THE HINTERLAND:

AN OVERVIEW OF THE PREHISTORY AND HISTORY OF PRINCE WILLIAM FOREST PARK VIRGINIA

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service
National Capital Region
September 1986

THE HINTERLAND:

AN OVERVIEW OF THE PREHISTORY AND HISTORY

OF

PRINCE WILLIAM FOREST PARK, VIRGINIA

by

Patricia L. Parker, Ph.D.
Department of Anthropology
University of Maryland, College Park

October 1985

Report submitted to the National Park Service, National Capital Region, under the auspices of the Cooperative Agreement between the National Park Service, National Capital Region and the University of Maryland at College Park.

Occasional Report #1
Regional Archeology Program
National Capital Region

CONTENTS

FIGURES

TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report describes what is known about the history of a hinterland--the kind of place about which collections of records are few. Those that exist for Prince William Forest Park and its surrounding area represent the dedicated labors of local historians--people with jobs and responsibilities other than historical research and writing who nevertheless pursue the past for the satisfaction that comes from the discovery, compilation, reporting, and sharing of what they have learned. It is my great good fortune that several such people live near Prince William Forest Park and are both expert in its history and generous with their knowledge. To Barbara Kirby, Lee Lansing, and Walter Kendall, I am truly indebted. Not only did they share their knowledge and references with me, they introduced me to long-time residents of the area like Mrs. Annie Williams, Joe Hebda, and George Gordon, each of whom shared many hours of recollections with me.

At Prince William Park itself, I was greatly aided by Ms. Patricia Lane, who oversees the park's curatorial collection. Acting Superintendents Jim Fugate and Robert Harney and Assistant Superintendent Marcia Keener were most helpful and supportive.

My work was supervised by Dr. Stephen R. Potter, Regional Archeologist, National Park Service, National Capital Region. The quality of this work owes much to his patience with the complexities involved in producing it, and to his broad knowledge and deep interest in the archeology and history of northern Virginia. Review of the report by Dr. Paul Goeldner, Chief of Historic Resource Services, Michael Donnelly, Regional Planner, and Gary Scott, Regional Historian, was much appreciated.

At the National Resources Branch of the National Archives, I was ably assisted by Ms. Maria Joy and Robert Crawford. Bruce Larson guided my efforts at the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission's Research Center for Archaeology in Yorktown, Virginia. C. Vernon "Tripp" March offered his assistance at the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission office in Richmond, Virginia. To them, and to the staffs and the Virginia State Library, Archives Division, and the Library of Congress, I offer my thanks.

Susan Henry and Michael Johnson of the Heritage Resources Branch, Office of Comprehensive Planning, Fairfax County, Virginia allowed me to use a draft of the Heritage Resource Management Plan that they were producing at the time of this research. That report was critical to the organization of this work, and I am grateful to have reaped the benefit of their excellent work.

This report was typed by the National Park Service, Denver Service Center. The layout and illustrations were produced by Ms. Casey Wenskus and Larry Sutphin of the Denver Service Center, Eastern Team. The cover illustration was done by Dr. Stephen R. Potter.

ABSTRACT

This is an overview of the historic resources of Prince William Forest Park, a unit of the National Park System in the State of Virginia, on the southeastern edge of the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area. It is based largely on documentary research into the history and prehistory of the region of which Prince William Forest is a part, from the time of earliest likely human use of the area (before 8,000 BC) until about the time of World War II, supplemented by a review of archeological studies conducted to date in the region, and by interviews with knowledgeable residents of the park vicinity. The overview is organized with reference to a series of "study units," each representing a segment of time, space, and culture; these are designed to be compatible with, and in most cases are identical with, study units defined during systematic historic preservation planning in adjacent Fairfax County.

During the periods represented by the earliest prehistoric study units, the park vicinity was far inland from the distant seacoast, which was probably a major focus of settlement. Only minor, relatively transient, human use of the park vicinity is likely to have occurred. By about 3,000 BC, however, the valley that is now Chesapeake had begun to fill, and was at least occupied by substantial marshes, creating attractive habitats for human settlements within easy striking distance of the park. While substantial settlements are unlikely to have occurred in the park, fairly extensive use of the area by hunting parties and groups gathering plant foods may well have occurred. By about 1,000 BC Chesapeake Bay had formed, and substantial human settlements were established along its shores and on the lower reaches of the Potomac. The park vicinity would have been peripheral to these developments, and was probably exploited for game and plant resources but not used as a significant settlement area. During the period ca. 800-1500 AD, substantial villages were established on coves and embayments along the Potomac, occupied first seasonally, then year-around. Agriculture was introduced, and social organization became increasingly complex. By the time of contact with Europeans, the coastal plain was occupied by small chiefdoms whose people spoke Algonquian; a condition of hostility existed between them and the speakers of Siouan languages. The residents of the park vicinity fell under the authority of the Potomac chiefdom. Conflict between the Potomac and their Siouan enemies above the Fall Line might have resulted in palisaded settlements near the park, but it appears certain that any substantial chiefly Potomac village would have lain near the embayed mouth of Quantico Creek east of Dumfries, while substantial Siouan villages might have been found in the headwaters of Quantico Creek outside the western park boundaries. The park would have occupied the hinterland between such population centers, used for hunting, gathering, and fishing, but not significantly for settlement as such.

The great majority of prehistoric sites identified by archeological surveys both within the park and in the vicinity cannot be assigned to particular time periods based on current data. All available evidence suggests that almost all such sites are concentrated along the lower courses of streams draining into the Potomac, east-southeast of the park, and in the

headwaters of such streams as Powell's Creek and Quantico Creek, northwest and southwest of the park.

The earliest periods of Euroamerican/American Indian contact in the vicinity are very poorly known, but by about the end of the 17th century AD, the tobacco plantation system was well established in Virginia, and tobacco farming had spread into the park area. The land-use practices associated with tobacco farming are extremely destructive of soil and landscape, and had devastating effects on the park area. The park was probably used during the early part of this period, and certainly was used by the beginning of the 18th century, for tobacco growing by groups of slaves and their overseers, whose occupation sites probably shifted regularly and would have left ephemeral archeological evidence widely dispersed over the landscape.

In 1749, the town of Dumfries was established by Scottish merchants and Virginia planters, downstream on Quantico Creek from what is now the park. Dumfries became a substantial settlement over the next decade, and stimulated use of the park area. The devastating effects of tobacco monoculture and the opportunity to farm new land in the west, however, particularly after the Revolution, had more than a counterbalancing effect, keeping the population of the park area relatively low. Generally, the park area continued to be used for tobacco farming until about around the turn of the 19th century; a privately owned plantation, a church-operated plantation, a poorhouse and several gristmills were operated within and closely adjacent to its boundaries, none of which is well documented in historical records.

Between about 1760 and 1860 AD, the park area became increasingly unproductive as the result of tobacco monoculture; at the same time, and as a result of the same human factors, the mouth of Quantico Creek silted up and Dumfries became increasingly untenable as a port. By the beginning of the 19th century tobacco was distinctly on the decline as the major crop in the region, and a diversified but low-volume agricultural economy was becoming established. This economy would last into the 20th century, literally until the time the park was established.

Dumfries declined rapidly in the early-to-mid 19th century, and the park area itself was occupied by farm families, occupying homesteads strung out along wagon roads, planting wheat, corn, barley, oats and hay as well as tobacco, and raising hogs and other livestock. Mills were occupied in favorable locations along the streams. During this period, free black families began to become established as independent farms alongside whites, and a distinctive free black society began to be established that would attain increasing importance after the Civil War.

The park area was not the scene of any major Civil War engagement, but it was devastated as the result of engagements, troop movements, and general misuse by troops representing both sides of the conflict. After the War, small-scale, family-oriented farming resumed, but as the 19th century ended, farming was increasingly supplemented by wage labor. A pyrite mine was established within what are now the park boundaries, and later the Quantico Marine base provided wage labor. Construction

of county roads in the vicinity and logging to provide railroad ties were also important sources of income, as were such ingenious practices as rescuing motorists from entrapment in the area's muddy, rutted roads. At least two more or less centralized communities formed within the park area: Joplin around the intersection of what is now Route 619 and a road that led off to what was then the Missouri Mill, and Hickory Ridge along what are now the North Orenda and Pyrite Mine fire roads. The latter community, which was oriented toward the pyrite mine, was predominantly a black community. A substantial body of oral historical information is available regarding this community from people who now live in "Batesville," along what is officially referred to as "Mine Road."

During the 1930s, though the residents of the park area themselves did not necessarily regard themselves as deprived, the U.S. Government viewed them as poverty-stricken tenants on degraded land. As a result, and as a prime example of New Deal social policy, the area was transformed into the Chopawamsic Recreation Demonstration Project. In the process, the residents of the area lost their lands, many without compensation; many, particularly from the Hickory Ridge vicinity, relocated to Mine Road, where they and their descendants remain today.

Development of the Recreational Demonstration Project created the only historic buildings and structures known to remain in the park today -- camps built for Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) workers by the Army, and recreation cabin camp complexes built by the CCC for use by the public. These structural complexes remain not only as reminders of the period with potential for adaptive use, but as research resources, as physical expressions of the social philosophies of the New Deal.

Generally, the park vicinity seems always to have been marginal to major social and economic developments occurring elsewhere. It has, in short, always been part of the hinterland. This does not mean that it lacks historical significance, or potential for historical interpretation, but it does make it difficult to appreciate its significance or to carry off its interpretation successfully. The park does not contain, and apparently never has contained, an important "central place" around which events and socioeconomic processes revolved; it was always subsidiary to other places. It goes without saying, however, that only a few parts of the world are central places; most people, and most communities, exist in the hinterland. Full understanding of the past, and its balanced interpretation by the public, requires study of the hinterland as well as the central places of each historic period. Management recommendations are offered in the last section of this report to assist in realizing the park's historical values. For the most part, these recommendations are modest in scope; certain locations likely to contain historic properties should be avoided during development activities, and subjected to careful study if development is likely to occur, and interpretive planning should take place with the educational use of historic properties in mind. Most important, perhaps, an effort should be made promptly to carry forward a program of oral historical recording among the residents along Mine Road, and thoughtful consideration should be given to the significance and potential for re-use of the historic structural complexes associated with creation of the park during the period of the New Deal.

INTRODUCTION

This overview is designed to provide the basic background data needed on the historic resources of Prince William Forest Park, a national park in the state of Virginia, to permit general planning for the identification, protection, and interpretation of those resources. For purposes of this overview, as in the National Historic Preservation Act, "historic resources" are defined to include sites, structures, districts, buildings, and objects representing both strictly "historic" time periods--that is, periods since the arrival of European settlers--and the prehistoric time periods that preceded the European incursion.

Prince William Forest Park occupies about 30 square miles of land along Quantico Creek and its tributaries in Prince William County, Virginia, south of the metropolitan Washington, D.C. area (fig. 1). It stretches over the interface between the Coastal Plain and Piedmont Upland geomorphic zones, west of the city of Dumfries. Dumfries is an old port town, whose history has significantly affected that of the park, which lies near the junction of Quantico Creek and the Potomac River.

Physiographically, the park is dominated by the fact that the "fall line," the boundary between the Piedmont Uplands to the west and the Coastal Plain to the east, passes through it. The vicinity of the fall line is characterized by rather deeply entrenched, narrow stream valleys separated by steep-faced, narrow-topped ridges. The relief becomes somewhat more gentle to the east where the precipitous topography gives way to the more gently rolling country of the Coastal Plain proper, and to the northwest, where Quantico Creek and other streams of the Coastal Plain rise in the plateau country of the Piedmont Uplands.

As will be discussed in detail below, the area of the park experienced extreme degradation during the eighteenth and nineteenth century as the result of land use practices associated with tobacco monoculture. During the twentieth century, woodland has reclaimed much of the park vicinity, with a mixed hardwood forest dominated by oak and hickory. Pine stands in various stages of development are also present, particularly in old fields and farmsteads. Stream banks support lush vegetation of many kinds, including numerous exotic species introduced during periods when the park was given over to residential agriculture. Game animals surviving in the park today include wild turkey, fox, deer, beaver, squirrel, oppossum, and raccoon. Small lakes formed by impoundments along streams attract migratory waterfowl such as wood ducks and Canada geese.

A general management plan (GMP) is being prepared by the National Park Service for Prince William Forest Park. This overview is designed to provide the information needed to complete the GMP with reference to historic resources. The outline expected for overviews and assessments of historic resources is set forth in the National Park Service guideline document NPS-28 (Technical Supplement, chap. 3:74-76). This overview is designed to present the information solicited by NPS-28, but not in

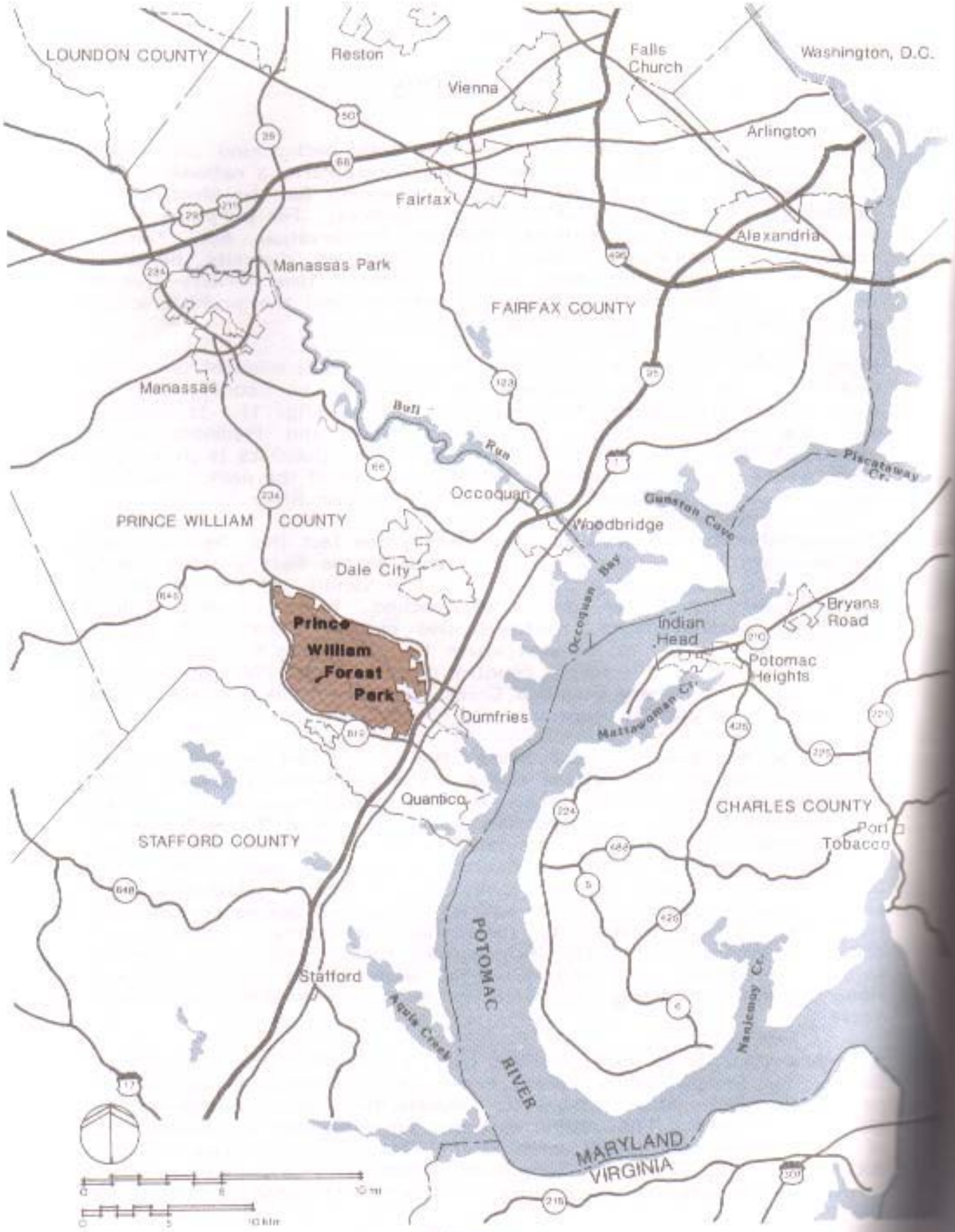


Figure 1
Regional Map

precise accordance with the outline that NPS-28 provides. There are two rationales for varying from the NPS-28 outline. First, since NPS-28 was produced, further thinking about historic preservation planning within the National Park Service has resulted in the development and publication of the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation, which include detailed standards and guidelines for the presentation of preservation planning data that vary somewhat from the NPS-28 outline. NPS-28 itself is currently being revised in part to comport better with the Secretary's Standards. Second, a historic preservation plan has been drafted for nearby Fairfax County, Virginia, that closely follows the Secretary's Standards and is directly applicable to the park vicinity (Chittenden et al. 1985). It has seemed wiser to seek compatibility with the Fairfax County plan than with the NPS-28 outline as such, both to ensure that consideration of the park's resources can take place in an understood regional context and to facilitate future regional research and planning.

RESEARCH GOALS AND STRATEGY

The overall goal of this study is to provide the National Park Service with a set of predictions about the distribution, character, and significance of historic resources likely to be found in Prince William Forest Park, based on available information. I have been guided in this study to a substantial extent by the Fairfax County historic preservation plan (Chittenden et al. 1985), and beyond it by the Secretary's Standards and the National Park Service's "Resource Protection Planning Process" (NPS 1980). In accordance with these documents, I seek to characterize the history (including prehistory) of the park area in terms of a series of sometimes distinct, sometimes overlapping "study units" or "historic contexts," each representing a period of time, a unit of space larger than but including the park vicinity, and some set of social and economic conditions that are likely to have influenced the nature of the area's historic resources. For the most part, the historic contexts, or study units, developed here are the same as those employed in Fairfax County.

A distinction is made between the prehistoric study units and the historic study units, because of the different kinds of data sources applicable to each. Prehistoric study units are defined largely on the basis of archeological data produced by previous studies in the general area, while historic study units are defined on the basis of general historical literature sources relevant to the area but sometimes actually dealing with places as far away as Scotland, local secondary sources such as state, county, and local histories, local primary data sources including records of the local courts and business establishments, and oral histories.

For each of the study units the discussion begins with a reconstruction of the effective environment in the park vicinity. For earlier study units, this discussion is based largely on extrapolation from general paleoclimatic and paleoenvironmental reconstructions; for later periods more information immediately pertinent to the park vicinity comes into play. The discussion then turns to how the environment was used, insofar as can be

determined or projected, in the subsistence economy of the area. For the prehistoric study units a discussion of the probable forms of social organization related to this subsistence economy is then provided, while for the historic study units the social organization of each period is discussed as part of a general historical narrative describing events and processes on local and regional scales. These discussions lead to projections of the kinds of archeological sites and other historic resources that might remain to reflect the study unit in the area. For the prehistoric and early historic periods predictions are then offered about the distribution of such properties within the park; for the later periods the emphasis is less on prediction per se than on identifying gaps in the historical records that otherwise establish, with greater or lesser accuracy, the locations of particular historic properties and areas of activity.

The discussion continues, with respect to both prehistoric and historic study units, with a discussion of the potential significance of the various kinds of historic properties representing the study unit. In accordance with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines the potential significance of historic properties is considered with reference to the historic context of which it is a part. In general, historic resources are considered to be of potential significance if they are associated with major developments characteristic of the historic context(s) within which they were identified. The data collected in this overview was insufficient to discuss in any detail the eligibility of specific sites within the park for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. However, the National Register's "Criteria for Evaluation" (36 CFR Sec. 60.6) and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Evaluation were used as the bases for considering the significance of the various site types likely to be found in the park.

The discussion of the potential significance of properties associated with each historic study unit is followed by a list of specific research questions that might be addressed through the study of such properties.

Finally, particularly with reference to the prehistoric study units, which have seen the most direct field research in the area, the results of field surveys in the park vicinity are summarized to determine whether they support the predictions about the distribution, density, and types of sites to be expected. This "test" is a little circular, since the predictions themselves are based in considerable part on prior field research, but the final "test" is more pure, summarizing the results of a 1985 survey of portions of the park and its surrounding lands by James Madison University (Cromwell and McIver 1985). The end result is a model of historic resource distributions and characteristics for each study unit that is consistent with what we know or think we know about the environment, economy, and social organization of the period and area, and with all known primary data.

METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

This section presents an overview of the resources used to prepare this report. Its purposes are to describe where information on the history and prehistory of the park is located, what kinds of information can be found in each location, and how and to what extent those materials were used during this research. A detailed discussion of the materials pertinent to each historic context--including "data gaps" identified in the materials examined--can be found at the end of the historical narrative sections of each of the study units.

This overview project was designed by the National Capital Region as a six-month project to include data collection, analysis, and report preparation. Primary data were collected between April and July 1985; analysis continued through September 1985. Some data collection, in the form of personal interviews and specialized research on matters needing clarification, took place through July and August 1985 and overlapped with analysis and write-up.

The constraints of the rather compressed schedule were ameliorated somewhat by the fact that during the summer of 1984 a National Park Service intern at the National Capital Region had begun preliminary research into the prehistory and history of Prince William Forest Park. Mr. Stuart Speaker worked for ten weeks under the direction of Dr. Stephen R. Potter, regional archeologist for the National Capital Region. Speaker did detailed research in the National Anthropological Archives, the Anthropology Processing Laboratory and the Anthropology Library of the Smithsonian Institution. All these research facilities are located at the National Museum of Natural History. His notes on these primary materials--which included field notes and unpublished manuscripts dating from the last century--were invaluable to the analysis of the park's prehistoric resources.

Speaker also researched the historic map collection of the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress. He collected a series of maps dating from the late seventeenth to early twentieth centuries of the area in which the park area is now located. He examined the general secondary sources available in the main collection of the Library of Congress and noted the pertinent sections dealing with the area around the park. Speaker visited Prince William Forest Park and collected photocopies of some of the unpublished materials available in the park's curatorial collection.

Finally, Speaker compiled the locational data he had collected on historic and prehistoric sites on a series of topographic base maps. Sites were given functional categories, for example, "houses," "mills," "churches," and so forth, and were plotted without further information. Taken together the maps provide a general picture of known site distributions, but as individual sites are not referenced with regard to date, name, or source of information, the maps were of limited use to this research.

Local History Collections

Source material on the history of the park itself and its environs was found and reviewed in several locations. My own research began with the "curatorial collection," or archives, at Prince William Forest Park. Ms. Pat Lane, curation specialist for the park, kindly made the collection available to me and oriented me to the material.

The park's curatorial collection is an eclectic set of materials concerning the natural and cultural history of the park that includes

old annual reports and planning documents
specialized reports describing soils, cemeteries, wells, etc.
drawings and sketches of farms, trails, cemeteries, etc.
notes from interviews with former park residents and "old-timers"
photographs
maps
clippings from newspapers and magazines
historical sketches

These materials, unique in that they are keyed specifically to the park since the first land acquisitions in 1934, were studied in detail. Of particular interest were the materials produced between 1924 and 1937 in which the park and its inhabitants are described immediately before the park's transformation from an area of small farming communities to a recreation area. These materials include maps on which cultural features such as dams, mills, and so forth are located, cadastral maps showing land boundaries and registered or presumed landowners, government reports summarizing the socioeconomic conditions of residents with some supporting photographs, and a historical sketch based on a study of seventeenth century land records at the State Land Office in Richmond.

The park also holds several hundred photographs, most of which are associated with the construction of cabin camps and dams by the Civilian Conservation Corps in the mid-to-late 1930s.

The files of the park's curatorial collection contain records that vary widely in content and reliability. Some files hold clippings--some with dates and sources, others without. There are drawings and maps with notes--but frequently with no indication of what was being recorded, by whom, when, and for what purpose. Of particular interest are notes taken by amateur oral historians who have interviewed former park residents. Unfortunately, the names, dates, and circumstances involved in some of these interviews have not been recorded. Nevertheless, these materials represent a valuable source of information, parts of which could be clarified and/or developed by further research.

A National Park Service intern from Mary Washington College, Ms. Trudy McBride, interviewed a former park resident, Mr. John Taylor. The tapes of these interviews are kept in the curatorial collection at the park along with a professionally referenced transcription which was kindly provided to me by Ms. Lane.

Another extensive collection of local history belongs to Mrs. Barbara Kirby of Dumfries, Virginia. Mrs. Kirby is an amateur historian who has been collecting, filing, and compiling information on the history of Dumfries for over fifteen years. She has held office in the local historical society, Historic Dumfries, Inc., and was instrumental in the successful attempt to preserve the eighteenth century Weems-Bott residence as a museum of local history.

Mrs. Kirby's interests are primarily in the early development of the town of Dumfries, but fortunately for this research she has systematically collected information on the area around Dumfries, including, of course, the park. Her collection includes published articles, local history pamphlets, magazine clippings, maps, photographs, unpublished manuscripts, and primary materials such as local censuses, and articles from the eighteenth century newspaper, The Alexandria Gazette, as well as from the present local newspaper, The Potomac News. Mrs. Kirby's collection from the Potomac News was particularly valuable to this research as it contained the published record of interviews made with former park residents who described their lives in the park before they relocated. Mrs. Kirby also made available to me her collection of published articles, which constituted a much appreciated convenience given the time constraints of this project.

At Mrs. Kirby's suggestion I visited the town hall and town historian, Mr. Lee C. Lansing. Mr. Lansing made available to me another source of local primary data in the form of several store ledgers and records of railroad tie production from the nineteenth century.

Major Historical and Archeological Collections

Collections in major libraries included the Library of Congress, the National Archives, the Virginia State Library in Richmond, Virginia, the McKeldin Library and the Civil Engineering Library at the University of Maryland, College Park, and the Prince William County Library in Manassas, Virginia. The Local History and Genealogy Collection of the Library of Congress contains many of the readily available published materials pertinent to the park and its environs. The Geography and Map Division, as described above, contains a series of invaluable historic maps, while research in the Manuscripts Division yielded valuable primary data concerning the economic system of the park in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The main collection at the Library of Congress was searched for materials of a more general nature pertinent to various historical contexts.

Two major record groups in the National Archives in Washington, D.C., were searched for material concerning Prince William Forest Park. Record Group 79 is made up of the records of the National Park Service. Information directly pertinent to the history of Prince William Forest can be found in the Records of the Branch of Recreation, Land Planning, and State Cooperation and, within that group, in the series "Records Concerning Recreational Demonstration Areas 1934-1936." The files in

this series include mainly correspondence and, to a lesser extent, reports and newspaper clippings. The series contains several large files of land records which include initial appraisals made of the parcels purchased that make up the park. Information on Prince William Forest Park can also be found in the series "Memoranda and Correspondence Concerning CCC Camps, 1935-1942," also in Record Group 79. The records of the Civilian Conservation Corps (ECW) are collected in the archives as Record Group 35. No information concerning Prince William Forest Park was discovered in these records.

Research in the archive room in the Virignia State Library focused first on its collection of historic maps and then on county land records. The Prince William county plat books from the eighteenth and early nineteenth century were reviewed for this research.

The McKeldin Library at the University of Maryland, College Park, holds an extensive collection of Virginiana on the shelves and in its document and archival collection. Reference to a doctoral thesis from the University of Maryland, College Park, concerning the development of the Chopawamsic Recreation Demonstration Area, now Prince William Forest Park, was found during research in the National Archives. The thesis was purportedly prepared by a student in civil engineering, but it could not be located in the Civil Engineering Library in the Maryland Room of the McKeldin Library where copies of all graduate theses are kept.

The Virginiana collection of the Prince William County Library in Manassas yielded pertinent material produced by the Prince William County Historical Society.

Primary data concerning recorded archeological sites and historic properties was provided by the National Park Service and was collected from the following offices: the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission in Richmond, Virginia; the Virginia Research Center for Archeology in Yorktown, Virginia; and the Fairfax County Office of Comprehensive Planning, Fairfax, Virginia.

At the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, Mr. Charles Vernon "Tripp" March assisted me with the commission's site files and site maps. At the Virginia Center Research for Archeology, Mr. Bruce Larson oriented me to the center's site maps and extensive collection of unpublished manuscripts. Mr. Larson also offered valuable information concerning ongoing archeological projects in the Virginia piedmont. Ms. Martha McCartney of the Virginia Research Center for Archeology supplied me with helpful materials that she has developed to guide researchers to primary documents concerning Virginia history.

At the Heritage Resource Branch of the Fairfax County Office of Comprehensive Planning, I was most generously aided by Mr. Michael Johnson and Ms. Susan Henry. They kindly allowed me to review the then current draft of their comprehensive Heritage Resource Management Plan, and to copy substantial portions of it for use in preparing this

report. Ms. Henry generously gave time and encouragement, and made available unpublished materials for my use.

Fieldwork

In accordance with NPS-28, the methodological focus of this research was on documentary research and not on fieldwork. Some fieldwork, in the form of oral interviews and archeological reconnaissance survey, was done as seemed necessary to gather general information not otherwise available. A full day was spent at the beginning of this research doing a "windshield survey" of the park and all the areas surrounding from Brentsville and Independent Hill to the Potomac River. The purpose was to familiarize myself with the park as part of a broader natural and cultural region. Four other days were spent looking at some of the well-known historic properties in the park, including the Cabin Branch pyrite mine and associated buildings on Mine Road, Bohannan's mill, the Taylor farm, cabin camps 2 and 3, and several of the many family cemeteries in the park.

More detailed field time was spent conducting personal interviews with people knowledgeable about the history of the park. Several people were interviewed in addition to Mrs. Barbara Kirby and Mr. Lee Lansing mentioned above. Mrs. Annie Williams, a woman in her 90s who lived at Hickory Ridge, a mixed-race community in the park in the 1920s and 1930s, was interviewed for over three hours in her home on Mine Road. Mr. Walter Kendall, a leader of the black community on Mine Road, introduced me to Mrs. Williams and spent about four hours showing me Mine Road and the Cabin Branch mine area that he knew as a child. Mr. Joe Hebda, a long-time employee of the park who arrived in the area with the Civilian Conservation Corps, was interviewed in his home. Unfortunately, his wife, Thelma, who grew up in the park, was too ill to be interviewed. Also interviewed was Mr. George Gordon, the Stafford County commissioner of revenues, at the Stafford County Courthouse. Mr. Gordon has had personal experience in the Chopawamsic drainage dating from 1938. He has also a personal interest in eighteenth century land records and has had considerable experience in dealing with them.

Analysis

Information from all the above-mentioned sources was sorted, evaluated with regard for the need for further substantiation, and synthesized into the following chapters. These are rather complex processes driven by the requirements of NPS-28, Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation, and the National Park Service's "Resource Protection Planning Process," all discussed above. In addition, like most historical research, this work has been guided by the professional background and personal interests of the researcher. I was interested in identifying major shifts in subsistence strategies, accompanied by changes in settlement pattern, social

organization, kinship and family life, and the development and organization of community life in the park. These are matters of fundamental interest to archeologists and cultural anthropologists, and are assumed to be directly associated with the production, maintenance, and modification of historic properties. A given subsistence strategy should be associated with a specific range of site types, the locations of which can be generally predicted given current environmental and cultural data. The activities of all groups in a given population as defined by age, sex, race, or social and economic characteristics should be represented by the range of site types associated with its "historic context."

PREHISTORIC STUDY UNITS

INTRODUCTION

Sources for the Study Units

Unlike the postcontact study units discussed later in this overview, those representing prehistoric periods have received a good deal of attention from archeologists in the local area, particularly in Fairfax County, across the Occoquan River north of the park. Substantial primary data is available, and a number of synthetic works have been prepared that are applicable to the park. The most recent and generally pertinent information is that contained in the Heritage Management Plan for Fairfax County (Chittenden et al. 1985). The Heritage Management Plan establishes a series of study units to segment the prehistory of Fairfax County. The spatial scale of each study unit is countywide; the temporal scale varies from a few centuries to several millenia. Since the Fairfax study units appear entirely applicable to Prince William County as well, they will be used here with only one adjustment. The study unit called "Early Agriculturalists" in the Fairfax plan is called "Agriculturalists" in this overview, to reflect the fact that, according to the best current information, agriculture had been practiced to some extent for some centuries before the beginning of the "Early Agriculturalist" period.

In 1979, the Institute for Conservation Archaeology (ICA) of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, published a multivolume report entitled Summary and Analysis of Cultural Resource Information on the Continental Shelf from the Bay of Fundy to Cape Hatteras. Prepared under contract with the U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, the ICA study provides two bodies of information useful to this overview. First, it summarizes the progress of sea level rise and transgression across the Atlantic continental shelf between the late Pleistocene and the modern era, and reconstructs environmental conditions on what is now the continental shelf and in adjacent areas of what remain dry land today. Second, it provides very general models of settlement distribution along what was, during various prehistoric time periods, the Atlantic shore and its hinterland. These models are derived in two ways: deductively from general propositions about Hunter-Gatherer settlement and subsistence systems, and inductively by extrapolating from site distributions from different time periods on what is now the shore and its hinterland. I have made particular use of the reconstructions of sea level transgression and its environmental results here, having found other, more locally specific, models of settlement patterning more directly useful than, though generally consistent with, the ICA models.

Among the most important models specific to the immediate area of Prince William Forest Park is that of Gardner (cf., 1982), whose definitions of settlement patterns and site types are widely used in northern Virginia in the description of sites from the Paleo-Indian period onward. The basic site types he defines include

macro-social unit base camps - sites occupied on a permanent or seasonal basis by relatively large, aggregated social groups

micro-social unit base camps - sites occupied on a permanent or seasonal basis by relatively small social groups (e.g., family bands)

micro-social unit foray camps - sites used by small social groups during forays away from a base camp for some particular purpose (e.g., hunting, gathering a locally available plant food, quarrying)

exploitive foray camps - sites used by individuals or strategically organized small groups (e.g., hunting parties, groups of men quarrying a particular stone for tools) for some particular purpose

Gardner's site types will be used throughout this overview, and his reconstructions of settlement patterns will be frequently referred to.

Carbone's (1976) reconstruction of paleoenvironments and settlement systems in the Shenandoah Valley will be referred to from time to time, primarily with reference to environmental changes through prehistory; another important source of environmental information is Dent's (1979) study of the upper Delaware Valley. Kavanagh's (1983) reconstruction of prehistoric occupations in the Monocacy River region of Maryland also provides useful information on both prehistoric environments and determinants of settlement location. Potter's (1982) study of the Chicacoan area on the Northern Neck provides models of settlement location and organization that are particularly relevant to late prehistoric and protohistoric periods.

Closer to the park itself, Walker's (1981) summary of information on Prince William County archeology is referred to frequently with reference to known archeological site distributions and possible determinants of settlement location. A recent sample survey and background study of Fort Belvoir, a few miles north of the park in Fairfax County, provides valuable information on factors influencing site location in the area, with specific reference to landforms and soils (LeeDecker et al. 1984). Johnson's (1982) study of site distributions around the Belair plantation, in the fall zone of Neabsco Creek, provides a detailed picture of a portion of the Piedmont Uplands very near the northwest boundary of the park. Barse's (1982) more general study of Neabsco and Powell's creeks, particularly when combined with Johnson's work, provides an excellent picture of prehistoric site distributions in the two drainages immediately to the north of the park.

Organization of the Discussion

Each study unit is in essence a block of time characterized by distinctive patterns of environmental change and stability and by human adaptations to the environment, presumably reflected in settlement system organization. For each study unit, after establishing the time range it represents, I will first discuss the environmental characteristics thought

to have been present during the period in the vicinity of the park. Next, the likely subsistence practices and social organization of the people of the area during the period will be outlined. These discussions, together with the various models mentioned above, provide the basis for speculating about the archeological site types likely to be present in the vicinity during the period, about the factors that might influence site location, and about how these may translate into actual site distributions and densities in the park. Finally, the likely research significance of any such sites that might exist in the park will be discussed.

Having predicted in general what kinds of archeological sites may represent each study unit in the park, and in what kinds of locations they may be found, I am fortunate enough to be able to test these predictions, at least roughly, using primary data. Two sources of data will be used. First, primary data on archeological site distributions in the immediate vicinity of the park will be referred to, these include data of three kinds: (1) reports of major surveys like Barse's Powell's/Neabsco study (Barse 1982) and Johnson's Belair survey (Johnson 1982); (2) reports of more limited studies like Verrey's (1980a) survey of the Harbors of New Port development at the mouth of Neabsco Creek and Verry's (1980b) survey and Catlin's (1981) excavations at the Wayside Village development near the mouth of Quantico Creek; and (3) records of individual sites on file with the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission. The other source of information is the report of a 15 per cent sample survey designed to produce a predictive model of site distributions, conducted coincident but not coordinated with this overview by James Madison University and including substantial pieces of the Quantico Creek drainage within the park (Cromwell and McIver 1985). As the James Madison report was not available to me until this overview was almost complete, the information it contains provides a good test of the ideas about settlement distribution and density put forward for each study unit.

RESEARCH ISSUES

Research questions in archeology tend to involve comparison between units of time and space, exploring changes over time, and variability between societies and geographic areas. As a result, they are often not specific to a study unit but instead seek to compare aspects of two or more study units. Thus, before turning to discussion of the study units themselves, it may be helpful to outline some of the issues and topics in archeological research that serve as the basis for assigning significance to prehistoric sites in the area.

LeeDecker et al. (1984:88-93) recently surveyed archeologists working in the Middle Atlantic Coastal Plain to ascertain their major research interests. They found that four research topics dominated their respondents' concerns. Two of these were study unit-specific; cultural development in the Late Woodland (here called "Intensified Agriculturalist") and the nature of contact period (protohistoric) societies. These will be discussed in the context of the study units to

which they pertain. The other two topics were not limited to study units; these were "general settlement-subsistence pattern studies" and "better artifact chronology."

The improvement of "artifact chronology"--that is, the use of artifacts in the recognition of cultural periods and the assignment of sites and components to such periods--is a technical problem for archeologists, a matter of seeking to improve a fundamental analytical tool so that it can be applied to other problems of more general anthropological relevance. A very basic problem confronting archeological research in northern Virginia, as in many other areas, is the fact that many, in fact perhaps the majority, of archeological sites thus far known in the area are essentially not assignable to particular time periods or may be assignable only to periods many thousands of years long. Sites consisting only of surface scatters of quartz flakes and other chipping debitage, for example, typically cannot be assigned to any particular study unit in northern Virginia, although one can surmise that they were not created by Paleo-Indians, whose projectile points were made of higher quality cryptocrystalline materials. Lacking the ability to "date" these sites, undoubtedly the most common in the area, we are unable to monitor change in land use and toolmaking technology, which in turn places restrictions on studies of settlement patterns, subsistence practices, and economic change.

Presumably the desire to better understand the chronological implications of different artifact types would result in giving high value to sites containing relatively large numbers or varieties of artifacts in good stratigraphic context and/or associated with datable material or features. It might also result in giving priority to the comparative study of large numbers of artifacts from a diversity of sites, even without much chronological control. For example, a thorough comparative study of debitage from a large number of surface sites associated with quartz quarrying and reduction might reveal patterns of stone processing that, once they could be found in association with datable materials, could be assigned chronological positions.

The study of "general settlement-subsistence patterns" (LeeDecker et al. 1984:88) is an extremely broad, open-ended subject embracing studies of paleoecology, demography, social organization, land use, trade and interaction, and a host of other topics. Because of its inclusive character it can be used to assign research significance to almost any site or (particularly) any group of sites. Much of the interest expressed by those interviewed by LeeDecker and his colleagues seemed to focus on specific perceived data gaps; settlement patterns were perceived to be poorly defined inland from the shores and rivers during the Paleo-Indian period, and during the Early and Middle Archaic periods (Hunter-Gatherer I-III). Underlying the perceived need to fill these gaps appears to be the general perception that it would be good to reconstruct the nature of past environments and to understand how human beings have interacted wtih changing environments over time (LeeDecker et al. 1984:90). Here the study of settlement-subsistence systems intersects with what King (1985) has identified as a potential

"national archeological research topic"--the large-scale, comparative reconstruction of patterns of Holocene climatic change. If prehistoric settlement and subsistence systems reflected past environmental conditions as they acted on human societies (see Johnson 1983 for a local example), then their study can assist in the reconstruction of past environments and the climatic conditions that created them. Such reconstructions can then serve as the basis for predicting future conditions, which would have many practical applications (King 1985).

For purposes of this overview, the usefulness of the topics identified by LeeDecker and his colleagues will be taken for granted, and the potential significance of sites representing each study unit will be considered with reference to them.

PALEO-INDIANS - ?-ca. 8000 B.C.

Time-Span

The beginning of the Paleo-Indian period is unknown, but it presumably occurred sometime during the late Pleistocene when immigrants to America from Asia, having crossed the Bering land bridge and worked their way down through Canada, entered what is now Virginia. The end of the Paleo-Indian period is generally placed at about 8000 B.C., when changes in the environment were accompanied by changes in human economic systems that are observable in the archeological record.

Climate and Environment

During the Pleistocene, the vast ice masses that lay over the continent locked up tremendous quantities of water, holding sea level low and exposing broad expanses of what is now the continental shelf. Although Virginia was not glaciated, its climate was substantially cooler and wetter than at present; there was more snowfall than today, and it lingered for a longer time. There was more surface moisture and less evaporation (Chittenden et al. 1985:1-1). The environment of the Piedmont and Coastal Plain during this period was one of considerable diversity. Forested areas were dominated by conifers, though there were significant stands of deciduous trees, especially in sheltered locations and along streams. Meadows may have occurred in some locations, and bogs were found in lower floodplain areas (Chittenden et al. 1985:1-7). As the period progressed, conifer-dominated forest steadily yielded to the advance of deciduous woodlands, featuring such nut-bearing trees as oak, chestnut, and hickory (ICA 1979:152-69). Caribou, deer, bison, peccary, mastodon, mammoth, musk-ox, horse, moose, and many smaller animals were available to hunters, with such large Pleistocene browsers as mastodon, mammoth, horse, caribou, and moose decreasing in numbers as the period progressed (cf., Dent 1979:248-50).

By about 13,000 B.C. the continental glaciers were in slow retreat. As they melted back, sea levels began to rise. About 10,000 B.C. the

Atlantic shoreline stood about 75 km (ca. 47 miles) east of its present location (ICA 1979:II-136). What is now Chesapeake Bay was a broad river valley whose streams, draining large areas of land--much now submerged--carried substantial amounts of water. Dent (1979:113) reports that the Delaware River began to downcut its present channel around 12,000 B.C., and was not stable in that channel until about 4000 B.C. (see also Ritter et al. 1973:374); presumably a similar sequence characterized the Potomac and other rivers of the Chesapeake Valley. During the Paleo-Indian period these were probably broad, braided streams, shifting courses frequently as they flowed through marshy lowlands (Gardner 1974; Commonwealth 1980). What now is the coastal plain of Virginia was then a part of the interior, distant from the ocean and relatively uninfluenced by it, and the Piedmont in the vicinity of the park was more distant still.

By the end of the Paleo-Indian period the shore had crept somewhat closer. ICA places the shoreline in 7000 B.C. some 60 km (38 miles) east of its present stand (ICA 1979:II-133). This would have had little direct effect on the environment of the Chesapeake Valley and its surrounding uplands, but it could have had an indirect effect on human use of the area. ICA reconstructs the coastal environments during the latter part of the Paleo-Indian period as quite rich. As the sea level rose, barrier islands and sandspits were formed, creating lagoons and marshes (ICA 1979:II-133). These, in turn, would have been ideal habitats for mollusc populations which could have been exploited by human groups (ICA 1979:II-161-69). Anadromous fish runs up the rivers would have added to the attractiveness of locations along rivers a short distance back from the shore for human settlement (ICA 1979:161-68).

Subsistence Practices

The people of the Paleo-Indian period are generally characterized as hunters of large game, but this may well reflect sampling error, at least in part. Since the coastal and near-shore campsites of the period, in which Paleo-Indian people might have gathered shellfish, hunted shorebirds, and exploited runs of anadromous fish, have long since been swallowed up by the rising sea, our impressions of Paleo-Indian subsistence practices are derived almost solely from the study of what were at the time sites rather deep in the interior, where hunting and the gathering of nuts, berries, and root crops would have been the only available ways of obtaining food. An exception to this generalization is the Shawnee-Minisink site on the Delaware River, reported by Dent, where there is good evidence of the consumption of fish and fruit (plums) during the Paleo-Indian period (Dent 1979:168).

For purposes of the study of Prince William Forest, however, which during the Paleo-Indian period would have been deep in the interior uplands overlooking the Potomac arm of the Chesapeake Valley, the idea of Paleo-Indian people as big-game hunters is probably sufficient. Although Dent's data suggest that they may well have gathered wild plant foods, which could have been available in the interior, these do not seem to have made the contribution to the diet that they did in later periods.

Grinding tools necessary to the processing of many seeds and nuts are not found in Paleo-Indian sites, nor are the earth ovens and similar facilities often associated with large-scale processing of root crops. It is probably safe to assume that the people of the Paleo-Indian period used the vicinity of the park for hunting, probably combined with small-scale plant-food gathering and quarrying of stone for projectile points and other tools. In all probability, major population concentrations were near the shore where shellfish and waterfowl could be had, and along rivers where anadromous fish runs could be exploited.

Social Organization

It is generally agreed that the people of the Paleo-Indian period practiced a high degree of mobility over the landscape, engaging in little food storage, and producing few modifications of the natural environment in pursuit of food (cf., Chittenden et al. 1985:1-12-15). It is widely recognized, however, that sampling error may influence our perception of Paleo-Indian lifeways, since many of the locations that would have been amenable to relatively sedentary settlement are now underwater (cf., Chittenden et al. 1985:22). If Paleo-Indian people had relatively stable settlements of substantial size, either on a year-around basis or seasonally, their residence in them may have required a higher degree of social control and hence organization than is ascribed to mobile Hunter-Gatherers in the ethnographic literature. Current information, however, particularly with reference to such interior areas as the park, indicates that Paleo-Indian people were organized into small groups, moving frequently from campsite to campsite. Each such group would most likely have been based on one or more nuclear or small extended families, dominated by a senior male and directed in its movements by the strategic needs of hunting and, perhaps to a lesser degree, gathering of plant foods (cf., Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982:492).

Probable Site Types and Locations

Paleo-Indian groups may well have occupied macro-social unit base camps at least during some seasons (e.g., during the fall fish runs up rivers on what was then the coastal plain), but if so, such sites are for the most part now underwater, or deeply buried under the sediments of the lower river valleys. Kavanagh (1983:43-45) reports only scattered artifact finds, generally close to watercourses, and posits a small Paleo-Indian population in the Potomac Valley, making occasional forays into her study area on the Monocacy. Chittenden et al. (1985:1-15) expect to find only seasonal micro-social unit base camps and exploitive foray camps (cf., Gardner 1980) in Fairfax County, and Walker (1981:31-32) predicts essentially the same for Prince William County. Such sites are likely to be represented by scatters of flakes and artifacts; those that have been identified to date have typically been found on eroded benches along major tributaries of the Potomac in the Coastal Plain and Triassic Lowlands (Chittenden et al. 1985:1-20; Walker 1981:31-32). Isolated projectile point finds from the Paleo-Indian period

are more widespread, but may represent accidental losses during hunting or displacement during landscape transformation since the Paleo-Indian period, rather than settlement patterns as such.

Seasonal micro-social base camps of the Paleo-Indian period would be located in areas of maximum comfort (Walker 1981:7) with reference to water sources, relatively low topographic relief, and the habitats of useful plant and animal species, probably game species in particular. Exploitive foray camps would be located with reference to the resource being exploited: a camp used during the quarrying of stone for tools would be located at or near the source of the stone, a plant-gathering site would be located at or near the growing site of the plant being gathered, while a hunting camp would be located in a strategic position in terms of observing game movements or processing game without frightening animals away.

Predicted Distribution and Density within the Park

There seems little reason to expect Paleo-Indian sites to occur in the park at all. Although it is virtually impossible, based on present information, to reconstruct the nature of local landforms and the distribution of relevant habitats in the area during the Paleo-Indian period, it is likely that the coastal plain east of the park contained better locations for micro-social unit base camps than did the park itself, from which the plant and animal resources of the park vicinity could have been exploited. For their hunting and processing tools, at least, the people of the Paleo-Indian period used high grade cryptocrystalline materials such as chert and chalcedony; Walker (1981:31) notes that major outcrops of such materials are absent in Prince William County, so exploitive foray camps associated with quarrying cannot be expected. It is possible that an exploitive foray camp associated with the use of some particular plant resource or concentration of game animals might exist within the park boundaries, or even that a base camp established with reference to the distribution of important plant or animal resources might be found there, but the location of such a camp is not predictable based on current data. Walker (1981:31-32) predicts only isolated artifacts and "small sites with few artifacts" for the Paleo-Indian period in Prince William County and suggests that these will occur for the most part close to the Potomac or along one of its major tributaries, on the Coastal Plain or in the Triassic Lowlands. It is likely that if anything representing the Paleo-Indian period is found in the park, it will be an occasional isolated artifact.

Probable Significance

Since Paleo-Indian sites are extremely rare in the area, and since little is known about the period, particularly with reference to settlement patterns and subsistence practices other than the hunting of large game, any discovery of Paleo-Indian material assumes unusual apparent significance. Certainly any such discovery should be analyzed carefully; a substantial and well-preserved Paleo-Indian site would add important data to our

understanding of the period, and even a patterned distribution of surface artifact and debitage scatters could provide some potentially useful information about subsistence activities. The isolated artifact finds that can be expected in the park would have little significance, however, except simply to verify that the area was used during the period.

Results of Surveys in the Park Vicinity prior to 1985

Only six Paleo-Indian "sites" are reported in Fairfax County, and three of these represent isolated artifact finds. The other three sites are classified as possible exploitive foray camps (2 sites) and a possible base camp (Chittenden et al. 1985:21). In Prince William County, as of 1981, only a single Paleo-Indian fluted projectile point had been found, and its location of discovery was uncertain (Walker 1981:31). The closest Paleo-Indian artifact discovery to the park seems to have been that of a single fluted point at site 44FX13, at the junction of Accotink Bay and the Potomac (LeeDecker et al. 1984:26, citing Howard MacCord).

Results of James Madison University Survey

No Paleo-Indian sites or artifacts are reported by the 1985 James Madison University survey (Cromwell and McIver 1985).

HUNTER GATHERER I - ca. 8000-6500 B.C.

Climate and Environment

This period includes the pre-boreal and boreal climatic episodes, a time of increasing overall temperatures and decreasing precipitation. Tundra and marshes were replaced by forests, with deciduous species probably dominating in the vicinity of Prince William County (cf., Carbone 1976:186; Chittenden et al. 1985:2-9). By about 6500 B.C., climatic conditions approximated those of modern times. Pleistocene fauna decreased in numbers and variety, but moose, bear, elk, deer, and possibly mastodon, bison, and caribou remained available to hunters. Johnson (1983:65) sees this as a period of great diversity and change in plant communities, as deciduous woodlands replaced pine and spruce forests, providing a diversity of habitats for game animals.

Sea level rose rapidly, but certainly not so rapidly as to discourage settlement on the shore. The coastal environment of the late Paleo-Indian period persisted, characterized by coastal marshes, sandspits, and barrier islands (cf., ICA 1979:11-133). By the end of the period, the shore was probably about 55 km (34 miles) east of its present location; the Chesapeake was still a river valley, with its rivers still relatively shallow and braided (Gardner 1974).

Subsistence Practices

Apparently a subsistence pattern much like that of the Paleo-Indian period continued during the Hunter-Gatherer I period, with the uplands being exploited largely by hunting groups, probably coming into the area from base camps in the now-flooded lowlands. Population probably continued to be concentrated near the shore and along the lower river courses. Ground stone tools make their appearance during this period, however, indicating more intensive use of plant foods than during the Paleo-Indian period (Chapman 1975:161; Chittenden et al. 1985:2-7). In Fairfax County, many more archeological sites have been discovered representing this period than the Paleo-Indian period (cf., Johnson 1983:64), with sites of the phases characterized by the Kirk and (especially) the Bifurcate projectile point types (ca. 7000-6500 B.C.) being especially well represented. Sites apparently tend to be rather small, however, relative to some sites of the Paleo-Indian period (cf., Walker 1981:32). Chittenden et al. (1985:2-1) see the period as representing a marked shift in the nature of the settlement pattern, toward a more stable, less fluid distribution of population. The fluted projectile point tradition of the Paleo-Indian period is replaced in Hunter-Gatherer I by the use of unfluted, corner-notched points, presumably representing some sort of change in hunting technology and perhaps in the kinds of game hunted or the environments in which hunting takes place. Both numbers of sites and quantities of projectile points per site reach peaks during the Bifurcate phase (ca. 6700 B.C.) in Fairfax County, suggesting intensive use of the area by hunters (Chittenden et al. 1985:2-7; Johnson 1983). Walker (1981:32) notes that in Prince William County, as in other parts of the Middle Atlantic area, projectile points and other flaked-stone tools made of local materials such as quartz and quartzite begin to occur during this period, although use of cryptocrystalline materials continues.

Social Organization

It is likely that the people of the Hunter-Gatherer I period came together periodically, perhaps seasonally, in what Gardner (1982) would call a "macro-social unit," probably in locations where both plant and animal food resources were most concentrated and diverse. At other times they would be dispersed in "micro-social units" engaged in hunting and associated gathering. Special purpose task groups might have been organized to exploit particular resources at particular times (e.g., to quarry stone for tools).

Probable Site Types and Locations

The zones of most concentrated food resources during the Hunter-Gatherer I period would have doubtless been along the edges of coastal marshes and the lower courses of rivers (cf., Kavanagh 1983:45), most of which have long since been drowned. As a result, macro-social unit base camps of the period are most likely either now underwater or

buried in the floodplains of the Potomac (cf., Chittenden et al. 1985:2-26). Sites in the interior will most likely be micro-social unit base camps representing groups involved in hunting and associated gathering activities, and exploitive foray camps associated with such activities as quarrying.

Predicting the distribution of micro-social unit base camps is complicated by several facts. First, since such camps would be, in essence, hunting camps, their locations would have been chosen with reference to the behavior of animal populations that have long since vanished from the area. Second, such populations would have distributed themselves with reference to plant communities that have been entirely transformed, many times over, in the millenia since the Hunter-Gatherer I period. Third, hunting camps would not be located coincident with the distribution of the animals hunted (though a camp established, for example, at the site of a mastodon kill would be coincident with the location of the mastodon at the time it was killed), but in some sort of strategic relationship to such animals (e.g., downwind). Thus, even if one could reconstruct the likely distribution of animal populations likely to have been hunted, one would then have to reconstruct the likely strategies employed in hunting in order to predict likely site locations. Given these ambiguities, we are left with little basis for prediction other than some of the general variables discussed by Walker (1981:3-7), which are applicable to populations of virtually all periods: distribution of water, distribution of well-drained low relief topographic areas, and distribution of zones of maximum comfort.

Predicted Distribution and Density within the Park

Only micro-social unit base camps and perhaps exploitive foray camps can be expected within the park; sites representative of the Kirk and Bifurcate phases are most likely. Exploitive foray camps associated exclusively with quarrying are unlikely to be found, as the park contains no known good sources of high-quality cryptocrystalline materials and since the quartzes that begin to be used during this period are distributed throughout the county, it seems unlikely that forays would be organized to the park area specifically to quarry such material.

Probable Significance

Sites of this period can inform us about how the people of the period used the local environment, and to some extent about the nature of the environment itself. For example, if at a given micro-social base camp evidence is found of the exploitation of a particular species of animal, this indicates that human groups were using the species during the period, which in turn indicates that the species was present, which in turn indicates that the local environment was such as to provide appropriate habitats for the species. Information can also be obtained from such sites concerning human group size and composition, technology, and to some extent, social organization. The better preserved such a site is, the more useful its study can be.

Unfortunately, many of the areas of the park that are most likely to have been the locations of micro-social unit base camps--well-drained, low relief areas between watercourses--are precisely the locations that have been most subject to erosion, particularly to the degradation resulting from intensive tobacco growing and poor soil conservation practices during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Thus, it is very likely that many if not all Hunter-Gatherer I sites in the park will have been deflated, represented today by surface scatters of artifacts and other materials. While such sites can be studied with useful results (cf., Talmadge and Chesler 1977), their utility is limited relative to better preserved sites. Better preserved sites, if they exist, will be buried, perhaps deeply buried, in floodplain, levee, and toe slope situations.

Results of Surveys in the Park Vicinity prior to 1985

Forty-nine sites attributed to the Hunter-Gatherer I period are reported in Fairfax County (Chittenden et al. 1985:2-10-14). Only seven sites from this period were known in Prince William County as of 1981, and these were not close to the park, distributed instead along tributaries of the Occoquan River and the foothills of Bull Run Mountain (Walker 1981:32). The only site of the period reported relatively near the park, and in a somewhat similar environmental context, is 44FX681, the reported major source of the N.S. Way collection, gathered in the late nineteenth century and donated to the Smithsonian Institution. This site lies near the Potomac, on the point of land between Accotink and Pohick bays (LeeDecker et al. 1984:27, 57). During the Hunter-Gatherer I period this location would have been a terrace of the Potomac Valley; a comparable location close to the park would be the terraces above the mouth of Quantico Creek east of Dumfries. Such a location is consistent with the distribution of sites suggested above, but provides no reason to think that sites of the period will be found in the park itself.

Results of James Madison University Survey

Cromwell and McIver (1985) report no sites within or near the park that can be associated specifically with the Hunter-Gatherer I study unit. However, their site QT5B;1 produced a large quartz corner- or side-notched projectile point (base missing) which resembles a Kirk point (cf., Cromwell and McIver 1985:fig. 11a). QT5B;1 also produced quartz flakes, shatter, and a core. The site lies in the Coastal Plain outside the park boundaries on a terrace bluff about 20 feet above the mouth of Quantico Creek east of Dumfries (Cromwell and McIver 1985:93; 136)--a location similar to that occupied by 44FX681, discussed above.

During the Hunter-Gatherer I period, QT5B,1 would have overlooked an upland stream valley where game would be likely to congregate. Its relief is relatively low, and it faces southeast, gaining maximum exposure to the sun. The slope of the peninsula between Quantico and Powell's creeks rises behind it, and probably would have given it good protection from winds out of the north and northeast. In short, if it does represent the

Hunter-Gatherer I study unit (which certainly cannot be taken for granted on the basis of one broken projectile point of dubious type), its location is consistent with the idea that micro-social unit base camps or exploitive foray camps associated with hunting should be in areas of low relief and maximum comfort, near water sources and near but not coincident with areas where game would congregate.

HUNTER-GATHERER II - 6500 B.C.-4000 B.C.

Climate and Environment

This is the "Atlantic" climatic episode (cf., Carbone 1976:103), when the weather grew warmer and dryer than it is at present. Pine and spruce forests decreased in northern Virginia, the latter to the point of disappearance. Oak-hickory woodland covered the hillsides and valley floors (Carbone 1976:189), while a mixed southern pine-oak forest was spreading through the uplands (LeeDecker et al. 1984:10; ICA 1979:II-161). A forest cover essentially identical with that of modern times was in place by about 5500 B.C. (Chittenden et al. 1985:3-1). Mastodon, moose, and woodland caribou had disappeared from the scene; deer, bear, and small mammals and birds remained in the forests (Chittenden et al. 1985:3-4). As the distribution of forest components stabilized after about 6500 B.C., habitat diversity decreased relative to the Hunter-Gatherer I period (Johnson 1983:65).

Sea level continued to rise rapidly. At the beginning of the Hunter-Gatherer II period, the shore stood about 55 km (34 miles) east of its present stand; by the end of the period it was only about 15 to 20 km (9 to 13 miles) east of the modern shore. An extensive estuary system had formed at the mouth of the Chesapeake Valley (ICA 1979: compare fig. II-18g and fig. II-19c, pp. II-140 and II-145). Upstream from the encroaching shoreline, the Potomac had begun downcutting in its present channel by about 5500 B.C., and fluvial swamps may have developed in wide floodplain areas (Barse 1982:4). The Chesapeake Valley was not yet flooded, however. Presumably an oak-hickory woodland dominated its floor, and anadromous fish runs penetrated well up its central river, though probably no great distance up the Potomac as yet. Erosion of the uplands created somewhat higher relief than had been the case in earlier times (ICA 1979:II-142).

Subsistence Practices

In Fairfax County, both archeological site frequencies and particularly projectile point quantities drop sharply during this period from the high point represented by the Birfurcate phase of the terminal Hunter-Gatherer I period (Chittenden et al. 1985:3-11; see also Johnson 1983:64, fig. 6). Assuming that points represent hunting, this may indicate a shift from hunting toward gathering of plant foods in the uplands (Chittenden et al. 985:3-12). It also seems likely that the development of estuaries at the mouth of the Chesapeake, providing

substantial plant, mollusc, and avian resources, encouraged a concentration of population in that area and an emphasis on marshland gathering, while the disappearance of the last of the Pleistocene's large fauna from the area made hunting a less productive strategy than had been the case in the past (cf., Johnson 1983). This may have meant an absolute decline in the use of the uplands, with populations instead perhaps dispersing and concentrating seasonally along the shores and lower river courses. Projectile points and other flaked stone tools representing this period are almost all made of local quartz and quartzite (cf., Walker 1981:32). The former particularly is widespread throughout the area and is not a particularly high quality stone for toolmaking; this tends to support the idea that the importance ascribed to hunting during this period was less than in preceding periods.

Social Organization

The forms of social organization that may have characterized this period have been little discussed. A shift in subsistence strategy away from hunting and toward gathering would doubtless have had some social concommitants, but speculation about what these may have been is complicated by uncertainty about the kind of gathering strategies employed. Upland gathering might have required organization into smaller, more dispersed social units, with more emphasis on women's roles than in the preceding period (cf., Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982:492). A subsistence pattern emphasizing the gathering of shellfish and the taking of fish and birds in the marshes of the lower Chesapeake, on the other hand, could have permitted fairly large population aggregations, at least seasonally, and more emphasis on male roles and functions.

Probable Site Types and Locations

Chittenden et al. (1985:3-20) report that sites of the Hunter-Gatherer II period are distributed uniformly throughout Fairfax County; this seems consistent with the notion that such sites represent micro-social base camps and/or exploitive foray camps associated with the gathering of plant foods. Kavanagh (1983:47) reports a comparable situation: that sites of the conventionally defined Middle Archaic period, roughly coincident with Hunter-Gatherer II, tend to be concentrated along watercourses in the Monocacy Valley but for the first time are also found elsewhere on the Valley floor. Walker's (1981:32) data from Prince William County appear to be similar to those from Fairfax and the Monocacy. This suggests that sites will be found in zones of maximum comfort (i.e. with good exposure to the sun and protection from wind chill; cf., Walker 1981:7), in areas of low relief, probably near water and close to locations where nut bearing trees and such seed plants as pigweed (Amaranthus sp.), sunflower (Helianthus annus), and lambs quarters (Chenopodium sp.) might have been available (cf., Walker 1981:3-7). The tendency during this period to use the ubiquitous local quartz in tool making, combined with the apparent relatively low level of importance of projectile points in the economy, would seem to make it unlikely that quarry

locations would be a major determinant of settlement choice. Both Chittenden et al. (1985:3-21) and Walker (1981:33) suggest that sites will tend to be concentrated along the larger streams, Chittenden noting particularly the likelihood of macro-social base camps in deeply buried contexts in the floodplains of the Piedmont Potomac (1985:P-21).

Predicted Distribution and Density within the Park

There is little or no likelihood that macro-social unit base camps of the Hunter-Gatherer II period will be found in the park; such sites are more likely on the Potomac floodplain to the east, and under the waters of the lower Potomac and Chesapeake Bay. Micro-social unit base camps and exploitive foray camps associated with plant food acquisition and processing may occur within the park, probably in relatively low numbers. The transformation of the park's vegetation over the last six thousand years, and particularly during the last two hundred, makes it virtually impossible to reconstruct the likely distribution of plants that might have been attractive to foragers of the period, so we are left with such variables as nearness to water and presence of relatively well-drained, low relief topography as indicators of likely archeological site distribution (cf., Walker 1981:7).

Probable Significance

A well-preserved site of the Hunter-Gatherer II period could provide information about the nature of the local environment during the period and how its resources were used. Such information could contribute to our general understanding of settlement and subsistence systems of the period. The same problems of integrity discussed above with reference to Hunter-Gatherer I sites apply to Hunter-Gatherer II sites, however; as with Hunter-Gatherer I sites, those Hunter-Gatherer II sites most likely to retain their integrity will be those that have been buried in floodplain, levee, and toe slope contexts.

Results of Surveys in the Park Vicinity prior to 1985

Eighteen sites are attributed to the Hunter-Gatherer II period in Fairfax County; all those that can be classified are said to be either micro-social unit base camps or exploitive foray camps (Chittenden et al. 1985:3-19). Walker (1981:32) reports Middle Archaic sites (Hunter-Gatherer II and/or III) in the Triassic Lowlands and the foothills of Bull Run Mountain, with one such site in the Piedmont Uplands; her sketch-map shows eight such sites in the county, most along the Occoquan. The only site close to the park that can be fairly confidently assigned to this period is "POW-11," reported by Barse (1982:29). This site, assigned to the period by virtue of its possession of a Morrow Mountain-like projectile point, is classified by Barse as a quartz quarry location, flaking station, and possible hunting camp, hence an exploitive foray camp. It consists of primary and secondary quartz flaking debris and fire-cracked rocks, suggesting

the presence of hearths; it lies on a high terrace spur above Powell's Creek. This is not inconsistent with the suggestions about site density and distribution within the park offered above.

Results of James Madison University Survey

The James Madison University survey identified no sites that could be attributed specifically to the Hunter-Gatherer II study unit.

HUNTER-GATHERER III - 4000 B.C.-3000 B.C.

Climate and Environment

By 4000 B.C., though sea level rise was slowing, the shore stood only 8 to 10 km (5 to 6 miles) east of its present location, and Chesapeake Bay was beginning to form (ICA 1979:II-133; II-145; fig. II-19c). By 3000 B.C. the shore was only 6 to 7 km (ca. 4 miles) east of its present stand, and the bay would have been filling rapidly. It is likely that extensive marshes filled the Chesapeake Valley around what is now the mouth of the Potomac. Meanwhile, the climate continued warm and dry, as the end of the Atlantic climatic episode approached. The uplands had probably become more open than in the past, with grasslands and thickets (Chittenden et al. 1985:4-6).

Subsistence Practices

This period sees the return of a hunting emphasis in the local economy, with projectile points, this time of the corner notched Halifax type, becoming common. Chittenden et al. (1985:4-7) suggest that groups of this period in Fairfax County were relatively mobile, their sites representing transitory use of the area. It seems likely that if major population concentrations existed, they were located in the floodplains around the marshes of the lower Potomac, from which small social units or task-organized hunting parties exploited the game resources of the upland thickets and grasslands.

Social Organization

Since by this time the high density habitats represented by the river banks and marshes were not far away, the uplands in the vicinity of the park could have been exploited largely on the basis of trips of a day or two at most out from macro-social base camps along the marsh and river fringes. Each drainage basin, for example the drainage of Quantico Creek, might have by now become recognized as the territory of a given macro-social unit with its base camp(s) along the fringes of the Potomac marshes.

The social organization of the groups that presumably occupied the now-drowned marsh fringes of the lower Potomac is unknown. If the uplands were being used solely or largely by task groups on forays out from macro-social unit base camps around the marshes, each such group presumably would have been organized with reference to the task at hand, for example, hunting, gathering seeds, or quarrying. Such a group might include a small number of males if engaged in hunting or quarrying, perhaps supported by one or more women, or a small number of women if involved in gathering, perhaps protected by one or more men.

Probable Site Types and Locations

If the uplands in the park vicinity were being exploited by small groups on short-term expeditions away from macro-social unit base camps lying along the marshes, only exploitive foray camps can be expected in the area during this period. These would be located with reference primarily to the resource being exploited--in this case, probably deer and other game animals. Most such animals would probably be concentrated in and around thickets, which in turn were probably concentrated along streambanks. A hunting party would most likely station itself in a location with a good view of a thicket or thickets, but with some protection from the sight and smell of the animals in and around the thicket. This suggests that at least some archeological sites of the period should be found on ridges between small drainages, perhaps in swales back from the edges of such ridges. Parties involved in seed gathering might have placed their campsites closer to the streams themselves, being less concerned with frightening away animals, while quarrying parties would have been localized at or near the materials quarried. Since at this time local quartzes and quartzites were being used extensively in the production of projectile points and other tools, quarry-associated sites would be located where these materials were available either in massive or cobble form. Cobble sources are probably most common in eroded terrace contexts (cf., Rust 1983).

Predicted Distribution and Density within Park

Sites representing the Hunter-Gatherer III period should be fairly common in the park, which would have been a good area for use by hunters and other task-organized groups working out of macro-social unit base camps around now-submerged marshes at the juncture of the Potomac and Quantico Creek. Hunting-associated foray camps should be found on ridges between small drainages, and quarry-associated sites in areas where quartz or quartzite outcrop either in massive or cobble form. Cobble sources are most likely along the eroded edges of terraces, now represented by the ridges between small drainages, so the locations of quarry-associated sites may be roughly the same as those of hunting-associated . As discussed above, given the ubiquity of quartz in the area, it seems unlikely that quartz quarry locations by themselves would be major determinants of site location. Sites associated with

gathering activities may be found close to streambanks and springs. There appears to be no reason to expect to find macro-social unit base camps within the park; these would be most likely in submerged contexts along the lower course of Quantico Creek southeast of Dumfries, or perhaps buried in the Quantico Creek floodplain.

Probable Significance

The significance of sites representing this period would lie largely in their ability to aid in the reconstruction of subsistence practices, ideally as an adjunct to the investigation of one or more macro-social unit base camps along the marsh margins to the southeast. Study of sites for this purpose would involve the analysis of artifact forms to determine their function, combined with analysis of faunal and floral remains if they could be found.

Unfortunately, the same factors that are likely to have affected the integrity of sites representing other periods have probably damaged whatever Hunter-Gatherer III sites exist in the park. Agriculture on the low-relief lands lying between the drainages will have disturbed sites lying there, and erosion caused by agricultural practices will have deflated them, probably causing the destruction of everything but lithic material. Sites close to streams and springs may have fared better, because the very erosional processes that would have disturbed the sites on the ridges may have buried those in lower areas. On the other hand, development of springs and streams for agricultural purposes may well have disturbed sites in their vicinity. Thus, it is likely that many if not all Hunter-Gatherer III sites within the park have lost substantial aspects of their integrity, greatly diminishing their significance.

Results of Surveys in the Park Vicinity prior to 1985

One hundred eight Hunter-Gatherer III sites are reported in Fairfax County; all that are classified are said to be micro-social unit base camps or exploitive foray camps (Chittenden et al. 1985:4-13-16). Hunter-Gatherer III site numbers and distributions cannot be distinguished in Walker's (1981) or Kavanagh's (1983) reports because they are classified with Hunter-Gatherer II sites as representative of the Middle Archaic.

Near the park, the following possible or definite Hunter-Gatherer III sites are reported:

> "POW-10," a quartz quarry site and flaking station on a high ridge above the junction of Powell's Creek and a tributary (Barse 1982:29).
>
> 44PW92, apparently a micro-social unit base camp, on a slight rise adjacent to the confluence of a spring-fed stream and a first-order stream, in the Piedmont Uplands at Belair Plantation (Johnson 1982).

44PW98, a surface scatter of quartz debitage and a single projectile point, perhaps an exploitive foray camp, on an interfluve between two intermittent streams, in the Piedmont Uplands at Belair Plantation (Johnson 1982).

44FX637, an upland site overlooking Dogue Creek on Fort Belvoir, possibly a micro-social unit base camp (LeeDecker et al. 1984:57-60).

The nature and distribution of these sites are generally consistent with the expectations set forth above. Most Hunter-Gatherer III sites in the park can be expected to be exploitive foray camps associated with hunting, probably with quartz quarrying as a secondary activity, on ridges and high terraces. Micro-social unit base camps and/or foray camps associated with plant gathering could be found, possibly buried, in low terrace situations along the creeks, but the former at least appear more likely to be found at or beyond the park boundaries to the east on the less dissected Coastal Plain or to the west-northwest in the Piedmont Uplands rather than within the park itself.

Results of James Madison University Survey

The James Madison University survey identified no sites that could be specifically attributed to this study unit. The sites identified by the survey do tend to be scatters of quartz and sometimes quartzite flakes, cores, shatter, and occasional bifaces on the terraces and the tips of eroded terrace ridges overlooking streams (Cromwell and McIver 1985).

HUNTER-GATHERER IV - 3000 B.C.-A.D. 800

Climate and Environment

During the early part of this period the sea continued to rise slowly, until by about 1000 B.C. the present shoreline was reached and Chesapeake Bay was formed (ICA 1979:II-149). Lagoons and salt marshes decreased in size as the sea advanced, and estuary length and width decreased (ICA 1979:142). By 2000-1500 B.C. the salinity of the bay and the Potomac was sufficient to drive annual fish runs up as far as the Fall line (Gardner 1976a:19), and to permit the growth of oyster beds on the lower Potomac (cf., Potter 1982).

The first 1,250 years or so of this period are coincident with the Sub-Boreal climatic episode, during which the climate cooled and became more moist, until by about 750 B.C. a climatic regime much like that experienced today had developed. Pine was once again increasing, at the expense of oak (Chittenden et al. 1985:5-1), but an oak-hickory-tulip poplar forest probably covered much of the interior. Chittenden et al. speculate that this forest may have been relatively closed, with few open grasslands or thickets, thus restricting both animal habitats and plant resource diversity (1985:5-26).

Subsistence Practices

A shift in settlement and subsistence focus toward riverine resources is widely recognized during this period (cf., Walker 1981:12; Chittenden et al. 1985:5-1). It is questionable whether this represents a shift of human orientation from inland to riverine resources as much as it does a shift in the latter's location, increasing the archeological visibility of their exploitation. Prior to this period, as noted above, there may well have been--in fact, must have been--human populations concentrated around the marshes and along the riverbanks where riverine and estuarine resources could have been exploited, but the archeological evidence of such populations is now under water. During the Hunter-Gatherer IV period, for the first time we have access on more or less dry land to the archeological evidence of complete settlement systems; for the first time the sites used by riverine and estuarine oriented groups are available for study, so a "shift" toward the resources of the rivers and estuaries appears to exist.

The distribution of archeological sites evidencing use of estuarine resources appears to reflect the filling of Chesapeake Bay and the resulting steady intrusion of salt water up the Potomac during the early part of the Hunter-Gatherer IV period. On the lower Potomac, the Plum Nelly site, interpreted to be a fall-winter base camp, shows evidence of oyster processing during the Holmes phase, between about 2100 and 1800 B.C. (Potter 1982), but in Fairfax County the earliest known sites containing oyster shells are attributed to the Popes Creek phase, around 500 B.C. (Chittenden et al. 1985:5-26).

During the early part of the Hunter-Gatherer IV period, conventionally referred to as the Late Archaic, use of the Piedmont Uplands between the rivers is seen to decrease as populations shift toward the rivers (Gardner 1980:7). It may be that this reflects less a decrease in use of the interior than a decrease in the need for encampments there while using it. As the riverine environments moved closer to the uplands, it would become increasingly possible to exploit the latter on day-trips out from macro-social unit base camps on the riverbanks, decreasing the need for micro-social unit base camps and exploitive foray camps in the interior and thus decreasing the archeological visibility of the use of interior resources. On the other hand, some interior resources begin to be used for the first time during this period. Notable among these is soapstone (steatite); soapstone bowls begin to appear in archeological deposits during the Holmes phase, between about 2300 and 1800 B.C. (Chittenden et al. 1985:1-13).

If overall quantity of archeological sites in the interior decreased during this time period, numbers of substantial sites, apparently representing macro-social unit base camps, increased (Chittenden et al. 1985:5-1; 5-5). This may reflect adaptation to the decrease in estuary size and the availability of marshes and lagoons during the period (see above), squeezing populations out into more or less permanent occupation of interior areas previously used only for temporary occupation during short term hunting and gathering expeditions. It also may reflect, at least in

part, the increased exploitation of another set of interior resources: such durable stones as rhyolite, slate, hornfels, and especially quartzite (Chittenden et al. 1985:5-1; 5-5; Walker 1981:32). Rust (1983) suggests that during the early part of the Hunter-Gatherer IV period, represented by the Savannah River phase, the quarrying of quartzite cobbles became sufficiently important as to cause occupation sites to become concentrated on upper terraces, sometimes some miles from the present banks of their associated rivers, where such cobbles were most readily available. Still another basis for--and/or adaptation to--relatively stable interior settlement was trade. The development of an extensive regional interaction system during this period is evident in the widespread distribution of rhyolite, soapstone, and later ceramic items, originating in more or less specifiable locations, throughout the region (cf., Chittenden et al. 1985:5-19-20). Finally, the adoption of agriculture, which apparently dates to this period, would have helped make relatively sustained inland settlement possible; Chittenden et al. (1985:5-18) note that there is evidence, albeit sparse, for the presence of corn in the area as early as 500-1000 B.C.

Gardner (1982) has developed two alternative settlement pattern models for this period (cf., Gardner 1982:fig. 2). Both feature seasonal changes in population density and distribution. In the "fusion-fission" model, it is proposed that populations came together in large (macro-social unit) base camps along both salt water estuaries and fresh water rivers during particular seasons, notably during anadromous fish runs, and dispersed to smaller, more scattered (micro-social unit) base camps along the estuaries and rivers and in the interior during other seasons. In the "dual focus" model it is proposed that a single population would occupy both macro-social unit and micro-social unit base camps in both salt water and fresh water zones, shifting between the zones seasonally, again with anadromous fish runs as a major cause for movement. Gardner sees the latter model as gaining prominence after the introduction of pottery, during the period conventionally referred to as the Early Woodland. Chittenden et al. (1985:5-18) indicate that in Fairfax County Gardner's models must be modified somewhat to account for the probable presence of macro-social unit base camps in the interior, as well as on the estuaries and rivers. Potter (1982: 334-47) suggests a pattern of seasonal aggregation and dispersal, consistent with Gardner's model, in the Northern Neck during the latter part of the period.

Social Organization

Gardner's model of settlement patterns has implications for the social organization of the period. Seasonal dispersal would imply a society made up of relatively independent nuclear or small extended families, coming together seasonally into larger groups probably organized along lines of kinship, possibly under the temporary authority of senior lineage heads. Use of alternative macro-social unit base camps in different environmental zones during different seasons would imply that the macro-social unit itself was more stable, with a greater need for systems of social control and hence the potential for more complex forms of social organization.

The potential for still more complex, hierarchical forms of social organization could have existed if large year-round aggregations of people had become established, resulting in the need to manage resources and resource procurement. Sedentary macro-social unit villages of Hunter-Gatherers did develop on the west coast of North America, during roughly the same time period as that represented by the Hunter-Gatherer IV study unit, under environmental conditions at least superficially similar to those of the Virginia Coastal Plain and Piedmont (cf., Chartkoff and Chartkoff 1984). If the combination of fish, shellfish, game, and plant foods available within the catchment of at least some favorable locations made year-round occupation possible, this could have led to the need for increased social control and a more highly structured form of social organization (cf., King 1974, 1977 for California examples).

Probable Site Types and Locations

It is with specific reference to this period that Gardner (1980, 1982) has defined his site types. Macro-social unit base camps, micro-social unit base camps, and exploitive foray camps can all be expected. Macro-social unit base camps should be found primarily close to the banks of rivers and relatively large tributaries, particularly at places where anadromous fish runs could have been easily exploited and, as the period progresses and salinity ascends the Potomac, at locations with access to shellfish beds. Chittenden et al. (1985:5-18) note that macro-social unit camps may also occur in the interior, and Kavanagh (1983:47) notes a trend toward settlement away from the river during the early part of the period. Micro-social unit base camps should be found both along the major waterways and in the interior, generally near springs and streams, in areas of relatively low relief and with good exposure to the sun and protection from wind (Walker 1981:5-7). Exploitive foray camps can be expected wherever a useful resource could be exploited. Since soapstone comes into use during the early part of this period, foray camps and perhaps base camps associated with soapstone quarrying can be expected. Chittenden et al. (1985:5-21) note a major shift away from the use of quartz and toward the use of quartzite in toolmaking, suggesting that few foray camps associated with quartz quarrying should be found from this time period, but that such camps associated with concentrations of quartzite cobbles should be relatively common (cf., Rust 1983).

Predicted Distribution and Density within the Park

A macro-social unit base camp occupied by a group using Quantico Creek would be more likely near the creek's junction with the Potomac, east of Dumfries, than upstream in the park. At the same time, at least the southeastern portion of the park, lying within the Coastal Plain, is close enough to the mouth of the creek to be relatively accessible to hunters and gatherers based there. As a result, there would appear to be little reason for the establishment of micro-social unit base camps within the park's Coastal Plain area. Exploitive foray camps are the most likely type of archeological site to be found, associated with likely game

concentrations, concentrations of food plants, and outcrops of quartzite or steatite. The northwestern part of the park, within the Piedmont Uplands, might have been distant enough from the mouth of the creek to justify the establishment of micro-social unit base camps during seasons of dispersal, or perhaps associated with the quarrying of a major source of soapstone or quartzite. This area is one of precipitous slopes and narrow stream valleys, however, with few attractive locations for settlement, and it is within easy range of hunting and gathering parties from the headwaters of Powell's Creek, with its gentler terrain, good springs, and soapstone resources, where the substantial concentration of archeological sites reported by Johnson (1982) suggests rather intensive, if perhaps seasonal, occupation. In short, there seems to be no reason to expect anything but exploitive foray camps within the park during the Hunter-Gatherer IV period.

Probable Significance

The study of exploitive foray camps within the park would be of value if they could provide information on the exploitation of some particular resource, if they could help clarify the relationship between settlement systems along the Potomac shore and those of the Piedmont interior (e.g., the headwaters of Powell's Creek at Belaire plantation), or if they could be used to help understand the chronological placement of different tool forms or technological traditions (e.g., the shift from quartz to quartzite as a primary toolmaking material). However, such camps within the park have undoubtedly suffered the same sort of damage from agricultural practices that have been discussed above, and thus have probably lost much integrity and research potential. This is particularly the case with reference to quarry locations, since the likely sources of quartzite would be cobble outcrops along the edges of terraces, where erosion induced by tobbacco agriculture over the last 250 years has probably been particularly severe (cf., Fisher 1983).

Results of Surveys in the Park Area prior to 1985

One hundred eighteen sites of the Hunter-Gatherer IV period are reported in Fairfax County (Chittenden et al. 1985:5-43-51). Five of these are classified as macro-social unit base camps; the remainder are called micro-social unit base camps and exploitive foray camps. In Prince William County, Walker (1981:32-3) reports that sites appear on the Coastal Plain for the first time during this period; her map shows 17 sites, two of which, near the mouths of Neabsco Creek (44PW30?) and Quantico Creek (44PW46?) are on the Coastal Plain.

Three sites of this period are reported to now be under the waters of Occoquan Reservoir or close to being so; these are 44PW21, possibly a micro-social unit campsite with projectile points, blades and flakes, 44PW24, a quartz quarry site, and 44PW25, possibly a micro-social unit campsite or flaking station. All are in the Piedmont Uplands, close to the stream (Walker 1981:26). At the Lake Ridge Development, also on the

shore of Occoquan Reservoir, Verrey (1980d) reports a single site of this period, 44PW35, a badly disturbed small concentration of artifact fragments and flakes on a gently rolling ridge top above a creek.

Immediately northwest of the park in the Piedmont Uplands, Johnson (1982) reports 44PW95, apparently a micro-social unit base camp, on the second terrace above the floodplain at Belvoir plantation, in the headwaters of Powell's Creek.

On the Coastal Plain east of the park, Verrey (1980c) reports 44PW30, in the Harbors of New Port Development. Classified as an upland hunting station (exploitive foray camp), 44PW30 lay on the edge of a terrace overlooking the mouth of Neabsco Creek. Three Hunter-Gatherer IV sites are reported in the Wayside Village Development, overlooking the mouth of Quantico Creek in an environment much like that of 44PW30. 44PW47 is a quartz quarry and flaking station, and 44PW38 and 46 are quartz flaking stations, all presumably exploitive foray camps (Verrey 1980b, Catlin 1981).

Farther north on the Coastal Plain, at least four sites assignable to this period are reported at Fort Belvoir. All were found near or overlooking the floodplains of creeks or bays along the Potomac; none is very large, but all show a sufficient diversity of material to make it appear likely that they were micro-social unit base camps (LeeDecker et al. 1957-9).

On the survey of Powell's and Neabsco creeks, Barse (1982) reports five sites of the Hunter-Gatherer IV period. These are

> POW-7, classified as a specialized extractive camp (exploitive foray camp), perhaps associated with quartz quarrying, on a low terrace overlooking the swampy floodplain at the mouth of Powell's Creek.
>
> POW-16, a possible hamlet (micro-social unit base camp) on a low, flat terrace near the junction of a tributary with the mouth of Powell's Creek.
>
> POW-19, another extractive camp (exploitive foray camp) associated with quartz quarrying, on a low, recent terrace at the mouth of Powell's Creek.
>
> POW-20, an apparent micro-social unit base camp on a low terrace overlooking a small tributary near its confluence with Powell's Creek and the Potomac.
>
> POW-21, an apparent micro-social unit base camp on a low terrace along the same stream as POW-20 and not far away.

These data are generally consistent with the distribution of sites suggested above; most documented sites are near the mouths of creeks on the Coastal Plain. Sites in the uplands tend to be found on terraces and knolls overlooking streams and spring areas. Base camps do occur in the Piedmont Uplands, in favorable locations along streams and near springs,

but most base camps are found at and overlooking the creek mouths. Exploitive foray camps are found both on the Coastal Plain and in the Piedmont Uplands, on ridges and terraces both high and low. Despite the shift to quartzite that is widely recognized to have occurred among toolmakers of the Hunter-Gatherer IV period, however, most such camps appear to be associated with quartz quarrying.

Results of James Madison University Survey

The James Madison University survey identified no sites specifically attributable to this study unit within or near the park, but the sites it did identify are concentrated near the mouth of Quantico Creek; these sites also tended to produce a more diverse array of artifacts, including more quartzite debitage, than did the sites upstream in the park itself. Only one site, PT1A;1, was found in the Piedmont Uplands portion of the park; it consisted of a scatter of quartz flakes, cores, and shatter. In short, the James Madison University survey produced results comparable with those from Powell's and Neabsco creeks, and not inconsistent with the predictions offered above.

AGRICULTURALISTS - A.D. 800-1500

Climate and Environment

The climate and natural environment of northern Virginia during this period more or less approximated modern conditions, though fluctuations did occur (cf., Chittenden et al. 1985:table 6-2, p. 6-3). Notable among these was the transition from the relatively cool, dry Scandic climatic episode to the warmer, wetter Neo-Atlantic, around A.D. 850, which may have made the widespread cultivation of corn both feasible and desirable (Custer 1980:7) and may have caused dispersal of populations into small widespread settlements in some areas (c.f., Potter 1982: 347-51).

Subsistence Practices

The hunting and gathering practices of the preceding period continued during this period, including the gathering of wild seed crops, hunting, collecting of shellfish, and taking of anadromous fish. The plants whose domestication had begun during the Hunter-Gatherer IV period had gained steadily in importance, however, and by the beginning of this period were beginning to have effects on settlement patterns and archeologically visible subsistence behavior. As this period began, corn, beans, squash, and tobacco were apparently being cultivated, and their importance in the economy grew as the period proceeded. Although locations on rivers and estuaries where fish and shellfish were available continued to be attractive for settlement, a shift in settlement location toward areas with good agricultural soils can be observed. Significant human modification of the natural environment began, as woods were cleared and burned to make way for fields. The bow and arrow came into

use, presumably increasing the efficiency of hunting (Chittenden et al. 1985:6-2-3). Quartz becomes the primary material for use in projectile point manufacture (Kavanagh 1983:52). Small stream valleys in the uplands came into increasing use, but use of intervening ridges and high terraces may have decreased (Chittenden et al. 1985:6-22). If permanent, sedentary villages were not established during the preceding period, they were now (Chittenden et al. 1985:2; Hodges 1981:8). Gardner (1982) proposes a variety of possible settlement patterns for the period. Macro-social unit base camps can now truly be called villages; they were permanently occupied, and served as central places for satellite hamlets and homesteads--the sedentary agriculturalist's equivalent of the micro-social unit base camps of earlier times. Exploitive foray camps continued to be used as they had in the past, for the same purposes, though Gardner (1982:32) thinks that they may have been used less intensively as cultivated plants grown around the base villages became more and more important in the diet.

Social Organization

Based on both archeological data and the accounts of early explorers, it appears that villages of the period could be fairly large, ranging up to over 50 homes; hamlets, of course, were much smaller. As the period progressed, palisades began to be built; these were usually circular and enclosed the houses of the village clustered together (Hodges 1981:8). It is apparent that intergroup conflict increased during the Agriculturalist period, particularly toward its end. It is also generally agreed that this period saw the development of increasingly complex, hierarchical forms of social organization, culminating in the establishment of confederacies and chiefdoms (Chittenden et al. 1985:6-2).

Mouer (1983), discussing the prehistory and ethnohistory of the Monocans and their neighbors the Powhatans on the James River, proposes a sociopolitical situation that would have significant implications for settlement patterns in an area like Prince William Forest, if a similar situation existed along the Potomac. He sees the Monocans as organized into segmentary lineages, associated with other groups into a confederacy of relatively small Piedmont tribes allied against the more centrally organized Powhatan chiefdom downstream (Mouer 1983:23-4). He notes that conflict over Piedmont and Coastal Plain groups for the fishing areas and marshes of the Fall Line had begun at least as early as the Hunter-Gatherer IV/Agriculturalist transition, and suggests that:

> By the end of the prehistoric period, a buffer zone had arisen between the Piedmont and the Coastal Plain . . . and the area was used for seasonal exploitation by both the Powhatans and Monacans. With the exception of the observation that the most powerful groups of each regional society emerged adjacent to the Fall Line . . . and that the Powhatans considered the Monacans a threat, there is little evidence for actual warfare. The nature of the conflict had probably become a "cold war" or "detente" situation mutually advantageous to both regions (Mouer 1983:30).

It is possible, though there is no direct evidence of it at present, that a similar relationship existed between the agriculturalists of the Coastal Plain and those of the Piedmont in the park vicinity. By the 17th century, at least, the Coastal Plain in the vicinity of the park was occupied by a Virginia Algonquian group called the Potomac (Feest 1978: Fig. 3). The Piedmont in the vicinity was occupied by Siouan tribes "traditional enemies of the coastal people" (Feest 1978:253). This situation is analogous to that on the James, where the Siouan Monacan held the headwaters above the Fall Line and the Algonquian Powhatan held the Coastal Plain. Feest (1978:256) comments that:

> Little is known about....the groups on the Virginia side of the Potomac, where small states like the Powhatan group possibly existed.

Recent research demonstrates that petty chiefdoms did exist on the Virginia side of the Potomac river, with the Potomac chiefdom itself apparently being treated as an equal by the Powhatan (cf. Potter 1982: 44).

Probable site types and locations

Site types of this period include villages, hamlets, homesteads, and exploitative foray camps used in hunting, plant food gathering, shellfish gathering, and quarrying. Villages should often be in the same locations as the macro-social unit base camps of the Hunter-Gatherer IV period, but on the coastal plain their locations may have shifted to take advantage of soil conditions conducive to agriculture. In interior valleys, macrosocial unit communities may come into being for the first time.

Hodges (1981:8) notes that during this period riverbank settlement locations are even more attractive than before, because of the fertile soils and seasonal refertilization that the rivers provide. Kavanagh (1983:49-52) says that riverine orientation intensifies along the Monocacy during the period. Chittenden et al (1985:6-22) indicate that agriculturalist villages are to be found only on large, flat terraces adjacent to regular water courses. They also note that in the interior such sites are found particularly on the second terraces above streams, especially where these terraces face east and southeast. Along the lower Occoquan, not far from the Park, they see a pattern of settlement similar to that shown by Gardner (1982:Fig. 9B) for the early part of the agriculturalist period in the northern Shenandoah, with hamlets on terraces above confluences of tributaries with the Occoquan and exploitative foray camps back from the river along tributaries and near springs. They posit the existence of a substantial village near the confluence of the Occoquan with the Potomac (Chittenden et al 1985:6-11).

If the sort of "cold war" posited by Mouer on the James was carried on between the Potomac and their Siouan neighbors in the Piedmont, this might have caused population centers along the Potomac to shift inland somewhat, to present a strong front to the enemy, and to place such villages in defensible locations, for example on steep-sided knolls away from other elevations. Although Potter's research demonstrates that

chief's (werowance's) villages were characteristically located on embayments and coves along the river, with hinterlands about 11 km. wide (1982: 354-6, 371), he also notes that palisaded villages are found along sociopolitical boundaries (1982: 63).

Predicted Distribution and Density within Park

The Soil Survey of Prince William Forest Park identifies 19 soils as being either good or fair for farming; these are widely distributed in the park in two general contexts: low terraces along drainages, and flat to gently sloping (maximum 15 degrees) ridgetops. Four of the fair to good agricultural soils are found in the Coastal Plain, the remainder in the Piedmont Uplands (Baker et al 1979). The park area is so highly dissected, however, that the distribution of fair to good agricultural soils is very patchy, and large expanses of such soils are rare. Generally speaking, relatively large areas of fair to good soils are found in the Coastal Plain near the park's east boundary (cf. Baker et al, field sheet #3) and at the northwest edge of the park on Piedmont Upland ridges (cf. Baker et al, field sheet #s1, 6). Agriculturalist sites would presumably be most likely to occur in these two locations, though they could be found on or near the modest sized patches of good soils that occur throughout the park.

Most of the reasonably sizeable areas of fair to good soils in the park, however, and particularly west of its eastern periphery, are found on ridge tops, which often are substantial distances above streams and therefore not close to water. This relationship would probably limit their potential as residential sites, and tend to force such sites to the east, on the lower-relief areas of the Coastal Plain, and to the west into the headwaters of streams where springs could be exploited.

The limited scale of good agricultural plots in the park area makes it unlikely that substantial villages would be established there. Hamlets and small homesteads appear more likely. Exploitative foray camps might have been located in the same kinds of areas used during Hunter-Gatherer IV times.

If a social situation akin to that suggested by Mouer (1983) on the James developed during the agriculturalist period in the park vicinity, this could have had an effect on the distribution of settlements. Large settlements, able to field a good number of men under arms, might have been established closer to the Coastal Plain/Piedmont Uplands interface than would have been dictated by subsistence needs alone, and the needs of defense might have resulted in their placement on high knolls and ridges rather than on lower terrace situations. The same needs presumably would have motivated populations to aggregate into relatively populous but compact villages, rather than to disperse in hamlets and homesteads. Such a pattern would cause us to expect agriculturalist sites to be few in number, relatively concentrated, probably palisaded, and most likely to occur around the eastern and northwestern margins of the Park. It should be noted, however, that there are no ethnohistorical data to suggest that such a pattern existed in the park vicinity at the time of European contact.

Probable Significance

The agriculturalist study unit is not well known in the park vicinity, and the study of cultural developments during this period has been identified by a number of scholars as a research priority (cf. LeeDecker et al 1984:90). It would be particularly useful to know whether developments akin to those that apparently occurred along the James also occurred here, both in order to better understand the indigenous development of local agriculturalist society and to provide a basis for interpreting the effects of European contact--another research priority for scholars working in the area (LeeDecker et al 1984:90). Particularly because the park area would have represented the "frontier" between the Algonquians of the Coastal Plain and the Siouans of the Piedmont uplands, the study of agriculturalist sites and settlement patterns in the vicinity could have considerable importance.

Agriculturalist sites have presumably suffered the same kinds of degradation, erosion, deflation, and redeposition that have probably affected the integrity of other sites in the park, as a result of agricultural practices over the last three centuries. Thus, sites on ridges can be expected to be deflated, while sites in toe slope situations and on lower terraces may well be buried. The latter would be likely to have the greater research potential of the two, though to understand the relationships between Piedmont Uplands and Coastal Plain neither could be ignored.

Results of Surveys in the Park Vicinity prior to 1985

In Fairfax County, 74 sites are identified as representing the Agriculturalist period; ten of these are classified as macro-social unit base camps (villages), while the remainder are thought to be either micro-social unit base camps (hamlets and homesteads) or exploitive foray camps (Chittenden et al. 1985:6-18). Walker (1981:32) says that sites of this period are less numerous in Prince William County than are Hunter-Gatherer sites; her sketch map shows 13 sites attributed to this period.

Dinwiddie, Holmes and Fowke (1891) in their description of early survey efforts along the Potomac, under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution, describe a major site on Chopawamsic Island, in the mouth of Chopawamsic Creek south of the park.

Since the presence of substantial amounts of pottery seems to have been one of the major factors used by the early archeological surveyors to identify a site, and since much pottery, including a whole vessel, are reported here, it seems likely that Chopawamsic Island represented a site of the Agriculturalist period.

Verrey's Harbors of New Port survey identified 44PW33, a scatter of projectile points and flakes of quartz, in the Coastal Plain uplands between the mouths of Powell's and Neabsco creeks, 1.5 miles from

Potomac; it is classified as an upland hunting station of the Agriculturalist period (Verrey 1980c).

A 1984 survey for widening of U.S. Interstate Highway 95 along the Coastal Plain east of the park identified 44PW308, classified as a hunting camp and/or flaking station with "Madison and Clarksville points," both late prehistoric/protohistoric types (Potter, personal communication 1985). This site lies on a hilltop with creeks on either side, northeast of the park boundary (site form, VELC).

Barse's survey on Powell's and Neabsco creeks located seven sites attributed to the Agriculturalist period. Six of these are around the marshy mouth of Powell's Creek, the seventh at the mouth of Neabsco Creek. Barse identifies three of the sites, two on Powell's Creek and the one on Neabsco Creek, as possible hamlets or homesteads; the others are represented by small scatters of flakes, potsherds and artifacts and are not classified (Barse 1982).

These data are consistent with the idea that Agriculturalist occupation sites will be found east of the park in the lower-relief areas of the Coastal Plain. They do not provide a basis for testing ideas about what might be found in the park itself, however.

Results of James Madison University Survey

The James Madison University survey identified no sites attributed to the Agriculturalist study unit (Cromwell and McIver 1985). However, site QT5B;4 produced a triangular quartz projectile point similar to a Yadkin point, a Middle-Late Woodland (Hunter-Gatherer IV/Agriculturalist) type (Cromwell and McIver 1985:138). QT5B;4 lies on a terrace about 25 feet above the embayed mouth of Quantico Creek east of Dumfries, though about 200 feet back from the shore. This location is equivalent to those reported for Agriculturalist sites at the mouths of Powell's and Neabsco creeks. The site may have been identified before; a mark on map number 000 00027 in the Smithsonian Institution's National Anthropological Archives, with the initials of W.H. Holmes, suggests that Holmes identified a site in this vicinity during the surveys of the 1880s and 1890s, but the Archives provide no data on what was observed.

PROTOHISTORIC/HISTORIC - ca. 1500-1675 A.D.

Climate and Environment

The climate and environment of northern Virginia were much as they are today during this time period, which experienced gradual warming at the end of the Pacific climatic episode.

Subsistence Practices

Subsistence practices were as in the Agriculturalist period, but trade probably became more important. As European explorers and then colonists came into the area, particularly seeking furs that were available in the Appalachians and beyond, the tribes of the rivers that penetrated the interior often became middlemen in the fur trade. For example, as early as 1632 Indians in the vicinity of Anacostia were trading furs provided to them by interior groups, to English traders who brought goods up the Potomac (cf., Hoffman 1964:199). Such traders unfortunately also brought diseases and guns, however, resulting in the rapid decimation of the local population. By the end of the seventeenth century, most of the Virginia Algonguian tribes were effectively extinct (cf., Feest 1978:table 1).

Social Organization

As discussed above, little is known of the societies that lived along the Potomac during the late prehistoric and protohistoric periods. Based on maps prepared by earlier explorers, Feest (1978:fig. 2) locates the village of Pamacocack at the mouth of a stream that could be Quantico (or Chopawamsic, Powell's, or Neabsco) Creek as of 1610. The tribal group in the area at the time was apparently the Potomac (Feest 1978:fig. 3). During the same period, the Piedmont Uplands in the park vicinity were held by the Manahoac groups, Siouan enemies of the Algonquians. Hoffman (1964:map 13) suggests that the specific Manahoac sub-group involved was the Tegnanaty. The Potomac were organized as a Chiefdom, similar to the better-known Powhatan along the James. Although they may have been allied to some extent with the Powhatan, they seem to have been generally autonomous, and to have paid no tribute to the Powhatan (Potter 1982: 44). The Siouan groups of the Piedmont, as noted above, may have been organized into segmentary lineages as suggested by Mouer (1983). That the two were in competition seems certain, and it appears that warfare increased during the protohistoric period (cf. Mouer 1983: 30).

Potter's (1982) research suggests that the social organization of the Potomac and other Algonquian groups in the area, in which central authority was vested in a hereditary chief or werowance and his retinue, is reflected in a relatively centralized settlement pattern, with large, internally dispersed werowance villages surrounded by small hamlets and collecting stations, usually within about 2 kilometers of the main village. Each werowance village, according to Potter (1982:365), required at least 11 km. of hinterland between the village and its border with the adjacent social group.

Probable site types and locations

The site types of the protohistoric and historic periods should be essentially the same as those of the agriculturalist study unit, and their locations should be the same. While the population sizes of the Algonquian groups dropped rapidly after contact with Europeans, and

considerable dislocation occurred, the resources that determined settlement location remained essentially unchanged. The organization of some settlements may have been affected by a new emphasis on trade with European colonies, by new defense requirements, or by other aspects of the contact situation.

Following Potter's (1982:371) model, if there were a werowance village in the park vicinity, it would be on a first or second terrace above the mouth of Quantico, Chopawamsic, Powell's or Neabsco creeks, the likely locations of ethnographic Pamacocack. Smaller sites representing hamlets or exploitative foray camps would be located within about 2 km. of the mouth of the creek, usually in locations where such special resources as shellfish were available.

Predicted Site Distribution and Density within Park

The distribution of protohistoric sites within the park should be the same as during the Agriculturalist period.

The park would have lain within the ca. 11-km. hinterland of a werowance village at the mouth of Quantico, Chopawamsic, Powell's or Neabsco Creek, and nowhere in the park do the conditions exist that would suggest the presence of such a village. Hamlet dependencies of such a village might be found, as might exploitative foray camps. Small occupation sites might occupy defensive locations and be palisaded as defense against Manahoak attack.

Probable Significance

Because so little is known about the protohistoric/historic period, and because contact between Indians and Europeans in the area has been identified as a major research concern (LeeDecker et al. 1983:90), any site representing this period would be of considerable significance.

Results of Surveys in the Park Vicinity prior to 1985

Two known sites in the park vicinity may represent the protohistoric study unit. These are POW-3, at the mouth of Powell's Creek (Barse 1982:25-6) and 44PW308, on Interstate 95 east of the park (VLHC site record). As discussed above, both may have been occupied during the prehistoric Agriculturalist, but POW-3 also produced a colonial pipe bowl fragment, and the projectile point types on 44PW308 were used into the protohistoric period (Potter, personal communication 1985). The location of these sites on the Coastal Plain east of the park boundaries is consistent with the predictions offered above.

Results of James Madison University Survey

The James Madison University survey identified no sites in or around the park that can be ascribed to the protohistoric study unit.

UNDATED SITES AND THEIR DISTRIBUTIONS

Introduction

While relatively few archeological sites have been found in and around the park that are clearly attributable to any of the study units discussed above, a fairly large number of sites have been recorded in the vicinity that cannot be assigned to particular time periods. Table 1 provides basic data on all such "undated" sites recorded in the Quantico, Powell's and Neabsco creeks drainages and their immediate environs.

TABLE 1: UNDATED ARCHEOLOGICAL SITES IN PARK VICINITY

Coastal Plain

Designator: 44PW4

Location: Coastal Plain, near mouth of Quantico Creek, between creek and Potomac

Description: "Points and tools"; Walker (1981:22) thinks might be Archaic site

Source: VHLC files (Walker 1981)

Designator: 44PW31

Location: On peninsula between Neabsco and Powell's creeks, 1.5 miles from Potomac

Description: Quartz flake scatter

Source: Verrey 1980c

Designator: 44PW32

Location: On peninsula between Neabsco and Powell's creeks, 1.5 miles from Potomac

Description: Quartz flake scatter

Source: Verrey 1980c

Designator: 44PW51; 44PW52

Location: On low terraces of small tributaries draining into embayed mouth of Quantico Creek

Description: Quartz debitage scatter; location causes Walker (1981:23) to speculate that they may represent base camps

Source: Verrey 1980b; Walker 1981)

Designator: 10 other sites in Wayside Village area

Location: On dissected ridges north of the mouth of Quantico Creek

Description: Scatters of quartz debitage; boundaries are indistinct; may represent more or less continuous scatter of material over many of the ridges in the vicinity

Source: Verrey 1980b

Designator: POW-1, 4, 5, 8-10, 12-15, 17, 18, 22-28, 36-51

Locations: On terraces and bluffs overlooking the embayed mouth of Powell's Creek

Description: Scatters of quartz debitage, occasionally with quartzite, sometimes with fire-cracked rocks suggesting the presence of hearths; Barse (1982) classifies as quarries, hunting camps, possibly specialized extractive camps; see Barse (1982) for detailed descriptions

Source: Barse 1982

Designator: NEA-1-3, 5-20

Location: On terraces and bluffs overlooking the embayed mouth of Neabsco Creek

Description: Scatters of quartz debitage, sometimes with fire-cracked rocks suggesting the presence of hearths; Barse (1982) classifies as quarries, hunting camps

Source: Barse 1982

Designator: 44PW307

Location: On I-95, on terrace above confluence of tributaries draining into lower Neabsco Creek

Description: Quartz debitage scatter, classified as quarry/flaking station, possible hunting camp

Source: VHLC site record

Designator: 44PW309-311

Location: On I-95, on terraces above tributary draining into lower Quantico Creek

Description: Quartz debitage scatters, classified as quarry/flaking stations

Source: VHLC site records

Designator: QT5A;1, QT5B;2, 3, 5, 6

Location: Low terraces overlooking embayed mouth of Quantico Creek

Description: Quartz, sometimes quartzite debitage scatters

Source: Cromwell and McIver 1985

Designator: QT4A;1-3, QT4C;1, 3, 6

Location: Relatively low terraces overlooking floodplain of south fork Quantico Creek, facing south

Description: Quartz debitage, biface, tool scatters

Source: Cromwell and McIver 1985

Designator: QT4B;2

Location: Dissected ridge overlooking floodplain of south fork Quantico Creek, facing north

Description: Quartz shatter and biface fragment

Source: Cromwell and McIver 1985

Designator: QT3A;1-4, QT3B;2, 3

Location: At or near tips of high, dissected terraces overlooking upland main stem of Quantico Creek

Description: Quartz debitage scatters, one with hammerstone

Source: Cromwell and McIver 1985

Designator: QT3A;7

Location: Edge of high terrace overlooking upland main stem of Quantico Creek

Description: Massive quartz outcrop, probable quarry source

Source: Cromwell and McIver 1985

Designator: QT2C;3, 6

Location: Tips of high dissected terraces overlooking upland main stem of Quantico Creek

Description: Quartz debitage scatter(s?--no artifacts reported in one case)

Source: Cromwell and McIver 1985

Piedmont Uplands

Designator: 44PW5

Location: On Powell's Creek floodplain

Description: Quartz point, core scraper, flake, chunks

Source: Walker 1981:24

Designator: Greenwood Farms

Location: In historic cemetery on rolling upland above Neabsco Creek

Description: Quartz biface and flakes

Source: Verrey 1980a

Designator: POW-29-33, 52-56

Location: On knolls, ridges, and high terraces overlooking upper main stem, headwaters, and tributaries of Powell's Creek

Description: Scatters of quartz debitage; classified as quarries, flaking stations, hunting camps

Source: Barse 1982

Designator: NEA-21

Location: On high bluff edge at the confluence of Neabsco Creek and a tributary

Description: Quartz debitage scatter

Source: Barse 1982

Designator: 44PW82-91, 93, 94, 96, 97, 99-125

Location: On low terraces, streambanks, knolls, gentle slopes at headwaters of Neabsco Creek, in vicinity of springs, probable soapstone source

Description: Concentrations and scatters of flaked-stone tools, bifaces, debitage, mostly quartz, classified as possible base camp and multi-purpose, special-purpose stations and quarries

Source: Johnson 1982

Designator: QT1A;1

Location: On tip of dissected terrace overlooking upper main stem of Quantico Creek

Description: Scatter of quartz debitage

Source: Cromwell and McIver 1985

Many now-undated sites might be assignable to particular study units on the basis of excavation data; their present definition is based on surface survey, sometimes combined with minor shovel-testing or the excavation of very small test pits. Based on such data, assessment of a site's function is almost as uncertain as is determining its age. Some sites are referred to by their recorders as "possible hunting camps" apparently only because they do not contain quartz debitage that shows remnants of cortex, which are taken to represent quarrying. This may be a reasonable inference, but when it is made on the basis of three or four flakes of quartz it must be viewed with considerable caution. The extent of the sites is also not usually very clear. Because of the dense vegetation that covers much of the area, sites tend to be found where trails, roads, fields, ditches, or erosional gullies provide areas of exposed surface. Once discovered, the extent of a site may be traced out using shovel tests, or the boundaries may simply be inferred. This situation, which cannot really be effectively corrected without exorbitant cost and impact to the natural environment, leaves us uncertain about

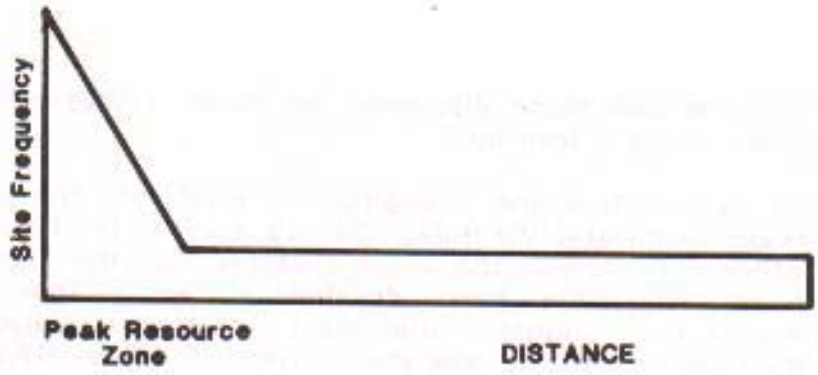
what may exist, or how far site boundaries may extend, where no surface exposures are available for viewing.

The Distribution of Undated Sites

The distribution of undated sites summarized above is consistent with the predictions generated for many of the study units discussed above, particularly for the periods from Hunter-Gatherer IV times onward, when sea level stabilized and a relationship akin to today's between the uplands and the Potomac shore developed. The great bulk of sites are found in close proximity to the mouths of the creeks, on the Coastal Plain. Sites are very sparse along the drainages of the upper, dissected Coastal Plain. Where they do occur they tend to be of two types: (a) small scatters of debitage either on low terraces next to stream, which could represent micro-social unit base camps or exploitive foray camps associated with plant gathering or hunting, and (b) scatters of debitage on the tips of higher terrace ridges looking down on the streams. These latter would provide good vantage points and could be exploitive foray camps associated with hunting, and they are also locations where quartz cobble beds would outcrop, making them natural locations for quarrying. Finally, Johnson's (1982) Belaire data indicate intensive use of the headwaters of creek systems in the Piedmont Uplands. This could represent several things: soapstone quarrying and processing, as both Johnson and Barse (1982) speculate (though Johnson found no actual evidence of this), attraction to game and (probably especially) seed and root plant resources around headwater seeps and springs, attraction to relatively flat open land for farming, or the placement of large population aggregates on the edge of disputed territory at the Piedmont/Coastal Plain interface during periods of "cold war" as Mouer (1983) suggests was the situation during protohistoric times and earlier on the James.

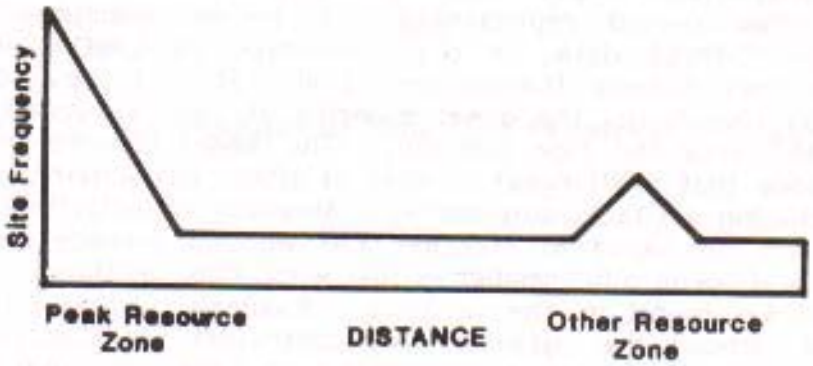
In general, as Barse (1982:59) notes, the distribution of undated sites is consistent with Gardner's (1978) axiom that the density of sites falls off rapidly with distance from the area of highest biomass. Gardner's axiom is generally illustrated as shown in figure 2. Barse (1982:60) modifies it as shown in figure 3 to account for Johnson's Belaire data. Another way to take these data into account is shown in figure 4. Figure 4 is based on the notion that Gardner's axiom must be applied to each social group in an area. For the protohistoric and historic Algonquian populations of coastal Virginia, the shore represented the highest available concentration of biomass, for example, but for the Siouan groups of the Piedmont, this concentration was not available and population density would necessarily vary with reference to other biomass concentrations. The headwaters of creek systems might well represent such a concentration, albeit of less density and diversity than the shore.

Figure 5 presents still another option, adjusting Gardner's model to take purely social forces into account. Although it cannot be expected that populations will become concentrated in locations that are totally inconvenient with reference to biomass concentrations for purely social reasons, some oscillations away from locations of greatest biomass density



After Gardner (1978)

Figure (2) Distribution of "Undated Prehistoric Sites" -1



After Barse (1982)

Figure (3) Distribution of "Undated Prehistoric Sites" -2

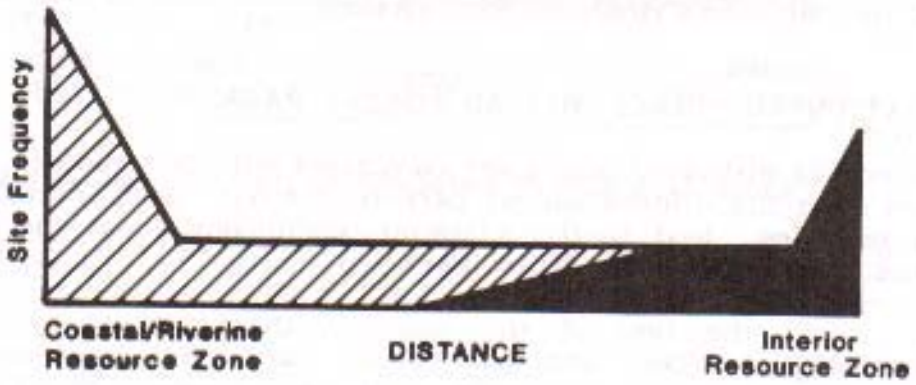


Figure (4) Distribution of "Undated Prehistoric Sites -3

can occur for reasons like those discussed by Mouer (1983)--the need to deploy fighting men along a frontier.

Finally, figure 6 factors time and changing sea level into the application of Gardner's axiom to coastal Virginia. Simply stated, it shows that, up until Hunter-Gatherer IV times, the axiom dictates that the great bulk of archeological sites will have been created in areas that are now inundated. This in turn suggests that most currently undated sites in the park vicinity close to what is now the location of highest biomass--the embayed mouths of the creeks along the Potomac shore--should have been created during Hunter-Gatherer IV times or later.

The large percentage of total sites recorded in the area that is represented by undated sites has driven archeologists to develop predictive models of site distribution that are essentially time-independent; they simply model the distribution of sites, without reference to time period represented. A recent example, based on rigorous sample survey data, is that presented by LeeDecker and his colleagues for Fort Belvoir (LeeDecker et al. 1984, cf., p. 68-70). At Fort Belvoir as elsewhere, the great majority of sites recorded could not be assigned to particular time periods. The model offered for the fort essentially states that the largest number of sites, particularly large sites and sites producing artifacts suggesting a diversity of activities (potential base camps) will be found in riverine and wooded terrace zones, while fewer sites, and generally smaller sites with less evidence of diverse activities, will be found in the uplands. Similarly, Barse (1982:58-61) predicts and finds the greatest concentration of undated sites, particularly possible base camps, in the Coastal Plain in what amount to riverine and terrace situations, with relatively fewer, relatively less complex, sites in the uplands. Finally, Cromwell and McIver (1985:67-71) predict on the basis of their sample data from Quantico Creek that sites will be most densely concentrated on the Coastal Plain near the junction of the creek with the Potomac, and that such sites as do occur in the uplands of the Coastal Plain and in the Piedmont will be found toward the ends of upland ridges dropping into streams.

APPLICATION TO PRINCE WILLIAM FOREST PARK

All the models discussed above are consistent with one another, and when combined with the information on particular study units discussed earlier in this overview, lead to the following conclusions about the prehistoric resources of Prince William Forest Park:

1. Until the time of the Hunter-Gatherer IV study unit, most archeological sites, and particularly most sites representing base camps, especially macro-social unit base camps, should have been created in areas that are now inundated. The vicinity of the park should produce only the archeological evidence of exploitive foray camps or, rarely, micro-social unit base camps.

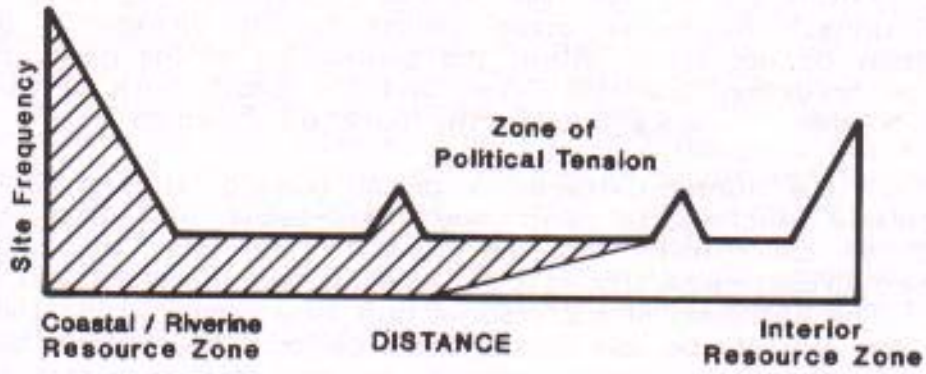


Figure (5) Distribution of "Undated Prehistoric Sites" -4

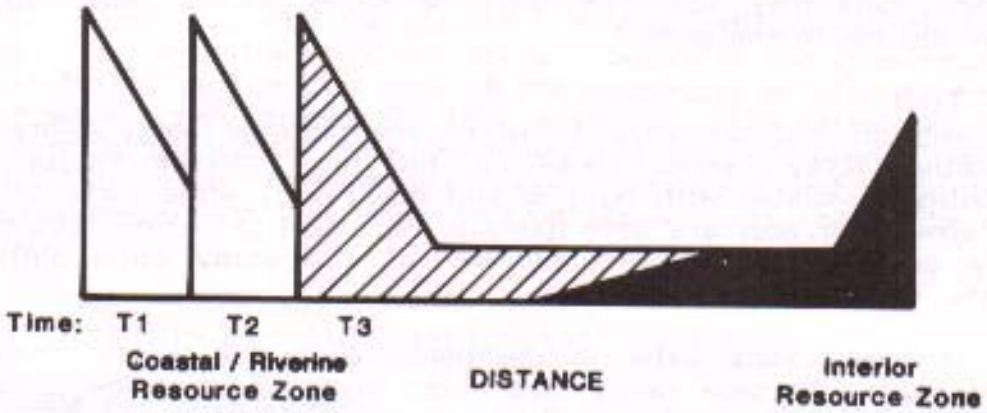


Figure (6) Distribution of "Undated Prehistoric Sites" -5

2. A possible exception to the above generalization could exist if, during one or more of the earlier periods, a population existed in the uplands that lacked access to the higher density habitats of the Potomac Valley. Such a population would have distributed itself with reference to other concentrations of biomass, such as the resource concentrations that were probably present in the headwaters of the creek systems during the time periods represented by many of the study units. Headwater areas similar to the vicinity of Belaire Plantation do not occur within the boundaries of the park, though they do occur on Quantico Creek and the South Fork of Quantico Creek a short distance outside the park on Quantico Marine Base.

3. From the Hunter-Gatherer IV period onward, sites of all kinds, particularly macro-social unit and micro-social unit base camps, should be concentrated on the Coastal Plain near the mouth of Quantico Creek, generally east of Dumfries and therefore east of the park. The likelihood of micro-social unit base camps within the park itself may actually be less during these periods than before, because the park's resources could probably be exploited to a considerable extent on the basis of day trips out from base camps near the mouth of the Creek or, in the uplands, from base camps in the headwaters. During the Agriculturalist and protohistoric/historic periods, at least, placement of micro-social unit base camps in the park may also have been discouraged by the danger of attack on small parties by enemies. Larger population aggregates are likely during these periods, but they would probably be found on the lower Coastal Plain and not in the park.

4. Thus:
(a) most if not all sites found in the park probably represent exploitive foray camps; those on the high terrace ridges are probably associated with hunting and quarrying, while those on the low stream terraces are more likely to represent gathering activities. They could represent virtually any of the study units outlined above.

(b) if base camps exist in the park, they are almost certainly micro-social unit base camps, are likely to be found on low terraces overlooking relatively broad floodplain areas, and therefore to be found in the lower-relief eastern part of the park, and are likely to represent periods prior to ca. 1100 B.C.

HISTORIC STUDY UNITS

INTRODUCTION

It should be noted at the onset that the Prince William Forest area has not been the subject of intense, detailed scrutiny by historians. A consistent theme of the sections on "data gaps" is that little information exists that specifically describes the lives of the people who have lived in the park area since it was settled by people of European ancestry. The main reason for this state of affairs is that the park has always been a regional "backwater" settled not by men of means and the literati of the day, but by their servants, slaves, and tenants, and by small farmers--who as late as the 1930s possessed on the average a fourth grade education. These were not people who left extensive records of their lives, and their lives were not of burning interest to those who did record the events of their time.

A regional approach has been taken here at least in part as a response to the lack of quantities of specific historical data directly pertinent to the park. Hypotheses about what happened in the park have been made--and identified as such--on the basis of the park's relation to major developments that could be documented as having occurred outside its boundaries. A regional approach is particularly appropriate to the Prince William Forest Park area because the area was never a self-sufficient, distinct entity. From the earliest European settlement in the late 1600s to the 1930s when the park was formed, people in the park area have been tied to the outside for some of the necessities of life--for trade goods, for wages, for markets for their products. The history of the park is inextricably entwined with the history of the port town of Dumfries and with the lower Chopawamsic Creek drainage, and with events and developments that took place in northern Virginia and in the nation as a whole.

EXPLORATION AND CULTURE CONTACT 1600-1690

Climate and Environment

In general, the climate and environment of northern Virginia in the seventeenth century were much as they are today. However, it is likely that the earliest explorers found the park area heavily forested, with few clearings made by the Indians. The Chopawamsic and Quantico creeks ran clearer and more rapidly. The mouth of the Quantico extended from the Potomac to Water Street in what became the Port of Dumfries.

Subsistence Practices

As described in the previous study unit, subsistence practices for the Indian population of the park were as they were in the Agriculturalist period, but trade, particularly in furs, became more important. Settlers

who came to the park area from Maryland and southern Virginia established subsistence gardens, but their main interest was in the cultivation of tobacco.

Historical Narrative

The exploration by Englishmen of what is now the park area began during the first decade of the seventeenth century. By some accounts, Captain James Smith travelled inland on the Chopawamsic as far as Mount (Gerner 1934:5, Gordon 1985, personal communication, fig. 7). The village of Pamacocack found on a map of 1610, and mentioned in the discussion of the protohistoric/historic study unit, could have been on the Chopawamsic, or Quantico (or in Powell's or Neabsco) creeks.

It was during the early seventeenth century, as the northern colony was being explored, that the names of the Quantico and Chopawamsic creeks were recorded. These names are said to have been the names of Indian villages, and descriptive of the natural environment. "Chopawamsic" is said to have meant "by the separations of the outlet", referring to the delta island at its mouth (Harrison 1964:52) or "the divided or separated fishery" (National Archives, RG 79, RDA Program Files 1934-1937). "Quantico" is said to mean "by the long stream" (Harrison 1964:52).

No data descriptive of Anglo-Indian contact in the park area during the early to mid-seventeenth century was recovered during this research, thus the proposition that the Indians who lived in and near the park were engaged in trade with Europeans is based only on evidence that traders during that time operated on the Maryland side of the Potomac (Potter 1980, Stephenson and Ferguson 1963) and other reports that some traders, for example Henry Fleet, were familiar with Indian groups on both sides of the Potomac (Fausz 1984, cited in Chittenden et al. 1985).

By mid-century, the first recorded English settler, Giles Brent, had moved to the Aquia Creek area (fig. 7&8) from the Calvert Proprietary in Maryland. The Maryland settlers had been at peace with the Piscataway since 1634, and a treaty between the Piscataways and Virginia was signed in 1646. However, relations between the Piscataways and other Indian groups deteriorated at mid-century. After an attack on the Calvert Proprietary by the Susquahannocks, some settlers, including Giles Brent and his Piscataway wife, fled to Virginia. While Brent's major settlement was on Aquia Creek south of the park, by 1658 he had patented over 1,000 acres on the Chopawamsic (Nugent 1934:56).

It seems reasonable to assume, since Brent had an Indian wife, that his entrance into the Aquia-Chopawamsic area may well have been directed by the relations Brent could claim or create based on the kinship and political ties of his wife. The situation was complicated by the fact that the Piscataways were the inveterate enemies of the Potomacs. However, intergroup relations were complex and it seems possible that early contact between settlers--at least the Brents--and Indians in the park area were characterized by relations appropriate within the context of indigenous political and kinship systems.

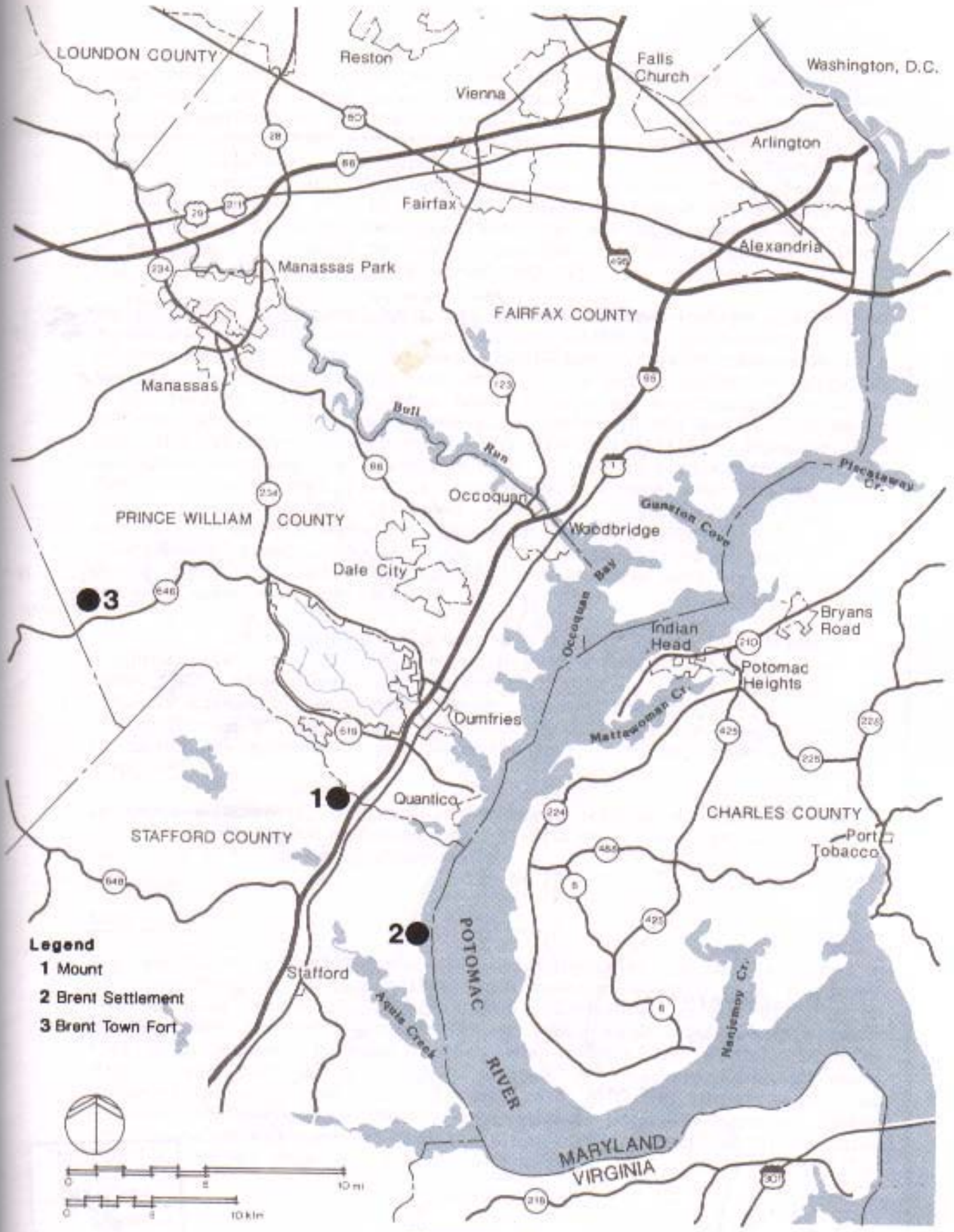
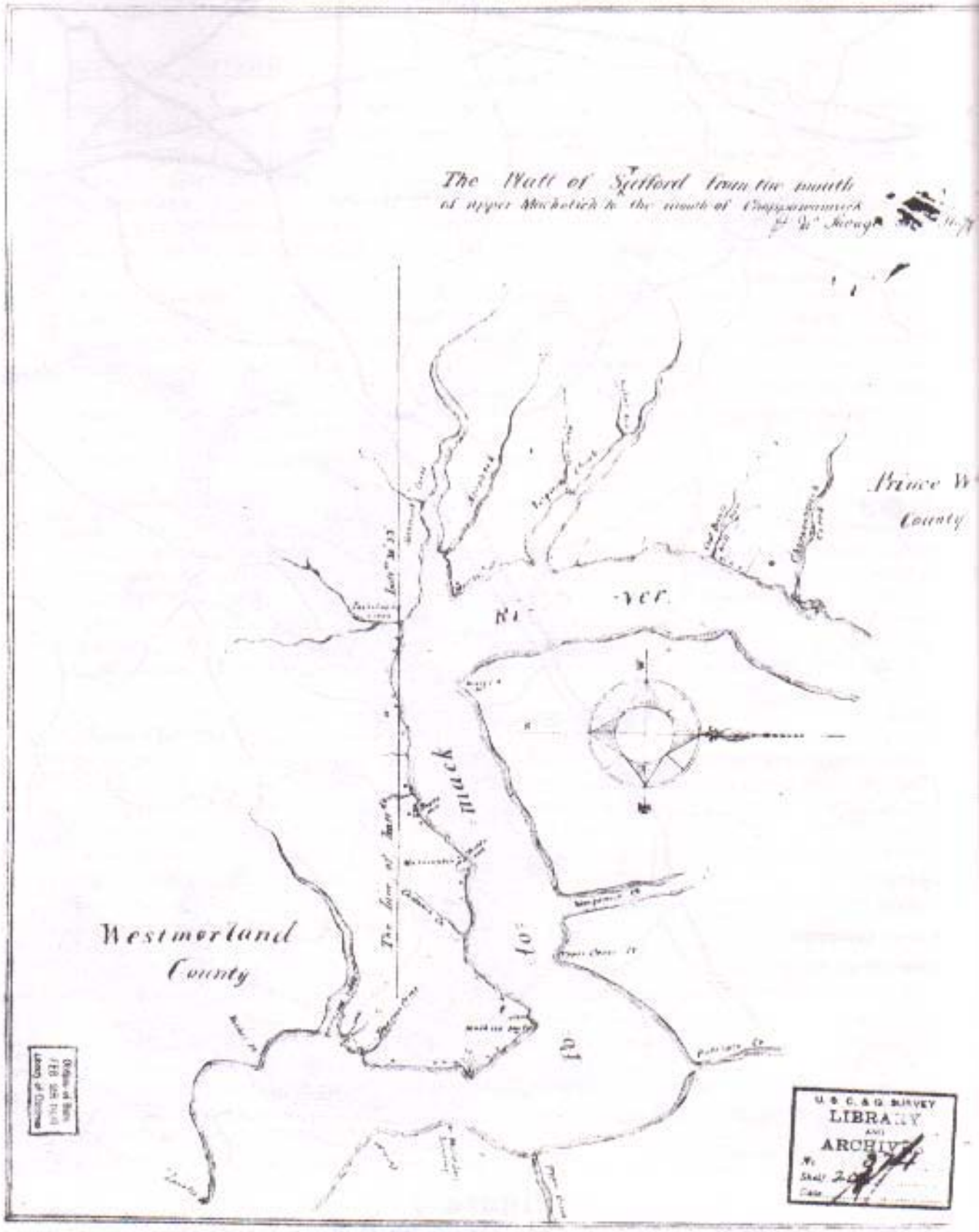


Figure 7

General Locations of Sites Associated with Culture Contact Study Unit (1600-1690)


The Watt of Stafford from the mouth
of upper Machotick to the mouth of
Prince W
County
Westmorland
County
U. S. C. & G. SURVEY
LIBRARY
AND
ARCHIVES

Other early settlers in the park area were noted for their knowledge of local Indian affairs, and served as intermediaries between the Indians and the representatives of the colonial government. For example, Burr Harrison, who settled on the lower Chopawamsic in the last half of the seventeenth century was appointed ambassador to the Piscataways. In 1699, he reported that "the emperor of the Piscataways" was "wary and hardly polite," and that he was "very Bussy and could not possibly come or goe down, by it his Excellency would be pleased to come to him, sume of his great men should be glad to see him . . . for he desired nothing but peace" (cited in Writer's Program 1941:98).

No suggestion is intended here that relations between Indians and settlers in the seventeenth century were either pacific or even-handed. The settlers and Indians had, at base, conflicting interests resolvable in a seventeenth century setting only through the extermination or relocation of the Indians. Protection from Indian attack was a preoccupation of the settlers, who by 1675, could take some comfort in the line of forts on or near the fall lines of important rivers (Gray 1941:116). However, the murder of a colonist by several Indians in 1675 on land either near or in Prince William Forest Park is associated by some with the series of counter-attacks which developed into the Susquhannock War, and eventually, Bacon's Rebellion (Harrison 1964:64, Holmes et al 1891). Giles Brent raised a thousand men to come to the aid of the Governor during Bacon's Rebellion; presumably some of these were his neighbors in the park area (Harrison 1964:64).

In 1681, a treaty with the Senecas was signed jointly by Maryland and Virginia. However, the Iroquois remained a threat in the upper Piedmont until 1722, when Governor Spotswood signed a treaty by which the Iroquois agreed to keep their warriors west of the Blue Ridge. In 1687, the settlement at Brent Town was basically a blockhouse designed for the protection of incipient settlements to the east, including those in the park area.

In those settlements, the dominant economic activity was the development of tobacco plantations supplemented by some subsistence gardening, to be described in the following study unit.

Data Gaps

The period of exploration and culture contact has not been explored in northern Virginia. Studies that have been done have been the lower Potomac area, south of Stafford County (Chittenden et al. 1985), or on the Maryland side of the river (Fausz 1984, Walsch 1984). It appears that early contact between Indians and traders and settlers such as Brent, was part of a broader network of relations involving many different Indian groups as well as settlers of differing ethnic, social, and economic backgrounds. The organizational principles around which trading networks operated and by which settlers such as Brent found their way to the park area are not well known.

Probable Site Types and Locations

A range of historic property types, including campsites, residential sites, commercial sites, and fortifications can be associated with this historic context. Sites associated with trading would include but not be limited to

temporary camps of explorers and/or traders
fortifications
trading centers
Indian residential sites
Indian hunting or trapping sites
European frontier agricultural complexes

No fortifications or major Indian residential sites are reported in the park, nor have any localized trading centers been identified. While it is likely that explorers and traders entered at least the lower reaches of the park during this period, the archeological remains of such visits can be expected to be minimal. Frontier agricultural complexes in the Virginia Tidewater were characterized by impermanent architecture of generally a lifespan of less than 20 years (Carson et al. 1981), and by the regular reuse and incorporation of materials from buildings no longer serviceable into new structures.

Thus it is to be expected that few sites, if any, associated with this historic context remain in the park.

Probable Significance

So little is known about contact between Indians and Europeans in the Mid-Atlantic Region in general, and in northern Virginia in particular, that any site associated with this historic context would be potentially of considerable significance. As mentioned in the previous study unit, contact between Indians and Europeans in the area has been identified as a major research concern (LeeDecker et al. 1984:90).

Potential Research Questions

At present there are no available data that describe the basic nature of Indian-European contact in the park. How frequent were these contacts, and of what duration? The data from the park indicate that some early contact, like that between Giles Brent, his wife, and the Indians who lived in the Aquia-Chopawamsic area, took place within a regional indigenous social and political system. To what extent did this characterize relations between Indians and early European settlers? To what extent were relations hostile between and among Indians and Europeans?

What was the social and economic content of trade? What were the range of materials and social guarantees sought by all parties?

To what extent was early European settlement in the park area patterned after the settlement of the southern tidewater? To what extent did the settlers borrow cultural adaptations made by Indian groups in the area?

EARLY COLONIAL SETTLEMENT 1650-1720

Environment

Environmental conditions were generally the same as those described in the previous two study units. The area was heavily forested and dominated by deciduous species.

Subsistence Practices

Subsistence activities during this period were focused on the expansion of the tobacco economy, from the tidewater areas to the south where it was already well established, into the northern tidewater and the piedmont rim. On plantations in the tidewater below the park, the marketing of tobacco followed the pattern of direct trade between planters and ship's captains already established in the southern colony. However, the expansion of tobacco cultivation into interior areas such as the park, became efficient only with the establishment of permanent local marketing centers, or port towns, where tobacco could be brought from the interior and stored until it could be shipped.

The settlement of the park area by tobacco growing colonists was accompanied by the establishment at the mouth of Quantico Creek of a settlement of merchants and/or factors whose presence made the tobacco trade in the interior possible.

Historical Narrative

National-International Context. The years during which the park was settled by European colonists were marked in their home countries by political and religious upheaval, and by severe economic distress. In Britain, political strife focused on the issues of the distribution of power between Parliament and the monarchy, and the establishment of a state church. At mid-century, Cromwell was able to concentrate power in the hands of Parliament and to establish Puritanism. Cromwell's power was short-lived, and was followed by the Restoration during which the authority of the monarchy increased, and Catholicism was reestablished. In 1688, James was ousted; during the rule of William and Mary, power was restored to Parliament, and Protestantism was reestablished. Economic depression in Scotland culminated in the late seventeenth century in a series of famines that caused widespread misery and social disruption in the Scottish countryside (Graham 1928:151).

Economic and political upheaval in Scotland, England, and France had direct and lasting effects on the settlement of the park. Many of the

park's earliest settlers were drawn from the thousands of religious dissidents and political refugees who left Europe from the mid-to-late seventeenth century.

The Navigation Acts, designed to exclude any trade with Virginia other than with the British, were enacted in the mid-seventeenth century, but were virgually impossible to enforce. Scottish ships in particular were drawn to the tobacco trade, and by the end of the century were to play a critical role in the economic development of the park area. The trade of the Scots merchants was accredited after the union of Scotland with England in 1707, and the Scots were encouraged to develop a lucrative trade. One mercantile center, dominated by merchants from Glasgow, was centered at Dumfries, at the mouth of the Quantico.

Regional Context. The earliest settlement of the park coincided with the expansion of tobacco cultivation into northern Virginia. By the mid-seventeenth century, the tobacco plantation system was well established in the southern tidewater, and planters sought fresh land for that generally profitable but soil-depleting crop. They also sought immigrants to "seat" the land--to clear it, build the structures necessary to plantation settlement, and to cultivate and process the crop itself. The needs of planters were met by the government's liberal land and immigration policies.

Fifty acres of land could be claimed by anyone willing to pay the passage of an immigrant from Europe to Virginia, which in the mid-seventeenth century averaged about six pounds per capita. Most of the mid-seventeenth century patents in northern Virginia, and certainly those in the park area were granted as large blocks ranging from 500 to 5,000 acres or more, thus the initial investment made by those who received land grants on the headright system was quite high--from 60 to 600 or more pounds per patent. This was not a business for small farmers, but rather involved men of means--planters and merchants who hoped to profit from land speculation.

Virtually all of the tidewater and lower piedmont in Prince William County was patented between 1650 and the turn of the century. Settlement, or the "seating" of the area did not always directly follow patenting. Settlement in what is now Prince William was certainly sparse for at least eighty years after the earliest patents were issued.

The period of initial patenting corresponded with the rapid formation of a series of counties in northern Virginia that eventually resulted in modern county boundaries. Immediately before the patenting of the park area, the entire Northern Neck was a single county called Northumberland. In 1653, Westmoreland County was created from the northern section of Northumberland, thus the earliest patents in the park area were in what was Westmoreland County. By 1664, there was enough activity north of the upper Rappahannock to justify the creation of a new county, Stafford, from the northern portion of Westmoreland (Salmon 1983).

The county seat was located at Stafford, only ten miles from the park area. However, the park and other areas to the north of Stafford were not connected by road until about 1670 (Harrison 1964:446). Transportation during the period of early settlement must have been by water or horseback.

Stafford itself remained little more than a courthouse for over sixty years. Settlement concentrations, such as they were in the county in the 1670s and 1680s, were centered in the southern part of the county, particularly around Potomac Creek.

Overwharton Parish was created at the same time as Stafford County with codeterminous boundaries. A parish church was built at Aquia in 1664, and a site was selected for another church at the head of Quantico Creek as early as 1667 (Harrison 1964:284).

The importation of immigrants under indentures that accompanied land speculation in northern Virginia was temporarily halted in about 1680, and this slowed expansion of land specualtion in areas north and west of the park (which had already been patented). Available data indicate that it was at about this time that the park itself was settled.

Local Context. Between 1654 and 1677, all the land at the mouths of the Chopawamsic and Quantico creeks, and extending above the fall line, was patented in large blocks ranging from 500 to 5,000 acres. Research at the Virginia Land Office by National Park Service historian Charles Porter indicates that the patents of Marteau, Martin, Pope, Broadhurst, John Harrison, and Thomas Harrison extended into the 1935 boundaries of the park. The largest of the initial patents, that of Colonel Samuel Mathews, did not extend into the park as granted in 1657. However, when the land was repatented in 1715, two of the parcels western corners were within park boundaries (Porter 1935:2-5).

Some of the early patent holders, for example, Burr Harrison and Thomas Harrison, actually settled in the park area and established plantations on their land. However, most of the early patent holders secured title through the use of indentured servants, tenant farmers, and slaves. Fairfax Harrison, prominent historian of Prince William County, has described the society of Prince William during the late seventeenth century as

> taken up by non-resident speculators. When actual planting began and Stafford was organized, the upper end of the community (where the park is) became, and long remained, largely one of "quarters" worked by indentured servants who soon became yeoman farmers on their own account (1964:108).

Robert Moxam, student of early land grants in Fairfax County, reached the same conclusion:

> . . . most of the seatings and plantings prior to 1680 or 1690 were by tenants and slaves. After about 1690, the owners of

> the land began to come here to live, and as the tenants, many of whom were indentured servants, obtained their freedom, bought the patented land of their owners, and settled on it (cited in Sweig 1978:13).

These descriptions appear, at least generally, to reflect the social organization of the European earliest settlement of the park. Two of the patentees, Giles Brent and Peter Aston, were well-known suppliers of bonded servants to the colony (Wertenbaker 1959:48). No large plantation complexes are recorded as having been established in the late seventeenth century, yet at least an acre had to be cleared within three years of the date on which the patent was received and a house had to be built on each patent. In order to prevent escheatment, someone had to live on and work the patented land, and with few expectations, it does not appear to have been the patentees.

The acreage patented, derived from Porter (1935) and Nugent (1934) represents, at least theoretically, the immigration of more than 500 people. Unfortunately, we have no way of knowing how many of these immigrants actually came to the Prince William Forest area for there was no necessary correlation between where bondsmen worked off their indenture and the land granted to whoever paid their passage.

By 1699, there were 317 titheable people and 1,123,564 tobacco plants "in the precincte between Aquia and Quantico" (Calender of Virginia State Papers 1:68, cf., Harrison 1964:117). Tobacco was being grown not only in the tidewater, but also in the uplands above it, like the park area.

While in the tidewater, planters marketed their crop through direct dealing with ship's captains; another marketing system was necessary for interior areas like the park. A settlement developed at the mouth of Quantico Creek in which tobacco from the interior could be stored in warehouses under the supervision of merchants or their representatives who saw the crop loaded and shipped.

This settlement grew into the port town of Dumfries, which within a half century was to dominate the trade of northern Virginia. The beginnings of Dumfries are not well documented. In the earliest published account of the development of the town, Henry Berkeley reports:

> Between 1686 and 1696, bodies of Scotch immigrants sailed up the river, a part going to a place named New Scotland Hundred on the Maryland side of the river, on Anacostia Creek. . . , and a part settling at the head of the Quantico Creek in the Virginias, some two miles from its mouth (1924:102).

Berkeley also reports that while it is uncertain whether the mouth of the Quantico was settled before the arrival of the Scots, there was a settlement on the "Chippawamsic." It appears from this research that the settlement on the Chopawamsic was the plantation of Burr Harrison, who as described above, was living on the Chopawamsic at least by the late 1690s.

Nothing was found during this research that substantiates Berkeley's claim for a seventeenth century settlement at the mouth of the Quantico. It seems more likely that a settlement was established at the mouth of the Quantico sometime after 1707, when the Scottish trade was legalized by its union with Britain. Both Fairfax Harrison and Henry Berkeley believe that a tobacco inspection station was built at the mouth of the Quantico in 1713, in response to Governor Spotswood's tobacco inspection acts. However, it recorded only that three inspection stations be built in what was then Stafford County, and the historians are assuming that they were located at Aquia and Marlboroughtown, which had already been designated as townsites, and at Quantico Creek (Harrison 1964:384).

One local historian has asserted that a church was built at the head of Quantico Creek in the 1670s (Ratcliffe 1978:18). The Quantico Creek church site is registered at the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, but site forms could not be located during my visit to the VHLC. A church was certainly built on the site (fig. 9) by the 1740s (Dettingen Parish Records), and perhaps it was indeed preceded by an earlier church.

Gibson's Mill, a water powered grist mill, was built at the head of Quantico Creek in 1691 (Harrison 1964:121) (fig. 9). A tanyard was also built "at the mouth of the creek on the land of Rice Hooe's" (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 2:276). The specific location of this tanyard was not found during this research.

Unfortunately, virtually nothing is known about the settlement on Quantico Creek until the 1740s, when prominent men from the region petitioned that a town be laid out in a proper colonial grid pattern. The development of Dumfries as a colonial port town forms part of the next study unit.

The social system of which the park was a part gained in complexity and variety by the early eighteenth century. Harrison reports that

> from the mid-seventeenth to the early eighteenth century, the character of the society in Stafford County gradually shifted from one of large landholders whose land was worked by indentured servants, to a mix of large and small planters, the latter generally representing former servants who acquired land of their own upon termination of their bond (1964:157).

Further complexity was added by the introduction of Scotch merchants and factors, and of French Huguenots, brought over by Giles Brent, William Fitzhugh, and others, who eventually settled in numbers in the area of the Brent Town Tract (fig. 10). By the mid-eighteenth century, some of these people were associated with activities centered in the park, where their anglicized French names, for example, Reno, Tackett, Waters, appear in the Dettingen Parish records.

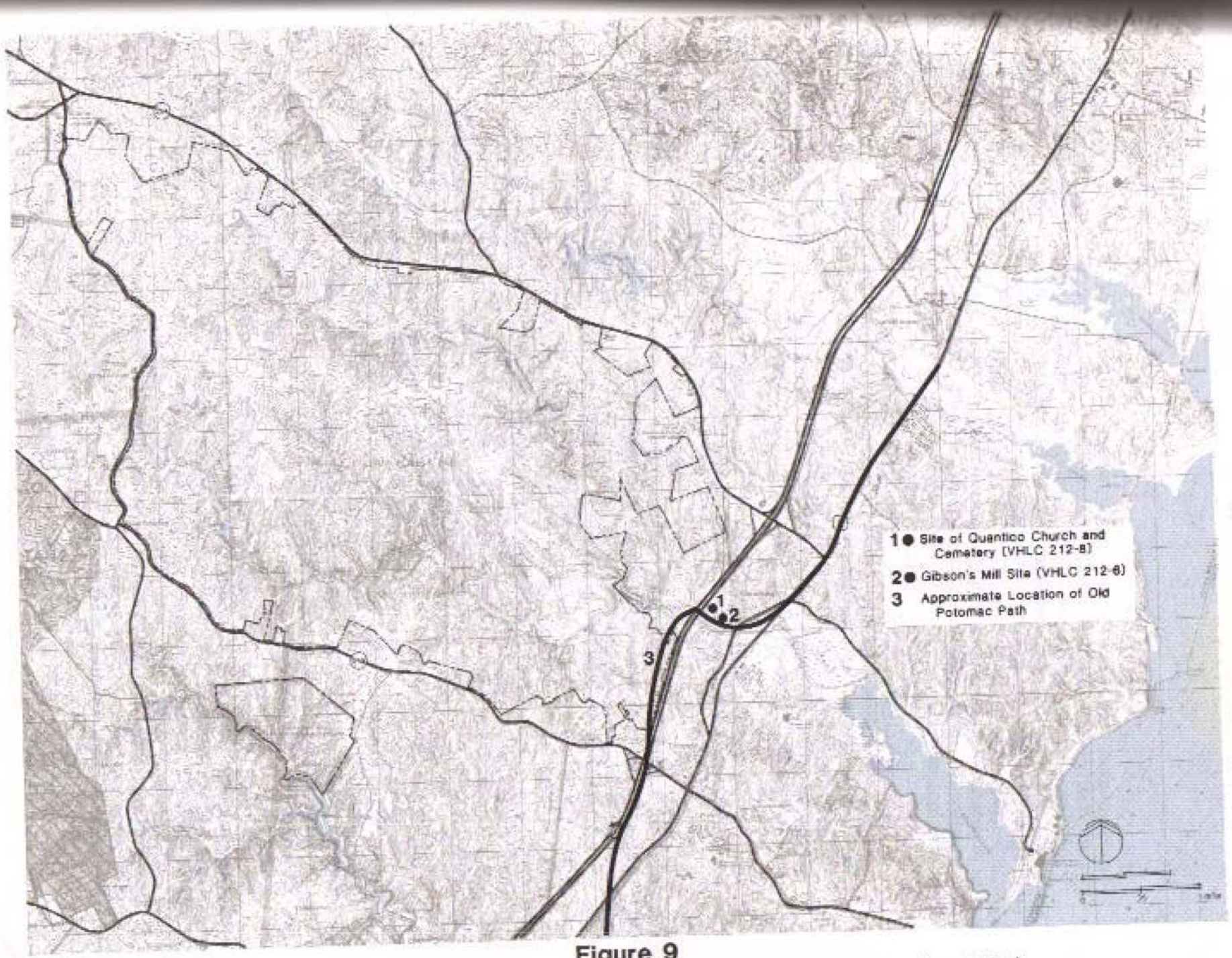


Figure 9

Sites Associated with Early Colonial Study Unit in or Near Prince William Forest Park

(1650-1720)

Prince William Forest Park — National Park Service — United States Department of the Interior

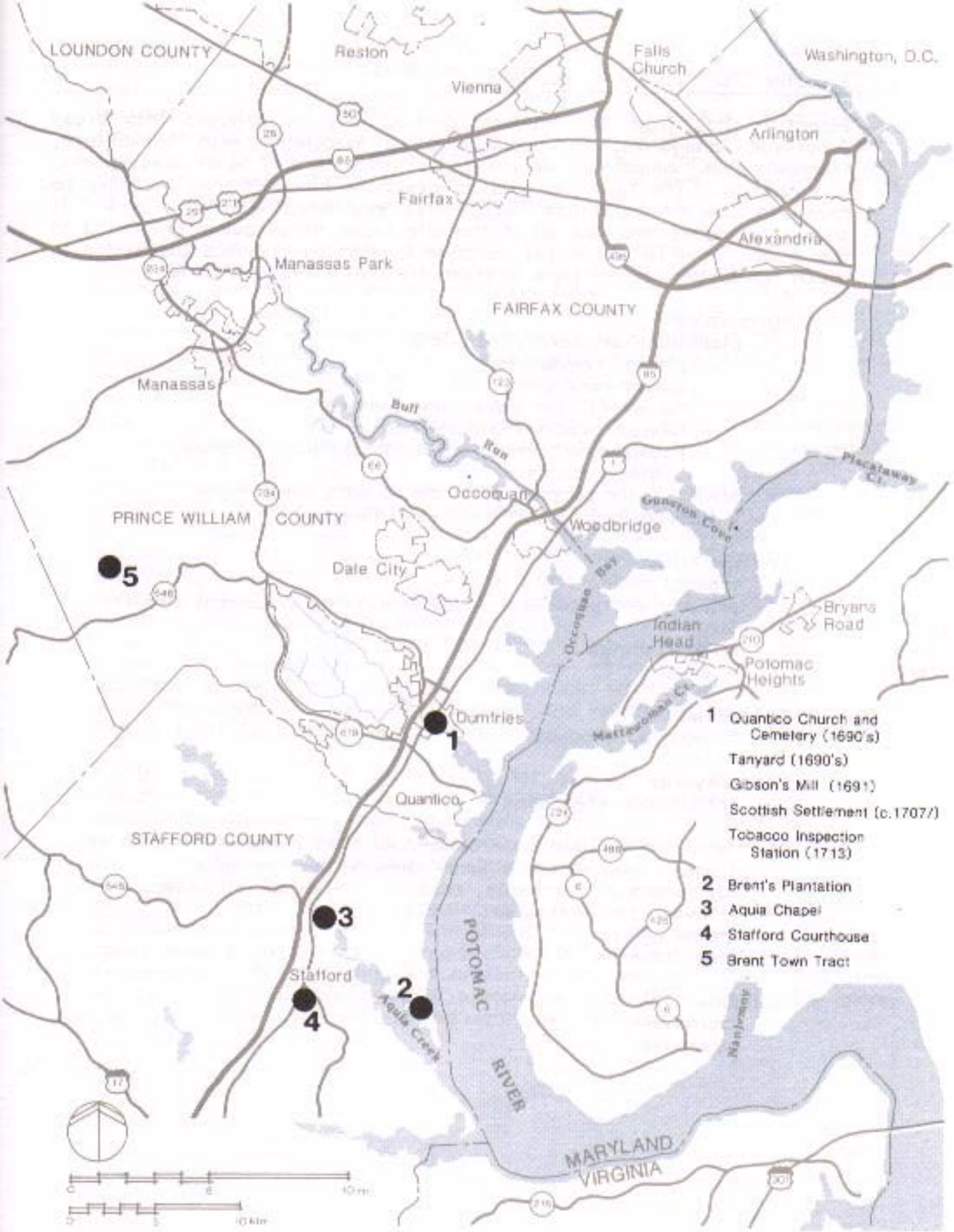


Figure 10
Regional Distribution: Early Colonial Sites
(1650-1720)

Prince William Forest Park · National Park Service · United States Department of the Interior

Probable Site Types and Locations

Potential sites from this historic context may be grouped into broad functional categories, for example sites associated with agriculture, transportation, commercial development, incipient port town development, and religion. The following lists suggests the kinds of sites that may be found in the Prince William Forest area associated with each type. It should be noted that not all of the site types listed below are found in the park. The list is simply consistent with the previous discussion in which the history of the park is treated within a regional context.

Agricultural
- plantation complexes, including
  - planter residences
  - tenant residences
  - "quarters" for slaves and overseers
  - tobacco processing buildings
  - subsistence farming outbuildings, e.g., dairies, sheds, barns
- small planter complexes associated with mixed farming (tobacco/subsistence/cash crop/livestock)

Transportation
- tobacco rolling roads
- primary and secondary roads connecting settlement clusters
- fords
- ferry landings
- wharves

Commercial
- tobacco warehouses
- mills
- tanyards
- craftsmen's workshops

Port Town (in addition some commercial sites listed above such as craftsmen's workshops, tobacco warehouses, and mills)
- residences of merchants, traders, craftsmen, shopkeepers, tavern and innkeepers
- stores
- inns, taverns

Religious
- churches
- cemeteries

Because early colonial settlement represented an expansion of tobacco plantation agriculture already established in the south, early agricultural settlement can be expected to have followed the patterns established on the lower Chesapeake and southern Virginia. The first houses would likely have been built within 600 feet of the river, or the mouth of the creek, near good tobacco soil, and thus out of the park. Houses on high ground would have been built near springs (Smolek 1984).

During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, settlements of small farmers, single tenant farmers or indentured servants, or of overseers and servants or slaves could have been scattered throughout the park area, but it is unlikely that any specific documentation concerning such settlements will be found. No standing structures from this period remain, and the below ground manifestations of early agricultural settlement are likely to be sparse.

The vernacular architecture associated with early agricultural settlement in other parts of the Chesapeake is characterized by its locational and architectural "impermanence" (Carson et al. 1981). Typical of this architecture are earthfast timber foundations and framing members which deteriorate relatively rapidly, and have a general lifespan of about 20 years. Because tobacco production was labor intensive, and the profits to be made were directly related to the number of hours spent in cultivating and processing, it paid to have whoever was doing the actual cultivation live near the fields. Because tobacco depleted the soil in three to four years, new fields were opened regularly, and dwellings, tobacco sheds, and other outbuildings were moved to allow access to the crops. Substantial permanent structures were inappropriate to this economic system. Stone, frame, and brick structures were built only when the hands of the owner-planter and whatever artisans he could muster could be freed from actual cultivation.

Early roads connecting settlements, for example the settlement at the mouth of the Quantico with Aquia or Occoquan, generally followed Indian trails with adjustments made to provide access to points such as wharves or landings associated with shipping. Rolling roads followed creeks and ridges along the lines of least resistance.

Mills were located at the headwaters of creeks. One mill, Gibson's Mill, is recorded at the head of the Quantico outside the park. Tanyards could have been located in the backcountry or at the outskirts of the settlement. The workshops of craftsmen and artisans could have been located in the backcountry, in association with their residences, along roads, or in the settlement at the mouth of the creek.

It is possible that a church was built at the settlement during the late seventeenth-early eighteenth century as a chapel of ease for the church at Aquia.

The general locations of known sites are shown on Figures 9 and 10.

Data Gaps

Little is known about early colonial settlement in the Prince William Forest area. Secondary sources do not discuss this period in detail. The primary documentary data include land patents, and genealogical records focused on individuals. The patents themselves contain the names of persons whose passages were paid in return for land granted in the park area. Detailed genealogical research focused upon these individuals and their descendants might yield information important to developing an understanding of the geographic, economic, social, and kinship networks that structured immigration to northern Virginia, particularly to the park area. Detailed research into deed books and will books could yield information concerning the social and economic structure of early colonial settlement. We know little about how the large landholdings associated with this period were divided, nor do we know in any more than the most general terms, how early colonial society in northern Virginia was ordered. While it seems that the earliest colonial settlement was made by tenant farmers and indentured servants, and not by large land owners, we know little about how this second generation settlement may differ from the earliest colonial settlement in southern Virginia. We do know that most of the earliest European settlers came from the southern tidewater, and/or from Scotland. We do not know to what extent historic properties from this historic context will reflect these origins.

The area between the Rappahannock and the Upper Potomac has seen little historical archeological work focused upon early colonial settlement. A recent survey of seventeenth century architecture in the Chesapeake area (Carson et al 1981) in which the research of historians and archeologist was reviewed, shows the Prince William Forest area as a veritable blank. What is known about the material culture of early colonial settlements is based on work done elsewhere.

Locational data concerning early colonial settlement is primarily contained within the descriptions of patents. Plat books for Prince William County are not known to exist prior to the late eighteenth century. As can be surmised from the following example, the actual locations described in the patents are impossible to plot with any degree of accuracy without extensive and detailed research.

> Sir William Berkeley, Knt Governor &c does "give and grant to Mr. Gerrard Broadhurst 500 acres of land in Stafford County, upon the south side of the Potomac River and on the northeast side of the head of Chapawansick creek, bounded on the southwest side with a run upon the head of the said creek; northwest upon a branch of said run, northeast into the woods and southeast upon the line of Mr. Nathaniel Pope, the said land being formerly granted unto Colonel Peter Aston, signed grant deed dated 16 September 1665 . . . dated twentyeth 7ber 1668 (William and Mary Quarterly (1)17:226).

Actual boundaries remain uncertain even when plat books are available, as they are from the park for the years 1789-1858. Even those relatively late plats were based on perishable survey points and were linked with corners of owners long forgotten.

To date no research in northern Virginia has focused upon early colonial tenant farmings. Research in Maryland indicates that the settlement pattern of tenants may be distinguished from that associated with the residence of large planters in that a major complex of buildings would have one or more "community foci" (Walsh 1984).

No information was discovered during this research that examined the relationships between tobacco producers--the planters, farmers, tenants, and bonded servants--and tobacco marketers--the merchants and factors. Nor was data found that described the relationship between merchants and factors, which took place at least in part in the park area, within the idiom of Scottish kinship.

Probable Significance

Because this period has not received serious attention from researchers in northern Virginia, little is known about it. Any sites found within the park associated with early colonial settlement should be considered at least regionally significant in their potential to reveal information about a previously unknown period.

Potential Research Questions

Many questions could be asked about this generally unknown period. The following list suggests a few lines of research that could be pursued.

1. What similarities and differences characterize frontier plantation agriculture as practiced by owner-farmers, and by tenant farmers? Are any differences recognizable archeologically?

2. It appears that many of the first settlers in the park area were from northern Scotland. To what extent did this cultural tradition set them apart from other early colonists? Are any cultural

adaptations associated with northern Scotland, for example building traditions, recognizable archeologically? To what extent were the early settlers of the park area related by social or kinship bonds prior to their arrival in northern Virginia, and to what extent were such bonds sustained or modified through time?

3. What was the distribution of early settlement? To what extent was it shaped by factors such as the quality of soil, and ease of transportation, and to what extent was it affected by economic and political factors such as land title boundaries, cash or credit available for investment?

4. To what extent was farming a matter of monocropping tobacco? To what extent was the economy of both poor and rich farmers "mixed"? What was produced locally, and what imported, and is it possible to identify changes in imports and exports and monocropping and mixed farming over time?

TOBACCO PLANTATION SOCIETY 1720-1800

Environment

During this period, most of the tidewater and much of the piedmont was cleared for tobacco cultivation. Planters found that proper drainage could be achieved by deliberately encouraging soil erosion down the hilly slopes. After five years, topsoil was completely removed in areas managed in this manner, and the land was useless for further tobacco cultivation (Fisher 1983:4). As increasing amounts of topsoil were channelled down the slopes into the stream bottoms the velocity of water flow decreased, and the mouth of the creek gradually became abraided and filled with silt. New marshes were created at the mouth of the Quantico. As land was abandoned for agriculture, it was reforested primarily with pine, and a mixed deciduous-pine woodland was created by the early nineteenth century (Gottmann 1969:234).

Subsistence Practices

The last three quarters of the eighteenth century were dominated by tobacco plantation agriculture. In the tidewater, long-term tobacco production was associated with shifting cultivation--after 3-4 years of cultivation, fields were allowed to remain fallow optimally for 20 years after which they could be replanted (Earle 1975). Land holdings were generally smaller in the piedmont, and labor more scarce. It was not economically feasible to practice crop rotation in most parts of the piedmont (Fisher 1983:4). Thus, in the piedmont, an economy based on tobacco cultivation could be sustained for less than a century. While tobacco provided the staple cash crop, corn, wheat, fruit, and vegetables were grown for domestic use, with surpluses marketed in Dumfries, which developed into a thriving port town during this period. Livestock was kept, and hides, tallow, and dried and salted meat were produced for trade. Wood products were also a source of cash and credit.

Historical Narrative

National Context. The economic and social system that developed in Virginia in the eighteenth century was based on an assured market for tobacco, and a seemingly unlimited supply of land. Immigrants from England, Scotland, Ireland, and France continued to provide labor for the plantations particularly in northern Virginia; Afro-American slave labor became the base of the tobacco economy in the south.

The Virginia tobacco trade was legally opened to Scottish merchants in 1707, after the Union of Scotland and Britain. Scottish involvement in the tobacco trade increased after the rebellions of 1715 and 1746 sent hundreds of Scottish political refugees to France, England, and the colonies (Maclean 1968:64). Some came willingly as tradesmen or farmers who wanted to improve their fortunes; others were kidnapped in what was an apparently thriving slave trade in the Scottish Highlands in the early eighteenth century (Maclean 1968:39).

Before the middle of the eighteenth century, an international marketing system was well established, and much Virginia tobacco was sent to Glasgow rather than to London (Gottmann 1969:82). For Glasgow, this was a new trade. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the economy of Glasgow was at a standstill. Its population had dropped severely; its river depot had clogged and silted, and it was poorly positioned for thriving trade with Holland and Norway that was available to other cities in Scotland. However, Glasgow was well suited for trade with the American colonies, and once trade with Virginia became legal, a few Glasgow men pooled their capital, rented a ship, and set off across the Atlantic to begin what was to become the most lucrative occupation in Scotland--that of a Virginia trader.

By the time of the American Revolution, Glasgow imported more than half of the total number of hogsheads brought into the United Kingdom, and was the source from which all tobacco was imported into France (Graham 1928:130).

The success of the Scottish merchants was based on a system of branch stores established along the Potomac in which tobacco was purchased directly from planters. Because they purchased directly, the Scottish merchants could pay higher prices than could British consignment merchants. While higher prices drew planters to the Scotsmen, it was the ability of the merchants to extend credit and provide the planters with consumer goods that allowed them to dominate the tobacco trade.

Regional Context. In 1724, Alexander Scott, the minister of Overwharton Parish, described his parish as a frontier with unknown limits, inhabited between 3 and 20 miles inland, by 650 families (Meade 1966:197). At the time, Overwharton Parish included all of Prince William, Loudoun, Fairfax, and Arlington counties, and parts of Stafford and Fauquier counties. In 1730, Prince William County was formed; in 1744 Dettingen Parish was established with boundaries codeterminious with modern Prince William County, with some alterations in the west and north.

In 1749, the town of Dumfries was officially established by Scottish merchants in conjuction with members of the Virginia planter elite. By the mid-eighteenth century, plantations of the elite such as John Graham, Benjamin Grayson, Thomas Harrison, Charles Ewell, Alexander Henderson, Richard Henry Lee, Foushee Tebbs, and Rev. Alexander Scott ringed the area of what is now Prince William Forest Park (fig. 11). These men were linked with the broader network of planter society throughout Virginia, particularly in the Northern Neck. The interior regions of the Northern Neck had been opened in the 1730s and 1740s. Merchants, and merchant-planters such as John Graham, brought hundreds of people to Dumfries, and then assigned them as indentured servants to wealthy families in the Northern Neck, like the Masons, who were engaged in opening up the backcountry.

The expansion of the tobacco economy into northern Virginia was directed, as we have seen, primarily by men of prominent families whose wealth had been built on tobacco in the south. When members of some of these families moved north, they brought with them the social system of which they were a part--a system that revolved around a numerically small political and economic elite dispersed throughout the countryside on large plantations. Members of this elite married into the developing merchant class at Dumfries and in other port towns thus expanding and amalgamating the upper levels of society. In the park area, many of the wealthy merchants also established plantations.

Shortly before the Revolution the town of Dumfries was described as "the little city, much frequented by the elite of the country, but settled principally by rich merchants" (Berkeley 1924:113).

The planter/merchant elite dominated an agricultural substratum made up of smaller planters, tenant farmers, free laborers, servants and slaves, and a commercial substratum made up of small shopkeepers, craftsmen and tradesmen.

By 1759, Dumfries had become the social and economic center of Prince William County, and the courthouse was moved to Dumfries from a site on Cedar Run, now within the boundaries of the U.S Marine Corps Training Camp (fig. 11). The town had grown rapidly in a decade and was enlarged in 1759, and again in 1761. Just before the Revolution, the town is described by one local historian as having had, in addition to elaborate private homes at which the elite were entertained, "a branch bank, a public market, a Masonic Lodge (Dumfries No. 50), eleven public, and a large number of private warehouses, a storage warehouse for grain at Granary landing, a printing office and a newspaper (The Dumfries Gazette), an agricultural paper, at least five hotels, a theatre, a dance hall, a ferry, a canal with tide-water locks, a jockey club and race track, three grist mills and flour mills, an academy, a brick yard, a bakery and bread inspector, tobacco inspector, and a shipyard at Graham Park" (Ratcliffe 1985). The locations of some of these structures are found on figure 12.

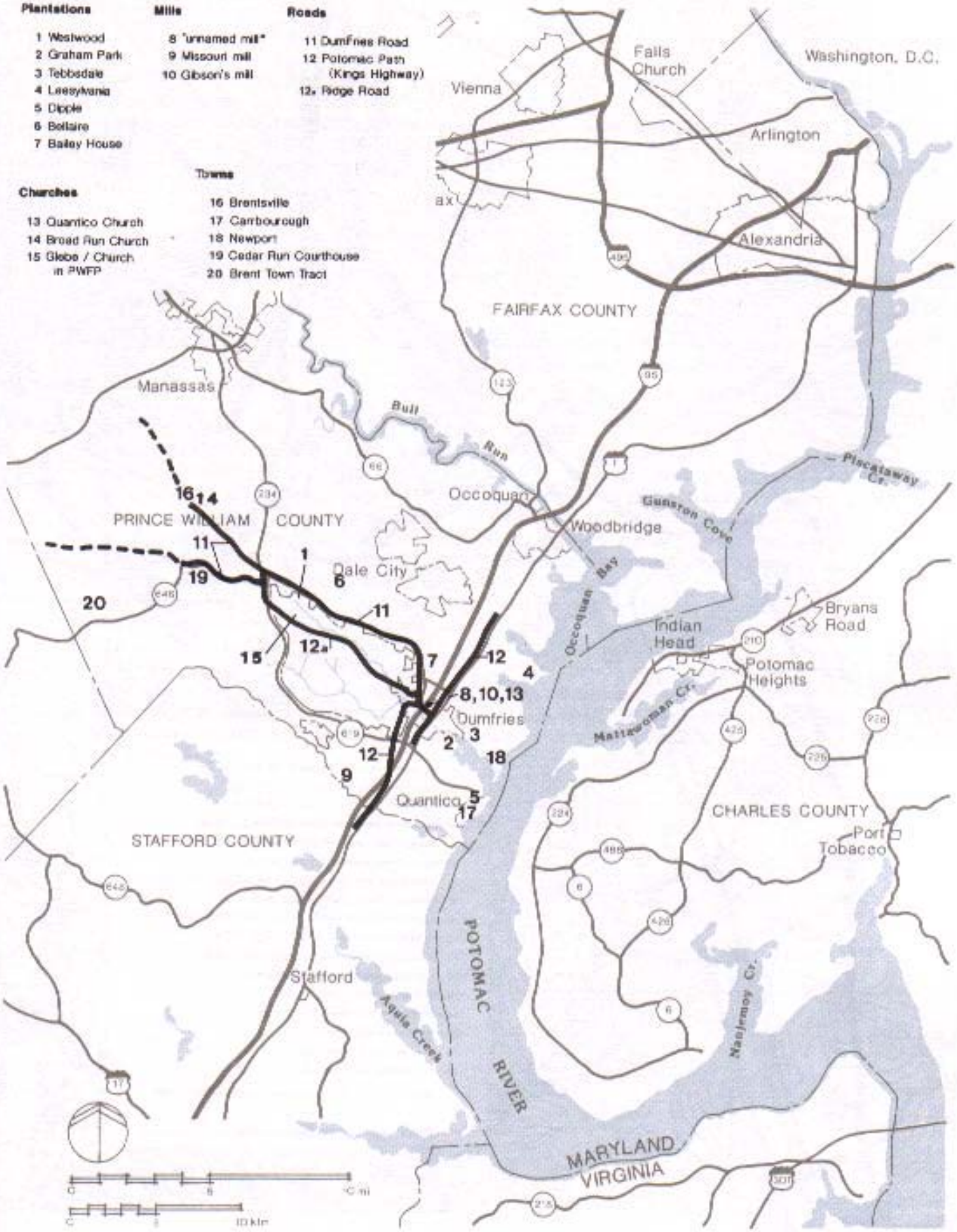


Figure 11

18th Century Sites in and Around Prince William Forest Park (1720-1800)

Prince William Forest Park National Park Service United States Department of the Interior

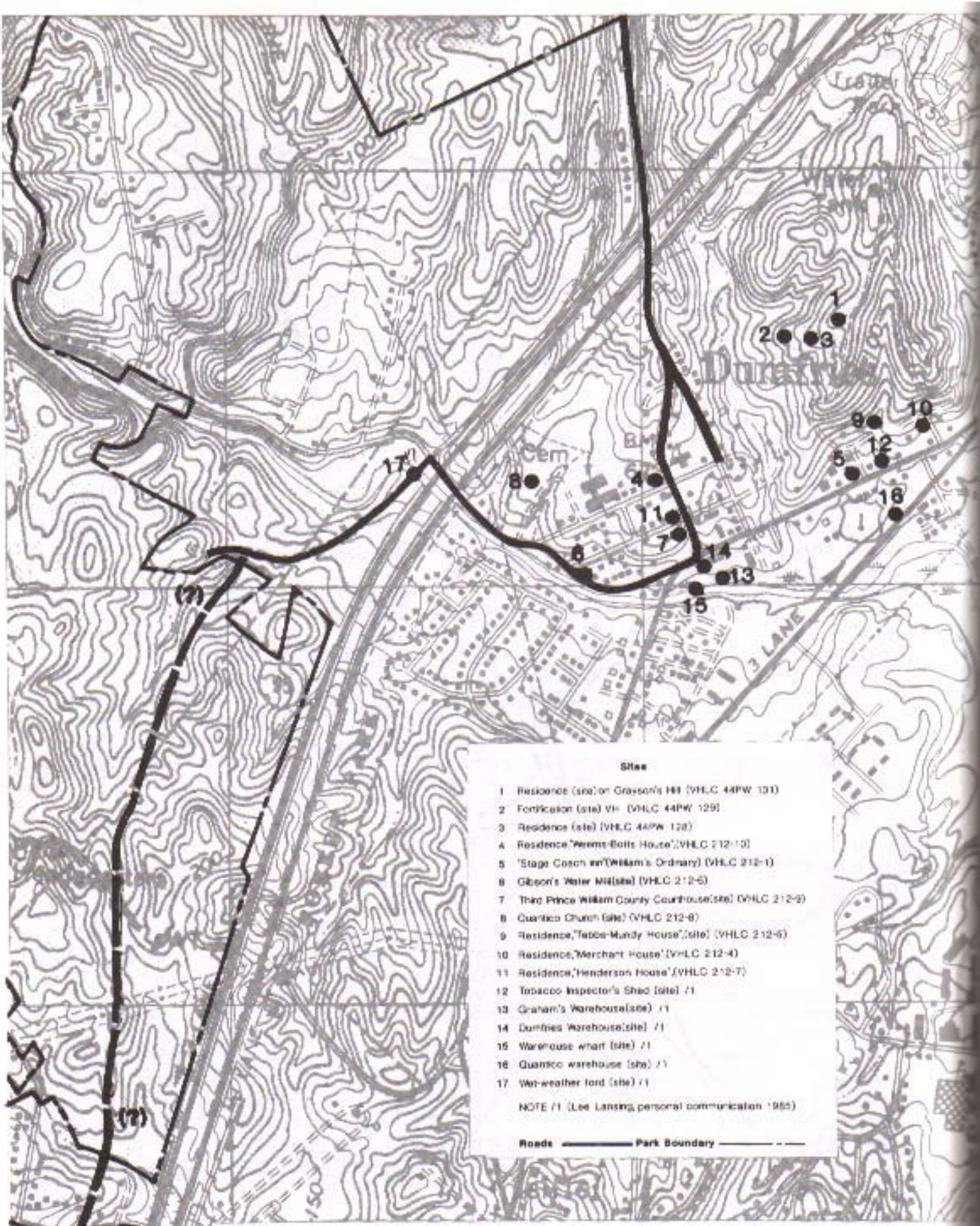


Figure 12

18th Century Sites in and Around Dumfries, Virginia

Prince William Forest Park National Park Service United States Department of the Interior

Some measure of population growth in the region before the Revolution is provided by the Dettingen Parish Records in which are listed annual totals of titheables for almost every year between 1744 and 1802. The rate of increase of titheables in the 1760s was two and a half that of the 1750s. Actual numerical increase in number of titheables from 1750-1759 was 186; between 1760 and 1769, 460. This period of increase corresponded to the height of the Virginia trade with Scotland. The 1770s showed little population growth, but after the Revolution, the parish saw a tremendous immigration of almost 1500 persons during the 1780s. All but about 200 of these (1267/1486) arrived in a single year, 1788.

The growing economic complexity of Dumfries and the park area is illustrated by the records of indentures kept by the vestrymen of Dettingen Parish. The obligations of the masters to train their indentured servants were recorded in parish records. Throughout the last half of the eighteenth century, women, in return for their labor, were to be taught to knit, sew, spin, and occasionally to read, write, and to "understand Christian principles". In 1768, one woman was taught to weave. Assigned trades were recorded in the indenture records of 63 men. As would be expected, given the social and economic development of the region, the number of trades increased dramatically after 1760. In the 1740s, only one trade was associated with a male indenture, that of "cordwinder", which I take to be a cordwaner, i.e., a shoemaker or leather-worker. By 1780, parish males were being apprenticed into eleven different trades, some as specialists in the building trades and other as luxury craftsmen, such as silversmiths. Most of this diversification took place before the Revolution, as shown in table II. The data found in the parish records concerning the prospective trades of indigent males during the early development of the region (1744-1759), and during its economic peak and early decline (1760-1782) is presentec in table II.

Table II: Number of Different Trades Associated with Indentured Men 1744-1781

Period	Number of trades
1740s	1
1750s	5
1760s	11
1770s	5
1780s	3

Table III: Trades Associated with Indentured Men 1744–1759 and 1760–1781

Period	Occupation	Number of Indentures
1744–1759	Cordwinder/shoemaker	6
	Housecarpenter/joiner	4
	Blacksmith	2
	Tailor	1
	Total	13
1760–1781	Shoemaker/cordwaner	20
	Carpenter/joiner/ turner	11
	Farmer	6
	Blacksmith	3
	Weaver	3
	Cooper	2
	Saddle-maker	1
	Wagon-maker	1
	Brick-layer	1
	Barber	1
	Silversmith	1
	Total	50

There is little evidence of large scale dependence on slave labor in Prince William County, even in the heyday of tobacco plantation agriculture in the 1760s. Newspaper references to slaves being bought or sold in numbers of more than one or two are associated with wealthy planters whose interests were outside the park area. The 1810 census lists 577 slaveholding households in the county, that together owned 5,185 slaves. While the average number of slaves per slaveholding household was slightly over 11, only 42 of the 577 slaveholders owned more than 10 slaves. Well over 90 per cent of the slaveholding households in 1810 owned less than 10 slaves; most owned one or two.

Before the Revolution, the wealth of the town rested primarily on tobacco; the larger merchants dealt only occasionally in other trade such as grain, lumber, and meat (Berkeley 1924:107). However, bread and flour were in demand by ships that traded on the Quantico, and the operations of at least one mill, likely one within the present boundaries of the park, were directed toward that supply (Virginia Gazette, August 1769, and see below).

The records of the Glassford Company, one of the most prominent of the merchant houses that operated from Dumfries in the eighteenth century, show that until 1800, tobacco remained by far the dominant crop produced in the region and in the park itself. The importance of tobacco as late

as 1775 is shown by a list of merchants and factors who then operated out of Dumfries, all 11 of whom dealt almost exclusively in tobacco. In Alexandria, at the same time, 20 merchants were listed. Twelve of these dealt in wheat exclusively, two dealt in wheat and tobacco, the remaining six dealt in tobacco (William & Mary Quarterly 11(1)246)). Even as late as 1791, Dumfries was listed as the sixth largest port in the state. Adjacent Powell's Creek was seventh, while Alexandria was third (Peterson 1930:306-07).

Residents of the Prince William Forest area were enthusiastic supporters of the American Revolution since its inception. As early as March 1775 the committee for the county of Prince William met at Dumfries and voted to support the resolves of the Continental Congress concerning imports (Virginia Gazette March 30, 1775). The first company of Minutemen was raised in the Dumfries area (Ratcliffe 1985).

Dumfries was a major supply port during the Revolution, and while no major battles are recorded as having occurred there, action was taken to protect the warehouses at the mouth of the Quantico (Beitzell 1968). As early as July 1776, the British fleet sailed up the Potomac as far as the mouth of the Quantico where it was watched by lookouts on Grayson's hill, just outside the park (fig. 12). It is possible that the fortification recorded as VHLC 44PW-129 was built on Grayson's hill about that time. A "base" was established on the south bank of the Quantico to serve "vessels of the Potomac Navy" (Virginia Guide to the Old Dominion 1974). Some of the buildings in the town were taken over by the Revolutionary Army. The Henderson house was used as a hospital for the innoculation of troops against smallpox in 1777 and in 1781. Some of these troops were then marched to Valley Forge (William & Mary Quarterly (2)6). The Henderson house was also used as a quartermaster's shop and commissionary (King 1974). Hessian troops were quartered just outside the park in what is now the Montclaire subdivision (Ratcliffe 1985).

In April 1781, it was reported that:

> The enemy were making up the River and the town of Dumfries with the warehouses on Quantico Creek might be their object, and that the Inhabitants might be secured against these Plunderers, I immediately ordered all the militia that could be armed to rendezvous at the mouth of the Quantico, and then having been there two days about forty then on duty. If the Enemy do not appear on the shifting of the wind . . . . I shall only keep a few lookouts (Calendar of Virginia State Papers 2(22)).

There is no record that the enemy did appear on the shifting of the wind, and the warehouses were protected.

Dumfries was also on the route of Rochambeau from Yorktown to Baltimore in 1782; his army camped in the town square south of the Stagecoach Inn (fig. 12). In July of that year he described Dumfries as "a small

settlement with nothing notable about it except a very pretty view overlooking Quantico Creek" (Rice 1972:159).

The 1780s and 1790s were a time of regional economic and social distress. There was a smallpox epidemic across the state in 1780-1781. In 1785, the sheriff of Prince William County was unable to collect state taxes, and William Grayson, a prominent citizen of the Dumfries/park area, wrote to the governor urging that the sheriff be relieved of the judgment against him. The delinquency was due, Grayson wrote,

> to the extreme scarcity of corn, and the poverty of a people who up to that time, had cheerfully met every demand made upon them by the government (Hening 12:603).

In the 1780s and 1790s, the Virginia Gazette carried reports of the desertion and escape of many slaves and servants from around Dumfries. The parish records made by the Overseers of the Poor from 1788-1800 are filled with references to the needy--described individually as "cripples," "blind," "idiots," and (a) "child who suffers Fitts."

Even before the Revolution, some of the successful planter families had already left the park area in search of fresh land and new opportunities. The Harrisons, Grahams, and Macraes all acquired property in Kentucky. Richard Graham, "a large proprietor in the town" (of Dumfries) spent his later years surveying and locating Virginia military land warrants, and establishing farms in the Virginia backcountry and the Ohio River Valley (anonymous 1879).

Underlying the movement west was the depletion of the soil in the tidewater and eastern piedmont. By the time of the American Revolution, most of the park area had been under steady tobacco cultivation for at least 50 years, certainly longer in certain locations. Not only was the land itself less productive, the man-land ratio had changed markedly since it was first opened. Population had grown from a handful of settlers in the 1690s to over 2000 tithables reported in Dettingen Parish in 1773 (Dettingen Parish Records). The population of Whites in the county increased over 140 per cent in the 35 years between 1755 and 1790 (from 2,800 to 6,744 respectively), and the slave population more than tripled (rising from 1,414 to 4,704) (Gottmann 1969:85, Ratcliffe 1973:3).

Before the American Revolution, the system of primogeniture encouraged the emigration of younger brothers from the more settled areas and worked to maintain relatively large landholdings. After the Revolution, the availability of bounty land to military veterans further encouraged westward expansion. Those who stayed at home divided their holdings, and the size of farms and plantations decreased to the point where it was difficult to sustain tobacco monocropping on anywhere near the scale of pre-Revolutionary times.

In the 1780s and 1790s, many were forced to sell their land to satisfy their creditors. A plethora of sales were reported in the Virginia Gazette, some of them within the park (eg., 14 November 1771, 8 January

1785, 21 August 1786, 21 September 1787, 3 December 1787). While some actually sold their land, many others simply abandoned it and moved on. Some parcels, recorded in the Prince William County Plat Book of 1789-1858, were surveyed, and new title established. Other parcels were simply occupied without title. Almost every entry in the Plat Book of 1789-1858 pertinent to the Prince William Forest Area concerns the survey of "waste, abandoned, and ungranted land."

Difficulties in producing tobacco on depleted soil and with increasingly scarce labor were matched by difficulties in marketing the crop, particularly in the Dumfries area. In Scotland, feelings against the Revolution ran high, and the Scottish merchants from Glasgow and Dumfries withdrew from the Viriginia trade (Maclean 1968:298-99, Glassford records, 1795-1815). After the Revolution, some of the larger houses, like Glassford's, reopened, but much of their energy was spent trying to collect prewar debts. The problem of marketing was exacerbated by the siltation of the creek. Several floods, the first recorded in 1771, compounded the problem at the mouth of the creek. The Quantico Navigation Company was formed in 1796 to build a canal along the north side of the creek to the river. A canal was at least partially built, but was never effective for large scale transport of goods to the river. The banks of the canal collapsed after a severe storm either during or shortly after the canal's construction, and the effort was abandoned (Lansing n.d.). The region was left with exhausted soil, the exodus of the wealthy, and a declining and increasingly inaccessible market for tobacco. Local businessmen did not give up, however, and petitioned for permission to survey land at the river's edge with the purpose of building towns that could lure trade from the Potomac. Plans for the towns of Carrbourough and Newport were drawn up in 1787 and 1788 (fig. 11). Both were "paper towns" and were never settled.

Local Context. The regional economic and social system described above encompassed an area that at its height, in the 1760s, stretched for a 50 mile radius around the port town of Dumfries. The park area itself functioned as part of that system. Tobacco was grown in the Quantico and Chopawamsic watersheds, and rolled down to Dumfries on rolling roads, the remains of which could still be seen a few years ago (Lansing 1985, personal communication).

Nothing has been found in the documentary record that indicates that major plantations on the scale of Belair, Dipple, Tebbsdale, or Leesylvania (fig. 11) were ever built within the present boundaries of the park. Nor do the available data suggest a radical change in land use from the early eighteenth century. It appears that most of the land within the park continued to be used for tobacco growing "quarters" owned by wealthy planters who lived elsewhere, and operated by overseers, servants, slaves, and tenants.

Recorded sites and activities from the mid-eighteenth century are concentrated in two areas in the park. One is in the northern part of the park, and was conveniently located in relation to contemporary developments in Brentsville and the upper Occoquan. The other is in the

southeast corner of the park along the creek and just above the town of Dumfries.

In the mid-to-late eighteenth century, a privately owned plantation, the glebe plantation, a poorhouse, and possibly a church were located in the northern section of the park (fig. 13). The private plantation, called Westwood, belonged to the rector of Dettingen Parish, James Scott. James Scott was the younger brother of Alexander Scott, the minister of Overwharton Parish who had established his estate at Dipple at the mouth of the Quantico. Westwood was probably purchased in the late 1740s. It was sold in 1782 after Rev. Scott's death. Rev. Scott lived on Westwood, and rented the glebe lands on the other side of the creek (Meade 1966:209).

In April 1750, the vestrymen of Dettingen Parish specified that the buildings of the following description be constructed on the glebe.

> . . . the house be bult of the following sizes: A Dwelling hous be 40 feet long & 20 foot Wide, A barn 40 foot Long & 20 foot Wide With a 10 foot Shed for a Stable, ... A Dary 10 foot Squair And a Smokehous of the Same Demention. A Garden 100 foot squair A hen hous Leetle house & Cornhouse (Parish Records 1976:11).

One of the vestrymen, John Diskins, received a contract to build the structures on the "Glebe Plantation" in a "good and sufficient workmanlike manner." Diskins' contract specified that the work be completed by December 25, 1752. Unfortunately, the parish records do not stipulate whether or not the glebe buildings were actually built. An entry of March 14, 1756, "ordered that the Churchwardens bring Suite against the Rev. James Scott and his Securiteys for not compleating the Gleeb building according to his articles" (Parish Records 1976:23). This tells us only that the glebe was not furnished exactly in the manner specified, but nothing about what was actually built there. That something was built there is indicated by references in the records to meetings held at the "Dettingen Glebe" (Parish Records 1976:20). Most meetings, however, were held in Dumfries at unspecified locations, or at the Quantico vestryhouse near the Quantico Church.

A map in the recent county history shows "Dettingen Church" on the glebe near the south bank of the Quantico (Ratcliffe 1978, fig. 13). This was likely a small chapel for the use of the minister, his family and dependents, and for the inhabitants of the nearby poorhouse. The major local churches were substantial brick structures, both built in 1752. One was built at the old Quantico church site, the other near Broad Run and Slater Run, near the present Brentsville.

In 1773, the churchwardens ordered that the old glebe be sold, and a new one purchased. The following year they advertised

> that any person having Lands to sell Lying about the Centre of this Parish be requested to lay a plott of the same wth. their

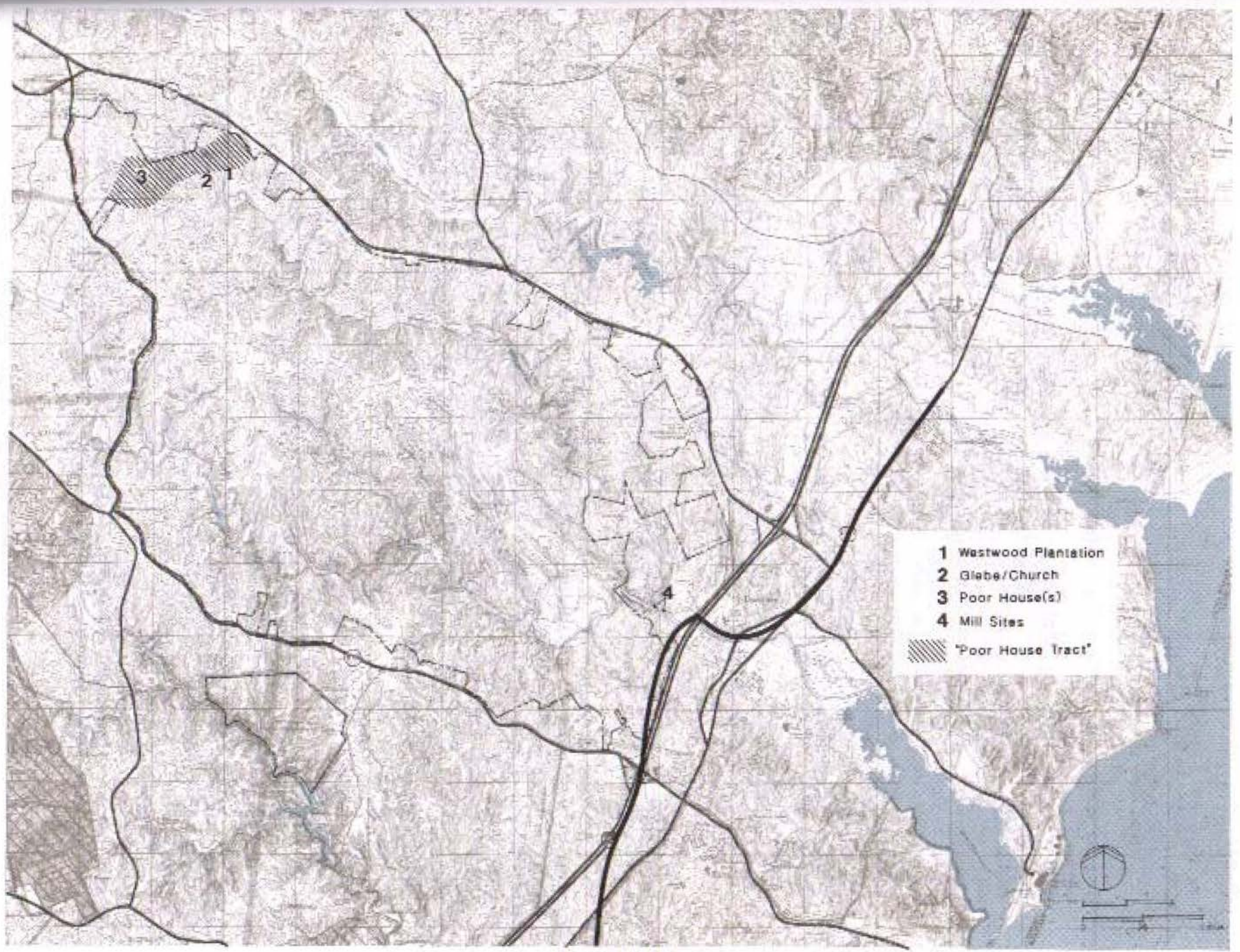


Figure 13
Sites Associated with Tobacco Plantation Society Study Unit
(1720-1800)

Prince William Forest Park National Park Service United States Department of the Interior

> terms before the Next Vestry to be held for this parish as the Vestry will at that time have occasion to purchase a Glebe for the use of the Parish (Dettingen Parish Records 1976:51).

The location of the new glebe is not known.

The records indicate that a succession of "poorhouses" were built in Dettingen Parish. Parish records indicate that there were at least two, and perhaps three, poorhouses. It seems clear that at least one, if not all, of the poorhouses were built in the park. The location of a poorhouse is given on a 1901 map (Brown 1901, fig. 23), and on a more modern map (Ratcliffe 1951, fig. 13). One land parcel in the park was identified in 1935 as "the poor house tract" (National Archives, RG 79, RDA Program Files). This was a large tract whose boundaries are shown on figure 13.

The earliest reference to a poorhouse in the parish records is in 1764. In that year, the vestrymen ordered that a tract of land,

> not exceding one Hundred acres to erect a work house for the poor of the parish; in the meantime provide for them in the Cheapest and best mannyer they Can (Dettingen Parish Records, p. 37).

This poor house, or a successor to it, existed in 1782 (ibid. 63). The parish records do not describe these early poor houses.

In 1786, the power of the vestry to support the poor, procession lands, and to levy taxes for these purposes was given to a nonecclesiastical body called the Overseers of the Poor, who were for the most part made up of the previous group of vestrymen. The Overseers planned an elaborate settlement for the poor in 1792. They sought a piece of land near the center of the county, and purchased 200 acres (ibid. 78-79). This could well be the "poorhouse" located on the 1901 map and remembered in 1935. At first the Overseers ordered a single building, 36 feet by 20 feet to be built, but the following year the order was rescinded. A new contract was let for

> a framed House Sixteen Feet Square with a stone or Brick Chimney Weathere Boarded & Covered with Shingles and as many Logged Cabins . . . as may Judge Sufficient for the present, situatied & built in Such Manner as they shall think Best (Dettingen Parish Records 1976:80).

This was accomplished by 1794, when Thomas Harrison, one of the Overseers of the Poor, was ordered to lay in as much corn as funds would permit, and give directions for the removal of the poor to the poorhouses (ibid. 83-4).

By the mid-eighteenth century, the portion of Quantico Creek near the fall line had long been used as a mill site. The following description of a

mill to be entered as a prize in a lottery of 1769, seems as if it could only be located just above Dumfries, in or at the edge of the park, where other mills were located throughout the nineteenth century (fig. 13). The mill was

> a double geared grist mill, with two pair of stones, bolting cloths and hoisting gears with a . . . dam of good hewed white oak, well filled in with stone which no fresh can carry away, the said mill was built six years ago (1763), and is to be immediately repaired, and delivered in good order, with a general warrenty to the fortunate adventurer; together with seventeen acres of land, adjoining the said mill, the greatest part of which is level:
>
> the mill and land (are located) within a half a mile of the town of Dumfries and boats come from Maryland with grain to a loading about a quarter of a mile from the said mill, which is built on as good a ricam as any between the Rappahannock and Occoquan, and is convenient to the back country, where a large quantity of wheat may be purchased to manufacture into flour or bread, and the said mill is within five miles of a very good harbor, where several ships are annually loaded and want bread (Virginia Gazette, August 17, 1769).

Another eighteenth century mill, reportedly the plantation mill on the Harrison estate just to the south of the park, was located on Chopawamsic Creek (fig. 11). This mill is discussed in detail in the following study unit, Early Diversified Agriculture.

The Daybooks ledgers left by the merchants of Dumfries show that patterns of trade within the park were consistent with general eighteenth century trade patterns described for Virginia as a whole (Peterson 1930). Dominant among Virginia's imports were alcoholic beverages, tea, coffee, cocoa, molasses, cheese, salt, shoes, and coal. Records of the local merchants, Smith, Hule, Alexander & Co. show that "London goods," sugar, rum, salt, coals and plow plates were sent "up the Quantico" (Library of Congress, manuscripts division). Corn from the Quantico was exchanged for salt, and many bushels of "coals" were sent up the creek. The "coals" were apparently fuel coal which was imported in quantity from England to Virginia in the late 1780s and early 1790s (Peterson 1930:305).

When the post-Revolutionary hard times hit the park area, many of whom remained within the park became tenant farmers. The Prince William County Plat Book of 1789-1858 (the only county plat book remaining from the eighteenth century) contains many references to "renting," "leasing," and "tenants." Tenant's houses are identified on several plats from the early nineteenth century, when plats began to show residence (May 18, 1817, January 20, 1825, and May 6, 1831).

Evidence for tenant farming in the park is also provided in the records of the Glassford Company in the late eighteenth century, reviewed for the years 1795-1800. Two patterns emerge from the data; by the 1790s,

Glassford dealt (1) with small, apparently independent farmers who brought in one or two hogsheads of tobacco at a time and maintained a barter account with the company, and (2) with larger operations of what appear to be groups of tenant farmers managed by an owner or overseers. These larger accounts were recorded in the name of an individual associated with specific locations, which I take to be landholdings. The tobacco accredited to the accounts of these men is recorded by stamps identifying other men, whom I take to be tenants or rentors, who will receive a portion of the value of the tobacco they produced for market through their landlord/overseer. The accounts of some of the landlord/overseers contained as many as 12 different stamps.

Some of the names associated with Quantico and Chopawamsic Creeks that appear as independent farmers in the records of Glassford & Co. between 1795-1800 are Hugh Chim, (illegible) Thornton, C. Wilson, Robert Lutturdale, Matthew Page, James Lorimer, William Herndon, Adam Cook Dinan Robertson, Martin Punket, Cremel Watson, Alexander Henderson, (illegible) Brundidger, J. Thomas, William Wilson, William Madden, and Col. Thomas Lee. Adam Cooke, Alexander Henderson, James Lorimer, Thomas Lee, Sr., and William Wilson all had tenant farmers or rentors working their lands along the Quantico and Chopawamsic.

By the early years of the nineteenth century, almost all the large landholdings in the park had been divided. The land records in Plat Book of 1789-1858 show only one large landholding in the two creek drainages. This was a parcel of 1,000 acres on the Chopawamsic surveyed in 1813. The smallest recorded parcel was two acres near Dumfries. The average size of all other parcels recorded along the Quantico and Chopawamsic was 173 acres.

The decline of tobacco and its replacement by wheat as a staple export created a demand for an improved road system. The most productive wheat growing areas in the region were to the west, and the park served as a corridor between the port of Dumfries and the interior. The park continued to be ringed by two major routes, likely established in early colonial times. Another route roughly paralleled modern State Highway 234 and followed the ridges in the interior of the park. This came to be called Ridge Road (fig. 11). Secondary roads connected mills to main roads.

Probable Site Types and Locations

Given the great increase in population of the area, the florescence of Dumfries, and peak of the tobacco economy, it is to be expected that the number of sites associated with this historic context should be greater than those associated with previously described historic contexts. However, with few exceptions, the types of sites associated with this historic context correspond to those described for the early colonial period. These include, but are not limited to:

Agricultural Sites, including
- tobacco plantation complexes (located in the northern sections of the park, along its periphery, with some parts of the complex scattered throughout the park. For example,
  - --tenant dwelling houses and associated farm structures
  - --overseers' residences
  - --slave and servant's quarters
  - --manor houses and associated dependencies

- small farms--located throughout the park, see development mixed small scale agrarian economy (tobacco plus grain, and other produce, livestock, hunting, services for cash, barter, credit).

Governmental or civic sites, such as
- the courthouses (located outside the park)
- the poorhouse(s) (located in the northwest corner of the park)
- the glebe plantation (also agricultural)

Transportation-related sites
- rolling roads
- mill roads
- main routes of travel
- fords
- wharves (outside the park)
- inns, taverns, services for travelers (blacksmith shops)
- ferry landings (outside the park)

Commercial sites
- mills (saw mills and grist mills)
- craft operations such as blacksmith shops, shoemakers shops, barber's shops, silversmith's shop, etc. (likely to be associated with residences)
- mines
- fisheries (outsides the park)
- tobacco warehouses, inspection stations

Religion
- churches
- cemeteries

Community clusters (other than Dumfries)
- settlements at crossroads and intersections
- multi-family clusters of free blacks, European immigrants, tenants

Town Residences (Dumfries)

Revolutionary War sites
- battle sites
- camps
- hospitals (Henderson House)
- fortifications

The locations of known sites and standing structures associated with this study unit are shown on figures 11, 12, and 13. As can be seen, most of the site types associated with Tobacco Plantation Society are represented in the park area, if not in the park itself.

Data Gaps

The history of at least the upper levels of Tobacco Plantation Society has fascinated researchers for generations. A voluminous literature describes the homes and habits of the planter elite of colonial and post-Revolutionary Virginia, but most of this material is not specific to the park area. The planters and the Scots merchants of Dumfries are well covered in Fairfax Harrison's Landmarks of Old Prince William (1964, first published in 1924). The guidebook, Prince William: the story of its people and its places by the Works Progress Administration contains some detailed information about specific sites associated with this study unit, but almost all of which are located outside the park. More recent histories, including those by Ratcliffe (1978) and the report of the Prince William County Historical Commission (1982), are concerned with the region, but focus on areas outside the park such as the plantations at Dipple, Tebbsdale, and Graham Park at the mouth of the Quantico.

Primary materials specific to the park area in the mid-eighteenth century include deed books, will books, marriage registers, and registers of births and deaths. The information contained in these kinds of documents is generally too detailed and requires too much time to research and analyze to be incorporated in an overview such as this one. Prince William County court records including deeds for the years 1731-1869; wills from 1734-1872, court order books from 1754-1869, and plat books from 1789-1858 are kept at the Virginia State Library in Richmond. A court order book from 1759-1761 was recently discovered in Ohio, and purchased by the Virginia State Library. A copy of this document is kept in Manassas by the court clerk (Lansing 1985, personal communication).

Dettingen Parish records from 1745-1802 remain, and are published in a bicentennial edition by Historic Dumfries Virginia, Inc. (1976). Bishop Meade made several first-hand, and many second-hand observations about the area in Old Churches and Families of Colonial Virginia (1966, first published in 1857).

The Virginia Gazette and the Alexandria Gazette, published in the eighteenth century, describe local events and activities, including lotteries, land sales, the sale of slaves, information about runaway servants and slaves, the opening and closing of shops, and so forth.

Some records of the early merchant houses that operated from Dumfries are kept in the manuscripts division of the Library of Congress. These holdings include a ledger and Daybook kept by the Scots merchants Hule, Reid, & Alexander, and the vast records kept by John Glassford & Company concerning trade around the Dumfries areas from 1758 to 1817.

The Swem Index provides a convenient and highly useful guide to the secondary materials through 1935; the William & Mary Quarterly, series 3, indexes primary and material after the Swem Index was published.

Of these primary sources, the most useful for this research have been the plat books, the records of the Glassford Company, the Dettingen Parish Records, and the Virginia Gazette. These materials provided general data on the economic and social system of which the park was a part that could be keyed specifically to the Quantico and Chopawamsic watersheds. The materials indexed by Swem, taken from the Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Henings Statutes at Large, the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, and the William and Mary Quarterly, series 1 and 2, were also valuable for specific data on the Quantico and Chopawamsic watersheds.

Fairfax Harrison's county history is an invaluable overview, and is richly documented with footnotes directing the reader to primary source materials.

However, even with this plethora of material, little has actually been written specifically about the park itself during this period. As discussed elsewhere, this is because the people who lived in the park during the eighteenth century were, for the most part, not members of the intellectual, policital, or economic elite. They were tenants, small farmers, free blacks, slaves, and perhaps craftsmen who left few written records of their own, and were not of sufficient interest to writers of the period to have been written about.

Excavations at the sites of two eighteenth century buildings have been made in Dumfries. Historic Dumfries, Inc., contracted for an archeological excavation on the Weems-Botts house in 1976, as part of their reconstruction efforts. Two excavations were done at the site of the 1759 courthouse. The first, in May, 1984 was directed by Karl Loundsbury of Colonial Williamsburg. The second excavations were directed by Carter Hudgins from Mary Washington College and were executed in March and April of 1985. The results of these excavations are not published. No eighteenth century agricultural, religious, commercial, transportation related, or community clusters have been excavated to date.

In sum, while a good deal of information is available concerning the development of Dumfries and about the elite who lived, visited, or traded there, there is little material specific to Tobacco Plantation Society in the park itself.

The northern end of the park is particularly critical with regard to the potential of discovering archeological sites from the eighteenth century. We know that several "poorhouses" of differing design and spatial organization were located there in the mid-to-late eighteenth century. The parish glebe was rented to tenants from the 1740s to the 1780s.

The plantation, Westwood, also at the northern end of the park, was the home of one of the regional elite. We have no data regarding how this plantation was organized.

The area within park boundaries around the fall line of Quantico Creek was used for mills from the late seventeenth century until the early twentith century. The potential for discovering historic sites with a seventeenth to eighteenth century base exists in this area.

It is difficult to predict where other sites associated with this study unit may have been located. Certainly isolated homesteads of small planters could have been scattered throughout the park. Tenant and slave "quarters" with a different social and spatial organization may have been located at central places on large estates. Some residences would have been located near roads or crossroads--such as they must have been--in the park.

Probable Significance

Any historic site associated with Tobacco Plantation Society found in Prince William Forest Park must be considered to be of potential significance on at least a regional level. The park, as we have seen, was primarily the home of tenants, small farmers, servants, the poor and the sick. These are people who left no written records of their own, and were not of significant interest to those who did write, to have been written about. The paucity of the written record is matched by an equivalent lack of archeological material. Archeological sites associated with these strata of eighteenth century rural society are rarely found, and even more rarely excavated.

The potential exists within the park not only for the discovery of archeological sites associated with these historically under-represented levels of tobacco plantation society, but also for the comparison of the cultural adaptations of different social strata of tobacco plantation society that were localized in adjacent settlements. The area at the head of the creek that was used for milling for 250 years may also yield information concerning technological and commercial development. Information that could be gleaned from such research would represent a significant contribution to our understanding of the social and economic complexities of eighteenth century life in the piedmont of northern Virginia.

Potential Research Questions

A wide range of research questions could be addressed if eighteenth century sites are discovered in the park. These include, but are in no way limited to the following:

1. What differences and similarities existed between major plantations, like Westwood, and smaller farms run by rentors or tenants, like those who lived on glebe lands?

2. How were the "poorhouses" organized? Is there any evidence that these were semi-penal institutions? Were they plantations? Subsistence farms? Collections of craftshops?

3. Did a chapel, or church, exist on the glebe? If so, what was it like?

4. How do the material remains of plantations and farms in the park compare with those of larger estates on the park's periphery, such as Belair, Leesylvania, Tebbsdale, Graham Park, etc.?

5. Many of the large and small farmers in the park traced direct roots to highland Scotland. To what extent is this cultural background evident in eighteenth century cultural remains?

6. What sorts of commercial and technological changes can be ascertained in the area used for milling?

7. Is it possible to monitor social and economic change associated with over-use of land and siltation of the creek? In other words, what differences can be seen in sites dating from the mid-eighteenth century, when Tobacco Plantation Society was in its prime, and the late eighteenth century, when the tobacco-focused economy was failing?

8. Is there any evidence of community life--groups of small farmers, tenants, free blacks--outside the plantation system?

EARLY DIVERSIFIED AGRICULTURE 1760-1860

Environment

Agricultural diversification took place in the context of an increasingly unproductive system of tobacco agriculture. Wheat, corn, and other grains could be grown on soils depleted by tobacco monocropping. Much of the park area had been cleared for tobacco, and left to regrow in briars and pines, resulting in a mixed deciduous-pine woodland, interspersed with cleared fields and pastures. As described in the previous study unit, the mouth of the creek had silted and abraided, and swamps and marshes encroached on what was once a relatively deep port.

Subsistence Practices

The economic and social system of which the park was a part remained essentially agrarian during the century before the Civil War. However the nature of that agrarian system changed from a social and economic system disproportionately dominated by a planter/merchant elite, to one of small scale farming done by tenants, squatters, or freeholders. Grains, particularly wheat, replaced tobacco as a critical market crop, and small merchant mills were built along the Quantico and Chopawamsic. Forest resources, and meat, hides, tallow, and skins from wild and domestic animals became important commodities for obtaining cash or credit.

Historical Narrative

National context. The demise of the tobacco plantation system was described in the previous study unit. Here it need only be repeated that by the last quarter of the eighteenth century, many of the plantations in the area had been broken up, and the land sold, leased or abandoned, as landowners moved westward in search of fresh opportunities. Underlying this process were declining soil productivity, and dependence on an increasingly untenable port town marketing system.

As tobacco yields decreased, a new market was developed in Europe for American wheat. Even before the American Revolution, strong markets had developed for American grain in England and the West Indies. The market was expanded, with some interruptions, during the French Revolution and subsequent wars in Europe.

The marketing of grain required improvements in inland transportation, and turnpikes were built linking the farmlands of the interior with the Potomac. These roads also linked tidewater to the West and served as conduits for out-migrants from the East. However, until 1815, when steamboats began regular runs on the Potomac, the main north-south route linking the nation's capital with New Orleans was the old Potomac Path which cut across the eastern tip of the park. From the 1790s to about 1815, this was the route of the mail-carrying stage. The development of railroads, so critical to the economic growth of the north and west, was delayed in the park area until after the Civil War.

Some of the country's leaders encouraged domestic production of heretofore imported items, with special attention given to the production of wool, cotton, flax and hemp (Artemel 1978:185). In 1809, the Domestic Manufacture Company of Alexandria was formed, and some mill-owners from the park area became members.

Men like Jefferson and Washington also encouraged improved methods of agriculture, but with little apparent success. However, after 1820, practices such as crop rotation and deep plowing, combined with the use of animal and plant fertilizers and the application of lime, marl, and other minerals, led to the virtual reclamation of much of the land in the south that had been "butchered" by tobacco monocropping.

Dumfries and the park area were the scene of preparations for a major battle during the War of 1812 that was barely averted. In August 1814, after the capital had been burned, the British fleet anchored off Possum Point at the mouth of Quantico Creek (Beitzell 1968). American militia and cavalry rushed to Dumfries to defend the port. Women and children were sent from the town, carrying what valuables that they could. It was feared that the British would capture the town, and burn the tobacco at the port. As American troops arrived, a tornado struck the town--and the fleet. The fleet was withdrawn shortly thereafter. Interesting from the point of view of the park, is that the night after the storm, the 89th Company, a cavalry unit, and a brigade led by General Hungerford, "encamped on eminences immediately in rear of the town, and in full view

of the enemy" (Ewell 1931:28). These encampments could have been on Grayson's Hill, or even within the park. Jesse Ewell, who was a child at the time, recalled that young boys such as he were christened "Videttes," and sent to the foothills above Quantico Creek to watch the movements of the enemy (ibid). Ratcliffe (1978:60) identifies one of these foothills as Grayson's Hill, just outside the park (figure 14).

Regional and local contexts. The towns of Alexandria and Fredricksburg were able to take advantage of the shift from tobacco to grains, and rapidly eclipsed the older port town of Dumfries. The role of Dumfries as a major shipping center ended with the Revolution.

Records from the Glassford Company show that tobacco remained the dominant crop exported from Dumfries until 1800. However, the shift from tobacco to other crops and products is documented in company ledgers. Chief among the purchases by the Glassford Company, other than tobacco, were grains--wheat, corn (Indian corn and "pick corn"), barley, oats and hay. In 1781, a flour inspector was appointed to Dumfries, who worked from one of the tobacco warehouses (Hening 10:497). Provision for a warehouse for hemp and flour was made the following year, and in 1783, there are reports that hemp, flour, and deerskins were stored therein (Hening 11:120). A flour inspector was appointed to Dumfries as late as 1819 (Artemel 1978:178).

The exploitation of woodland resources for cash or credit began on a small scale in the eighteenth century. The records of Smith, Huie, and Alexander, and of Glassford & Company show that both staves and firewood were purchased from the park area, but that the exploitation of the woodlands was of minor importance compared to tobacco until after the turn of the century. Loads of wood were received regularly by Glassford & Company between 1795 and 1805, but the Daybook of Smith, Huie, Alexander & Company of a decade earlier contain only a single mention of corkwood and a single mention of staves. It is possible, then, that wood was becoming increasingly important as an income producing resource in the 1790s.

The forest provided homes for the deer, turkey, squirrel, racoon, and other animals that were hunted for food, pelts, and bounty, until the 1930s when the park was formed. Hogs, cattle, horses, and mules were allowed to roam freely in the woodlands. The forest was particularly critical to hog raising, for the creatures fed on chestnuts and acorns, and required only a minimum amount of corn to stabilize their flesh before slaughter (Gottmann 1968:236). Hogs were raised not only for domestic consumption, but also as a source of cash or credit that required minimal investment of time and resources.

The systematic exploitation of livestock products for cash was thwarted prior to the 1760s by colonial laws that protected the livestock trade of New England by prohibiting the importation of high quality salt into Virginia. The salt available was imported primarily from the West Indies, and was too corrosive for meat preservation (Harrison 1964:412). After the Revolution, salt from Portugal became available in all the states, and

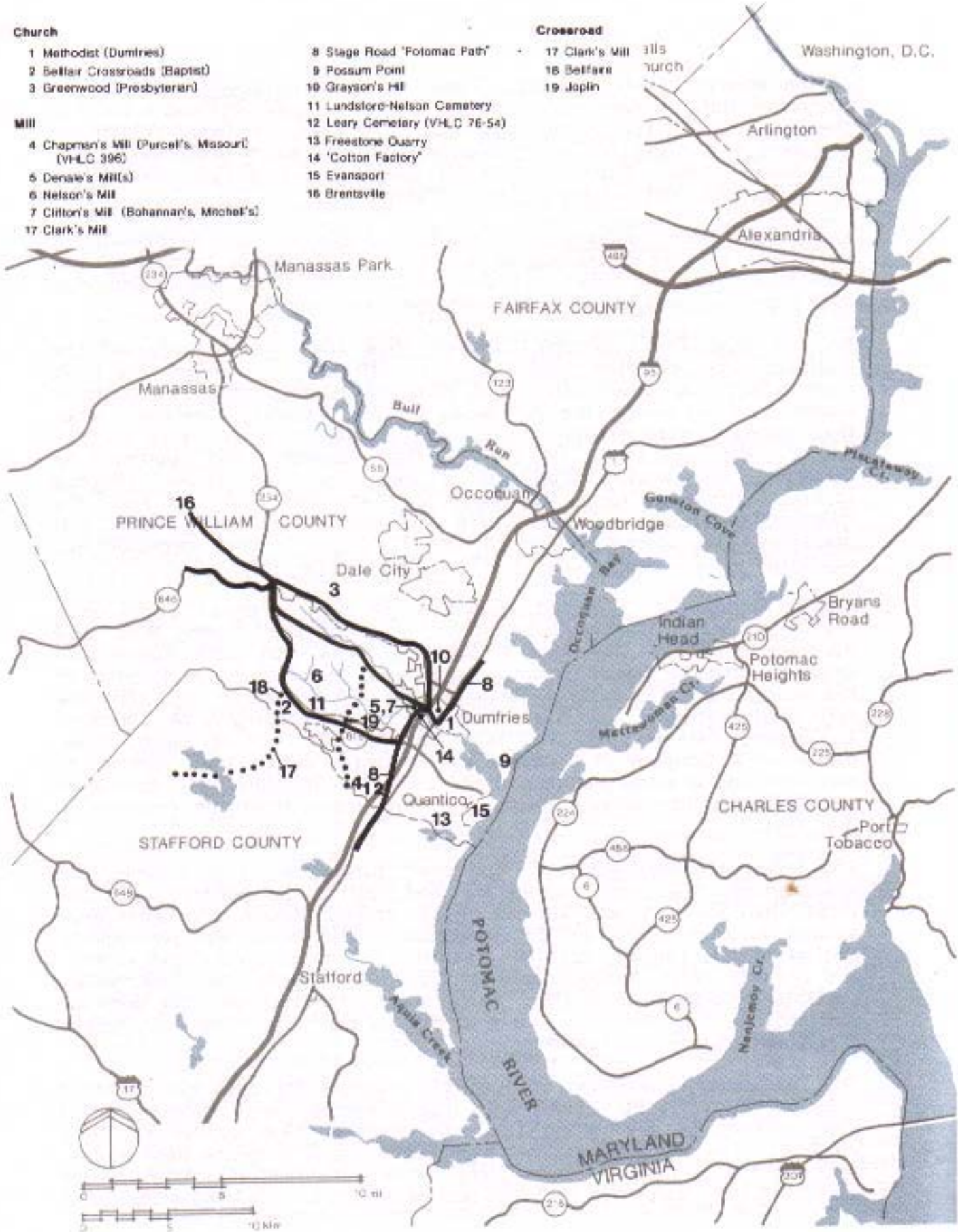


Figure 14

Sites Associated with "Early Diversified Agriculture" Study Unit (1760-1860)

Prince William Forest Park · National Park Service · United States Department of the Interior

the exports of livestock products increased (Peterson 1930:305). Glassford & Company bought pork, beef, ships stuff (salted meat, fish as well as dried bread products), tallow, middlings, oysters, and fish; Smith, Huie, Alexander & Co. purchased "venison hams."

The companies also credited freemen and the owners of servants and slaves for labor rendered. Men were paid for coopering, shoemaking, for providing medicine, midwifery, and most commonly for transporting goods between farm and store, store and dock, dock and ship. The records of Smith, Huie, Alexander & Co. are particularly full of references to payments for drayage (short distance hauling), waggonage (long distance-teamster hauling) and to "flatts" (the flat-bottomed skows that carried the products of the land out to ships waiting in the river).

The records examined during this research for the 1780s and 1790s have little information concerning what was purchased in return for labor, tobacco, grain, animal, and wood products. However, as discussed in the study unit on Tobacco Plantation Society, the scanty record that does exist does not contradict the general trade patterns described for Virginia as a whole (Peterson 1930).

The population of Prince William and Fairfax counties decreased markedly between 1790 and 1830 (table IV). Much of the population loss was due to westward emigration. In Dumfries, people were attacked by new and severe diseases, caused, they believed, by the expanding marshlands that continued to fill the mouth of the Quantico. According to one account of the 1820s:

> Strange new disease, racking chills, and slow wasting fevers, crept out of the ever-widening marshes, and assailed folk as never before (Ewell 1931:185).

Table IV. Population of Prince William County 1790-1830

	1790	1810	1820	1830
Prince William County	11,615	11,311	9,419	9,320
Fairfax County	12,320	13,654	11,322	9,206

(sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Prince William County data cited in Ratcliffe 1973, Fairfax County data cited in Artemel 1978:154).

The following letter written by the postmaster of Dumfries in 1821 describes in microcosm the physical, economic, and social decline of an area that some 60 years previous had produced a trade and elite society that rivalled New York and Philadelphia.

> This place has been more sickly with Ague and fever and Bilious complaints for about Six Weeks past than I ever recollect knowing for 37 years, the time I have lived here. Robert Graham, James Reed, and James Hays, all have died within a few months past. John Lawson Jr., a son of John Lawson died last week. Dr. John Bronaugh and George Smith have both

been unwell for some time past. Dr. B. (has) Dropsical, and Geo. Smith water in the Chest. I hope they will both get over it. Luke Cannon, Geo. Williams, Col. John Linton, James Deneale, Dr. Spence, (illeg.) Lawson, William Smith, and Thomas Chapman are all yet alive. Ths. Chapman has been in bad health for more than twelve months past and (I) fear some complaint is fixed on him that cannot be finally removed. Old Mr. Gallagher is yet living also.

Those I have mentioned are nearly all the old Stock about Dumfries now left, since you resided in this part of the Country. Old Josias Stone died a few weeks ago.

Times is excessive hard and Dull but with little money in Circulation. The price of wheat 85 cents, Corn 40 cents, flour $5. Tobacco about $3. Oats 25 cents but little of either coming to market.

Timothy Brundige

(Letter quoted in Potomac News n.d., from a reproduction in the National Genealogical Society Quarterly)

It appears that in the early to mid-1820s at least four mills operated on the Quantico and Chopawamsic creeks. Several members of the "old stock" mentioned by Mr. Brundige owned merchant mills in and around the park area. Figure 14 shows the location of Thomas Chapman's mill and Deneale's mills taken from John Wood's "nine sheet" map of 1820. Wood also shows Clifton's mill on the Quantico, but not Nelson's mill, which is shown on maps from the Civil War period. However, the Land Plat book of 1789-1858 contains a reference from 1822, to the "mill branch of the Quantico" signed by Thomas Nelson, then a surveyor of Prince William County (Prince William County Plat Book, April 11, 1822).

In the park area, the two documented mills located at some distance from the mouths of the creeks were situated at the intersections of secondary roads leading to the interior.

It is unlikely that any of these mills were large scale operations, given the economic depression of the 1820s, and descriptions of other interior areas such as the Bristow estate, which, in 1835, was described as "having been ravaged of all of its timber, and 'ploughed down to be barren' by an unmerciful course of cultivation under a numerous tenancy, for upward of 70 years (Martin 1836:273). It is not known if all of these mills operated simultaneously, or in several cases, even if they were grist or sawmills, or both.

Chapman's Mill (figure 14), also known as Missouri Mill and Purcell's mill was a combination grist and sawmill likely begun before the Revolution (VHLC site form 396). According to one local authority (Conner 1976), the mill was the original mill for the Harrison estate, which, it will be recalled, was one of the earliest recorded settlements in the area. A

Thomas Chapman was listed as a merchant of Dumfries in 1775 (William and Mary Quarterly 11(1) 1903:245). The Thomas Chapman buried in the Leary Cemetery associated with the mill lived from 1769-1827, and thus is likely the son of the Dumfries merchant of 1775. In a newspaper article from the 1930s, it is reported that the Missouri Mill was "once a big slave depot; remains of the old pens can still be seen" (National Archives, RG 79, RDA Program Files, 501). The mill served as a post office after the Civil War until about 1890 (Conner 1976). Figure 15 shows the mill in the mid-1930s. The stone chimneys remained in 1972, but by 1979, they had disappeared (VHLC 76-54). The mill site is now within the boundaries of the U.S. Marine Corps Base.

Clifton's Mill (fig. 14), also known as Mitchell's Mill and Bohannan's Mill, was a water-powered custom grist mill. Figures 16 and 17 show the mill as it appeared in 1934. This mill site is within current park boundaries.

Thomas Nelson apparently built two mills within park boundaries on the south branch of Quantico. Figure 14 shows the locations of both mills, and the location of the Nelson-Lundsford cemetery, in which several members of the Nelson family are buried. The Nelson estate in the park was known as Tranquility, or Grinstead Estate (Conner 1981:40).

In 1835, Joseph Martin reported in his Gazetteer of Virginia and the District of Columbia, that one flour mill operated in Dumfries (1836:274). Martin was not concerned with the hinterlands of Dumfries, and likely reported either one of Deneale's mills, or Clifton's mill. Nelson's mill and Chapman's mill may still have been in operation.

Martin noted that in Dumfries itself there were 80 dwelling houses, three mercantile stores, a Baptist church, a Methodist church, a school, two taverns, and a temperance society. The trades were represented by a tanyard, a blacksmith shop, two saddlers, five house carpenters, and a "woolen manufactory" (1836:274).

The "woolen manufactory" is a bit of a mystery. A map drawn in 1834 shows a "cotton factory" on the Quantico at about the point where I-95 crosses the creek today (Robinson 1834). No further information was found during this research that indicates whether the "woolen manufactory" was really a "cotton factory" or vice versa, or even if there were two different factories. No large scale sheep raising was reported in the area, but it is possible that some mill owners, for example Deneale who had joined the Domestic Manufacture Company, were experimenting with wool production. It is likely that at least some cotton was raised in the area. A large cotton mill had been built on the Occoquan some years before Martin recorded his observations. One woman who grew up in the park reports that her grandmother had come from Scotland to instruct local women in milling techniques (Potomac News, (a). It is unlikely that two factories existed at the time; the main road led directly to the "cotton factory" or "woolen manufactory."

Figure 15. Missouri (Chapman's, Purcell's) Mill, photograph by Charles Gerner, 1934-1935, curatorial collection, Prince William Forest Park.

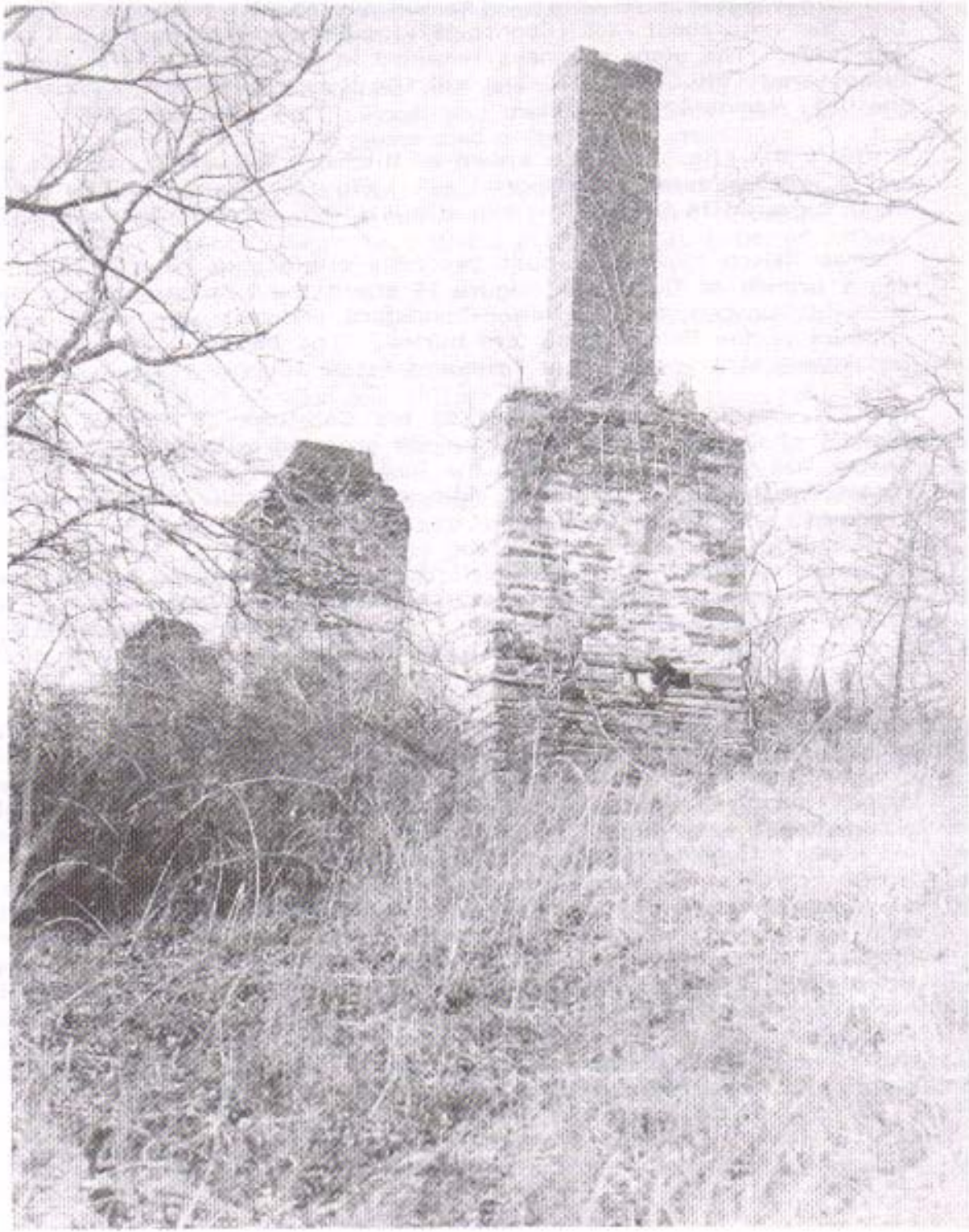


Figure 16. Bohannan's (Clifton's, Mitchell's) Mill, photograph by Charles Gerner, 1934, curatorial collection, Prince William Forest Park.

Figure 17. Bohannan's (Clifton's, Mitchell's) Mill, photograph by Charles Gerner, 1934, curatorial collection, Prince William Forest Park.

The map of 1834 shows a proposed realignment of the old stage road, which passed through the park, and right by the "factory." The proposed route bypassed the factory, and brought the road out of the park to what appears to be close to the current alignment of Highway 1.

A quarry existed near Dumfries as early as 1792, as George Mason wrote to his son in Dumfries asking him to puchase stone from the quarry at Aquia, or "at the Quarry near Dumfries" (Rutland 1970:192). The quarry appears on the historic maps of the Civil War period as the Freestone Quarry at the mouth of the Chopawamsic (fig. 14).

Martin described Dumfries as "now in a great measure abandoned, and many of its excellent buildings are in a state of rapid decay" (1836:274), and describes Brentsville, to which the county court had been moved from Dumfries in 1822, as progressive (ibid. 273). However, even in its "decline" Dumfries had four times the population (500) of the recently established Brentsville (130). Brentsville boasted one more attorney and one more "regular physician" than Dumfries, which seems a natural development for a court town. It was reported that some of the buildings of Dumfries were moved to Brentsville when the courthouse was established.

Given the rather extensive list of businesses that Martin reported in Dumfries, it is likely that the people who lived at least in the eastern sections of what is now the park continued to look toward Dumfries, and not toward Brentsville, as a main source of supplies, services, and labor. According to Martin, the town retained importance as a point on the main mail route from New Orleans to Washington. By the early 1800s, mail was carried by steamer up the Potomac because "the road in its neighborhood between Fredricksburg and Alexandria is in a worse condition than perhaps any in the middle States, so utterly impassable at times that the mail cannot travel" (Martin 1836:274). However, there was no choice but to go overland north of Dumfries in the winter when the Potomac was blocked by ice. Dumfries was the best winter harbor on the Potomac as the river seldom froze below the town (ibid.).

Disestablishment followed the American Revolution; church lands were sold, and the responsibility for the care of orphans and the poor was given to local governments. The separation of church and state encouraged the establishment of other denominations, and by mid-1800s, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist churches were built in the park area. The first Methodist church was built in Dumfries in 1801. A Baptist church was built at Bellfair Crossroads in the early 1800s (Writer's Program 1941:46). In 1855, the first Presbyterian church in the area was built on the outskirts of the park. Figure 14 shows the location of these churches. The Anglican church in Dumfries had been abandoned by 1826, when Bishop Meade visited Dumfries.

Little is known about the park area between 1840 and 1860. These were years of economic depression, in which the main ways of making a living were marketing, the sale of services, or fishing. With the relative demise of Dumfries, people in the park were poorly situated for marketing and

for obtaining cash for services. Some commercial fishing was done, as a fishing establishment was built at what used to be called Carrbourough. Carrbourough was renamed Evansport, after the owner of the fishing operation. Whether this enterprise involved residents of the park is unknown, but seems unlikely. Most people who lived in the park area were likely subsistence farmers.

Maps from the Civil War period show houses scattered along roads, with some clusters at crossroads and at intersections leading to mills. Such clusters developed at Independent Hill, at the crossroad leading to Clark's mill and Stafford Springs, and at what became Joplin in the park (fig. 14). These settlements typically included a church, store, several houses, and perhaps some services, such as a blacksmith shop, wheelwright, or waggon maker. By the mid-1860s, four mills, one of them a sawmill, operated on the Quantico, and two along the Chopawamsic (fig. 14).

Probable Site Types and Locations

Site types associated with this study unit would include, but are not limited to, the following:

Agricultural sites, including
- tobacco plantation complexes (until ca. 1800)
- small farm complexes of independent farmers, tenants, and squatters, in which grain, livestock, hunting, the exploitation of woodland resources, subsistence farming, labor for cash and credit were all important

Governmental or civic sites, such as
- the courthouse (out of park in Dumfries, then Brentsville)
- the poorhouse (in northwest area of park in early 1800s)

Transportation-related sites
- mill roads
- main roads
- inns, taverns (Dumfries, Brentsville)
- service sites, such as blacksmiths, wheel-wrights, waggonmakers
- fords
- wharves, ferry landings (outside the park)

Commercial sites
- mills (saw mills and grist mills)
- craft operations, such as blacksmiths and other trades
- grain and tobacco inspection stations and warehouses (in Dumfries)
- fisheries (outside the park)

Religion-associated sites
- churches
- cemeteries

Community clusters (other than towns, such as Dumfries)
- settlements at crossroads and intersections
- multi-family clusters associated by socio-cultural background, such as free blacks, European immigrants, immigrants from other parts of the United States

Town residences and businesses (Dumfries)

Sites associated with the War of 1812
- look-out points
- camps
- fortifications

Figure 14 shows the approximate locations of all known sites associated with this study unit.

Data Gaps

This was a period in the park that was dominated by merchant milling, small farming, tenant farming, and by the replacement of much of the older population with new immigrants. Several mills operated in the park throughout the century, but little is recorded concerning the nature and volume of their trade, and the area and population that each served. As Fairfax Harrison puts it, "There is little enough available evidence for the construction of the merchant mills (1964:413). Further research into the records of major companies, such as the Glassford Company, which operated from Dumfries until 1858, may yield some information regarding the mills in the park. However, this research indicated that by 1800, Glassford Company did not purchase flour, but instead purchased grain to be ground outside of Dumfries and vicinity.

Little is known about the processes by which tobacco plantations were changed into grain farms. Such a transition must have involved technological changes of some magnitude, and certainly was accompanied by changes in social organization as the single family farm replaced multifamily plantation units. These changes have not been directly examined in the Virginia piedmont to date.

The social and economic processes by which the park was emptied of its "Old Guard," and resettled by others are not understood. Indeed, the extent to which the park was actually emptied during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is not at all clear.

While it is known that some of the prominent families did leave the park area and settle in Kentucky, other families who were tenants and small farmers--both white and free black--did not leave the park. Representatives of at least one of these families, the Keyes, can be

traced in the park from before the Revolution to the 1930s, when the park was formed.

It is clear from the parish records that large numbers of immigrants came to Prince William after the American Revolution. However, it appears that many of these moved on almost immediately to open land to the west. Other immigrants followed, but it is not presently clear from where. There is some indication that immigration of Scotch and Scotch-Irish followed a broad social and kinship network that linked settlers in the park area with Scotland, Canada, and New Jersey. This network was likely managed by prominent mill owners eager to supply skilled workers to a budding fiber industry.

No standing structures associated with this study unit remain in the park, and most known sites have been heavily disturbed. The remains of the merchant mills are particularly fragmentary, when compared with the remains of other mills nearby, for example the Hope Park Mill in Fairfax County (Artemel 1978:181). Traces of the race of Nelson's Mill could be seen on the south side of Quantico Creek as late as 1981 (Conner 1981:41), and fragmented remains of a wooden dam near the site of Clifton's Mill were observable in August 1985. Two grinding stones from a mill located in this area were embedded in the creek in 1976 (Kirby, personal communication June 1985). They have since been washed away or removed.

Given the devastation of the Civil War, and the perishable materials used to build log and frame houses associated with agricultural sites, it is unlikely that much remains of small farming sites from this period.

Probable Significance

While it is somewhat unlikely that sites, other than mill sites, associated with this study unit will be found in the park, the possibility should not be discounted. If sites are found associated with the transition from tobacco plantation agriculture to grain farming, or with transition from plantation to family farming, in the park, they could be of considerable regional significance, because so little is known about these topics.

Potential Research Questions

Further study of historic properties associated with this study unit could help to answer some of the following questions.

1. What were the social consequences of the transition from tobacco plantation agriculture to grain farming? What were the social consequences of the shift from large, multifamily, agricultural units, to single family farms?

2. Can any technological changes be detected during this period that could be associated with the shift from tobacco plantation agriculture to grain farming? Are there differences in the spatial organization of these units?

3. What social, economic, and political forces channelled movement in and out of the park area from 1760-1860? To what extent was emigration from the park associated with the upper levels of Tobacco Plantation Society? To what extent was immigration associated with the milling industry?

4. Who were the people who built merchant mills in the park? What was their social and economic background, and what experience did they bring to these mills? Were they at all connected with families already living in the park area? Did these mills share characteristics with mills already studied in nearby areas (e.g., Netherton 1976, Clark 1930, Petersilia and Wright 1972)?

5. What changes can be detected in the numbers of poor, and the activities of the residents of the poorhouse during this period as responsibility for their care shifted from the Anglican Church to the county government?

6. What sort of changes in building styles and types are associated with this study unit?

7. How did community clusters develop? Were these neighborhoods of families related by kinship? To what extent were these settlement clusters commercially oriented?

FREE BLACK SOCIETY 1760-1861

Climate and Environment

The climate and environment associated with this study unit is the same as that described in the chronologically overlapping study units, Tobacco Plantation Society and Early Diversified Agriculture.

Subsistence Practices

The documentary records suggest that, as early as the mid-eighteenth century, some free blacks in the Prince William area were taught to be tradesmen such as blacksmiths, shoemakers, and carpenters. However, in the census of 1850, most free blacks in the Prince William Forest area were listed as laborers and tenants. In the park itself, it can be assumed that free blacks, much like their white neighbors, maintained small farms in conjunction with other work.

Historical Narrative

Regional Context. Blacks--both slave and free--formed a smaller proportion of the population of northern Virginia than they did in the southern reaches of the state. The development of the tobacco economy in the Prince William area depended more on a continued supply of immigrants from Europe than it did on the importation of Afro-American slave labor. In the 1750s, the population of Prince William County was only about 25 percent black, numbering about 2,800, most of whom were slaves who labored in the tobacco economy.

After the American Revolution, at least in neighboring Fairfax County, it increasingly became the custom to free slaves upon the death of their owners (Artemel 1978:157). In Fairfax County this practice was associated with the immigration of Quakers and other groups opposed to the institution of slavery. Increasing numbers of free blacks in Fairfax and other counties in Virginia led to a reaction in the Assembly, which in 1806 passed legislation forbidding freed blacks from remaining in the state for more than one year after they had obtained their freedom. This led to a decline in free black population as the freedmen joined the westward movement or migrated to cities such as Alexandria and Richmond.

The degree to which the law prohibiting freed blacks from remaining in the state was enforced in Prince William County is not clear, but it appears from the documentary records that several families of free blacks have remained specifically in the park area from the mid-eighteenth century to the present.

The U.S. Census of 1810 enumerated free white males and free white females of different age groups, slaves, and "all other free persons except Indians not taxed." The names of free blacks are entered in the last of these categories. In Prince William County, 59 households were recorded that consisted of only free, non-white, non-Indian, individuals. Population of these households totalled 256. Another 73 free, non-white individuals lived in households that also included free whites and slaves. Thus, by 1810, well over 300 free blacks, including mulattos, lived in Prince William County.

By 1850, there were over 100 free black families living in Prince William County, with a combined population of 550 (256 males and 294 females) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850).

Local Context. Free blacks lived in the park area by the mid-eighteenth century. As early as 1768, the Dettingen Parish records indicate that the children of "Phoebe Cole, a free negro" were to be indentured to William Bennett, a tobacco inspector and a landowner in the park area. Two of Phoebe Cole's sons were to be taught to be carpenters; another was to be taught the trade and art of shoemaking. A daughter was also indentured, but her work was unspecified (Dettingen Parish Records 1976:116).

The parish records show that at least between 1749 and 1802 the indentures of free blacks were similar to those of free whites in duration, and in their association with semi-skilled labor. Whites and free blacks were indentured, or apprenticed, until age 21. The indentures of mulattos recorded in the parish were not associated with specific trades, and with few exceptions lasted until age 31.

The surnames of some of the Negroes and mulattos, specifically the Thomases and the Coles, who were indentured between 1750 and 1802 in the park area reappear in the census of 1810. In 1850, the surnames of the heads of some of these households, specifically the Thomases, Coles, Kendalls, Williams and Bates, reappear from 1810.

The Coles, Thomases, Kendalls, Williams, and Bates families remained in the park area until the park was formed in the mid-1930s. Some lived in the park (see the study unit on Mixed Agrarian Economy), others lived just outside the park.

The black settlement along Mine Road used to be called Batestown, in memory of the free black woman, Mary Bates. Mary Bates is described in a history of the Little Union Baptist church on Mine Road, as "a remarkable black woman to whom many generations of local blacks trace their roots" (Anonymous n.d.1). In 1901, Mary Bates and her husband, Jack (John) Thomas, donated the land for the New School Baptist church, which was renamed Little Union Baptist church.

The 1850 census for Prince William County shows a free woman, "Mary Bates, female, mulatto, 13 years old." It is likely that this is the same Mary Bates who some forty years later gave land for the Little Union Baptist church (fig. 18).

The main road through this area is now called Mine Road, after the pyrite mine operations that it serviced over fifty years ago. Local residents interviewed during this research prefer to call the road "Batestown Road" in memory of Mary Bates.

In sum, it appears not only that several free black families occupied the park area for a century before the Civil War, but also that those same families remained in the park area for over a hundred years after the Civil War. Today, descendants of these families live on the outskirts of the park in Batestown.

Probable Site Types and Locations

Because antebellum free black society was part of a larger social and economic system, sites associated with this study unit should fall into some of the same general categories as those described in the study units, Tobacco Plantation Society and Early Diversified Agriculture. However, some types of sites, for example government-associated sites and major transportation-associated sites, do not apply directly to this study unit but are more realistically approached via broader conceptual

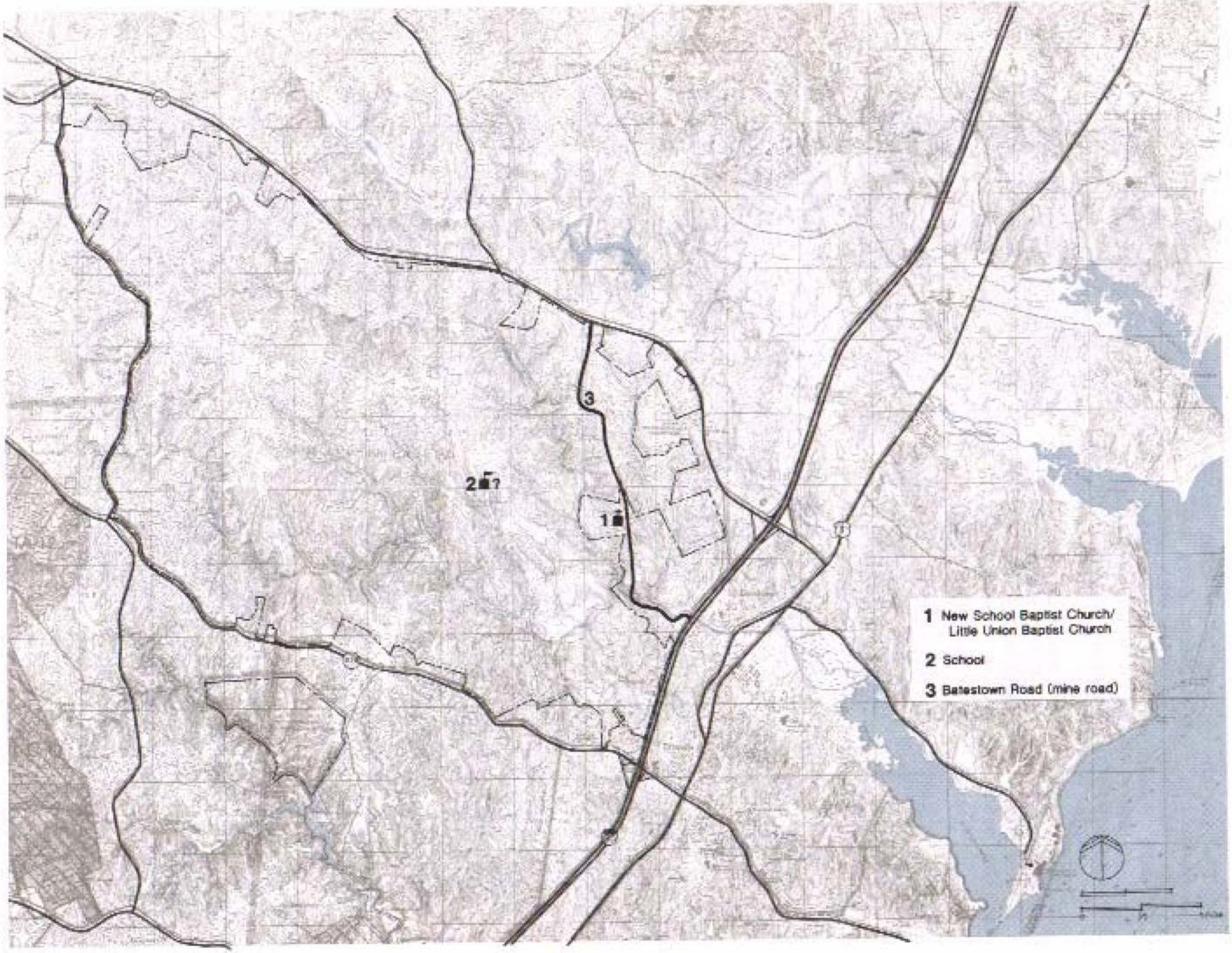


Figure 18

Historic Sites Associated with Free Black Study Unit

(1760-1861)

categories. Potential site types that should be associated with free black society include, but are not limited to the following:

Agricultural
--plantation complexes on which free blacks lived
--independent farm complexes
--tenant farm complexes

Transportation
--roads, paths to homesteads, nucleated settlements

Commercial
--craftsmen's workshops, blacksmith shops, carpenter's shops, shoemakers' shops

Port Town (outside the park)
--residential sections of Dumfries associated with free blacks, possibly the inception of a free black community at outskirts of town, at foot of Mine Road.
--craftsmen's shops in town
--taverns, entertainment areas open to blacks

Religious
--churches
--cemeteries

Educational
-- schools

It is difficult to predict where sites associated with free black society may be located in the park and its environs. It was common for landowners to give a section of land to tenants, both black and white, in return for their labor. These landholdings could be scattered throughout the park area.

Names and location of antebellum community-focused sites such as churches, schools, or cemeteries were not discovered during this research. The only hint of such a site was the recollection of a woman in her 90s that an old school existed in the park just north of the Mary Bird branch of the Quantico. The school, abandoned well before 1920, was hidden in the woods, presumably deliberately, and was located somewhere between the stream and the modern Ridge Road (Williams, 1985 personal communication) (fig. 18).

Data Gaps

The systematic examination by historians, anthropologists, and archeologists of social and economic groups out of the Caucasian mainstream (other than American Indians) is a relatively new endeavor. Sparked by the cultural awareness movements of the 1960s and 1970s,

archeologists began to turn their attention to the examination of cultural differences and similarities as revealed by material remains.

A few studies were directed toward free black communities, mostly in the northeast (Baker 1980, Deetz 1977, Salwen and Bridges 1974, Schuyler 1980). In these studies, differences in architectural style (Deetz 1977, Baker 1980), in spatial organization of residences (Deetz 1977), and in food practices have been attributed to an African cultural heritage. In Alexandria, the Alexandria Archaeology Research Center has excavated in an area of the city occupied by free blacks from the early nineteenth century to the present (Alexandria Urban Archeology Program 1983), and test excavations have been made at Gum Springs, a free black community near Mt. Vernon. The results of these test excavations with regard to defining cultural differences have been inconclusive to date (Chittenden et al., 1985).

Interest in directing research toward the history of free blacks in nearby Manassas National Battlefield Park is indicated in the recommendations made in the Manassas Historic Sites Survey (McGarry 1983).

The documentary materials, consisting primarily of census records and parish records, tell little about the life of the free blacks who lived in the park area. Detailed oral historical research with descendants of members of black families who lived within and adjacent to the park may provide original material and point to further avenues of research into written materials. Some members of the black community are very interested in both researching and preserving their past. However, it must be recognized that it is unlikely that many written records were kept by antebellum blacks in a rural area such as the park, in which most whites were themselves uneducated.

Virtually nothing is known about free black society in the park other than the fact that generations of the same free black families lived in the park area for over a hundred years. No specific locations are associated with these families, at least before the Civil War.

Probable Significance

Any site that could be conclusively associated with this study unit would be of at least regional, if not national, significance as it would represent the potential of productive research into a virtually unknown area. Perhaps even more importantly, such a site would be of tremendous local significance because of the relatively strong sense of historical continuity that is felt by members of the black community, some of whom were displaced from the park itself. The pride and reverence with which Mary Bates is remembered is indicative of the value placed by the black community on its local history.

Potential Research Questions

Research in this study unit could address many important topics including the following:

1. What trades and crafts were associated with free blacks before the Civil War?

2. To what extent, and in what ways, did the settlement patterns of free blacks differ from other racial and ethnic groups; for example, Scottish peasants, who also lived in the park?

3. Where did the free black families who lived in the park area come from? Were they first, second, or third generation immigrants to the area?

4. What sorts of spatial relations characterized the dwellings of free blacks in the park area? Were they different or similar to the spatial relations exhibited in other rural settlements? Can any change in these relationships be seen through time?

5. Can any differences in food habits be ascertained between antebellum free black communities and other rural communities?

THE CIVIL WAR 1860–1865

Environment

"Devastation" is a word frequently used to describe changes in the environment of Prince William County during the Civil War. Houses, fields, farms, fences and livestock enclosures were burned. Livestock was confiscated; old roads were destroyed and new roads built across the backcountry. Woodlands were cut down by both armies to meet their needs for fuel, roadbeds, railroad ties, wagons, and fortifications.

Subsistence

Subsistence farming continued to be the economic basis of the park area, but during the war sustained farming must have been practically impossible for those left at home. During the early years of the war, the area between Dumfries and the Occoquan was occupied by over 6,500 Confederate troops (Writer's Program 1941:49). After the spring of 1862, the entire county was in Union control. Those who remained in their homes found their property, food, and other resources subject to the needs of the armies. The Civil War maps show numerous houses occupied by widows who must have tried to farm the best they could. For the men, basic subsistence depended on military orders and the weapons of war.

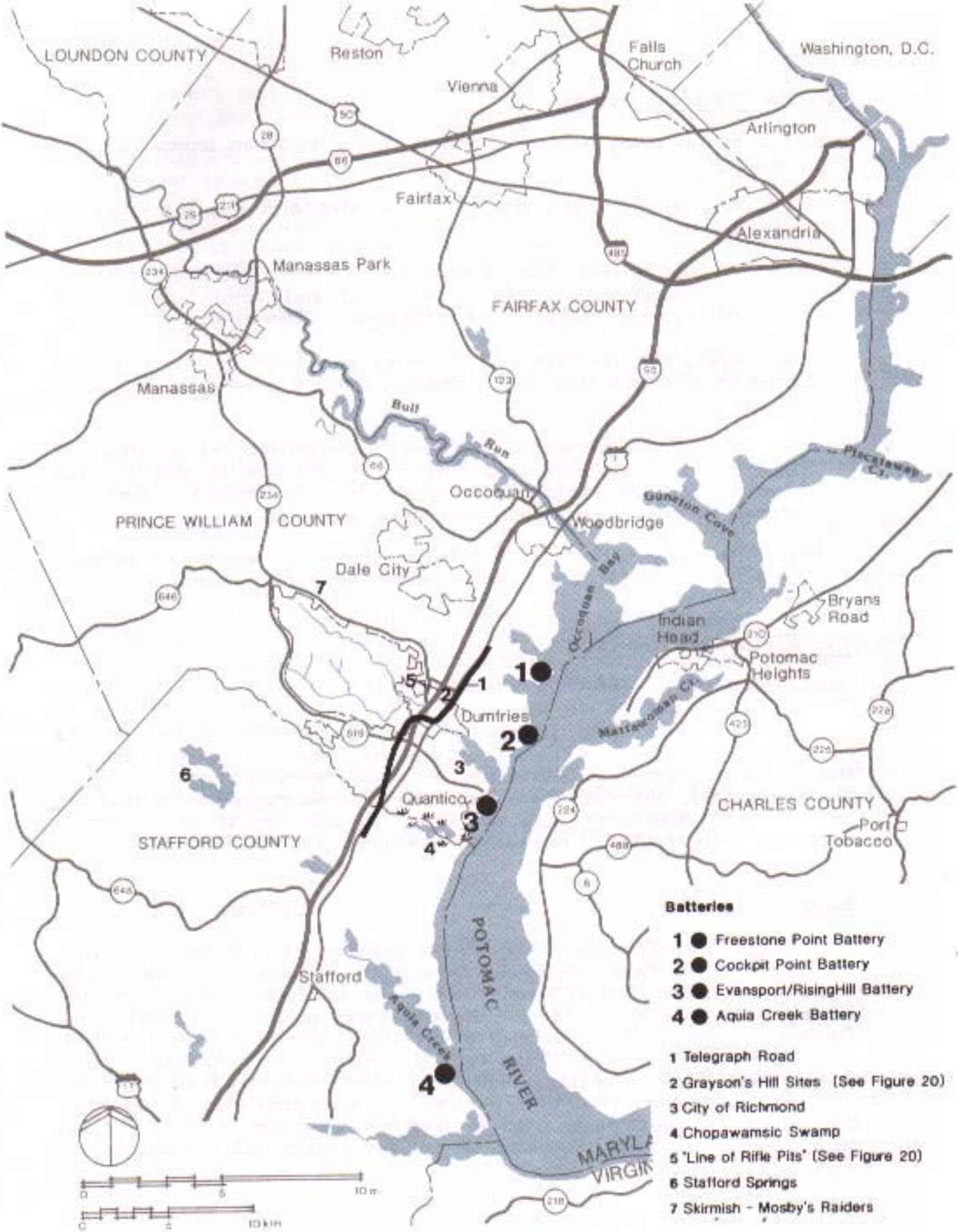


Figure 19

Historic Sites Associated with Civil War Study Unit

(1860-1865)

Prince William Forest Park National Park Service United States Department of the Interior

Regional and Local Context. The activity of both armies in the Prince William Forest area focused on the Potomac which served as a vital supply route to the Union capital in Washington. The U.S. Navy organized the Potomac Flotilla charged with keeping the river open to federal traffic and the disruption of communication between the Maryland and Virginia shores (Wills 1978:2). In response, the Confederates quickly built a battery at Aquia Creek to protect the railroad landing, but it was not capable of controlling the river. In the spring of 1861, Confederate troops were sent to Dumfries with four seige guns. A skirmish between some of these men and Union soldiers who were attempting to gain control of the Maryland shore opposite Quantico Creek led to the capture of over a dozen Union men. By July, these troops were sent to First Manassas (Confederate Veteran XVIII(11):557).

In August 1861, General Robert E. Lee ordered the construction of several batteries to blockade the Potomac. One was at the mouth of Quantico Creek at a site called Evansport or Rising Hill. Another battery was located just north of Possum Nose, at Cockpit Point, and one was built at Freestone Point on Neabsco Creek (fig. 19). The batteries were completed in the fall of 1861, and between October to March of the following year, the Confederates were able to close the Potomac to all ships carrying supplies to Washington, the center of Union war preparations (VHLC site form 76-302).

The mouth of the Quantico was transformed into a major Confederate supply center. Some of the guns captured at First Mansassas were brought to the batteries along the Potomac. The Confederates had their own flotilla, consisting of scows, barges, several schooners, and the captured steamer, George Page, which was renamed the City of Richmond. A sloop ferried goods nightly from the Maryland shore to Evansport (Tilp 1978:176-77).

The Union army built their own batteries on the Maryland shore at the mouth of Mattawoman Creek (fig. 19). A U.S. Aeronautic Corps observation balloon was stationed on the Maryland shore protected by these batteries. A sketch based on data from the balloon in December 1861 shows Confederate encampments at Dumfries, and behind Dumfries to the north in what may be within the park's northeastern boundaries (Block 1966:80-81).

However, what was seen from the balloon may well have been the fortifications and gun emplacement built just outside the park overlooking Route 1, then a stage road and a major north-south artery (fig. 19). Earthworks suitable for gun emplacements can still be seen on Grayson's Hill (VHLC 44PW132). Another site on Grayson's Hill, known today as "Battery Hill," is reported to have been the site of a Civil War fort, "presumably associated with the Confederate blockade of the Potomac" (VHLC 44PW130). A local historian associates the batteries on Grayson's Hill with the Union. J.R. Ratcliffe (1985) reports that the eighteenth century Henderson House in Dumfries was "struck several times by cannon shot during some of the skirmishes over the Yankee batteries on Grayson's Hill." Another fortification site, known today as "Grayson's

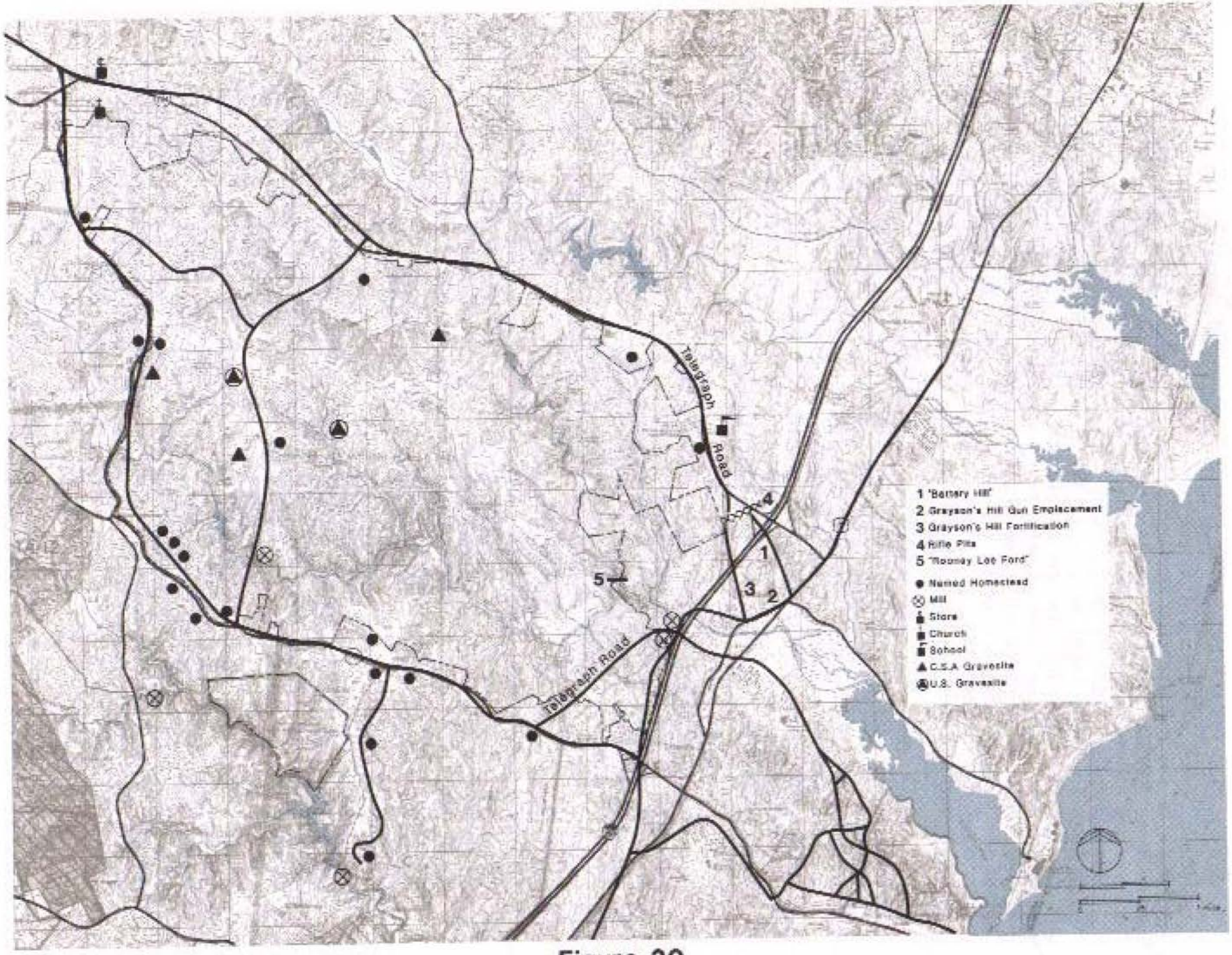


Figure 20

Sites Associated with Civil War Study Unit in Prince William Forest Park (1860-1865)

Hill fortification" (VHLC 44PW129), is situated further down the hill (fig. 19). It apparently was used during the Civil War, as large numbers of Civil War artifacts have been found in the immediate vicinity. However, this fortification may well predate the Civil War as artifacts, possibly dating from the Revolutionary War, have also been found nearby.

The blockade of the Potomac caused enough difficulties that in March 1862 President Lincoln ordered the navy and army to cooperate "in an immediate effort to capture the enemy's batteries upon the Potomac between Washington and the Cheasapeake Bay" (cited in Wills 1978:10). Almost simultaneously, however, the batteries were abandoned in the general Confederate withdrawal from northern Virginia to the Rappahannock in the spring of 1862. Dumfries, the park area, and most of northern Virginia became Union territory.

The batteries were destroyed to the extent possible. The City of Richmond was burned in Quantico Creek (Tilp 1978:177). According to some accounts, the Chopawamsic swamp was used as a Confederate dump on their southern withdrawal; others maintain that the swamp proved too difficult to negotiate. In any event, war relics were uncovered in the Chopawamsic swamp during the 1920s when Highway 1 was being constructed (Gordon 1985, personal communication).

By the end of March 1863, Union forces had entered the park area on their way to Dumfries. A Union major reported on the material left by the Confederates on Telegraph Road, which crossed the northeast section of the park (fig. 20):

> I passed through the camps of four brigades. Considerable numbers of tents were left in the camps, but they were old and worthless. I counted thirty two-large Confederate army wagons, which were mostly in good condition, and had been left by the rebels on account of the scarcity of horses and almost impassable condition of the roads. I ascertained that the rebels had two trains of pack mules. I also found considerable flour and hard bread, which had been taken from the camps by the farmers and is still in their possession, as I had no transportation. . . . (I)n this vicinity at almost every farm there is something concealed. . . . I ascertained that the Prince William Cavalry and the Hampton Legion were about 6 miles southwest of Dumfries, and were pressing Union men into their ranks. . . .
>
> There is considerable grain in this vicinity, but little or no hay. The nature of the roads would not allow a baggage train to bring away any quantity of stores just at present. . . . (U.S. Department of War, Series I, XII:13.)

From this account we learn that at least some farmers remained in and around Dumfries during the Union occupation, that some of these farmers

grew "grain" (presumably corn), but not hay, and that the condition of the roads was abominable.

Confederate raids continued in the park area despite Union occupation. In December 1862, General Wade Hampton and 520 men surprised Union troops in Dumfries (Writers Program 1941:51). The Confederates came from Culpeper and likely traveled adjacent to the park. On December 26, Stuart and his cavalry commanded by Hampton, Fitzhugh Lee, and W.H.F. ("Rooney") Lee, son of Robert E. Lee, raided Dumfries. At the time, Dumfries was occupied by a brigade of infantry and about two regiments of cavalry. Fitzhugh Lee "struck north of the Chopawamsic and moved north to Dumfries, capturing wagons and prisoners, and Rooney Lee reached Dumfries, having captured a number of pickets" (Writer's Program 1941:51). A map from the Civil War period shows a line of "rifle pits" across what is now Route 234 at the far eastern edge of the park (Anonymous n.d.c.). According to a park document of 1959, the picket lines taken out by Rooney Lee were along Telegraph Road, and Rooney Lee himself led a skirmish in the park at a ford on the south branch of the Quantico. This crossing became known as "Rooney" Lee Ford (Master Plan Prince William Forest Park III:2, fig. 20).

In a compendium of Civil War battles, first published in 1899 (Carnahan 1975:30), the outcome of the activity at Dumfries at the end of December 1862 is described somewhat differently than the account provided above. Carnahan reports on December 27, 1862, that the 5th, 7th, and 66th Ohio, the 12th Illinois Cavalry, 1st Maryland Cavalry, and the 6th Maine Battery were engaged at Dumfries. Three Union men were killed and eight wounded; 25 Confederates were killed, and 40 wounded.

In 1863, John Singleton Mosby and his raiders were active in the Dumfries/park area. Mosby attempted to attack Union supply trains using the highway near Dumfries (Writer's Program 1941:108), an activity which must have brought him into the park. In May 1863 a skirmish between Mosby's Raiders and Union troops took place near Elizabeth Lynn's house just north of the park (fig. 19).

It is reported that Stafford Springs, a short distance from the park (fig. 19), was the locus of a Confederate spy ring--a jumping off point from which northern Virginia was inflitrated (Gordon 1985, personal communication).

Some effects that the constant skirmishes and raids had on the countryside were described by a Union engineer charged with producing a map of Stafford County in 1863:

> It is impossible to designate definitely the exact character of the roads in this county. . . . Some public roads seem to be altogether disused and almost effaced, and many farm and private roads have become thoroughfares. This is especially the case along the River. The country is entirely stripped of enclosures and cut up with innumerable camp paths. The roads are generally well-beaten but (illegible) much washed, and many small crossings even destroyed by the July rains (Blackford 1863).

Probable Site Types and Locations

A variety of types of sites associated with the Civil War are located in the area around the park, and could be found in the park itself. These include, but are not limited to the following:

Military:
- batteries (Grayson's Hill, Rising Hill, etc.)
- earthworks (Grayson's Hill, possibly in park)
- encampments (Grayson's Hill, possibly in park)
- forts (Grayson's Hill)
- skirmish sites (along main and backcountry roads)

Transportation:
- fords (one reported in park)
- bridges
- wagon roads

Agricultural:
- small independent farms
- tenant farms
- freedmen's farms

Community clusters:

Religious:
- churches
- cemeteries

Figure 20 shows known Civil War sites. In the park, these include the graves of four Confederate soldiers, at least one of whom died during the Civil War. A least two cemeteries in the park are reported to contain the graves of Union soldiers (VHLC site form 76-299).

Maps from the Civil War period list no fewer than 16 settlements, presumably households, in the area between modern Routes 619 and 234 (fig. 20). Some of the names listed, for example Keys (Key), and Coles, are names associated with the Quantico drainage since the eighteenth century (Dettingen Parish Records 1745-1801, Prince William County Plat Book 1789-1858), and continued to be associated with the park until it was formed 70 years later. Other names that appear on the Civil War maps, Carter, Chapman, and Carney, were associated with the park when it was formed. What this suggests is that, since before the Civil War, the park has been settled for generations by a core of families, segments of which continued to live in the park and environs despite widespread emigration to the west, and the dislocation and dismemberment of their homes during wartime.

Figure 20 also shows the approximate locations of mills, stores, churches, schools, and cemeteries specifically associated with this period. This information was compiled from three different historic maps from the period including the map referenced as "Anonymous n.d.(c.)" above, which is reproduced as figure 21. The other maps are a "Map of Northeastern Virginia and Vicinity of Washington" prepared by the U.S. War Department in 1862, and a land ownership map of Prince William County made in 1864.

Data Gaps

Little specific data regarding the minor skirmishes and troop movements that took place in the park was recovered during this research which dealt only with readily available primary, and general secondary, sources. It is possible that further detailed documentary research into primary materials, for example the personal papers of General Wade Hampton, Fitzhugh Lee, W.H.F. Lee, and Union soldiers, if they are available for study, could reveal specific locations of camps, crossings, lookout points, or skirmishes. Detailed research into the construction, occupation, and use of the sites on Grayson's Hill, just outside the park, may reveal the locations of associated sites within park boundaries. More information is likely to be available concerning the batteries on the Potomac outside the park. Further research into the withdrawal of Confederate troops from the Dumfries area and the entry of Union troops in the spring of 1862 may also provide details on specific locations of Civil War sites. Reports that the park area was part of a Confederate spy ring, and that it served as part of the Underground Railroad remain unsubstantiated.

Probable Significance

The information reviewed during this research does not suggest that sites associated with military occupation of some duration, with major military construction, or with major military battles will be found in the park. Some sites may be found that are associated with persons of national or regional significance, e.g., J.E.B. Stuart or John Singleton Mosby, but no specific locations are currently available within park boundaries. Civil War sites, directly and exclusively associated with military activities, expected to be found in the park will most likely be of the level of local or public significance. Other sites occupied during the Civil War not directly related to military activity, but to subsistence during wartime, may be of greater overall significance. Evidence the park was occupied for generations before, during, and after the Civil War by a core group of families suggest the potential for studying long-term cultural adaptation to changing environmental circumstances in a relatively confined geographic setting.

Potential Research Questions

Some research questions that could be addressed to historic properties associated with this study unit include the following:

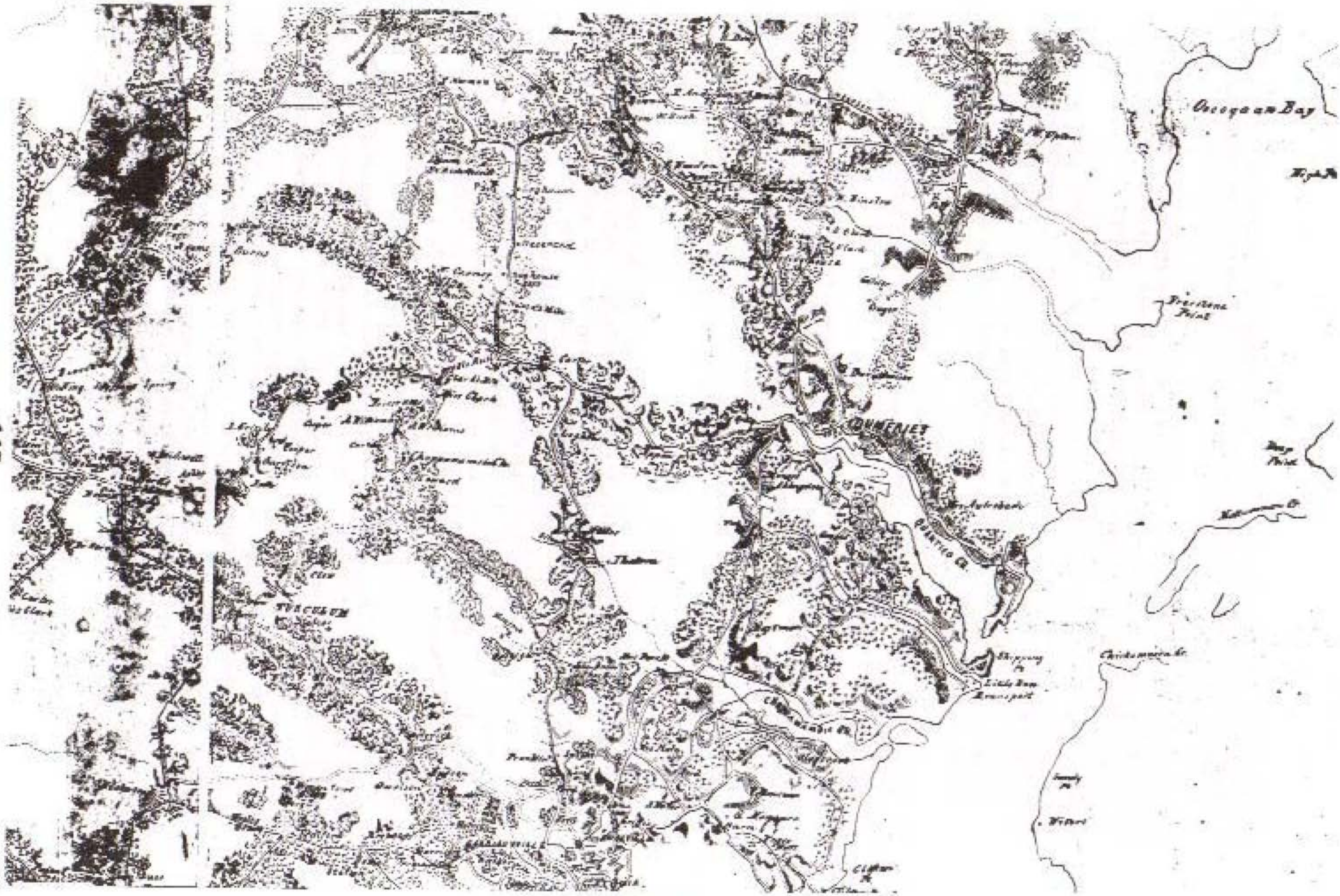


Figure 21

The Prince William Forest Area from a map made in the 1860's.

1. Can the "devastation" so commonly attributed to the backcountry areas during the Civil War be confirmed archaeologically (cf., Chittenden et al. 1985)?

2. To what extent did the lives of the people who lived in the park change during the Civil War? What economic and social subsistence strategies were developed during wartime?

3. Did the Civil War cause temporary abandonment of the park area as it reportedly did in much of the backcountry of northern Virginia; or as suggested by the Civil War maps, did some people remain during wartime? Who stayed and who left? Was the park for a time occupied by women, children, and old people? Can this be seen archeologically?

4. To what extent was the park used in conjunction with the occupation of Dumfries and Grayson's Hill by Confederate troops during the early years of the war?

5. To what extent did transportation routes and settlement patterns change in the park as a result of repeated raids and skirmishes?

A MIXED AGRARIAN ECONOMY 1870-1940

Environment

The destruction caused by the Civil War took its toll on the park area. Burned fields turned to briars and brambles, and woodlands were reestablished on abandoned fields. The mouth of the creek was lined by broad marshes and mudflats from which people in the area took crab, herring, duck, and other creatures. The creek and its marshes and mudflats were polluted by the late nineteenth century partly as a result of the mining operations within the park. In some areas, the soil had been degraded to the point that farming was no longer possible.

Subsistence

Life in what was to become Prince William Forest Park remained agrarian at base during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During this period, farming was small scale, and was geared largely toward domestic consumption. In order to acquire desired or needed goods from the outside it was necessary to turn some resources--grain, livestock, lumber, or labor--into cash or credit from local stores. Farm production was also supplemented through regular wage labor, which appears to have become important only in the last decade of the nineteenth century. At that time a large pyrite mining operation provided employment for the park's residents who continued to farm in the mornings and evenings. Once the mine closed the residents found work at shipbuilding plants at the mouth of Quantico creek, and on the Quantico Marine Base but still continued to farm.

The basic economic pattern then was one of semi-self-sufficient farming supplemented by outside labor for wages or credit. The pattern has been described by a former resident of the park in the following way:

> 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 cleaned 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. Generally they would have one working away except winter time (Taylor 1985:8).

Historical Narrative

Regional and Local Overview. Farming in other parts of the state had been transformed by the 1860s by agricultural improvements and innovations. Areas to the north and west of the park turned to dairy and truck farming to meet the needs of the increasingly urban capital area. In the park, the market for grain, which had never been a large scale matter, was virtually eliminated. This process was begun by the construction of railroads before the Civil War. The railroads bypassed Dumfries and the park area but carried grain to rival markets in Alexandria and Georgetown. After the Civil War new grain markets were opened in the Great Plains which replaced the regional markets of the east.

The expansion of railroads following the Civil War finally returned the park area to broader markets. The Richmond, Fredricksburg & Potomac Railroad was completed to Quantico in 1870. In 1872 it was connected with the Alexandria and Fredricksburg Railway and thus with Washington. Railroad construction created the demand for millions of feet of railroad ties, and residents of the park, once connected with outside markets, turned to their woodlands to supply the demand.

Technological advances in the late nineteenth century made possible the recovery of sulfuric acid from pyrite ore, and the large pyrite deposits in the park were opened to mining. Sulfuric acid was used for the manufacture of a variety of products including glass, soap, bleach, textiles, paper, dye, medicine, sugar, rubber, starch, fertilizer, leather-making, sheet metal cleaning, and the refining of precious metals (VHLC 76-289). Domestic processing of pyrite was threatened during World War I by the importation of pyrite from overseas. After the war, native sulfur from the Gulf states replaced the use of pyrite in the sulfur industry (Lonsdale 1927:9). The mining operation in the park was closed.

World War I brought new economic activity to Quantico. Shortly after the United States entered the war a fully equipped shipyard was built on the former site of the old Richmond, Fredricksburg, and Potomac Railroad ferry terminal near Shipping Point on the south shore of Quantico Creek

(Tilp 1978:80). The shipyard employed approximately 350 people, "mostly local fishermen and oystermen from down-river" (ibid.) but also men from the park.

Quantico Marine Base was also built during World War I, and has provided full and part-time employment for residents of what is now the park for almost 70 years.

The 1920s saw the construction of roads throughout the state. Former residents of the park recall having worked first on Route 1, and then on Routes 619 and 234. Some men made cash by using their teams to pull mired automobiles from the rutted, muddy roads.

Local Context. Practically all of the people who lived in the park area practiced farming on some scale throughout this period, and their farming activities probably were little different from those practiced at the beginning of the century. While improvements such as deep plowing, contouring, the use of various kinds of fertilizers, and mechanization had revitalized much of Virginia's agriculture, there is no evidence that the people in the park area were particularly affected by such developments (cf., Herndon 1978, Artemel 1978).

Farming, Credit, and Cash. A ledger from a local store compiled in 1879 and 1880 is kept at the Dumfries town hall. The store's name is not on the ledger; however, knowledgable people have said the ledger is from the Ratcliffe store in Dumfries, which burned in about 1949. The ledger provides a rare, direct, description of the economy of the park as it itemizes the purchases made by family heads, and the way in which accounts were settled. Goods from the store were paid for in three ways--cash, credit for work, and credit for products brought to the storekeeper.

Half of the 50 recorded payments by family heads from the park were in the form of credit for work. The kinds of work credited, and the frequency of each are shown on table V.

Table V: Credit for Work 1879-1880

Type of Work	Frequency
Hauling (railroad ties, wood, ice-- includes "waggin and horse hire")	9
Road work	2
Plowing	2
Cutting "poasts"	2
Unspecified "work"	2
Sewing	1
Fixing shoe	1
Fixing "waggin"	1
Fixing whip	1
Fixing harness	1
Sharpen saw	1
"Oven"	1
Record Deed	1
	Total 25

Credit for products brought to the store represented 36 percent of the payments made for storegoods by family heads from the park. These products and the number of entries of each are listed in table VI.

Table VI: Credit for Products 1879-1880

Product	Frequency
Cut ties	3
Wood/cordwood	3
Corn	2
Bacon (middling, shoulder)	2
Calf	2
Fencing	1
Hides	1
Cider	1
Fish	1
Land	1
Total	18

Fourteen percent (7/50) of the purchases made by family heads associated with the park were paid for in cash. This figure seems fairly low considering that these were also years during which railroad ties were being marketed from the park (see below). It is possible, of course, that the families living in the park shopped primarily elsewhere, although the ledger examined was reportedly from one of the two largest stores in Dumfries. More likely is that the records of railroad tie production were kept separate from other store accounts in "tie books" like those discussed below. Examination of other ledgers, should they be found, would result in a more complete picture of the role of cash in the local economy.

The available data, then, indicates that during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the local economic system operated primarily through credit from local stores for rural products and for work, and only incidently through cash transactions.

A listing of what was purchased at this store reflects some of the wants and needs of some of the people who lived in the park in the latter part of the nineteenth century. A total of 320 purchases were recorded. Of these, over 60 percent were purchases of foodstuffs other than alcoholic beverages and tobacco. Over 20 percent of the purchases were for alcoholic beverages (including whiskey, rum, and beer) and for tobacco (including cigarette papers and matches). Purchases of other supplies (including nails, soap, coal oil, axle grease, stove pipes, and "essence") accounted for 14 percent of the total, while clothing accounted for only three percent of the total. These data are presented in Table VII.

Table VII: Major Purchases 1879-1880 (Summarized)

Foodstuffs	197
Alcoholic Beverages & Tobacco	71
Other Supplies	45
Clothing	7
Total	320

Of the purchases of foodstuffs, almost 40 percent were of sugar or molasses. Sugar was roughly twice as expensive as molasses, but was purchased almost twice as often--possibly as an ingredient for corn whiskey. Animal protein, in the form of bacon, "meat", or fish, constituted less than seven percent of the foodstuffs purchased, which suggests that the people were consuming domestically raised cattle and hogs (cf., table VI, "Credit for Products"), likely supplemented by fishing and hunting. Flour was purchased twice as often as hominy or "meal," yet the purchases of these staples made up less than nine percent of the total purchases of foodstuffs. This suggests that park residents must have been growing their own corn, and to a lesser extent, wheat, as wheat was purchased more often. It is possible that wheat was a "luxury food" for some of the park's inhabitants. Fruit and vegetables constituted about three percent of the total purchases, suggesting that people depended primarily on their own gardens and orchards for fruits and vegetables.

The purchase of clothing, or materials for clothing, was very infrequent, indicating perhaps a continued reliance on homespun or hides. Clothing and "essence" were purchased equally frequently. The content of "essence" is unspecified. It could have been a medication, a perfume, or some sort of spirit.

The most important of the "other supplies" purchased were nails and soap. Four times as many purchases of nails and soap were recorded as purchases of all "other supplies" combined.

The primary data concerning purchases made by residents of what is now the park are categorized and presented in table VIII.

Table VIII: Itemized Purchases by Park Residents 1879-1880

1.	Foodstuffs	
	Sugar	48
	Molasses	27
	Lard	14
	Crackers	13
	Flour	12
	Oil	10
	Butter	10
	Cheese	8
	Yeast Powder	7
	Coffee	7

	Bacon	6
	Salt	5
	Fruit/Vegetables (canned)	4
	Meat	4
	Hominy	3
	Potatoes	2
	Meal	2
	Tea	2
	Bar Soda	2
	Pepper	2
	Fish	2
	Candy	2
	Beans	2
	Spice	2
	Nutmeg	2
	Vinegar	2
	Gingersnaps	2
	Total	197
II.	Alcoholic Beverages & Tobacco	
	Alcoholic Beverages	43
	Tobacco	17
	Cigarette Papers	2
	Matches	9
	Total	71
III.	Other Supplies	
	Nails	16
	Soap	13
	Essence	7
	Coal Oil	1
	Axle Grease	1
	Stove Pipe	1
	Candle	1
	"Merchandise"	1
	Bucket	1
	Blue	1
	Pipe	1
	Pencil	1
	Total	45
IV.	Clothing	
	Shoes	3
	Calico	2
	Overalls	1
	"Shuthered"	1
	Total	7

Farming and the Exploitation of Woodlands. The intensive exploitation of the woodlands of the park area began in the early 1870s when the Richmond, Potomac & Fredricksburg Railway reached Quantico. In 1871 the U.S. Engineer's report listed three landings on the Chopawamsic from which "over 1,000 cords of wood and large quantities of barrel hoops and staves" were exported annually (cited in Tilp 1978:321). Two of these landings, Griffin and Cedar, were not located. The remaining site, Moncure's landing, was reportedly at the fall line on Chopawamsic Creek (ibid.) Trade on the Quantico during the 1870s also "centered on cordwood and rough lumber that was carried on longboats and shallow draft scows to Washington and Alexandria" (Tilp 1978:212). According to Dumfries town historian, Mr. Lee C. Lansing, before the railroad reached Quantico, railroad ties were hauled to First Landing, now a fishing spot off Possum Point Road (fig. 22), and were lightered out to the river and loaded on small, ocean-going vessels (personal communication 1985).

Direct evidence concerning the use of park woodlands for tie-cutting is preserved in a "tie-book" at the Dumfries town hall. The "tie-book" is the record of the number, dimensions, and condition of railroad ties brought, presumably to the railroad station at Quantico (then called Potomac) (fig. 22), by named individuals during several months in 1883. The record was made by representatives of a local store, which then granted "credit by ties."

Many of the names recorded in the "tie-book" appear on maps from the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as park residents (figs. 21 and 23), including J. L. Keys, Van Keys, M. J. Keys, and A. H. Keys, Mrs. Carter, J. H. Carter, Golden Carter, Willie Carter, W. G. Williams, John Tolson, William Tolson, S. Abel, W. Coles, A. Bates, John Liming, A. J. Davis, and M. M. Davis.

Unfortunately, records for an entire year are not available. It appears however, both from the numbers of people engaged in tie-cutting, and from the numbers of ties cut, that tie-cutting was an important activity in the late nineteenth century. A 6 x 6 (foot/inch) tie brought between 30 and 35 cents, while a 7 x 7 (foot/inch) tie brought between 40 and 45 cents. Culls, or imperfect ties, brought 15 cents. The tie-book records show that within a few months, between August and December 1883, one man from what is now the park earned $19.00 in ties, while another earned $15.45. This represented, in the former case, the harvesting and finishing of over 400 feet of lumber within a four month period.

The ties were hand hewn oak cut with broad axes and finished with foot adzes (Lansing 1985, personal communication).

The establishment of the U.S. Marine base at Quantico created a new market for lumber and pulpwood, and park residents helped to supply this new demand (Taylor 1985:3-4). During the state road construction activities of the 1920s, many pines were cut as road foundations (Hebda 1985, personal communication).

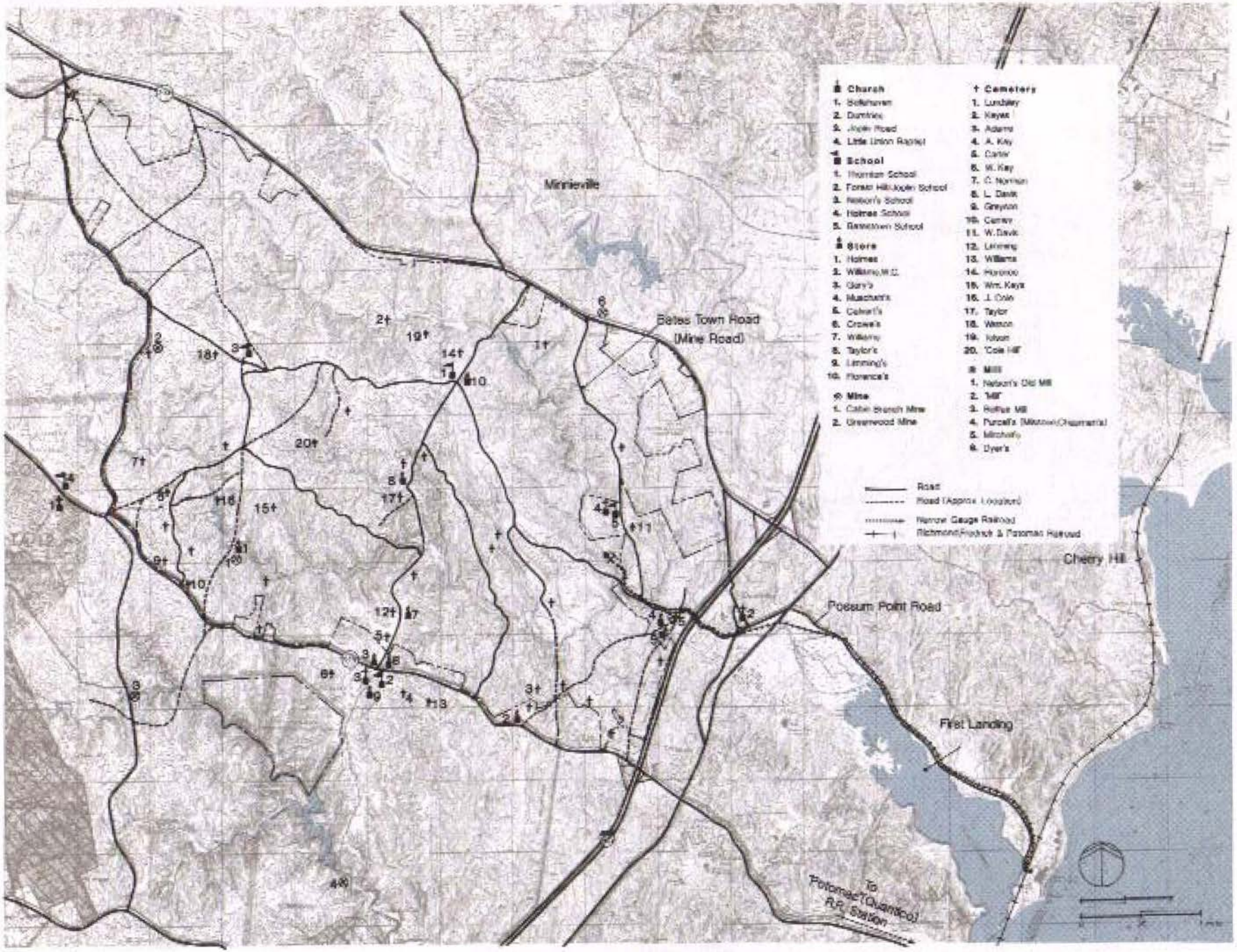


Figure 22

Sites Associated With Mixed Agrarian Economy

(Study Unit: 1870-1940)

Prince William Forest Park, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior

Figure 23

Section of a map by William Brown titled,"Map of Prince William County,Virginia",dated 1901.

The peak lumbering years in Virginia were between 1905-1915, and were characterized by the overcutting of much of Virginia's forests (Gottmann 1968:236). As supplies of timber were depleted in one area, "saw mill men" moved over the state in search of fresh supplies. "Saw mill men" were small scale businessmen who had enough capital to move their machinery from place to place and to buy land as needed. Sometimes they were accompanied by workers. At least one family who came to own land in the park is said to have come into the area because the family "followed the saw mill man" (Hebda 1985, personal communication).

By the mid 1930s, official reports indicate that the woodland of the park had been sadly depleted due to overcutting for cash, with attendant loss of topsoil through erosion. According to a Land Use Summary report prepared by a "Family Selection Specialist," presumably an employee of the Resettlement Administration:

> After the pyrite mines could no longer serve as a means of employment, the populace turned to ruthlessly cutting the timber in the vicinity and marketing it (Harper 1937:1).

A man who grew up on one of the farms in the park recalls the marketing of timber in a much less hostile fashion than did the "Family Selection Specialist." Referring to the 1920s and 1930s he said:

> All of these people in the area, at sometime or the other were cutting their own wood, I mean to sell and they hauled it just like we did and that's how they made their extra money and we were no different in that respect from any others. The only difference in our farm I think and most farms is that my father was a little more methodical than everyone else. He always was a great improver and every year he was planning to clear more land, do other things to the farm to improve it. . . . The timber he cut from this land in the form of pulp wood, railroad ties, and pilings was hauled to Quantico (9 miles) and to Cherry Hill (11 miles) all by horse drawn wagons, until about 1925 at which time he bought a Model T Ford truck and this made hauling much easier. (Taylor 1985, order of recollection slightly rearranged).

Wood continued to be essential to the basic subsistence of residents of the park area for fuel, for building materials, and for cooking and smoking meat. By the late 1920s, this wood was cut generally in group efforts with small circular saws powered by automobile engines (Gottmann 1968:237; Hebda 1985, personal communication). A person who owned such a saw would make his rounds through the rural community and assisted by each family and its residents, would cut and stack the lumber which had previously been felled (Hebda 1985, personal communication).

Farming and Mining: 1889-1919. Two mines operated in the park in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. One, the Greenwood mine, was a small gold mine located near the northwest end of the park (VHLC 44PW304) (fig. 22). This mine was abandoned by 1885 (Lonsdale

1927:83). No production history was found during this research, nor any information concerning numbers and background of laborers. According to one local historian, the Greenwood mine was abandoned when the cost of labor became too high (Ratcliffe 1978:94). The mine was described in 1907 as consisting of two vertical shafts and "considerable trenching" (Lonsdale 1927:83).

The major mining operation in the park was a pyrite mine located near the confluence of the north and south branches of Quantico Creek (VHLC 76-289) (fig. 22). The mine is generally referred to as the Cabin Branch mine, after its first company of ownership. It opened in 1889 (Lonsdale 1927:85) and was operated until 1916 or 1917 by the Cabin Branch Mining Company (Craig 1975:8, VHLC 76-289). During the latter part of World War I, the American Agricultural Chemical Company operated the mine, and it was this company that scrapped the mine machinery (Lonsdale 1927:85).

During the years of its operation, the Cabin Branch mine has been credited with being the economic mainstay not only of the park area, but of the town of Dumfries (Craig 1975:10). Many of those who worked at the mine were local to the park area or to the town of Dumfries. According to a former park resident, now in her 90s, "almost everyone worked at the mine until it closed" (Williams 1985, personal communication). Warfield Brawner was time-keeper and paymaster, and Claude Brawner was storekeeper (Anonymous n.d.2). Cecil Garrison worked at the mine as a young man (Craig 1975:13), and Mr. Garrison's father, James H. Garrison ran the company store (Potomac News (b)). Mr. Robert Taylor of Taylor farm in the park also worked at the mine (Taylor 1985:3).

John Kendall drove the narrow gauge engine, "Little Dinky." Walter Kendall and George Williams worked in the mine. Morse Reid died working in the mine and is buried in the park. Mr. Reid's death was caused by "damp gas" (Kendall 1985, personal communication).

The mining operation also brought people into the park area. Mrs. Annie Shumate recalled that in 1913 when she and her husband purchased the eighteenth century Henderson house in Dumfries (fig. 12) it had formerly been occupied by tenants who worked in the pyrite mines (Potomac News c.)). Local historian Barbara Kirby remembers the remarks made by lifetime park area resident, Mr. Jimmie Davis, concerning the "Yankees" who came from Baltimore and Philadelphia to work in the mine, and other outsiders who came from West Virginia (Kirby 1985, personal communication). A historian working in the park in 1936 reported that miners were

> brought in from West Virginia and Pennsylvania. They purchased small farms, which they worked in conjunction with labor in the mine. . . . A new woodland began to cover the land. The miners struggled with their garden plots, and moved to West Virginia and Pennsylvania to other mines. A few remained, getting poorer and poorer (Washington Star March 15, 1936).

During its peak years, the mine employed between 200 and 300 workers, some of whom lived at the "company town" established in what is now the park. There were about 70 structures associated with the mine including workers' and owners' housing, various kinds of sheds and storage buildings, a machine shop, sheds, storage buildings, a company store, commissary, mill, crusher house, engine room, boiler room, and so forth (fig. 24). The structures were of wood, brick and concrete.

A narrow gauge railroad connected the mine and its various structures to Barrow Siding, at the mouth of the Quantico about six miles from the mine (fig. 22). It is reported that when not in use by the mine, that local children and fishermen would hitch rides on the small railroad from the park to the river (Tilp 1978:235).

Mining procedures at the Cabin Branch mine were described in detail by Mr. Cecil Garrison to Robert Craig in 1975. Mr. Craig's manuscript is kept in the archives at Prince William Forest Park.

Mining operations halted in the park at the end of World War I or shortly thereafter. Local accounts credit closing of the mine with a strike by workers for higher pay (Craig 1975), Kendall 1985, personal communication). According to one account, when the superintendent was confronted with the worker's demands he replied, "Before I will give you another penny, I will let the mine fill up with water and let the frogs jump!" (Kendall 1985, personal communication). However, the market for pyrite had suffered greatly during World War I, and when the workers at the pyrite mine in the park struck for higher wages, the owners closed what must have been a flagging business.

At least two residences, once associated with the mine, remain on Mine Road, one of which appears in a photograph taken in 1935 (fig. 25).

No standing structures associated with the mine remain within the park, but surface evidence of mining activity is extensive. The foundations of the commissary remain, and the slate packed roadbed to the north of the commissary site is in good condition. A dense scatter of ceramics is washing into the creek almost directly south of the commissary. Some of these materials appear to be quite old, and could be associated with the mining town. The railroad bed can be seen in several places, associated with ties, rails, and concrete piers. Timbers and brick remain at the site of the Old Store, and the foundations of the machine shop and saw mill complex are extensive (fig. 24). On the other side of the creek, at the top of the hill, are thick cement and stone foundations in the area of the blacksmith shop and carpenter shop (fig. 24).

The machinery for the mine was dismantled by the American Agricultural Chemical Company (Lonsdale 1927:85). Reportedly some of the buildings were moved to nearby locations (Potomac News (b.)). The Civilian Conservation Corps companies that worked in the park in the 1930s are generally credited with dismantling some of the structures and using the materials for the construction of the cabin camps. It seems more likely that once the mine was no longer a going concern that local residents

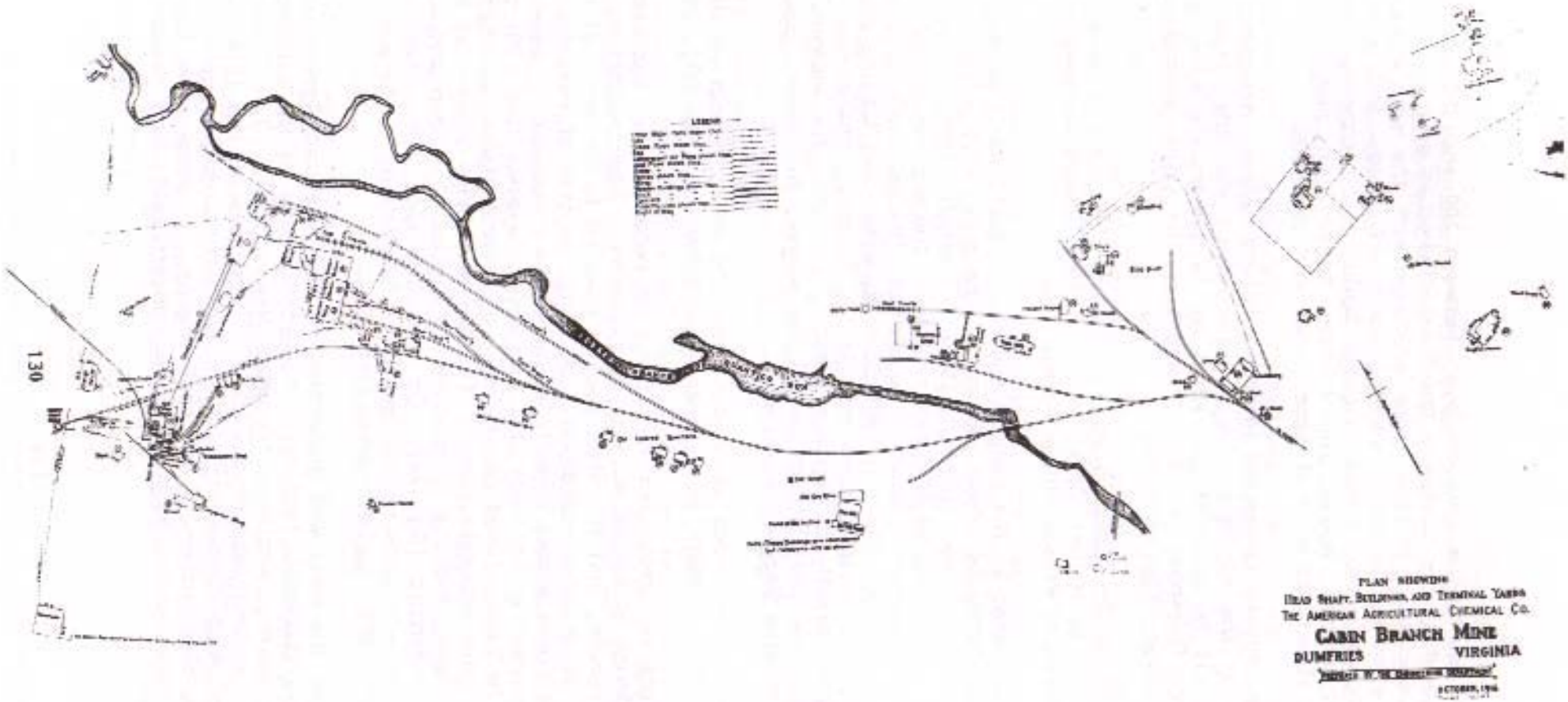


Figure 24

Cabin Branch Mine layout,curatorial collection, Prince William Forest Park.

Figure 25

View from Cabin Branch Mine toward Batestown(Mine) Road,photograph by Charles Gerner,1934, curatorial collection,Prince William Forest Park.

would have salvaged what they could and put it to use sometime during the fifteen years before the CCC arrived. However, the CCC did use the tailings left by the mining operations as fill for the roads that they constructed throughout the park (Craig 1975:10, Hebda 1985, personal communication).

Life in the Park in the 1920s and 1930s. It has become clear in this and previous study units, that the park was occupied, at least in part, by members of a core group of families--black and white--who remained for generations--some for longer than 200 years. These families were joined at different times by people from the outside who came to find work.

Interviews with former residents of the park suggest that at least two generally separate communities existed in the park in the 1920s and 1930s. One of these communities, which came to be called Joplin, focused to some extent on the cluster of homes established before the Civil War at the intersection of what is now Route 619 and the road that led to the Missouri Mill. The name "Joplin" does not appear on maps or in books of place names until well after the turn of this century. A map of 1901 (fig. 23) calls what is now State Highway 619, "Forest Road," and a school at the crossroads, "Forest Hill School." A Mr. Crowe is credited with "starting Joplin" which he named after his home town in Missouri. Crowe built a store, and his wife was postmistress of a post office in Joplin. This took place sometime before 1920. By the 1920s the community included most of the families along the central northwest corridor through the park, and extended at least as far as Missouri Mill (fig. 26).

Another community, Hickory Ridge, consisted of a relatively dense settlement along what is now the North Orenda Fire Road and the Pyrite Mine Fire Road (fig. 26). While Hickory Ridge was a racially mixed community, its leading members were black. A United States Postal map of 1923 shows about twenty houses in this community, and a church (fig. 26). According to Annie Williams, who moved to Hickory Ridge in 1920, the "church" was an Odd Fellow's hall that drew its members from the Hickory Ridge community.

Sometime after the mid-1920s, the Odd Fellow's hall was used as a school for the black, and possibly white, children of Hickory Ridge. The school was opened for five months a year, and was operated for about ten years, judging from the tenure of teachers listed by Mrs. Williams. During this period, white children from other parts of the park went to Thornton school (fig. 22, 23 and see below). A school for black children appears on a U.S. Postal map of 1906 on Batestown Road (fig. 22), which may also have drawn children from Hickory Ridge during the years that the mine was in operation, and before Mrs. Williams arrived in the park.

Some houses in the Hickory Ridge community were built close to the roads; others were built at some distance from the road. Some were close enough to "holler over" to a neighbor. They were frame, and not log, houses, most with two stories. Shortly before she was required to leave the park, Mrs. Williams and her husband purchased a "bungalow," presumably a house-kit of some kind. (A "bungalow" was also described

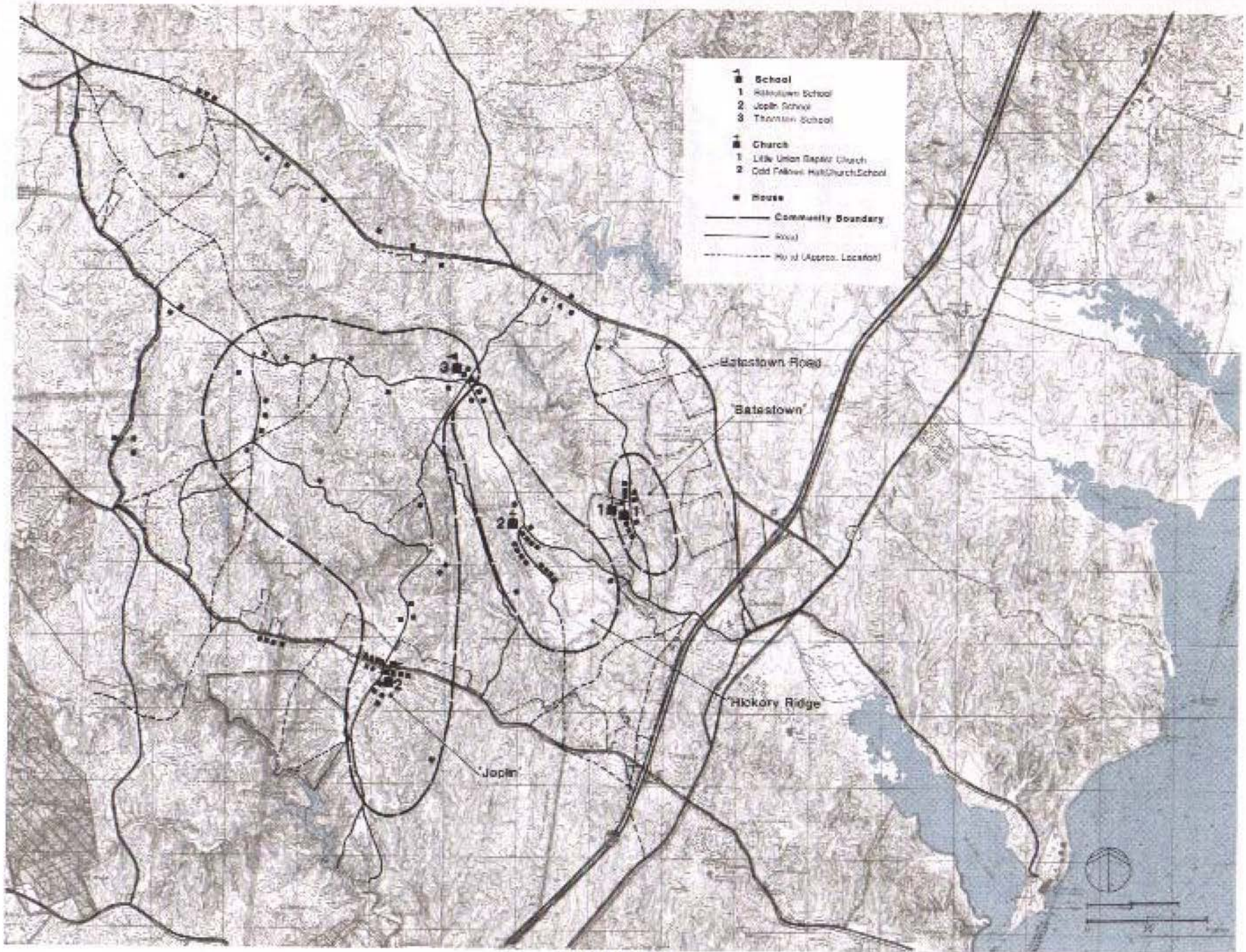


Figure 26

Communities in Prince William Forest Park

(1920's-1930's)

Prince William Forest Park National Park Service United States Department of the Interior

by a former park resident as a two story house with a square floor plan, an unscreened front porch, built "two-steps" above ground.) Mrs. Williams and her husband, Warfield Kendall, had finished building their bungalow, and had added carpets, awnings, and a cement-lined fishtank in the yard before they left.

Mr. Joe Reid was known as a particularly good farmer (Williams 1985, personal communication) who grew enough grain to sell, and to have ground, in a local mill. This mill was described as having been in Stafford County, and was most likely Belfair Mill (fig. 22, 23), which was the last of the local grist mills to continue in operation. Reid was one of the largest landowners in Hickory Ridge, and owned about 66 acres (National Archives, RG 79, RDA Program Files, 620). When Mr. Reid's property was purchased in 1942, it included an eight-room house with a tin roof and a lightning rod, and a cement porch. The farm also included a well, ice house, cellar, and barn (Anonymous n.d.(b)).

The people of Hickory Ridge "worked home" and "worked ouside." The ouside work included working in the mine, at Quantico, and "wherever they could from day to day" (Williams 1985, personal communication). "Work home" for women meant, among other things, canning--200 to 300 jars of fruit alone. Mrs. Williams canned 50 quarts each of pears, plums, apples, and peaches, and also made jams, preserves and jellies, and "There would be just plenty from year to year." Corn, beans, squash, cantelope, watermelon, and "plenty potatoes" were grown in home gardens. Mrs. William's recollection is that by the 1920s, most people did not grow enough corn to grind, but rather bought meal, and used the corn as fodder.

Hogs and cattle were raised, and the meat was smoked or "corned down" in salt. Herrings were also "salted down." Cow hides could be sold, as could the skins of wild animals. Rabbits, squirrels, raccoons, and opossums were hunted, and all but opossum eaten.

A few people from Hickory Ridge sold produce to "Quantico"; most "just gave to their neighbors and put up for themselves" (Williams 1985, personal communication). The sale of eggs, butter, and pork for coffee and sugar was more common. "Liquid produce," or moonshine whiskey, was made "all around." One man from Hickory Hill had "whiskey bars" in the woods.

The people from Hickory Ridge shopped in Triangle, at "Old Man Ashby's" store. There was another store in the park at the Taylor farm which was not mentioned by Mrs. Williams (Taylor, April 1985). Clothes were purchased, but "They weren't many" (Williams 1985, personal communication). They worshipped at the Little Union Baptist church on Batestown Road (fig. 22).

Names of family heads associated with Hickory Ridge given by Mrs. Williams, and Mr. Walter Kendall, who also lived in the community, include: Henry Early, Ada Davis, Andrew Williams, Jack Gaines, Mary Williams, Zeal Williams, Joe Reid, Joe Lewis, Mary Bird, Harry Martin,

James Davis, Dan Nash, Lloyd Johnson, Joe Florence, Hooker Davis, Walter Kendall, William Kendall, John Kendall. The Coles family and the Sinclair families were also associated with Hickory Ridge. Some of these names appear on the cadastral maps prepared in the 1930s prior to the establishment of the park; others do not.

The community that seemed to focus on Joplin drew its membership from much of the rest of the park, but not from Hickory Ridge. This community was primarily white, and was made up of the descendants of the core of families who had lived in the park for generations, and relatively new arrivals to the area. Family names associated with this community include Taylor, Carney, Jones, Limming, Florence, Keys, Davis, Watson, Williams, and Tolson. Most of these names can be associated with specific parcels on the cadastral maps from the 1930s. Figure 26 shows the approximate geographic extent of this community, and the locations of recorded residences. The illustration on the cover of this volume, and figures 27 and 28 are photographs taken in 1935 of several of the farmsteads associated with this community.

The community was maintained, at least in part, through the intermarriage of its members. Both parallel and cross-sex sibling exchange marriages were practiced, as well as bilateral cousin marriage. The Taylors and Davises show an example of cross-sex sibling exchange marriage (fig. 29). Parallel sex sibling exchange was reported by Joe Hebda: "cousins married each other. . . . Two sisters would marry two brothers." Mr. Cecil Garrison, a man in his eighties and a member of one of Dumfries' oldest families also reports from the town community:

> In those days, the people who lived in Dumfries were clannish. They didn't want you to associate with anybody not connected in some way to the family (Potomac News (b)).

Mr. Garrison married his second cousin and "childhood sweetheart." These sorts of marriages resulted in groups of families closely tied by consanguineal and affinal links.

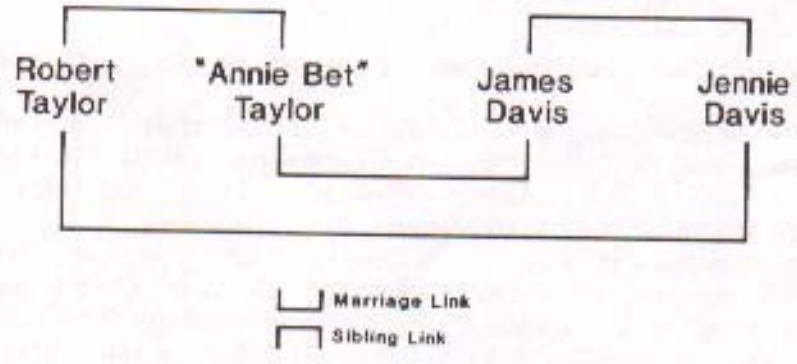


Figure 27 Cross-sex Sibling Marriage Exchange

Robert and Jennie Taylor first moved to what was to become Taylor farm in about 1900. At that time, "it was strictly woods with a small house" (ibid:6). Over the next 35 years, Mr. Taylor cleared the farm, selling the timber as pulp wood, railroad ties and pilings. His son reported:

> As soon as he would get some land cleared, he would start farming it--at first gardening, then truck farming, and later raise corn, wheat, and oats for bulk sales to local mills (Taylor, April 1985:6-7).

Cash income from the land came primarily from the sale of wood and grain, particularly wheat. Other saleable products from the farm included honey, sweet cider, hard cider, vinegar, vegetables, and salted or smoked pork and beef.

Mr. Taylor's description of his father suggests a man of considerable energy with a wide range of skills--some of them specialized, and an enterprising nature. Robert Taylor was, in his son's words, "a great improver," and "a little more methodical than everyone else" (Taylor, April 1985:11). The Taylor farm could thus be expected to represent one of the more elaborate settlements in the park. Before it was purchased by the National Park Service in 1941 or 1942, the farm contained a two story farm house; two barns, one a two story structure, and one with a cellar or basement; one or two corn houses; a stable; blacksmith shop; several chicken houses; pig pens; several storage sheds; a smoke house; cider press; grape arbor; an orchard of 150 trees; a three-car garage; at least one well; and a store (Taylor, December 1984, April 1985) (fig. 30).

The Taylors stocked the store by ordering from itinerant salesmen or "drummers" who visited the farm itself. The orders were shipped to Quantico by rail, and were picked up by the family. Mr. Taylor's description of the store suggests a 50 year pattern of social and economic continuity in the park area. The store's inventory was little different in the 1920s and 1930s from that described above for the store in the 1880s: 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 (Taylor, April 1985:7). The store was one of the main sources of income for the family, and was "a great convenience (which) enabled us to buy everything we needed at a good price" (ibid. p. 14).

The store was of social, as well as economic value to the neighborhood:

> (O)ne 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 till about 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 (Taylor, April 1985:16).

Figure 28

Fields of Robert Taylor,photograph by Charles Gerner, 1934,curatorial collection,Prince William Forest Park.

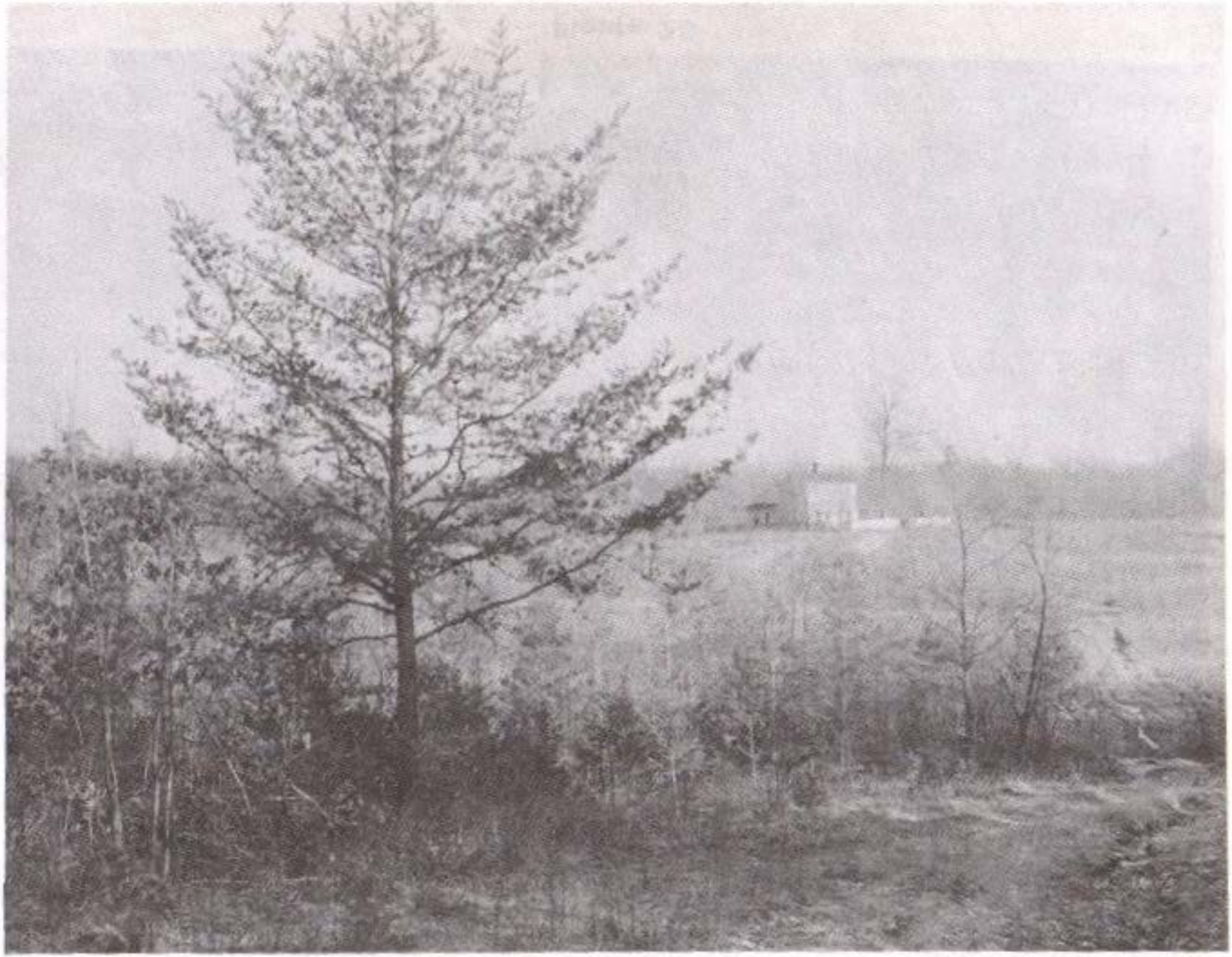
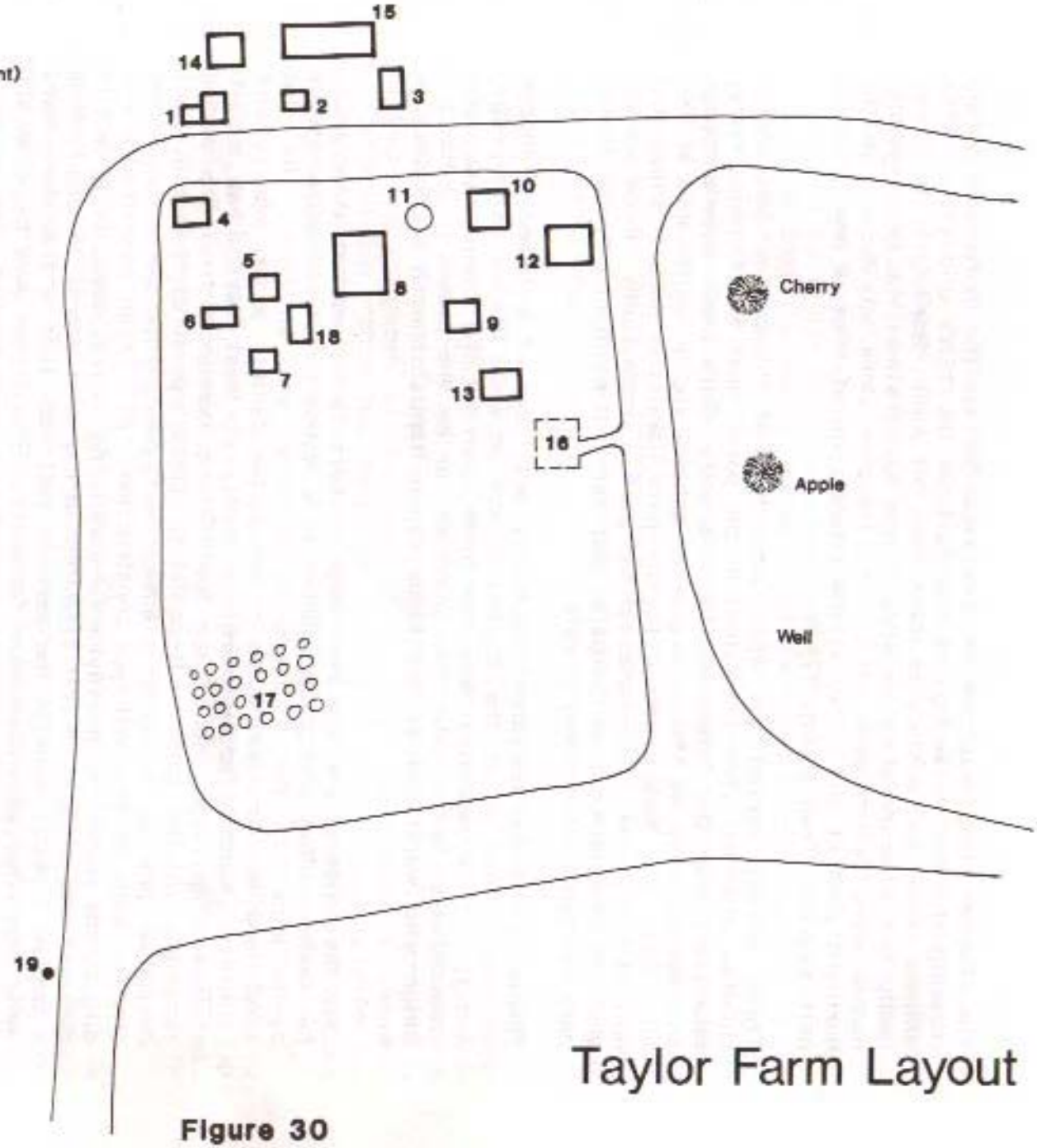


Figure 29

A.Limming farm,photograph by Charles Gerner,1934,curatorial collection,Prince William Forest Park.

1 Barn and Shed - Larger Building
2 Storage Shed (Wheat, Cider, and Equipment)
3 Grocery Store 24' x 36'
4 Corn House
5 Chicken House
6 Chicken House
7 Out House
8 Home Place (House)
9 Smoke House
10 3 Car Garage
11 Well
12 Blacksmith Shop
13 Equipment - Storage Shed
14 Largest Barn and Storage Shed
(2 - Story Building)
15 Pig Pen
16 Cemetary
17 Orchard (Cherry, Apple, Pear, Peach)
18 Grape Arbor
19 Cider Press



Taylor Farm Layout

Figure 30

Taylor Farm layout, unknown source, curatorial collection, Prince William Forest Park.

The Taylor store was one of five recorded on the north-south road crossing the central section of the park in the 1920s and 1930s. The Williams family had a store in their home off Joplin Road, and the Crowe family had a larger store on what is now Route 619. The Limmings also had a store in the same area. The Florence store was located in the northern part of the park, at the intersection of what is now the main park loop and Trail 7 (fig. 22).

Three schools served the white community of the park. Some 30-35 children attended Thornton school in the park, near the Florence store; others attended the Forest Hill/Joplin school. Both these schools appear on maps as early as 1901. Two other schools appear on the map of 1901 (fig. 23), the Nelson school in the park, and the Holmes school just outside the western boundaries of the park. Undoubtedly, these schools also served children from the park, but were not mentioned by the former park residents interviewed to date.

People in the Joplin-focused community worshiped at a Methodist church on Joplin Road or at the Baptist church at Belle Haven (Anonymous, n.d.3) These churches were not those used by the townspeople, who attended a Methodist church in Dumfries, or by the people from Hickory Ridge who worshiped at the Little Union Baptist church on Batestown Road.

Like the other men in the park area, Robert Taylor worked as he could for cash--hauling and selling timber to Quantico and to sawmills, in the pyrite mine, at the shipyard in Quantico, and so forth. He also specialized in hand-boring wells for people "within a ten mile radius" (ibid:6). Hand-bored, stone-lined wells, at least several of superb craftsmanship, are some of the few historic resources from this period remaining in the park. Mr. Hebda (1985, personal communication) described one as being a hundred feet deep, with perfectly formed circular walls of dry wall rock construction. Mr. Taylor described a well dug by his father on the Taylor farm as being 36 feet deep, 3-1/2 feet in diameter and holding 19 feet of water during most years. A report from a survey of wells made in the park in 1972 lists four or five stone lined wells associated with abandoned farmsites. The report was found in the park curatorial collection, and was not accompanied by a map. Approximate locations based on the verbal descriptions in the report are shown on figure 22. Seven other wells, dug by the Civilian Conservation Corps, were also listed in the report. Another well was recently recorded during Phase I archeological investigations in the park (Cromwell and McIver 1985).

Another homestead was remembered by a former park resident, Mrs. Annie Shumate, formerly Miss Annie Keys, of the Keys family who have lived in the park area since before the American Revolution. She recalls that her "grandfather," Alexander Keys, built a log house in the 1700s which came to be known as Cedar Hill. She and her siblings were all born there "in the heart of the park." The house was surrounded by flowers and arbors, and had two fireplaces. The fireplace used for cooking was large enough to accommodate a log six feet long (Mead 1984).

The location of Cedar Hill was not recorded during this research. The name Keyes is found on maps from the Civil War in the north central section of the park (fig. 22), while the name "A. Key" is found on the same maps at Forest Hill/Joplin. Mrs. Shumate's brother reported that he lived at his father's home in Forest Hill. "Cedar Hill" has also been located as having been in "Terrapin Forest," an area generally to the north of Route 234 (VHLC site file 76-284, Ratcliffe 1951) (fig. 22). It is possible that the southern reaches of Terrapin Forest extended at one time into the park.

Another farmsite located within the park associated with this study unit is Cole Hill (fig. 22). This site is mentioned in E.R. Conner's Old Cemeteries of Prince William County, Virginia (1981:34), and in the Virginia Historic Landmark Commission's site file on Prince William Forest Park (76-299). All that is recorded is that Cole Hill was once the farm of the Paynes and the Weedons.

The "Heartbroken" Time. In 1935, the area which is now Prince William Forest Park was selected to be developed as a federal Recreation Demonstration Project Area. This was a New Deal program designed to provide outdoor recreation facilities for the urban poor, and to rehabilitate degraded land and poverty-stricken farmers. The program is discussed in detail in the next study unit, Recreation, Relief, and Rehabilitation. Here the discussion centers on the relations between the residents of the Quantico Creek watershed and the government officials responsible for turning them out of their homes.

The accounts of this period presented below in the rhetoric of the New Deal and in the form of recollections are obviously biased, and are not presented as representations of "fact" as such. They are included here as descriptive of feelings and perceptions from that time, and in retrospect, concerning the creation of the park.

The Chopawamsic and Quantico Creek drainages were chosen as a Recreation Demonstration Project Area because government officials determined that the land was exhausted and no longer suitable for farming. They saw the area's residents as desperately poor, trapped by circumstances to a dismal existence. A newspaper article described the people in this way:

> The population now living on the project area and still attempting to wrest a living from the poor, worn-out soil, is bound to the merest existence level by the limited productivity of the land (Evening Star, Washington D.C. 6 March 1935).

The article went on to describe how the families who lived in the project area were to be "transplanted to productive farm lands where they can maintain themselves sucessfully as self-sustaining citizens."

The conclusion that they were "bound to the merest existence level" and the suggestion that they were not able to "maintain themselves as self-sustaining citizens" would probably have come as a surprise to many

residents of the park. Such descriptions hardly coincide with the oral histories described above, which stressed the general self-sufficiency of the farmsteads. Mr. John Taylor of Taylor farm addressed this very point:

> 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 them food stored up and they even buried it under the ground in the cellars and in the dens, kept it in the house to keep it from freezing. So no one really thought they were poor. They were just happy with what they had, and they probably didn't know for one reason they were as happy as they were was probably because they really didn't know too much about what else was going on in the world (April 1985:11).

When asked how the depression of the 1930s affected the people in the park, Mr. Taylor replied:

> Well, I would say the Depression . . . affected everyone in some way. It may have affected the farmers less than a lot of other people, for the simple reason the farmers were more self-sufficient. But on the farms during the Depression, they lived on less outside money, therefore they had less luxuries, which were not too many, and most people were self sufficient and didn't have much (April 1985:17).

The depression is recalled by another former park resident as "a time when men worked together, loved, and respected one another" (Potomac News (a)).

The government officials who directed the formation of the Chopawamsic Recreational Demonstration Project saw matters differently. According to one official, a "Family Selection Specialist," most people only farmed a small area--they spoke "in terms of 'garden spots' rather than 'acreage,' for part of every acre is untillable (Harper 1937:1)." The project supervisor reported that more than 30 farms in both creek drainages had been abandoned between 1920 and 1925, and local businesses, for example a blacksmith shop in Joplin, and several stores had been closed during the same period. Taxes were delinquent, timber resources had been depleted, and work was no longer available at Quantico Marine Base. The assets of a typical family in the park amounted to "a farm, with little or no serviceable equipment, poor soil, cut-over woods, a horse of old age, a hog or two, rarely a cow or an auto (Gerner 1935:11-13)."

In fact, from 1934-1942, most of the people who lived in the park worked at Quantico or Fort Belvoir. The occupations of family heads reported by the "Family Selection Specialist" from the Virginia Resettlement Administration included: truck driver, fireman, carpenter, school teacher, laborer, construction worker, stone mason, and truck gardener, with an average family cash income of $536 (Harper 1937:3). The nearest hospital was in Fredricksburg. At least two local women, one from

Hickory Ridge, and the other from the Joplin Road community, were midwives who also performed other nursing duties. By 1937, teenaged children from the park area were bused to the high school in Occoquan.

The transformation of the park from an agrarian society made up of several closely knit communities to a recreation area for strangers is still a matter of bitterness and intense feelings of loss to many former residents. These feelings are probably inevitable to some extent in any government project that requires the taking of private property. However, the establishment of the Chopawamsic Recreational Demonstration Project was complicated with regard to its former residents by several problems.

Chief among these was the fact that many people who actually lived in the park did not have secure title to their land. As has been stressed throughout this study, the park area was basically a backcountry--a hinterland occupied by generally poorly educated people who depended primarily on farming and unskilled wage labor for survival. This was an area in which detailed land surveys were rarely made, and deeds were not always recorded:

> Land in those days was seldom surveyed when sold, and when you bought land you bought it more or less (Taylor, April 1985:19).

One man interviewed during this research remembered with certainty the name of the man from whom his father had purchased land within the park. However, neither his father's name nor the name of the man who sold land to his father appear on the cadastral maps of the park drawn up in the mid-1930s. His account was corroborated by another former park resident who could not understand why many of the people who were neighbors in the park did not appear on the land ownership maps of the 1930s.

What is apparent is that land "sales" in the park were frequently informal matters that did not involve the creation of legal records. Thus some people who lived in the park on land that they thought they "owned" had no records to support their claims, and eventually had to leave without compensation.

According to government reports, during the 1920s and early 1930s many parcels in the park were acquired by storeowners as payment for debts (Gerner 1935:13), and indeed the cadastral maps show a number of parcels assigned to families who owned stores in Dumfries. Frequently the former owner remained on the land as a tenant. Sometimes land was "sold" to whoever could pay the taxes on it with the contingency that the former owner would be allowed to remain on the property (Hebda 1985, personal communication).

Thus, many of the people who lived in the park were not landowners and could not be compensated by the government for the taking of their homes. Nor, it was argued, did they qualify for aid from the Rural

Resettlement or Rural Rehabilitation offices because they were not, and had never been, full-time farmers (Harper 1937:2). According to one former park resident, "The people had to go with their friends, relatives or neighbors--wherever they could. It was a heartbroken time--it truely was (Williams 1985, personal communication)."

The transformation process took place over an eight year period. Initial purchases were made in 1934, at which time 30 families and a total population of 126 individuals were recorded as resident in the Quantico watershed (Harper 1937:2). Some tenants left the area and moved to Maryland, others stayed on land already purchased by the government. Eight landowning families moved nearby to other land that they purchased. However, over half of the families recorded as resident in the project area in 1934 remained in 1937 (Harper 1937:2). Some stayed until 1942, when the park was taken over by the military for training purposes. Many of the families from Hickory Ridge moved to Mine Road or to Johnson Road (fig. 22).

It is the feeling of some people who used to live in Hickory Ridge that government officials went first to the wealthy, white landowners, who, of course, had more to gain and who generally had clear title to their land, and offered them relatively high prices per acre. These people sold quickly and acquisition of their holdings allowed the Recreational Demonstration Project to begin. The people who held out, and refused to sell, and refused to leave, ended up with little or nothing for their pains. Records of the criteria used by the Resettlement Administration and National Park Service to determine land values were not discovered during this research; thus nothing can be said concerning the validity of this perception. It can only be noted that the records examined show a wide range of value paid per acre, but the circumstances responsible for this range of values are not clear.

It is reported that the military used some of the farms as target practice (Gordon, Hebda, and Lansing 1985, personal communications); other farms were torn down by the National Park Service. Stone chimneys remaining after World War II were torn down and the stone used to build fireplaces for campers. The stone fireplaces were found to be hazardous in a camp setting, as campers tended to douse out their fires with water, which caused the stones to split and sometimes explode (Hebda 1985, personal communication).

Probable Site Types and Locations

The approximate locations of recorded sites associated with this study unit are shown in figure 22. Types of historic sites associated with the mixed agrarian economy described above include but are not limited to the following:

Agricultural sites, including
--small, independently owned farm complexes
--tenant farms and sharecropper complexes
--some large farms, particularly on the northeastern boundary of the park

These agricultural complexes often included fine stone work the form of wells, walls, dams, etc.

Transportation-related sites, including
--roads, pine-lined "corduroy" roads, wagon roads, roads improved for automobile transportation
--railroads, specifically narrow gauge railroad associated with the Cabin Branch mine
--bridges over creek, for wagons, automobiles, and "hand and foot" bridges
--support facilities associated with improvements on major roads such as State Highways 234 and 619, including stores, repair shops, etc. Continued support facilities for horse and wagon transportation, including blacksmith shops, wagon-makers shops, wheelwrights, etc. These sites could be expected to be located at intersections along major and secondary roads.

Commercial-Industrial sites, including
--mills, both grist and sawmills powered by water, steam, gasoline
--mines, gold and pyrite. The pyrite mine in particular was a large scale enterprise including loci of specialized activities such as carpentry, smithing, machine repair, as well as the complex mining operations themselves. The mine was also a residential site.
--stores, small stores in residences on farms, on main roads, and larger stores in separate buildings
--craft shops
--stills

Education-related sites
--schools

Religion-related sites
--churches
--cemeteries

Community clusters, located along roads, at intersections, for example, Joplin, Hickory Ridge. Community clusters included residences, stores, meeting halls, churches, mills, etc.

As figure 22 shows, almost all of these kinds of sites were once located in the park. Unfortunately, the structures associated with these sites were deliberately dismantled in an effort to return park land to its "natural state" for recreational purposes, or were destroyed by the military.

Data Gaps

Documentary records specific to the park are as sparse for this study unit as they are for many of the previous study units. The primary data found in the "tie-books" of the late nineteenth century are a significant exception, but unfortunately those materials covered only a period of several months.

As described above, old store ledgers provide some baseline data that describe the interface between subsistence farming in the park and the regional and national economic system in the late 1870s. Other similar records exist; for example, a ledger from a Dumfries store in 1914 kept in the town hall but only cursorily examined during this research, and a ledger from the Williams store in the park from the 1920s, owned by Mr. and Mrs. Joe Hebda, but not located by the owners during this research. A detailed examination of these data and similar materials, should they be located, could document changes in subsistence strategies in the park over time. It may be possible to reconstruct the local economy in some detail and to link changes in the park to broader regional and national social and economic processes.

With the exception of the "tie books," the years following the Civil War are not well documented for the park area. It is known that some Yankees came to the area; for example, a B. Woolfinden came to the area from Baltimore. He purchased land to the southwest of the park and in the park itself. Woolfinden also established a business in what came to be known as Kopp at a crossroads just to the west of the park (VHLC site file 76-289). However, the nature, extent, and impact of immigration to the area from the north after the Civil War is not known.

People were also drawn to the area by the pyrite mine, the market for lumber, the shipbuilding plant and marine base at Quantico. Where these people came from, how many of them, and the extent to which they affected local communities is unknown. Little is known about activities at the pyrite mine, the largest and most complex site associated with this study unit recorded in the park. The impact on life in the park from the opportunities and skills developed by people who worked at the mine, the marine base, and the shipbuilding plants is not known.

Documentary material concerning the communities that lived in the park is scarce for the entire period covered by this study unit. The available data are primarily in the form of store records and interviews with former residents of the park. It is possible that more documentary material concerning the history of the park area from 1870 to 1940--for example, photographs, letters, diaries, and so forth--exists in the private collections of families who lived there. This possibility could be explored through a program designed to systematically identify and interview a number of former park residents and, if possible, to collect, copy, and catalogue whatever documentary materials that they might have. This kind of detailed oral historical and genealogical research seems particularly appropriate in areas such as the park which have not received much attention from historians and other writers.

No historical archeological research has been directed toward rural-industrial communities such as those that existed in the park from 1870-1940.

Probable Significance

The historic resources associated with this study unit should be considered as significant insofar as they can be expected to provide a data base for further research directed toward a poorly understood and sparsely documented segment of history. The social and economic system described in this study unit did not exist only in the park. It could be expected to be found on the outskirts of major urban-industrial complexes thorughout the country.

The Quantico watershed was home to generations of a core group of families who had been in the area for over a century, and to a newer community that settled apart from the older. These people lived at the geographic and social fringes of a rapidly changing national and regional culture. The adaptive strategies developed by these communities appear to be basically conservative and reflexive--and successful in terms of values held by residents.

It seems that economic and social strategies developed in the park over time are likely to be similar to those developed in other areas that fringe rapidly growing urban-industrial areas. The park itself has remained far enough away--geographically and socially--from larger towns and cities that local social and economic patterns could be maintained. These patterns were flexible--allowed residents to take advantage of employment offered by a variety of circumstances--railroad ties, corn whiskey, mining, shipbuilding, road construction, and so forth. These were opportunities created by forces and events far removed from the hinterland of the park. Such circumstances describe the lives of most of the people of Virginia, and indeed the nation, during the hundred years associated with this study unit. It would seem that we all could benefit from an understanding of mixed agrarian economic systems in "marginal" areas like Prince William Forest Park.

Potential Research Questions

The following questions, among others, could be addressed with information gleaned from further historical and archeological study of resources associated with this study unit.

1. What was the nature and extent of technological change in the subsistence system of the park? What was the relationship between technological change and social change?

2. What were the ecological effects of railroad tie cutting that dominated the outside cash economy of park residents in the 1870s?

3. What role did kinship play in movement of people to and from the park during this period? What roles did kinship play in the lives of the people in the park? How was kinship related to basic subsistence patterns--including labor and land tenure?

4. What differences existed, if any, in the spatial organization, building practices, etc. of the two identifiable communities within the park--one dominated by blacks, the other by whites?

5. How were the people in the park affected by the depression of the 1930s? How were they affected by New Deal programs other than those associated with their resettlement from the park?

6. What role did the small stores established in homes have in the local economy? What set these stores apart from the larger stores in town? What sort of credit system was associated with large and small stores? How did this affect land tenure in the park?

7. What characteristics are associated with various foci of community life--household, stores, repair shops, meeting halls, churches?

RECREATION, RELIEF, AND REHABILITATION, 1933-1944

Environment

During the early part of this period, the physical and social environment of the Prince William Forest area was described by all but its long-time residents as terribly degraded and in need of rehabilitation. For example, a Washington newspaper described the area in these terms:

> 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. . . . A few (miners/farmers) remained, getting poorer and poorer each year. 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 (Washington Star March 15, 1936).

It was generally accepted that the land in the area was not suitable for profitable farming and had not been suitable for farming since before the American Revolution. The soils of the area were described as generally light, which allowed for the rapid leaching of plant food elements beyond the reach of cultivated plants. This meant that commercial fertilizers used on local soils did not produce a cumulative effect, but lost their beneficial effectiveness after only a year's time (Record Group 79, RDA Project Files 600.01 "Land Use Study Master Plan"). The farmers increased their exploitation of woodlands after the Cabin Branch mine closed in about 1920 (see the previous study unit, "A Mixed Agrarian

Economy"), but they had no knowledge of what were then considered to be good timber-management practices. Woods and soil were being destroyed.

Subsistence

For many during this period, the general subsistence mode continued to be the same as that described in the previous study unit--many basic needs were met by subsistence farming while extra produce, livestock, and so forth were sold or bartered. This was supplemented by work on the outside for wages, generally at Quantico Marine Base or at Fort Belvoir.

New Deal programs provided new opportunities for employment. During the mid to late 1930s, several hundred local men were employed by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) as workers in what became Prince William Forest Park. Over twice as many men were brought to the park by the U.S. Army as part of the Emergency Work Conservation program (EWC), later referred to as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Their work project was to reclaim and rehabilitate the land in Prince William Forest Park, then known as the Chopawamsic Recreation Demonstration Project.

Historical Narrative

National Context. The Prince William Forest area became the setting in which several pressing national problems were addressed during the depression of the 1930s. One of these was the widespread unemployment of America's youth both in the cities and in country towns. It is estimated that, in 1932, one in four young people in the labor market between the ages of 15 and 24 was completely unemployed, and that an additional 29 percent worked only part time (Salmond 1967:3). These youth were in a situation not of their own making and their plight was of great concern to President Roosevelt. Roosevelt was also very concerned with the damage done to the American landscape "by three generations of waste and ill-usage" (ibid.:4). Much of the nation's timber resources had been squandered, compounding the critical problem of soil erosion. The nation's farmlands were shrinking as topsoil washed or blew away. The president wanted to reclaim America's land and to put her youth to work.

One program that grew out of this was the Emergency Work Conservation agency, which was commonly known as the Civilian Conservation Corps. Legislation creating the EWC was passed in March 1933. Even before the legislation was passed, the president and the departments that were to cooperatively administer the EWC had begun to plan their respective roles. These roles were embodied in Executive Order 6101, signed on April 5, 1933. Authority was to be given to the Department of Labor to select men for the program. The War Department was to build and operate the camps and to transport, feed, and discipline the enrollees (Salmond 1967:32). The Departments of Agriculture and Interior, through their various bureaus, were to select work projects for the enrollees and to supervise the work itself.

The Prince William Forest area was connected to the EWC (CCC) through another federal program directed toward land reclamation and social and economic rehabilitation. In 1933, under the authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act, the Resettlement Administration was directed to create recreational demonstration projects throughout the country. These projects were to be located near urban centers and on land that could no longer be profitably farmed. The area comprising the watersheds of Quantico and Chopawamsic creeks was selected as one of 46 recreational land use projects that were begun in 24 states (U.S. Department of the Interior 1936:2).

The recreational land use projects were based on the idea that land which at that time was unproductive for agriculture should be put to its "highest social use." Land no longer suitable for farming that was located near congested urban areas acquired "greater social and economic importance when dedicated to the recreational needs of congested populations" (Department of the Interior 1936:2). In the terminology of the New Deal:

> A program of dual value is thus being perfected. Families of low-salaried and wage-earning men in the centers of dense population are to have playgrounds on reclaimed land which other men find unsuited for farming, and these farmers are to be transplanted to fertile ground or rehabilitated where they stand. The people of the cities are to have, without cost, a share of the good earth and the health and happiness that goes with it; and poverty-stricken farmers are to have a new chance. The factory worker's leisure days need no longer be spent in the smoke and filth in which, through necessity, they must live to work, and the farmer whose lands have been cut raw by erosion or burned out by one-crop agriculture need no longer scratch his sterile soil (Department of Interior 1936:6).

Initially, overall administration of the recreational demonstration projects was given to the Resettlement Administration. Technical assistance and actual project administration, organization, and planning was delegated to the Recreation Demonstration Area Division of the National Park Service. EWC (CCC) labor was to be used to construct roads, bridges, dams, and buildings, and to clear and replant the project areas. In 1936, administering authority of the recreational demonstration areas passed to the secretary of the interior.

Regional and Local Contexts

Three CCC camps were built in the park by the army and were occupied in the spring of 1935. The duration of occupation of each of the camps is given in Table IX.

TABLE IX. OCCUPATION OF CCC CAMPS 1935-1939*

Camp	Dates Occupied
SP-22	April 1, 1935-March 31, 1939
SP-25	April 1, 1935-March 31, 1938
SP-26/NP-16	April 1, 1935-September 30, 1937 April 1, 1938-September 30, 1939

*(data from Paige 1985: 214)

With the help of local workers hired by the Works Progress Administration, the CCC companies built five cabin camps by 1940 (figure 31). They also cleared underbrush, built bridges, and built roads throughout the park.

The CCC camps in which the CCC companies lived were administered by the army. At first, the enrollees lived in tent camps (fig. 32), but soon permanent wooden barracks were built. Generally, each camp consisted of four or five barracks, 100 feet long by 20 feet wide, along with an administration building, a recreation hall, a mess hall, a hospital, a garage, officers' quarters, and perhaps a schoolhouse. The buildings were generally laid out in a "U" formation, around an open area (figs. 33, 34). These permanent buildings could not be easily dismantled and were difficult to convert to other purposes. Beginning in 1936, camps were standardized; each had four barracks, one mess hall, one schoolhouse, one latrine block, bathhouses, and 12 officers' and service buildings (figs. 35, 36). Most important, the buildings were pre-cut and of a standardized design. They could be easily moved to a new location at the completion of a work project (Salmond 1967:136).

By 1939, five fully equipped cabin camps with facilities for 500 campers had been completed and were in use. Camp Lichtman (Camp 1) was sponsored and used by the 12th Street branch of the Washington, D.C. YMCA (Colored). The Girl Scouts of Alexandria, Virginia used Center Camp (Mawavi, Camp 2). "Mawavi" was a name created by combining the first syllables of Maryland, Washington, and Virginia, favored because it sounded "Indian". Family Services of Washington, D.C. sponsored and used Camp Good Will (Camp 3). Camp 4 was also called Camp Good Will, or Camp Pleasant. It was turned over to the Family Services Association, and was dedicated to the use of colored underprivileged children from Washington, D.C. Camp 5, or Happy Land, was operated by the Washington Area Salvation Army and was used by both white and colored children (Ira B. Lykes, personal communication to Ms. Susan Strickland, September 18, 1985).

The Chopawamsic recreational demonstration project was troubled during its early months by disputes concerning where authority for the planning and design of recreational facilities would lie.

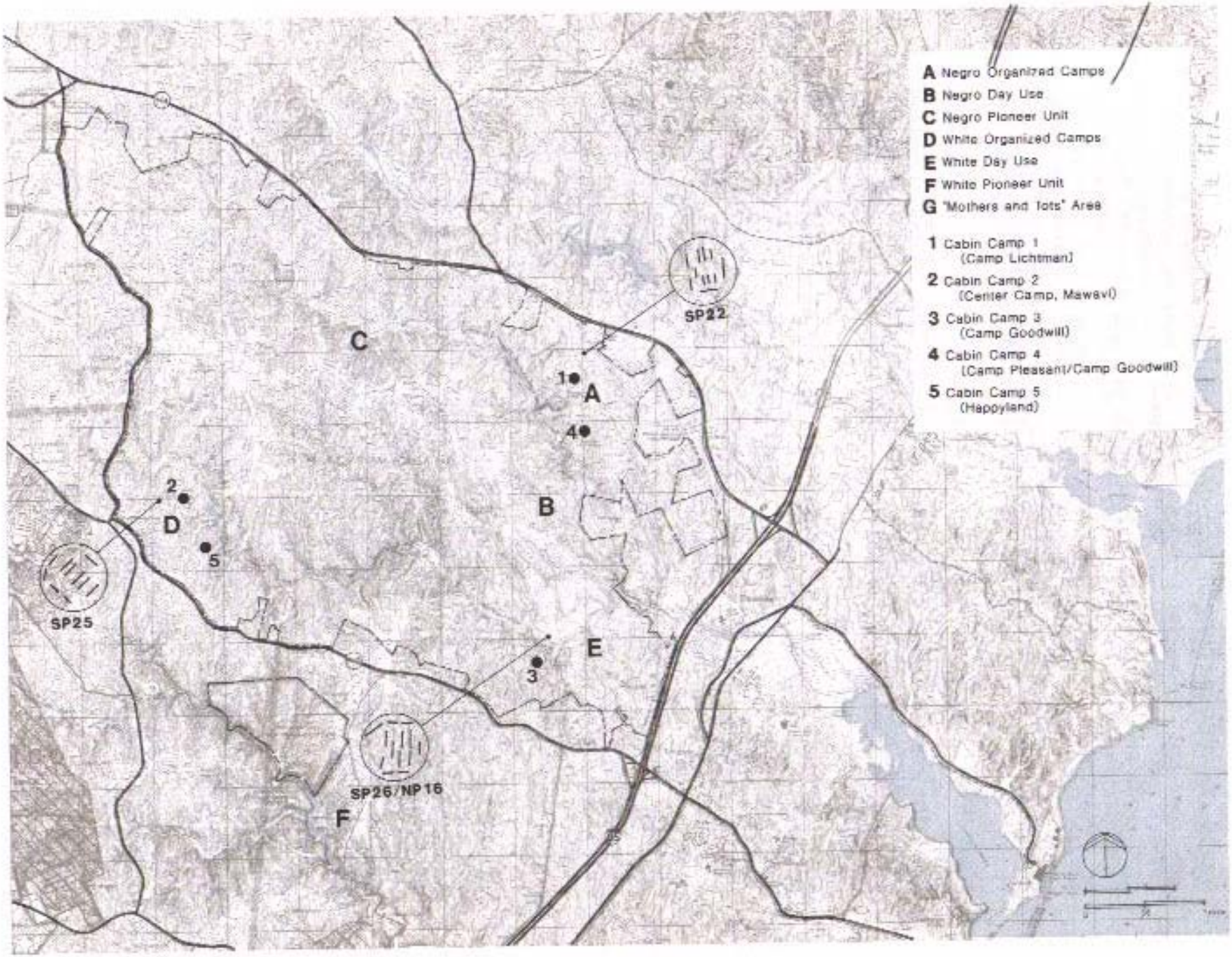


Figure 31

Sites Associated with Recreation, Rehabilitation, and Relief Study Unit

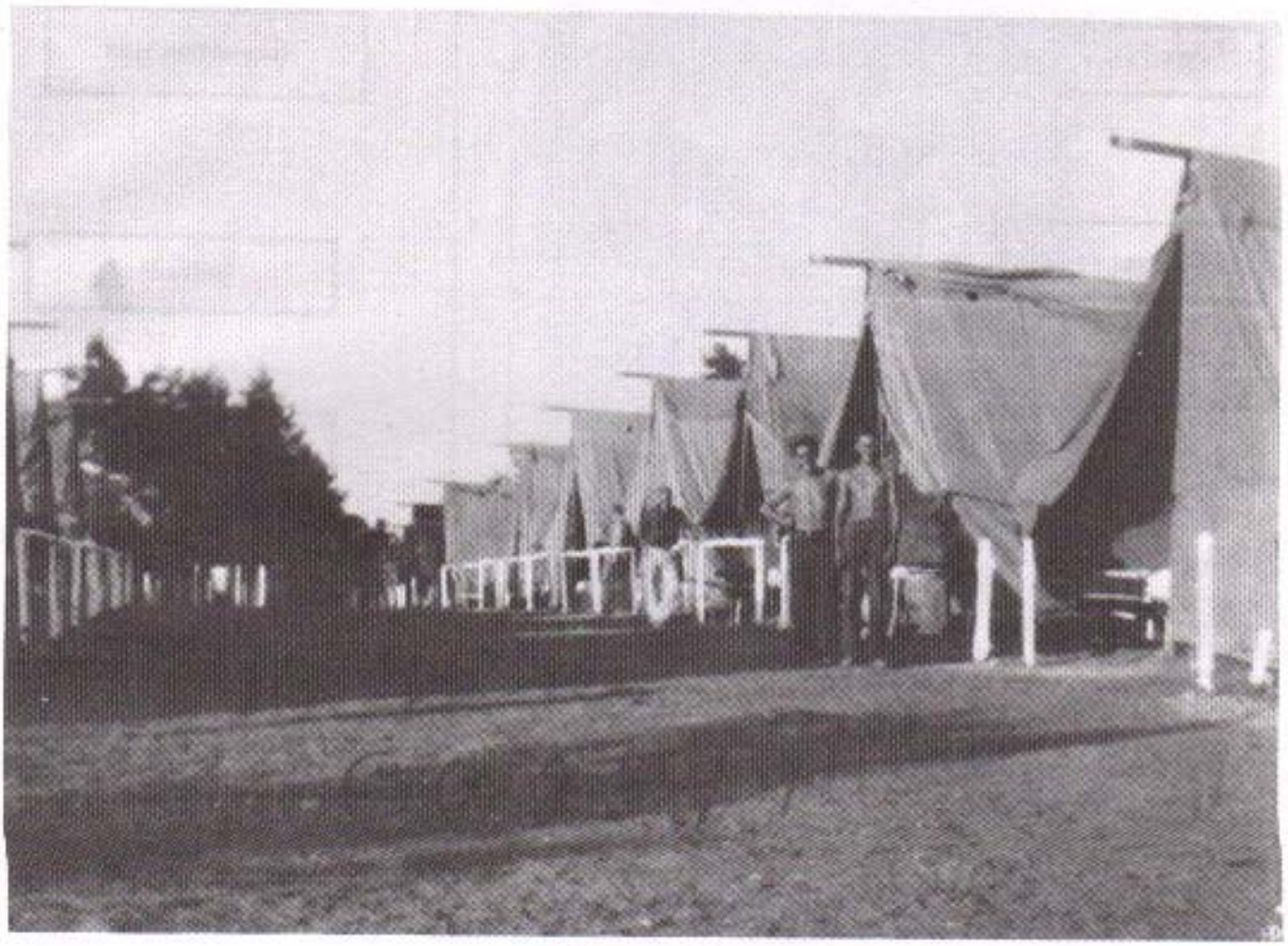


Figure 32

Civilian Conservation Corps Tent Camp, photograph courtesy of Joe Hebda, curatorial collection, Prince William Forest Park.

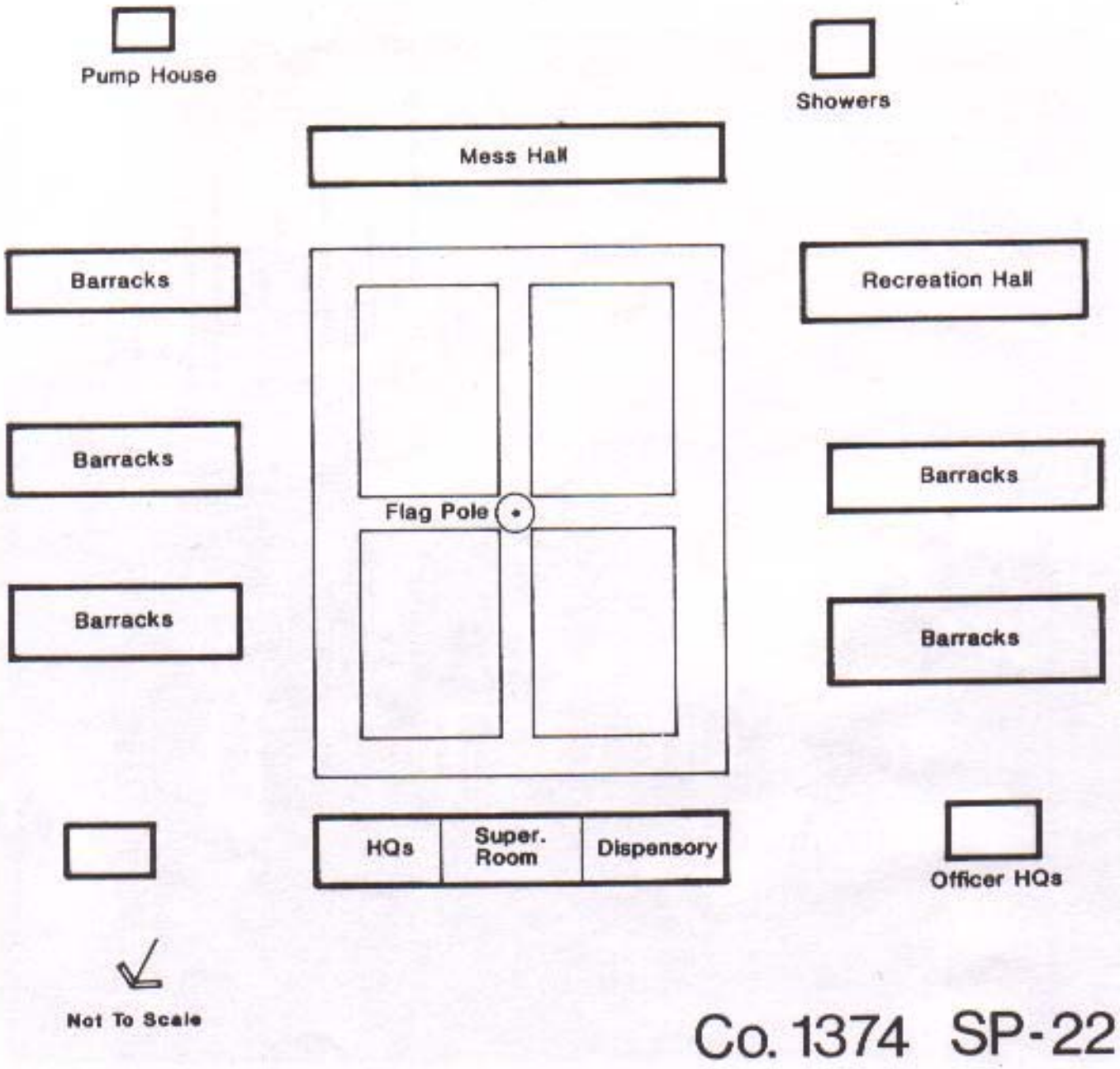


Figure 33

Civilian Conservation Corps Camp SP-22,curatorial collection, Prince William Forest Park.

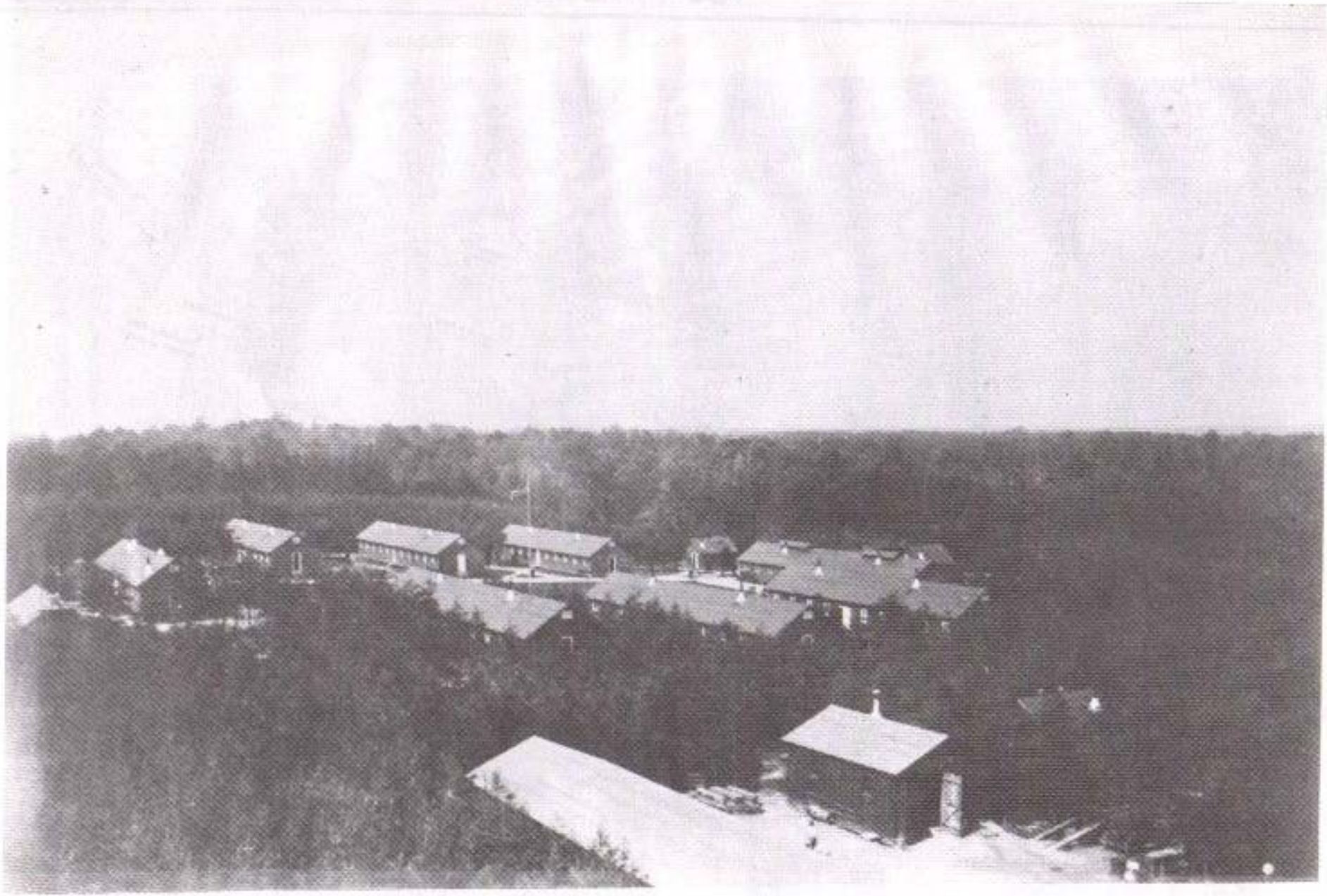


Figure 34

Civilian Conservation Corps Camp SP-22, now the ballfield for Cabin Camps 1 & 4, photograph courtesy of Robert Meade, curatorial collection, Prince William Forest Park.

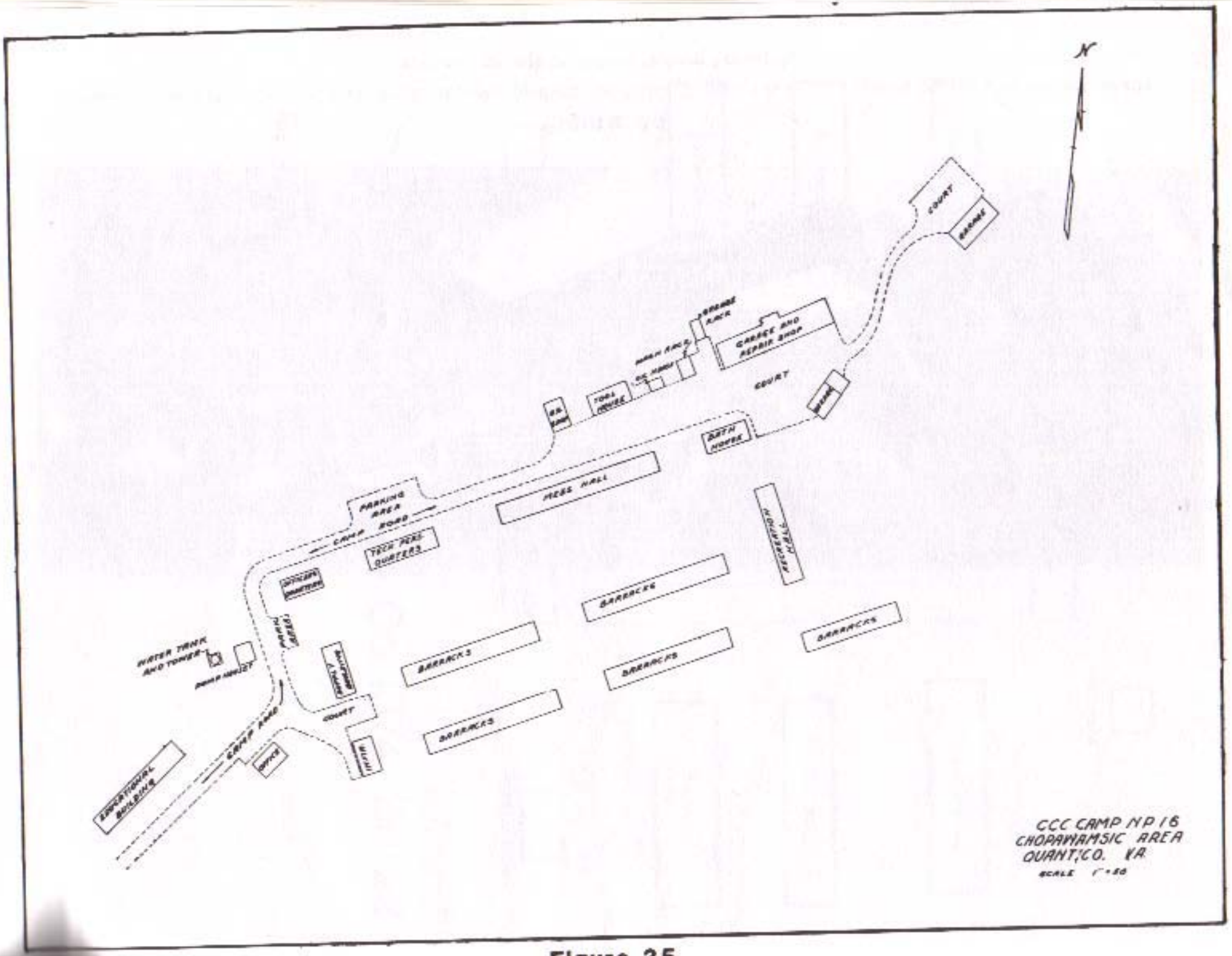


Figure 35

Civilian Conservation Corps Camp SP-26/NP-16, curatorial collection, Prince William Forest Park.

Figure 36

Barracks at Civilian Conservation Corps Camp SP-26/NP-16 taken in 1985, just before it was razed, curatorial collection, Prince William Forest Park.

The acting director of the National Park Service wanted to have the plans for the use of the Chopawamsic recreational demonstration area drawn up by the national office of the NPS Branch of Plans and Design, whose experience, he thought, would produce a plan consistent with general NPS ideas. Conrad Wirth, Assistant Director of the Land Program in the Recreational Demonstration Project Division of the Office of State Parks (also within the National Park Service), insisted that responsibility for planning development should be given to the project supervisor who, with expert technical assistance from engineers, geographers, architects, landscape architects, sociologists, and so forth, should draw up project plans. He argued that the concepts on which the recreational areas were being developed--"group camping" and "active mass recreation"--were new and entirely different from previous developments made by the National Park Service. The recreational demonstration projects were to stress the idea of group camping and were to work closely with social agencies--particularly those interested in using the project areas.

Wirth's view prevailed, and the organization and design of the cabin camps reflect the interests and concerns of the project supervisor, assisted by a variety of experts (engineers, geographers, landscape architects, and sociologists), as well as the agencies that were interested in using the camps once they were built. These were not to be family campsites, but were designed for the use of groups of about 100 children.

An article from the Washington Post described the plans for these camps or "units" (March 29, 1936). Each of the large camps was to consist of five subunits of five cabins each. Each of these cabins would house four campers. In addition, each subunit would have a small recreation building and a counselor's cabin. Two counselors were to be assigned to each five cabins. This apparently was an innovative idea, hailed by the reporter as a "new idea in self discipline," that stressed the honor system of self government, and would help make the campers more self-reliant.

Each of the large cabin camps, or "full units," was to have a large recreation hall, a dining room, a kitchen, and an administration building. Campers were to furnish all movable supplies, such as bedding, cooking utensils, dishes, and so forth, while the government was to supply cooking ranges, refrigerators, and dining tables.

One camp was designed for the use of "white mothers and tots." Most camps were segregated by sex; until the 1950s, all camps were segregated by race. Black associations had been interested in the use of the park since spring 1935. Then project supervisor C.H. Gerner recorded his response to the inquiry of a representative of the Afro-American Association in Washington, D.C. She was told that facilities for the colored, if provided, would be distinct and separate in location, and that

whites and coloreds would not be provided use of the same facilities (Record Group 79, Recreational Demonstration Area Program Files, 501, notes of C.H. Gerner, March 30, 1935). In the spring of 1937, a section of the Chopawamsic recreational demonstration area was set aside for the use of negro mothers and children (fig. 31) (Record Group 79, Recreational Demonstration Area Program Files, 600-601, Land Use Study Master Plan). Camp 4 was built in this area, and it was suggested that a camp for "Negro mothers and tots" be established near the mill ruins below the pyrite mine.

In March 1936, an article from the Washington Star reported that "neat clusters of log cabins are being built to house the groups expected next summer" (March 15, 1936). The work was done by the 500 men occupying the three CCC camps in the park, and by 225 local workers hired by the WPA (figs. 37, 38). As much work as possible was done by hand in order to create as much employment as possible. This policy had the unexpected result of reviving what was described as an old, almost forgotten local craft, that of making shingles by hand:

> The workers have revived an old technique they remembered as small boys about Civil War times--the making of shingles by hand by means of a froe, a curious log-splitting tool, and a shaking board which holds the wooden slab while it is being shaved into shape. They make both froes and the shaking board themselves (ibid.).

By 1937, the involvement of user agencies in camp planning was intensive. Project Manager W.R. Hall reported that in the spring and summer of 1937, the Family Services Association of Washington, D.C., had sponsored the construction of Camp Good Will (Camp 3). The Family Services Association was associated with Camp Good Will since its planning stages. When camp construction was delayed after one CCC company was reposted during the winter of 1936-1937, Hall sat down with representatives of the Family Services Association and decided to proceed with plans to bring children that summer even if construction was incomplete. The children themselves were to be involved in the completion of the camp. The children carried logs and stones to build a crib-dam so water could be impounded for swimming. Hall hailed the activities at Camp Good Will as a model of cooperation between project employees, user agencies, the army and the CCC, and the campers themselves.

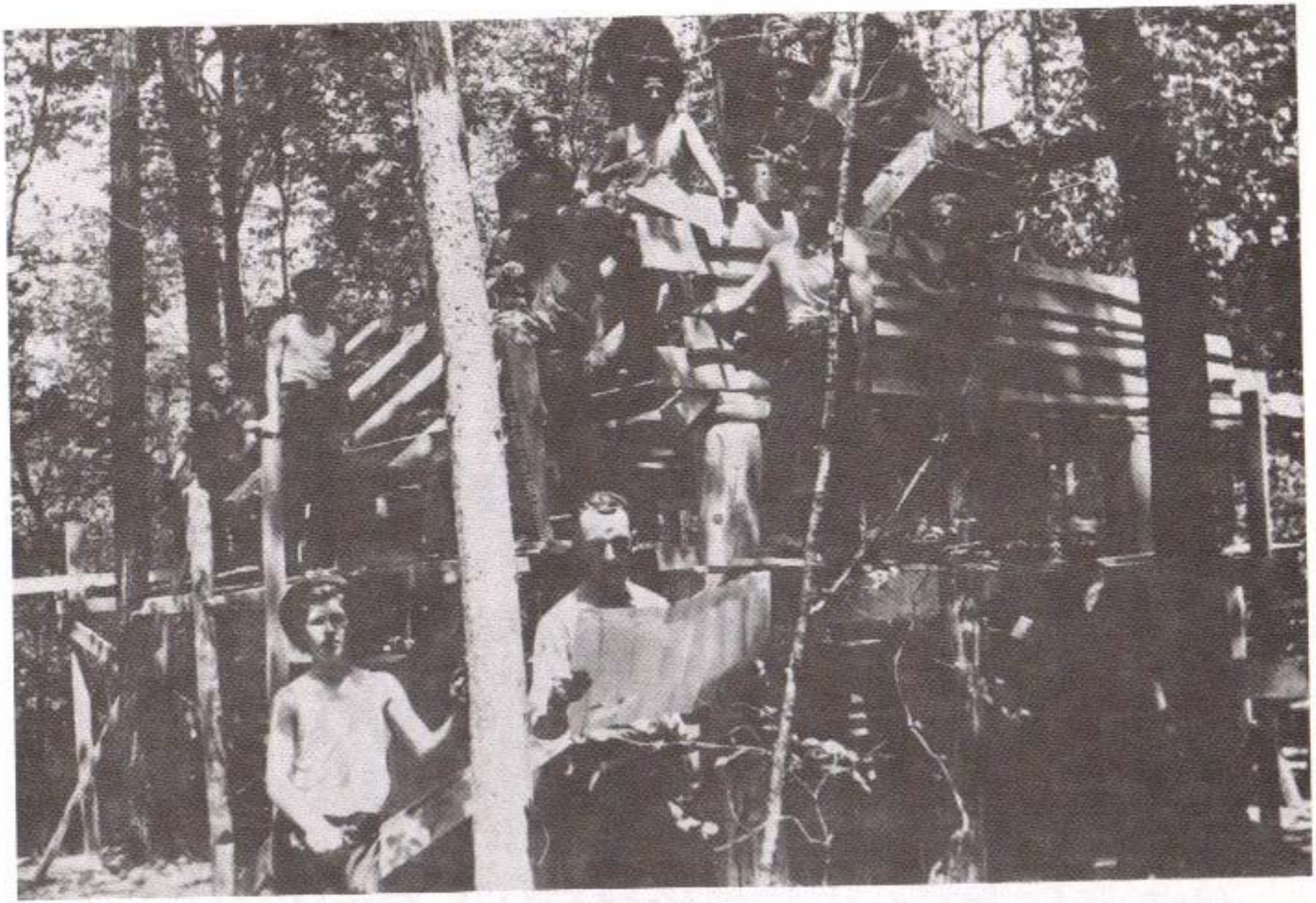


Figure 37

Civilian Conservation Corps Company 1374 constructing a sleeping cabin, photograph courtesy of Robert Meade, curatorial collection, Prince William Forest Park.

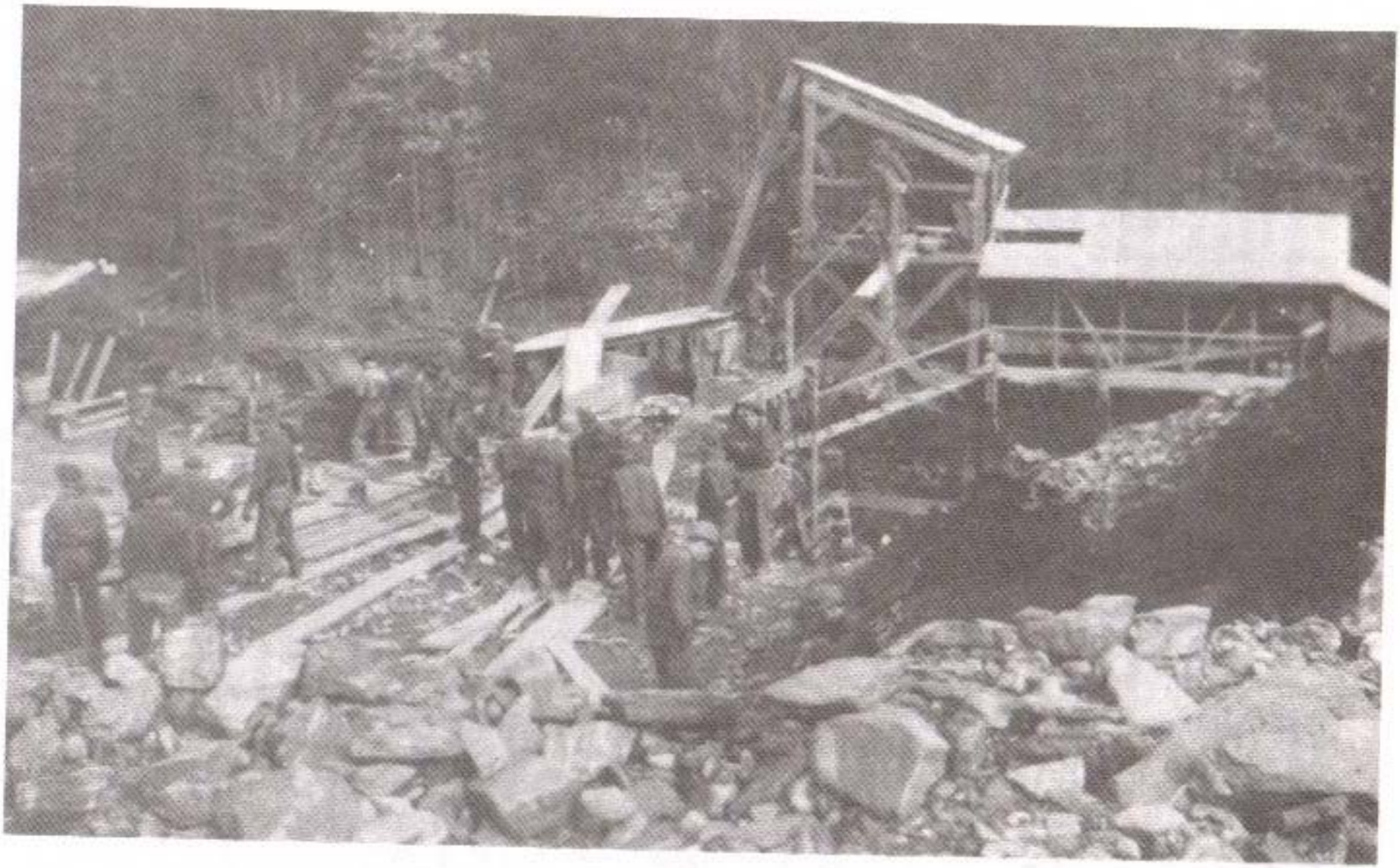


Figure 38

Civilian Conservation Corps Company 2349 and the stone crusher used to provide building material for the Dam and Lakes 2 & 5, photograph courtesy of Joe Hebda, curatorial collection, Prince William Forest Park.

Most of the recreational demonstration areas were turned over to the states, but because of its proximity to Washington, D.C., and the need by the citizens of the nation's capital for "ideal camping and recreation areas," the Chopawamsic recreational demonstration area was held under the authority of the federal government (Washington Star, July 2, 1939). In 1940, Public Law 763 directed that the Chopawamsic recreational demonstration area become "part of the park system of the National Capital." However, beginning in 1942, the area was used by the military for the training of special forces. Administration was returned to the National Park Service in 1948, at which time the use of 5,000 acres was granted to the U.S. Navy for inclusion in the Quantico Marine Base.

Probable Site Types and Locations

Site types associated with this study unit are specifically associated with the creation of recreational facilities. They include:

- cabin camp complexes
- CCC camps
- transportation-related sites, such as
  - bridges
  - roads
  - trails
- other construction projects and associated facilities, such as
  - dams
  - sawmills
  - rock crushers
  - walls

Data and Data Gaps

This is the only study unit for which there exists a rather extensive photographic record. The curatorial collection at Prince William Forest Park contains several collections of photographs, acquired apparently serendipitiously from former enrollees of the CCC. Only some of these photographs are labeled as to content and owner/photographer. Mr. Joe Hebda, a retired park employee and former member of CCC company 2349, S.P. 25, owns a copy of the 1937 annual of his company. While it contains a brief description of the activities of the company in the Chopawamsic recreation demonstration area, the bulk of the publication is made up of photographs of the CCC in action in the park. Other photographs can be found throughout the "Records Concerning Recreational Demonstration Areas, Recreational Demonstration Areas" (Record Group 79), in the National Archives. Some of these, particularly those filed under "Publicity" (501), are not found in the curatorial collection at the park. Most of the photos in this file were taken between 1937 and 1939 at special events in the park.

The park also has a collection of drawings depicting life in the CCC camps in the park drawn by one of the enrollees.

A film, "The Human Crop," was made during the construction of one of the CCC camps. It can be found at Prince William Forest Park.

The development of the Chopawamsic recreational demonstration project was of interest to students of civil engineering. Reference was found during this research to a professional thesis entitled "Development, Design, and Construction of the Chopawamsic Recreational Area of the National Park Service at Joplin, Virginia." The thesis was referenced by a National Park Service official who wrote to the dean of the University of Maryland, College Park, granting permission for the information contained in the thesis to be released. The thesis was written by Robert E. Dunning, student of civil engineering at the University of Maryland, College Park, in 1938. Unfortunately, the thesis could not be located in the collection of graduate theses and dissertations kept in the Maryland Room, of the Mckeldin Library, University of Maryland, College Park. The Civil Engineering Library at the University of Maryland, College Park, had no record of Dunning's thesis. It can only be hypothesized that perhaps Dunning did not complete his degree, and his draft materials have not been kept. They were not found in the collections examined in the National Archives.

The records search at the National Archives for material pertinent to this study unit was frustrated by several factors. First, as is the case with many New Deal programs, the authority for administering the Chopawamsic recreational demonstration project was diffuse. A thorough archival search should include the records of the army, the Resettlement Agency, the Works Progress Administration, the CCC, and the Department of the Interior. This research focused on the last two of these record groups, the records of the Department of the Interior (Record Group 79), and records of the Civilian Conservation Corps (Record Group 35). Much of the material contained in these records is in the form of official correspondence. While this correspondence contained valuable information, it frequently alluded to other material that would have been of even more value, but was not included in the files. For example, the recreational demonstration area program file for Chopawamsic recreational demonstration project titled "Land Use Study Master Plan" contained correspondence concerning the plan, but not the plan itself. Some records that could have been of value to this research could not be located, for example, the "Narrative Reports Concerning EWC (CCC) Projects in National Park Service Areas 1933-35" (Record Group 79, Records of the National Park Service, Records of the Branch of Recreation, Land Planning, and State Cooperation), were available for some project areas, but not for the Chopawamsic recreational demonstration area.

Further research, particularly into army records, may yield specific data concerning the construction, occupation, and presumed liquidation of the three CCC camps built in the park.

Interviews with former CCC and WPA workers could yield data concerning construction techniques, innovative use of materials, and any special techniques that might distinguish the cabin camps from other rustic

architectural developments made in the national parks during the 1930s. The preceding section on "sources" lists the addresses of former CCC men who worked in the park found during this research.

The administrative history of the park is currently being researched by Ms. Susan Strickland, a student at George Mason College.

No data were found that explicitly described the philosophical or sociological ideas that underlay the design of the cabin camps themselves. Further research into the history of recreational development in the National Park Service, as well as in the nation as a whole, may bring some of these ideas into focus. A potential resource is Mr. Conrad Wirth, formerly director of the land program of the National Park Service that administered the recreational demonstratoin projects, and former Director of the National Park Service. The input of user agencies and the intellectual traditions guiding their perceptions of the needs of disadvantaged youth during the depression could help to explain the spatial organization of the cabin camps.

The cabin camps have been used for only 50 years. Some people who camped in the Chopawamsic recreational demonstration area in the 1930s are today only in their 60s and 70s. The recollections of these people concerning their activities in the park at its inception could provide base line data from which changes in the recreational use of this park, as well as others in the region and nation, could be traced.

Probable Significance

The significance of sites, structures, and groups of structures associated with this study unit can be considered from several viewpoints. Thus far it appears that only the cabin camps have attracted much attention; according to a representative of the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, and to recent commission correspondence about the camps, their possible eligibility for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places is being considered from the standpoint of architectural history under National Register criterion (c), embodiment of "the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction" (36 CFR sec. 60.6(c)). It has not yet been determined whether the cabin camps, or any portions of any of them, qualify for the National Register on this basis. A slightly different perspective, apparently not yet considered by the commission, would involve the study of particular local architectural characteristics, such as the hand-hewn shingles made by WPA workers according to local tradition. These may contribute to the significance of the cabin camps as representatives of "a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction" (36 CFR sec. 60.6(c)).

The significance of the CCC-built cabin camps and their structures, and the sites of the army-built CCC camps, can be viewed from perspectives other than architectural. The design, content, and spatial organization of these structures and sites should reflect at least a part of

depression-era thinking concerning the desirable organization of temporary living groups. The cabin camps and the CCC camps were built by different agencies to house groups of different ages and sexes and for different purposes. The organization of CCC camps built by the army should reflect general army standards of efficiency and disciplined camp life, as well as their perception of the needs of the enrollees for privacy, socialization, education, and recreation. The organization of the cabin camps should reflect a composite of ideas produced by the project supervisor and his expert consultants and representatives of agencies with first-hand experience in dealing with disadvantaged urban youth concerning their needs for various kinds of recreation, for privacy and socialization, and for discipline, cleanliness, and education.

The Civilian Conservation Corps, the Recreational Demonstration Area Program, and the Works Progress Administration were major national programs designed to better the lives of poor Americans and to restore the American landscape. The physical remains left by these programs should reflect in their organization the world views of those responsible for their design and operation. Thus the careful examination of such remains could yield new perspectives on the social philosophy underlying the programs of the New Deal. To the extent that this may be the case, the structural and archeological remains representing this study unit may be eligible for inclusion in the National Register by virtue of their association "with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history" (36 CFR sec. 60.6(a)) and with the intellectual traditions and attitudes of the architects of the New Deal and its social programs--certainly "persons significant in our past" (36 CFR sec. 60.6(b)), as well as by virtue of their potential to yield "information important in . . . history" (36 CFR sec. 60.6(d)).

Potential Research Questions

Potential research questions associated with this study unit include, but are not limited to, the following:

1. In what ways was the organization, construction, and design of the cabin camps built in the park different from the CCC camps built by the army? To what extent can these differences be accounted for in terms of the different goals and purposes of the administering agencies, and to what extent do these differences reflect social and theoretical differences?

2. What principles and ideas guided the building of the cabin camps? To what extent were the cabin camps designed to give poor youth the outdoor experiences that wealthier young people enjoyed in private group camps? What principles guided the group recreational experiences of well-to-do youths in America at the time?

MANAGEMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will summarize information from the previous chapters pertinent to the distribution and significance of historic properties in the park, and suggest management directions that may be appropriate for preserving and making good use of the values they embody. For detailed information supporting the summary statements offered here, the reader should consult the chapter describing the study unit referred to.

The discussion of management options presented here is necessarily general, because specific management and development priorities for the park as a whole have not yet been established, or at least have not been made available to this author. As a result, there is no basis for evaluating the potential opportunities presented by, or the impacts of, particular approaches to developing and managing the park.

After a brief outline of what appears to be the major historical theme that could serve to integrate both public interpretation and research, the discussion will proceed in chronological order, discussing each study unit or group of study units and what might best be done with the sites and structures representing it, and then providing a comprehensive summary.

GENERAL THEME: MARGINALITY

The overwhelming impression one gets from a review of the history of the park area, from earliest prehistoric times until the time it came to be dedicated to recreation, is one of marginality. The area never seemed to have included a substantial central place; it has always been part of the hinterland. This does not necessarily diminish its importance either for historical and archeological research or for public interpretation, but it does make its importance unusually difficult to realize.

During every period of history, most people have not lived in central places; the bulk of the population, supplying many of society's economic needs and generating much of its world-view, has lived in the hinterland. One cannot really understand a society's central places, be they prehistoric macro-social unit base camps or historic plantation manors, without understanding something about the hinterland that surrounded them. Archeological and historical research in areas like Prince William Forest can contribute to understanding how the bulk of the population of Virginia lived during the time periods represented by the various study units, and the park's archeological sites could, at least in theory, be developed to interpret this theme for the public.

On the other hand, a marginal lifestyle tends to produce marginally visible archeological sites, which are difficult to identify, to study, and to interpret. Many of the human activities that have taken place in the park, such as gathering plant foods during the various prehistoric

periods and shifting tobacco agriculture during the 18th and 19th centuries, have probably left little trace, and the environmental degradation that accompanied tobacco monoculture has further decreased the likelihood that the park contains archeological sites amenable to substantial research or interpretation.

A fundamental management decision needs to be made about whether to try to interpret the history of human use of the area for the public, and if so, whether to attempt the use of in-place archeological remains in such interpretation. If the use of such remains is determined to be desirable, then certain of the specific field studies discussed below should be considered; if not, such studies will not be appropriate. If interpretation of human use of the area is desirable without the use of in-place archeological remains, then some of the opportunities for documentary and oral historical research discussed below should be considered, without direct reference to archeological research.

Whatever decisions are made about interpretation, park planning and development should still be designed to minimize impact to archeological resources, and where such resources cannot be left undisturbed, the research approaches outlined below should be undertaken.

PREHISTORIC SITES

Although the prehistory study units cover by far the greatest span of time, they are likely to involve little enough variation in settlement location and type within the park that they can be effectively discussed as a single group. Generally speaking, two types of prehistoric sites may exist in the park. By far the most common will be small scatters of lithic debitage on the eroded margins of terrace ridges between creeks. These almost certainly represent exploitative foray camps, associated with hunting and opportunistic quarrying of quartz and (less frequently) quartzite; they could date from virtually any prehistoric or early historic time period. The second type of site is also represented, on the surface at least, by a small lithic debitage scatter, occasionally with associated fire-cracked rocks and/or ceramics, located on lower terraces near streams. These may be exploitative foray camps associated with hunting and/or the gathering of plant foods, or micro-social unit base camps.

Debitage scatters on terrace ridge margins could occur virtually anywhere in the park where the appropriate topographic conditions exist. Sites at lower elevations, possibly representing micro-social unit base camps, will most likely be found, if they are found at all, in the eastern part of the park on low terraces overlooking floodplains. They will most likely represent periods prior to that represented by the Hunter-Gatherer IV study unit. They will quite likely be buried to some degree, perhaps completely invisible on the surface, as the result of deposition from the eroding uplands above during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Debitage scatters on the eroded upland terrace ridge margins have little evident research value, at least with reference to contemporary research

questions. It is difficult not to agree with Barse's (1982:64) conclusion that such sites do not merit further study. Since we cannot foresee future developments in archeological method and theory, however, it is prudent to preserve even such now-apparently marginal sites where such preservation is feasible, as it should be in a park under National Park Service management.

Sites that might represent micro-social unit base camps would have greater research significance, particularly if, rather than suffering erosion-related deflation like the upland sites, they had been buried by deposition, probably preserving their constituent data in good condition. Such sites could also be useful in public interpretation if found in reasonably accessible locations.

The following management recommendations follow from these observations:

1. Any development involving land disturbance on the higher terraces should, to the extent feasible, be planned to avoid the margins of terrace ridges. Land use plans involving only the use of areas back from the tips of the ridges should not require survey for prehistoric sites.

2. Where development must disturb the margin of a terrace ridge, this area should be surveyed, and land disturbance on such a location should be monitored. If survey identifies a site with an unusual density or variety of material remains, data recovery would probably be appropriate in advance of construction; otherwise such an operation would probably not be cost-effective and monitoring during construction should be sufficient.

3. Interpretive facilities should be planned, at least in the initial stages, with reference to the likely locations of lower-elevation prehistoric sites, and such locations should be tested to determine whether such sites exist. If they do exist, they should be considered for interpretive development, illustrating the nature of the environment, and human uses of the environment, before the devastation wrought by tobacco monoculture.

4. Where park development or operations may affect terraces overlooking broad floodplains, where micro-social unit base camps could occur, surveys should be done to identify sites subject to effect. Such surveys should focus particularly on subsurface conditions, using backhoes or other effective subsurface testing tools even if nothing is apparent on the surface. Because of the extent of erosion-borne deposition in the area, surface indicators of prehistoric site presence/ absence are not reliable on low terraces in the park vicinity. If prehistoric sites are found in low terrace environments, they are likely to be of substantial research value and should either be preserved in place or subjected to careful, problem-oriented excavation with reference to questions like those discussed above.

EXPLORATION AND CULTURE CONTACT STUDY UNIT

The potential for finding a site representing this study unit within the park appears to be virtually nil. If such a site existed, representing an explorer's camp or fortification or an Indian encampment of the period, it would probably be in the eastern part of the park in an environment much like that of a prehistoric micro-social unit base camp. Thus the same approaches recommended above should be effective for the identification and protection of this study unit's sites, in the unlikely event any exist.

EARLY COLONIAL/TOBACCO PLANTATION SOCIETY STUDY UNITS

These study units can conveniently be considered together because they represent the gradual spread of Euro-American occupation and agricultural misuse of what was to become the park. The settlement and land use patterns of the latter study unit are in effect intensified versions of those established during the former.

In general, the park during these periods was used for tobacco farming, characterized by a shifting pattern of occupation and land use. Small independent farmers, tenant farmers, indentured servants, and slave/overseer groups certainly used the area, probably building impermanent structures and leaving thin deposits of trash at temporary occupation sites throughout the park, probably most often in the vicinity of springs. Such sites would be useful to study, particularly in the context of detailed historical research aimed at elucidating the questions detailed in the preceding chapters, but they are likely to be difficult if not virtually impossible to identify and to present little material evidence for study.

As Tobacco Plantation Society became established in northern Virginia, settlement and use of the park stabilized somewhat, and for the first time specific areas can be identified as the probable sites of fairly substantial occupation and use. While shifting occupation of the rest of the park doubtless continued, more concentrated development occurred near the north periphery, where the Scott plantation, the glebe, and the poorhouse were built, and in the southeast near the fall line, where at least one gristmill may have been put into operation. The remains of rolling roads and wagon roads might also be found representing this period. As noted in the chapter discussing Tobacco Plantation Society, the remains of the glebe and poorhouse could be of particular value to research, if they were excavated in combination with a systematic program of historical study. It is possible that the sites of these structures would be useful in public interpretation as well, showing something of the lives of low-income social groups during a period for which the lives of the planter elite, well represented by many remaining great plantation complexes, have been interpreted almost to excess.

Further research, both in the field and with documentary sources, is recommended with reference to these study units. Fieldwork should

concentrate particularly on the northern part of the park to identify any actual remains that may exist of the Scott plantation, the glebe, and the poorhouse. Care should be taken in implementing any development plans in this area to ensure that any such remains that might be disturbed are identified and either protected or recovered. Data recovery, if it occurs, should be done in the context of further historical research. If remains of the structures are found, consideration should be given to their interpretation. It appears doubtful that enough would remain of the gristmill in the southeast part of the park, or that any such remains would be of sufficient research interest, to justify much effort to identify, preserve, or recover them.

Elsewhere in the park, the discovery of sites representing shifting use and occupation of the area in the context of tobacco farming will probably be for the most part a matter of happenstance. Presumably most occupation would have been near springs or other water sources on relatively flat gound, but in some cases nearness to fields might have been a more significant determinant of occupation location than closeness to water. In fact, we simply lack a reliable basis for predicting the locations of sites associated with shifting tobacco agriculture. At the same time, we can predict that such sites will be extremely difficult to identify, and will contain few material remains. As with prehistoric sites, locations at relatively low elevations along watercourses are more likely to have been preserved than those at higher elevations; other things being equal, the uplands of the park have eroded, washing away or deflating archeological sites, while the lowlands have experienced deposition that could, in favorable locations, have buried such sites and preserved them. Care should probably be taken in the planning of development activities in the vicinity of springs and other water sources, particularly where deposition has apparently occurred over the last two centuries, but the chance of finding much even in these contexts appears to be slight.

EARLY DIVERSIFIED AGRICULTURE, FREE BLACK, AND CIVIL WAR STUDY UNITS

The general settlement pattern representative of these three study units is the same, featuring scattered farm complexes and small agrarian communities in favorable locations. These locations are mapped in the chapters discussing the study units in detail. Sites representative of these study units could help elucidate the research questions identified in the preceding chapters, again if combined with appropriate kinds of historical documentary research. Military sites created during the Civil War or, less likely, the War of 1812 could be found. Most are not likely to be of great importance for either research or interpretation, however, with the exception of Civil War campgrounds which would be significant because so few of them are preserved on National Park Service lands. Such sites, if found, could present a management problem because they are actively sought by Civil War relic collectors.

Further study is desirable with reference to these study units, and consideration should be given to interpreting one or more representative

sites to help visitors understand the history of human use of the local environment. The locations that probably offer the greatest potential for further investigation are shown in figures 14, 15, 19, and 21. Development activities in the vicinity of any of these locations should be planned with care to ensure that the remains of occupation representative of these study units are identified and protected or subjected to data recovery. Any data recovery or other fieldwork should be coordinated with detailed historical research.

AGRARIAN MIXED ECONOMY STUDY UNIT

Although the pattern of scattered farmsteads and farming communities within what was to become the park apparently deteriorated substantially during the Civil War, it continued in at least attenuated form until creation of the park itself. Significant additions occurred to the economic base, however, particularly with the development of the pyrite mine in the northeastern part of the park, the establishment of the Quantico Marine Base, and the beginning of work on county roads in the area. These developments provided new work opportunities for the long-term inhabitants of the area, allowing them to supplement the living they had traditionally made off the land. At the same time, it brought in new people, particularly to work in the mine. The population of the park area came into focus in part on the area of the pyrite mine, with its subsidiary community at Hickory Ridge, and in part on a diffuse community along Joplin Road.

Atlhough the residents of the area, at least in retrospect, perceive themselves to have been relatively self-sufficient and successful in their adaptation to a mixed agrarian/wage labor economy, the area was perceived by outsiders, including government officials, as backward, economically depressed, and environmentally degraded. There seems to be a reasonable basis for each viewpoint. The actual socioeconomic character of the area would be a fruitful field for further research. A considerable potential exists for combining the techniques of oral history, documentary research, genealogical research, and archeology in addressing this study unit, to develop a detailed picture of late nineteenth/early twentieth century life among lower income social groups in northern Virginia. Such research could not only be of basic historical value, but could provide an important basis for park interpretation as well, since it was the people whose lifeways created this study unit who were ultimately displaced by the park, and who, with their descendents, now are the park's neighbors.

A substantial range of archeological sites probably remains in the park from the period represented by this study unit; farms, schools, churches, mills, and the pyrite mine are documented and (with varying degrees of accuracy) identified as to location (fig. 22). A selection of such sites could be fruitfully studied to address the research questions set forth in the detailed discussion of this study unit in the preceding chapter, and could provide a basis for interpreting the study unit for the public. Any such study should be fully integrated with detailed

documentary research and with the collection of oral histories, specifically in cooperation with the residents of the Batestown community along Mine Road.

Care should be taken in the development of park facilities in the vicinity of the old communities at Hickory Ridge and along Joplin Road, and around other locations indicated in figure 22. If such areas must be disturbed, surveys should be undertaken directed toward the identification of remains representative of this study unit, coupled with appropriate documentary and oral historical research, and such remains should be evaluated and, as appropriate, preserved or subjected to problem-oriented data recovery.

RECREATION, RELIEF, AND REHABILITATION STUDY UNIT

This study unit, representing the beginnings of the park itself, has two additional distinguishing characteristics. First, it is the only study unit represented in the park itself by standing structures. Second, it is unique among the park's study units in providing the potential for insight into a national social phenomenon, not from the perspective of the hinterland, but from that of a significant focus on the phenomenon itself. The phenomenon is the social experiment represented by the New Deal.

There are two general classes of historic properties associated with this study unit, besides such relatively ephemeral phenomena as roads and check-dams. These are the campsites constructed by the army for CCC workers and the cabin camps constructed by the WPA and CCC for the recreational demonstration project.

Most of the army-built CCC camps have now been reduced to archeological sites. Some structures remain at NP-16 (SP-26). A study of the spatial and social organization of the CCC camp sites is still possible using archeological, archival, and oral-historical data. Such a study might be fruitfully coordinated with a major study being undertaken by the Department of Defense addressing "temporary" World War II structures and structural complexes, since one of the emphases of the DOD study will be the origins of the organizational schemes that were used in the design of such complexes (Constance Ramirez, personal communication 1985).

The cabin camps are still very much in evidence and in use in the park. They are of particular interest not only as representatives of a period and style of construction, but especially as physical manifestations of a set of ideas about the proper organization of society that informed the thinkers of the New Deal. Few would argue with the proposition that the New Deal represented a major revolution in American thinking about the organization of society. To understand this transformation, we need to understand the philosophies and world views that lay behind its conceptual architects. Many of these are represented in their writings, their legislation, and their pronouncement, but other aspects of their perspective on society and the world may be represented in the artifacts

they left behind. The cabin camps of the recreational demonstration project, deliberately designed to organize their occupants in the manner perceived to be desirable by those who authorized and directed their construction, are examples of such artifacts.

As usual with sites representative of relatively recent historic periods, it would be best to study the cabin camps of Prince William Forest Park in coordination with a study of documentary and oral history. In this case, however, such a study should not be directed only to those involved in the Chopawamsic project itself--though they are certainly important--but also to those involved in the overall national program and its direction, for example Conrad Wirth.

The cabin camps are also unique among the park's historic properties in that they have obvious potential--already substantially realized--for adaptive use. Such use should be encouraged to extend their useful life, but care should be taken to record any changes made in their original design, since understanding that design is critical to understanding the philosophical tenets underlying their organization.

SUMMARY

The archeological resources of Prince William Forest Park reflect the settlement patterns of people who existed on the margins of historic and prehistoric Virginia's major socioeconomic systems. This gives them particular value both for scholarly research and for public interpretation, but also results in a rather ephemeral archeological record. While human effects on the local landscape and environment have been substantial, notably in the form of environmental degradation associated with tobacco monoculture, the settlement patterns of the area have for the most part not produced many archeological sites with obvious potential for research or interpretation. Such archeological remains as were created, particularly during prehistoric and early historic times, have suffered from the effects of erosion, though it is possible that some have benefitted from the protection afforded by deposition.

The potential for finding prehistoric and early historic sites of great value for research and interpretation in the park is low, with the specific exceptions discussed above. Further research would be desirable with reference to some of these exceptions, notably the sites associated with the early colonial and tobacco plantation society study units. The park's major potential value, however, both as a research locale and as a site for the public interpretation of the past, appears to lie in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A real possibility exists for interpreting the socioeconomic use of the area with relation both to major developments outside the park and their effects on local communities, and to the effects of local land use on the natural environment. A modest ongoing program of research in and around the park, combining the methods of history, ethnography, and archeology, has real potential for increasing both scholarly and public understanding of history and society in the hinterland South. The standing structures and archeological sites

associated with the creation of the park itself during the depression have further potential as artifacts reflecting the ideology of a revolution in American social thinking--the New Deal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALEXANDRIA URBAN ARCHEOLOGICAL PROGRAM
1983 Approaches to Preserving a City's Past. Alexandria, VA.

ANONYMOUS
1879 "Old Families." Alexandria Gazette, 20 September.

n.d.(a) "Church History." History of Little Union Baptist Church. Typed manuscript in possession of Mr. Walter Kendall, Dumfries, VA.

n.d.(b) Notes from interview with unidentified former park resident, presumably Willie Tolson. On file in curatorial collection, Prince William Forest Park.

n.d.(c) Map of Prince William County, 186?. Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, WDC. Call number G3383, p. 7.

ARTEMEL, J.
1978 "1800-1840," in Netherton, Nan, Donald Sweig, Janice Artemel, Patricia Hicklin, and Patrick Reed, Fairfax County, Virginia, A History, County Board of Supervisors, Fairfax County, VA.

BAKER, ET AL
1979 Soil Survey, Prince William Forest Park. Survey under the direction of Dr. James C. Baker, Coordinator of Soil Survey, Agronomy Department, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Special Soil Survey Report, Prince William Forest Park.

BAKER, V.G.
1980 "Archeological Visibility of Afro-American Culture: An Example from Black Lucy's Garden" in Archeological Perspectives in America, R. Schuyler, ed. Baywood Publisher, Farmingdale, N.Y.

BARSE, W.P.
1982 A Prehistoric Cultural Resources Reconnaissance of Neabsco and Powells Creeks, Prince William County, Virginia. Report prepared under supervision of William M. Gardner by Thunderbird Research Corporation, Front Royal, Virginia.

BEITZELL, E.W.
1968 Life on the Potomac River. Abell, MD.

BERKELEY, H.J.
1924 "The Port of Dumfries, Prince William Co., VA" William and Mary Quarterly 4(2):99-122.

BETTINGER, R. AND M. BAUMHOFF
1982 "The Numic Spread: Great Basin Cultures in Competition," American Antiquity 47(3):485-503.

BLACKFORD, B.L.
1863 Handwritten notes on Map of Stafford County, Virginia. Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

BLOCK, E.B.
1966 Above the Civil War: the story of Thaddeus Lowe, balloonist, inventor, railway builder. Howell-North Brooks, Berkeley, CA.

BROWN, W.H.
1901 Map of Prince William County, Virginia. A.B. Graham, Lith., Washington, D.C.

CARBONE, V.
1976 Environment and Prehistory in the Shenandoah Valley. Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, MI.

CARNAHAN, J. WORTH (Compiler)
1975 4000 Civil War Battles; from official records. Frontier Book Co., Fort Davis, TX.

CARSON, C., NORMAN F. BARKA, WILLIAM M. KELSO, GARY W. STONE, AND DELL UPTON
1981 "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies," Winterthur Portfolio 16 (2&3), University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL.

CATLIN, M.
1981 Phase II Investigation of Sites 44PW38 and 44PW46 Located in the Proposed Wayside Village Development Project Area Near Dumfries, Prince William County, Virginia. Report written for Robert A. McGinnis and Associates, Ltd., P.O. Box 650, 120 N. Lee Street, Falls Church, VA 22046.

CHAPMAN, J.
1975 The Rose Island Site and the Bifurcate Point Tradition. Report of Investigations No. 14, Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN.

CHARTKOFF, J. AND _. CHARTKOFF
1984 California Archeology, Stanford University Press, Palo Alto, CA.

CHITTENDEN, BETSY, ELIZABETH S. DAVID, SUSAN L. HENRY, MICHAEL F. JOHNSON, AND MARTHA R. WILLIAMS
1985 Heritage Resource Management Plan, Heritage Resources Branch, Office of Comprehensive Planning, Fairfax County, VA.

CLARK, A.
1930 "The Old Mill Records of the Columbia Historical Society," Vols. 31-32, Washington, D.C.

COMMONWEALTH
1980 Archeological Excavation of the Bazuin Site: 44LD3, Lowes Island, Loudoun County, Virginia. Report submitted to the Fairfax County, Virginia, Water Authority by Commonwealth Associates, Inc., Jackson, MI.

CONFEDERATE VETERAN
1909 Published account of a Civil War battle in Dumfries, Virginia, XVII.(11):557. Nashville, TN.

CONNER, E.R. III
1976 "A Partial List of Water-powered Mills in Prince William County, arranged in Upstream Order on the Respective Streams," unpublished ms.

1981 One Hundred Old Cemeteries of Prince William County, Virginia. Lake Lithograph, Manassas, VA.

CRAIG, R.J.
1975 "Cabin Branch Mine Project." Manuscript on file in curatorial collection, Prince William Forest Park.

CROMWELL, J.R., JR., AND ROBERT MC IVER
1985 A Phase I Evaluation of Three Streams in Prince William County, Virginia: Broad Run, Bull Run, and Quantico Creek. Archeological Research Center, James Madison University, Harrisonburg, VA. Clarence R. Geier, Principal Investigator. Report submitted to Prince William County Historical Commission.

CUSTER, J.F.
1980 "Human Responses to Holocene Climatic Episodes in the Northern Mid-Atlantic." Paper presented at the 79th annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Washington, D.C.

DAVENPORT
n.d. Masterplan for Prince William Forest National Park. Draft manuscript on file at Prince William Forest Park. Associated maps dated 1963.

DEETZ, J.
1977 In Small Things Forgotten, The Archeology of Early American Life. Anchor Press, Doubleday, Garden City, NY.

DENT, J.
1979 Ecological and Sociocultural Reconstruction in the Upper Delaware Valley, Ph.D. dissertation, American University, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, MI.

DETTINGEN PARISH RECORDS
1976 Records of Dettingen Parish, Prince William County, Virginia. Includes Vestry Book, 1745-1785, Minutes of Meetings of the Overseers of the Poor, 1788-1802, and Indentures, 1749-1782. Historic Dumfries, Inc., Dumfries, VA.

EARLE, C.V.
1975 The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallows Parish, Maryland, 1650-1783, University of Chicago, Department of Geography Research Paper No. 170, Chicago, IL.

EVENING STAR.
1985 Article concerning the formation of the Chopawamsic Recreation Demonstration Project, 6 March 1935. Washington, D.C.

EWELL, A.M.
1931 A Virginia Scene; or Life in Old Prince William, J.P. Bell & Co., Inc., Lynchburg, VA.

FAUSZ, J.F.
1984 "Merging and Emerging Worlds: Anglo-Indian Interest Groups in the Early Chesapeake, 1620-1660." Paper presented at the Third Hall of Records Conference on Maryland History, Saint Mary's City, MD. Unpublished paper on file at Heritage Resources Branch, Fairfax County Office of Comprehensive Planning, Fairfax, VA.

FEETZ, C.
1978 "Virginia Algonquians," in Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 15, pp. 253-270, Bruce G. Trigger, ed., Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

FISHER, H.
1983 "The Virginia Piedmont--A Definition: A Review of the Physiographic Attributes and Historic Land Use of This Region," in Piedmont Archaeology, J. Mark Wittkofski and Lyle E. Browning, eds., Archeological Society of Virginia Special Publication No. 10, pp. 2-8.

GANNETT, H.

1975 A Gazetteer of Virginia and West Virginia. Reprinted by Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., Baltimore, MD. Originally published in two volumes, A Gazetteer of Virginia, United States Geological Survey Bulletin No. 232, Washington 1904, and A Gazetteer of West Virginia, United States Geological Survey Bulletin No. 233, Washington 1904.

GARDNER, W.

1974 "The Flint Run Complex: Pattern and Process during the Paleoindian to Early Archaic," in The Flint Run Paleoindian Complex: A Preliminary Report 1971-73 Seasons. W.M. Gardner, ed., Archeology Laboratory, Department of Anthropology, Occasional Publication No. 1, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

1976a Excavations at 18PR141-18PR142 and 18PR143 near Piscataway Creek, Maryland. Report submitted to the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission.

1976b An Archeological Reconnaissance of Two Unnamed Creeks Tributary to Piscataway Creek, Maryland. Report submitted to the Washington Sanitary Sewer Commission.

1978 "Comparison of Ridge and Valley, Blue Ridge, Piedmont and Coastal Plain Archaic Period Site Distribution: an Idealized Transect (Preliminary Model)." Paper prepared for the Fairfax County Park Authority's National Endowment of the Humanities Grant, "The Making of the Northern Virginia Landscape."

1980 Culture and Environment in the Middle and South Atlantic During the Late Pleistocene to Mid-Holocene. Paper presented to the American Anthropological Association Symposium on Man and the Environment, November 1980, WDC.

1982 "Early and Middle Woodland in the Mid-Atlantic: An Overview," in Practicing Environmental Archaeology: Methods and Interpretations, R.W. Moeller, ed. American Indian Archaeological Institute, Occasional Paper No. 3.

GERNER, C.

1935 "Project Plan, Recreation Area Demonstration Project, Under the Land Program, Chopawamsic Area, Virginia." Manuscript on file in National Archives, Record Group 79, Records of the Branch of Recreation, Land Planning and State Cooperation, State Parks File 1933-1947, Program Files of the Recreation Demonstration Areas, Chopawamsic Recreation Demonstration Area, 501. Also on file in curatorial collection, Prince William Forest Park.

GLASSFORD, & CO.
1795-
1817 Records of John Glassford & Co., Glasgow, Scotland, concerning its store in Dumfries, Virginia, 1795-1806, 1817. Preserved on microfilm in Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, WDC.

GOTTMAN, J.
1969 Virginia in Our Century. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA. First published in 1955, as Virginia at Mid-Century by Henry Holt & Co., Inc.

GRAHAM, H.
1928 The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century. A.&C. Black Ltd., London. First published in 1899 in 2 vols.

GRAY, L.
1941 History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860. vol. I., Carnegie Institute of Washington Publication No. 430, New York.

HALL, W.
1937 Report of the Project Manager, Chopawamsic Recreation Demonstration Area, National Archives, Record Group 79, Records Concerning Recreational Demonstration Areas, Recreation Demonstration Area Program Files, 1934-1947.

HARPER, E.
1973 Report of the Family Selection Specialist, Virginia Resettlement Administration in Gerner, C. "Project Plan, Recreation Demonstration Project, Chopawamsic, Virginia." Manuscript on file in curatorial collection, Prince William Forest Park.

HARRISON, F.
1964 Landmarks of Old Prince William, Chesapeake Book Company, Berryville, VA. First published 1924.

HENING, W.
Statutes at Large, Vol. 11, 1782-1784; Vol. 12, 1785-1792, Richmond.

HERNDON, M.
1978 "Agricultural Reform and Antebellum Virginia: William Galt Jr., a Case Study." Agricultural History 52(3):394-392.

1981 "The Significance of the Forest to the Tobacco Plantation Economy in Antebellum Virginia," Plantation Society, I.(3):430-439.

HICKIN, P.
1978 "1840-1870," in Netherton, Nan, Donald Sweig, Janice Artemel, Patricia Hicklin, and Patrick Reed, Fairfax County, Virginia, A History, Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, Fairfax County, VA.

HODGES, MARY ELLEN
1981 A Brief Relation of Virginia Prehistory, Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, Research Center for Archaeology, Yorktown, VA.

HOFFMAN, B.G.
1964 Observations on Certain Ancient Tribes of the Northern Appalachian Province, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Anthropological Papers No. 70, U.S. Government Printing Office.

HOLMES, WILLIAM H., WILLIAM DINWIDDIE AND GERARD FOWKE
1891-
1893 "Archaeological Survey of the Tidewater Maryland and Virginia Area," National Anthropological Archives Manuscript 2125, Smithsonian Institution, WDC.

HUMMEL, R.O. ED.
1960 A List of Places Included in Nineteenth Century Virginia Directories, Virginia State Library, Richmond, VA.

INSTITUTE FOR CONSERVATION ARCHAEOLOGY (ICA)
1979 Summary and Analysis of Cultural Resource Information on the Continental Shelf from the Bay of Fundy to Cape Hatteras, Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

ISAAC, R.
1982 The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790, Institute for Early American History and Culture, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC.

JOHNSON, M.
1982 "Site Density and Function in the Upland-Interior Fall Zone of Neabsco Creek: A Phase I Archeological Reconnaissance of the Area Around Belair Plantation, Prince William County, VA." Manuscript on file in Heritage Resources Branch, Fairfax County Office of Comprehensive Planning, Fairfax, VA.

1983 "The Evolution of the Bifurcate Hunting System in the Interior Piedmont of Fairfax County, Virginia," in Piedmont Archeology, J. Mark Wittkofski and Lyle E. Browning, eds., Archeological Society of Virginia Special Publication No. 10, pp. 55-73.

KAVANAGH, M.
1983 "Prehistoric Occupation of the Monocacy River Region, Maryland," in Piedmont Archaeology, J. Mark Wittkofski and Lyle E. Browning, eds., Archeological Society of Virginia Special Publication No. 10.

KING, M.E., ED.,
1974 Public Service Claims of Prince William County, Virginia, Court booklet. Xeroxed copy in Barbara Kirby collection.

KING, T.
1974 "The Evolution of Status Ascription Around San Francisco Bay," in Antap: California Indian Political and Economic Organization, edited by L.J. Bean and T.F. King. Ballena Press, Ramona, CA.

1978 "Don't That Beat the Band? Nonegalitarian Political Organization in Prehistoric Central California," in Social Archeology: Beyond Subsistence and Dating, edited by Charles L. Redman, Mary Jane Berman, Edward V. Curtin, William T. Langhorne, Nine M. Versaggi, and Jeffery C. Wanser, Academic Press, NY.

1985 "The Once and Future Drought," American Archeology, in press, Ridgefield, CN.

LANSING, L.C.
n.d. "A Brief History of Dumfries, Virginia." Manuscript on file with Mr. Lee Lansing, Dumfries Town Hall.

LEE DECKER, CHARLES H., CHARLES D. CHEEK, AMY FRIEDLANDER, AND TERESA E. OSSIM
1984 Cultural Resource Survey and Evaluation at Fort Belvoir, Virginia. Report prepared for Office of Cultural Programs, Mid-Atlantic Region, National Park Service by Soil Systems, Inc., Subsidiary Professional Service Industries, Inc., 5750B General Washington Drive, Alexandria, VA.

LONDSDALE, J.T.
1927 Geology of the Gold-Pyrite Belt of the Northeastern Piedmont, Virginia, Virginia Geological Survey Bulletin No. 30, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.

LYKES, I.
n.d. "A Brief History and Explanation of Prince William Forest Park, Formerly Chopawamsic Park, Prince William County, VA." Manuscript on file in curatorial collection, Prince William Forest Park.

MAC LEAN, J.P.
1968 An Historical Account of the Settlements of Scotch Highlanders in America, Genealogical Publishing Co., Baltimore, MD. Originally published Cleveland, 1900.

MARTIN, J.
1836 Gazetteer of Virginia and the District of Columbia. Published by Joseph Martin, Moseley and Thompkins, Printers, Charlottesville, VA.

MASTER PLAN, PRINCE WILLIAM FOREST PARK
n.d. Manuscript on file in curatorial collection, Prince William Forest Park.

MC GARRY, T.
1982 Manassas Historic Sites Survey, Manassas National Battlefield Park, Virginia, National Park Service, National Capital Team, Denver Service Center.

MEAD, E.
1971 "Haunted House," Potomac News, 17 November.
1984 "Spanning the Generations," Potomac News, 30 May.

MEADE, BISHOP W.
1966 Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia, Genealogical Publishing Co., Baltimore, MD. First published 1857 by J.B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, PA.

MOUER, L.D.
1983 "A Review of the Ethnohistory and Archaeology of the Monacans," in Piedmont Archaeology, J. Mark Wittkofski and Lyle E. Browning, eds., Archeological Society of Virginia Special Publication No. 10.

MOXAM, R.M.
1974 The Colonial Plantations of George Mason, Colonial Press, Springfield, VA.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES, RECORD GROUP 79
Records of the National Park Service, National Archives building. Records of the Branch of Recreation, Land Planning, and State Cooperation, State Park file 1933-1947, Records Concerning Recreational Demonstration Areas, RDA Program Files.

Records in two subcategories within this section of Record Group 79 were examined: (1) Reports on Recreational Demonstration Projects, 1934-47, and (2) Memoranda and Correspondence concerning CCC Corps, 1935-42. Specific files within these groups are cited by file number in the text.

NETHERTON, N.
1976 "Colvin Mill Run," Office of Comprehensive Planning, Fairfax, Va.

NUGENT, N.M.
1934 Cavaliers and Pioneers, vol. I, (1623-1666), Dietz Printing Co., Richmond, VA.

1977 Cavaliers and Pioneers, vol. II, (1666-1695), Virginia State Library, Richmond, VA.

PAIGE, J.C.
1985 The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942, An Administrative History, National Park Service, Department of the Interior.

PETERSILIA, M. AND R. WRIGHT.
1972 "Hope Park and Hope Park Mill," Office of Comprehensive Planning, Fairfax, VA.

PETERSON, A.
1930 "Commerce of Virginia 1789-1791," William and Mary Quarterly 10(2):302-307.

PORTER, C.W.
1935 "Prince William Forest Park (Formerly Chopawamsic Park)." Manuscript on file in the curatorial collection at Prince William Forest Park, 28 December.

POTOMAC NEWS
(a) "No Time to Die", 23 May 1978.
(b) Article on Mr. Cecil Garrison, 15 February. 1979.
(c) "They Just Call It Home", n.d.
(d) Article on Mr. Joe Hebda, 30 June 1976.

POTTER, S.R.
1980 A Review of Archeological Resources in Piscataway Park, Maryland, National Park Service, National Capital Region, Washington, D.C.

1982 An Analysis of Chicacoan Settlement Patterns, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina.

PRINCE WILLIAM COUNTY HISTORICAL COMMISSION
1982 Prince William: A Past to Preserve. Prince William County Historical Commission, Manassas, VA.

PRINCE WILLIAM COUNTY PLAT BOOK
1789-
1858 Land records preserved on microfilm in the Virginia State Library, Richmond, VA.

RATCLIFFE, R.J.
1950 Historical Map of Prince William County, Manassas, VA.

1973 This Was Manassas. Privately printed by R. Jackson Ratcliffe, Manassas, VA.

1978 This Was Prince William, Potomac Press, Leesburg, VA.

1985 "A Brief Sketch of the History of Dumfries." Address prepared on the occasion of the Dumfries Bicentennial, May 3, 1949. Published in the Manassas Museum, vol. III(1).

RICE, H.C., COMPILER
1972 The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.

RITTER, D.F., W.F. KINSEY, AND M.E. KAUFFMAN
1973 "Overbank Sedimentation in the Delaware River Valley During the Last 6,000 Years." Science 179:374-375.

ROBINSON, M.
1834 Topographical Plan of the Country between Fredricksburg and Alexandria; showing the location of the present stage road . . . and the proposed changes in the same. Document found in the Geography and Maps Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., no location and no publisher.

RUST, W.F., III
1983 "Upper Terrace Adaptations During the Transitional: Evidence from the Potomac Piedmont," in Piedmont Archaeology, J. Mark Wittkofski and Lyle E. Browning, eds., Archeological Society of Virginia Special Publication No. 10.

RUTLAND, R., ed.
1970 The Papers of George Mason, 1725-1792. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press.

SALMON, E.J., ed.
1983 Hornbook of Virginia History, third edition. Virginia State Library, Richmond, VA.

SALMOND, J.A.
1967 The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study, Duke University Press, Durham, NC.

SALWEN, B., AND SARAH BRIDGES
1974 "The Ceramics from the Weeksville Excavations, Brooklyn, New York," Northeast Historical Archaeology 3(13).

SCHUYLER, R.
1980 "Sandy Ground: Archeology of a Nineteenth Century Oystering Village" in Archeological Perspectives on Ethnicity in America. R. Schuyler, ed., Baywood Publishers, Farmingdale, N.Y.

SMITH, HUIE, ALEXANDER AND CO.
1784-1796 Account Book of Smith, Huie, Alexander and Co., Dumfries, Virginia, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

SMOLEK, M.
1984 "Soyle-light, Well-Watered and on the River": Settlement Patterning of Maryland's Frontier Plantations," paper presented at the 3rd Hall of Records Conference on Maryland History, St. Mary's City, Maryland.

STEPHENSON, R. AND ALICE L. FERGUSON
1968 The Accokeek Creek Site: A Middle Atlantic Seaboard Cultural Sequence, Anthropological Paper No. 20, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

SWEIG, D.
1978 "1649-1800," in Netherton, Nan, Donald Sweig, Janice Artemel, Patricia Hicklin, and Patrick Reed, Fairfax County, Virginia, A History, Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, Fairfax County, VA.

TALMADGE, V. AND OLGA CHESLER
1977 Importance of Small, Surface, and Disturbed Sites as Sources of Significant Archeological Data, Interagency Archeological Service 1977, Washington, D.C., National Technical Information Service Publication Number PB 270939/AS.

TAYLOR, J.
1984 Typed manuscript of a taped interview with John Taylor, December 1984, by Trudy McBride. On file in curatorial collection at Prince William Forest Park.

TILP, F.
1978 This Was the Potomac River. Privately published by F. Tilp, 124 Quay St., Box 630, Alexandria, VA 22313.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
1936 Recreational Demonstration Projects as Illustrated by Chopawamsic, Virginia, National Park Service, WDC.

1980 Resource Protection Planning Process, Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service Publication No. 50.

U.S. WAR DEPARTMENT
1885 War of the Rebellion, a Compilation of Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, series I., vol. XII., part 3, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

U.S. WAR DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF TOPOGRAPHICAL ENGINEERS
1862 Map of Northeastern Virginia and Vicinity of Washington, J. Schedler, New York.

VERREY, R.A.
1980a A Preliminary Archeological Resources Reconnaissance of the Greenwood Farms Development, Prince William County, Virginia. Report to Virginia Research Center for Archeology, Williamsburg, prepared by Thunderbird Regional Preservation Office, Front Royal, Virginia.

1980b A Preliminary Archeological Resources Reconnaissance of the Proposed Wayside Village Development near Dumfries, Prince William County, Virginia. Report to Virginia Research Center for Archeology, Williamsburg, prepared by Thunderbird Regional Preservation Office, Front Royal, Virginia.

1980c A Preliminary Archeological Resources Reconnaissance of the Harbors of Newport Development, Prince William County, Virginia. Report to Virginia Research Center for Archeology, Williamsburg, prepared by Thunderbird Regional Preservation Office, Front Royal, Virginia.

1980d A Preliminary Archeological Resources Reconnaissance of Section 14B of the Lake Ridge Development, Prince William County, Virginia. Report to Virginia Research Center for Archeology, Williamsburg, prepared by Thunderbird Regional Preservation Office, Front Royal, Virginia.

VIRGINIA GAZETTE
August 1769. Jan. 1785. Sept. 1787. Nov. 1771. Aug. 1786. Dec. 1787.

VIRGINIA HISTORIC LANDMARKS COMMISSION SITE FORMS
Records on historic and archeological properties found at Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, Richmond, Va. (VHLC) and VHLC's Research Center for Archeology, Yorktown, VA.

VIRGINIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY & BIOGRAPHY
Dr. Philip A. Bruce, ed., vol. 2

WALKER, J.M.
1981 "A Preliminary Report of the Prehistory of Prince William County, Virginia." Report on file at Virginia Research Center for Archeology, Yorktown, VA.

WALSCH, L.S.
1984 "Community Nucleation in the Early Chesapeake." Paper presented at the Third Hall of Records Conference on Maryland History, St. Mary's City, MD.

WASHINGTON POST
1936 Clipping from article dated 29 March. (Washington, D.C.). Clipping found in National Archives, Record Group 79 (group 1, see above) file 501. Not titled.

WASHINGTON STAR
1936 Article on the formation of the Chopawamsic Recreation Demonstration Project, March 15. (Washington, D.C.)

WATSON, T.L.
1907 Mineral Resources of Virginia, J.P. Bell Co., Lynchburg, VA.

WERTENBAKER, T.J.
1959 Planters of Colonial Virginia. Russell-Sage, NY.

WILLIAM AND MARY QUARTERLY
Series 1, vols. 1-27, Lyon G. Tyler, ed., W.C. Torrence, associate editor, vols. 24-27. Series 2, Vols. 1-10, J.A.C. Chandler and E.G. Swem, editors, College of William & Mary, Williamsburg, VA.

WILLS, M.A.
1978 Confederate Batteries Along the Potomac. Pamphlet commissioned by the Prince William County Historical Commission.

WOOD, J.
1820 Prince William County, surveyed and drawn under the direction of John Wood. Unpublished map, Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress.

WRITER'S PROGRAM OF THE WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION, VIRGINIA
1941 Prince William; the story of its people and its places, American Guide Series, Whittet and Shepperson, Richmond, VA.

1974 Virginia Guide to the Old Dominion. American Guide Series, Oxford University Press, New York (originally published 1940).

As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has basic responsibilities to protect and conserve our land and water, energy and minerals, fish and wildlife, parks and recreation areas, and to ensure the wise use of all these resources. The Department has also major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

Publication services were provided by the graphics and editorial staffs of the Eastern Team, Denver Service Center.

Document No. D-11