes go into a common wash. Men's and women's bedrooms adjoin. The superintendent's salary is $13.33 per month with an additional $13.00 per pauper for upkeep [Evans 1926].

There is also a sketch of the buildings at the Poor House made when the property was surveyed for the county in 1872. Although smudged, this sketch (Figure 11) clearly shows three buildings, one smaller than the other two, and a well.

The Poor House was closed and the property sold off in 1928. It is not known what happened to the site after that since the owners were absentees. The farm may have been leased to tenants; however, no evidence has been found of occupation in the 1930s, and it may simply have been abandoned.

B. THE POOR HOUSE SITE

The Poor House Site is in the northwest corner of the Park, on the crest of a large east-west ridge. The clearing on top of the ridge, where the native forest gives way to stiltgrass and walnut trees, is the largest such clearing in the Park, and the Poor House seems to be the largest historic site from the period before the 1930s. Four well-worn roads lead to the site: one from Dumfries Road to the northeast, and three from Route 619, one from the northwest, and two from the southwest. The Poor House was a well-known local landmark, and it was shown on maps, mentioned in deeds, and referred to in the names of roads and streams throughout the nineteenth century. It was not, therefore, very difficult to find. Initial shovel testing was carried out during the Year I archeological survey. At that time, a well and the foundations of two buildings were noted. It was also noted that the artifacts from the eastern end of the site seemed to be older than those from the western end. The Poor House cemetery is located in the woods east of the site, about 250 feet from the clearing. More than 20 graves are visible as depressions in the ground, and a majority of these have either headstones, footstones, or both. All of the stones are unshaped.

Testing at the Poor House Site consisted of the excavation of seven shovel test pits (in addition to the 24 previously dug) and 16 3x3-foot test units. A total of four buildings have been identified on the site, and one additional possible structure. These seem to represent two periods of construction, one before and one after the Civil War. The later buildings are a house with stone foundations

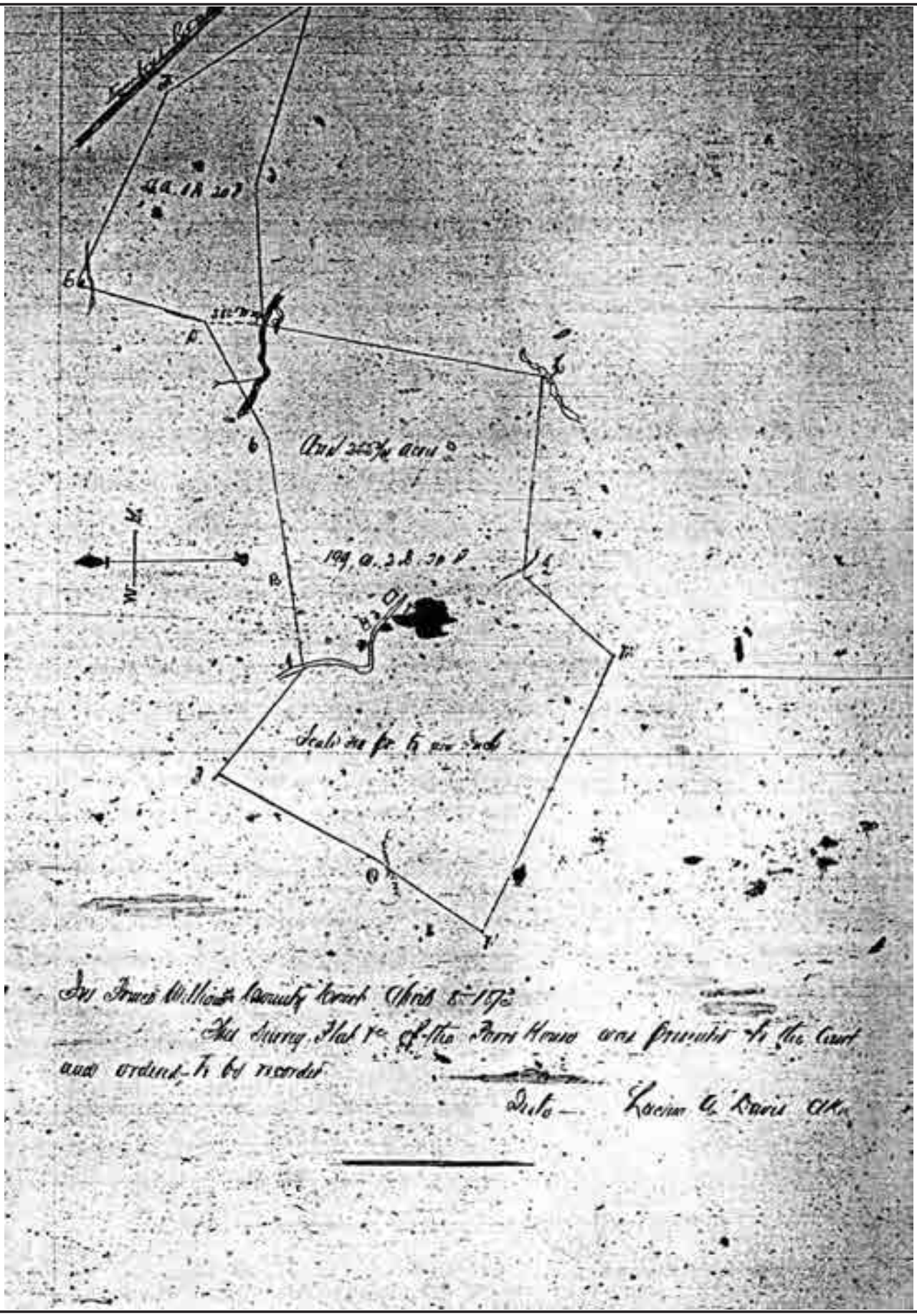

FIGURE 11: Surveyor's Sketch of the Site of the Poor House, 1872 *SOURCE: Prince William County Deed Book 29, p. 179*

PLATE 8: Chimney Base of the First Poor House

measuring 18x20 feet, probably the residence of the overseer, and a level area measuring about 20x100 feet, where excavation produced hundreds of nails. This level area is almost certainly where the large barracks described in the 1920s stood. If so, the building did not have a fireplace and was instead heated with stoves; fragments of iron stoves were found scattered across the site.

The earlier buildings were at the eastern end of the site. The only obvious structure in this area was a low mound measuring about 14x30 feet. A test unit dug along the south side of this mound showed that the mound consists mainly of stone rubble. No obvious wall was detected. Poking further around the mound, we discovered a group of large, carefully laid stones at the east end. The large stones proved to be a chimney base of a rather peculiar shape, and rubble walls were identified extending north and south from the chimney (Plate 8). Around the base of the stones was a layer of brown loam mixed with ash, animal bone, and artifacts. These artifacts were among the oldest found on the site and certainly date to before the Civil War. Based on its size and the date of the artifacts found around it, we believe that this structure was a barracks built early in the history of the Poor House, perhaps in the 1790s. Its size does not exactly match what the overseers ordered, but such discrepancies are routine when dealing with eighteenth-century building contracts. Near this barracks building is another completely level area, at one end of which is a pile of brick and stone. This area also contained artifacts that date to before the Civil War and may represent the location of some of the log cabins the overseers ordered. Figure 12 shows a tentative reconstruction of the Poor House in the early 1800s.

The artifacts found around the Poor House structures are very similar to those found at farm sites in the Park. The finds included decorated ceramics, bits of glass tumblers, tobacco pipes, and part

FIGURE 12: Artist's Reconstruction of the Poor House Around 1800

of a harmonica reed. In general, the material from the Poor House looks very much like what we found at the Luke Cannon and Keys Sites, which were family farms. The residents of the Poor House seem to have used dishes, drinking glasses, and other objects that looked much like those of their neighbors. Of course, these objects may have been donated to the poor, or purchased second-hand by the overseers, and we can't tell from archeological fragments whether the dishes were chipped or cracked by the time they came to the Poor House. The harmonica reed is an evocative find, and we can imagine some elderly resident sitting in front of the Poor House blowing the blues.

> [That hobo] could blow a harmonica. Whooee! Make your hair stand on your head.
>
> —Dewitt Bates, former Park resident

Source: Payne-Jackson and Taylor 2001:74

Interestingly, the roads to the Poor House from both the north and the southeast are deeply worn and can be easily followed today. The road from the north (Minnieville Road extended) crosses the North Fork at a ford now drowned by beaver ponds, but the road leading up the bluffs south of the stream is worn more than two feet deep in places. It would take heavy wagon traffic over quite a few years to wear a road that deeply. It is possible that this traffic dates primarily to the years after the property returned to private hands, but that seems unlikely; none of the other farm roads in the Park are worn nearly so much. The source of this heavy traffic is not known.

VII. THE CIVIL WAR

A. BLOCKADING THE RIVER

The landscape looks different to a general from how it looks to a farmer (Figure 13). Some features, such as train stations and road junctions, are important in both war and peace, but in other ways farmers and generals see the world very differently. The rugged lands along the Potomac east of Dumfries had been practically abandoned by farmers in the 1850s, but to Confederate military leaders these lands had one outstanding virtue: they offered locations where batteries overlooking the river could be built and used to close the Potomac River to shipping. In the fall of 1861 and winter of 1862, the area around Dumfries teemed with military activity as the gunners and the infantry regiments sent to protect them set up camps.

The idea to blockade the Potomac River came after the construction of the first Confederate battery along the Potomac River at Aquia Creek in May 1861. The fortification at Aquia Creek was constructed as a defensive measure in order to forewarn if not restrict any Union advance down the river from Washington. In the early fall of 1861, Confederate plans moved from constructing defensive fortifications to batteries capable of closing the river to trade. Plans to construct other batteries in the vicinity of Aquia Creek were abandoned because the Potomac was relatively wide at that point, and there were better places to block the river. The ideal point was a few miles north of Occoquan River, the narrowest part of the river below Washington. However, this was too near Union encampments around Alexandria. The next best location and the place chosen for the blockade was an area extending from Evansport, a point on the river 1½ miles below the mouth of Quantico Creek, to Freestone Point and located at the mouth of Neabsco Creek (Willis 1975:22;63).

Construction began on the first batteries at Evansport in August, 1861. General Isaac Trimble, a military engineer, was placed in charge of overseeing construction in October. Because the Confederates did not want to expose their plans until as many forts were constructed as possible, the work was done secretly. A screen of trees was kept intact in front of each battery, keeping them hidden from river traffic. No attacks were made by completed batteries during this period until all of the forts were completed. Various kinds of artillery were secretly brought to and installed at the batteries, including ten, twelve, and thirty pound Parrot rifles captured during the Battle of First Manassas, as well as Confederate-made 32 and 42 pound guns cast at the Tredegar foundry in Richmond (Willis 1975:65-66;77).

Supporting Trimble and his engineers were infantry units from two separate Confederate military districts. The purpose of the infantry was to guard against Union attack overland. The troops from the Potomac District, which included the batteries north of Chopawamsic Creek, were commanded by General W.H.L. Whiting. Individual regiments of the brigade were encamped within a 10-mile radius of Dumfries, which served as Whiting's command base. Unfortunately no Confederate maps are known to exist that would depict the location of the batteries and troop encampments in the area. Confederate documents show that the defense of the batteries was split between two military

FIGURE 13: Area of the Park Shown on a Military Map of 1862

SOURCE: Anonymous 1862(?)

districts. Whiting, however, described the disposition of his troop in a report to Secretary of War J.P. Benjamin as follows:

> . . . Hampton's brigade in advance, consisting of four regiments and three batteries. Of this two regiments and two batteries were at Wolf Run Shoals and Davis Ford, on the Occoquan; the Legion [Hampton's Legion], with one battery, at Colchester, and one regiment near the village of Occoquan, at the forks of the Telegraph and Bentsville roads. This line was ten miles in extent. In support the Texas brigade, Colonel Archer; three regiments were posted on the Telegraph road, between and upon Neabsco and Powell's Runs, with one battery. The First Texas at Talbot's Hill, on the Quantico, to cover the left of the Evansport battery. In support the Third Brigade: Fifth Alabama battalion and once company of the First Tennessee at Cockpit battery; one regiment and one battery at Dumphries; and four regiments and one battery on Powell's Run, 3 miles above Dumphries, equidistant from Evansport, Wolf Run Shoals, and Colchester. One squadron of cavalry and the legion of cavalry picketed the Potomac from Evansport to Colchester and the Occoquan in front [Willis 1975:77].

The batteries south of Chopawamsic Creek were defended by French's Brigade of the Aquia District. French's Brigade included the 14th Alabama Infantry, the 2nd Arkansas Infantry, the 35th Georgia Infantry, the 22nd North Carolina Infantry, the 2nd Tennessee Infantry, the 47th Virginia Infantry, Braxton's Artillery, the Maryland Flying Artillery, the Carolina Light Dragoons, and the Stafford Rangers (Balicki et al. 2002:49).

Rumors of enemy batteries being constructed to blockade the Potomac began filtering into Washington during the late summer and early fall of 1861. Union command was already aware of the battery at Aquia during this time and had undertaken a failed attempt to construct a nearby battery of its own to rival the Confederate fort. Because the Aquia battery was not a strategic threat, further plans of this nature were abandoned. However, Federal commanders in Washington were concerned about the rumors of further Confederate batteries being constructed south of Quantico Creek because they feared the closing off of the Potomac. Escaped slaves and a captured deserter from an Arkansas regiment assigned to Whiting's command confirmed these rumors. Without knowledge of the exact location of the batteries, the Union Navy could only probe the area around Evansport in the hope that the Confederates would reveal the location of their batteries, which is precisely what happened. On the morning of October 15,1861, Captain John Dahlgren, Commandant of the Washington Navy Yard, gave Commander Percival Drayton, captain of the *Pocahontas*, authority to open fire upon Evansport. When the action commenced later that day, the Confederates, thinking the batteries had been discovered, began removing the trees concealing the forts and readying their guns to return fire. By the time this was accomplished, the *Pocahontas* had passed out of range, but her companion ship, *Seminole*, was still within range and fired upon the batteries (Willis 1975:77-79).

When the trees came down, the Union Navy discovered Confederate batteries in place at Evansport, Shipping Point, Cockpit Point, Possum Nose, and at the mouth of Chopawamsic Creek. In official Confederate correspondences these are all referred to as the "Evansport batteries". Description of some of these batteries are also related through Union correspondences. In an informal letter from Commander Giles, captain of the *Seminole*, to a fellow navy officer, Commander Craven, Giles described some of the Evansport batteries as followed: "Two of the forts are on the bank of the river, the other lies inland 300 or 400 yards" (Willis 1975:78). Lewis McKenzie, the Union mayor of

Alexandria at this time, was familiar with Cockpit Point, where a battery was located. In a letter to Secretary of the Navy Gideon Wells, dated October 26, 1861, McKenzie describes Cockpit Point as follows:

> Cockpit Point where the Confederates have a battery is in some respects a remarkable military position. It commands Freestone Point on the north, Shipping Point on the south, being a distant from either about 2½ miles. The land is higher than either of them and it projects farther into the Potomac. In the rear it is defended by Powell's Creek, the low ground of which are commanded by it.
>
> Opposite in Maryland are Stump Neck and Budd's Ferry. The height of the land at Cockpit above the river is from forty to fifty feet, while that of Stump Neck is not more than eight or ten for a distance of one and one half miles back from the river. The river here being 1¼ miles wide, the distance from this rebel battery to high ground in the rear of Stump Neck would be 2¾ miles; to the heights at Budd's Ferry not more than 2½ miles at the most [Willis 1975:82].

The commanding positions of the Confederate batteries like Cockpit point concerned many Federal authorities, including President Lincoln. Before the location of the batteries had been exposed, an amphibious landing was planned at Mathias Point to clear the region of Confederate occupation. George McClellan, in command of the Army of the Potomac, refused to send any ground troops, citing lack of confidence in the Navy to secure landing points along the river. However, under pressure from Lincoln and members of Congress to do something about the Confederate batteries now revealed, McClellan eventually did dispatch General Joseph Hooker's division to take up position along the Maryland bank directly across from the rebel batteries and to await further orders. Hooker in fact fortified this area with his own batteries, which fought sporadic artillery duels with their Confederate counterparts during much of the next few months (Willis 1975:73-74,89-91).

After the location of the Confederate batteries was revealed, concern over the risk these forts posed to shipping led the United States government to officially close the Potomac River to commercial traffic. While the Confederates had succeeded in blocking the river, the suspension of commercial traffic along the Potomac did not completely disrupt trade. Free trade continued by means of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad (B&O), which linked Washington with Baltimore and other northern port cities that were receiving imports.

Although commerce to Washington was hindered for a time, the threat presented by the Confederate batteries around Evansport may have been more perceived than real. The Confederate gunners apparently were not very accurate, and most blockade runners made it past the batteries without injury. Joseph Hooker observed that ships "are more likely to be struck by lightening as by rebel shot" (Willis 1975:110-112).

The blockade did, however, precipitate a rise in commodity prices and did put a strain on rail traffic along the B&O (Willis 1975:97). Even the limited restriction of goods caused by the blockade had a serious effect on Washington, causing supply shortages and increased prices. The city's population at this time was probably more than double its pre-war size, expanded by the addition of the Army of the Potomac still encamped around the city, private sutlers, prostitutes, morticians, and others who gathered around the army, and war contractors seeking business from Congress. Because of diminished supply of almost every item in the city, McClellan received constant pressure from Lincoln and Congress to do something about the blockade. Not believing his army was properly

suited for a major campaign, which he feared might result if he committed troops into the field, the general did not act. McClellan also did not view the blockade as a military priority since supplies were still uninhibited through Maryland (Willis 1975:118).

As pressure mounted, McClellan did order Hooker to gather intelligence about Confederate strength in the area. Hooker made balloon observations in December 1861 and realized that the Confederates had a sizable force encamped within 10 miles of Dumfries, estimated at about 12,000 men. (This was quite an accurate number, considering that it was based on telescopic observation.) By January 1862, Confederate forces around Dumfries had grown to include three full brigades and a detachment of artillery and cavalry. These troops included General Whiting's infantry brigade, consisting of the 4th Alabama, 2nd Mississippi, 11th Mississippi, 6th North Carolina, 1st Tennessee, and the Staunton (Virginia) Artillery. Joining Whiting's troops was Colonel Wade Hampton's brigade, consisting of the 14th Georgia Infantry, 19th Georgia Infantry, 16th North Carolina Infantry, and Hampton's Legion (cavalry); as well as Brigadier General Wigfall's brigade, consisting of the 5th Alabama Battalion Infantry, 8th Georgia Infantry, 1st Texas Infantry, 4th Texas Infantry, and 5th Texas Infantry. Detached regiments as part of the command included Reilly's Artillery (North Carolina), River's Battery (South Carolina), Shannon's Cavalry (South Carolina), Thornton's Cavalry (Virginia), and the Quantico Guards from the 49th Virginia Infantry (Willis 1975:137-138).

Balloon observation continued through the winter, but McClellan still refused to commit troops in an attack on the Confederate positions. Continued pressure from Lincoln and other Washington officials to do something finally drove McClellan to make preparations for an attack against these batteries as spring approached. In the end, however, such an attack became unnecessary, as the Confederates withdrew from the area in March. A decision had also been reached by Joseph Johnson, Confederate commander of troops in Virginia, who suspected that McClellan was planning a major Union offensive for the spring of 1862. Believing that an invasion would likely take place overland via Manassas, he did not want the Potomac force to be cut off and caught behind Union lines. Therefore, he ordered their withdrawal from Dumfries to a more defensible position near Fredericksburg on March 8, 1862, thus ending the blockade of Washington (Willis 1975:155-158).

B. LOCAL CONFEDERATE MILITARY UNITS

Young men from the area of the Park served in several Confederate military units, but especially in two that were recruited locally: the Quantico Guards (Company B of the 49th Virginia Infantry) and the Prince William Partisan Rangers.

1. 49th Virginia Infantry, Companies A and B

The 49th Virginia Infantry regiment was formed during the summer of 1861, just before the Battle of First Manassas. William "Extra Billy" Smith, a former governor of Virginia, was responsible for the creation of the regiment and was commissioned as its Colonel. Recruits from Prince William County served in two companies, Company A, the Ewell Guards, and Company B, the Quantico Guards (Hale 1981:221,229). Privates Peyton and Wilbur Able, from a family who owned land at both the eastern end of the present-day Park and just west of it along the upper reaches of the South Fork, served in Company A, but many more men from the Park area served in Company B.

The Quantico Guards, originally Company G and later reorganized as Company B, were formed at Dumfries on July 1, 1861 with all recruits signing on to serve for the entire period of the war. Chancellor Alexander Nelson served as Captain in command of the company with Henry E. Carter and William Raymond Free serving as First Lieutenants, Luther C. Lindsley serving as Second Lieutenant, and Thomas Chancellor and Alexander Henry Ratcliffe serving as Third Lieutenants. The company was mustered into service on July 16, but did not join the rest of the regiment until March 1862. During this interim period, the Quantico Guards were assigned to the command of Brigadier General W.H.C. Whiting's brigade, which was assisting efforts to blockade the Potomac River south of Washington. With this brigade encamped in the Dumfries area, the Quantico Guards were commissioned as a provost guard in charge of policing and keeping order in Dumfries. They rejoined the rest of the 49th at Clarks Mountain near Rapidan Station on March 28, 1862, in time to participate in the Peninsula campaign (Hale 1981:228).

The 49th Virginia served with distinction in every major campaign of the eastern theater from the Battle of First Manassas to Appomattox. In July 1862, they were assigned to Jubal Early's brigade in Richard Ewell's division of Stonewall Jackson's Second Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia. Among their most notable actions was leading a desperate counterattack in the woods near the Dunker Church to repulse a Union attack during the Battle of Antietam. At Fredericksburg in December 1862, the 49th was again part of a counterattack to repulse the only Union breakthrough in Confederate lines, located south of the town. They participated in the assaults on Culp's Hill at Gettysburg on July 2 and 3, 1863, and were involved in some of the most furious actions during the Battles of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania Courthouse in May 1864. During the Battle of Spotsylvania, the 49th was engaged in the savage fighting at an angle near Confederate entrenchments known as the "Mule Shoe Salient", which would become known as the "Bloody Angle". Here Early's veterans came face to face with Wright's Union corps in a rain-soaked engagement that lasted almost 24 hours and resulted in some of the most deadly hand-to-hand combat of the war. The engagement resulted in a tactical draw, with Early's men withdrawing to another line of defense later the next day (Cullen 1985:37). From Spotsylvania, the 49th accompanied General Early's independent force, which fought its way down the Shenandoah Valley, invaded Maryland and defeated Union forces at the Battle of Monocacy near Frederick, and besieged the District of Columbia at Fort Stevens before being forced to withdraw. Early's forces were chased back into Virginia and soundly defeated at the Battle of Cedar Creek in October 1864, by a Union Army commanded by Philip Sheridan before rejoining the Army of Northern Virginia entrenched at Petersburg. Casualties and desertions took their toll on the 49th, which numbered only 54 at the surrender at Appomattox.

Henry E. Carter, who lived in the area of the Park, became the Quantico Guards' first commissioned First Lieutenant and was in rank only behind the company commander, Captain Nelson. Carter's tombstone is the largest standing today in the Park and it reads, in large letters, MAJOR HENRY E. CARTER. Service records reveal, however, that Carter did not have a long or distinguished career in Confederate service. He was absent from the muster for most of his service, either on sick leave or AWOL, and he resigned his commission in a letter dated September 22, 1862, citing "continued ill health" (Confederate Service Records 1861-1865; Hale 1981:228). While Carter's career as an officer in the 49th may have lacked distinction, the same cannot be said for Luther C. Lindsley. Lindsley was the son of Mahlon S. Lindsley, who emigrated with his family from New Jersey in 1852, and came to own the Lindsley site in the Park. Luther enlisted in the Quantico Guards in July

1861, receiving the rank of Corporal. He must have distinguished himself quickly in the command, as he was promoted to the rank of First Sergeant in August and was elected to the rank of Second Lieutenant April 22, 1862, shortly after the company rejoined the rest of the 49th Virginia in Orange County in March 1862. Although he was never promoted beyond the rank of Second Lieutenant, Lindsley's record of service was distinguished. He was never listed on inactive duty and is noted as being wounded at the Battle of Fredericksburg on December 13, 1862, and at the Battle of Gettysburg on July 3, 1863. Lindsley was killed at the Battle of Cedar Creek on October 19, 1864, when both his legs were torn off by a cannon ball (Confederate Service Records 1861-1865; Hale 1981:228).

Three of Delia Ratcliffe's sons also served in the Quantico Guards. Ratcliffe owned a 182-acre farm between the north fork of Quantico Run and Ridge Road (Scenic Drive); the site of her house was near Parking Area F. James E. Ratcliffe, who was 18 in 1860 (U.S. Census), Richard M. Ratcliffe, who was 20, and Alexander Henry Ratcliffe all served in the Quantico Guards. James and Richard both enlisted as privates. James was captured during the Peninsula Campaign and later exchanged, but he does not seem to have returned to service; his brother Richard disappears from Confederate service records at the same time, so he may also have been captured (Confederate Service Records 1861-1865; Hale 1981:230). Alexander Ratcliffe must have been the eldest son. He was not part of his mother's household in 1860, and was mustered into service with the creation of the Quantico Guards as a Third Lieutenant. He was eventually promoted to Second Lieutenant. During the first winter of the war, he was given leave from duty because of illness. On February 13, 1862, he died at home from disease (Hale 1981:229). He is buried near the site of his mother's farm in the Park.

Like Delia Ratcliffe, Elizabeth Jones was a widow owning a farm within the area of the Park, and like her neighbor she offered three sons to the Confederate cause. All three fought in Company B of the 49th. Her eldest son, Alexander, was killed in action at Antietam. Her second son, Charles, was taken prisoner near Hanover Courthouse and does not appear in Prince William County records after the war. Only her youngest son, Shirley, returned after the war.

A tombstone located a few yards from Route 619, just west of the Park on one of the old Special Use Permit areas, marks the burial place of James K. Pearson, Co. B, 49th Virginia Infantry. Pearson's family has not yet been identified in research on the Park's history, but he probably lived somewhere near his grave site. Pearson was one of the 54 men of the regiment who survived to the very end, and he was paroled at Appomattox after Lee's surrender.

2. Prince William Partisan Rangers (Company H, 15th Virginia Cavalry Battalion)

On September 29, 1862, the Prince William Partisan Rangers were mustered into service under the Partisan Ranger Law. The company was formed by its commander, Captain William G. Brawner, with James C. Kinchelow serving as First Lieutenant, Edwin Nelson serving as Second Lieutenant, and Frances C. Davis serving as Third Lieutenant. Over 120 men appear on the muster rolls of the company between September 1862 and December 1864, when the company was disbanded. Most of those who served in the company were from Prince William County (WPA 1941:234-239).

Because partisan warfare involved clandestine activities, not many official records concerning the activities for the Prince William Partisan Rangers exist. William Brawner is cited in two reports

during the entire war. In a report to Colonel R.H. Chilton, Chief of Staff, Army of Northern Virginia, J.E.B. Stuart noted that the Prince William Partisan Rangers participated in the Christmas raid on Dumfries in December 1862. Stuart mentions in his report that Captain Brawner of the 15th Virginia Cavalry was successful in capturing a picket post somewhere around Dumfries (Official Records Volume XXI [S#31]). On June 10, 1863, Brawner and approximately 30 of his men participated in a raid into Maryland with the famed partisan leader John S. Mosby. With Mosby in command, the partisan band attacked the camp of two companies of the 6th Michigan Cavalry at Seneca Ford in Maryland. The Federals had been forewarned of the approaching partisans and were ready for the attack. A short engagement ensued that resulted in the death of Brawner (Wert 1990:72,86). The partisans were successful in driving the Federals from their camp and capturing 17 prisoners and about 20 horses. Mosby mentioned the death of Brawner in his official report on the raid (Official Records Volume XXVII/2[S#44]).

After the death of Brawner, the Prince William Partisan Rangers were reportedly attached to Mosby's command (Mosby's Rangers) for a few months, but their role and activities during this period is unclear (Wert 1990:86). What is certain is that Brawner was eventually succeeded by James C. Kinchelow, who was promoted to the rank of Captain, and the command resumed its activities independent of Mosby's battalion. Union correspondences between December 1863 and July 1864 occasionally mention Kinchelow and his men raiding Union outposts and pickets around Fairfax station, Union Mills, and near Wolf Run Shoals (Official Records various). However, no mention of Kinchelow can be found in the Confederate correspondence of this period. In May 1864, Kinchelow's company was officially assigned to the 15th Virginia Cavalry battalion, and in November 1864, the 15th and 14th Battalions of Virginia cavalry were consolidated into the 5th Virginia Cavalry. The Prince William Partisan Rangers refused to obey the order attaching the unit to the 5th Virginia and were "disbanded in disgrace" on November 23, 1864. On December 4, 1864, Kinchelow disbanded the ranger battalion. Exactly why Kinchelow and his men refused to obey this order is not known. It may have had something to do with the partisans' refusal give up certain freedoms enjoyed as an independent command and join the regular army, which would end their guerilla activities. With their honor disgraced, many of the ranger veterans signed an official petition sent to James A. Seddon, Secretary of War, asking that the unit be reinstated under its original organization as an independent command of partisan rangers under the command of First Lieutenant James R. Purcell of Company A of the 49th Virginia Infantry, who was elected to be the company's new captain. Robert E. Lee, who in early 1865 assumed the command of all Confederate forces in the field, denied this request on January 25, 1865 (Wallace 1986:57).

After their petition was denied, many of those once part of the Prince William Partisan Rangers eventually rejoined John S. Mosby's command. Officially they were attached to the 43rd Battalion of Virginia Cavalry as Company H, organized on April 5, 1865. There is no record of why these men rejoined Confederate service when the cause was lost, only four days before Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia at Appomattox, but it was probably an effort to reinstate their own personal honor. Company H did participate in at least one of Mosby's last raids, an April 6 attack on the Loudoun Rangers encamped near the Shenandoah River that resulted in the routing of the Federal unit (Wert 1990:278).

Edwin Nelson, son of Eliza Nelson who owned the Nelson Mill and much land in what is now the Park, served in the Prince William Partisan Rangers. Edwin Nelson himself was a prominent

member of the local community, serving as deputy sheriff before the war (U.S. Census1860). Nelson enrolled in what was then termed "W.G. Brawner's Company 'Partisan Ranger'" in May 1862, before the command was officially formed in September 1862. His enrollment records indicate that Nelson lived within 50 miles of the company's rendezvous place, and he owned a horse valued at $176 and equipment worth $36. Nelson was captured by Federal troops near Dumfries on June 21, 1863. He was initially sent to Old Capitol Prison in Washington, D.C., and is on prison rolls there dated July 23, 1863. He was sent to the prison camp at Point Lookout, Maryland, in August 1863 and transferred back to Washington from where he was sent to Fort McHenry in Baltimore in late September 1863. Nelson only stayed a few days at Fort McHenry before being sent to his final destination, the prison camp at Johnson Island, Ohio. He remained at Johnson Island until February 1865, when he was sent to City Point, Virginia, and exchanged on February 24, 1865. Nelson was not among the Prince William Partisan Rangers who joined Mosby's Company H in April 1865. Paroled at Ashland, Virginia, on June 1, 1865, Nelson returned to Prince William and became a farmer (Confederate Service Records 1861-1865; U.S. Census 1870).

C. MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN THE VICINITY OF DUMFRIES AND INDEPENDENT HILL

a. The Winter of 1862 to 1863

Because of its location in close proximity to the federal capital and Fredericksburg, the site of four major engagements of the war, the area around Dumfries and Independent Hill experienced constant troop and supply movements throughout the war. The Dumfries vicinity was also the site of military encampments resulting from the attempted Confederate blockade of Washington in late 1861 and early 1862, and Union occupation of the town between the Fredericksburg and Gettysburg campaigns from December 1862 to June 1863. The most significant engagement that occurred in this area was J.E.B. Stuart's Christmas raids on Dumfries in December 1862.

The Dumfries area was not significantly affected by military operations until December 1862. By this time, Lee had been forced to withdraw from his invasion of Maryland following the Battle of Antietam in September. In early November, Ambrose Burnside replaced George McClellan as the commander of the Army of the Potomac after the latter's refusal to move quickly and attack Lee's army. Upon taking command, Burnside ordered his subordinate commanders to move their units from Culpeper County to the banks of the Rappahannock River at Falmouth, across from Fredericksburg. The Federals moved quickly but had to await the arrival of pontoon boats before crossing the river to take Fredericksburg. By this time, Lee had consolidated his army on the heights west of Fredericksburg, making an engagement there inevitable. The Battle of Fredericksburg (12-13 December, 1862) resulted in a humiliating defeat for the Union army. The Army of the Potomac would spend that winter encamped on the opposite side of the Rappahannock near Falmouth.

With the army encamped near Falmouth, it was important for the Union to keep communication and supply lines to the north open. For this reason, many towns along railroad lines, major roads, and waterways had to be secured, and the telegraph line which stretched from army headquarters to Alexandria had to remain intact. One of these towns was Dumfries. Work on establishing the telegraph line, which extended along Telegraph Road, had commenced in the Dumfries area shortly before the battle. Around the time of the battle, portions of two Union infantry corps had moved to

Dumfries. On December 13, Major General F. Siegel arrived in the town with his corps and was followed by General Slocum in command of the Union Twelfth Corps. Most of these commands eventually moved south to join up with the Army of the Potomac, but Slocum left one brigade of infantry, commanded by Colonel Charles Cane, to be garrisoned at Dumfries. With Cane's brigade at Dumfries were the 1st Maryland Cavalry, six companies of the 13th Illinois Cavalry and a battery of artillery. Nearby units included the 6th and 17th Pennsylvania Cavalry, guarding road from Neabsco Creek to the Occoquan River (McClellan 1994:196).

Its location behind enemy lines made Dumfries a prime target for cavalry raids. On December 10, General Wade Hampton took his Confederate cavalry brigade across the Rappahannock and moved towards Dumfries. With about 800 men, Hampton raided the town at 5:00 A.M. on December 12, leaving before the lead elements of Siegel's corps arrived in the town at 10:00 A.M. that day. Union and Confederate reports differ on what exactly was accomplished by the raid. Union correspondences state that Hampton's men were only able to cut telegraph lines and capture the telegraph operators and several officers and orderlies. Confederate reports on this incident also say that Hampton took 90 prisoners along with 20 supply wagons, but this was not mentioned in Union reports (Official Records Volume XXI:Union and Confederate reports on December 12, 1862, Dumfries raid).

Hampton did not wait long to unleash a second raid against Dumfries. On December 17, he again crossed the Rappahannock, proceeded to Occoquan and then to Dumfries. Between Occoquan and Dumfries he encountered both the 17th and 6th Pennsylvania Cavalry and the 10th New York Cavalry. Skirmishes ensued before the Confederates were forced to withdraw. According to Confederate reports, Hampton captured 50 wagons and 130 prisoners. Union reports note only that two small detachments of the 6th Pennsylvania and 10th New York Cavalry were captured and make no mention of stolen supply wagons (Official Records Volume XXI:Union and Confederate reports on December 19, 1862 Dumfries raid).

Hampton's two raids must have enjoyed enough success to convince J.E.B. Stuart that a larger raid on Dumfries involving his whole command would yield high rewards. He sought and received permission to conduct a Christmas raid against Union communication and supply lines, again attacking the Union garrison at Dumfries. On December 26, Stuart with 1,800 of his troops from the brigades of Hampton, Fitzgerald Lee, and William H.F. (Rooney) Lee, along with four pieces of his horse artillery commanded by Major John Pelham, crossed the Rappahannock in Culpeper County at Kelly's Ford and proceeded to Dumfries. Stuart planned a three-prong attack. Fitzgerald Lee was to strike Telegraph Road, north of Chopawamsic Creek and then proceed north to Dumfries and unite with William H.F. Lee's brigade sent directly to Dumfries. Hampton was to move on Occoquan to the north (McClellan 1994:197).

The attack commenced on the morning of December 27. Fitzgerald Lee encountered no opposition other than a patrolling party, which was chased back to Dumfries. On his way to Dumfries, Fitzgerald Lee captured nine supply wagons and 22 men who were guarding them. At about the same time, Rooney Lee had reached Wheat's Mill, where Telegraph Road meets Quantico Creek. There, the Confederates encountered a picket post, capturing 11 men. To support Rooney Lee's advance, a detachment under Lieutenant Colonel Critcher was sent down Brentsville Road, northwest of Dumfries to ensure no sizable union force was located here. Along the way these

Confederates apparently engaged pickets at the Lindsley farm, the Keys farm, and Dyer's mill. The Lindsley and Keys farms were within the boundaries of the Park, while Dyer's Mill was located on Powell's Run. Apparently, the Prince William Partisan Rangers assisted Critcher on this movement, as the unit (15th Virginia Cavalry) and its captain, (W.G. Brawner) are noted in Stuart's report as being partly responsible for the capture of pickets in this area (Official Records Volume XXI:Reports of J.E.B. Stuart [CSA] and Charles Candy [USA]-Dumfries Raid).

Before Rooney Lee struck Dumfries, the Federals there under the command of Colonel Candy learned of the raid. To counter Stuart, Candy ordered his unit to take up strong defensive positions on a ridge overlooking the town. Rooney Lee's brigade arrived at Dumfries first and was soon reinforced by Fitzgerald Lee's brigade. Stuart was also at the scene and ordered his artillery to open fire on the Federal position. A short artillery skirmish followed, but Stuart decided that capturing the town would be too costly. Near evening, he and his men withdrew northwest along Brentsville Road (Official Records Volume XXI:Report of J.E.B. Stuart-Dumfries Raid).

While Stuart was forced to withdraw from Dumfries with little to show for his endeavors, Hampton's brigade had better luck against Occoquan. The brigade moved to the town from Independent Hill (Cole's Store), where they captured another Union picket post. They had no other opposition until they reached Occoquan, driving out the Federal garrison there and capturing eight supply wagons. From there, Hampton led his men back to Independent Hill, where they rejoined the rest of Stuart's command and bivouacked that night. The next morning Stuart led his men north across the Occoquan River, eventually raiding in the area just south of Alexandria and Fairfax Courthouse before returning to Culpeper County. All totaled, Stuart credited his raid with the capture of 200 prisoners and an undisclosed amount of supplies, and the destruction of telegraph line between Chopawamsic Creek and the Occoquan River (Official Records Volume XXI:Report of J.E.B. Stuart-Dumfries Raid).

b. Occupation of Dumfries Prior to the Gettysburg Campaign

Candy's brigade remained at Dumfries through the winter and spring of 1863. In February of that year, General Siegel reported that Union forces in Dumfries consisted of an infantry brigade (Candy) of the Twelfth Corps of the Army of the Potomac along with 300 Union cavalrymen. The garrison was guarded by a chain of infantry pickets sent about one-half mile from the village, with cavalry pickets posted two to three miles from Dumfries. Cavalry patrols, consisting of anywhere from five to 20 men, were also sent to Wolf Run Shoals, Independent Hill, Brentsville, and Stafford Springs (Official Records Volume XXV:Report of F. Siegel, 2 February 1863).

Sometime before March, Candy was replaced by a new post commander, W.R. Creighton. During the month of March, Union correspondences between Creighton and Army of the Potomac Headquarters reveal that his command was encountering problems with Confederate guerrilla activity in the region. The first event of this kind was reported on March 5, 1863. The day before, a patrol of the 8th New York Cavalry on picket duty near Independent Hill was attacked. Fifteen of these men were captured, one was wounded, and two were killed (Official Records Volume XXV/1:Report of W.R. Creighton, 5 March 1863). An interpretive map of the county (Scheel 1992) shows that this skirmish took place on the Dumfries road on the northern border of the present-day Park. Another such event occurred on March 15 near Occoquan when a seven-man patrol of

Company H. of the 8th New York Cavalry was captured. By this time, the harassing of pickets by guerrillas had become such a problem that Brigadier General George Stoneman, commander of the Cavalry Corps of the Army of the Potomac, had some rather bold suggestions concerning how to handle this type of activity:

> . . . These annoyances [harassing of picket patrols] will continue until some stringent measures are taken to clear that section of the country of every male inhabitant, either by shooting, hanging, banishment, or incarceration. I had a party organized some time ago to do this, but the commanding general did not think it advisable to send it out. A great portion of the country is of such a nature that it is impossible for cavalry to operate in it and to perform the duty property will require the co-operation of an infantry force. The country is infested by a set of bushwhacking thieves and smugglers who should be eradicated root and branch [Official Records Volume XXV/1:Report of George Stoneman, 17 March 1863].

Responding to this rather bold suggestion for dealing with partisan activity, army headquarters ordered, "if any of the male portion of the community operating as bushwhackers or guerrillas against our troops, and the facts can be proven, let them be arrested and brought in." The response also seems to criticize Stoneman's suggestions and the performance of Union cavalry, since army headquarters asked why Union cavalry could not operate in a region from which they were receiving many reports of enemy cavalry activity (Official Records Volume XXV/1:Returned message from S. Williams, Assistant Adjutant-General, Headquarters Army of the Potomac, 26 March 1863).

Attacks on Federal pickets continued with little or no interruption. On March 29, 1863, another patrol of the 8th New York Cavalry traveling between Dumfries and Occoquan was attacked by what was reported as a force of about 100 men. A lieutenant and 11 men were captured by this raiding party (Official Records Volume XXV/1-Reports of E.M. Pope and C.D. Follett, 8th New York Cavalry).

The Federals eventually responded to this constant guerilla activity by sending large cavalry units moving in force to scour the countryside in search for Confederate partisans. A report of one such operation was submitted on May 19, 1863, which states that the day before a Federal unit of 160 men "scoured the country to and around Brentsville" looking for a party of Confederates who had attacked a Union patrol on May 17 (Official Records Volume XXV/1:Report of J. Claude White, 17 May 1863). The success of such operations is uncertain as no official correspondences from this period have been found reporting on the capture of large parties of Confederate cavalrymen, partisans, or civilians charged with supporting partisan operations against the Union command at Dumfries. This may also indicate the failure of attempts to root out and eradicate the "bushwhackers" from the area. It is uncertain exactly which Confederate unit or units were assaulting the Union picket posts around Dumfries during this time. No official Confederate correspondence was found linking any of the above-mentioned incidents to an organized Confederate military unit. The historic overview of Prince William Forest Park (Parker 1986) indicates that John S. Mosby's unit was active in the area during the spring of 1863. Parker, who based her information of a history of the area compiled as part of a local history prepared by the Writers Program of the Works Progress Administration in 1941, tells of a skirmish between Mosby's Rangers and Union troops which took place at Elizabeth Lynn's house, just north of the Park. If this information is correct, then it is very plausible that Mosby's men could be responsible for the harassing of Union picket lines in March (Parker 1986:114). However, there is little evidence that Mosby was active

in the area at this time. In his own reports to J.E.B. Stuart, Mosby never mentions that his command conducted activities anywhere near Dumfries. Mosby's biographers (Wert 1990) also report no activities in the Dumfries area at this time.

It is more plausible that the Union pickets were harassed not by Mosby, but by the Prince William Partisan Rangers, commanded at this time by Captain W.G. Brawner. The Prince William Partisan Rangers were a local unit and therefore more likely to conduct operations in their "backyard" than would Mosby. Edwin Nelson, a resident of the Park area and an officer in Brawner's unit, was captured in Dumfries in June 1863, possibly indicating that the unit participated in unreported activities in the area at this time. However, no official correspondences have been found indicating what Brawner and his unit were doing during March 1863. In April, the unit was attached to Mosby's command by order of Robert E. Lee (Official Records Volume XXV/2:Report of R.E. Lee, 20 April 1863), and we know that Brawner was with Mosby on a raid in Maryland that resulted in the former's death in June of that year. Taking this into account, it is possible that Brawner's unit has been understood in local lore as part of Mosby's rangers, since the Prince William Partisan Rangers were attached to his command around this time.

With the Gettysburg campaign beginning in June 1863, the Army of the Potomac moved north to counter Confederate advances and the two forces would eventually meet each other in Pennsylvania. Therefore, the need to support army operations shifted from Virginia into Maryland and Pennsylvania, making the garrison of Dumfries no longer of any strategic importance. As a result, Union troops were withdrawn from the town. No indication has been found in the official records of the Union and Confederate Armies that large bodies of Union troops were garrisoned around Dumfries during future campaigns in Virginia in 1864 and 1865 (Official Records various).

D. THE WAR AND THE LANDSCAPE

By the time the soldiers left their camps in the spring of 1862, the landscape around Dumfries must have looked very different. The dense stands of trees would have been cleared, and some of the hillsides covered with log huts. One Confederate soldier observed of the landscape around the camps near Manassas in the same winter, "it was not many days until our company grounds were denuded of growing timber" (Rourke 1995:18).

What traces did the Civil War leave on the landscape of the Park? Reminders of the Confederate presence during the winter of 1861 to 1862 can still be seen in the area. The earthworks thrown up around the Confederate batteries seem to have been destroyed by modern development, but the remains of several camps have been identified by archeologists on the Quantico Marine Corps Base and amateur collectors have reported other camps in the vicinity.

Archeologists have investigated camps of Tennessee and Georgia regiments on the Marine base, and they have found large numbers of square pits, on the order of two feet deep and 15 to 18 feet across (Balicki et al. 2002). These pits were once the basements of soldiers' huts, dug into the ground for added warmth. The camps are placed along slopes, the rows of hut pits running up and down the slopes like the streets of a small town. Some of the camps have slopes of greater than 20 percent, which is usually enough to discourage people from living on such sites; archeologists often use 15 percent as the cut-off between areas where sites are likely to be found and those that don't have to

be investigated. Every soldier knows that mud is one of his worst enemies; by building on these slopes, the soldiers improved the drainage of their camps and also put themselves close to building materials. The most heavily wooded parts of the landscape would have been those too steep for plowing, so the soldiers could easily have found firewood and logs for building in these sloping locations. Other camps have been reported by collectors on parts of the Quantico base where no hut pits are visible, and where archeologists have not found large numbers of Civil War artifacts. These were probably less permanent camps. Another camp once stood just outside the eastern end of the Park, along Route 234 in an area that has recently been cleared for development. A few collectors had known about this site for many years, and when they learned that it was about to be bulldozed they put out the word to the relic-hunting community, and dozens of collectors descended on the site. According to participants, the site was occupied by a Texas regiment, and the remains of fireplaces made from dry-laid brick were present.

Despite an extensive search, no Civil War camps have been identified in the Park. Given the amount of searching that has now been done, it is highly unlikely that a camp with large numbers of hut pits is present. A less permanent camp certainly could stand anywhere along Route 234 or anywhere in the eastern part of the Park. Much of this area has been checked with a metal detector, but not with any great thoroughness. Our experience has been that it can be quite difficult to find temporary camps if either the camp has been extensively collected or it is located near a historic farm, where nails are likely to be scattered everywhere.

VIII. GROWTH OF COMMUNITIES, 1865 to 1935

A. RURAL LIFE IN THE INDUSTRIAL AGE

1. Getting By

After the Civil War, life in the area of the Park resumed its rhythms. Comparison of the 1860 and 1870 agricultural censuses for Prince William County would appear to show that the war had done some damage to the farm economy. The percentage of land reported as being under cultivation in the Dumfries and Coles districts fell from 36 percent to 29 percent, which indicates that in the 1860s, about 2,000 acres of cultivated land reverted to waste or woodland. The damage to forests from tree cutting was probably greater. However, the loss of farmland was about the same as that during the 1850s, so perhaps what the census reveals is not the effects of war but simply the continuing abandonment of unproductive land, which had been going on since around 1800. There was no decrease in the number of farms in the course of the 1860s, and their reported values increased. All of the family farms that had been established in the Park between 1770 and 1830 continued to operate after the war, as did those founded by northern immigrants. We have no records or archeological evidence that any houses were destroyed. After 1890, new residents moved in, and small communities grew up along the roads in the area. Most of the new residents were not full-time farmers. Many men worked at the Cabin Branch Pyrite Mine (below), the shipyards along the Potomac, or the Quantico Marine Corps Base. Farming and logging continued in the area, but they were no longer the main economic focus for many families. A comparison of the 1901 Brown map of Prince William County (Figure 14) with the 1926 USGS Quantico quadrangle shows the population increase: the 1901 map shows 26 houses in the Park; the 1926 map shows more than 50 houses. The USGS map is a more detailed map and may show small houses that the 1901 map omits, but archeological survey supports the maps, since there are many house foundations in the Park that are made of poured concrete and therefore probably date to after 1890.

During the nineteenth century, America was transformed by industrialization and urbanization. Railroads tied the nation together, creating single markets for goods and driving inefficient local producers out of business. Mechanical looms and spinning jennies replaced the home manufacture of cloth, which had been the second biggest rural industry after agriculture. Nonetheless, industrialization did not mean the end of traditional rural life. In fact, some developments of the industrial age encouraged subsistence farming and helped preserve traditional rural ways. One of the most important rural practices was home canning, which made it much easier for small farmers to feed their families through the winter:

> One thing to say about the people there, no matter how poor they were they got prepared for winter. When winter came . . . just like squirrels, they had their food stored up and they even buried it under the ground in the cellars [Parker 1986:142].

Canning became part of family and social life, and many people who were children on farms early in the twentieth century fondly remember canning peaches or making jam as important seasonal rituals. Other technological improvements included new kinds of tools, wagons, mule-drawn plows,

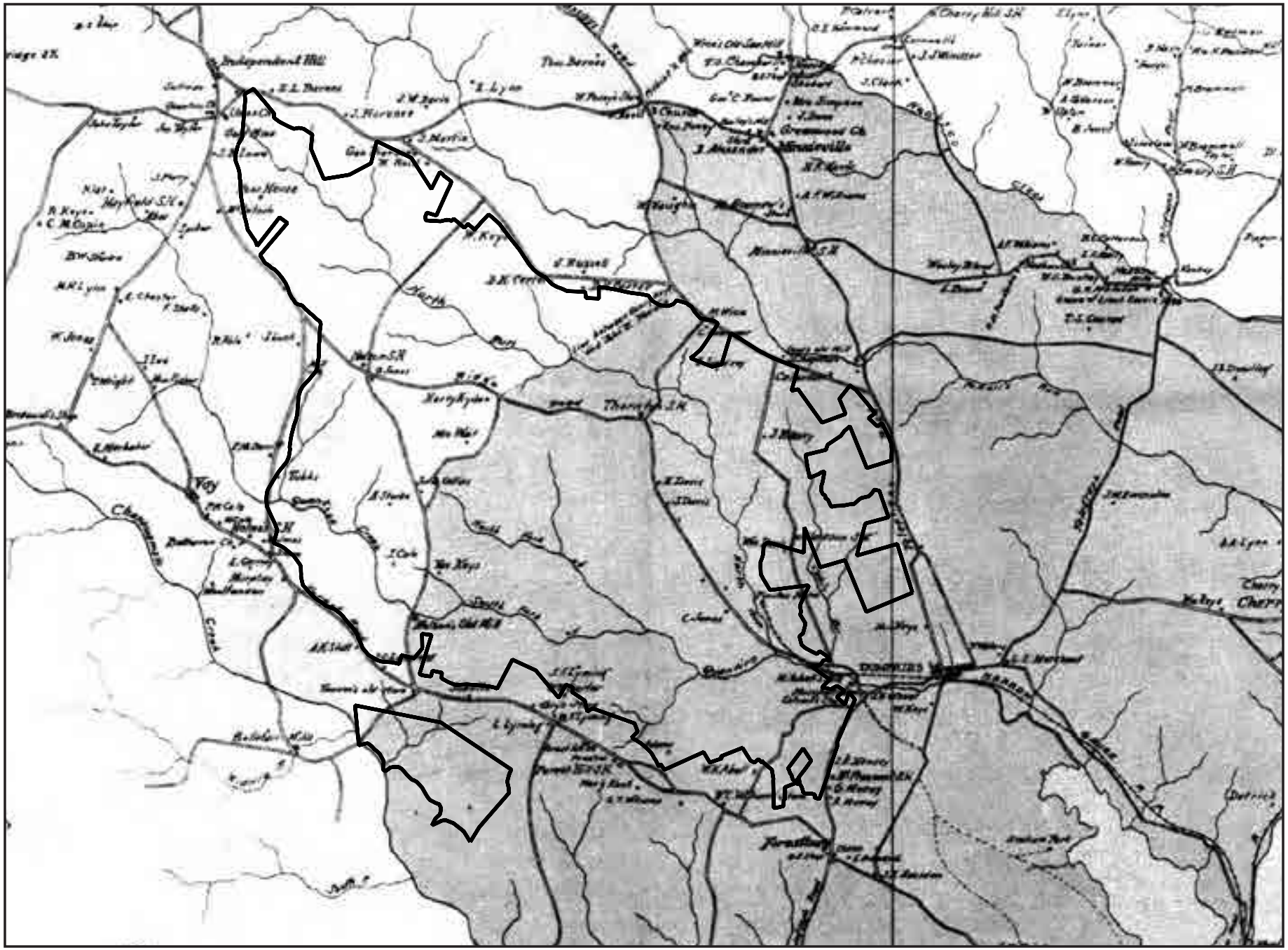

FIGURE 14: Area of the Park as Shown on the 1901 Brown Map

SOURCE: Brown 1901

and even building techniques (such as balloon framing) that made it possible for one man to do much more work around a farm (Martin 1984; Stewart-Abernathy 1992).

Oral historians working for the NPS have recorded many memories of people who lived in the area of the Park, and these accounts tell us much about life in the early twentieth century (Parker 1986; Payne-Jackson and Taylor 2000). The account given by John Taylor of his father Robert Taylor during a 1984 interview is particularly detailed. The Taylor Farm was in the center of the Park (Figure 15). According to the younger Taylor, his father was a jack-of-all-trades who cleared forests from his land, sold the wood for pulp or railroad ties, and then planted gardens and grain fields. He sold honey, sweet and hard cider, vinegar, vegetables, smoked pork, and salted beef. He also dug wells, worked for the pyrite mine and the shipyard at Quantico, and ran a small store. A sketch map of the Taylor farm buildings, kept in the Park's curatorial collection, shows a house, a blacksmith's shop, a smoke house, a store, a well, a grape arbor, an orchard, and no less than seven barns and sheds. Other local residents remembered selling eggs, butter, watermelons, rabbit and racoon skins, fish, and moonshine. A store ledger kept in Dumfries dating to 1880 to 1881 shows that people also traded work, such as hauling, plowing, cutting posts, sewing, and repairing equipment for store goods. Many locals remember hunting for food, especially night hunting for raccoons, a Virginia tradition that goes back at least to the 1680s. There was no one activity (such as growing wheat or dairying) that could provide rural people with a decent living on their small properties. They were generalists who made ends meet however they could. As Taylor put it:

> Now a lot of these farmers—you might call them farmers but they really weren't that large . . . just like a home in the woods so to speak with two, three, five acres cleared around them for their own use to raise food for themselves. However, most of these people, at least one or two in the family, worked somewhere else—two miles, five miles, or ten miles away.

The agricultural censuses of 1850 to 1880 provide a good description of commercial farming in that period. Table 8 shows how two farmers in the Park area reported their production for the year 1870; Laurence Cole's farm was centered where Ridge Road met Route 619 in the western part of the Park, while Olly Williams' farm was along the South Fork north of Joplin. The censuses show that only about a third of the land in the eastern part of the county was tilled (36% in 1860, 29% in 1870). The remainder was mainly woodland. Commercial wheat growing had become so efficient in the Ohio Valley and on the Plains that only those easterners with prime land had much chance of competing. Wheat farming declined in the Tidewater, and farmers focused on other pursuits. Dairy farming, in particular, became an important business, especially in

Table 8. Two Farms in Prince William Forest Park, 1870

	L. Cole	O. Williams
Improved land	84 acres	35 acres
Wood land	76 acres	78 acres
Horses	2	
Milch cows	5	2
Working oxen	4	2
Other cattle	9	7
Sheep	24	
Swine	23	8
Wheat	50 bushels	6 bushels
Indian Corn	300 bushels	50 bushels
Oats	50 bushels	15 bushels
Potatoes	20 bushels	10 bushels

Source: U.S. Agricultural Census

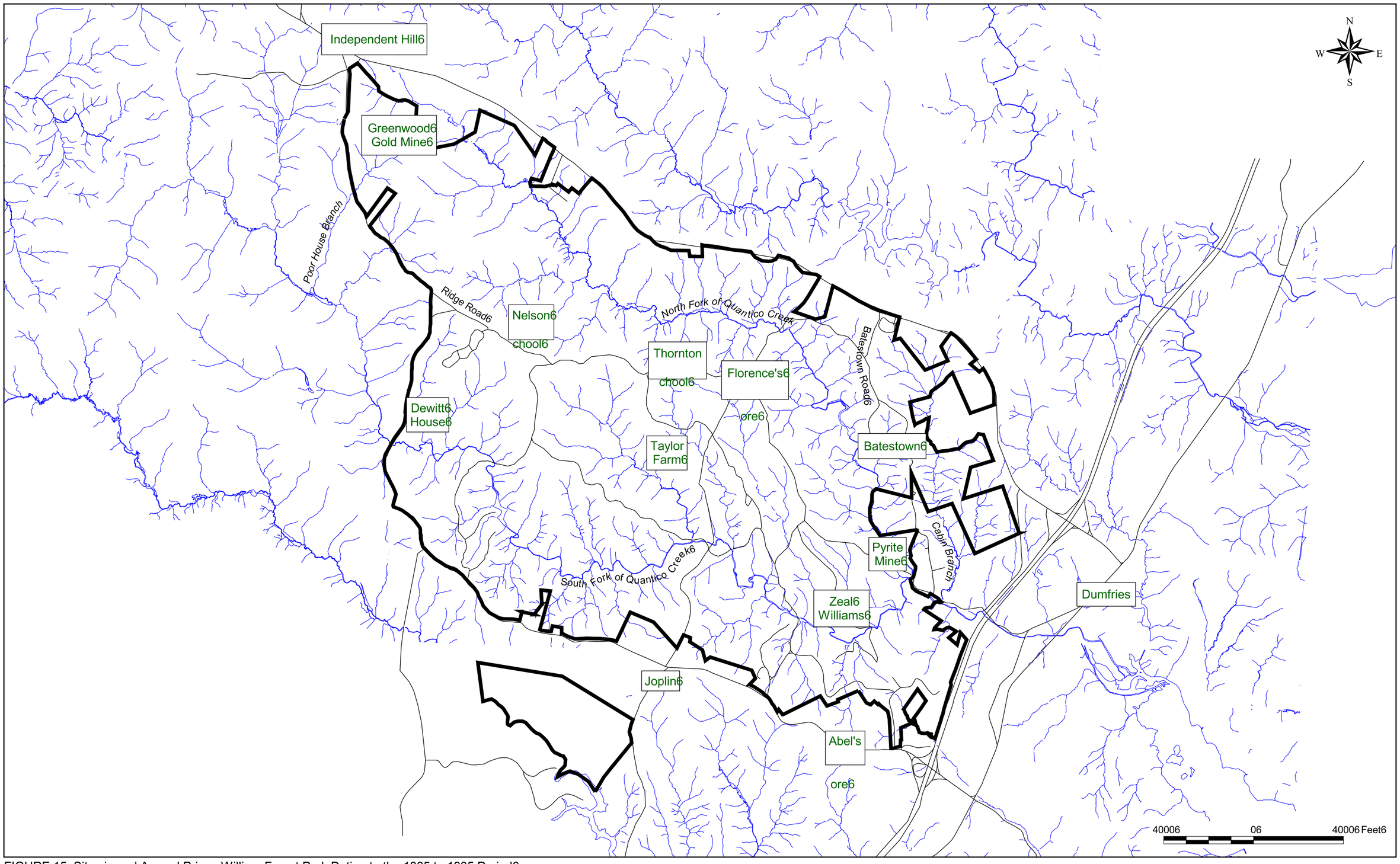

FIGURE 15: Sites in and Around Prince William Forest Park Dating to the 1865 to 1935 Period6

areas like Prince William County that were close to large cities. By the early 1900s, dairying was the big show in Prince William County, with an annual Dairy Festival featuring a parade and a Dairy Queen. Corn and oats replaced wheat as the leading grains, and both were mainly used as animal feed. Orchards were very common in the county, as they probably had been since the 1700s, and they became a more important source of revenue after the Civil War.

Logging continued to be an important part of life in the Park area. A United States Engineers report from 1871 noted that "over 1,000 cords of wood and large quantities of barrel hoops and staves" were loaded on Chopawamsic Creek that year (Parker 1986:124). The early 1900s were a boom time for logging in much of Virginia, as operators called "saw mill men" carried truck-mounted, engine-powered saws around the countryside, milling whatever was available for sale in each neighborhood and then moving on. One important product from many poor rural areas was railroad ties, which could be shaped with an ax and so required almost no capital to make. A document called a "tie book," which survives in the Dumfries town hall, records payments made to local residents for ties in a four-month period some time in the 1910s. Several residents of the Park area are mentioned, including Van Keys (who lived at the Keys Site), John Tolson, A.J. Davis, and M.M. Davis. A six inch-by-six-foot tie brought between 30 and 35 cents, and two men earned more than $15 each for selling ties in this period. The field observers for the Resettlement Administration noted that the inhabitants of the area that became the Park had been "ruthlessly cutting the timber in the vicinity." While local people would no doubt resist the term "ruthless," since unlike modern loggers, they did leave smaller trees standing, there is no doubt that the Park's valuable timber had been almost all cut out by 1935. The evidence is the very small number of large trees growing in the Park today.

2. Stores: Mixing Business and Pleasure

One of the most import centers of rural life in this period was the country store. Such stores, often at crossroads, dotted the rural landscape. They were built like small, one-room houses, or sometimes as attached sheds. They stocked a very limited quantity of goods; John Taylor remembered that his father's store sold:

> salt, sugar, pepper, longhorn cheese, spices, patent medicines, gloves, cross-cut saws, files, axes, bib overalls, blue work shirts, flour and feed in decorated sacks, and tobacco [Parker 1986:136].

The stores were supplied by traveling salesmen. These stores provided an important convenience for rural people, cutting down on the number of trips they had to make to town, but even more important was the social role of country stores. For the men, especially, the store seems to have been the center of social life and the scene of most conversations:

> One great thing about me, as a kid, that I remember, is the great place for conversation of grownups and the kids listening on the side . . . that's where we got our education . . . maybe a little about the birds and the bees . . . . The people would gather at this store nearly every evening, from say six o'clock to nine o'clock and talk over what's going on and what they did during that day and this is how the news got around from one farm to another [Parker 1986:136].

Besides the Taylor store there were several others around the Park area. The 1901 Brown Map shows stores in Joplin, at Bellefair Crossroads at the southwest corner of the Park, and along Route

619 near the Park entrance; a structure south of Route 619 two miles east of Bellefair Crossroads, on land recently acquired by the Park from the Marines, is labeled "Towson's Old Store." In addition, records indicate that J.B. Florence operated a store near Thornton School House in the center of the Park area, and that W.W. Thornton had another store two miles further west. Given the large number of these stores and the thin population, one can sense that these stores did a very small business, and the storekeepers must have had farms or other businesses as well.

3. The School House

Another form of social center was the school. The building of schoolhouses was an expression of many community ideals in nineteenth-century America. Schools represented the promise of democracy and the limitless opportunities available even to ordinary country folks. They were built by local people and funded by the town, county, or just by the neighbors chipping in, so they represented the power of community action. Most children walked to school, so if all children were to have a chance to attend, schoolhouses had to be placed every five miles or so across the landscape. The land for the school was commonly donated by interested neighbors; the donors thus insured their children a short walk to school, but on the other hand, they had to deal with the "hazards of recess" (Stilgoe 1982:245). As the most common publicly owned buildings in most rural areas, schoolhouses were often pressed into use for other purposes, including community meetings, voting, and square dances. Most provided only an elementary education, and rural children who wanted to attend high school usually had to move or travel to a larger town. In nineteenth-century Virginia most schools were segregated, but after the Civil War most counties made some provisions for African-American schools, and where these were not adequate, some communities provided opportunities for their children by building their own schools.

At least three schools appear in the records for the Park. The Nelson School was built before the Civil War on land donated by Thomas Nelson, along Ridge Road, a mile or so east of the present-day Oak Ridge Campground. In the 1890s, this school seems to have been replaced by the Thornton School, which was also on Ridge Road near the center of the Park area. Archeologists visited the Thornton School Site, and they found a poured concrete foundation measuring about 25x38 feet. The only artifacts found around the foundation were nails. Both the Nelson and Thornton Schools were all white. One of the county's official "colored" schools was the Cabin Branch School, which had been set up in 1889 near Mt. Zion Church, along Mine Road, outside the eastern boundary of the Park area. But as the population of Hickory Ridge grew, the residents there grew tired of sending their children across the North Fork to school. In the 1920s, another school was opened in the Oddfellows Hall, and in 1933, a new school house, Hickory Ridge school, was built along North Orenda Road. A search was made for remains of this school, but no foundations were found.

B. CABIN BRANCH PYRITE MINE

One new development of the post-war years was the development of a mining industry in the area. The Park is within the northern part of the Virginia Gold-Pyrite Belt, a geological formation that was exploited for several minerals between 1804 and 1947. Most of the gold and pyrite mines were to the south, in Stafford and Spotsylvania Counties, but two were within the present boundaries of Park. The first was the Greenwood Gold Mine, which operated for a few years before closing in 1885. This mine makes very few appearances in the records, and it has proved difficult to learn anything

about it. The visible remains consist of a series of pits, two to six feet deep and up to 20 feet across, around the headwaters of the North Fork of Quantico Creek. The most likely place for associated buildings to have stood, southwest of the mine pits, is in a disturbed area only recently acquired by the Park, so nothing is known about what structures may have been there. However, the mine never seems to have amounted to much. Virginia's best gold deposits seem to have been mined out in the 1830s and 1840s, and once the spectacular western discoveries had been made, what was left in Virginia did not tempt many miners or investors. Memory of the gold mines has lingered among the locals, though. Dumfries historian Lee Lansing told us that local men re-opened some of the mines during the Depression; he can remember friends of his showing him vials containing the few flakes of gold they got from a weekend's digging and processing.

The Greenwood Gold Mine had little impact on life in the area of the Park, but the Cabin Branch Pyrite Mine shook the whole area out of its backwater calm after it opened in 1889. The mine was along the North Fork just west of its meeting with the South Fork. The deposit of iron pyrite, which was used to produce sulfuric acid, was discovered by John Detrick of Baltimore. The deposit was large, covering more than 20 acres and averaging 14 to 18 feet thick. At first production was limited, and the operation was run as a family concern by the Detrick and Bradley families. Still, the mine grew, and a branch rail line was laid out connecting it to the Washington and Potomac Railroad east of Dumfries. In 1907, the owners founded the Cabin Branch Mining Company with a capital of $300,000, and after that date, production seems to have accelerated. Sulfuric acid was a crucial ingredient for the booming new chemical and electrical manufacturing industries. World War I greatly increased demand, and the price soared from $5.64 per ton in 1916 to $15.75 per ton in 1917. In 1916, the mine was purchased by the American Agricultural Chemical Company, and they seem to have further enlarged the operation to meet wartime demand. The mine was reached through slanting shafts that followed the ore bed. At least six shafts were dug, the last more than 2,000 feet long. The ore was crushed and sorted at the site, but then shipped out by rail for refining elsewhere (Fanning 2002).

The mine was a huge economic boost to the area, employing as many as 300 people. Jobs were available as miners, clerks, loaders, and haulers, and boys could earn 50 cents a day for sorting ore. The population of the area grew. Locals remembered dozens of outsiders coming in to work at the mine, some of them from West Virginia. Both blacks and whites worked at the mine.

Although the mine was an economic boon, it must have been an environmental disaster. Only 10 ears ago, before reclamation efforts, the acid runoff from the mine and the piles of tailings poisoned the North Fork, and the pollution must have been much worse while the mine was operating. The mine transformed one corner of the Park into what government planners in the 1930s described as a "stranded rural industrial group" that featured "spoil banks, shafts, stray bits of mine equipment . . . a defacement of the earth's surface" (Payne-Jackson and Taylor 2000:101).

When World War I ended, the demand for pyrite fell. After a labor dispute in 1920 (accounts differ about the issues and whether it was a strike or a lock-out), the mine was closed. The owners "scrapped" the mining machinery but left the property otherwise as it had been. The remains are still in the Park, and the site has recently been nominated for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. Concrete foundations of mine-associated buildings are scattered all along Pyrite Mine Road, and the remains of offices, workers' housing, and other buildings are no doubt still present on the

other side of the creek. The great scar in the landscape where the shafts once entered the hillside over looking the North Fork has been restored and planted, but much evidence of the mine and the miners no doubt survives beneath the ground.

C. ZEAL WILLIAMS AND THE GROWTH OF HICKORY RIDGE

Hickory Ridge was one name for the community that grew up along Ridge Road in the eastern part of the present-day Park. In the 1930s, this community included at least 16 houses, as well as a school and an Oddfellows hall. The community was predominantly African-American, but there were always some white residents. In the 1700s, this land was part of the 2,146-acre Tayloe property, but in the 1790s the Tayloes sold it off in pieces of 200 to 300 acres. Most of what later became Hickory Ridge was bought by Daniel Carr of Dumfries and Luke Cannon of our Luke Cannon Site in 1797. After the deaths of Cannon and Carr, this property disappears into the complexities of estate management and wrangling between heirs, and we do not have a good understanding of its ownership again until the 1850s. Then, much of it belonged to Washington Norville, who lived elsewhere. Norville lost 100 acres of his land to John Chapman in a lawsuit; Chapman was a blacksmith who lived along Dumfries Road across from the northeast corner of the Park. We have, therefore, no documentary evidence that anyone lived in Hickory Ridge until the 1850s.

The first documented resident of the area was Daniel Amidon, an immigrant from New York who set up a farm on land he bought in 1852. His house site can still be seen in the woods a few hundred feet north of the intersection of the Scenic Drive with Pyrite Mine Road. The first African American property owner in Hickory Ridge was Zeal Williams (ca. 1817-1888). Williams, who appears in the 1860 census for the area as a farm laborer, bought 100 acres of land from Edith Norville in 1869. Not long afterward, George Williams, one of Zeal's sons, bought 25 acres from John Chapman. These purchases were the nucleus of the black community. Further west along Ridge Road, at about the same time, the Davis family, who were white, came into possession of 100 acres of land.

Hickory Ridge grew from the Williams holding in the same way that Batestown grew from the land of the Mackies: by division among heirs. African American families that owned land tended to have many children, and they almost always either left their land to their children jointly or divided it evenly among them. White families also often divided their land, but many of the heirs later sold or exchanged their parcels, and farms were often reassembled within a decade or so. Among African Americans, people held onto their land even if they moved away—several parcels in the Park belonged to residents of Washington, D.C. In this way, the land came to be divided into smaller and smaller parcels. Some of the parcels in Hickory Ridge were sold, but it seems that they were always sold to relatives. A group of related families, the Williamses, the Kendalls, the Reids, and the Byrds came to occupy a dozen houses on the 125 acres that Zeal and George Williams originally purchased.

At least four house sites are present within Zeal Williams's original 100 acre property (Figure 16). One is west of Mary Bird Branch, but this house has poured concrete foundations and almost certainly dates to the twentieth century. Another is east of Williams Branch, but this small site seemed to be simply the remains of a house, without a barn or other outbuildings. Two larger sites are present in the center of Zeal's property, one east and one west of North Orenda Road. Both of

FIGURE 16: Artist's Reconstruction of the Zeal Williams East Site Around 1890

these were investigated. The eastern site was much better preserved, with intact foundations and an intact well, but unfortunately it seems likely that the heavily bulldozed western site was Zeal Williams' farm. The western site was larger, and a deeply worn wagon road led from it out to the public road. We found sherds of pearlware (1775-1840) on the site, indicating that tenants probably lived there before the Civil War. No buildings are reported on any tax return for this area until the 1870s, which makes an important point about those documents: the tax assessors seem often to have ignored tenant dwellings. The lowest amount given in the Prince William County tax rolls for "sum added on account of buildings" is $100, and anything worth less than $100 was probably ignored.

The only visible remains at the western site were two holes in the ground. One of these holes was set into the gentle eastern slope of the ridge. This hole appeared to be an old cellar; it was roughly rectangular and measured 12 feet wide by 20 feet long by four feet deep. It was partly filled in with stone and brick rubble. The other hole was round, about 12 feet across and eight feet deep, and it might have been an ice house. The artifacts from this western site included a spoon stamped with a W design, fragments of handpainted plates and teacups, bottle glass datable to after 1889, and a fragment from a glass tumbler with an etched floral design. Kerosene lamp fragments show how the house was lit; fragments of such lamps are common on all sites from this period in the Park.

The foundations of the house at the Zeal Williams East Site measured 24x24 feet and were constructed of unmortared stone. From the way the walls were laid out it seems that when it was first built the house measured 24x14 feet, with a later addition measuring 24x10 feet. We found many pieces of window glass around the foundations, showing that the house had several windows. There is a stone-lined well about 10 feet south of the house, and a concentration of nails in the yard about 60 feet from the house may mark the site of a shed.

We dug several test units around this house and found many interesting objects (Plate 9). These included a piece of a 78-rpm record, two pennies, a brooch set with beads, a piece of a rubber comb, lamp-chimney glass, a small skeleton key that may have come from a clock, and pieces of at least three different decorated glass tumblers. Children must have played around the house, since we found a piece of a porcelain doll and three marbles, one clay, one limestone (1850-1880), and one handmade of glass (1846-1925). Objects like these remind us that poor and ordinary country people had always had a taste for the luxuries they could afford. In the early 1800s, these included handpainted tea sets, nice clothing, and costume jewelry, and on house sites from the later 1800s, we begin to find other kinds of decorative objects, such as pressed glass dishes and porcelain figurines.

D. THE LANDSCAPE OF 1925

The landscape of the 1920s and 1930s is strikingly well preserved in the Park: all the roads and lanes, the house sites, even some of the fences are still visible in the woods. We therefore have a very good idea of what a traveler of 1925 would have seen passing through the Park. It seems that the biggest changes in the local economic and social structure took place before 1910 when the pyrite mine opened and commercial farming was declining. The landscape of 1900 would have been very much like that of 1925, with a few more farms and not as many houses.

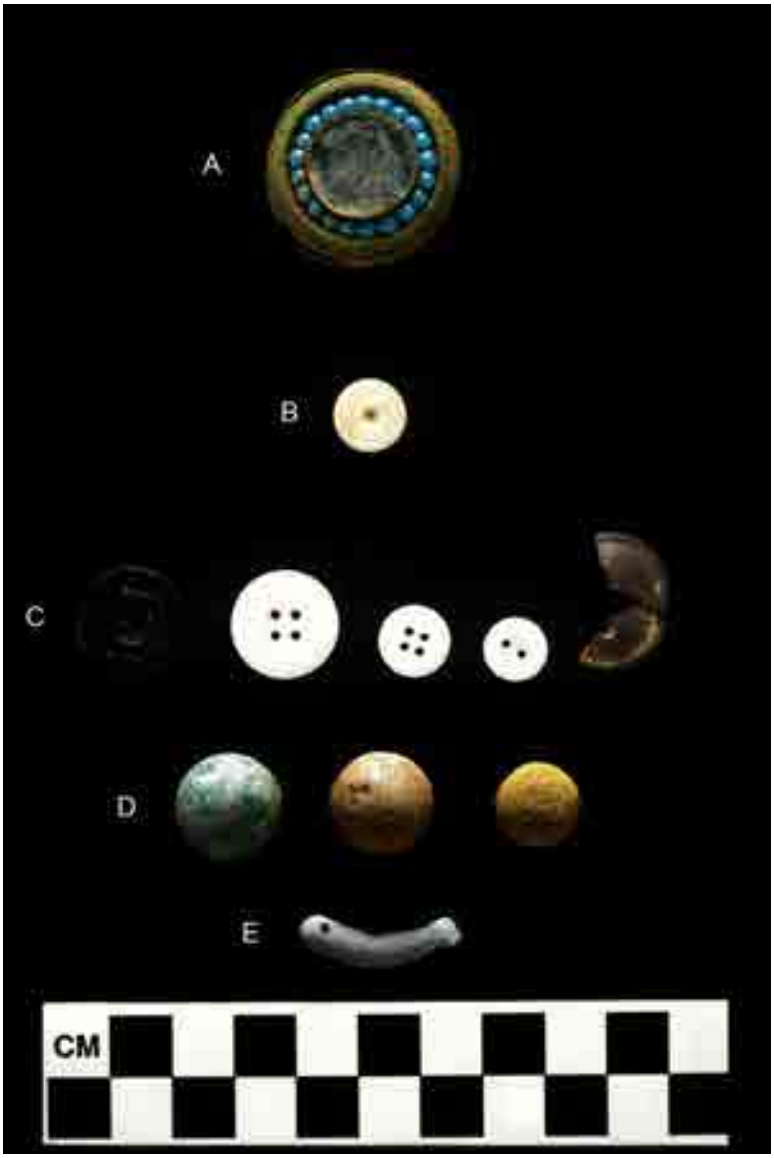

PLATE 9: Artifacts from the Zeal Williams Site

A) copper brooch with glass inlay
B) brass collar stud
C) buttons, left to right: rubber, pressed glass (3), brass button disk
D) hand-made marbles, left to right: glass, limestone, clay
E) porcelain doll's arm

A traveler of 1925 might be walking or driving a wagon like one from 1830, but he also might be driving a car. Some roads in the Park area were improved to take motor traffic, especially Ridge Road, which became known as Route 643 in the 1920s. The surviving bed of this road is hard-packed gravel, gently crowned, and only recently have small trees started to grow on it. Most of the roads remained dirt, but one can still easily distinguish those roads that were used by cars and trucks from those that saw only horse-drawn traffic. Horse-drawn wagons wear a road down evenly across its width over time, leaving a single broad ditch; powered vehicles wear a road down only under the wheels, leaving a hump along the center, so a dirt road that was still in regular use in the 1920s and 1930s is immediately recognizable.

Whatever means of transportation our traveler used, he or she would have seen fewer plowed fields and more houses than a traveler of 1830. Much land seems to have gone out of cultivation, and several farms in less productive areas had been abandoned. The mills had also disappeared. The farm landscape was being transformed into a sort of extended village. Passing through the Park area along Ridge Road, a traveler would have passed about 17 houses, as well as the Oddfellows Hall, Florence's Store and Thornton School. Only two or three of those houses were the centers of active farms. The others stood in clearings in the woods, some half an acre, others as much as two acres. In each clearing there was a vegetable garden, and in some there were also fruit trees, a grape arbor, or a potato patch. Chickens ran in many yards, and hogs may have rooted in others:

> I can remember garden vegetables. Well, most everybody had their own little garden. Well, my Dad had a pretty good size garden, because Mom would always can the vegetables . . . .We never worried in the wintertime. Dad would always have at least two hogs, I know. We never had cows. The man down the street had cows. We'd go get milk from him [Payne-Jackson and Taylor 2000:53].

Some houses also had flower gardens, and garden plants still grow on house sites that were occupied into the 1930s, living reminders of what these yards once looked like. Daffodils and yucca are common; blackberry lilies, English ivy, and vinca grow on a few sites. *Pyracantha* or firethorn is also common. The Park has been trying to eradicate one remnant plant, wisteria, which has a bad habit of spreading and crowding out native vegetation. The most spectacular remnants are large mock orange bushes, which we have seen on five sites (Plate 10). These bushes all seem to be the same variety, and they may have been passed between neighbors as cuttings. They grow at the sites of the former homes of both black and white residents.

PLATE 10: Mock Orange Bush Growing at the Dewitt House Site in the Park

Logging continued in the area of the Park; in fact, logging may have been a greater part of the local economy around 1900 than ever before. Except for the oaks that shaded some houses, the only trees in the Park much older than 75 years are found in low-lying areas, usually far from main roads. Most likely the trouble and expense of hauling these big trees out to the road made cutting them not worth the effort. Otherwise, trees were cut when they had grown large enough to have commercial value, and we must imagine the forests of the Park area in 1925 as young woods with few large trees.

PLATE 11: Trash Along Property Line

Of course there are many house sites from this period, and though most of the structures were bulldozed away in the 1940s, some of the sites still retain a high degree of integrity. Many artifacts, such as galvanized buckets, enameled wash basins, and glass bottles, are strewn around these sites. Foundations are exposed on the surface, and wells are still open. By the Civil War, some people were hauling their trash long distances from their houses, throwing it into ravines or dumping it along property lines. We have found some of these boundary trash deposits in the Park, testimony to a new desire to keep the space around the house clean (Plate 11). However, our testing has shown that there are plenty of artifacts on some of the sites, so many of these places were not pristine. They were working farms, even if very small ones, with pigs kept in the yards.

The new houses built after 1880 were all frame. Some were built on poured concrete foundations, especially after 1900, but others still followed local tradition and had foundations made of crudely shaped local stone. This building technique, developed by the 1790s, was still in use in the 1930s. Wells were also still being built in the traditional way. While concrete foundations show that a house was built in the twentieth century, stone foundations or a stone-lined well do not necessarily indicate that a house was built before the twentieth century. Some of the houses from this period between 1880 and 1935 are small. The house on the eastern part of the Zeal Williams Site probably measured only 24x14 feet when it was built, while those at what we called the Williams East Site nearby measured 10x18 feet. These small houses were probably one story tall, possibly with an attic. Other houses of this period were larger. The stone foundations of the Dewitt House measure 26x30 feet, while those of the Reid No. 1 Site in Hickory Ridge measure 28x18 feet. These larger houses may have resembled a house of this period still standing outside the Park on Mine Road (Plate 12).

PLATE 12: House on Mine Road

IX. THE NEW DEAL, WORLD WAR II, AND THE PARK

A. CHOPAWAMSIC RDA

The Depression of the 1930s devastated America. Economic output fell by nearly half, unemployment in some communities reached 80 percent, and thousands of businesses disappeared. As the hard times dragged on, despair settled on much of the land. The Roosevelt administration came up with dozens of different plans for putting people to work and reinvigorating the nation, two of which were the Recreational Demonstration Areas and the Civilian Conservation Corps. A Recreational Demonstration Area (RDA) was established by buying up property in an impoverished rural community and using modern conservation techniques to improve degraded land in order to develop other kinds of economic activities, especially tourism. Camps built in these areas were to give urban children an opportunity to experience the countryside, overcoming what some of Roosevelt's advisers saw as the debilitating effects of life in urban slums. The work of establishing the RDAs was carried out by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). The CCC took in young men and put them to work under quasi-military discipline, allowing them to earn money for their families while learning important skills.

The area along Chopawamsic and Quantico creeks in Prince William County was selected for purchase after inspection by officials of the Resettlement Administration. Those officials saw in this area a ruined landscape that had become a rural slum. A reporter from the Washington *Star* who toured the area wrote:

> It was a dismal countryside of eroded, sterile fields, dilapidated little farm houses, ancient graveyards overgrown with blackberry brambles, cut-over woodlands, abandoned mining operations. About half of the farms were abandoned anyhow. . . .When the Resettlement Administration appraisers surveyed the tract, they found only a few straggling cornfields, and only one team of horses and no tractor in the whole area [Parker 1986:148].

The people who lived in the area, however, had a very different impression of their homes, and it is worth considering the ideological baggage carried by the Roosevelt Administration's agricultural experts. Most of them were committed progressives, determined to reform America through technical efficiency and economic justice. It was very common at the time for progressives to express scorn for the rural south. They tended to see southern agriculture as backward and unproductive, and they often saw the backwardness as the legacy of slavery and racism. For all their good intentions, progressives often did not understand the economies and societies they were trying to reform, or the landscapes on which these economies and societies were built. After all, it was an earlier wave of agricultural reformers who had condemned Virginia's ecologically sound long-fallow tobacco agriculture and led the way into destructive, plow-based grain farming. Some progressives displayed a similar ignorance of southern rural ways.

Actually, as our study has shown, the land that is now within the Park was not badly eroded, and the best land was hardly eroded at all. Severe erosion is limited to a few sloping areas, and this damage was probably the work of over-zealous grain farmers well before the Civil War. Logging was certainly going on, but it was carried out on the same small, sustainable scale as it had been since

the late 1700s, and aerial photographs show that the area of the Park was heavily forested in the 1930s. The abandoned pyrite mine was a blight on the landscape, but it occupied only a few of the more than 20,000 acres involved in the scheme. In the 1930s, the Park area was certainly not a highly productive agricultural area, but it probably never was. Topography and soil, not bad farming, limited the output of the land. Most of the people who lived there did not earn their livings as farmers. By balancing "home work" (raising gardens, raising animals, or cutting trees) with "out work" people increased their economic independence. For many African Americans, land ownership was also an important form of political independence, so they set a value on their land beyond what it could earn. In short, to the people who lived there, the land was home. Some may have been happy to sell their property and move on, but others held out until they were evicted, and some remained bitter for decades about losing their homes.

B. WORLD WAR II

In 1942, the Chopawamsic RDA, like so much else in America, was pressed into the war effort. The land was taken over by the War Department and used by the Army's Office of Strategic Services to train agents. Cabin Camps 2, 3, and 5 became Area A, where OSS operatives trained for espionage and sabotage missions behind Axis lines. They studied codes, weapons, how to make and disarm booby traps, and parachute jumping from airplanes. Cabin Camps 1 and 4 became Area C, where the OSS trained radio operators for clandestine assignments. Military use of the park has left some evidence on the landscape. Earthen bunkers or dugouts were excavated along the lower end of North Orenda Road, no doubt for training purposes. Two concrete dummy tanks can still be seen

PLATE 13: Dummy Tank Used in World War II Training

in the woods in the southwestern part of the park, where they may have been used for target practice (Plate 13). Another mark the Army left was to destroy all the old private buildings in the park, whetherhouses, barns, or sheds. Some farm sites were heavily graded when the buildings were bulldozed, but at others there is no sign of bulldozing. Buildings at these sites may have been burned or blown up, as described by some informants. Military training also left another kind of pollution in the park, thousands of spent bullets and shell casings and an unknown amount of unexploded ordnance.

PLATE 14: Stiltgrass Meadow at a House Site in the Park

C. THE PRINCE WILLIAM FOREST PARK

After World War II, most of the old RDAs were handed over to the states, and many are now state parks. The Chopawamsic RDA and a few others were retained by the federal government as part of the National Park System. In 1948, an act of Congress changed the name of the Chopawamsic RDA to the Prince William Forest Park. Under the NPS, the landscape has continued to evolve as it began to under the management of the CCC. The fields have slowly grown up and turned to forests; deer, beaver, and other animals have returned in large numbers. As an experiment in forest succession the Park shows that in this area some old fields grow up in pine forests, which last about 65 years before the old pine trees die, fall, and are replaced by new hardwoods. Hiking through the woods in some parts of the Park is mainly an exercise in climbing over fallen pine trunks, which in places are so dense that one could walk on them for a hundred yards without touching the ground.

A very different kind of succession has taken place at some of the old house sites. A majority of the house sites from the 1930s have not reverted to forest, but are still visible as clearings in the woods (Plate 14). These glades are largely covered with Japanese stiltgrass *(Microstegium vimineum)*, an

invasive weed that looks like thick, tufty grass and is pale green during the growing season. A particular group of plants usually appears with the stiltgrass, including black walnut trees (none older than about 60 years), coralberry bushes, young pawpaw trees, eastern red cedar, Christmas fern (*Polystichum acrostichoides*), and common weeds such as chickweed and sheep sorrel. The cause of this association is not known at this time, but these plants are infallible markers of old house sites; they are found nowhere else in the Park. They do not, however, grow at all old house sites. Sites abandoned before 1900 have all reverted to forest, and even some sites that were occupied in the 1930s have been overgrown. On a few sites a stiltgrass meadow covers only part of the site, while part has become forested. Interestingly, the house itself on these sites is always in the wooded area. These meadows do not seem to be remnants of the plants that grew in these locations before the houses were abandoned. On some sites we do find surviving garden plants such as daffodil, mock orange and *Pyracantha* in the meadow, but on other sites the surviving cultivated plants grow in wooded parts of the site, outside the stiltgrass glade.

PLATE 15: Mile Post Along Ridge Road

Besides the stiltgrass glades that mark the locations of old houses, the Park's former inhabitants have left many traces of themselves. Artifacts dropped by Native Americans cover many ridges. Wagon roads worn by horse-drawn carts cut through the woods, and the double-rutted roads worn by cars and trucks run up to the old house sites. At least one mile-post marker still stands along the remains of Ridge Road, which was once a highway as important as Route 234 (Plate 15). Piles of stone in the woods mark old property corners and field edges. Dams and races show us where mills once ground grain and sawed lumber. Ancient oak trees still stand next to a few house sites. As suburbs take over more and more of northern Virginia, Prince William Forest Park still preserves both a quiet island of forest and a record of how 10,000 years of human life have shaped the land.

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Volume II: Archeological Data

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- C. Landscape Survey
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