

IV. CULTURAL CONTEXT

The following section provides the Native American and historic background research with the goal of establishing the appropriate cultural context for the project area as defined by the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards and Guidelines* for Archaeology and Historic Preservation and the Virginia Department of Historic Resources' *How to use Historic Contexts in Virginia: A Guide for Survey, Registration, Protection, and Treatment Projects* (VDHR 1992).

Virginia's Native American cultural chronology is subdivided into three major time periods based on changes in subsistence as exhibited by material remains and settlement patterns. These divisions are known as the Paleoindian, Archaic, and Woodland periods. A brief summary of the regional cultural chronology follows, with comments on manifestations of each period within the greater vicinity of the project area.

Paleoindian (Prior to 8000 B.C.)

The Paleoindian occupation of Virginia, representing the initial presence of Native American peoples within the region, began prior to 8,000 B.C. (Dent 1995; Ward and Davis 1999). The Paleoindian occupation of the greater southeastern United States began between 15,000 and 11,000 years ago, during the late glacial era when sea levels were approximately 230 feet below modern sea levels (Anderson et al. 1996:3). This projected drop in sea level would have exposed the majority of the continental shelf along the eastern coastline of North America. During the Late Pleistocene period (15,000 to 11,000 years ago), the Laurentide Ice Sheet still covered large portions of northern North America, and in Virginia the predominant forest type consisted of a mixture of a Jack Pine and Spruce (Delcourt and Delcourt 1981, 1983). These combined lines of evidence indicate that the Paleoindian period predates the formation of the Chesapeake Bay.

The majority of Paleoindian materials recovered in Virginia and throughout the Eastern United States are represented by isolated projectile point finds (Dent 1995; Ward and Davis 1999). Although some larger, notable base camps are present within the state, these sites are relatively rare and usually associated with sources of preferred high quality lithic materials. Many Paleoindian sites may have been located along the Late Pleistocene coastline of Virginia, which was subsequently flooded during the formation of the Chesapeake Bay (Blanton 1996). There were 25 known Paleoindian sites located within the Chesapeake Region (Dent 1995).

Preservation biases have also had a substantial impact on our understanding of the Paleoindian period. After 10,000 years, few artifacts survive the ravages of time aside from stone tools and the debris associated with their manufacture. When compared to the wealth of archaeological materials contained on late Native American sites, there are relatively few traces remaining from the Paleoindian period. There remains a general level of uncertainty for the period based on the extant lines of data (Kane and Keeton 1994).

Paleoindians favored the use of cryptocrystalline material for making projectile points and lithic tools, probably because of its flaking qualities and longer potential use-life (the capability of reworking and reusing the material). The Paleoindian tool kit included well-made bifaces, various scrapers, graters, adzes, and a few other tool types. These tools were curated and carried

from place to place, possibly due to the extended use-life of the preferred lithic material (Binford 1980; Goodyear 1979). The Native American tool kit associated with the Paleoindian period is still not well understood. Most of the tools associated with Paleoindian projectile points are also found in association with diagnostic artifacts from the Early Archaic period.

The Paleoindians employed a collector strategy to take advantage of seasonally available flora and fauna throughout the year. This strategy included a seasonal base camp located either in a diverse environmental ecozone or near high-quality lithic quarries, supplemented by smaller procurement camps located some distance from the base camp (Anderson et al. 1996; Daniel 1996; Goodyear 1979). The procurement camps were seasonal and temporary stations where the Paleoindians would gather lithic material and/or flora, or hunt fauna (Binford 1980; Anderson et al. 1996). It is generally accepted that the range of a band of Paleoindians covered a relatively large area (Anderson et al. 1996; Gardner 1989).

Some researchers discuss the Paleoindian period as a single entity (Dent 1995), while others, mostly in the southeast, divide it into three sub-periods based on morphological differences in projectile point manufacture and technology (Anderson 1990; Ward and Davis 1999).

Early Paleoindian (9500-9000 B.C.)

The earliest occupation of the southeast and eastern North America occurred sometime before 9000 B.C. The artifact associated with this sub-period is the fluted Clovis projectile point, thought to have been hafted on the end of a wooden shaft and utilized as a spear to be thrown or thrust (Chapman 1994; Ward and Davis 1999). Sites associated with Clovis projectile points are scattered in low densities across the eastern seaboard, with notable concentrations around Tennessee, the Cumberland and Ohio River Valley, western South Carolina, southern Virginia, and the northern Piedmont of North Carolina (Anderson 1990:164-71; Daniel 1998; Ward and Davis 1999). Some areas with ephemeral or even no traces of Paleoindian occupation may have only been occupied briefly at this time. Anderson (1990) has hypothesized that these areas of concentrated activity were staging areas or base camps occupied at particular times of the season, with smaller procurement camps located elsewhere throughout the region (Anderson 1990; Ward and Davis 1999).

The strongest case for a pre-Clovis occupation of Virginia comes from the Cactus Hill site (44SX0202). The site, located along the Nottoway River, has provided potential evidence of Native American habitation in Virginia prior to the widely accepted date of 12,000 B.C. The site has also produced artifacts that may predate the development of Clovis technology: materials supporting the existence of a non-fluted lithic blade technology were recovered below stratigraphic levels associated with fluted Clovis points (McAvoy and McAvoy 1997).

Middle Paleoindian (9000-8500 B.C.)

During the Middle Paleoindian sub-period several other projectile points become characteristic of the changing environment and reuse of earlier projectile point forms. Typical projectile point types include Clovis variants, Cumberland points, Simpson points, and Suwannee points. Some of these projectile points are fluted (Cumberland, Simpson, and Clovis variants), while others are

not (Suwannee). Most of the Middle Paleoindian projectile points are slightly “eared” at the base (Anderson et al. 1996; Ward and Davis 1999:31). Anderson (1990) sees the morphological changes in form and increased number of points associated with this sub-period as signifying a change in settlement patterning and subsistence strategies. During the Middle Paleoindian period, Native American peoples began to radiate out from their home ranges and exploit new environmental conditions (Ward and Davis 1999).

Late Paleoindian (8500-7900 B.C.)

By the end of the Late Pleistocene, the ice sheet had retreated to the north, and the forest cover had changed to a mixture of conifers and northern hardwoods. It is also presumed that numerous Paleoindian sites were submerged with the retreat of the Laurentide Ice Sheet at the end of the last glacial period (approximately 10,000 years ago) (Anderson et al. 1996:3). Dalton projectile points and Hardaway projectile points are typical of the Late Paleoindian sub-period, with some variants (Coe 1964; Daniel 1998; Goodyear 1974, 1982). With the climate and environment changing to one more similar to the present, and with the associated rise in sea levels, more Late Paleoindian sites are present across the Southeast and Mid-Atlantic regions, suggesting a possible increase in population density.

Predictions call for any Paleoindian remains in Spotsylvania to be found in very low densities, with the most likely locations being situated along game-attracting marshes with southern and eastern aspects (Barber et al. 1992:42-43). As of 1981, only one of the 668 Clovis projectile points recorded for the state of Virginia had been recovered from Spotsylvania County (McCary 1982, in Brennan 1982:35-37). No Paleoindian sites are located within a one-mile radius of the project area. Given the dearth of Paleoindian finds in Spotsylvania, the potential for such sites to be located within the project area appears extremely low.

Archaic (8000 - 1200 B.C.)

The beginning of the Archaic period coincided with the start of the Holocene period around 8,000 B.C. The Holocene is a geological period that began with the recession of the ice sheets that covered large portions of North America. The start of the Archaic period is marked by a shift from a moist, cool climate to a warmer, dryer climate within the region, more similar to the temperate ecosystem of today. This warming trend was gradual and somewhat continuous throughout the first 5,000 years of the Archaic period. The shift in climate allowed for the development of diverse plant and animal communities, as currently found throughout the Middle Atlantic region. These changes in flora and fauna had a marked impact on the hunter-forager subsistence base of the Archaic period (Dent 1995:147, 164-5). The retreat of the ice sheets also caused the sea levels to rise, leading to the gradual formation of the Chesapeake Bay. Prior to the Archaic period, the Chesapeake Bay was merely an extension of the Susquehanna river, emptying into the Atlantic Ocean several miles east of Virginia Beach, Virginia.

As with the earlier Paleoindian period, our understanding of the cultural chronology of the Archaic period is based primarily upon lithic artifacts: chipped-stone tools and the debris associated with their manufacture. More “biodegradable” forms of material culture have simply not survived in the archaeological record of the region, and the items recovered are biased

towards lithic materials (Geier 1990:82-83). The basic chronology of Archaic projectile points for the Mid-Atlantic region and the southeastern United States closely follows the sequence outlined by Joffre Coe (1964) for the North Carolina Piedmont, with regional variants. Coe's chronology has been modified over the past 40 years but the basic typology remains intact (Broyles 1971; Dent 1995; Hranicky 2003; Justice 1995; Ward and Davis 1999).

It is believed that Archaic peoples were organized as band-level social groups, with seasonal movements that corresponded to the availability of specific resources. Settlement during the Archaic period probably involved the occupation of relatively large regions by single, band-sized groups living in base camps during part of the year. These band-sized groups would disperse on an as-needed or seasonal basis, creating smaller microband camps that may have consisted of no more than single families.

Two settlement models have projected the seasonal range and focus of Archaic bands. Anderson and Hanson (1988) propose that the distribution of Archaic sites (primarily Early and Middle Archaic) were based along single river drainages. The Band-Macroband Model suggests that a base camp was established in a rich environmental area near the Fall Line, and smaller procurement camps were established seasonally towards the coast and further inland to take advantage of seasonally available resources such as fish, shellfish, nuts, and berries. An alternative model takes into account a continued, albeit gradually declining, reliance upon high-quality cryptocrystalline lithic resources during the Early and Middle Archaic periods. Daniel (1996, 1998) proposes that high-quality lithic resources were the central focus around which seasonal movements were geared, and that Early Archaic Native American bands traversed river drainages to gain access to high-quality lithic outcrops and quarries.

The Archaic period can be characterized by the development of more specialized resource procurement activities as well as the development of new technologies to accomplish these activities. These differences in the material culture are believed to reflect larger, more localized populations and changes in methods of food procurement and processing.

Early Archaic (8000-6500 B.C.)

Corner and side notching became a common characteristic of projectile points at the beginning of the Early Archaic, indicating potential changes in hafting technology and possibly the invention of the spear-thrower (atlatl). Notched point forms include Palmer and Kirk Corner-Notched and, in localized areas, various side-notched types. The end of the Early Archaic and the start of the Middle Archaic are marked by the appearance of a variety of bifurcate base projectile point forms which, within this area, are primarily represented by Lecroy points (Dent 1995; Justice 1995).

Middle Archaic (6500-3000 B.C.)

As a whole, the Middle Archaic is marked by the appearance of stemmed projectile point forms. In this area of Virginia, the most common Middle Archaic projectile point types are (from oldest to most recent) Lecroy, Stanly, Morrow Mountain, and Guilford, followed by the side-notched Halifax type as the Middle Archaic transitions into the Late Archaic period between ca. 3500 and

3000 B.C. There is also a notable increase in the number of identified Middle Archaic components over the preceding Early Archaic period, which appears to indicate a rise in Native American population levels during this period (Dent 1995; Justice 1995).

Late Archaic (3000-1200 B.C.)

The Late Archaic is dominated by stemmed and notched knife and spear point forms, including various large, broad-bladed stemmed knives and projectile points that generally diminish in size by the start of the Early Woodland (e.g. Savannah River points and variants). Other point forms, while less common, include stemmed and notched-stem types identical to examples more commonly associated with Pennsylvania and adjoining parts of the northeastern United States (e.g. Susquehanna and Perkiomen points) (Dent 1995; Justice 1995).

Marked increases in population density and decreased mobility in some areas appear to characterize the Late Archaic in the Middle Atlantic region and eastern North America as a whole. Locally, there is an increase in the number of late Middle Archaic (Halifax) sites and Late Archaic (Savannah River) sites over those of preceding periods, suggesting a population increase and/or an increasing use of this area of Virginia between about 3500 B.C. and ca. 1200 B.C.

The origins of plant domestication within the Middle Atlantic region may have had its start during the Late Archaic period. Yarnell (1976:268), for example, states that sunflower, sump weed, and possibly goosefoot may have been cultivated as early as 2000 B.C. In the lower Little Tennessee River Valley, the remains of squash have been found in Late Archaic Savannah River contexts (ca. 2400 BC), with both squash and gourd recovered from Iddins period contexts of slightly more recent date (Chapman and Shea 1981:70).

Late Archaic sites and site components are the most common archaeological expression of the Archaic period at both the local and regional levels. Within the Potomac River drainage Late Middle Archaic and Late Archaic components are typically present in shallowly buried first terraces and floodplain sediments, as well as on adjoining high terraces/bluffs located above the floodplain.

Archaeological studies of northern Virginia counties (e.g. Barber et al. 1992) indicate that Archaic sites are located throughout the region, with Middle and Late Archaic sites being prevalent. Both Early and Middle Archaic sites are found on both the largest streams and on small headwater tributaries, indicating a movement from the major rivers to the interior headwaters and exploitation of a broad range of both riverine and forest resources (Barber et al. 1992:46-48).

According to Barber et al. (1992), Late Archaic sites are well over twice as numerous as Middle Archaic sites, but whether this reflects a true settlement pattern or problems in survey coverage is unknown. Although the Late Archaic site locations show that a greater number of topographic areas and soil types were utilized, the distribution pattern is similar to that of earlier periods with respect to the sizes of streams on which the sites are located, suggesting that Late Archaic occupations did not have a strong riverine emphasis. These sites consisted primarily of low

densities of non-diagnostic lithics with a conspicuous absence of ceramic artifacts indicating that they may likely date to the Archaic period.

Six of the previously identified Native American archaeological sites and site components located within a one-mile radius of the project area are associated with the Archaic period. One of the sites dates to the Early Archaic; three date to the Middle Archaic, and one dates to the Late Archaic. Additionally, seven Native American sites are indeterminate due to the lack of diagnostic artifacts. These lithic scatters with no diagnostic materials are generally considered to represent temporary Archaic camps or lithic workshops; however, that designation is not definitive. There is a high to moderate potential for identifying archaeological sites associated with the Archaic period within the project area.

Woodland (1200 B.C. – A.D. 1600)

The Woodland Period is characterized by ceramic technology, an intensified reliance upon horticulture and agriculture, and increased sedentism (Klein and Klatka 1991; Mouer 1991). Three subperiods (Early, Middle, and Late Woodland) have been designated, based primarily on stylistic and technological changes in ceramic and projectile point types as well as settlement patterns. Floral and faunal remains are not common in Woodland period assemblages; however, it has been suggested that intentional clearing of land increased the availability of edible plants such as goosefoot and sunflower (Stevens 1991). The broad projectile points characteristic of the Archaic period become less common in the Early Woodland and were replaced with smaller, notched, stemmed, and lanceolate points.

Early Woodland (1200-300 B.C.)

The Early Woodland Period is generally defined by the appearance of ceramics in the archaeological record. The earliest Woodland ceramic wares, Marcey Creek Plain and variants, are rectangular or oval and resemble the preceding Late Archaic soapstone vessels (Egloff and Potter 1982). These ceramics are followed by cord-marked, soapstone-tempered Selden Island ceramics followed, in turn, by sand- and grit-tempered Elk Island (Accokeek) ceramics with both plain and cord-marked surfaces, and in the upper part of the Potomac drainage, cord-marked and plain ceramics tempered with quartz, shale and other crushed rock (Gardner and Nash 1987; McLearen 1991). In the less recent archaeological literature, the latter are referred to as the Stony Creek series, a type that is now known to subsume several Early, Middle, and Late Woodland ceramic wares.

Also characteristic of the Early Woodland period across a broad region of the east is the complexity of and emphasis on ceremonialism especially that related to burial of the dead (McLearen 1992; Stewart 1992). In Virginia, this emphasis is not seen until about 500 B.C. when stone and earth burial cairns and cairn clusters occur in the Shenandoah Valley. However, this phenomenon did not extend into the Piedmont until much later when a second wave of burial mound ceremonialism occurs around the time of the Middle/Late Woodland transition, and accretional mounds are found in both the Ridge and Valley and Inner Piedmont provinces. However, mounds in the Piedmont appear to have been restricted to the Rivanna and Rapidan drainages.

Middle Woodland (300 B.C.-A.D. 900)

Potter (1993:62) divides the Middle Woodland period into two sub periods: the Early Middle Woodland (300 B.C. to A.D. 200) and the Late Middle Woodland (A.D. 200 to A.D. 900). Within the vicinity of the present project area, Pope's Creek ware is the most common ceramic series associated with the first half of the Middle Woodland period (Egloff and Potter 1982:99). The series was first described by Holmes (1903:153-155) and later refined by Stephenson and Ferguson (1963:92-96). Pope's Creek ceramics are tempered with medium to coarse sand, with occasional quartz inclusions (Stephenson and Ferguson 1963:94). Interior scoring has been recorded on a number of specimens (McLearen and Mouer 1989; Stephenson et al. 1963:95). Most Pope's Creek ceramics have net-impressed surfaces, while cord-marked surfaces have been observed as a rare variant (Egloff and Potter 1982:99; McLearen and Mouer 1989:5).

For the latter half of the Middle Woodland period, the dominant ceramic type found within the outer coastal region of Virginia and Maryland is shell-tempered Mockley ware. Mockley ware first appeared around A.D. 200, and it has a distribution extending from Virginia to southern Delaware (Egloff and Potter 1982:103; Potter 1993:62). Surface treatments for this thick-walled ceramic series include cord-marked, net-impressed, and plain variants (Egloff and Potter 1982:103). Lithic artifacts commonly found in association with Mockley ware are Selby Bay, Fox Creek, and Nomini projectile points (Potter 1993:66-68).

Late Woodland (A.D. 900 – 1600)

By the Late Woodland Period (A.D. 900-1600), the use of domesticated plants had assumed a role of major importance in the Native American subsistence system. The adoption of agriculture represented a major change in the Native American subsistence economy and settlement patterns. Expanses of arable land became a dominant settlement factor, and sites were located on fertile floodplain soils or, in many cases, on higher terraces or ridges adjacent to them.

Diagnostic artifacts of this period include several triangular projectile point styles that originated during the later part of the Middle Woodland period and decreased in size through time. Ceramic types common in this region include Shepherd, Keyser, and Potomac Creek, as well as various other non-shell-tempered minority types with plain, cord- and fabric-marked surfaces.

Settlements during this period included both villages and small hamlets. Some villages were highly nucleated, while others were internally dispersed over a wide area; some were completely fortified by circular or oval palisades, others included a fortified core area and outlying houses, suggesting a rise in inter-group conflict. The more dispersed settlements were scattered over a wide area with indications of internally fluid settlement within a loosely defined town or village territory.

Drawings and journals of early European explorers describing Indian villages indicate that houses were constructed of oval, rectangular, or circular frameworks of flexible green sapling poles set in the ground, lashed together, and covered with thatch or bark mats. Burial sites of the period were situated in individual pits or in ossuaries. Such historical accounts are consistent

with data obtained from archaeological excavations of Late Woodland village sites (i.e. Hodges and Hodges 1994).

With the development of a more sedentary settlement-subsistence system culminating in the Late Woodland period, permanent habitation sites gradually replaced base camps, which were characteristic of earlier foragers and hunter-gatherers. Various supporting camps and activity areas were established in the daily procurement of food and other resources (i.e., short-term hunting and foraging camps, quarries, butchering locations, and re-tooling locations). Locations used partially or largely for ceremonial purposes were also present, usually in association with habitation sites.

The large base camps, hamlets, and villages are typically located on bluffs, terraces or high floodplains adjacent to rivers or major tributaries. Small seasonal camps and non-seasonally based satellite camps supporting nearby sedentary villages and hamlets are located along smaller streams in the interior. Limited concentrations and sparse scatters of lithics and ceramics typically characterized these campsites. The majority of the Woodland sites that had been recorded at the time of the Barber et al. (1992) study were located along the major high order streams and rivers.

Nine previously identified cultural resources from the Woodland era were located within one mile of the project area. Two of the sites date to the Middle Woodland period and the remaining seven date to the Late Woodland time period. Two of these sites are associated with Native American Villages witnessed by European settlers and explorers (44ST0001 and 44ST0002). Potomac Creek Site (44ST0002) was listed in the NRHP in 1969. There are seven additional Native American sites which cannot be attributed to a specific time period due to the lack of diagnostic artifacts. These sites are generally lumped in with the Archaic time period since they lack ceramics; however, they may also represent Woodland period sites.

The location of the project area situated between two major creeks flowing into the Potomac River at the eastern end of the projects make the project area a likely location for Woodland settlements. Furthermore, historic map evidence suggest that by the time of European contact at least two villages were located on the Crow's Nest Peninsula as well as the village sites identified on Marlborough Point, to the east of the project area.

Settlement to Society (1607-1750)

In 1608, when Captain John Smith ventured up the Potomac River, he mapped the locations of numerous Native American villages, including several within the present-day bounds of Stafford County (Figure 4). The tribes located in the northern portion of Stafford County included the Piscataway, Anacostins, and the Doegs (Smith mapped these villages as the Mayaones, Nacothtant, and Tauz or Taoags, the previous names are the more common names). The location of the villages and periphery hamlets noted by Smith were located along the major waterways near the mouths of the creeks and rivers. This location facilitated agricultural activities on the fertile floodplain soils and the procurement of fish and shellfish from the nearby water source (Smith 1608; Eby 1997).



Figure 4. Detail of *Virginia Discovered and Discribed* [sic] Depicting the General Project Area Vicinity (Smith 1610).

The first English settler in what was then the far northern Virginia frontier was Giles Brent, who left Maryland with his Piscataway Indian wife in 1647 and established a plantation named *Peace* on the Widewater peninsula at the confluence of the Potomac River and Aquia Creek. The continuing presence of native peoples initially slowed European settlement in this area, but by the early 1660s enough planters had taken land along the Aquia and Potomac Creeks to warrant the creation of a new county. Originally encompassed by Northumberland County, and then Westmoreland, the project area first came under the jurisdiction of Stafford when the county was established in 1664 (Barber et al. 1992; Brent 1946; Eby 1997; Goolrick 1976).

In Stafford County, and throughout the Chesapeake, it was tobacco that determined the pattern of development for nearly every aspect of life in the colonial period, encompassing the economy, the cultural landscape, and social relations. By the end of the seventeenth century, tobacco cultivation remained the principal economic activity of every rank, from the largest landowner to the humblest tenant farmer. And once the system of tobacco monoculture had been established, it was nearly impossible to break free. Though prices for the crop in Europe fluctuated, often drastically, most planters preferred to stick with the staple, rather than risk an expensive investment of time and money in a less reliable export, such as grain (Kulikoff 1986:4-5; Rutman and Rutman 1984:41-43).

Tobacco also dictated the pattern of settlement in Virginia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Dispersed, largely self-sufficient plantations dotted the landscape, and social and political interaction occurred largely in central places such as churches and courthouses. Concerned with the conspicuous absence of towns and ports, Virginia's General Assembly authorized the establishment of towns in various parts of the colony in 1691, including one at the confluence of Potomac Creek and the Potomac River. After a faltering start, the town of Marlborough thrived as a port through the 1720s. When the town declined, the enterprising John Mercer bought many of the town lots and created a thriving commercial center of his own, with mills, a brewery, glass factory, wharves, and warehouses. Meanwhile, the town of Falmouth, located south of the project area in Stafford County, across the Rappahannock River from Fredericksburg, had been established as an important inland port and tobacco inspection and transshipment center in 1730. The town quickly became the primary entry point for the goods of the "upper country" of Stafford. Being located opposite of Fredericksburg, Falmouth never attained the same size or popularity of Fredericksburg, and by 1759 only 18 to 20 houses were located within the town limits (Barber et al. 1992; Reys 1972).

These early towns were established as hubs for the collection and shipping of tobacco throughout Virginia and to Europe. Within each of these towns a tobacco inspector was appointed to inspect the tobacco prior to shipping, as required in 1730 by law. With the tobacco economy, each of the early towns played a major role in commerce during the Colonial period.

Present-day Stafford County was sparsely populated during this period, with the population centered on the early towns, larger tobacco farms, and along the major waterways. Three cultural resources which date to this period were located within a one-mile radius of the project area; two are located within the overall project area. The project area is comprised of elevated landforms overlooking the Potomac River to the east. Based on historic map research, several plantations are depicted along the Crow's Nest Peninsula (Figure 5).

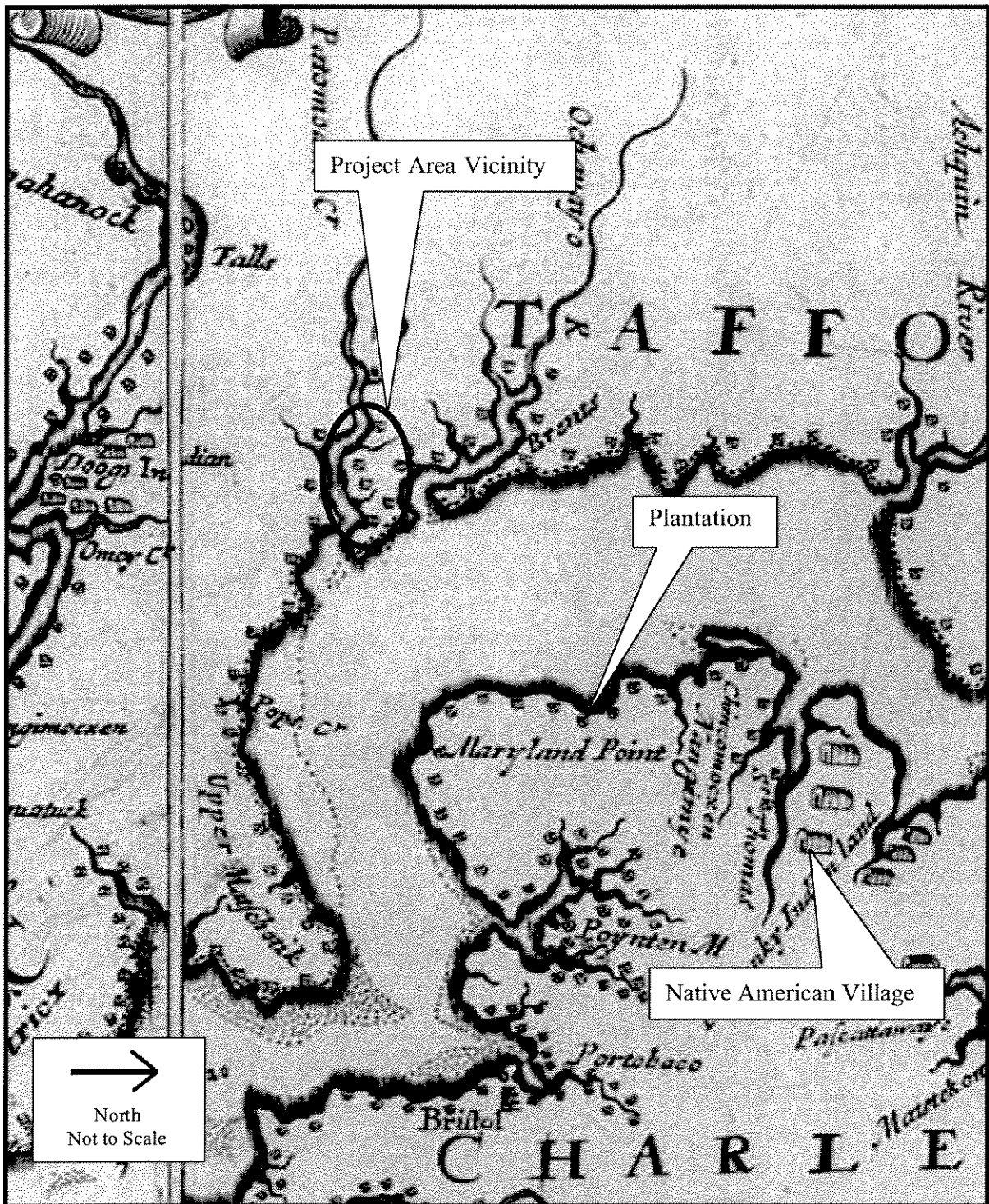


Figure 5. Detail of *Virginia and Maryland* Depicting the General Project Vicinity (Hermann 1673).

The land comprising Crow's Nest peninsula was originally granted to Colonel Gerard Fowkes in the seventeenth century. However, land described as 3,650 acres on the Potomac Creek was patented to Rawleigh Travers in 1662. The earlier plantation house known as Crow's Nest was constructed in the late eighteenth century of brick and/or stone (Eby 1997:191-3). The Traver's Family operated the equivalent of a small town on the high ridge paralleling Potomac Creek, with a wharf on the northern bank of Potomac Creek, in the vicinity of present-day Boykins Point (Eby 1997:190-193). By 1723, the land, including Crow's Nest Plantation was reduced in size to 3,525 acres (Eby 1997:191).

Seven cultural resources have been identified within a one-mile radius of the current project area. Three of these resources are located within the overall Crow's Nest project area but are not included within the proposed Crow's Nest Development area (44ST0384, 089-0004-0001, and 089-0004-0002). All three resources are associated with the Crow's Nest plantation. The remaining cultural resources are all related to the Native American Villages occupied at the time of European Contact (44ST001, 44ST0002, 089-0002) and with the village established on Marlborough Point by English settlers (44ST0008 and 089-0001). Due to presence of previously identified resources within the project area and the historic map evidence, there is a high probability of locating archaeological remains dating to this time period and associated with the daily operations of Crow's Nest Plantation.

Colony to Nation (1750-1789)

As the Virginia economy continued to focus on tobacco as the main cash crop, water routes were still the most reliable mode of transportation for moving crops from the farms to the warehouses. The early roadways within Stafford County included the present-day routes of Route 1 and Route 17. Route 1, for the most part, paralleled the Potomac River and followed a trail utilized by Native American tribes in the area, called the "Potomac Path." Route 1 connected Fredericksburg and Falmouth to Alexandria, in the north. Route 17 paralleled the Rappahannock River to the south and continued towards Ashby Gap and eventually towards present-day Winchester. This road provided access to the interior portions of Stafford County and Virginia, as a whole. Route 17 also continued south from Fredericksburg towards Williamsburg, the then-capital of Virginia (David 2004).

With the movement of the State capitol to Richmond in 1779, Route 17 became less traveled to the south, as present-day US Route 1's predecessor became more traveled between Fredericksburg and Richmond (David 2004). Fredericksburg remained an important port city during this period, and tobacco remained the staple crop, even though cash prices fluctuated (CRI 2003).

With the continued reliance on tobacco and increasing access to roads or waterways, more farmers began growing tobacco and cultivating all open spaces within the county. With the increased populations, the town of Fredericksburg expanded. As a result of the booming tobacco economy coupled with the increased number of transportation outlets (roads and waterways), even more farmers began growing tobacco. The 1751 Fry and Jefferson map displays major towns and a few plantations located along the major rivers (Figure 6). Even with the expansion of transportation routes, Crow's Nest Plantation probably still relied upon its wharf along



Figure 6. Detail of Fry and Jefferson's Map of the Most Inhabited Portions of the Northeastern North America, Including Pensilvania[sic], Maryland, and Virginia Depicting the General Vicinity of the Project Area (1751).

Potomac Creek. The facilities that may have been present along the Crow's Nest peninsula may have included various barns, slave quarters, and buildings associated with the operation of the wharf.

Only one previously identified cultural resource (44ST0042) dating to this time period was identified within a one-mile radius of the project area. However, Crow's Nest Plantation was occupied into the eighteenth century. Therefore, there is a moderate to high potential for archaeological resources to be located within the project area.

Early National Period (1789-1830)

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, rural Stafford County underwent a radical transition between the tobacco-based plantation economy and a new diversified grain-based economy that would characterize the region through the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. By the time of the American Revolution, all arable land in the Tidewater and Piedmont regions of Virginia had been planted in tobacco at least once, and most areas were experiencing the effects of severe soil depletion. Between 1790 and 1820 as many as 250,000 Virginians moved from the older settled parts of the state to the recently opened southwest frontier, taking approximately 150,000 black slaves with them.

The virtual collapse of the tobacco economy and the concomitant out-migration of significant numbers of people had a revolutionary effect on the social and economic character of the Piedmont and Tidewater regions. Large plantations that had relied upon slave labor were increasingly subdivided into smaller farmsteads that grew corn and wheat rather than tobacco. This change was also reflected in the cultural landscape, as settlement tended to move away from major rivers and creeks, the primary routes of transportation and communication during the earlier colonial period, and clustered instead along an increasingly complex system of interior roads (Bairley and Maginniss 1986:23 – 36; Kulikoff 1986:422, 429).

As a result of the change from a tobacco-based to a grain-based economy, numerous mills sprang up along the interior creeks, especially Aquia and Potomac Creeks, of northern Stafford County. These mills allowed farmers to process their grain and other crops and also provided wood for new construction. With an increase in population came the need for churches and other forms of infrastructure, such as additional roads (David 2004; Eby 1997).

An 1805 Mutual Assurance policy map of the Crow's Nest Plantation described a 1-story wood structure on a brick foundation and cellar with two 1-story wings with a portico to the west and a porch and cellar entrance to the east. The Crow's Nest house measured 60 feet by 26 feet with the additions. Other outbuildings noted on the policy were a wooden schoolhouse and barn. The house was valued at \$1,400, while the barn was valued at \$250 (Eby 1997:196, Mutual Assurance Map 1805). Early accounts of the Crow's Nest Plantation describe a stone dwelling; however, the Mutual Assurance Maps clearly describe a wooden structure. The stone dwelling may represent an earlier building that was replaced in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century when the land was given to Peter Daniels and his wife, Sarah Travers, after marrying into the Travers Family.

During this period, there was also an increase in the construction of more permanent structures. This change in architecture is seen in the larger plantation houses such as Mount Vernon and Monticello, and farmers in Stafford attempted to emulate this “high style” of architecture. Although no structures can be seen in the project area vicinity on a period map (Figure 7), four cultural resources (44ST0030, 44ST0701, 44ST0704, 44ST0705) within a one-mile radius of the project area date to the late eighteenth century. In addition to these cultural resources, Crow’s Nest Plantation was still occupied during this time period. Increased populations and the changes in local and regional agricultural systems suggest that there is a moderate potential for identifying archaeological sites or site components associated with this period within the project area.

Antebellum Period (1830-1861)

With the Antebellum Period, Stafford County saw the rise of the railroad system. First in 1834, the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad opened its first segment connecting Fredericksburg to the state capitol. Then in 1842, the railroad was completed as far north as Aquia, and eventually to Washington, D.C. With the railroad, farmers in Stafford gained easier access to larger ports of Fredericksburg and Richmond (CRI 2001). Also during this time period the system of canals associated with Fredericksburg were constructed and helped sustain Fredericksburg as a prominent port city. Roads also began challenging waterways as the dominant transportation route.

During this period, most county farmers had switched over to the mixed-grain crops. New farming techniques were introduced which restored some nutrients back into the soils and improved crop production. With increased crops came increased prosperity, so many farmers replaced earlier houses with new construction (CRI 2003). The extent of the farming community within Stafford can be seen in the 1860 census where most households consisted of farmers with ten slaves or fewer. The slave population of this period accounted for 40.2 percent of the total county population (David 2004; Salmon 1994).

With the start of the Civil War, all progress ceased in Stafford County, as it became a central point of conflict between Union and Confederate troops attempting to gain strategic ground en route to either Washington D.C. or Richmond, Virginia.

There are only two previously identified cultural resources (44ST0029 and 44ST0428) dating to the nineteenth century identified within a one-mile radius of the project area. The dates associated with these sites do not specify a date range, so these sites may date to the latter part of the nineteenth century as well. There is a moderate potential for finding cultural resources within the current project area.

Civil War (1861 - 1865)

Situated halfway between the capitals of the Union and Confederacy, it was inevitable that Stafford County would become a crossroads of military activity during the Civil War. Since 1854, the terminus of the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad (RF&P) had been located at Aquia Landing, where travelers transferred to steamships to complete their journey to

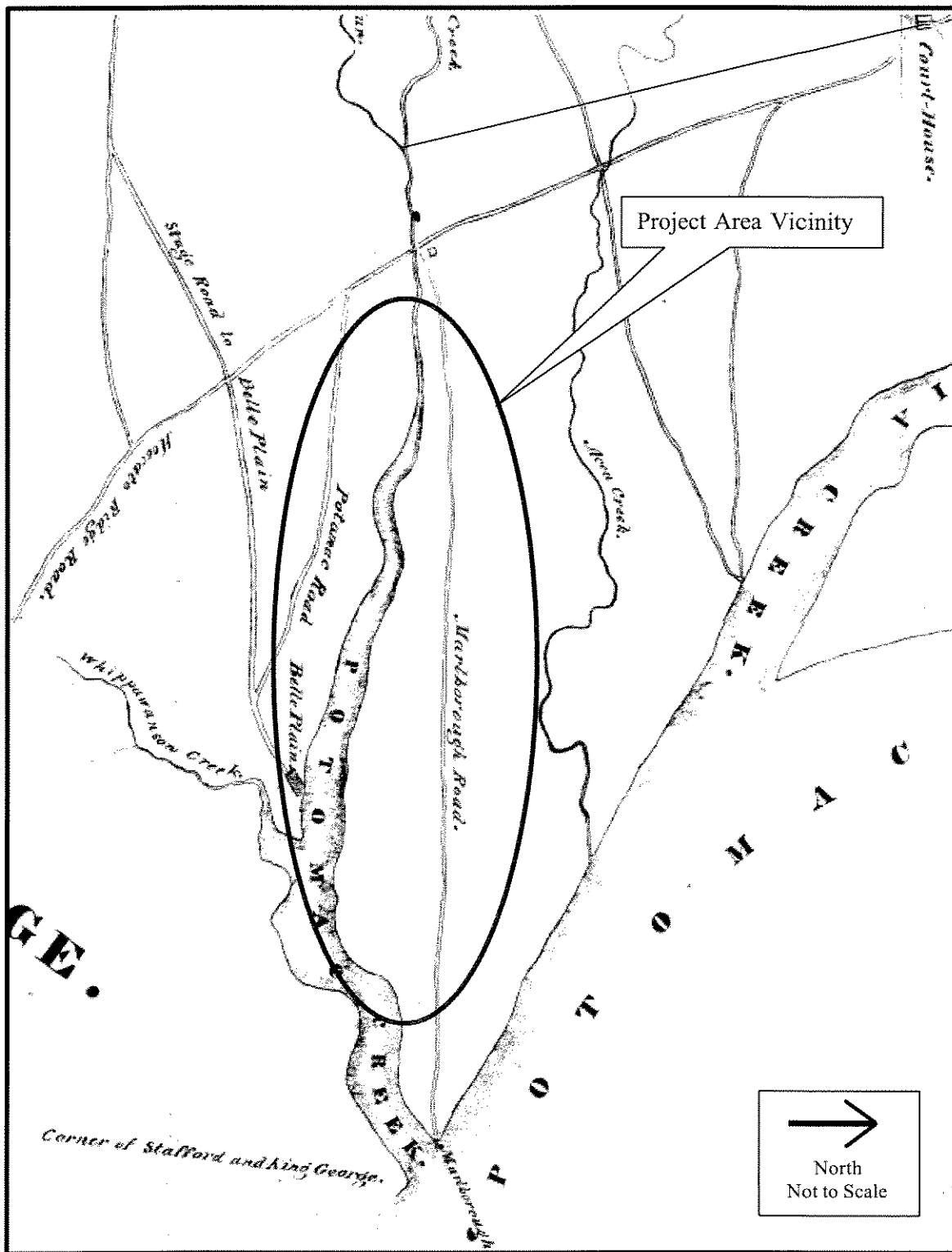


Figure 7. Detail of Stafford County, Depicting the Project Area Vicinity (Wood 1820).

Washington, D.C. When the Federal army forces arrived en masse in Stafford County in the latter part of 1862, Aquia Landing and Belle Plains immediately became critical junctions for moving men and material southward. Following General Burnside's abortive and costly river crossing and first assault on Fredericksburg, the Federal forces retreated across the Rappahannock River back into Stafford County to regroup. The Federal Army of the Potomac went into winter camp and numerous Federal units bivouacked in southern Stafford County over the next eight months of the campaign.

During the Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville campaigns, from November 1862 through June 1863, Stafford County was occupied by more than 100,000 troops of the Federal Army of the Potomac, and its military encampments occupied thousands of acres from Aquia Creek south to the Rappahannock River. With a force numbering over 100,000 men, the effect of the Federal Army's presence on Stafford's landscape and economy was devastating. The countryside was almost completely denuded of trees and fences. Agricultural fields were neglected and trampled, while foraging troops "liberated" food and other essential supplies from the civilian population.

Four years of warfare left Stafford County barren and devastated, and the effects of the conflict remained visible on the landscape into the twentieth century. "No county in the United States felt the war so harshly as Stafford," John Goolrick asserts. "When the war ended Stafford was utterly devoid of stock, food, and forage, and the soil had gone down or grown up in brush. Hundreds of homes had been burned, the records at Stafford Court House had been half destroyed, and those that remained were damaged. The churches had been burned, the roads were impassable" (Goolrick 1976; Musselman 1995: vii, 77 - 86).

Southern Stafford County was occupied by approximately 130,000 troops during the Civil War. All that remains of many of these camps are the depressions that were associated with the huts that the soldiers built, usually in the side of southern facing slopes. These huts are described by Private Hayward Emmill of the 7th New Jersey in his diary (Emmill 1861-1865). Private Emmill camped near present-day Grafton Village, less than four miles southeast of the current project area. Emmill described the camp on the side of hill covered with tall grass that was burnt off by the soldiers cooking fires (Plate 5 and Plate 6).

As cold weather set in, the soldiers tried to make themselves as comfortable as possible by erecting crude huts and shanties. Private Emmill wrote,

"We have been building ourselves houses, we raise a foundation about 3 feet high, stop the crack between the logs with mud and then stretch our shelter tents over the top of it and we have quite a house."

Many soldiers, like Emmill, chose to improve their huts and make them more comfortable.

"We fixed...a warmer tent by digging a hole 3 feet deep and building 3 layers of logs on top of that and covering it with our shelter tents and have fixed a fire place in the made spring bed out

of pine poles which we cover with pine leaves and then 4 of us sleep in this tent. This log house is about 6 feet square."

The largest known encampment near the current project area was located at Bell Plain (Belle Plain), on the southern bank of the Potomac Creek (Plate 7). This camp was a large Union Supply base and hospital for the Union Army. The location on the Potomac Creek, near the Potomac River allowed for supplies to be easily transported along the waterways. The First Corps were camped at Bell Plain at different times throughout the war. In addition to being a camp, a supply base, and a hospital, Bell Plain was also a prisoner of war camp for Confederate troops captured during the Battles of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania Courthouse in 1864 (Plate 8). The base is hand-drawn on a map (Figure 8) on file at the National Park Service (Mink 2005). Another map created by Joshua Smith depicts the Bell Plain Landing south of the project area (Figure 9).

As with other regions of Virginia, carefully drawn Civil War military maps often provide the best graphic source for assessing the past physical and cultural landscape of the project area. Military engineers for both the Federal and Confederate forces mapped portions of Stafford County in great detail during the Civil War. Many maps dating to the Civil War that were reviewed during the course of historic research, showed little detail of the area. A map of military engagements and camps around the Fredericksburg area depict only Kilpatrick camped north of the project area, near the railroad from Aquia Landing to Falmouth (Figure 9). The map prepared by Jeremy Francis Gilmer depicts several houses, mostly to the west of the project area while the project area is depicted as primarily wooded (Figure 10). A map created under orders of General Irving McDowell in 1862 shows greater detail of the region surrounding the project area, but little of the project area vicinity itself, with only the road to Crow's Nest being depicted as a straight line (Figure 11). Another map created under the direction of General Hooker depicts few additional names than what is depicted on the Gilmer Map, but depicts locations where the road to Crow's Nest presumably forks off in different directions to the north and south of the main road (Figure 12). An anonymous map (Figure 13) depicts several structures further east along the Crow's Nest Peninsula than the previous two maps. Family names Wallace and Daniel are shown along the road to Crow's Nest. Two other names, Hedgeman and Hull appear on one or both of the previous two maps (see Figures 11 and 12). A hand-drawn map based on the McDowell Map (see Figure 8, Figure 11) depicts a large Union Encampment of the 4th New York Calvary under the command of Colonel Lewis P. DiCesnoia during May 1864. Several Union batteries are depicted along the southern slope of the Crow's Nest Peninsula, just to the west of Belle Plain, guarding the prisoners of war on the southern side of Potomac Creek. These areas are not within the proposed development areas of the current project area (Eric Mink, personal communication 2005).

During the Civil War, Crow's Nest was strategically located near the Potomac River and overlooked Marlborough Point (also referred to as Windmill Point to the east). The house and grounds were used as an observation lookout overlooking Potomac Creek. Also there are accounts of a pontoon bridge across Potomac Creek leading to Crow's Nest. The house was burned down by union soldiers, probably after breaking camp after the winter of 1862/63 (Eby 1997:196; Musselman 1976:90).



Plate 5. Photograph of the 61st New York Infantry near Falmouth, depicting the Log Hut Construction.

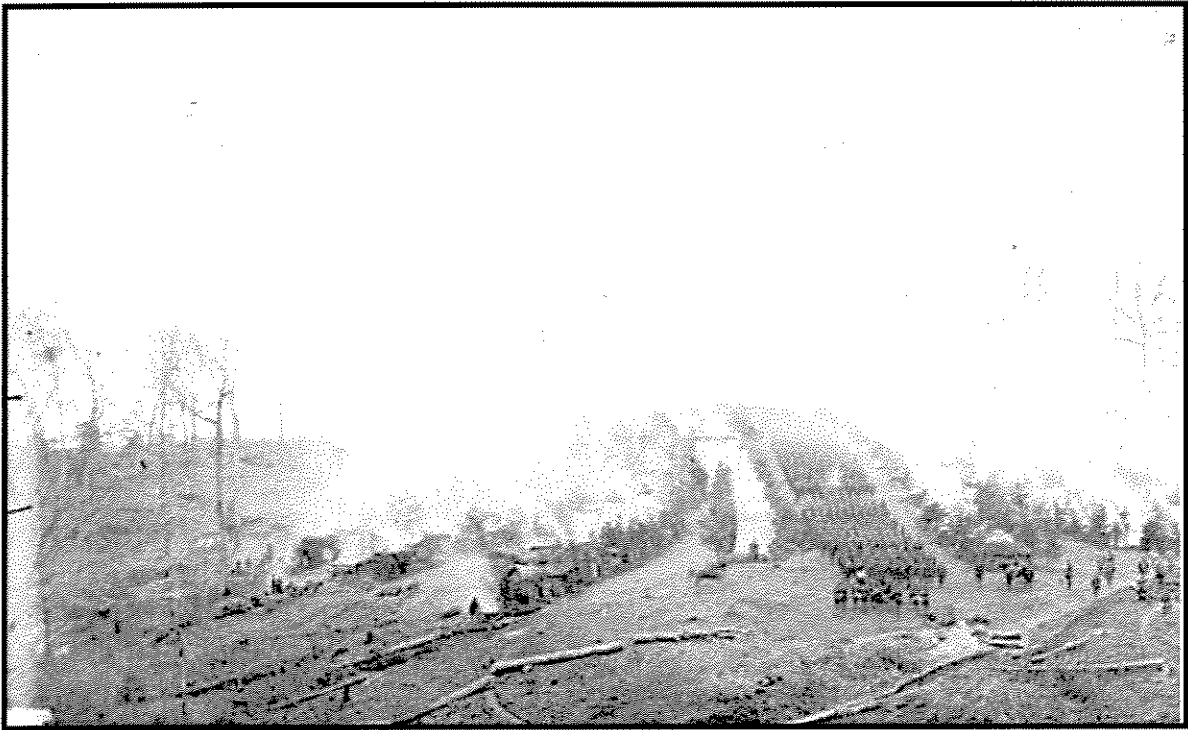


Plate 6. Photograph of 150th Pennsylvania Infantry camp at Belle Plain.



Plate 7. Photograph of the Wharf at Belle Plain, Depicting the Crow's Nest Peninsula in the Background (Crow's Nest would be towards the left hand side of photo).



Plate 8. Photograph of Confederate Prisoners of War, taken May 12, 1864.

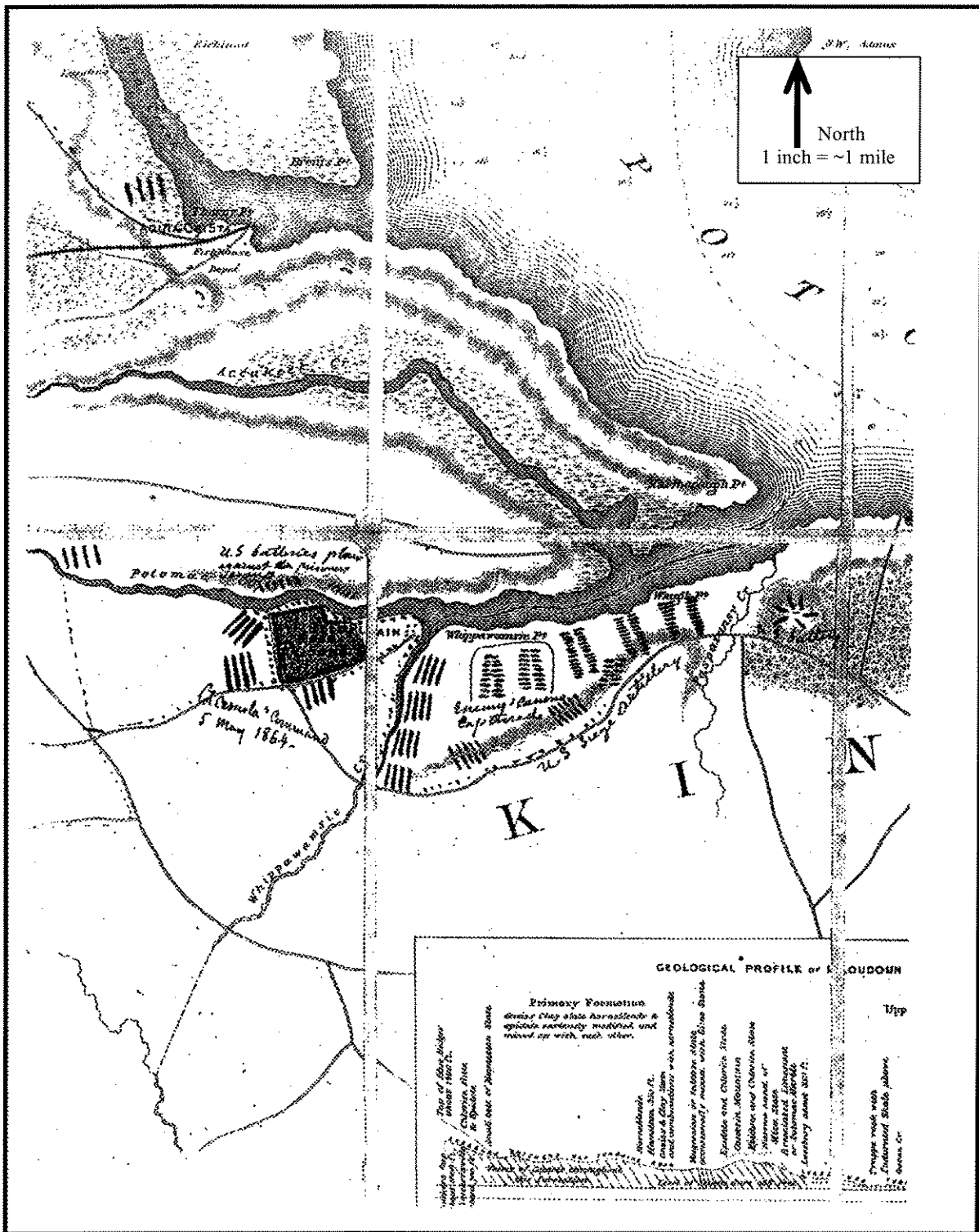


Figure 8. Hand-Drawn Location of Bell Plain Camp and Detail of Map of Northeastern Virginia and Vicinity of Washington, Depicting the Project Area Vicinity (NPS 2005, McDowell 1862).

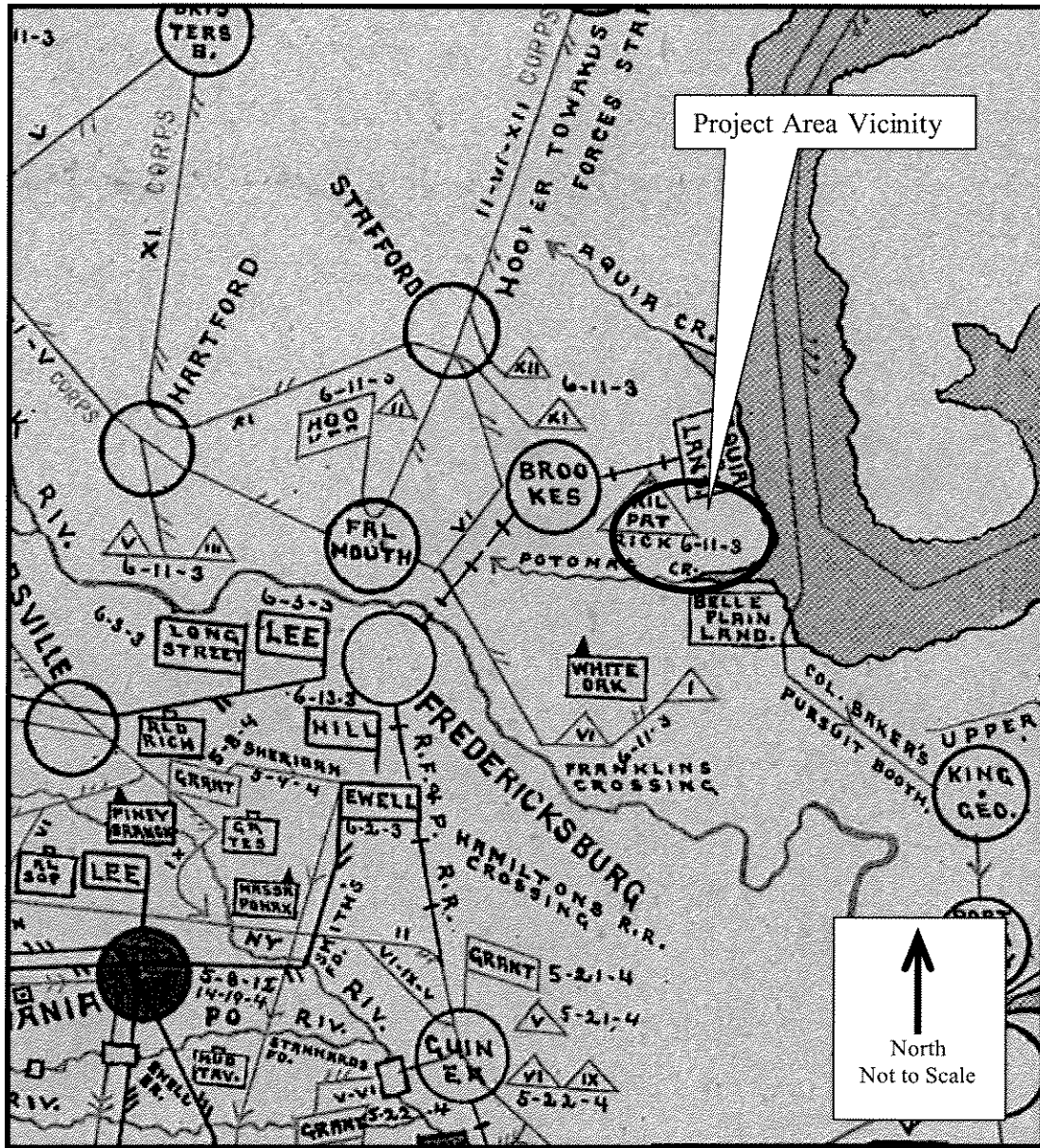


Figure 9. Detail of *Map of the Main Battlefields, Routes, Camps, and Head Qrs., in the Gettysburg, Wilderness, and Appomattox Campaigns of the Civil War in U.S.*, Depicting the Project Area Vicinity (Smith 1899).

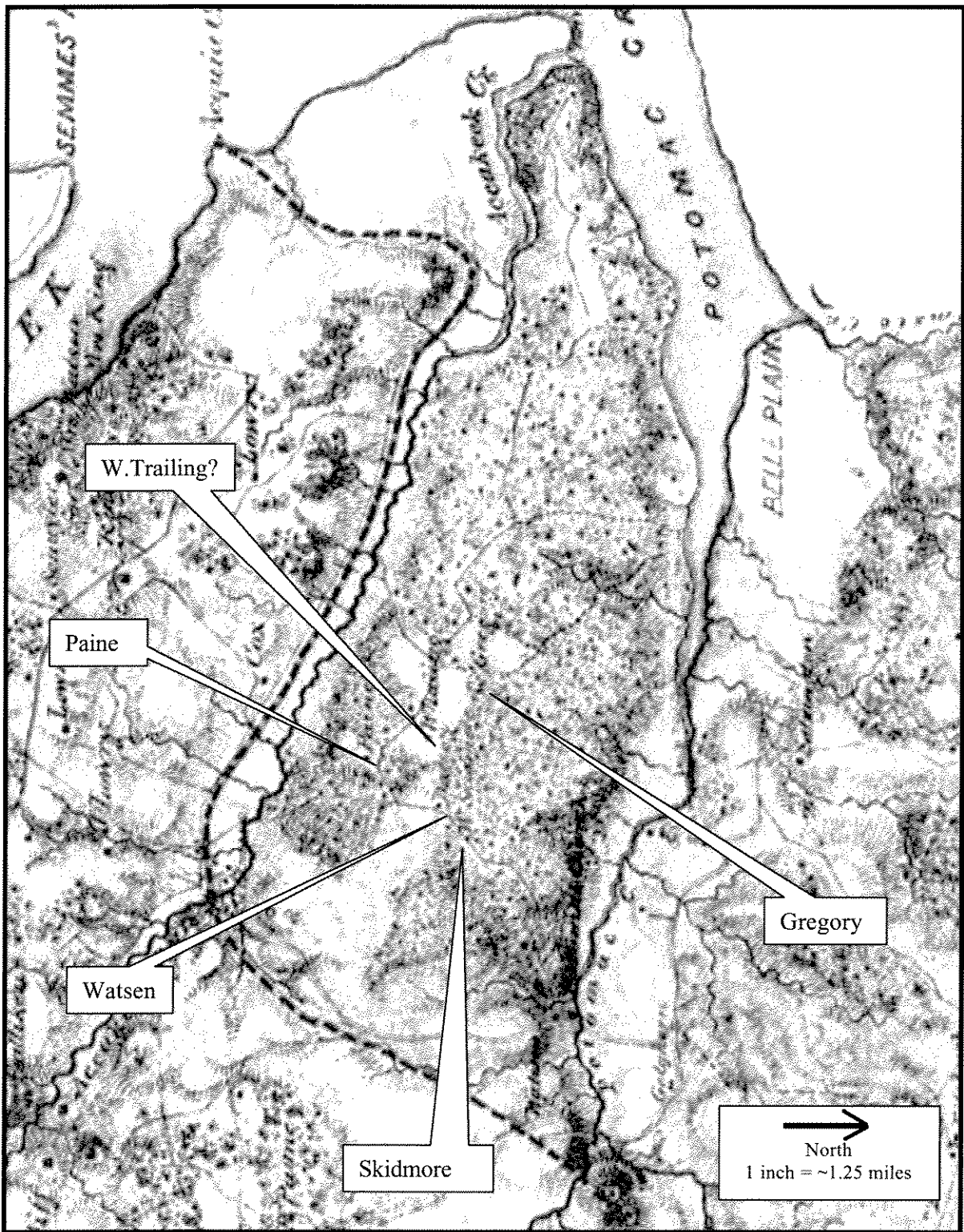


Figure 10. Detail of *Map of Stafford County* Depicting Historic House Sites in the Vicinity of the Project Area (Gilmer 1864).

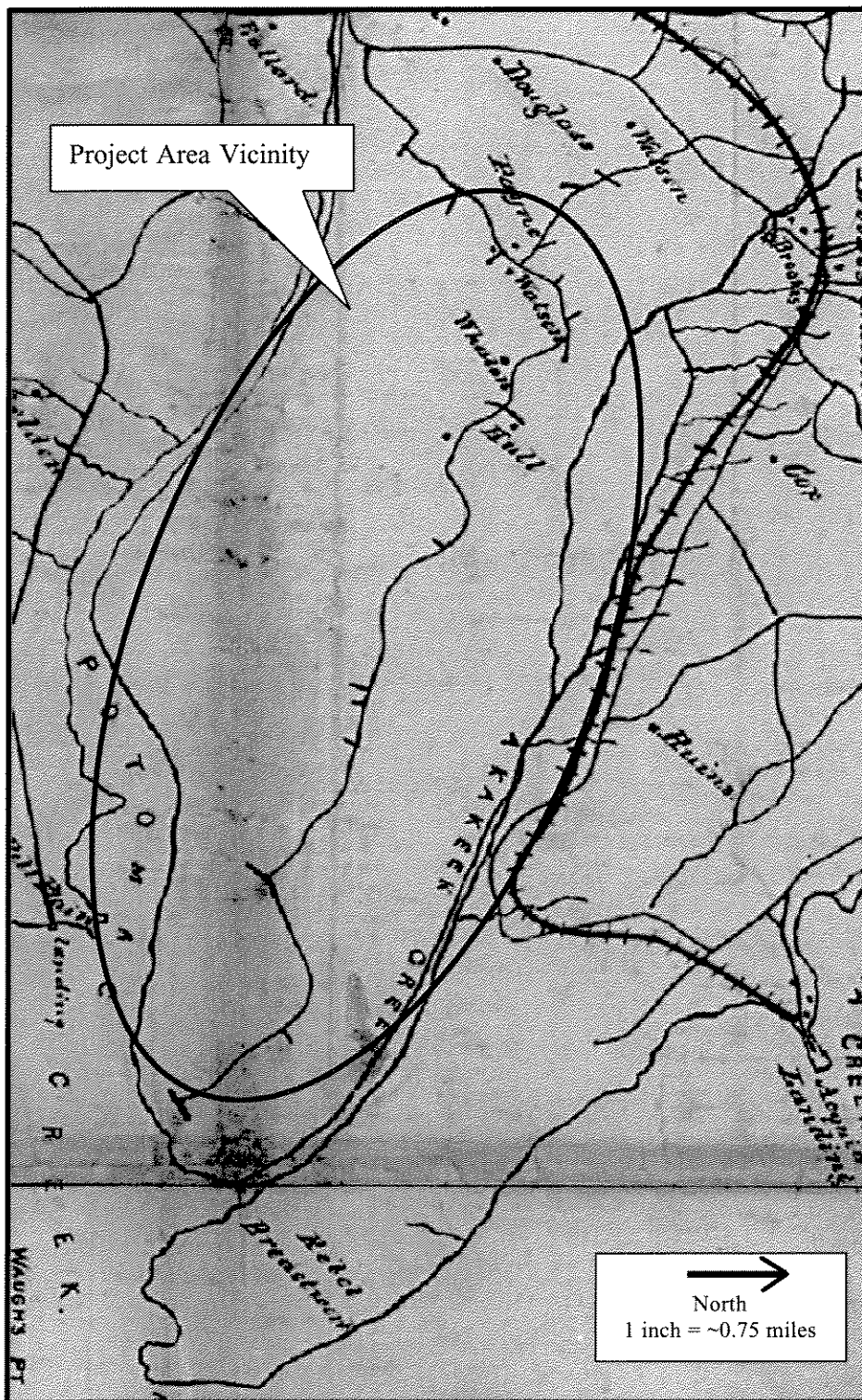


Figure 12. Detail of *Map of Field of Occupation of the Army of the Potomac*, Depicting the Project Area Vicinity (Hooker 1863)

Maps from this era show buildings and infrastructure elements within the project area vicinity, and two maps do show labeled structures, presumably occupants or land owners (see Figures 10, 11, 12, and 13). The NPS map and the Joshua Smith map depict troop movements and encampments from the Civil War potentially occurring within the project area (see Figures 8 and 9). Although there is only one Civil War related archaeological site (44ST0665) located within a one-mile radius of the project area, map evidence suggests a large encampment on the south side of Potomac Creek immediately south of the project area and extending onto the northern banks of Potomac Creek on the Crow's Nest Peninsula. Taking these factors into consideration, the probability of finding Civil War era sites within the project area is moderate to high.

Reconstruction and Growth (1865 - 1917)

After the Confederate surrender at Appomattox in 1865, thousands of former Confederate soldiers returned home, only to be denied their civil rights by a heavy-handed Radical Republican Virginia post-war political machine. Four years of war had a devastating effect on Virginia, and Stafford County was no exception. The combined loss of manpower and draft animals, the damages to property, the neglect of agricultural land, and the emancipation of the slave population had a detrimental effect on the county's economic and social landscape in the postwar era. Over the following years, property values plummeted: land that had sold for \$10 per acre before the war now fetched only \$1 to \$3. In fact, the real estate market was so depressed that during their 1869-1870 session the General Assembly of Virginia enacted a law prohibiting the sale of land for less than 75 percent of its assessed value (Kaplan 1993: 153 - 56).

In a pattern reminiscent of the early nineteenth century, postwar agricultural difficulties prompted some Stafford County farmers to seek alternative sources of income. The solution for many was to sell off the timber on their land for cash. Those who continued to farm joined the "Grange," or "Patrons of Husbandry," a fraternal order established in 1867 and dedicated to helping farmers learn new agricultural methods. Though the Grange had lost most of its power by the 1890s, it was replaced by similar organizations, including the Farmers' Assembly and Farmers' Alliance, and the annual Farmers' Institutes (Manarin and Dowdey 1984: 341-344). Like other neighboring counties, Stafford suffered a decrease in population in the immediate postwar period, and this trend of slow depopulation would continue through the early twentieth century.

While the majority of the post-war economy of Virginia suffered, a number of residents of Stafford County managed to maintain their economic standing, largely through their diversified produce farming and seafood industry. The pre-war ties to the port city of Baltimore and its canneries enabled substantial numbers of local watermen to harvest the much desired oysters, crabs, and other seafood along the Potomac and ship them rapidly, via steamboat, to the markets in the north. By the early twentieth century, eastern Stafford County remained 80 percent agricultural and was characterized by the transition from grain and tobacco crops to a greater concentration on dairying and market gardening. Large family farms were still present across the county, but these were increasingly subdivided with many producing enough only to sustain the family and livestock.

Three previously recorded cultural resources have been identified within a one-mile radius of the project area. These resources include two archaeological sites (44ST0428 and 44ST0703) associated with farmsteads and the one architectural resource (089-0171). Honeycup (089-0171) was noted as having been destroyed during a survey in 2004. With the historic map evidence and the identification of cultural resources within a one-mile radius, there is a moderate to high potential for locating resources dating to the Reconstruction and Growth period within the current project area.

World War I to World War II (1917 - 1945)

The First World War provided some economic impetus to the surrounding area with the construction of the new Quantico Marine Corps Base, just to the north in Stafford and Prince William counties. Despite these improvements in neighboring counties, this portion of Stafford County remained a secluded agricultural area long after the end of the war. The Great Depression of the early 1930s affected Northern Neck farmers and watermen to a lesser degree than in other regions, due to the diversity of produce grown on the local farms, as well as the rich resources of the nearby Chesapeake Bay and Potomac River.

World War II provided a second impetus for growth in the region, with the expansion of Quantico Marine Corps Base to the north, the creation of Fort A. P. Hill to the south, and expanded facilities at Dahlgren to the east. Many of the larger farms in Stafford County were still in operation, although at greatly reduced levels, and lumbering activities and private hunting clubs, which were utilized by county natives as well as by people from neighboring counties, dominated the timbered interior of the county.

The current project area has remained undeveloped and wooded throughout the twentieth century. A few houses occupied in the vicinity of the project area during the latter part of the nineteenth century may have continued to be used into the twentieth century, but no new houses have been built within the project area. The probability of finding sites within this time period is low, due to limited use of the project area during this time period.

The New Dominion (1945 - Present)

Until World War II, Stafford County remained largely rural and agricultural, with its economy rooted in farming, fishing, and timbering. With the rapid expansion of the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area since the 1950s, however, Stafford County increasingly has become a "bedroom community" of the capital, witnessing tremendous suburbanization that has thoroughly altered the economy and landscape of the area (Barber et al. 1992).

The end of the Second World War marked a period of accelerated growth for most of Stafford County, although the rural character of the eastern portion of the county remained almost unchanged. With better roads and the construction of the Route 301 Bridge across the Potomac River to Maryland, population growth continued throughout the county. The construction of the Federal Interstate Highway System (I-95) in the 1950s allowed residents easier access to employment opportunities, and with these improvements to the local road systems, this portion

of Stafford County has witnessed the construction of many small communities and commercial developments.

The decline in the county's long agricultural heritage is now being counterbalanced by an increasing emphasis on tourism and commercial enterprise. Stafford now faces the same issues of growth and conservation of natural and historic resources as many other communities situated within this portion of northeastern Virginia.

The project area has remained wooded throughout this time period and primarily used by a private hunt club for recreation and hunting. No previously recorded cultural resources have been identified within a one-mile radius of the project area. The vicinity of the project area has seen moderate growth due to the expansion of the metropolitan Washington D.C. area.

Expected Results of Survey

The project area is located on a high ridge line overlooking Accokeek Creek to the North, Potomac Creek to the south, and the convergence of the two aforementioned creeks with the Potomac River to the east. The central east-west trending ridge acts as a divide between the Accokeek and Potomac Creeks' drainage systems. The drainages have cut deeply into the underlying geologic formations to create steep drainages. The central ridge and ridge fingers running to the north and south overlook the broad floodplain associated with Accokeek Creek and limited floodplains associated with Potomac Creek. It would, therefore, appear to have been a high probability location for Native American sites dating to all time periods. The upland terraces and ridges along intermittent tributaries would be conducive to temporary camps associated with the Paleoindian and Archaic period hunter-gathering foraging strategy, while the broader ridges in the eastern end of the project area would be conducive for hamlets and small villages that came about during the Woodland period. With all time periods except for the Early Woodland represented in the previously recorded sites and the depiction of several Native American Villages on the Crow's Nest Peninsula on historic maps, there is a high probability for locating additional Native American sites within the Crow's Nest project area.

Historic period maps indicate that the project area was occupied as early as the late seventeenth century and continued to be inhabited up through the Civil War. During the twentieth century, the project area has remained wooded and undeveloped with the primary use being hunting. Civil War era maps depict the Union supply camp at Bell Plain with additional earthworks on the north side of Potomac Creek. A total of 14 previously identified cultural resources have been identified within a one-mile radius of the project area, including Crow's Nest Plantation. With map evidence of the project area, there is a high probability for locating additional sites associated with Crow's Nest Plantation, other nineteenth century farmsteads, and Civil War related sites. The map created by Historian Eugene Scheel (2002) identifies several historic sites and one Native American village within the project area. The resources identified on the map are from all time periods, including sites associated with Crow's Nest, Sellwood, the Civil War, and other nineteenth century farmsteads (Figure 14).

